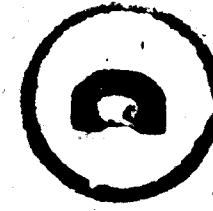


India
Past and Present

1987

VOL. 4. NO. 1



CR- JL
V2m, N84
N87.4.1
93608

INDIA
PAST AND PRESENT

A BIENNIAL JOURNAL OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

VOLUME IV

1987

NUMBER 1

MADAME BHIKHAJI RUSTOM CAMA
COMMEMORATION VOLUME

To Signalise the 125th Birth Anniversary



INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH
MARINE LINES, BOMBAY 400 020

J L
V2m, N874
N874.1
93608.

INDIA PAST AND PRESENT [Reg. No. 39945/84]
is published half-yearly in June and December.

ISSN 0970-1028

Editor

Professor George M. Moraes

Executive Editor

Dr. M. D. David

Managing Editor

Dr. S. D. Karnik

Associate Editor

Dr. K. Jagjit Singh

EDITORIAL BOARD

Dr. R. Bingle, India Office Library,
London

Dr. (Mrs) Nithya Chari
Stella Maris College, Madras

Dr. B. D. Chattopadhyaya
Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi

Professor Frank Conlon
University of Washington, Seattle, USA

Professor Ashin Das Gupta, Director
National Library, Calcutta

Professor G. S. Dikshit, Formerly Head,
Dept. of History, Karnatak University
Dharwar

Professor S. N. Gajendragadkar
Formerly Head, Dept. of Linguistics
University of Bombay, Bombay

Professor Surendra Gopal
Patna University, Patna

Professor P. M. Joshi, Formerly Director
Maharashtra State Archives, Bombay

Dr. (Mrs.) M. Kamerkar
S.N.D.T. University, Bombay

Professor A. R. Kulkarni
Formerly Head, Dept. of History,
University of Poona, Pune

Professor Parshotam Mehra
Formerly Chairman,
Dept. of History and Central Asian
Studies, Punjab University, Chandigarh

Professor T. K. Ravindran
Kerala University, Trivandrum

Professor Dietmar Rothermund
South Asia Institute, Heidelberg

Dr. H. D. Sankalia, Professor Emeritus,
Deccan College, Pune

Professor D. R. Sar Desai
University of California, Los Angeles, USA

Dr. G. T. Sawant

Professor S. Settar
Karnatak University, Dharwar

Dr. B. Sheik Ali, Vice-Chancellor,
Goa University, Panaji

Dr. R. R. Singh
Khalsa College, Bombay

All correspondence, subscription, manuscripts for publication
and books for review should be sent to: Professor George M.
Moraes, Editor, **India Past and Present**, 9 New Marine Lines,
Bombay 400 020

Manuscripts, text as well as notes, should be submitted in duplicate, typed
double-spaced with the notes serially numbered and placed at the end of
the text. Only rarely will the Journal accept articles exceeding 10,000 words
and reviews of over 2,500 words. The editor is not responsible for the opinions
expressed by the contributors.

Annual Subscription for 2 issues: Inland Rs. 75.00 Foreign: US \$ 20.00
Single Copy: Rs. 40.00 (U.S. \$ 12.00) (All rates are inclusive of postage)

INDIA PAST AND PRESENT

A BIENNIAL JOURNAL OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

VOLUME IV

1987

NUMBER 1

MADAME BHIKHAIJI RUSTOM CAMA
COMMEMORATION VOLUME

To Signalise the 125th Birth Anniversary



INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH
9, NEW MARINE LINES, BOMBAY 400 020

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

Pages

Madame Bhikhaiji Rustom Cama	S.D. Karnik	5
Vrata, Dana Purta, Utsarga and their secular purpose	Jaya Chemburkar	9
The problem of Aryan Immigration into India - A critical approach	Sam N. Doctor	21
Sir Walter Elliot : An Appraisal of his work in Karnataka (1822 - 1833)	S. K. Havanur	39
R. G. Bhandarkar's Concept of a Social Reformer	J. V. Naik	51
Kalimpong : The Historical Perspective, its evolution as a Trade Centre in the Eastern Himalaya : 1865-1947	Enakshi Majumdar	65
Urbanization and the Regional Economy of Gujarat in the Seventeenth century	Kanakalatha Mukund	79
Indian Financial Support of Western Education : Bombay City 1820-1856	Mridula Ramanna	105
REVIEW ARTICLE		
Peasant Insurgency	C. S. Amarao	123
BOOK REVIEWS		
Architecture in India	Krishna Chaitanya	137
Gandhi and the non-conformists - Encounters in South Africa	Gur Nitya Chaitanya Yati	139
The Encyclopaedias of India	K. M. George	145
Police Power and Colonial Rule - Madras 1859-1947	N. Balasubramanian	149
Select documents, Gurdwara Reform Movement : An era of Congress Akalis Collaboration 1920-1925	K.L. Tuteja	152
NECROLOGY		159



MADAME BHIKHAIJI RUSTOM CAMA
(1861-1936)

EDITOR

George M. Moraes

CONTRIBUTORS

N. BALASUBRAMANIAN

History Department, C.B.M. College, Kavaipudur, Coimbatore

JAYA CHEMBURKAR

Head of the Department of Sanskrit, National College, Bandra, Bombay

SAM N. DOCTOR

Cama Athornan Institute, Andheri, Bombay

K. M. GEORGE

Chief Editor, Modern Indian Literature, Trivandrum, Kerala

S. K. HAVANUR

Head of the Department of Kannada, University of Bombay, Bombay

S. D. KARNIK

Director, Indian Council of Social Science Research, Kalina, Bombay

ENAKSHI MAJUMDAR

Department of History, University of North Bengal, Siliguri, West Bengal

KANAKALATHA MUKUND

Research Officer, State Bank Chair in Rural Economics, Department of Regional Planning & Economic Growth, Bhopal University, Bhopal

L. V. NAIK

Reader, Department of History, University of Bombay, Bombay

K. K. NAIR

Indologist, New Delhi

MRIDULA RAMANNA

Head of the Department of History, S.J.E.S. College, Sion, Bombay

G. J. RAMARAO

Vice-Principal, Kirori Mal College, Delhi

K. L. TUTEJA

Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra

GURU NITYA CHAITANYA YATI

Gurukulam, Varkala, Kerala

In the publication of Madame Bhikhaiji Rustom Cama Commemoration Volume, India Past and Present gratefully acknowledges the grant-in-aid received from the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, and the Parsi Panchayat, Bombay, and the financial support from advertisers and a generous donation from the House of Tatas.

MADAME BHIKHAJI RUSTOM CAMA

S. D. Karnik

MADAME BHIKHAJI RUSTOM CAMA (1861-1936), "Bicoo" to her close friends and relatives, would have been hailed as a remarkable woman in any age and in any country. Born in Bombay in an affluent family and educated at the Alexandra Girls' English Institution, she had, in her early life, all the best that family affection and wealth could bestow. Her youth paralleled a series of momentous events in India, stirring the national spirit in many minds and hearts, culminating in the birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885. The young and dynamic Bhikhaiji breathed and shared that spirit not only in its political context but in the sense of social awareness and a mission of social service. That is what prompted her to make light of the risks involved in working in Bombay's slums, afflicted in 1896 by the deadly scourge of plague. Madame Cama's defiance of the epidemic in those days when no vaccine against it had been discovered was as much a reflection of her concern for hapless fellow-human beings as it was an insuperable tendency in her to combat any public enemy.

It was natural for such a fiery spirit to see the evils of British imperialism and its impact on India. Unfortunately, her rich solicitor husband, the son of the eminent orientalist and social reformer, Professor K. R. Cama, did not see eye to eye with her on national issues. An Anglophile, he believed that much good could come to India through continued, undiluted British rule. The differences between the two led to the inevitable parting of the ways at the turn of the century when in 1902 Madame Cama went to England for medical treatment. Hardly did any one in her family entourage imagine that she would spend the next thirty three years in Europe, travel round the globe, write and speak, articulating the cause that was dearest to her heart, that of India's freedom. The British finally allowed her to return to India in 1935, an ailing, old revolutionary to die in the land of her birth in 1936.

Madame Cama was then one of the very small band of women participants in the Indian nationalist struggle, certainly the first woman revolutionary and the first socialist uniquely in touch with social and political activists in the various countries of Europe and the United States. She started with the politics of petition, graduated into the politics of protest until she moved into what

appealed to her most, namely, the revolutionary path to independence. Thus, she began her life in England, working for the election campaign of Dadabhai Naoroji, the Grand Old Man of India. She was soon disappointed with the placid methods of the Liberals which were too sedate for her fiery soul. When the Congress split in 1907 at Surat into the Moderates and the Extremists, Madame Cama's sympathies were, indeed, with Bal-Lal-Pal. At the same time, she was already influenced by the socialist and anarchist ideas floating among revolutionaries in Europe. The year 1907 was to prove momentous in her life.

In that year, the British Government decided to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the revolt of 1857 as a mutiny of soldiers. Madame Cama wrote a spirited leaflet appealing to young revolutionaries to dedicate themselves for the freedom of motherland and fight against the British. The text of the leaflet was published in Shyamji Krishna Varma's famous patriotic journal, *Indian Sociologist*, and distributed to all Indian newspapers and innumerable youth abroad. Madame Cama became one of the trio of Indian revolutionaries in England, with Shyamji Varma and Sardar Singh Raoji Rana. She was a member of Varma's Home Rule Society and of Abhinav Bharat, a revolutionary organisation which believed in armed struggle, which became famous a few years later after Veer Savarkar joined it. In one of her speeches, Madame Cama justified the violent approach to the freedom struggle thus: "Some of you may feel that as a woman I should object to violence. The price of liberty must be paid. Which nation has got it without paying for it?" This was, of course, before Gandhiji arrived on the Indian political scene with his most potent weapons steeled in non-violence and humanism.

In 1907, Madame Cama attended the World Socialist Congress at Stuttgart (Germany), where she met Marxist revolutionaries like V. I. Lenin and Rosa Luxembourg. She made history there by dramatically unfurling the Indian tricolour flag, an adaptation of the one approved by the Congress in Calcutta in 1906. She appealed to all lovers of freedom all over the world to cooperate in "freeing from slavery the one-fifth of the human race inhabiting that oppressed country" - India. Thereafter, along with Shyamji Krishna Varma and Rana, she made Paris the headquarters of the Indian revolutionary activity in Europe. Varma's *Indian Sociologist* had been banned. Madame Cama, therefore, started her *Bande Mataram* in Paris and the *Talwar* in Berlin. Despite her penury, she made her home the hospitable refuge of all Indian revolutionaries visiting Paris. She became the visible symbol of Indian freedom movement to revolutionaries in Europe and the United States. Maxim Gorky invited her in September, 1912 to write on the Indian Women's Role in

the Struggle for Freedom to show the Russian women how the struggle is carried on by the people "living on the banks of the Ganges."

Madame Cama's courage and resolution were demonstrated in her efforts to save fellow-revolutionaries, notably Veer Savarkar. When Savarkar was being tried in the Nasik Conspiracy case for smuggling arms and ammunition to India, Madame Cama made a signed declaration at the British Consulate in Paris owning the entire responsibility for sending the arms. She also made an unsuccessful bid to prevent the French from handing over Savarkar to the British after his escape from the ship *Morea* in Marseilles. She moved her socialist friends and even took the matter to the International Court of Justice but to no avail. During the First World War, she addressed several meetings of Indian soldiers in Europe appealing to them not to fight on the side of the imperialists. She was jailed for such activities by the French for three years.

There is no definite evidence to know whether Madame Cama ever became a Communist. She was first a nationalist and then a socialist or a follower of any other ism. All her life, she struggled for India's freedom. To her the end was important, not the means nor the methods to achieve it. Despite her effort, she was not permitted by the British to return to India until 1935, when her advancing age and the more liberal political atmosphere after the passing of the Government of India Act, 1935 made it possible.

Madame Cama breathed her last in 1936 in the Parsee General Hospital in Bombay, a penniless woman, in Veer Savarkar's words, "without anybody's knowledge in a complete unknown and ungrateful atmosphere." Fortunately, with the attainment of freedom, that "atmosphere" changed. A grateful people have built memorials to her magnificent services in the cause of the nation. In particular, her birth place, Bombay, takes pride in celebrating this year the 125th anniversary of her birth. In Madame Cama's sacrifice and achievements, every man and woman can take pride.

The World Famous Y.M.C.A. Hospitality is yours

Y.M.C.A.
INTERNATIONAL HOUSE
[A Home Away from Home]

18, YMCA Road, Bombay 400 008
Gram: "MANHOOD" Phones: 891262/891191/370601

VRATA, DĀNA PŪRTA, UTSARGA AND
THEIR SECULAR PURPOSE

Jaya Chemburkar

THE manifold injunctions in the Dharmaśāstras and the Purāṇas teach us how to conduct ourselves in matters both religious and secular.¹ They prescribe various religious duties which sustain human life; "dharmāt arthaśca kāmāśca", said Mahārṣi Vyāsa; i.e. Dharma promotes artha and kāma i.e. practice of Dharma results in all happiness, spiritual as well as material. The ancient Indians were not averse to material happiness. They did not praise poverty and condemn wealth.² This is evident from their inclusion of artha (wealth) and kāma (pleasures) in the scheme of four puruṣārthas. They knew that Dharma and Artha are both necessary; they only warned that acquisition of Artha should not conflict with Dharma. Acquisition of wealth by fair means, without doing harm to others, was never condemned.

The Dharmaśāstra works and the Purāṇas have upheld the cause of economic progress of the society and coordinated Dharma with Artha for this purpose. They have devised several religious practices which are conducive to economic progress no less than social happiness. **Vrata, Dāna, Pūrta** and **Utsarga** are some of such practices which are not purely religious but seem to have secular objective also underlying them.

This paper proposes to examine the concepts of **Vrata, Dāna, Pūrta**, and **Utsarga** and their secular purpose.

A PERUSAL OF VRATA, DĀNA, PŪRTA AND UTSARGA

VRATA

A **Vrata** (vow) consists of certain restrictions regarding food or one's behaviour or observance of religious or moral practices, or worship of a deity to win the favour of the deity.³ The Agni Purāṇa identifies a '**vrata**' with '**tapas**' (penance), because observance of a '**vrata**' involves trouble to the person observing a '**vrata**' (vratam hi kartṛsantāpāttapa iryabhidhiyate Agni P. 175.1, 2, 3).

A person observing a vrata is enjoined to perform different religious duties such as - to feed the Brāhmaṇas or a poor or a helpless or a blind person etc., or to give gifts to Brāhmaṇas or to dedicate something to a deity etc.⁴ The underlying purpose of such a vrata can be said to help and support the needy, solve their problem of maintenance. 'Vrata' of the above kind can thus be described as an act of social service.

DĀNA

Dāna means giving a gift. A gift consists in abandoning a thing that belongs to one, and creating the ownership of another in that thing. (dadātirutsargapūrvakoh, parasvatvena sambandhaḥ.....)⁵

There is a class of literature known as Dānastutis; these works record donations, grants, works of charity. Obviously their purpose is to induce and encourage gifts, donations, etc.

A gift is glorified by identifying it with "tapas" (penance). The Tai.Saṁ. I.6.3 remarks, "It is indeed 'tapas' when a man makes a gift of what he owns." The purpose of such identification appears to glorify the act of giving gifts. In the Br.Up.V.5 Prajāpati enjoins the virtue of 'dāna' for human beings.

DIFFERENT TYPES OF GIFTS

Gifts consisted of cows, chariots, camels, horses, food, gold, clothes, land, a village etc. etc.

It is a well-known practice of charitable people to build shelters, dānaśālās etc. to feed the needy and the poor people. The Chhāndogya Upaniṣad IV.1 has recorded the generosity of Jāna-śruti Pautrāyaṇa who is said to have erected such shelters for people. In the guise of such a religious activity, service is rendered to the society. Religion is thus linked up with secular life.

SIX ĀNGAS (CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS) OF A GIFT

Devala mentions six āngas of a gift. They are (1) a donor (2) a donee (3) śraddhā (faith, charitable attitude) (4) the object of gift which must have been acquired by the donor in a proper way (5) proper time (6) proper place.⁶

Of these six constituents, śraddhā, proper time and proper place need some explanation. A gift should be given with faith in God, with charitable attitude. It should not be done for pomp, fame, etc. The mind should be absolutely free from ego. It should be given politely, modestly, without creating a feeling of obligation in the donee. Proper time and proper place would imply that it should be given at a time and in a place where it is needed; otherwise it becomes redundant, and is likely to be wasted. This only means that a gift is to be given to a needy person. This would indicate that the idea of a gift was conceived more from the point of view of a donee than the donor; and it was more for the benefit of a donee than the donor. The donee is to be the real beneficiary.

GIFTS IN HONOUR OF DIFFERENT INCARNATION OF VIṢṆU

The Varāha Purāṇa - Chapters 40-57 describes different vows and different gifts to be given in honour of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, in different months.

On the twelfth day of each month of the year there is a vow to be observed by giving a gift. The gift consists of a gold image of the particular incarnation of Viṣṇu prescribed for that day. In this way ten gold images of ten incarnations are to be given as gifts to Brāhmaṇas. The golden image is to be covered with a piece of cloth.⁷ It is to be covered, might be because it is to be kept safe from greedy eyes, or to avoid embarrassment to the donee, and of all things not to allow the mind of the donor to be overpowered by ego at the time of giving a gift. Under śubha vrata described in the Varāha Purāṇa Chap. 55, a cow is to be given with dakṣiṇā to twenty-four Brāhmaṇas; a king may give a village to a poor Brāhmaṇa. Along with the land-gift, a pair of golden cows as well as a pair of clothes also may be given according to one's capacity (Varāha Purāṇa 55.15).

It may be said that the Varāha Purāṇa has made use of ten incarnations of Viṣṇu simply to multiply the number of vows and also the number of gifts.

GRANTS OF LAND

Gifts of land were also given to learned Brāhmaṇas, temples, and Buddhist and Jain monasteries for their maintenance. Sometimes a whole village was donated by a king. The Smṛtis contain rules regarding gifts of land.⁸ A village donated to a Brāhmaṇa was

known as "Agrahāra Village".⁹ Gifts of land and villages became common under the Sātavāhanas.¹⁰ This practice continued under the Guptas also. The general practice was to donate nearby caves to one or the other Buddhist sect and to these gifts were appended villages or agricultural plots for the maintenance of the monks staying there.¹¹ Arable virgin lands were often donated. Such gifts were made on the condition viz. that the donee should cultivate the land, start habitation on non-inhabited lands donated to him. If the donee failed to do it, the land was taken away from him, and transferred to another person, who would cultivate it. Kauṭilya has stated that, if a donee fails to cultivate, the donated land should be taken away from him. (akṣatāmācchidyanyebhyah prayacchet Kau. II.1.10). But Yājñavalkya differs from Kauṭilya. He is of the opinion that a gift once given cannot be taken back (deyam pratiśrutam caiva datvā napaharetpunah Yāj. II.176; also Parāśara XII.51). This divergence of opinion can be explained thus - Kauṭilya was an administrator, a ruler; he was more concerned with and interested in social welfare and material happiness of the people. He expected discipline, initiative and hard work from the people when more and more land was to be brought under cultivation. Kauṭilya would not tolerate donated land to lie uncultivated, whereas Yājñavalkya was a theologian who conceived the act of giving gift more from spiritual point of view. In ancient times 'Agrahāra villages' where learned Brāhmaṇas stayed became centres of learning and attracted students from different parts of the country.¹² The villages assigned to temples, monasteries and learned Brāhmaṇas became fairly numerous from 400 A.D.; a special officer came to be appointed to look after their administration. He was called 'Agrahārīka' in the Gupta and Pala records.¹³ According to Sukra II.121 the officer directly in-charge of state grants for religious purposes was called "dānapati". Learned Brāhmaṇas, Buddhist monasteries and Hindu temples and 'mathas' which usually received these grants used to organise schools, colleges, hospitals and poor houses.¹⁴ The ancient Indian States, by giving gifts of land supported the individual Brāhmaṇa teachers, monasteries and temples etc. and sought to bring about the economic and cultural development in underdeveloped parts of the state.

PŪRTA

'Pūrta' can also be included under 'Dāna'. It means construction and dedication of wells, ponds, tanks, temples, or construction of houses for distribution of food to public or maintaining public gardens, etc. (Vāpikūpaṭaḍāgāni devatāyatanāni ca | annapradānamāramāḥ pūrtamityabhidyate).¹⁵ Manu enjoins that one should perform pūrta-dharma.¹⁶ He recommends the construction of wells, ponds, etc. on the boundary of fields or two villages;¹⁷ so that water of

such reservoirs can be used by the people for irrigation and drinking purpose. Besides, such wells can serve the purpose of a boundary line between the two fields.

PURPOSE OF PŪRTA-DHARMAS

It is needless to say that agriculture flourishes with irrigation facilities. There is ample evidence of artificial irrigation in ancient India. Kauṭilya has used the word "adevamāṭṭka" for agriculture which does not depend on rain.¹⁸ He mentions various methods of artificial irrigation.¹⁹ Nārada mentions a 'kheya' which is dug into the ground to allow water to flow and a bandhya which prevents the flow of water. (Setustu dvividhaḥ proktaḥ kheyo bandhyastathaiva ca | toyapravartanātkhyeyo bandhyah syāttannivartanāt | Nārada Smṛti XI.19).²⁰ The inscriptions speak of 'vāpi', 'tadāga' and 'dirghikā' all meaning tanks big or small and also of wells and kūpa. Chandra-gupta Maurya had constructed a big lake known as Sudarśan lake.²¹ In ancient India, providing irrigation facilities by construction of wells, ponds, tanks, dams, etc. was the duty of the state, village councils etc. But under 'Pūrta' an individual is also involved in the activity of construction of tanks, ponds, wells, etc. and he may dedicate them to the society which could utilise the water from these reservoirs. The 'Pūrta-dharma' has been enjoined for acquiring religious merit. But it can be said that this activity of dedicating reservoirs of water etc. does not have purely religious purpose; it can be said to have secular purpose also,²² inasmuch as it supplies drinking water to the people and it is also useful for irrigating the fields. It will be observed here that the benefit of the 'Pūrta-dharma' does not accrue to one single individual but to a large number of people. Dedication of a well, or a tank, or a garden, or setting up a public place for distribution of food is useful to many and not one single individual.

Through the 'Pūrta-dharma' a man is encouraged to perform public welfare activity, instead of fulfilling his own selfish desires. The Upaniṣads have condemned both, viz. 'iṣṭapūrtas' (i.e. sacrifices and dedicative acts)²³ obviously because their goal was attainment of liberation of the soul, and not material happiness. But the Dharma-sāstra and the Purāṇas have shown concern for life in this world also. They have retained the concept of 'Pūrtadharma' and used it for a noble cause viz. helping one's fellow beings.

UTSARGA

Utsarga means divesting oneself of ownership over a thing, and dedicating it for the use of all; letting loose at liberty a bull

or a cow or a goat comes under utsarga. Because in doing so a person gives up his ownership over the bull or the goat etc. and dedicates it for others. Under **Pūrta** and **Utsarga** there is dedication of something for the benefit of others yet there is a difference between the two. To explain the difference it can be said that a '**Pūrta-gift**' consists in dedicating for the benefit of many a stationary gift such as a well or a tank etc., whereas '**Utsarga**' implies a gift which is released or let loose and is not stationary but is free to move about e.g. a bull or a goat. The word Utsarga is sometimes used in the sense of a gift in general. The Matsya Purāṇa describes at length '**vr̥ṣotsarga**'. It describes the qualities of a bull to be set at liberty. A bull is to be set at liberty at the time of a '**sapindikurāṇa-sraddhā**' (Matsya P.18.14, 15). While releasing a bull, the cow of which the bull is born is to be examined and it should be seen whether the cow is free from ailment, diseases, whether she is healthy and gives plenty of milk and has many other good qualities laid down by the Matsya Purāṇa (Matsya P.207.2-12). A bull born of such a cow, should then be examined. It should have auspicious signs. It should have - elevated shoulders and hump, a soft and straight tail, tender cheeks, broad back, shining eyes, sharp horns and long and thick hair on the tail, and eighteen teeth etc. etc. The Matsya Purāṇa remarks that if such a fine bull is set at liberty, it increases the grain and wealth (navāṣṭadaśasaṅkh-yairvā tikṣṇagrairdaśanaḥ subhaiḥ | mallikākṣaśca mokṭavyo grhespi dhanadhānyadaḥ (Matsya P.207.15 37). Such Utsarga can be performed by all the four castes (Matsya P.207.18, 19).

PURPOSE OF VR̥ṢOTSARGA

Cattle breeding was one of the occupations in ancient India. The ancient Indians had realised the importance of healthy breed of cattle. Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra prescribes rules for the nourishing diet for the cattle, milking hours, rules to be observed by the cowherd, duties of cowherd, etc. etc. (Kauṭilyārthaśāstra II.29). Healthy cattle were useful for agriculture, transport, etc. Besides their milk and its products, their flesh, bones, skins, teeth, horns, etc. had economic value. Obviously, therefore, such bulls were set at liberty for breeding purposes. They were marked with the sign of dedication. No fine was to be imposed on the person who set it free, for the damage caused by it. The bulls were allowed to move about freely (Matsya P.207.41).

TREE PLANTATION

Trees help to promote rainfall and to bind the soil and prevent it from being washed away. They help in retaining the moisture

of the land and making its yield more rich. Varāhamihira in his Brhatsaṃhita²⁴ - Chapter 55 - gives elaborate instructions regarding the plantation of trees.

The Matsya Purāṇa recommends tree-plantation (Matsya P.59.18); it describes in detail the rites which the wise should observe in dedicating and consecrating a tree (Matsya P.59.1-19), and then adds that a milch cow, covered with a piece of white cloth and wearing gold ornaments and having her horns covered with gold should be let loose between the trees planted (Matsya P.59.11).

Importance of trees has been stated above.²⁵ To induce the people to undertake tree-plantation, the Matsya-Purāṇa has described it by giving it a co-religious garb.

COMMENTS

In the light of the above perusal of '**Vrata**', '**Dāna**', '**Pūrta**' and '**Utsarga**' the following observations can be made:

(1) Normally a Brāhmaṇa is a recipient of a gift, but under dedication of wells, ponds, tanks etc. and in setting free a bull or planting and dedicating trees, a large number of people is benefitted, and that is why charitable works for the use of the public came to be regarded as more meritorious.²⁶

(2) Gifts were given to the Brāhmaṇas only because a Brāhmaṇa alone had the right to accept a gift (dānam pratigrahaṃ caiva brāhmaṇāmakalpayat Manu 1.8810). Such a right might have been given to a Brāhmaṇa alone to subsidize his meagre income. In ancient times the guilds, rich people and the state supported the learned Brāhmaṇas. Through the religious practice of giving gifts, private individuals also were involved in supporting the Brāhmaṇas. The concept of '**Dāna**' may have originated as a part of ritualistic religion for attaining religious merit but gradually it was made subservient to secular life, serving a secular purpose also.

(3) Of the three '**Varṇas**', the Kṣātrīyas earned a regular income, the Vaiśyas were the producers of wealth and had a regular source of income. It is only the Brāhmaṇas whose priestly and teaching profession brought them a very meagre income. Education was free and priestly income was not enough and regular so as to enable them to make the two ends meet. Therefore, probably, a Brāhmaṇa alone had the right of '**Pratigraha**' i.e. accepting a gift (Manu X.75; Yājñavalkya 1.216). It must be stated here that the right to accept

a gift was given only to a learned Brāhmaṇa; Yājñavalkya has categorically said that a Brāhmaṇa without learning and penance should not accept a gift (vidyātapobhyām hinena natu grāhyaḥ pratigrahaḥ.... Yāj. I.202).²⁷ Sympathy, regard and consideration for the learned Brāhmaṇas, must have been at the basis of the right of 'pratigraha' given to the Brāhmaṇas. But out of greediness there is a possibility of such a right being abused by the Brāhmaṇas. Such exploitation is evident in the exaggerated prescriptions of multiplicity of gifts described in the Purāṇas. And therefore warning a Brāhmaṇa, Manu remarks, "A Brāhmaṇa should not as far as possible accept a gift, because in doing so he loses his Brahmanical lustre." (pratigrahasamarthos pi prasangam tatra varjayet | pratigraheṇa hyasyāsu brāhmaṇamtejaḥ praśāmyati Manu IV.186). Yājñavalkya forbids a Brāhmaṇa void of learning and penance to accept a gift. (Yāj.I.202). A learned Brāhmaṇa of high level of culture will not be greedy and will not like to take advantage of the beliefs and blind faith and ignorance of the people; but a Brāhmaṇa without learning and culture is likely to do so and hence this warning. Glorifying a learned Brāhmaṇa who is not greedy, Yājñavalkya remarks, "A learned Brāhmaṇa though eligible for a gift, by not accepting it goes to the world of those who give gifts". (Yāj. I.213). R.C. Hazra observes, "The Purāṇic Dharma appears to be due to a struggle of those Brāhmaṇas, no less for their own economic and social recovery than for saving the Brahmanical Culture in general"²⁸

(4) As observed above, it was the duty of the state to dig wells, canals and construct dams etc. to supply water to the people. But from the inclusion of these activities under 'Pūrta' and the importance given to them by the Dharmaśāstras and the Purāṇas, it will be seen that the theologians extended this activity to private individuals also from the religious platform. The Dharmaśāstras and the Purāṇas did not have before them only the spiritual welfare of a man but secular welfare also. By presenting the performance of public welfare activities in a religious garb, piety was imparted to them and people were induced to undertake them. This would reduce the responsibility, to some extent, of the local administrative bodies. People could thus be involved in their own welfare activities conducive to the progress of the society.

(5) The authors of the Dharmaśāstras and the Purāṇas must have realised that it was necessary to link up religion with the secular life of the people in order to make their teachings popular especially when Brahmanism was challenged by Jainism and Buddhism and popular Vaiṣṇavism, Saivism and Śāktism.²⁹

(6) Every vow was accompanied by some gift, and vows were multiplied by the Purāṇas to facilitate giving of gifts.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion it can be said that by enjoining different vratas and gifts of different types the theologians have taught the principles of sacrifice, charity, generosity, non-possession, compassion for others, etc., and they have also made use of religion for secular purpose. In ancient times religion had great hold on the mind of the people. Religious minded people would readily obey the religious injunctions. The different vratas and gifts would indicate that the Dharmaśāstras and the Purāṇas have made use of this psychology of the people and co-ordinated Dharma with Artha. Their injunctions aimed at not only the spiritual elevation of a single individual but also the material welfare of many.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Banerjee, S.C., *Dharma Sūtras - A Study*, p.1 (Punthi Pustak, Calcutta 4, 1962)
2. Cf. (1) nadhanasyāstyayam loko na parah
(2) nadhano dharmakṛtyāni yathāvadanutiṣṭhati dhanād dharmah prabhavati śailādapi nadi tathā... etc. Mbh. Śānti Parvan, Chap. 8, 27, 28. Calcutta edition, 1837. Śarvathā dhanamāhāryam yaṣṭvyam cāpi yatnataḥ Mbh. Śānti. P. Chap. 8.32.
Cf. also, Śukra III. 352.3 kṣaṇaśaḥ kaṇaśaiścaiva vidyāmartham ca sādhayet na tyājyau tu kṣaṇakaṇau nityam vidyādhanaṁrthina.
3. Cf. Kane, P.V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. V, Pt. I, p. 25 (BORI, Poona) 1958.
4. Matsya Purāṇa 63.12; 100.28.
5. Śabara on Jaimini IV.2.28
Cf. also Kane, P.V., *op.cit.*, Vol.V, Pt. I, p.233
6. Devala in Dānavākya - dāta pratigrahitā ca śraddhā deyam ca dharmayuk : desakālau ca dānānāmaṅgānyetāni sad viduh.
Cf. also Manu IV.226.227.
Cf. also Kane, *op.cit.*, Vol.II, Pt.II, p. 714 (1974).

7. Cf. Varāha Purāṇa 56.8; 57.10.
8. Yājñavalkya Smṛti I.318-320.
9. Mbh. Vana. 68.4; Āśramāvāśiparva 2.2, 10, 41; 13.11; 14.14; 25.5.
10. Cf. Adhya, G.L., *Early Indian Economics*, pp.28-29 (Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1966).
11. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
12. Altekar, A.S., *The Vākātaka Gupta Age*, pp.397-398 (Motilal Banarsidas, Delhi, 1967).
13. *Ibid.*, p. 205.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 205.
Donees who received gifts of villages enjoyed certain immunities; they were exempted from various liabilities, government officers were given instructions not to trouble them, and interfere with the administration of agrahāra village etc. Cf. Nasik Inscription No.3 of Vāsisthiputra Śrī Pulumāyi in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 8, p. 165; as quoted by Kane, *op.cit.*, Vol.II, Pt. II.
15. Mb. quoted by Aparārka, p. 290; Agni Purāṇa 209.1,2; also Cf. Kane, P.V., *op.cit.*, Vol.II, Pt.II, p.844.
16. Manu IV. 226-227; Cf. also Matsya Purāṇa, Chap.50.
17. Manu. VIII.248.
18. Kauṭilyārthasāstra V.2.2; also Cf. Śukraniti IV.63, 64, 112.
19. *Ibid.*, II.1.20-24; III.9.32-38; III.10.1.2
20. Cf. also Nārada Smṛti
"nantareṇodakam sasyam naśyedabhyudakena tu | ya evanudake doṣaḥ sa evabhyudake smṛtaḥ || Nārada Smṛti, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
21. Cf. Husaini, S.A.Q. *The Economic History of India*, p.172 (Eastern publishers; 3-C; Calcutta-9).

22. Cf. "prapāstadāgāni ca paropakārāya na dharmāyetyevā-vagamyate - Śabara on Jaimini I.3.2;
Cf. also Kane, *op.cit.*, Vol.II, Pt.II, p.889.
23. Muṇḍakopaniṣad I.2.10.
24. Varāhamihir - *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* Ed. M. Ramakrishna Bhat, (Motilal Banarsidas, Delhi, 1981).
Also Cf. Śukraniti, IV.46-62.
25. Vide last but one of the foregoing paras.
26. Cf. Kane, *op.cit.*, Vol.II, Pt. II, p.890.
27. Cf. also Manu X.74, 75.
28. Cf. Hazra, R.C., *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs* (University of Dacca, 1940), p. 243.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 213.

*With Best Compliments
from*

INTER OCIANIC PLASTIC CORPORATION

**Industrial House, Unit No.7, 2nd Floor, Paradise Lane
Mahim, Bombay 400 016**

**MANUFACTURERS & EXPORTERS OF PVC FABRICATED
EMBROIDERED FLOWERS, PVC SEQUINS, SEQUINS DRESSES
& OTHER NOVELTY ITEMS**

Telephones: 457329 : 468978 : 468981

**THE PROBLEM OF ARYAN IMMIGRATION INTO INDIA -
A CRITICAL APPROACH**

Sam N. Doctor

THE problem of Aryan immigration into India, more precisely its position on the time scale, is one which has ever defied satisfactory solution. The importance of the problem need hardly be stressed, for, on the determination of the correct date of the Aryan immigration depends the degree of antiquity of the Rigveda and the Vedic civilization, whether it was later than, contemporary with, or earlier to the Indus civilization, as also whether the Indus civilization itself, whose date bracket is more or less correctly known to us (c.2300 to 1700 B.C. for the nuclear regions), was Aryan, partly Aryan, or non-Aryan. Then again, the determination of the date of the Rigveda (however, approximate) in its early and late phases would give us clues leading to the determination of the era of Zoroaster, the prophet of the Iranians.

Regarding the ethnic origin of the Indus civilization it is being increasingly realised that the Indus valley civilization was not ethnically homogeneous but revealed several strains of ethnic elements, a fact now acknowledged by even some of those scholars who ascribe a Dravidian or proto-Dravidian origin to the civilization. We shall have occasion to refer to this point again.

So it is easy to realise how all four areas, viz., the Aryan invasion (both on space and time scales), the Indus Valley civilization, the Rigveda, and the era of Zoroaster are interlinked, and how research data or findings from one of these can provide valuable links and clues for the other areas. The present writer, basically an Iranist, has applied himself to the task of researching the date of Zoroaster from various angles, and hopes to publish the results of his research soon.

In the present article I propose to deal mainly with the first two of the four areas just mentioned, with only peripheral excursions into the remaining two areas. At this stage it would be pertinent to record here an encouraging observation in regard to archaeology, the main undercurrent of this article, viz., that in recent years an interdisciplinary or multidimensional approach has emerged in



archaeology which is now viewed in a wider sense of its being a subdiscipline of both anthropology and history.¹ Of course, needless to say that here too one must guard against a certain optimism, as pointed out ably by the Russian scholar, Bongard-Levin, in a very recent work,² where he states that archaeology and ethnolinguistics, in spite of their yield of fresh valuable data in recent years, leave many questions of the early ethnic history of India unanswered.

RIGVEDA AND THE INDUS VALLEY CIVILIZATION - SOME PERSPECTIVES

With the above brief introductory treatment we now pass on to the subject proper. For the past many decades a vast majority of scholars have accepted c.1500 B.C. as the conventional date for the incursion of the Aryans into India. This date is arrived at mainly on the strength of the well-known Mitannian (Tel el Amarna & Boghaz Keui) documents from Asia Minor of c.1400 B.C., and the internal evidence supplied by the Vedic literature. Regarding the latter the argument runs somewhat like this : The Rig Veda received its final shape in c.1200-1000 B.C., i.e., around the time of the Mahabharata sage Vyasa.³ And since there was a lapse of a century or two between the entry of Aryans and the composition of the earlier hymns (especially if we assume that the RV in its entirety was composed in India and not partly in Afghanistan & Iran also) and a few more centuries between the composition of these early hymns and the final compilation, 1500 B.C. would be just about the date arrived at.

The 1500 B.C. date is also deduced on the basis of another theory which makes the date of the entry of the Aryans as coincident with the terminal date of the Indus civilization, which is roughly or conventionally believed to have ended c.1500 B.C. However, a more correct date would be about a couple of centuries earlier. For instance, D.P. Agrawal's intensive researches have fixed c.1700 B.C. as the terminal date for the peripheral regions of the Harappan civilization.⁴ B.K. Thapar also gives c.1700 B.C. for the terminal date, though for the southern Harappan sites like Lothal the date is given as 1550 B.C.⁵ Of course it should be noted that these dates pertain to the end of the urban phase of the civilization and not to the post-Harappan or what is sometimes termed as the Late Harappan rural civilization, the terminal dates for which are usually given around 1500 B.C. For, the Aryans, if they at all gave the coup de grace to the Harappans, that was to the urban Harappans (on the basis of the internal evidence of the Rigveda which speaks of the destruction of fortified cities or 'purus' by the Aryans, which

cities are suggested by some to be the Harappan citadels). However, it is no longer believed (mainly on the basis of a few skeletal remains indicating violent death, found at some Harappan sites) that the Aryans were instrumental in bringing about the destruction of the Harappan civilization. The following words of a recent historian, P.C. Kashyap, would best sum up the cause that brought about the end of the Indus civilization: "In all probability Harappan culture declined without any outside political or military influence, as a devolution relating to a variety of causes both social and ecological."⁶ It would not be possible within the small compass of the present article to dilate further on this point and cite evidence, provided by most recent advances in earth & physical sciences like geomorphology, to buttress this thesis. And so we have arrived at a stage when we can conclude that archaeology does not supply us with any evidence that would indicate that the Aryans entered India at or around the terminal period of the Indus civilization, whose datum is more or less known to us. However, before leaving this thesis it would be fair to dwell briefly on the theory of Wheeler which seeks to identify Harappa site with the Rigvedic Hari-Yupia (R.V. 6.27.5), thus making the Rigveda and hence the Aryans contemporaneous with the Indus civilization. D.P. Agrawal (op.cit.) too makes a passing reference, and Acharya V.P. Limaye has dealt with the matter at length in his interesting paper, Mohenjo-daro in the Rigveda (Journal of the K.R. Cama Oriental Inst., No.39, Bombay 1958, pp.111 ff). However, linguistically, since no satisfactory etymological identity of Harappa with Hari-Yupia has been yet provided, the thesis cannot command further credence. Or in the alternative more internal evidence from the Rigveda is called for.

Now, if as we saw, the Aryans probably were not the destroyers of the Indus civilization, the other alternatives left could make them contemporaneous with or subsequent to the said civilization, which we now proceed to find out.

THE CEMETERY H

We now turn to that ever elusive post-Harappan Cemetery H associated by some scholars with the Aryans. There is some uncertainty as to its date, which is seldom cited in the course of discussions in the Aryan context. We may here accept the date bracket of 1750-1400 B.C. (archaeologic) as given by Agrawal & Kusumgar.⁷ As the Allchins⁸ point out, according to Vats, the excavator of Harappa, the Cemetery H culture was the final stage of the Harappans and continuous with it, but indicating the presence of foreign conquerors or immigrants. As to the date the Allchins proceed to state that "it (the culture) may be expected to open at about the

time when the Mature Harappan period ends, i.e., after 2000 B.C. The period stretching about three or more centuries may be placed between 2000 & 1500 B.C." Earlier, F.R. Allchin (1977) in a paper read at the Dushanbe Symposium, USSR, had commented favourably on the Aryan connection of the Cemetery culture.

Way back in 1957 we notice the concerted efforts of an archaeologist, K. N. Shastri, Asst. Director General of Archaeology in India & Curator at the Harappa Museum, who gathered all available evidence and arguments associating the Cemetery H culture with Aryan (devoting a full chapter of his book to the same), but ended in concluding that the culture was non-Aryan.⁹

We have next the views of B. B. Lal (1977), the well-known exponent of the theory associating the late P.G.W. culture with the Aryans.¹⁰ His late date hypothesis prompts him to lend some credence at first, however, vague, to that precarious theory of the Harappan invasion by Aryans. He begins by citing Gordon Childe (1934), who was one of the first to postulate that since the Cemetery H people were posterior to the Harappans who were regarded as pre- & non-Aryans, the former may be regarded as Aryans. Childe's thesis gained further support when in 1946 Mortimer Wheeler discovered a fortification wall around the Citadel Mound at Harappa. However, in the main, Lal rightly draws attention to the characteristic practice of the disposal of the dead by the Cemetery H people, which consisted of first exposing the body and then collecting the skull & some of the long bones and placing the same in large sized pots which were buried in pits. Finally though, Lal concludes that a clear gap between the Harappans and the Cemetery H people precludes the latter being the invaders of the former. Here perhaps Lal bases his conclusion on erroneous date brackets. The final feeling that one gets after perusing Lal's thesis is one of confused issues.

D. P. Agrawal too,¹¹ following a brief analysis, dismisses the claim of Cemetery H culture to be Aryan, pointing out that the red ware associates of the Cemetery had no affinity with the Harappan ware.

H. V. Trivedi in his paper, *The original home of the Aryans*,¹² following Lal, writes that since there is no overlap but a distinct gap of 5 to 7 ft. between the uppermost Harappan layer and the lowermost layer of Cemetery H, where the P.G.W. associated with the Aryans was found, the Aryans could not be the destroyers of the Harappan civilization. This is barely conclusive. However, the most interesting feature of the Cemetery H culture, aside from the mode of pot-burials, is the representation or paintings of flying

peacocks on such pots or urns used in the burials. Now, some of these peacocks are depicted as carrying human figures in their bellies.^{12a} M. S. Vats (1940), the excavator of Harappa, interprets the birds as carrying the souls of the dead to heaven. Since the paintings appear on burial-pots, such an interpretation would be perfectly plausible, associating an Aryan concept with the Cemetery H culture.

THE BANAS CULTURE & ARYANS

D. P. Agrawal, the inveterate specialist in dating cultures by C-14 and other methods, has in a brief but informative monograph¹⁴ analysed some of the cultures and the theories associating them with Aryans. He first rightly points out the necessity of recognition of two distinct waves of the Aryans in India, the first wave dating around the close of the Harappan civilization (not necessarily in the context of an Aryan conquest or destruction of the civilization), and the second wave to be associated with B.B. Lal's PGW Aryan culture, the lower limit for which being conventionally placed at 12th-11th centuries B.C.¹⁵ Agrawal then proceeds to examine the evidence from the excavations at Ahar and Gilund (C-dates between c.2000 and 1200 B.C.), and with the help of charts shows that Ahar's Copper Age (Banas) Culture emerged some time in the 18th century B.C. Agrawal also produces evidence supporting a possible contact of the Harappans and the Banasians. And so we arrive at the datum of about the 18th century B.C. for the presence of the first Aryans in India according to D.P. Agrawal.

ORIGIN OF THE INDUS VALLEY CIVILIZATION

The problem of the origin of the Indus Civilization, whether it is Aryan or non-Aryan, has of late, especially with the recent upsurge in attempts at decipherment of the Indus script, engaged the attention of several scholars, with even some western scholars trying to see some Aryan traces in the Civilization. As far back as in 1950 Piggott¹⁶ had urged that the Civilization was not ethnically homogeneous, and that "more than one ethnic strain was present in the Mohenjo-daro population." More recently we have the views and arguments of P. C. Kashyap, who has written a very comprehensive monograph on the Indus Civilization, where he sums up the situation in the following words:¹⁷ "It is now increasingly realised that there might have been at least two strains in the make up of the Indus Civilization. One element was Indo-Iranian, which came to Sind through Baluchistan or Afghanistan after having given birth to a number of village cultures there. The other may be called

indigenous. Nothing can at this stage be said with finality about the identity of these indigenous elements. Going by ancient literature, folklore, legends and traditions, two names that come up most frequently are Arya & Naga."

Anthropological data, mainly based on skeletal remains at various Harappan sites, cannot provide us with definite clues as to the original Indus population, since, in view of several ethnic strains being present in the culture, there is possibility of some of these being immigrants or groups of traders from outside (Trade of the Harappan people with the west, both by land & sea is now an established fact). In this connection Arun Bhattacharjee has very ably summed up the anthropological situation thus:¹⁸ "Anthropological data show a mixed culture of four races, proto-Australoid, Mediterranean, Alpinoid, Mongoloid ... About 50% of the skulls are of the dolichocephalic Mediterranean type very similar to those of Al' Ubaid in Sumer and Baluchistan. The other skull types (most of them) may be of immigrants Dr. Hutton has recorded his conclusion that the makers of the Indus Civilization were the Non-Aryans of the Rigveda, whom he identifies with the Dravidians, who were racially of mixed type, Mediterranean & Armenoid." It must however be noted that Bhattacharjee does not preclude Aryan origin, and devotes much space in his book to speculations on the same, especially citing and endorsing the researches of S.R. Rao in the field of the Indus script, deciphered as Aryan by him.

As to possible clues regarding the origin provided by the religion and culture of the Indus people, the balance would tilt on the side of non-Aryan or proto-Dravidian, mainly in view of the fact that the Indus religion was iconic (in contrast to the aniconic religion of the Aryans), with its salient features of non-Aryan origin, such as the worship of the mother-goddess, Shiva, the 'lingum' & the 'yonis', the pipal trees, etc.

Harappan figurines resemble those of Sumerian stone-carvings of the Gudea period of Mesopotamia of c.2100 B.C., as also the Sumerian demi-god Gilgamesh. The religion in general shows "affinity" to Dravidian, the religions of Elam, Sumer and Egypt, and to some gods of the Indian pantheon.¹⁹

Attempts, sometimes protracting and vigorous, have been made, especially by Indian scholars, to equate some of these Indus items and concepts, notably Shiva, with the Vedic religion, arguing that the seeds of the Shiva and related cults are to be observed in the Rigveda. But such arguments have been in the main unconvincing.

However, D. P. Agrawal²⁰ draws attention to that unique Harappan site, Kalibangan, well-known for its characteristic fire-altars (which we shall deal with shortly). The site is located on the banks of the Ghaggar, the ancient & currently dried up river, the Sarasvati of Rigvedic fame, in Rajasthan. To quote Agrawal verbatim: "The site is significantly devoid of statuary & figurines. Even the seals are devoid of divinities. The early levels are dated at c.2400 and the late ones at c.1800 B.C."

INDUS VALLEY CIVILIZATION AND THE 'HORSE'

If the I.V. Civilization had been Aryan in origin, one would expect to find the horse figuring in it, as the animal is inseparable from Aryans. Beginning with the Harappan seals, figurines, etc., we find the horse conspicuously absent in these. As to the finds of horse bones, general statements like "Harappans had horses (Marshall 1931:653-54, Joshi 1972:135)" are of little significance, for, regarding the few bones of horses that were found at Mohenjo-daro, Marshall himself has said that these "were found on the surface (and) it is more than probable that they belonged to a later, may be quite modern period".²¹

Likewise B. K. Thapar too²² in the course of delineating the Aryan culture makes mention of the horse being known to the Indus Civilization "as attested by the recent evidence from Kalibangan & Surkotada", but does not give further details nor quote sources.

Then again, one should take note of the distinction between the onager or the wild horse and the domesticated variety or the one used for rapid transport. For instance, it is now accepted that the well-known statuette from Mohenjo-daro was that of an onager and not a horse. To cite other instances, asses & onagers were used in ancient Crete to pull 4-wheeled vehicles, and we do find representations of the onager as early as in a Mesopotamian find at Ur dating from c. 2700 B.C., or as late as an onager hunting scene from the palace of Assurbanipal, 7th century B.C.²³ The Alichins too cannot accept the presence of the horse in the Indus Valley, but proceed to state that "It is not possible to rule out Zenner's cautious appraisal of the supposed equine teeth from Rana Ghundai as those of hemiones."²⁴

To sum up one can say that the horse was most probably alien to the Indus Civilization, but we must await further evidence from future excavations to write the last word in the matter.

KALIBANGAN & ARYAN FEATURES

We just had occasion to refer to this unique Harappan site above, where we took note of the absence of iconic features so abundant at other sites. If there is any single feature in the entire Indus culture strongly indicative or at least suggestive of Aryan presence, it is fire-worship (not sporadic or superfluous, but as a distinct cult or institution) as evidenced in those characteristic fire altars found at Kalibangan.

Seven fire-altars in a row were found on the citadel at Kalibangan, associated with a sacrificial pit containing animal bones. A small structure outside the settlement housed five such altars. Each house also seems to have had such an altar. No such structures or fire altars were reported from any other Indus site except perhaps Lothal. But the Lothal fire altars differed from those of Kalibangan. The latter stood on tower platforms, approachable only through a staircase.²⁵

The burial type too at Kalibangan differed from others. (The predominant burial rite elsewhere was extended inhumation. Pottery & ornaments accompanied skeletal remains). Here were "smaller circular pits containing large urns accompanied by other pottery, but, perplexingly no skeletal remains, at any rate in the examples so far excavated; and more orthodox burial pits with what are evidently collected bones."²⁶

Dr. Fateh Singh in a brief (36 pp.) monograph²⁷ deals with the fire altars of Kalibangan in some detail, stating their number & type, and compares them with the Vedic fire altars. While others, like Romila Thapar have denied any such resemblance.

THE INDUS SCRIPT

We now direct our attention to this fascinating though most controversial aspect of the Indus Civilization for clues regarding Aryan presence (if an Aryan or proto-Aryan character of the script can be established). Several claims to decipherment have been made to date, but none that can be accepted as final or conclusive. At the outset it must be realised that the task of decipherment becomes extremely difficult due to the very short length of the seal texts. The average length of the seal-inscriptions as given by Mahadevan,²⁸ is 5 signs or characters (the longest being 17).

As summarised by Sankalia,²⁹ the Indus script has been thought to be related to the Brahmi or to the Easter Islands or to the Hittite, Etruscan or supposed to be proto-Dravidian by Langdon, Waddell & Pran Nath & Hevesy, Hrozney, Piccoli, & Heras respectively. According to Chanda (ABIA, Kern Inst., Leiden, IV, 329) the Indus culture was a mixture of Aryan & non-Aryan.

By far, proto-Dravidian seems to have been the language most associated with the script, being favoured particularly by archaeologists and linguists from USSR and Finland, who have sought the help of computers and determined the frequencies with which different symbols occurred. Results yielded by computers cannot however be wholly reliable as they will be characterised by the bias controlling the matter fed into them. Fr. Heras too adopted the system of arbitrary assignment of meanings to symbols. The results were dubious.³⁰

Some of the more recent attempts at decipherment that call for serious consideration are those of Kinnier Wilson (as Indo-Sumerian, 1974), Bankabehari Chakravarti and R.M. Nath. Recent times have witnessed a spurt on the Aryan side. To name some who ascribe Aryan origin or a few who read names of Aryan rulers in the seals, these are S. M. Punekar, Sankar Hajra, Sudhansu Kumar Ray, M. V. Krishna Rao, the inveterate S. R. Rao, and even a western scholar John Mitchiner.

Very recently the script has been read as proto-Elamo-Dravidian by more than one scholar. The researches of Mc-Alpin and Clyde Ahmad Winters in this direction are noteworthy.

To sum up, as we are dealing here with the Aryan problem, placing the researches and claims of non-Aryan against the Aryan, the balance would in great probability tilt on the side of Non-Aryan origin. But the problem of decipherment remains open, and hence the inadvisability of discarding one area-claim in favour of the other.

In consonance with such attitude it would only be fair to extend more than a passing attention to the researches of S.R. Rao, who, among others, has contributed voluminously to the Aryan hypothesis. At this point one could not do better than quote the views of W. H. Maurer, the reviewer of his book on the Indus script,³¹ who, though at times severely criticising some of Rao's methods as when the reviewer writes, "Some words which are not readily recognizable as Indo-Aryan are interpreted as such by a fancied likeness to late Vedic words of dubious currency", yet accords a

certain measure of credence to Rao's theory of the origin of Ashokan Brahmi from the Late Indus script, as against the north Semitic origin much favoured by western scholars. In this context decipherers may well keep in mind the following guidelines given by Fairervis,³² who states that a decipherment must be tested in an overall context of archaeology, history & linguistics. "A reconstruction may be viable linguistically and may be nonsense anthropologically." (According to Fairervis the language of the Harappans was an early Dravidian tongue, not necessarily that of the proto-Dravidian reconstructs of modern Dravidianists.)

PERIODS OF MOVEMENTS OF THE ARYANS

Having come nearly to the end of our survey, it would be pertinent to note that space does not permit a more thorough treatment of the problem, which should include an assessment of the O.C.P. and Copper Hoard Culture, aspects of Dravidization in north India and the related Brahui hypothesis. Outside India on the frontiers is that problematic Gandhara Grave Culture with its possible Aryan links, which too has been left out for reasons of space.

To arrive at a date bracket for the entry of Aryans into India, one has also to take account of the movements of Indo-Iranians and Indo-Aryans in Iran, Afghanistan & Turkmenia, the last with special reference to the Namazga culture, which is believed to have links with Avestan or Zoroastrian traditions. In brief, that would constitute a complex study in cultural dynamics. Here we shall be content to delineate in broad outline such movements, analysing some of the most recent views of some outstanding scholars on the subject:

The Allchins³³ would have us believe that, between the two branches of the Indo-Aryans & the Iranians, the former were the first to leave the common Indo-Iranian home somewhere around the ancient Chorasmia and Bactria, and thence fan out across Iran and also Eastward into India proper. The Iranian speaking tribes, on the other hand, were still located in this original home during the first half of the second millennium B.C., and had not moved down into Iran proper until around the 14th century B.C., when their migration into Iran caused a second wave of Indo-Aryans (who had earlier moved into Iran & settled there) from Iran into India. Thus, say the Allchins, we would expect there to have been at least two main periods of Indo-Aryan migration into north-western India & Pakistan, the first or early period dating from around 2000 B.C., and the second some six centuries later.

Evidently the above model of Aryan migrations of the Allchins is based mainly on archaeological data and some primarily linguistic models, such as those of Burrow and Grierson, including the not so certain linguistic data provided by the 14th Cent. B.C. Mitanni documents from Asia Minor, interpreted as proto-Indo-Aryan by Burrow in his linguistic model, and also referred to and accepted by the Allchins. In the opinion of the present writer the Iranian portion of the movements just delineated, though conforming to archaeological data in its broadest outlines, is somewhat wanting in integration and chronological co-ordination. To illustrate the point, for instance the date-brackets for the South Turkmenian site Namazga (IV to VI) are unreliable and show considerable variations (not those arising from the C-14 margin of error).

There is also some uncertainty attendant on the diffusionary directions of the movements of Iranian tribes in the Indian borderlands, a lack of correlation of archaeological data, as also paucity of other categories of data.

F. R. Allchin in an earlier work³⁴ states that the first Aryan settlers, as they relate to the Rigveda, arrived in India around 1750-1600 B.C., and that this period "probably witnessed the composition of a considerable part of the Vedic hymns." The period, which may be termed 'Early Vedic', came to an end around 1500 B.C. While in the more recent work of the Allchins (Bridget & Raymond), they seem to be in favour of pushing back the lower limit of the Early Vedic period when they state (Allchins, *op.cit.*, p.299) that a reasonable estimate of the date of the compilation of the Rigveda is c.1500-1300 B.C., and the composition of many of the individual hymns may be expected to have extended over "several previous centuries." The other Vedas, generally classified as Late Vedic, belong to the subsequent seven centuries or so. Thus the second millennium may be referred to as 'protohistoric'.

However, when the Allchins take note of the fire-worship evidence from Kalibangan (*Ibid.*, p. 216) dating from the beginning of the Mature Harappan period, which antedates 2000 B.C., indicative of "an Indo-Aryan presence at so early a date", they are prompted to postulate a still earlier wave or movement of Aryans, whom they term 'Pre-Vedic Aryans', also labelled as 'Non-Sanskritic' or 'Dardic' by some (on linguistic basis). This Pre-Vedic-Aryans hypothesis, however, being mainly postulated on the basis of some linguistic models, notably that of Grierson, and supported by little or uncertain archaeological evidence, cannot command much credence. Historical data and the internal evidence from the Rigveda would favour a higher antiquity for the presence of the proto-Rigvedic Aryans in India, discounting the possibility of any earlier movement of so-called pre-Rigvedic Aryans.

Even as to the Vedic Aryans, the majority of scholars -- and such are those who in the main base their theories on archaeological and/or linguistic data -- do not give so early a date as 2000 B.C. for the entry of the Rigvedic Aryans into India. They place this event about 3 to 5 centuries later, c.1500 B.C. being a date generally accepted as the mean date for the composition of the Rigvedic hymns. Others who correlate the Aryan culture mainly with the P.G.W. give a still later date of c.1400-1200 B.C.

The Russian scholar Bongard-Levin in his recent work³⁵ discusses the Aryan problem in detail but doesn't give precise dates. Endorsing in the main B. B. Lal's views, he associates PGW with the Aryans, giving 12th-11th centuries B.C. as the conventional date for the PGW culture, though later, after the excavations led by G.P. Toshi, some centuries earlier, but in the majority of settlements 800-500 B.C. Bongard-Levin's earlier work (1980), the origin of the Aryans -- from Scythia to India, examines many theories regarding movements of Aryans, including even old ones like Tilak's Arctic-home theory, but leaves some questions unanswered.

A word about PGW, iron technology, and the Aryans: Amar Nath Khanna has rightly observed³⁶ that the PGW is associated with a narrower area both on the space & time scales. He takes note of those associations of the culture with traditional Mahabharata sites like Hastinapur, Tilpat & Ahichhatra, and of A. Ghosh's association of PGW with the 'later Aryans'.

K. K. Sinha³⁷ observes that "Small settlements are a feature of the P. G. Ware sites. Not a single image either in terracotta, metal or stone has been discovered from any of the sites." Also that animal bones from PGW levels of Hastinapur showed a preponderance of those of cattle. Both these features answer well to Aryan presence.

As to the antiquity of iron (associated with Mahabharata times, dating around the end of the Vedic period), it is a vexed problem. According to the Allchins the Iron age nowhere began before c.1300 B.C.³⁸ But M. K. Dhavlikar in a book-review³⁹ takes note of Jim Shaffer's discussion of the occurrence in Afghanistan of iron in levels datable to late 3rd-early 2nd millennium B.C., which is interesting in the light of finds of the metal in early horizons in India at Ahar. The reviewer then draws attention to "the recent TL dates for South Indian Megaliths in the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C."

POSSIBLE PRESENCE OF ARYANS IN NORTH-EAST IRAN IN EARLY PART OF THIRD MILLENNIUM B.C.

As against the above rather late picture of the Aryans in India, and even earlier in Iran as figuring only as late as 2000 B.C. or a few centuries earlier, around and a little prior to which period they are believed to have been still located in the northern borderlands of Iran (in South U.S.S.R.), we have an interesting evidence from some Sumerian fragments dating from a very early period about a possible Aryan presence in Khorasan in North-East Iran around c. 2700 B.C. This evidence, if true, would be quite tantalising, like the evidence from Kalibangan, in favouring a possible earlier date (even earlier than 2000 B.C., somewhere in the second half of the third millennium B.C.) for the entry of Aryans into India.

The evidence comes from a Sumerian epic 'Emmerkar & the Lord of Aratta', one of a series of epics dealt with by Adele Berlin in his recent writings.⁴⁰ A succinct account of the same is given by Gerd Gropp⁴¹ where he writes: "Xorasan in eastern Iran had in ancient times a much wider cultural autonomy than hitherto realised. Fragments of Sumerian epics record the journeys of Emmerkar and Lugalbanda of Uruk (in Mesopotamia) through the Iranian plateau to the town of Aratta, the residence of King Suxkeshdaana and a centre of trade for semiprecious stones, gold & copper. The journeys of the two Sumerian monarchs are also alluded to by Fairservis in a book-review,⁴² and by George Roux⁴³ Emmerkar the Lord of Uruk has difficulties in obtaining raw materials from "an Iranian state", and Aratta is separated from Uruk by "the seven mountains", i.e., the Iranian highlands.

The Sumerian king Lugal Banda is assigned a date of c.2700 B.C. in the chronological table of Roux (op.cit.), which would also be the date of his contemporary, our Lord of Aratta, whose name is spelt variously as 'Suxkeshdaana' or 'Ensukeshdanna' in the above sources.

Now, ever since the times of those Sumerologists Waddell and Langdon (over 50 years back), scholars have been grappling with the problems of decipherment & phonology in Sumerian. Roux (op.cit., pp.157, 160) has illustrated the play of variant readings of some Sumerian names. The name of our Lord of Aratta in Iran seems to have an Aryan ring, except for the initial En-. The components Sux (Sukh) or Suh, kesh, and daana, would be anything from Indo-Iranian or Indo-Aryan to Sanskrit, or even O.Ir. or Avestan for the last component. Phonological equations present some difficulties

in the case of X- (kh-/qh-) in Sux-, for though we have I.l.r. k (< IE. q) > O.l.r. X > Av. X, and Av. X = Skt. X or k, Sux- at least cannot be I.l.r. or O.l.r.

However, the mention of the place-name of Aratta in our Indian Sutras, in connection with a very early king Pururavas (the third in line from Yima, the king who heads the line of 95 kings down to the Mahabharata times, in the Puranic chronological tables of pargiter) lends support to the possible Indo-Iranian or Indo-Aryan origin of the name Suxkeshdaana. Here is what D.S. Trivedi writes regarding Aratta with reference to the early rulers of India⁴⁴ : "The Kalpasutra asserts that Pururavas had two sons Ayu & Amavasu. Ayu went eastward and founded Kuru-Panchala & Kashi-Videha nations, while Amavasu went westward and founded Gandhara, Sprsava and Aratta (Baudhayana Srutasutra, XVIII, 35-51)."

This brings us to the end of our inquiry or appraisal. No finality can be claimed in regard to the Aryan problem, since the problem is one of pre- and proto- history. Besides, research is ever coming up with fresh categories of data & results, and so the problem remains open. However, we make bold to summarise the results of our analysis in the form of the following conclusions:

(1) That the Aryan immigration into India in its initial phases can be dated to some period falling approximately in the last quarter of the third millennium B.C. To put it more plainly, the immigration can be said to have begun c.2200 to 2000 B.C. By the term 'Aryans' as stated here is meant the Rigvedic Aryans, or a better term, proto-Rigvedic Aryans (as explained in the present article).

The present writer does not find it necessary to subscribe to the hypothesis of the existence of any separate pre-Vedic group or movement of Aryans antedating the proto-Vedic one.

(2) Also, since the initial phase of the Aryan immigration is dated at 2200-2000 B.C., this phase coincides roughly with the Mature phase of the Harappan or Indus Valley Civilization.

(3) Whether the Indus Civilization was Aryan or non-Aryan remains an open question. It is definite however that the Indus Civilization was not ethnically homogeneous, and in all probability there was an Aryan strain in the Civilization, though the dominant strain might have been non-Aryan (proto-Dravidian). It is also more than probable that the Aryans (whose culture was more rural than urban) were engaged in conflicts or wars with the urban Harappans, and perhaps attempted invasions of Indus citadels, but, for that matter,

were not necessarily instrumental in bringing about the end or destruction of the Indus Civilization, which was due to other causes.

(4) That the Early Vedic period (the period in which the greater portion of the Rigvedic hymns was composed) began c. 2000 B.C. or perhaps a century or so earlier, while the Late Vedic period ended some time in the last quarter of the second millennium B.C., when the Rigveda received its final shape. The composition of the Rigvedic hymns could be roughly said to have covered a time-span of about a millennium.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. For a detailed viewpoint see Malik, S.C. (1973), "Archaeology as anthropology" (paper in *Studies in indology*, Ed. Shastri, Pal & Kumar, Institute of Indology, Delhi).
2. Bongard-Levin, G.M. (Delhi 1986), *A Complex Study of Ancient India - A multidisciplinary approach*, p. 4.
3. The date of the Mahabharata battle is again most controversial. A plethora of literature has been published on the subject, with the archaeologists & western historians favouring a late date of c. 900-800 B.C. My own researches (unpublished) give the date as c. 1300-1200 B.C.
4. See Agrawal, D.P. (1982), *The Archaeology of India*, p.182; and Agrawal, D.P. & Sheela Kusumgar, Delhi (1974), *Pre-historic chronology & radiocarbon dating in India*, p. 152.
5. Thapar, B. K. (Delhi 1982), His paper (No. 1) in *Harappan Civilization - A contemporary perspective*, Ed. G. L. Possehl, p. 4.
6. Kashyap, P.C. (Delhi 1984), *Surviving Harappan Civilization*, p. 52.
7. D. P. Agrawal & Sheela Kusumgar, *op.cit.*, p. 152.
8. Allchin, Bridget & Raymond (London 1982), *Cambridge World Archaeology : 'The Rise of Civilization in India & Pakistan'*, p. 249
9. Shastri, K. N. (Delhi 1957), *New Light on the Indus Civilization*, Vol. I, Religion.

10. Lal, B. B., "The Indo-Aryan hypothesis vis-a-vis Indian archaeology" (Paper read at the Seminar on Ethnologic problems of the early hist., held at Dushanbe, U.S.S.R., 1977), pp. 19, 20.
11. Agrawal D. P., *op.cit.*, p. 162.
12. Trivedi, H. V., "The original home of the Aryans' in *Studies in Indology* (See Ref. 1 above), p. 25.
- 12(a) Prof. Sadhu Ram "Indus Valley Civilization or Harappan Culture", *Studies in Indology* (See Ref.1 above) p. 16.
13. Schmidt, Hans-Peter (1980), "The (bird) Simurgh in Sasanian art & literature", *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Inst.*, No. 48 (Bombay), p. 169.
14. Agrawal, D. P., 1966 : C-14 dates, Banas culture, & the Aryans. (Reprint, *Curr. Sci.*, March 5, 1966, 35, No. 5, 114-117.) T.I.F.R., Bombay.
15. Also see Bongard-Levin, *op.cit.*, pp. 6-7.
16. Piggott, Stuart (1950), *Prehistoric India to 1000 B.C.*, p. 195.
17. Kashyap, P.C. : See Ref. 6; p. 54.
18. Bhattacharjee Arun (1979), *History of Ancient India* (Delhi 1979), p. 60.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
20. Agrawal, D. P. (London 1982) *The Archaeology of India* (Monograph 46, Scandinavian Inst. of Asian Studies), pp. 168, 171.
21. Lal, B. B. : Ref. 10 above, p. 29. q.v. for a detailed discussion.
22. Thapar, B. K., 1977: "The archaeological remains of the Aryans in N. W. India", (Paper read at Indo-Soviet Symposium on "Ethnic Problems of the Early History of the Peoples of Central Asia & India in the 2nd million B.C." (Dushanbe), p. 5.
23. Brodrick, Barrie & Jenkins (edited, 1972), *Animals in Archaeology*, pp. 50, 54, 99.

24. Allchins, B. & R., *op.cit.*, p. 191.
25. Agrawal D. P., *op.cit.*, (Ref. 20), pp. 156, 135
26. Allchins, B & R., *op.cit.*, p. 217
27. Dr. Fateh Singh (n.d.), *Indus Civilization in Rajasthan*, Jodhpur.
28. Mahadevan, Iravatham (Delhi 1977), *The Indus Script -- Texts, concordance & tables* (Memoir No. 77 of the Archaeological Survey of India), p. 9.
29. Sankalia, H. D. (Delhi 1977), *Aspects of Indian History & Archaeology*, pp. 41, 42.
30. Kashyap, P. C., *op.cit.* (Ref. 6), p. 53.
31. Maurer, W. H. (Book Review of S. R. Rao's 'Decipherment of the Indus script' (*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 105-2, 1985, p. 375).
32. Fairservis, W. A. (1981), "Harappan civilization according to its writing", *South Asian Archaeology* (1981) Ed. Allchin B., pp. 155-56.
33. Allchins, B. & R., *op.cit.*, pp. 300, 301.
34. Allchin, F. R. (1980), "Archaeological & language historical evidence for the movement of Indo-Aryan speaking peoples into India & Pakistan," (The final state of paper read at the 1977 Dushanbe Symposium, and appearing in the *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Inst. (JAOS)*, No.48, 1980, pp. 90 ff.)
35. Bongard-Levin, *op.cit.*, (See Ref. 2 above), p. 7.
36. Amarnath Khanna (Delhi 1981, *Archaeology of India - Retrospect & Prospect*, p. 50.
37. Sinha, K. K. (Abstract only) : Dating Rigveda the archaeological way; Banaras Hindu University.
38. Allchins, B. & R., *op.cit.*, p. 309.
39. Dhavlikar, M. K. (1984), Book Review of Kennedy & Posschl's work in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Inst.*, Vol. 65, p. 269.

40. Adele Berlin (1983), "Ethnopoetry & the Emmerkar epics," in JAOS, 103-1, pp. 17-24. Also Book Review of his another work in JAOS, 101-3, 1981.
41. Gerd Gropp, "South Asian Archaeology - 1981" (Ref. 32 above), pp. 128 ff.
42. Fairservis, W.A., Jr. Book Review of Possehl & Durham's Kulli, an exploration of, In Journal of Asian Studies, Vol. 46, No.1, February 1987.
43. Roux George, 1976 : Ancient Iraq (Penguin Pelican), p. 112.
44. Trivedi, D. S., "The original home of the Aryans," Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Inst., Vol. 20, (Pune, 1938).

A gift for parents whose children
think they are wonderful - but
never knew how to tell them so

**PARENTS' GIFT AND GROWTH FUND
FROM UNIT TRUST OF INDIA**

Under this scheme you, as an adult, can make a gift to your parent or any other adult. The investment under PGGF 87 Scheme grows at a rate of 12.5% per annum compounded every 6 months. That means an investment of Rs.1000/- will grow to Rs. 1624/- or Rs.1833/- in 4 or 5 years respectively (depending on your choice). The accumulated amount, thereafter, is reinvested under the Monthly Income Scheme which offers an assured monthly income at the rate of 12% per annum for the next 5 years. After which, the sum comes back with capital appreciation. Under PGGF 87 Scheme you can invest in a minimum of 10 units (Rs. 1000). There is no maximum limit. The usual tax benefits under 80 L of Income Tax Act 1961 can also be availed of under PGGF 87 Scheme.

**UNIT TRUST OF INDIA
[A Public Sector Financial Institution]**

Bombay * Calcutta * Madras * New Delhi * Ahmedabad *
Bhubaneshw * Bangalore * Guwahati * Jaipur * Kanpur *
Ludhiana * Patna * Vijayawada * Trichur * Hyderabad

**SIR WALTER ELLIOT :
AN APPRAISAL OF HIS WORK IN KARNATAKA*
(1822 - 1833)**

S. K. Havanur

TO begin with his life-sketch, Walter Elliot was born on 16th January 1803 in Edinburgh. Having opted for East India Company's service, he arrived at Madras in 1821. He got some training in the Fort St. George College and won a prize (of 1,000 pagodas!) for proficiency in languages. He joined the regular service next year and was posted at Dharwad. In those days Dharwad was under the Madras jurisdiction and it was transferred to Bombay around 1828. Elliot would have gone back to Madras but for the intervention of the then Governor of Bombay, who wanted to retain his services in Dharwad for some more time. So he continued to work there till November 1833 when he went on furlough.

In 1836 he returned to Madras and was appointed private secretary to the Governor. Later he held senior posts in revenue matters and, in addition, worked as 'Canerese Translator to Government'. His promotional assignment was the membership of the Council - the highest executive body in the province.¹ After his retirement in 1860, he settled in his native place-Wolfelee.

The subject of this paper is his work in North Karnataka during 1822-1833. Apart from his official assignment as an Assistant to the Chief Collector, St. John Thackeray (not Assistant Collector), his activities veered round:

- a) collecting inscriptions and deducing from them certain historical matters,
- b) imparting education in Kannada in preference to Marathi, and
- c) reminiscing through narration contemporary incidents and a few past ones, thereby depicting the life in North Karnataka, some two hundred years ago.

*Paper read at the 6th Karnataka History Congress, November, 1986.

THE KITTUR EPISODE

In his reminiscences, Elliot has recorded some of the incidents relating to the Kittur insurrection of 1824 and his imprisonment there. It appears he submitted a detailed report to the Government the very next year. The reminiscences, although written after sixty years, are based on this report. Some of the incidents narrated by him (minor ones at that) are either hitherto unknown or at variance with current notions. For instance, Elliot states that Shivalinga Sarja, the last Desai, disliked his step-mother, Chennamma Rani, and discreetly secluded her from the State administration. Elliot himself did not like her and has described her as a 'Woman of violent and intermeddling disposition'.

Another instance : Gurusiddappa, a confidant of Chennamma and a respected leader of Kittur, gentry was insulted by Thackarey when Gurusiddappa visited him in his office by not offering a seat and making him squat on the ground. This irked several 'Shetsanadis' (officers). Elliot however plays it down by saying that there was no chair in the tent.

One more instance : on the early morning of the fatal day of Thackarey's murder, he issued an order dismissing Gurusiddappa and appointing the younger Desaini's father who was specially summoned from Humanabad. But it was too late to implement.

Based on Elliot's memories, two more names need to be added to the Dramatis Personae of the Kittur episode. One is that of a Brahmin Dafedar Timmappa who opened the 'Diddi' door of the fort's main gate and had heated arguments with Capt. Black. Another person is Teli Basalingappa, a respectable 'Shetsanadi'. On this fatal day, he protected Elliot and Stevenson (another Asst. to the collector) by escorting them to his house, but for which they also would have been slain along with Thackarey and Black. (He was later aptly rewarded for this service). And on the next day, they were put under house arrest at the instance of Koonur Mallappa.

During the next few years, Elliot gathered 'Several incidents illustrative both of individual character and of the society' in some parts of North Karnataka. Here are a few:

SOME INCIDENTS & INDIVIDUALS

One is about 'Tallikhors'. We come across this unique tribe in medieval Kannada poetry. But details about their functioning

are not known. With several anecdotes narrated by Elliot we are now in a position to have a clear picture of their life-style. Talli is a practice of avenging oneself against an injustice. Before commencing his destructive activity, he would put up a written warning and burn (symbolically) a small quantity of grain or grass. Tallikhors are basically outlaws and so hide themselves in neighbouring forests and from thence attack their target. Elliot says that some zamindars and 'Kattimaniwallahs' (Lingayat semi-priests) discreetly support such people in their own interests. There was the practice of 'Eduuru Talli' (counter action) as well. But then, there were benevolent Tallikhors, for example one Māgi Basyā. To their credit, the British in the early phase of their rule made concerted efforts in uprooting this practice of Talli.

Among other characters depicted by Elliot there are ultra-faithful officials such as Gangappa Nāganāth of Navalgund, who dressed himself like his Desai and allowed the latter to escape from the wrath of the then Savanur Navab, and consequently was beheaded by the latter. Further we come across an honest trader by the name of Afzalpur Gangappa of Bagalkot. Because of several unpaid debts, he was officially declared insolvent. Obviously there was no need for him to repay old debts. But he secretly did so by curtailing his family subsistence allowance and by selling household jewellery. Elliot was all praise for him:

He (Afzalpur Gangappa) has always borne the character of a just man, prompt to fulfil his own obligations ... These circumstances occurred under my own observation and I was greatly struck by the probity and justice of the man.

Then there is the sketch of one Seth Chaturdas who lived in Dharwad during the last decades of the 18th Century. (Could this be the first known name of a Gujarati trader in North Karnataka?) When his business of money lending was at a low ebb, his house was looted. But a money bag belonging to a friend had remained intact. Had Chaturdas retained it to himself nobody would have doubted his bonafides. No! the Shedji promptly returned the same, which contained as much as Rs. 25,000. (The elderly people in Dharwad are still familiar with the name of Chaturdas).

Another interesting reference is to the constant feud between Hutgārs and Lingāyats of Gadag-Betageri, the main reason being the right of taking out processions in the lanes of their adversaries. The Fakīrasvāmi of Shirahatti played an important role in bringing them together.

During his further stay in Dharwad, we come across glimpses of Elliot as a sportsman and naturalist. These, however, are recorded by some one else, viz. Col. Walter Campbell. Dharwad in those days was surrounded by a thick forest giving shelter to birds and beasts (and also bandits).

Col. Campbell in his book *My Indian Journal* has given a few instances of tiger hunting by Elliot. Another trait of Elliot was his proficiency in woodcraft, and Campbell considers himself a pupil of Elliot in this craft. Elliot had a thorough knowledge of mammalia in North Karnataka, as can be seen from his publication on the subject. Campbell remarks that Elliot's home at Wolfelee with skins of beasts and other curios was almost like a museum of natural history.² Much of this material was from North Karnataka.

EDUCATION IN KANNADA

Marathi influence over North Karnataka was so pervading as to completely eclipse the use of Kannada in every sphere of activity. Elliot was the first British Officer to introduce Kannada in the educational field, superseding Marathi.

This is how it happened:

According to the statistics available for 1823, there were 146 Marathi primary schools and 112 Kannada ones in the so-called Southern Maratha country. All were private enterprises (known as *Gāvathi Shālā*). In 1826 the Government started Marathi schools, one each in Dharwar and Hubli. Why Marathi? The Government perhaps thought that, since Marathi was dominant with its administrative staff, communication would be smoother. But Elliot felt the other way. Since the mother-tongue of the masses was Kannada, their knowing the three 'R's in their own language would be more helpful in the administration.

He then addressed a letter to the Bombay Native Education Society, a quasi-government-body for promotion of native education, seeking permission to start a Kannada primary school. In their reply, dated 20th November 1830, the B.N.E.S. readily agreed and directed him to look out for a Kannada 'Master'. Elliot started the school in right earnest, taking for granted approval of the Government because of the recommendation of the B.N.E.S. But it was not forthcoming and so he was compelled to pay from his own pocket the Master's salary. How long? For nearly three years. Ultimately

when it was time for him to go on furlough, he addressed a frankly-worded letter to the Government on 12th October 1833, observing:

"The Marathi School though well attended provides instruction mainly to Brahmins while the great mass of the people, using the Canerese exclusively, derive no benefit from it whatever. This consideration, together with the fact of the (B.N.E.) Society having printed already a large impression of elementary treatises on Arithmetic and Aesop's Fables in the Canerese tongue for the use of the village schools,³ has induced me to solicit the favourable consideration".

As regard the Marathi School in Hubli, Elliot had some harsh realities to report:

"The Society in consequence of my representation of the bad state of the Maharattee school at Hoobly have suggested the propriety of converting it into a Canerese School. The people of Hoobly, being for the most part Canerese, have never shown the inclination to attend it...."

In the meanwhile Elliot had invited the judicial Commissioner Henderson to the Dharwar Kannada School and had the prizes given away by him to the successful students. The idea was to gain some credence to the School.

In November 1833 Elliot left Dharwad for good, leaving the school to the care of the Collector himself. Since the Government sanction was still eluding, the Collector pursued the matter and finally had the sanction. Once aware of the situation, the Government rose equal to the occasion. It started a Kannada School in Hubli as well. Further, the Secretary to the Governor issued on 27th November 1834 a circular to all the collectorates, asking them "to state whether in your opinion it would be most advantageous to establish schools generally for teaching the Maharattee language or the Canerese, and which of these languages you conceive would be most useful as connected with public and private business."

The opinions were overwhelmingly in favour of Kannada. So, another circular was issued asking the Collectors as to how many Kannada Schools had been started in their jurisdiction. Soon after i.e. in 1836, Kannada primary schools began to be established in Taluka places such as Haveri, Ranibennur, Gadag, etc. Needless to say, the credit for setting the ball rolling goes to Elliot.

ELLIOT AS EPIGRAPHIST

Passing on to the Epigraphic work of Elliot, while he was on furlough, he presented his paper entitled 'The Hindu Inscriptions' before the Royal Asiatic Society (JRAS) in 1835, the result of his labours in this field. True, this paper does not stand comparison with Fleet's *Dynasties*. But it is to be remembered that Elliot's endeavours were the basis of Fleet's success as a first-rate epigraphist, and Fleet has acknowledged his debt in the *Dynasties*. Even earlier, when Fleet started publishing 'Sanskrit and Old Canerese Inscriptions' in the *Indian Antiquary* (IA), Vols. 2-7, nearly half of them (especially those published in Vols. 6 & 7) he had taken from Elliot's collection.

In the matter of collecting or taking estampages of inscriptions, Elliot was the first to do so in North Karnataka (Col. Mackenzie and Francis Buchanan did this job to an extent, but not in North Karnataka). At the time he took up this work, he had no knowledge of their historical value nor did he know even the ABC of the ancient Kannada script.

Finding the stone-slabs in almost every village he was curious; but no more. The credit for initiating him goes to one Rangarao of Mundargi - son of Mandagai Bhimarao, a well-known warrior who was beheaded by order of Wellesley in 1800. After his father's tragic death, Rangarao, bereft of his powers, joined the office of Elliot as a Munshi. But because of his noble bearing, Elliot treated him as an intimate companion in all his endeavours, be it hunting or Indology.⁴ Now Rangarao brought from his village a Gumasta, who was reputed to be a learned man. The latter assisted Elliot.

In Madras, Rangarao's counterpart was Adakki Subbarao (the same person who was associated with the early Kannada publications printed at Madras). To Elliot, he was an invaluable assistant in his antiquarian pursuits.

Thus Elliot continued his work of collecting inscriptions and other documents. By now he had two sets of the material, chronologically arranged : One, collected during 1826-1833 and belonging to "Dekkan" or Karnataka Desham; and the other, collected during 1848-1854 and dealing with Northern Sircars or Telugu Region. He arranged this material accordingly but took care to single out the important ones, which resulted in two folio volumes for each set. Further, he made three copies of these folio volumes and distributed them among some institutional libraries. But Elliot's collections comprising these volumes and also miscellaneous and minor writings are all scattered. The ones in the Indian Office Library, the OMPB

Division of the British Library, and the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, are readily available. But the volumes said to have been made over to the Libraries of the R.A.S. London and the Edinburgh University are not traceable including the copy used by Fleet and loaned out to him by the Edinburgh University Library. It is not known whether it was returned to that Library or passed on to the British (Museum) Library after Fleet's death. (For details of some of the available ones, see Appendix I).

HINDU INSCRIPTIONS

Coming to the research paper 'Hindu Inscriptions', he used the material from the Dekhan folio containing 595 inscriptions. It is interesting to note how he went about in this altogether new venture. When the transcriptions ran into a few hundreds, he arranged them according to the Hindu Calendar. (Remember, there was no ready reckoner or Almanac to Convert Shaka Varsha into Christian year). Here again the variations in script helped him to an extent. And from the names of kings and queens, he deciphered the existence of some dynasties and their genealogy.

Among these, the Kalyani Chalukyas, predominate. He has also traced their boundary from Godavari in the north to Keladi in the South. Further he says : "Distinct evidence exists of their having possessed nearly the whole of Maharashtra. The Mahamandaleshwara or hereditary Chief of Kolhapur was one of their Chief feudatories."

Among other dynasties, he has touched upon Kadambas, Kalachuris, Shilahars, the Rattas of Soundatti, all of whom he rightly considers as minor dynasties and names them as such. When describing the feud between Basava and Bijjala he had recourse to five different versions of Basavapurāṇa, two each in Kannada and Sanskrit and one in Telugu. (It would be worthwhile to trace the Sanskrit ones). As for Yadavas, he says there were two separate entities, one of Hoysala and the other of Devagiri.

But he has not blindly accepted whatever is stated in inscriptions. In one particular context he remarks: "This account is too vague to be deserving of much credit". Also, he has offered intelligent interpretations to some of his hypotheses. For instance, in the matter of the origin of the Chalukyas, he refutes Todd who held that the names Chalukya and 'Solunke' are synonymous. Elliot's counter argument was that nowhere in the Chalukyan inscriptions in Gujarat is this mentioned and that Solunkes belong to solar race whereas Chalukyans eulogise their lunar race.

India Past and Present

In this paper, Elliot has also tried to give some idea of the religious and social conditions of the times and the administrative aspects as well, which were of direct interest to him.⁵

Quite obviously there are omissions and inaccuracies. But then it was solely due to paucity of material and not to error of judgement. The paper is extremely valuable in that it is the first attempt, successfully at that, in deducing historical Segments from Karnataka inscriptions and that it paved the way for subsequent historians in this regard.⁶

A by-product of his study of inscriptions was that of tracing the evolution of the Kannada script. He prepared a chart and got it printed lithographically in the Government press at Byculla (Bombay) in 1835. The same material was passed on to Harkness for inclusion in his "Ancient and Modern Alphabets of popular Hindu Languages of the Southern peninsula of India." (1837).

OTHER WRITINGS

Two other writings published in the IA, Vol. 5 (1876) are relevant to the present paper. One is on antiquities at Hanagal. Elliot has therein given a sketch of the old and new forts with details of the surrounding terrain. When he noticed a conical mound, locally known as 'Kunti dibba', he was hoping to trace down below something unique as to its ancestry. So he ordered it to be dug up, but to no avail. Incidentally, this is the earliest known excavation work in Karnataka, though on a miniscale.

The other article is on the Noubat. Actually it dwells on the real meaning and significance of the honorarific title 'Pancha-mahā-śabda' which occurs in several inscriptions in Karnataka. There was an ancient custom of playing five musical instruments in welcoming or heralding royal dignitaries, or playing only one instrument like the Noubat, but five times. Elliot is of the opinion that the words 'Samadhigata Pancha-mahā-śabda' and 'Mir Noubat' are synonymous.⁷

Apparently Elliot did not contribute much in writing (Vide Appendix II for some of his writings dealing with Karnataka). All the same his scholarship was recognised. The Royal Asiatic Society conferred on him the Fellowship in 1877. And the Edinburgh University honoured him with LL.D. the next year.

His next major work is on numismatics, which is considered a scholarly treatise on the subject. Although coins referred to therein mainly belong to Telugu Desham and Tamil Nadu, he had collected coins from Karnataka as well, as can be seen from the following extract from his article on Hanagal, referred to earlier:

"It [i.e. Banavasi] contains some fine temples and other remains, which I had not time to examine on a very hasty visit, during which, however, I was fortunate enough to pick up some fine old coins".

This work on numismatics was published a year before his death. By then he was almost blind and someone would read for him and write also. It is, therefore, a matter of wonder as to how he could complete this work. In the preface to the book he says that he corrected the proofs by the ear! The book, however, needs to be looked into critically from the point of view of Karnataka history. There are inaccuracies. For instance he refers to Pallavas of 'Badami' (in addition to their belonging to Kanchi). Further he calls the Mysore Wodeyars belonging to Kuntala which looks odd. This was mainly because of the failure of his eyesight and the consequent denial of library resources. Also, the book was written at a time when he was out of touch with the subsequent researches in the field of South Indian history during the previous decades (say from 1860-1885).

In any case, it is remarkable that his intellectual vigour remained undiminished literally to the last hour of his life. (A. Arbuthnot, JRAS, 1887, p. 524). Just then he happened to receive a communication from India that G. U. Pope had translated Kural, and he dictated a letter congratulating him on his success. The same evening, i.e. on 1st March, 1887, Elliot breathed his last.

It is said that Elliot possessed a singularly calm and equable temper. He moved freely among Indians with some of whom he was on the best of terms, recognising the many good qualities they possessed and ever ready to promote measures for their benefit'. (JRAS, 1887, p. 523).

His cordial relations with his assistants and his narrative of the incidents that befall him and the anecdotes that he heard are an eloquent testimony to his love for Karnataka and its people, clinching love which was acknowledged by no less a person than S. Krishnamacharya, the famous author of the earliest grammar of modern Kannada (published in 1837, in his letter of 16th May, 1830 in which he wrote:

"As your Honour's kind and liberal consideration and treatment of the natives is a theme of universal gratification amongst us..., as you are renowned to be the friend of learned men, I have felt an ardent desire to pay my respects to you in person. It may perhaps be proper here to explain that I do not propose to trouble your honour with any request connected with advancement in the public employ. My sole object is to enjoy the acquaintance of your honour as a learned Oriental Scholar, as a gentleman of distinguished politeness and liberality and greatness of heart your etc."

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. His contribution to the British administration was mainly in the areas of revenue and education. It is said that he was partly responsible for the famous Education Despatch of 1854. And because of his deep conviction in the education of natives, he got translated into Kannada Aesop's fables for the use of schools. (2nd ed. - 1840) Another publication worth mentioning is his revision of 'A Selection of Stories and Revenue papers in Kannada Language' by Adakki Subbarao (2nd, ed. - 1864).
2. In this book Campbell has appended several footnotes by "W.E." e.g. on panthers (p. 185), pigmy musk, Indian boa (p. 118), poisonous snakes (p. 147) etc. Because of his studies and observations in natural sciences, Elliot maintained contact with learned societies in the field and contributed articles to their journals. It is said that Elliot helped Charles Darwin in his exposition of the Theory of Evolution.
3. It is not improbable that Elliot had a hand in the preparation of these Kannada text books, as there was no one in Bombay to take care of their printing, etc.
4. Elliot opines that : he had never seen a more promising youth-clever, well-disposed and with the most kindly disposition. He was older by 3-4 years, but died young. Rangarao, although son of a great warrior, turned out to be a white collared worker. What an irony! But his son, another Bhimarao, was somewhat like his grandfather. After the death of Rangarao, he came to meet Elliot at Madras in 1843-44 and stayed with him for nearly a year! Elliot says: "I tried without success to get him employed in Maisur or in some non-regulation district."

The stringency of our rules affords small opening for native gentlemen." Bhimarao returned to Mundargi disappointed. Afterwards, when the people of Dekhan were disarmed, the measure was carried out with some harshness. He was vexed and chafed and when the Mutiny broke out.... he fell in the assault, (IA 6. p.228)

5. "I then perceived that they contained notices of ancient manners and customs particularly regarding rights of property and tenures of land of a very interesting nature". (Hindu Inscriptions", p. 194).
6. The first ever history of Karnataka was no doubt by Mark Wilkes in (1810s.). However, it is not based so much on inscriptions. Also, the history of North Karnataka is scarcely covered by Wilkes.
7. At the end of this stimulating article, he recalls an incident : 'When a prisoner in Kittur during 1824, my Companion and myself were confined in a house close to the 'Noubat Khana', which resounded with the clang of the instruments....' (IA 5, p. 252 f.n.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A. Arbuthnot : Obituary Notice on, JRAS, London, Vol.19 (1887), pp. 519-524
 Col. Walter Campbell : My Indian Journal, Edinburgh, 1864
 J. F. Fleet : Pali, Sanskrit and Old Canerese Inscriptions, London, 1878
 Shrinivas Havanur : Hosagannadada Arunodaya, Mysore, 1974 (In Kannada)
 R. Sewell : Miscellaneous Notices of Sir Walter Elliot (Pub?)

Appendix I

WALTER ELLIOT'S COLLECTIONS

1. Elliot Manuscripts Estampages. (Datelined 22nd April, 1890). Passed on to the India Office Library by the Secretary of State for India in Council, 1905. (On the spine : Copies of Indian Grants : Sir Walter Elliot's Collection). In I.O.L. London.
2. Impressions of Copper Plate Inscriptions collected by the late Sir Walter Elliot in Southern India. Presented to the British Museum, (now - British Library's OMPB Divn.), by James Burgess in 1912 (on the spine : Elliot : Sanskrit, Tamil & Kannada inscriptions of the 52 copper plates). (Only two

the latter, he firmly believed that social reform to be successful should be based on religious reform. He held with Ranade that the essence of the Indian reform movement was to "Humanise, equalise and spiritualise."¹

Of particular importance in the evolution of Bhandarkar's religious and social ideas was the part he played in an organisation called the Paramahansa Sabha, founded in Bombay by a small band of English-educated men under the leadership of Dadoba Pandurang in the late 1840's with the object of demolishing caste and its attendant evils. In 1853, the year he came to Bombay to study in the Elphinstone College at the age of seventeen, Bhandarkar became a member of the Sabha, undergoing the necessary initiation ceremony. By the abolition of the distinctions of caste, creed and custom, the Sabha aimed at uniting all in one fraternity and in the worship of one God. It made social and national reformation its objective and steered clear of religious reform. Despite its lofty ideals, however, Paramahansa Sabha was a dismal failure.² In the collapse of the Sabha, Bhandarkar and a few other members learned the lesson of their life that, in Bhandarkar's words, "Social Reform could not have a stable and healthy footing unless based on Religious Reform". They, therefore, organised in 1867 an open theistic body on the model of the Brahmo Samaj of Calcutta, and named it the Prarthana Samaj.³

Bhandarkar and Ranade formulated the creed of the Prarthana Samaj. Its tenets differed from the popular Hinduism of the day in rejecting image worship and advocating spiritual worship of one God without form. It opposed the unmeaning religious rights and propitiation by visible sacrifice which had become the essential characteristic of popular Hinduism. It did not acknowledge any book as the infallible word of God, but accepted those ideas in the scriptures which stood the test of reason. It forswore belief in incarnation, mediator or redeemer and rejected miracles altogether. Its guiding principle, according to Bhandarkar, was "the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man". This principle, he said, implied "an obliteration of caste distinctions and mores"; it also meant "the levelling down of all social distinctions".⁴

In due course of time, the Prarthana Samaj became a premier centre of reform activity in Western India.⁵

The orthodox Hindus reacted violently against the reformers, alleging that the whole religious and social programme of the Prarthana Samaj was subversive of the traditional order. They dubbed the Samajists as "imposters, cheats and converts" and charged that they "were deceiving Hindus and, therefore, should be ostracised". In Vishnushastri Chiplunkar, Hindu orthodoxy found its chief spokesman. He accused the Prarthana Samaj of slavishly imitating Christianity and destroying the Hindu religious tradition. Through the columns of the *Nibandhamala* and the *Kesari*, Vishnushastri launched a vitriolic attack on the social reformers in general and the Prarthana Samaj in particular. He did not even spare Swami Dayanand Saraswati, the venerated founder of the Arya Samaj. He accused the Prarthana Samajists of "mischievously" using the Swami for strengthening their own organisation. He said that the Swami never realised that he was being sacrificed at the altar of the Prarthana Samaj which had nothing to do with the Vedic Dharma.⁶

Bhandarkar met this violent outburst with his article in the *Subodha Patrika* entitled "Wild Pranks of Kesari", refuting the wild allegations of Vishnushastri and reiterating the religious and social ideals of the Prarthana Samaj.⁷ Explaining "The Position of the Prarthana Samaj in the Religious World", he made it clear that while the Samaj believed in the fundamental unity and equality of spiritual traditions of mankind, and accepted universal values contained in the religions of the world, its doctrines are chiefly derived from the indigenous sources, namely the Upanishads, the Bhagwadgita, Buddhism and the teachings of medieval saints like Tukaram.⁸ Ranade was even more specific in emphasising the indigeneness of the Prarthana Samaj movement which, he said, was "only a faint reflection and an humble off-shoot" of the ancient Bhagwat Dharma which he described as "Protestant Hinduism".⁹ Under the leadership of Bhandarkar and Ranade, the Prarthana Samaj, unlike the Brahmo Samaj, was never to become a sect outside the Hindu fold. For they believed that while social reform cannot but come through religious reform, religious reform must come from the country's own essential past.

The Christian Missionary's argument that Christianity alone could be the saviour of India, though accepted by Ram-nohan Roy, was totally repugnant to Bhandarkar's ideal of national reform.¹⁰ In a private letter to Ranade, he strongly disapproved of Keshav Chandra Sen, the leader of the Brahmo Samaj of India, leaning heavily on Christianity.¹¹ While he appreciated Pandita Ramabai's efforts to ameliorate the condition of Indian women, he resented her making the Sharda Sadan a covert instrument for conversion of Hindu girls. He, therefore, severed his connection with that institution. He was thus not against Hinduism, but against those irrational and evil customs practised in the name of Hindu religion.

From pulpit, platform and the press he raised his voice against obscurantism and advocated reform in all walks of life. He constantly endeavoured to explain the "national significance of social reform". The object of social reform, he said, is "to eradicate such evil customs as have undermined the energies of the Indian people and prevent the free expansion of their powers and capacities".¹² He despaired of seeing India becoming a united nation so long as divisions of caste and other social evils prevailed. Denial of education to women and not giving them their rightful place in the society, he said, had resulted in the waste of half of the moral and intellectual resources in the country; early marriages cannot but lead to the degeneration of the Hindu race; enforced girl widowhood condemns life to misery and often immorality; the ban on foreign travel cannot but thwart the enterprising spirit of the people.¹³ The purpose of social reform, he said, is to "render the nation vigorous and free from social obstructions and restrictions".¹⁴ He stressed the need for achieving "high standard of social efficiency"¹⁵ for the sake of national unity and progress. He was unequivocal in his assertion that social reform was a condition precedent to securing political reform: "Our social institutions must improve and become rational and just. There can be no advancement politically, I firmly assert, without social and moral advancement".¹⁶

Lokmanya Tilak, who claimed primacy of political reform over social reform, could not appreciate Bhandarkar's stand. He commended Vishnushastri Chiplunkar for attacking what he called "the newfangled, half-baked reformers" and

said that "he (Vishnushastri) knew that every society requires certain bonds and ties, and these could be forged or kept intact by being proud of ancient institutions. In the absence of this consciousness all efforts at reform could be futile.... It was natural that these people who talked of shattering a traditional, social and religious system within no time should deserve the ridicule of all".¹⁷

Bhandarkar never had any basic quarrel with Tilak's proposition. But he was totally against "bonds and ties" turning into chains and fetters thwarting the healthy development of society and keeping it in a state of perpetual bondage, which had unfortunately been the case with India. In his "Social History of India", he examined the causes which set India on her downward course centuries ago landing her into the present state of social degeneration.¹⁸ While he recognised the relativity of the significance of human institutions to the historical situation, he, like Ranade and Agarkar, stressed the need for constantly re-examining the bases of the institutions to ascertain whether they served the ends of "truth, justice and humanity". If they failed to fulfil that function, then, they must be replaced by newer ones.

For achieving social good, he pleaded for the removal of those causes and conditions which led to India's social slavery. But unlike his rationalist contemporaries, such as Jyotirao Phule and G.G. Agarkar, he was not a social revolutionary. "I am not", he once told his audience, "an advocate of headlong action. The motive forces of reform should be powerful in our hearts, but they must be tempered in a manner not to lead us to cut ourselves from a vital connection with the past. We should not adopt the procedure of the French revolution....."¹⁹ The movement for reform, he said, should be kept "under the guidance and control of reason" and conducted in "a spirit of fair criticism prompted solely by the love of our country....."²⁰

A great believer in the theory of evolution of human progress in the material as well as the spiritual world, Bhandarkar held that tradition and modernity were not wholly incompatible.

is too well-known to be repeated here. It should, however, be noted that it was only under the pressure from the social reformers that the Government had introduced the Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council, seeking to change the marriage age by a simple revision of the Indian Penal Code making twelve, not ten, the minimum age for consummation. The orthodox party, led by Tilak, declared that the proposed legislation was against the *Dharmashastras*, and raised the usual cry, "Hinduism-in-danger". Tilak sought to politicise the whole issue by injecting religious and nationalist sentiment into it. He had long been arguing that the foreign Government had no right to interfere in the intimate personal and religious matters of the people. In the process, secular approaches to the problem advocated by men like Malbari and Gidumal were relegated to the background and the whole controversy came to be centred around the religious injunctions regarding the pre-puberty marriage of Hindu girls.²⁸

To meet the orthodox challenge to the bill on religious grounds, Bhandarkar produced a pamphlet, *A Note on the Age of Marriage and Its Consummation According to Hindu Religious Law*, citing copious evidence from the ancient authorities in support of the proposed reform. The main thrust of his argument was that it is the custom and not religion that demands pre-puberty marriages. He interpreted the texts to show that "marriages after puberty are allowable and not opposed to Hindu religious law".²⁹ According to him, a close examination of the precepts of Brahaspati, Gautama, Manu and Parasara leads one to conclude that "Hindu religious law allows the consummation of marriage being deferred for three years after a girl attains puberty". Further, he pointed out that "the old Hindu medical authors", on the grounds of health, were decidedly against a girl bearing a child before she attained the age of sixteen.³⁰

Tilak would not agree. He took a firm stand that the Hindu *Shastras* enjoin the *Garbhadhan* on the occasion of the first menstruation after having performed the *homa* sacrifice. This, he claimed, has been the practice for "at least 2500 years since the ancient era of the *Sutras*".³¹ He accused Bhandarkar, Telang and others of misinterpreting ancient authorities on the Hindu marriage law. Pandit Tarkachudamani,

a Bengali Sanskrit Scholar, reiterated Tilak's interpretation of the rites of *Garbadhana*, and Sir Romesh Chandra Mitter represented the cause of the anti-reformers in the Legislative Council.

This provoked Bhandarkar to retort that "men like Sir Romesh, Mr. Tarkachudamani, Mr. Tilak and others, some of whom have been setting grammar, context, propriety, and all the rules of scholarship aside in order to make out that the Hindu *Shastras* do command the performance of the *Garbhadhan* on the occasion of the first (menstruation) course and to frighten the Government".³² While dismissing Tilak's arguments as unscientific, he said that Tilak "belongs to the school of those who find the steam engine and the electric telegraph in the *Vedas*". Finally, giving vent to his unpleasant experience with Tilak he painfully wrote: "One more point and I have done. I have been carrying literary controversy since 1864; but never did I hitherto meet an opponent who treated me with such studied discourtesy as Mr. Tilak has been doing. My task has become disagreeable and even painful and I should have much preferred to remain silent now, were it not for the fact that silence was likely to be misconstrued".³³

At this point, it should be made clear that Bhandarkar himself neither advocated, nor approved of, the idea that the reformers should try and convince the orthodox leaders that the reforms which they sought to introduce were sanctioned by the *Shastras*. "Such a thing", he said, "is an impossibility". For

Our old books do not constitute the real authority in religious matters that we obey. Custom has been and is our authority, - custom is our religion. Texts creep into our religious books, sanctioning current customs and even when they do not do so, our Pandits, who in later days have developed a great deal of logical acumen, prove, by means of their subtle arguments, customary practice to be the only one sanctioned by our religious books. The later development of the Hindu religious law has proceeded just on these lines.....³⁴

For the same reason he was skeptical of the suggestion that it would be easier to effect the desired reform through the agency of *Gurus*, that is "by winning over the spiritual heads of different communities and introducing reforms with their help". In his view the only "great *Shastra* or spiritual adviser" whom the Indian people obey is "custom, and if the *Guru* or the *Shastra* goes against this, they will be disobeyed and set aside". In the circumstances, what seemed to him "the feasible plan" for the reformers to follow was to simply trust in their "own awakened moral consciousness" and "to silently but sincerely introduce the reforms they (we) advocate, so that in the course of time, they themselves become the prevailing customs".³⁵

If Bhandarkar interpreted old texts in support of social reform, he did not do so as a matter of strategy or expediency. He was simply stating the historical truth as he understood it as a result of his long and deep study of ancient Sanskrit and Pali texts. In matters of truth and justice he recognised no compromise. He fully identified himself with all the nineteenth century reform activities, such as abolition of sati and child marriage, encouragement to widow-remarriage, promotion of female education, removal of caste distinctions and elevation of the depressed classes. He wanted young men to travel abroad in order to broaden their outlook. He exhorted Muslims to take to new education and also pleaded for Hindu-Muslim unity.

As a reformer he was made of sterner stuff. He was one of the few reformers whose practice did not fall short of their precepts. He wanted thought to be followed by action, and was, therefore, somewhat pessimistic about the efficacy of the Ranade-Telang "School" of reform which advocated "progress on the lines of least resistance". He contrived the marriage of his widowed daughter, Shantabai, with Gopalrao Panandikar, conduct for which he was prepared to face the threat of excommunication held out by his own Gaud Sarawat Brahmin community. In 1893 he became the President of the Widow Remarriage Association revived by Dhondo Keshav Karve. He promoted interdining, taking his meals irrespective of caste with any one. He pressed for the removal of social distinctions, agreeing with Jyotiba Phule that "if we ask England to remove our disabilities, we must as a necessary

preliminary show that we are worthy of the favour by removing the disabilities of the oppressed classes of our society".³⁶

There is no truth in the allegation that Bhandarkar was seeking to reshape Indian society on Western lines. While he showed a genuine admiration for certain progressive aspects of Western civilization, he was not unmindful of its defects. Western progress, he thought, was essentially one-sided and its ideals were materialistic.³⁷ He advocated modernization but he firmly held that the process of modernization must be informed by certain basic values and attitudes. It should represent a culture whose quality is rationalism, liberal spirit in the broadest sense, secular ethics and social justice. It is with this spirit of modernity rather than the process of modernization that the work of Bhandarkar should be associated.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. M.G. Ranade's speech reported in *Dnanodaya*, February 1, 1894.
2. For a detailed analysis of the rise and fall of the Paramahansa Sabha, see J.V. Naik, "Early Anti-Caste Movement in Western India"; J. V. Naik, "Early Anti-Caste Movement in Western India : The Paramahansa Sabha", and the references therein, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Vols. 49-50-51/1974-75-76 (New Series), 1979, pp 136-161.
3. "The Indian Caste System" in *Collected Works of Sir R.G. Bhandarkar* (hereinafter *CW*), Vol II, p. 480.
4. *Ibid.*
5. For a detailed history of the Prarthana Samaj, see D.G. Vaidya, *Prarthana Samajacha Itihas* (Marathi), Bombay, 1927; see also J. V. Naik, "Prarthana Samaj" in S. P. Sen (ed.), *Social Contents of Indian Religious Reform Movements*, Institute of Historical Studies, Calcutta, 1978, pp. 295-319.

6. V.K. Chiplunkar, *Nibandhamala* 2nd ed., Chitrashala, Pune, 1917, pp. 320, 340-346; for Chiplunkar's criticism of the Prarthana Samaj and the reformers, see *Kesari*, August 9, 16 and 23, 30, 1881; September 6, 13 and 27, 1881; and October 4, 1881.
7. *Subodha Patrika* dt. 13.11.1881; also in *Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar Yanche Dharmapur Lekh va Vyakyane*, 4th ed., E.G. Vaidhya (ed.), Bombay, 1930, pp. 66-86.
8. "The Position of the Prarthana Samaj in the Religious World", *CW*, II, p. 623.
9. M.G. Ranade, *Religious and Social Reform* (Essays & Speeches collected and compiled by M.B. Kolaskar), Bombay, 1902, pp 198-199.
10. For Bhandarkar's views on Christianity and Christian Missionaries, see "Editorial Notes : Sir Ramakrishna and the Dnanodaya", *The Subodha Patrika*, September 20, 1925.
11. Bhandarkar's letter to Ranade in English is quoted in N.R. Phatak, *Nyayamurti Mahadeo Govind Ranade Yanche Charitra*, 2nd ed. (Nilkanth Prakashan, Pune, 1966), pp. 110-111.
12. "Presidential Address at the National Social Conference held at Ahmedabad in 1902", *CW*, II, 527.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 528.
14. "Presidential Address at the Bombay provincial Conference held at Sholapur on the 26th and 27th October 1902", *CW*, Vol. II, p. 520.
15. "Presidential Address at the Ninth Indian Social Conference held in 1905", *CW*, Vol. II, p. 501
16. "Madras Reform Association Address", *CW*, Vol. II, p. 513.

17. Quoted in G. P. Pradhan and A. K. Bhagwat, *Lokmanya Tilak* (Jaico, Bombay), pp. 136-137.
18. "Social History of India", *CW*, Vol. II, pp. 443-470.
19. *CW*, Vol. II, p. 496.
20. *CW*, Vol. II, p. 533.
21. *CW*, Vol. II, pp. 513-514.
22. *CW*, Vol. II, p. 497.
23. *CW*, Vol. II, p. 513.
24. *The Miscellaneous Writings of the Late Hon'ble Mr. Justice M.G. Ranade* (Published by Mrs. Ramabai Ranade), Manoranjan Press, 1915, p. 112.
25. Ranade named four methods of reform: (i) Method of basing reform on the interpretation of old texts, (ii) Method of appealing directly to the conscience of the people, of appealing to their sense of right and wrong, good and bad, sinful and virtuous, (iii) Coercive method, that is to enforce reform by means of penalties - imposed either by the caste or by the State, (iv) Revolutionary method, or the method of breaking the continuity. It is the method of dividing from the rest and forming a new camp. Ranade disapproved of the last method, and favoured the other three, with a proviso that "Legislation steps in only when the other (first two) methods fail". *Ibid.*, pp. 112-113.
26. Mahatma Phule, *Samagra Vangmaya*, (ed.) D. Keer and S.G. Mhalse, M.R.S.M., Bombay, 1969, pp. 405; 281-84 and 296. See also Tarkateertha Laxman Shastri Joshi, "Jyotirao Phule: Rebel and Rationalist" in *Rationalists of Maharashtra*, Renaissance Institute, Dehradun, 1962; also chapter "Jyotirao Phule and the Ideology of Social Revolution in India" in Gail Omvedt, *Cultural Revolt in a Colonial*

Society - The Non-Brahman Movement in Western India : 1873 to 1930, S.S.E. Trust, Bombay, 1976, pp. 98-123.

27. G.P. Pradhan, "Gopal Ganesh Agarkar (1856-1895), in *Rationalists of Maharashtra*, op.cit., p. 40.
28. For a perceptive analysis of the controversy over the Age of Consent Bill, see Chapter "The Origin and Enactment of the Age of Consent Bill" in Charles Heimsath, *Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform* (O.U.P., Bombay, 1964), pp. 147-175; also Richard Tucker, *Ranade and the Roots of Indian Nationalism*, (Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1977), pp. 225-234.
29. "A Note on the Age of Marriage and Its Consummation According to Hindu Religious Law with Four Appendices", *CW*, Vol. II, p. 545.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 550, 555.
31. Cited in H.A. Phadke, R.G. Bhandarkar (National Book Trust of India, New Delhi 1968), p. 69.
32. "On Mr. Tarkachudamani's Pamphlet", *CW*, Vol. II, p. 574.
33. "On Mr. Tilak's Reply", *CW*, Vol. II, p. 580.
34. *CW*, Vol. II, p. 514.
35. *CW*, Vol. II, pp. 514;525.
36. *CW*, Vol. II, pp. 501-502.
37. "My visit to Vienna Oriental Congress", *CW*, Vol. I, p. 357.

KALIMPONG : THE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE, ITS EVOLUTION AS A TRADE CENTRE IN THE EASTERN HIMALAYA : 1865-1947

Enakshi Majumdar

THE present paper is an attempt to narrate the story of Kalimpong - its inclusion in the British Indian Empire and its evolution as an important centre for Indo-Tibetan trade during the latter part of the nineteenth century and the last days of the British Raj. Trade between India and Tibet followed through various routes, and all these routes naturally led to Lhasa, the capital city and the biggest commercial mart of Tibet. Consequently, the importance of all the trade routes was assessed by the trading possibilities with Lhasa. Kalimpong, for its unique politico-geographical position on the map of nineteenth century Bhutan and its surroundings attracted the experienced eyes of the British trading authorities. As a result, the British government, through patience and diplomacy, managed to bring Kalimpong well within Indian territory by 1865. However, every beginning has another beginning to start with. So does the story of Kalimpong. To situate properly the evolution of Kalimpong in the historical topography of Tibetan trade with British India, we have to look beyond the nineteenth century to a remoter past.

PROLEGOMENA

India and Tibet enjoyed a very cordial relationship - both commercial and cultural - from a very early period. The commercial and cultural intercourse which bound the two countries through the Himalayan passes received a gradual setback with the Muslim invasions during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Tibet, the land of gold and wool, had been an alluring legend to the European countries from times immemorial.

Even the annals of Herodotus and other Greek authors refer to the 'Land of Gold'. It is difficult to pin-point the exact date when the European people took an active interest in the land and people of Tibet. But as early as 1325 Friar Odoric of Pordenone travelled to Tibet. After him three centuries elapsed before another European set foot in Tibet. Adventurous missionaries of Europe continued to enter Tibet over the years. Of these journeys, the Jesuit Antonio Andrade (1624), Fathers Grueber and Dorville (1661), Fathers Desideri and Freyre (1716), and the Capuchin Friars, of whom Father Horace Della Penna (1719) was one, deserve special mention. It has almost been a rule in history that wherever the missionaries penetrated, the trading communities followed. The case of Tibet is an exception to this so far as the European trading communities are concerned. Though the missionaries could gather valuable information regarding the land and people of Tibet, the possibilities of opening up Tibet for European trade were remote.

The opening up of Tibet across the Himalaya was the achievement of the British, who gave shape to the historical changes in the Himalayan region after the second half of the eighteenth century. The British traders, although present in the Indian subcontinent since 1603, were comparatively late in taking up the Tibetan adventure. They were not much interested in propagating "faith"; and for over a century and half "they found enough trade in India itself to satisfy their wants."¹

The acquisition of political power in Bengal (1765) by the British brought them into close contact with the Himalayan region by bringing them to the northern-most districts of the Suba of Bengal. It was at this point that they took the question of trade with Tibet into consideration. In 1768, the London administration of the East India Company entrusted its agents in India with the task of collecting information regarding the prospects of a suitable market for their manufactured goods in Tibet and western China. This was the time when the Company administration in Bengal was facing acute bankruptcy, in the illegal use of the 'dustak' having ruined the Company's finances. Opening up a new trade zone being a compelling necessity, Tibet in this situation, could not be left unexplored.

Incidentally, the British had chosen the wrong time for approaching Tibet. Since the 1750s, the assertion of fuller Manchu suzerainty over Tibet and the revolt of Gyurmed Namgyal had led to the strengthening of the policy of seclusion which was very much a consequence of the Muslim invasions from South. The monks, who controlled trade in Tibet, supported the policy because they did not want rivals. Much more careful to foster the idea of isolation had been the Chinese. China had almost a monopoly of trade with Tibet, supplying its wants in tea and other important articles, and draining it of all of its exportable articles. It was, therefore, very natural for China to create all possible obstructions and keep Tibet closed to all other nations. The rise of the Gorkha power in Nepal was yet another stumbling block. From a very early period Nepal was the centre of transit trade between India and Tibet. The accounts of Father Della Penna or Father Desideri give a pen picture of the commercial link existing between India and Nepal in the eighteenth century. The Gorkha King Prithvinarayan Shah (1769) closed the trade routes to Tibet through Kathmandu, Patan, and Bhatgaon and did not yield to British requests. The East India Company was intensely eager to revive the trade through Nepal. After failing to open up Nepal for Bengal's trade with Tibet, the East India Company shifted its attention to Bhutan. The court of Directors also suggested exploration of some alternative routes to Tibet.

Warren Hastings, the Governor General, had been the pioneer in actively exploring the possibilities of Tibetan trade through Bhutan. It was in 1773 that the 'line of communication' between India and Tibet was established for the first time when a letter from the Tashi Lama of Tibet reached Calcutta. It was a letter of mediation on behalf of the Bhutanese government with whom the British were at war. The war between Bhutan and the state of Cooch Behar (1772), the British intervention in that conflict, and the involvement of Tibet are episodes too wellknown to be narrated here in details.

However, Hastings seized this opportunity and pursued the line of communication opened up by the Tashi Lama. After the peace settlement of the Anglo-Bhutanese conflict, a British mission was sent to Tibet through Bhutan (1774). Though this mission under George Bogle heralded no new chapter in either political or commercial relations, Bogle supplied much valuable information - that the Bhutanese controlled the Bengal trade in Tibet, that they carried the

commodities from Bengal to the Tibetan mart at Phari, that the Tibetans had to depend for any commodities on various countries, and that it was 'imperative', therefore, that the British should try to 'overcome the obstacles that stood in their way'.

The next mission to Tibet under Captain Samuel Turner (1783) achieved little of practical value as far as trade was concerned. But it opened up a sort of communication between Tibet and India.

With the removal of Hastings from the scene whatever had been done to set up communication was undone. In 1792, when Lord Cornwallis sent a mission of mediation to Nepal at the time of Gorkha invasion of Tibet, there was a further setback. This act of Cornwallis was misinterpreted by the Tibetans as an act of unfriendliness and treachery and consequently Tibet fully closed her half-shut doors again.

Meanwhile the British in India were undergoing a very significant phase of transformation from almost the middle of the eighteenth century. From mere traders they were tending to become a conquering political force. Such a transformation, on the part of the British, while ensuring for them a near monopoly in trade, tended to bring them into armed clashes with the existing political forces in the Himalayan region. Bordering states can never be friendly to the expansionists. It is quite logical to presume that the states of Nepal, Bhutan, and Sikkim looked askance at the British overtures. In the early years of the nineteenth century the considerations of political frontier and their security for the British became much more pressing than trade. The general situation in the eastern Himalayan region went against them.

The East India Company's Government had to employ considerable diplomacy and military force to combat the situation and to protect the borders of the lands under its hegemony. The war with Nepal ended in the Treaty of Segauli (1816). The Company came to terms with Wikkim by the Treaty of Titalia (1817). In 1835 Sikkim ceded the hill area called Darjeeling to the Company for a meagre annual grant of money.² Later Darjeeling came to serve as an important

observation post and enhanced the possibilities of trade through the Himalaya. Sikkim was made a protectorate of the British Indian Empire in 1861, a step to ensure a British position in the Himalaya.

British relations with Bhutan worsened during this period. The pro-Bhutan policy initiated by Hastings was becoming a nuisance to his successors, as the Bhutanese were demanding 'undue advantages'. Since trade with Tibet through Bhutan had been paralysed, there was no point for the British in wooing Bhutan to ensure the safety of the routes to Tibet and to attend to her 'arbitrary demands'. Over the years the issue of the Bengal and Assam Duars remained unsolved. In 1864 the Bhutanese took the most desperate step by arresting the British envoy, the Honourable Mr. Ashley Eden, subjecting him to 'gross insult' and making him sign a 'humiliating treaty'. The Government of India at once repudiated the Treaty and declared war on Bhutan (November, 1864). After the war the victorious British annexed, among other places, the hill territory on the east of Teesta, known as Damsang or Dalingkot. Thus the present-day Kalimpong came into the hands of the British Indian Empire.

Some fifteen or twenty years elapsed before the British Indian Government could utilise the possibilities of trade in this region through Sikkim and Bhutan. Since the 1870s the internal political stability of Bhutan allowed her to think in terms of friendship with the British. Relieved of its perpetual tension regarding the frontiers of Sikkim and Bhutan, the British Indian Government once again could hope to open up the channels of trans-Himalayan trade with Tibet.

Premen Addy gives yet another explanation. In his opinion, the root cause of a comparative neglect of the British trade exploration in the Eastern Himalaya was that, since the 1820s, the focus of political interest in India had been shifted to the West, Punjab and beyond. The wool trade with Western Tibet through Ladak area produced favourable results. In the 1870s "with western Tibet failing to provide the expected commercial or political results, Sikkim and Bhutan once again became the focus of British attention."³

In 1873 the Royal Society of Arts persuaded the Secretary of State for India to adopt an active Tibetan policy on 'commercial and strategic grounds' and to organise trade through Sikkim on a regular basis. The home authorities also urged the Government of India to utilise its opportunities and organise 'free flow' of British trade to Tibet via Sikkim, since Sikkim was, by now, safely in British hands. As a result of such fresh attempts for opening up trade, on the part of the British, Kalimpong grew as a trade mart.

THE STORY

It may appear that we have deviated somewhat from the main concern of our paper - Kalimpong. But not without reason. The opening up of Kalimpong as a trade centre has to be viewed in the historical background as narrated above.

A word about the name - Kalimpong - may not be out of place here. It is obviously a later development. The area on the east of Teesta, annexed by the British in 1865, was commonly called Damsang or British Bhutan. In 1865, when it constituted a subdivision it was given the name 'Dalingkot'. The name 'Dalingkot' was derived from an old Bhutanese fort of the same name situated to the South-East of Kalimpong. The fort had been dismantled in the war of 1864. The place was included in the Darjeeling district as 'Kalimpong'. According to O'Malley's Gazetteer, the area got the name Kalimpong from the principal village of the same name which used to be the head-quarters of the Bhutanese district before 1865. Hence, it got the name 'Kalimpong' - the 'pong' or the stronghold of 'Kalon' or Governor. According to some the term 'Kalimpong' means 'Assembly of Ministers', but it was "not entertained by competent authorities."⁴

The hill tract, on the east of Teesta and west of Ni-Chu and Di-Chu (Jaldhaka) rivers and south of Independent Sikkim, lying between 26°51'N - 27°12'N and 88°28'E - 88°53'E, was originally held by the Raja of Sikkim. Bhutan occupied it in 1706; and in 1865, as has already been noted, Bhutan was forced to leave it to the British. The Kalimpong area was first notified as a subdivision under the Deputy Commissioner of the Western Duars District. Kalimpong was included in the Darjeeling

District in 1866. It was made a sub-division on 1st April, 1916. The circumstance that had made this place so important was that it offered easy access to Tibet through the Jelep La into the Chumbi Valley of Tibet. The special advantage of the Jelep La is its relatively low geographical position; it could be easily crossed on horseback up and down, and snowfall seldom closed the route. The route from Kalimpong crossed south-eastern Sikkim, then through the Jelep La to the Chumbi Valley. From Chumbi to Phari, a large mart of central Tibet, and from Phari, it went to Lhasa via the eastern side of the Hram Tso. There was another more circuitous route through Gyantse.⁵ In the march from Chumbi to Lhasa, ordinarily fifteen days were required if the Chumbi - Phari - Lhasa route was followed.⁶ L.A.H. Louis, however, talks of a 'more direct route' -- from Kalimpong to Shigatse, via Khambajong through the Kangro Lama and Donkya Passes. But this route was perhaps comparatively less known, as Louis in 1894 suggests opening up this more "direct line of trade."⁷

From the beginning of their fresh trade adventure in the 1870s and 1880s, the British gave special attention to Kalimpong, because by conducting trade through Kalimpong and the Jelep La the British could surely hope to escape the heavy duties which were imposed on the Nepal passes. Mr. John Edgar, the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling in 1873, collected much information regarding Tibetan trade and the prospects of a road to the Tibetan frontier through Sikkim. In 1879 a cart road to Jelep was constructed.

The Teesta Valley road connected Kalimpong with the plains. The continuation of this road to Kalimpong and beyond, called the Rishi Road, went upto the Sikkim frontier and then through the Jelep La to Phari and Lhasa. From the commercial point of view, the importance of this route was immense. The portion of the road from the Teesta Bridge to Kalimpong was made usable by heavy motor vehicles in 1929-30. The introduction of Railways and Ropeways added extra impetus to the development of trade. The Kalimpong Ropeways Limited was founded in 1928. It helped in transporting trade commodities between the town of Kalimpong and the Darjeeling-Himalayan Railway, by which trade could move

to Calcutta. Such modernisations saved time and money which were wasted in the old methods of transport - yaks, bullocks, carts, colties, etc.

The trade of Kalimpong was never meagre. As early as 1894, Louis had seen in Kalimpong a busy competitive trade situation -- "already two English merchants who have establishments here, Mohamedans and Marwari traders with places of business in the Bazar, for the purchase of local produce and an exchange trade with the Newars from Nepal" with the indigenous hillmen who worked as coolies in carrying the commodities. But it is also true that Kalimpong's Tibetan trade was not of a desirable volume in the last century, even after the trade convention of 1893. The unsettled debate over the political frontier hampered the process of trade transactions. The Tibetans were reluctant to accept the demarcation of the boundary between Tibet and Sikkim, as laid down by the convention of 1890, which was signed without any Tibetan representative. However, it was only after Young-husband's expedition in 1904 that Tibetan trade grew considerably and the first half of the present century experienced the real growth of Kalimpong as an entrepot of Tibetan trade.

To the economic growth of Kalimpong, the Kalimpong Mela had contributed greatly. Inaugurated by Dr. Graham in 1891, it developed year by year. The fair is supposed to be held on the last Wednesday and Thursday of November every year. The people of the hills enjoyed the two days. Traders flocked to this fair from Sikkim, Nepal, Bhutan and also from places in Tibet a month's journey or more away. They brought mules and various articles of trade. Exhibition of agricultural tools and prizes for the best productions in Tea and Oranges, organised by the Government in typical Western manner, were the added excitements. The villagers from the neighbouring areas also brought their produce to the market of Kalimpong on a regular basis and the traders purchased them for onward transmission. This kept the Kalimpong Bazar steady.

Kalimpong was the mart for receiving goods from the plains and despatching them to Tibet and vice-versa. All

export and import articles were supposed to be registered at the registration station of Pedong on the Tibetan frontier (thirteen miles north-east of Kalimpong). But there is every reason to believe that the actual volume of trade was much more than recorded. Much of illegal trade did exist bypassing the registration office. A few lines from Coleman Macauley's book will substantiate this assumption: "I have ample evidence, however, that the most valuable and portable articles frequently escape notice altogether. Musk, for instance, is a very favourite article of import, the pods selling in Calcutta at Rs.20/- to Rs.35/- each. The pheydong (pedong) mohurir appears to have attended to this work in June, as his register shows Rs. 64,000/- worth of musk imported in that month. In September the register shows Rs. 14,100/-. The returns for October and November are blank and the return for December shows Rs. 6,000/-. Now Sarat Baboo has produced for me a list of nine men who came through Pheydong in November and December with musk worth Rs.88,500/-. The volume registered in 1883-84 was Rs. 2,560/- and 1982-83 was nil."⁹

The most important articles of export to Tibet were woolen and cotton piece goods, iron, steel, copper and brassware, foodgrains, sugar, dyes and chemicals, cigarettes, leaf tobacco, pharmaceuticals, kerosene oil and brick tea. Musk, fur, yak tails, salt, gold dust, and silver were among the main imports at the Kalimpong mart. Tibet's wool, however, was the most valuable commodity in Kalimpong Bazar and "it is wool trade which has been mainly responsible for the importance of Kalimpong as a business centre."¹⁰ The Darjeeling District Gazetteer (1946) records that over one lakh maunds of wool arrive annually from Tibet, and about 19,000 maunds from Gangtok. Kalimpong's market remained most busy usually during October to May when the Tibetans brought their loads of wool to this place. During the other part of the year there was almost a standstill in wool trade because wool deteriorated rapidly in the moisture of the monsoon.

Until the second World War no wool was consumed locally. Sorting and baling was done in Calcutta, from where the entire wool was despatched to Liverpool. Shipping difficulties during the War years necessitated consumption of wool locally. In the 1940s as many as ten warehouses were reported to be engaged in sorting and baling wool in Kalimpong.

The manufacture of blankets and knitted goods also started in Kalimpong. The price of wool varied from time to time: a maund of wool was Rs.11/- in 1928; in 1938 the price rose to Rs.65/- per maund; and 1944 it declined to Rs.40/- per maund."¹¹

It is important to note that India's most ambitious and successful business community, the Marwaris, came all the way from Rajasthan to Kalimpong as soon as the prospects of trade at Kalimpong became visible. With their well-organised firms the Marwaris practically controlled all the import trade and almost all the export trade of the consumer goods. They also had an almost complete control over the purchase of the local produces and retail sale of consumer goods. The second big business community was that of the Beharis. But they were not the sole traders.

In the wool trade the Tibetans competed with the Marwaris. Ninety per cent of the Musk trade was in the hands of the Nepalis; trade in fur was carried by the Tibetan and the Chinese Muslims. The only three pharmacies in Kalimpong before Independence of India were in the hands of the Bengalis. The indigenous population controlled a portion of the whole-sale and retail business in foodgrains and groceries, shoe-making and saddlery. Trans-frontier and transportation operations were in the hands of the Tibetans and the Nepalis. Individual British traders had practically no role in carrying on the trade with Tibet directly. Europeans were hardly allowed to settle in Tibet and carry on a regular commerce unrestrictedly. The reluctance on the part of the Tibetans to allow the British to enter unrestrictedly into Tibet may be on the assumption that "commerce follows the flag, and sometimes the flag follows commerce."¹² One must not think that the Tibetans were unaware of the expansionist attitude of the British power. Further, the economic system developed by the Tibetans through the ages somehow could not accommodate the modern economic transactions of the British style. As a result, the Indian traders, who were familiar with the old style of operation and could also master the British style of operation in trade transactions, managed to exploit the opportunity; and the British had to rely on them for trade. However, in the first half of the present century trade through Kalimpong became very lucrative. It survived the blows of the 'freedom struggle' of the heartland which had kept the

British in endless anxiety and tension. The British were successful in keeping the hills isolated from the main trends of thought of the plains. It also survived the world-wide depression of the thirties and the war years.

EPILOGUE

One could have wished the story to run further. But we hope that we have reached a position to throw some light on the moral to be derived from the story.

It is clear enough that after its annexation by the British in 1865, Kalimpong was considered by them as an important place for both strategic and commercial purposes. The geopolitical situation and the facilities available at Kalimpong were quite effectively exploited by the British. But they also realised that exploitation alone does not yield any lasting success. Even to achieve very selfish ends, through human interaction, one has to be considerate in any yielding. From such considerations, overall development of Kalimpong followed. The cultural and social atmosphere of the area was shaped through sophisticated British methods. The Scottish Guild Mission established in 1873 had been the pioneer in the cultural development of Kalimpong. Dr. and Mrs. Graham of the Mission did their best for the betterment of the indigenous people of the area. There were schools, even a training school for the teachers, a hospital with 28 beds, in 1907 -- all under the supervision of the Mission. Mrs. Graham started giving lessons in lace-making in 1897; and the hill-women easily adopted it. The Mission school also imparted technical education in weaving or carpentry. Carpentry, embroidery (in typical Tibetan style), carpet-making, blanket-making, knitted wool articles, cutlery, etc. became the main cottage industries of Kalimpong. Governmental measures were also taken for the development of Kalimpong. Postal and Telegraphic communications, established for administrative and commercial purposes, catalytically helped in the modernisation of Kalimpong and its adjacent areas. Every cause has its effects, every action its consequences. The gradual development of Kalimpong attracted people for various reasons. Obviously, the bulk of the migration to Kalimpong was due to the trade prospects. Kalimpong was described as having a population of over 1,000

inhabitants in the Gazetteer of 1907; in 1911, it became 7,880; in 1931, the population grew to 8,776 and in 1941 the records show the population at 11,961.¹³ Obviously, the story circling round Kalimpong is a story of joy and prospect for not only the local inhabitants, who were exposed to the civilization of the West, but also for the zealous British traders and their Indian counterparts. Of course, Kalimpong's trade did not end in 1946-47 with the termination of the British Raj. Considerable trade with Tibet was carried on through Kalimpong even after the Chinese occupation of the Chumbi Valley. The Indo-Chinese war of 1962, however, closed the routes to Tibet.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Schuyler, Camman, *Trade through the Himalayas* (Princeton, 1951), p. 21.
2. Hope Namgyal contends that the Raja of Sikkim agreed to cede Darjeeling in exchange for 'Dabgang from Ahme Digee North'. This Dabganj was "never subsequently given to the Sikkim ruler and provides an important point of argument that the Darjeeling transaction is illegal as the British did not fulfil the conditions required by the Sikkimese ruler in making the gift."
Hope Namgyal, "The Sikkimese theory of land-holding and the Darjeeling grant," *Bulletin of Tibetology*, Vol. III, 1966, p. 50.
3. Addy Premen, *Tibet on the Imperial Chessboard* (Calcutta, 1984), p. 39.
4. O'Malley, L.S.S., *Bengal District Gazetteer : Darjeeling*, 1907, p. 54.
5. The important stations and the intervening distance (in miles) between Jelep La and Lhasa is given below:

<u>Stations</u>	<u>Distance (in miles)</u>
Jelep	-
Yatung	13
Phari Dzong	28
Tune	24
Kala-Shar (Lake)	25
Samando	16
Khangmar	18
Gyantse Dzong	24
Gobshi	15
Ralung	19
Dzara	17
Nangar-tse Dzong	15
Palde Dzong	16
Dzim-Khar	27
Nethang	22
Lhasa	16

E.C. Dozey, *Darjeeling past and present* (Calcutta, 1916), p. 237.

6. Waddell, L.A., *Among the Himalayas* (Kathmandu, 1978 - reprint), p. 283.
7. Louis, L.A.H., *The gates of Tibet* (Delhi, 1972 - reprint), p. 21.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
9. Macaulay, Coleman, *Report on a Mission to Sikkim* (Kathmandu, 1977 - reprint), p. 80.
An old Kashmiri trader at Kalimpong personally communicated his trading experiences through Jelep to the present author. He said that he never registered his articles of trade, nor did the other

Indian traders coming into India or passing into Tibet. Only the Tibetan traders had to undergo to registration formalities. The statement of the old trader gives the impression that the regulations for registration were never strictly or uniformly enforced.

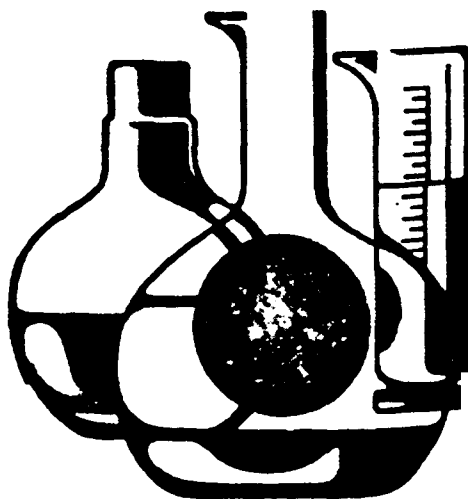
10. Dash, A. J., *Bengal District Gazetteer : Darjeeling*, 1947, p. 167.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 168.
12. Temple, Sir Richard, *Travels in Nepal and Sikkim* (Kathmandu, 1977 - reprint), p. 117.
13. See O'Malley, L.S.S., *Bengal District Gazetteer : Darjeeling*, 1907.

science for better health

...to ensure for the people of the country all the benefits that can accrue from the acquisition and application of scientific knowledge...

HINDUSTAN CIBA-GEIGY scientists at Goregaon, are constantly endeavouring to discover new medicines to fight diseases and to provide better health for the teeming millions of the country.

**HINDUSTAN
CIBA-GEIGY LIMITED**



URBANIZATION AND THE REGIONAL ECONOMY OF GUJARAT IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY *

Kanakalatha Mukund

THE objective of this study is to analyse the urban economy in pre-industrial India, and its functional linkages with the regional economy. The growing understanding of the process of economic development has generated an increasing awareness of the spatial dimensions of the process. There are several facets to the spatial dimension of growth; it is not merely that economic activity takes place in locations separated from each other in space, like raw material sources and industrial enterprises, one market and another, or production and consumption. An analysis of the internal structure of space, especially in terms of cities as points of concentration of economic activities and population, and the regions in which cities are located¹ is equally, or more important to understand the spatial aspect of growth.

Economic development, and especially development based on industrialization is closely associated with the process of urbanization. The realization of this relationship has resulted in several inter-disciplinary theories on the process of urbanization, and the functional relationship between urbanization and the economic development of a country, both in aggregate or spatial terms as well as in the specific spatial context of cities and their hinterland. The growth of cities is a reflection of the process of industrialization, and is therefore functionally linked to the development of the regions or areas where the cities are located. These linkages exist

* Revised version of paper presented at a Seminar on Urbanization in India at Gujarat University, Ahmedabad in November 1984.

This paper was written during my tenure as Research Officer, State Bank Chair in Rural Economics, Department of Regional Planning and Economic Growth, Bhopal University.

specially in terms of flows of goods and services, money and people, transportation and communication between cities of various sizes, as well as between the rural and urban settlements, and they determine the extent to which cities disseminate growth impulses in the regional economy. Independently, geography-oriented analysis focusses on the urbanization process as a hierarchical organization of space in a given area, with cities performing several functions, economic and non-economic, with respect to the surrounding regions.

Both streams of analysis - the economic and the geographic -- concentrate on the industrial and post-industrial city. Cities, however, have existed for thousands of years before the rise of modern industrial centres, and pre-industrial societies were also characterized by a substantial urban culture. The analyses of cities and the regional economies have no satisfactory discussions of pre-industrial urbanization, though it can be argued that even such cities must have had a specific functional role to play in the regional economy. Even the only theoretical work on the pre-industrial city² seems to have very limited applicability in the light of the complexity of India's pre-industrial urban economy. The aim of this study is to analyse the urban economy in the 17th century in Gujarat with reference to the various theories of urbanization, the process of urbanization and hierarchical organization of space, and the urban economy and its relationship with the regional economy, in order to understand better the economic function of the pre-industrial city.

II

Any attempt to define the level of urbanization in a region, particularly in a pre-modern society, is rendered more difficult because even at the outset there is the stumbling block of the definition of what is urban and what is rural. Where in the continuum of settlements does "urbanity" end, and "rurality" begin? What should be the criteria by which a small town is distinguished from a large village? -- are questions which are still unanswered at present.³ Yet, in general terms, the distinction between rural and urban is made easily, and in fact, has been understood by people for

centuries.⁴ In the following discussion also, cities or towns are identified only in such non-specific terms -- that cities represent a concentration of population and activities -- economic, administrative and cultural. I have also accepted the classification used by travellers in the region in the 17th century (an important source of information for this period) and their identification of a settlement as a village, town or city.

The second, and more important, problem is one of quantification and measurement. In economic terms urbanization means an increase in the percentage of urban population to total population. In geographic terms urbanization is a two-sided process of multiplication of the number of points of population concentration, as well as an increase in the size of individual concentrations.⁵ To establish the trend of urbanization in either sense requires at least some basic and reliable statistical data, which are conspicuously unobtainable for 17th century India. So, when it is claimed that the period of the Mughal empire, from the mid-16th to the early 18th centuries, was a "golden age of urbanization", with "an expansion in the size of pre-existing cities and towns and a proliferation of new foundations", and that "There must also have been a substantial growth in the urban population",⁶ the author is making an inferential conclusion from indirect evidence, rather than from any concrete facts or figures. The information available to me on Gujarat in this period does not even permit such a generalization on the trend of urbanization; one can only attempt to present an impressionistic outline and estimation of the pattern and level of urbanization in Gujarat in the 17th century.

There were two regional patterns in the urban settlements in Gujarat : first, the ports along the coast, beginning at Mangrol and Diu on the Saurashtra coast, along the Gulf of Cambay to Cambay and Surat, down to Daman, the Southernmost port of Gujarat; the other, the inland settlements along the major rivers Tapti, Narmada, Mahi and Sabarmati. There were inland towns also on the main trade routes converging at the leading port (which was Surat in the 17th century), and they were the commercial centres through which the products of a vast hinterland in central and upper India, extending beyond Agra and Benaras to Bengal, were conveyed

to Surat. This leaves a relatively large region of Gujarat from Kutch further to the North, and inland to the East and Northeast, unaccounted for.⁷ These areas figure little in contemporary accounts of Gujarat, and the inference can only be made that they were of little importance in the inter- or intra-regional trade, and therefore had few important urban settlements. This corollary also supports the general theory that urbanization takes place only when an economy diversifies beyond subsistence to a more specialized level.⁸

Writing in 1518 Barbosa listed the chief ports of Gujarat. Sailing down the coast from Kathiawar to Saurashtra, Patan, Sorath, Mangrol, Diu, Gogha, Barbasy (Bhavnagar?), and Gandhar (near Cambay) were important and busy ports. Further to the South were Rander on the Northern bank of the Tapti, Surat and Daman. At that time, all these ports had extensive coastal trade with the Konkan and Malabar. Fleets of country boats used to come up from the ports of Malabar and Konkan, bringing up coconuts, cardamom, pepper, palm sugar, supari and spices, and silk and other goods from Malacca and China. In return the Gujarat ports supplied wheat, rice, cotton and cotton cloths and silk fabrics. They also served as redistribution centres for goods from the Persian Gulf and Red Sea areas, and the Malabar ships took back Persian horses and opium from Aden, as well as opium from Cambay, which was said to be not of as fine a quality. The main ports in overseas trade were Diu (which became Portuguese territory in the 1530s), Gogha and Rander. They had an extensive trade with Hormuz (Persian Gulf), Aden and Mecca (*sic.* for Mocha? -- Red Sea), Mogadishu (Makdashau), Malindi and Mombassa (East Africa), as well as with the spice islands and other ports in South Asia.⁹ Surat, which was then an important port in the coastal trade, had not yet attained the paramountcy as a trade centre which it gained in the 17th century.¹⁰

Cambay was considered the leading port of Gujarat in the 16th century, so much so that travellers, even till the 17th century, mistakenly called Gujarat the province of Cambay.¹¹ Barbosa, however, correctly stated that Gandhar, on the coast, was the harbour, while the city of Cambay was situated further inland up the river.¹² The process of the silting of the harbour of Cambay, which finally moved

the major shipping trade to Surat, had already begun. Other Portuguese sources confirm Barbosa's statement, and show that by 1500 Cambay, because of the silting of the Gulf of Cambay, was already a mile inland, accessible only to small boats at high tide. In fact, most of the big ships put in at Diu or Gogha, and goods were transhipped on smaller boats to Gandhar and Cambay.¹³

However, Cambay remained the major trade entrepot and dominated the coastal and overseas trade of the region. After the Portuguese were established at Diu, Cambay was the major mart where they came to buy indigo, varieties of cotton materials, myrobalans, ginger and medicinal drugs, sugar and semi-precious stones like carnelians, agates, garnets, etc. in exchange for spices, Chinese silks, velvets and other luxury goods.¹⁴ Frederici (c. 1560) exclaimed that if he had not seen it for himself, he would never have believed that such magnitude of trade as existed at Cambay could have been possible.¹⁵ Just fifty years later, Pyrard observed that two or three times a year a fleet of 300 to 400 boats came to Goa from Cambay, which was awaited as eagerly as the return of the India fleet at Spain, and, if the fleet was delayed, Goa was practically at starvation point.¹⁶

Between the 16th and 17th centuries the political map of Gujarat Changed. Gujarat had become a province of the Mughal empire. By the middle of the 16th century, the Portuguese had established themselves in strong fortresses all along the Western coast, and they had a commanding position over the Gulf of Cambay from their bases at Diu and Daman. But, by the first decades of the 17th century their power had begun to weaken considerably, especially after the advent of the English and the Dutch. These changes were reflected in the rise and decline of the ports of Gujarat. Rander had been a major port in the 1500s, and had a large population of Muslim shipowner-merchants called Navayats who used to trade in their own ships with Malacca, Bengal, Tennassery, Pegu and Sumatra in drugs, silks and many other commodities.¹⁷ But the city never recovered from an attack by the Portuguese in 1530, and dwindled into an insignificant town.¹⁸

Certainly the most important development in the urban history of Gujarat was the rise of Surat as the foremost

trade of India. Goods from all over the world - Europe, China, Arabia, Persia and the rest of India - as well as goods from all parts of the Mughal empire, and the kingdoms of Golkonda and Bijapur could be bought and sold at Surat.¹⁹ Surat was thus an entrepot in the real sense of the word. In addition to being a major centre for the import and export trade of India, it was also a distribution centre in Asiatic trade, which stretched from the ports of the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, along the West and East coasts of India, till the islands of South Asia. The Dutch and the English came to Surat to establish their trading "factories" in the early years of the 17th century because it was already the most important port of the region.²⁰

The rise of Surat to such prominence happened simultaneously with the gradual decline of Cambay as the main port of Gujarat. Several explanations are suggested for this. The gradual silting of the harbour of Cambay has already been referred to. Several contemporary observers ascribed the decline of Cambay to the eclipse of Portuguese power in Western India.²¹ The Portuguese had imposed severe restrictions on the coastal trade in their attempts to monopolise and control the shipping of the region.²² With other channels of trade thus restricted, Cambay, as their main trade centre, had naturally become extremely dependent on Portuguese trade, and suffered as the latter declined.

Gogha, Diu and Daman continued to be major ports in the 17th century. Patan, Mangrol and other ports referred to by Barbosa continued to be active, but the lack of references to them in the 17th century leads us to infer that their trade had diminished considerably over a century and a half. The damage done to the coastal trade and the economies of the medium and small ports by the Portuguese trade monopoly had been considerable, and in fact, all along the West coast prosperous ports had been gradually reduced to fishing villages in this period. As the old ports of Kathiawar and Saurashtra are still to be found on modern maps, the settlements have obviously continued, no matter how diminished their role in trade. The coastal urban settlements of Gujarat thus showed many shifts and changes in the 17th century, with much fluctuation in the relative importance and trade of the settlements.

The inland settlements, on the other hand, showed a much more stable pattern. The main towns had developed along the rivers and trade routes, especially the roads to Agra. From Surat there were two main routes to Agra, one via Burhanpur and the other via Ahmedabad and Rajasthan. The road to Burhanpur went through Bardoli, Nandurbar, Sinkheda, Thalner, Chopra and Raver. The Northern route was through Broach, Baroda, Ahmedabad, Mehsana, Sidhpur and Jolar.²³ Mandelslo, travelling through Gujarat c. 1640, listed nearly all the ports and inland towns mentioned so far as important cities of Gujarat, and also referred to Navsari, Gandevi and Bulsar to the South of Surat, Nadiad and Mahmudabad (Kaira District) and Patan. Navsari and Gandevi were large weaving villages, and produced a large quantity of baftas (calicoes).²⁴ These settlements have continued in Gujarat till the present day, though their relative sizes and growth over various periods must have differed considerably. Ahmedabad was the capital then, as now, and was (and continues to be) the biggest city, and the leading manufacturing centre.

Gujarat as a Mughal province seems to have had almost the same boundaries as the modern state of Gujarat. The province was bordered by Ajmer, Malwa, Khandesh and the Deccan Sultanates on the North, East and South, which define a region not much different from the modern state of Gujarat. In this region we have identified urban settlements along the coast, and along the major trade routes. This leaves a relatively large area unexplored in terms of the pattern of settlements. It is, therefore, difficult to arrive at any but the most sketchy inferences about the level of urbanization in the region as a whole. The relative importance of the urban sector in the regional economy can, however, be assessed by describing and analysing the economic base of individual cities. The reactions of contemporary European travellers to the town, and the country they were describing, are also valuable for assessing the relative degree of urbanization in Gujarat, as compared to contemporary Europe.

Ahmedabad had been the capital of Gujarat since the time when it was an independent kingdom. Throughout the 17th century it was uniformly stated to be the largest city of the state, and one of the largest cities in India. It was

repeatedly described as a beautiful city, spacious and well-fortified, with wide streets and good buildings. Its trade was considerable, and Careri's opinion was that it was equal to Venice in trade. Early in the century an English traveller said that the city was almost as large as London, with merchants of all races and from all places trading there. Both Baldaeus and Mandelslo, in mid-century, affirmed that there were 25 great towns and 2998 villages under the jurisdiction of Ahmedabad.²⁵ (Both travellers had probably got the information from the same source!)

Ahmedabad was also a major manufacturing centre.²⁶ It was particularly famous for its silk and cotton textiles, which were exported to Europe and South Asia. Gujarat was not a silk-producing region, and depended on imports of (raw) silk for the local silk textile industry. Mandelslo commented that Persian silk was not used because it was coarse and too expensive. Chinese silk, which was very fine, was used with Bengal silk. Ahmedabad patolas were bought and exported by the Dutch to the Philippines and other South Asian ports.²⁷ Mahmudabad, a little distant from Ahmedabad (not the town in Kaira district, which is discussed later), was also a major silk-weaving centre, famous for its brocades with gold and silver threads, velvet and gauze etc. This craft was claimed to be confined to Ahmedabad, and the fame of Indian brocades had spread to Persia, Turkey and Syria.²⁸

Ahmedabad was also the major indigo centre of Gujarat. The indigo grew in Sarkhej (between Ahmedabad and Cambay), and though not of as fine a quality as the Agra (Bayana) indigo, it was still sold in large quantities to merchants of all countries for export. Many other crafts flourished in Ahmedabad, and the city was said to have the best workmen in steel, ivory, enamel and mother-of-pearl inlay work. Excellent paper, lacquer cabinets, boxes and ornaments were also made in the city.²⁹ In fact it was because Ahmedabad was a major production as well as commercial centre that President Methwold suggested that the English headquarters on the West coast should be shifted from Surat to Ahmedabad, using Cambay and Gogha as corresponding ports.³⁰

There were several patterns of commodity flows in the trade of Ahmedabad. The first was the inflow of goods from upcountry, especially raw silk from Bengal via Patna and Agra, which was made into satins, armozines and velvets (as the Europeans called the local silk fabrics). Several types of Bengal cottons and muslins were also imported via Agra.³¹ From the immediate hinterland of the city came several commodities, since Ahmedabad was a major market for cumin, dried ginger, myrobalans, opium, saltpetre, indigo, medicinal drugs and other such primary products. The city was a major export centre for its own manufactures and other primary products of the area for overseas markets, and supplied the ports of Cambay and Surat. This trade was of considerable volume, and once in ten days 200 carts laden with merchandise used to go from Ahmedabad to Cambay.³² The fine cotton and silk textiles of Ahmedabad were also exported to Agra. The city was also an important market for commodities imported from overseas, like spices, quick-silver, copper, vermilion etc., a trade which was controlled by the English and the Dutch to a substantial degree in the 17th century.³³

There was a large volume of intra-city trade, and Ahmedabad had many bazars and markets. The main street in the centre of the city was very long and wide, lined with shops of various kinds and was called the bazar-i-kalam.³⁴ There were many specialized local commodity markets (mandis) for ghee, cotton and other goods in the city. It was even proposed once (by the administration) that all the mandis in the city should be located at the same place in order to make the collection of taxes easier. For centuries the city had had a tradition of weekly markets which used to be held on Fridays.³⁵ From Ahmedabad to Mahmudabad, which was about 12 miles away, the road was covered with shops, so that it did not seem that they were two separate cities.³⁶

Like many other cities in Gujarat (especially Surat), Ahmedabad also had suffered a decline in the 18th century, both because of the Maratha raids, and because of the gradual disintegration of the imperial power of the Mughals, which had left the city and its residents open to the oppressions of the local rulers. In its days of prosperity, a local historian noted mournfully, trade used to be transacted in lakhs of

rupees in cloth and other merchandise. The street of Dhanji Panchal contained lofty buildings and high delightful houses, built and decorated at great expense by the rich and powerful merchant bankers, who used to conduct business in lakhs of rupees. But they had lost all their fortunes because of exactions by local viceroys.³⁷ Hamilton (c. 1700) estimated the revenue of Ahmedabad to be Rs. 13 million, while the Mirat-i-Ahmadi says that the total revenue of Ahmedabad district was Rs. 1,550,000, of which one million rupees came from taxes on the mandis, and the rest was from agriculture and other sources.³⁸

Cambay, even though in decline in the 17th century, was still considered the second largest city of the province, though by then its population was not as large as that of Surat. In appearance it was a spacious and beautiful city. Along the sea was the rich residential quarter, with many fine houses, built and furnished richly like Portuguese houses. Further to the interior the houses were plain, with tiled roofs and rainwater gutters, which were said to be very ordinary as compared to European houses. The city had 12 gates, and 3 main bazars, where all sorts of merchandise used to be sold. The walls of the city were about 6 or 7 miles in circumference, and there were 4 large tanks and 15 gardens outside the city. By the late 18th century Cambay had become much smaller, poor and desolate. But, in the 17th century, even though its trade had become reduced with the development of Surat, Cambay still continued to be an important port. The important local manufacture was carved semi-precious stones, especially agates, which were made into cups, knife-handles, beads, etc., and the city was famous for this product. Like Ahmedabad it was also a major retail centre for indigo grown in Sarkhej and in Baroda District.

The commodity flows to the city can be inferred from the information given by travellers.³⁹ As a port Cambay was, to begin with, a major market for exports and imports. The imports generally comprised goods coming from Malabar and Konkan in the coastal trade, and commodities from Europe, the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, and South Asia.⁴⁰ These commodities were then reexported to other inland markets. The

exports were mainly foodgrains, indigo and cotton and cotton textiles. Since the city did not produce these commodities in any quantity, they must have come from other parts of Gujarat. The flourishing stonecarving industry indicates the movement of agates and other semi-precious stones from the mines to Cambay city.⁴¹ The volume and value of the trade of the city can be judged from the observation that at one time the customs duties on tamarind alone amounted to Rs. 20,000 per year in the city.⁴²

Surat was unanimously acknowledged to be the most important port in India - if not in Asia - and observers ranked it with Cambay in size. Detailed studies on Surat are available which give an excellent description of the city and its administration,⁴³ and therefore this discussion is limited to a very short account of the economy of the city. Surat was that rare phenomenon, a truly commercial city. It had no production base to speak of, and its prosperity was derived from distributive rather than any manufacturing activity. Thus, the commodity flows into and out of Surat were nearly the same as the volume of its overseas trade, since little was used in the city for any local production. To this can be added the inflow of foodgrains and other basic consumption goods for local use. Even though it may not have been the largest city in the province Surat, with its great commerce, dominated the economy of Gujarat. As such Surat, rather than Ahmedabad, was the "primate city"⁴⁴ among the cities of Gujarat.

With its great trade and the very high value of trade turnover, most travellers agreed that the local merchants were extremely wealthy; but the houses and appearance of the city did not match its wealth.⁴⁵ Hamilton estimated the population of Surat at 200,000 and the revenue from customs duties each year at Rs. 1,300,000.⁴⁶ That the revenues of Surat must have been considerable is evident from the fact that officials bid for the post of Governor of the city at very high rates. Mir Musa, in 1637, had bid, overambitiously as it turned out, 3 lakh muhmudis more than his predecessor for the post of Governor of Surat.⁴⁷

Baroda and Broach were among the second order cities in Gujarat, and Broach was probably the larger of the two.

As it was situated on the Narmada, it could also be reached by boats sailing up the river. An ancient settlement, Broach was famous for its baftas of various kinds which supplied markets all over the world, and the city had two "suburbs" inhabited by weavers. Agate mines were located in the mountains near Broach, but the stone was carried to Cambay where it was cut and polished. The district was said to cover 87 villages.⁴⁸ Baroda, described as a large, modern town was also famous for its cotton textiles which were exported in large quantities. The district, which contained 210 villages, was also an important indigo producing region.⁴⁹ The commodity flows of the two towns show clear vertical linkages with the bigger cities, where the textiles went for export, and the hinterland, which must have supplied the raw cotton.

There were several small and medium-sized towns in Gujarat like Sidhpur, Patan, Mehsana, Nadiad and Mahmudabad (Kaira dist.). Sidhpur was famous for its chintz trade. Patan was also famous for its textiles, silk patolas and cotton fabrics, though its trade had suffered in the 17th century because of bandits on the highway. Mehsana, Nadiad and Mahmudabad were all minor cotton-weaving centres, and the last produced much cotton yarn, which was supplied to the rest of Gujarat. Navsari, Bulsar and Gandevi were important weaving villages, from where the cloth was exported to Surat to be sent abroad. Navsari deserves special mention, because it was a predominantly Parsi village.⁵⁰ These towns probably had some trade linkages with the large centres, but mostly the linkages must have been localized, limited to the rural areas near the towns. Only the weaving centres near Surat used to send cloth to Surat for export.

This is a brief account of the urban economy of Gujarat. In order to analyse the functional role of cities in the regional economy, I conclude this section with a brief outline of the economy of Gujarat, in terms of its production base and trade. Some evidence has already been presented about the pattern of settlements, indicated by the extent and number of towns and villages in several districts. Gujarat, said Mandelslo, was an extensive province and had more than 20,000 cities, towns and villages.⁵¹ From the 16th century till the 18th, the province was consistently described as fertile and well-settled, with a high level of agricultural production. In 1611 the

Portuguese traveller Manoel Godinho said that in Gujarat the country was level, stretching in fields as far as the eye could see, planted with indigo and opium, cotton and oil (seed), sugar, soap (Surat soap was a regular item of export), fruits and every kind of foodstuffs and greens. The country was watered by inland rivers, big and small, and abounded in cattle. The forests had game and wild animals; the area also produced minerals, lime and saltpetre.⁵²

The stability and prosperity of Gujarat's economy is evident from a description of the region by Forbes at the end of the 18th century, when the province had been ravaged by a century of war. In Gujarat, he said, all was fertility and plenty. The soil was rich, and produced valuable harvests of rice, coarse grain, cotton, oilseeds, dye plants and lentils. In large villages there were herds of dairy cattle for milk, and the best oxen for pack animals were to be had here. The country also produced other crops and products like tobacco, betel leaf, ginger, turmeric, sugarcane, honey and drugs. The more Forbes saw of Gujarat, he wrote, the more he admired its beauty. In spite of the continuing disturbances, the state still had many large towns and commercial cities, populous villages and a well-cultivated country.⁵³ The significant fact that stands out from these accounts is that there was a substantial production of commercial crops in the region, especially cotton and indigo, which were important raw materials for the cotton textile industry.

Because of its important ports, Gujarat was the region through which all the exports of the whole country were channelled. The province also had an extensive coastal trade with Malabar and the Konkan, and the commodities and the significance of this trade have already been mentioned. The export trade served three principal markets: (i) West Asia and East Africa; (ii) South and Southeast Asia; (iii) Europe. The interplay of this multilateral trade has been discussed at great length and very often, and it would be tedious and unnecessarily repetitive to go into the details here.⁵⁴ The exports of Gujarat to all the markets were nearly the same. Cotton and cotton textiles formed the bulk of the total value of exports, not only from Gujarat, but from all parts of India. This was followed by indigo, (both the Gujarat and Agra varieties), myrobalans, medicinal drugs, saltpetre, various kinds of resins, lac and a little opium.

The imports were more varied. From West Asia came pearls, coral, silks, saffron, various red dyes (madder and gum Arabic, used in the textile industry), myrrh and rosewater, and other aromatic substances, ivory, slaves and horses. From South Asia came spices, sandalwood, alum, tin, copper, sappanwood and camphor. From Europe were imported quicksilver, vermillion, lead, woollen fabrics, European silks, some curios, swords, guns and cannon and mirrors. But the main return was in precious metals -- gold and silver -- because the value of the exports of India was far in excess of the value of the imports, and this "drain" of precious metals into India from all over the world had been a source of concern since the days of the Roman empire.

In the inter-regional trade, three patterns of flows were to be seen. The first was the channelling of indigenous products for exports. Indigo and cloth from Agra, pepper brought up from the Deccan, gumlac from Bengal (which was made into sticklac in Surat for sealing wax, after the colour was extracted), muslins of Burhanpur, chintzes from Sironj and diamonds from Golkonda -- all came into Gujarat to reach the overseas markets. The entire "factory" network of the Dutch and English East India Companies in Agra and Western India were subordinate to their Surat establishments for precisely this reason. The return flow was the distribution of imports, especially the spices and metals to various markets in India.⁵⁵ In coastal trade Gujarat exported foodgrains, cloth, indigo and opium in return for coconut, coir, palm sugar, supari, etc. The third flow was the import of commodities for local use. The imports of silk from Bengal have already been referred to. Gujarat also imported large quantities of khassas and mulmuls from Malda.⁵⁶ Surat, similarly, was a major diamond market, though the mines were located in Golkonda, not far from the Coromandel coast. The misconception of the Dutch factors at Surat that the mines were situated nearer Surat than Masulipatnam was surely caused by the volume of the diamond trade in Surat, and because local merchants like Santidas offered to procure as many diamonds as the Dutch wanted to buy.⁵⁷ Finally Gujarat also imported foodgrains, which Gopal ascribes to the fact that so much of local agriculture was given over to producing cash crops.⁵⁸ In the final analysis, however, the inter-regional trade has little relevance for a discussion of

the role of the urban economy, except to delineate the dominance of the large cities, and especially the main ports, in attracting commodities from all parts of India.

III

The discussion given above suggests several conclusions about the level of urbanization in Gujarat. There is obviously no question of giving any accurate (or even rough) figure on the size of the urban sector. At the same time, travellers from Europe found that the major cities were comparable to the largest cities in Europe in size, population and trade. They did not find the region to be poorly settled, nor did they comment on the absence of small and medium size towns. It thus seems clear that a continuum of settlements of all sizes, from a village to the metropolis existed, and the distribution of settlements in Gujarat was not very different from that found in other countries in the world.

In fact, it can be contended that the size of the urban sector, in itself, whether large or small, is irrelevant. The really important fact is that the significance of the urban sector in the economy was disproportionately high.⁵⁹ The cities were dynamic centres of activity, quite unlike the anaemic and characterless settlements pre-industrial cities are sometimes thought to be.⁶⁰ The main port, Surat, and its merchant community (for how can one separate the people from the city?) exerted a dynamic influence not merely on the economy of the hinterland of the city, but on an area extending far beyond Gujarat. The trade of the city was so great because the organization of trade, centred in the city, was so complex and structured as to channel commodities from distant points of production to the chief metropolis.

One of the important theories on the functions of cities, why cities of different sizes exist, and the hierarchy of settlements is "Central place theory". Cities, as central places, are the foci of many human activities, serving the surrounding area. Depending on the level and the number of services provided, and the range of distribution and collection of goods and services, the status of a settlement in the hierarchy is decided. The continuum of settlements thus ranges from

a village, market town, city and metropolis.⁶¹ This theory sees the hierarchy of settlements as a pyramidal structure, and the linkages considered are mostly vertical linkages. In geographical analysis, the focus is not merely on economic interchanges between the city, town and village, but on all services, social, cultural and political. In India's pre-industrial society from the available evidence one sees very little evidence of cities performing central place functions and services, and the interaction between urban settlements and rural areas was mainly economic.

Parallel to this, in economic theory, the role of cities in the growth of the region is determined by the flows of goods, people and services between cities, and between the urban and rural economy. Cities, by their very nature, as concentrations of people and activities need to import food-stuffs and raw materials from the rural areas. If, as cities grow and develop, there is also a return flow of goods, services and money into the rural sector, development impulses are dispersed to the peripheral regions from cities. These stages in the sequence of development of the urban and regional economy is outlined in Friedmann's centre-periphery model.⁶² Friedmann argues that the path of national development can be viewed as a sequence of 4 stages: first, the pre-industrial society, when the space economy consists of a number of local centres with little interaction between each other; second, when industrialization takes place, strong centres of growth (cities) develop. There are contacts between these centres and the rest of the region (periphery), but flows are polarized and unidirectional, moving towards the centre, so that the centre has a 'colonial' or exploitative relationship with the periphery. In the third and fourth stages, the dualistic economy begins to integrate, until there is a functionally interdependent system of cities or regions, structured upon a national urban hierarchy. This theory also, however, concentrates on vertical linkages between settlements, and ignores the question of horizontal linkages.

The final question is, how can these theoretical constructs be applied to the urban and regional economy⁶³ of Gujarat. Any conclusion has to be based on the analysis of the locational pattern of production in the region, and the intra-regional

flows of commodities and services, and here, the analysis will abstract from the details presented in the previous section. In terms of location of production, Gujarat had a flourishing agricultural sector producing foodgrains as well as commercial crops, especially indigo and cotton. These latter formed the basis of the most important non-agricultural production of the region, cotton textiles. Cloth production was dispersed throughout the state, as was seen, and was to be found in villages, small and medium towns, and cities. But, the flows of trade described earlier (as well as our general knowledge of the period) indicate that products can be classified under three categories. In modern economic analysis of industrial location, products are classed as raw-material oriented, market oriented and footloose industries (i.e. industries which can locate anywhere). In our context we see that production was dispersed throughout the region, and therefore, instead of a classification in terms of locational factors, products can be classified in terms of patterns of consumption and the commodity flows engendered by them: i) Basic -- These were low value goods for basic consumption, and correspond to the wage goods of the modern day, and were universally produced in every village or small town for local consumption. A whole range of non-specialized, low-value goods and village services come within this category; ii) intermediate or export oriented goods. Production of these goods, as seen in the case of cotton textiles, was dispersed widely among urban and rural centres, and the commodity flows were primarily towards the major ports for export; iii) Luxury products -- these were produced mostly in the cities, and included the silks and brocades of Ahmedabad, the carved agates of Cambay, ivory, jewellery, carved woodwork etc. These commodities were consumed mostly by the urban rich and the relatively few rural rich, and commodity flows were interurban, rather than urban-rural.

From this analysis of the patterns of production, to determine the linkages in economy between the urban and rural sectors, we must conclude with a brief summary of the structure of internal trade and markets. At this juncture in this study a lengthy discussion of the internal trade of the country cannot be undertaken⁶⁴ and only a brief theoretical outline is given. At the base of the economic structure were the villages. The village economy was basically a subsistence

economy, but it was not a totally self-contained and self-sufficient one. At least two basic commodities had to be imported into the villages, salt and metals. Rural weekly markets existed all over the country, enabling trade between villages. Market towns on major trade routes made possible intra-regional movements of goods. These linkages were horizontal, and, unlike the theoretical framework, we see that a large share of intra-regional trade was characterized by horizontal, rather than vertical, linkages.

Vertical linkages also existed in the flow of food products and raw materials to urban markets, and in the channelling of production from all parts of the region to the major port for export. This flow was mostly unidirectional, because urban production was highly specialized in luxury goods. Trade in these commodities was also only between cities, and, therefore, showed horizontal, rather than vertical linkages. There were two important patterns in the flow of goods and services from the cities to the rural sector. The needs of the rural population for metals, especially copper and tin for utensils and other domestic use, were met by the movement of these commodities from the cities. In fact, as they were imported commodities, the flow of trade was from the main port to the rural areas. The other important vertical linkage was in commercial services, the network of brokers and money-changers which extended to settlements of all sizes throughout the country. Without this network, the extensive internal trade and foreign trade of the country, or Gujarat, would not have been possible, since this commercial network linked the production centres with distant markets.

The regional economy thus exhibited some positive and some negative features. The dispersal of production, and the absence of central place functions in cities would make for a more balanced regional economy, without any rural-urban dichotomy. But, at a deeper level, the pattern of consumption and the nature of the products, combined with the pattern of production in fact indicate a higher level of exploitation of the rural economy by the urban sector. When lower order settlements produced their own needs and were linked only horizontally with other lower order settlements, they received little from the cities. At the same time,

there were commodity flows from the rural areas to the cities, for which there were inadequate returns. City-based production featured only in inter-urban trade, so that there was a steady flow of goods to the city economies.

Lastly, the nature of India's foreign trade added to the mechanism of exploitation. The export commodities came, not just from the big cities, but were produced in settlements of all sizes, and the primary products came from the rural sector. But India's imports were mostly in gold and silver, which were appropriated by the mercantile classes as profits. Thus, when India's pre-industrial economy is seen as a "symbiotic relationship between a large number of handicrafts, service and commerce based towns on the one hand, and their small hinterlands of primary production on the other", which was "interactive" rather than "exploitative",⁶⁵ it is a romantic view of the past. In fact, the urban economy of India in the pre-industrial period corresponded to Friedmann's second stage in the sequence of economic development, when the city or "centre" had a "colonial" relationship with the periphery, characterized by a polarized flow of commodities. There is much discussion now about how Indian cities functioned in the British period as suction mechanisms in colonial exploitation.⁶⁶ This paper concludes by pointing out that this exploitative or "colonial" relationship between cities and rural areas existed in India much before colonialism. It also suggests that discussions on the failure of Indian society to develop beyond the stagnation of a relatively high level of pre-industrial economic performance must also look at such factors as the role of cities in the regional economy.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

Acknowledgment : I am grateful to Dr. A. C. Minocha and Dr. H. S. Yadav, Department of Regional Planning and Economic Growth, Bhopal University, for clarifying many of the theoretical issues involved in this study.

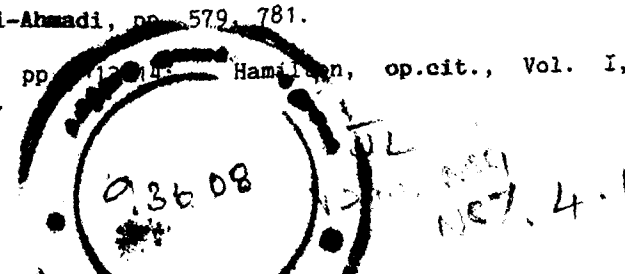
1. Harry W. Richardson, *Regional Growth Theory*, London : 1973, pp. 73 ff.

2. Sjoberg's *Pre-Industrial City* (New York : 1960), cited in Harold Carter, *The Study of Urban Geography*, London : 1975, p. 29. Also, Brian T. Robson, *Urban Growth : An Approach*, London : 1973, pp. 8-9.
3. Carter, *op.cit.*, pp. 18-19.
4. Even the sculptures at Sanchi, for instance, depict village and urban life as two distinct and separately identifiable cultures.
5. Carter, *op.cit.*, p. 21.
6. Gavin Hambly, "Towns and Cities - Mughal India", *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, Vol. I, (hereinafter CEHI), Delhi : 1984, pp.436, 441.
7. Ashin Dasgupta says: "There were then, as there are still, three rather different (Gujarat, only with the backward technology of the times the differences seemed greater." *Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat c. 1700-1750*, Wiesbaden: 1979, p.2.
8. Carter, (*op.cit.*, p. 29) quotes I.G. Childe who commented: "Urbanization is seen as a product of increasing economic specialization and advancing technology. The only way it is possible to advance from a subsistence basis is by specialization of economic activities. The linkages between specialisms necessitate the accumulation of people and this is the process of urbanization."
9. Duarte Barbosa, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Hakluyt Society, 1918, Vol. I, pp. 126-151 for an account of the trade of each individual port.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 148-150.
11. Linschoten in the 1580s (*The Voyage to the East Indies*, Hakluyt Society, 1885, Vol. I, pp. 59-60) and Baldaeus, nearly a century later (*... Description of the ... Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel*, 1672, reprinted in Churchill, ed. *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, Vol. II, p. 565) both

- remarked that the province of Cambay is the "fruitfullest" and the "most fertile" in India.
12. Barbosa, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 136-137.
 13. M. N. Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat*, Delhi : 1976, pp. 10-11. Irfan Habib (CEHI, p. 13) also comments that Cambay "of itself could never have received large sea-going ships."
 14. Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India*, London : 1925 : Vol. I, pp. 56-57; John Jourdain, *The Journal of John Jourdain*, Hakluyt Society, 1905, p. 173.
 15. Caesar Frederici in Samuel Purchas ed. *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas, his Pilgrimes*, Glasgow : 1905, Vol. X, p. 90.
 16. Francois Pyrard de Laval, *Voyage to the East Indies*, Hakluyt Society, 1887-88, Vol. II, p. 245.
 17. Barbosa, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 145-148.
 18. Faria y Sousa, *The Portuguese Asia*, Tr. by John Stevens, London : 1695, Vol. I, p. 344; M.S. Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, Bombay : 1938, Vol. I, pp. 265, 340.
 19. Tavernier, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 30; Jean de Thevenot and John Francis Gemelli Careri, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, Delhi : 1949, pp. 21, 163 John Ovington, *A Voyage to Surat in the Year 1689*, London : 1929, p. 131. This is a representative selection of comments on Surat by contemporary observers.
 20. Sir Thomas Roe advised that Surat was "the fountain and life of all the East India trade" and was the best prospect for the East India trade for England. *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mughal 1615-1619*, Hakluyt Society, 1899, Vol. II, pp. 408-409.

21. Tavernier, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 56-57. Francisco Pelsaert, *The Remonstratie of Francisco Pelsaert*, Cambridge : 1925, pp. 19-20.
22. Pearson (*op.cit.*, chs. 1-4) discusses in detail the measures adopted by the Portuguese to monopolise the shipping and trade of Gujarat.
23. Both routes are described by Tavernier, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 40 ff. I have selected the towns which are still to be found on modern maps, and are described as towns by the author. Only such towns which are roughly within the Gujarat region are mentioned here.
24. Albert de Mandelslo, *Voyages and Travels in the East Indies*, London : 1669, pp. 16, 22, 48-50. Jourdain, *op.cit.*, p. 128.
25. Arranged chronologically, these are some of the contemporary references to Ahmedabad:
 - i) Jourdain, *op.cit.*, p. 171.
 - ii) William Finch, *Early Travels in India (1583-1619)*, ed. by William Foster, (Re-printed), 1918, p. 173.
 - iii) Nicholas Withington, *Ibid.*, p. 206.
 - iv) Terry, *Ibid.*, p. 301.
 - v) Pietro della Valle, *The Travels of Pietro della Valle*, Hakluyt Society, 1892, Vol. I, p. 96.
 - vi) Thomas Herbert, *Some Travels into ... Asia the Great*, London : 1664, p. 66.
 - vii) Peter Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia*, Vol. II, Hakluyt Society, 1914, p. 266.
 - viii) Mandelslo, *op.cit.*, p. 25.
 - ix) Tavernier, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 59.
 - x) Baldaeus, *op.cit.*, p. 566.
 - xi) Thevenot, *op.cit.*, pp. 11-16.
 - xii) Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, London : 1744, Vol. I, p. 144.
 - xiii) Careri, *op.cit.*, p. 164.

26. Individual references are not given for general information. Refer to sources cited in f.n. 25.
27. Mandelslo, *op.cit.*, pp. 23-24; Tavernier, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 3. Dutch exports from Surat included several kinds of silk fabrics like atlas, alachas, brocades (goldcloth) and patolas, though the quantity was very small, often just 1 bale or a few hundred pieces. *Dagh-Register Gehouden in't Casteel Batavia*, See, for instance, Cargo lists for entries dated 14 July, 1642 (Vol. VI, 1642), and 1 June 1661 (Vol. XIII, 1661).
28. Ali Muhammad Khan, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (Supplement), tr. Baroda : 1928, p. 7.
29. James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, London : 1834, Vol. II, p. 202.
30. *English Factories in India*, ed. William Foster (hereinafter *EFI*), 1634-36, pp. 26, 94-95. The Dutch factor Pelsaert made the same suggestion, *op.cit.*, p. 41.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
32. Finch, *op.cit.*, p. 173.
33. Pelsaert, *op.cit.*, p. 19.
34. Della Valle, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 96.
35. Ali Muhammad Khan, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (Tr.), Baroda : 1965, pp. 357, 378, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (Supplement), pp. 154-157.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
37. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, pp. 579, 781.
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-14. Hamilton, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 149.



39. The description of Cambay has been collated from the following sources, listed chronologically: Barbosa, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 139-142; Jourdain, *op.cit.*, p. 178; Finch, *op.cit.*, p. 174; della Valle, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 66-67; Mandelslo, *op.cit.*, p. 31; Tavernier, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 56-57; Baldaeus, *op.cit.*, p. 566; Thevenot, *op.cit.*, p. 178; Hamilton, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 144; Forbes, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 318-319.
40. The import and export commodities are discussed more fully further, in a discussion of the economy of Gujarat.
41. Della Valle said that agate mines were located near Broach, and the quarried stone was carried to Cambay for carving. *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 60.
42. Forbes, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 321.
43. Surat has always attracted much attention, and been studied since early in this century. (H. G. Rawlinson, *British Beginnings in Western India (1579-1657)*, Oxford : 1920). For a more recent study one can refer to B. G. Gokhale, *Surat in the 17th Century*, Bombay : 1980.
44. The concept of a "primate city", first enunciated by Mark Jefferson, is still very nebulous, and not accepted as a definitive term by geographers. (Carter, *op.cit.*, p. 40-42) In economic terms, however, the concept, less rigorously used, is more acceptable, and refers to a city which was "super-eminent ... in national influence."
45. Ovington, *op.cit.*, pp. 129-130; Careri, *op.cit.*, p. 163.
46. Hamilton, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 149. This seems a more probable figure than his estimate of the revenue of Ahmedabad. Such casual estimates are not cited because I believe them to be inaccurate; even if correct, one statistic at one point of time does not establish a trend. They are quoted because they convey contemporary impressions of the cities of the region.

47. *EFI*, 1637-1641. The figure is given variously as 2 lakh rupees, 2 lakh mahmudis, and 8 lakh mahmudis. pp. 109-110, 123, 207-208.
48. Mandelslo, *op.cit.*, p. 10; Tavernier, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 54; Baldaeus, *op.cit.*, p. 574; Thevenot, *op.cit.*, p. 9.
49. Mandelslo, *op.cit.*, p. 21; Tavernier, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 58; Thevenot, *op.cit.*, p. 49.
50. Mandelslo, *op.cit.*, pp. 49-50; Tavernier, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 65; Thevenot, *op.cit.*, pp. 45-46; Hamilton, Vol. I, p. 161.
51. Mandelslo, *op.cit.*, p. 16.
52. Manoel Godinho, "Description of Indostan and Guzarate", ed. and Tr. by H. Hosten, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (Letters)*, Vol. IV, 1938. pp. 549-550.
53. Forbes, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 33-39, 184.
54. For a representative selection : Bal Krishna, *Commercial Relations Between India and England, (1601-1757)*, London : 1924. Kristof Glaman, *Dutch-Asiatic Trade 1620 - 1740*, Copenhagen : 1958. Surendra Gopal, *Commerce and Crafts in Gujarat (16th and 17th Centuries)* New Delhi : 1976. C.G.F. Simkin, *The Traditional Trade of Asia*, London : 1968.
55. Gopal (*op.cit.*) discusses all the inter- and intra-regional commodity flows in the trade of Gujarat. In addition to the several travellers' accounts cited above, there are many references in the Dutch and English records to these patterns of trade, too numerous to be individually cited.

56. Streynsham Master, *The Diaries of Streynsham Master*, London : 1911, Vol. I, pp. 399-400.
57. *Dagh-Register* 1643-44, 3 July 1643; 1663, 21 June 1663.
58. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, Bombay : 1963, p. 73. Gopal, *op.cit.*, pp. 123, 125.
59. Hambly, *op.cit.*, p. 434.
60. Sjoberg wrote that the pre-industrial city was multifunctional; it was characterized by a highly compact physical form, and by social and economic roles which were not highly specialized. A feudal elite class, which derived its dominance from non-economic, extra-urban sources, controlled the city. For a discussion of the criticisms of Sjoberg's over-simplified theories, see David T. Herbert and Colin J. Thomas, *Urban Geography*, Chichester : 1982, pp. 61-66.
61. Central place theory was developed by Walter Christaller in the 1930s. Unfortunately, as Carter comments (*op.cit.*, p. 38), from the concept of a theory of the location of towns, it has been diminished to a theory of the location of services. For a detailed discussion of the theory, see R.E. Dickinson, *City and Region*, London : 1964, Ch.3
62. Richardson, *op.cit.*, pp. 140-141.
63. There are almost as complex and inconclusive arguments as to the definition of "region", as there are about the definition of "urban". (Richardson, *op.cit.*, Ch. I, Dickinson, *op.cit.*, Ch.1). I use the word in a general sense, interchangeably with the province (political unit) of Gujarat.
64. For an excellent discussion on the internal trade of India in the 17th century, see Tapan Raychaudhuri, "Inland Trade", *CEHI*, pp. 325-359.
65. Moonis Raza, Atiya Habib and Amitabh Kundu, "Spatial Organizational and Urbanization in India : A Case Study of Underdevelopment", *Rural Area Development*, Ed. by R.P. Misra and K.V. Sundaram, New Delhi : 1979, p. 343.
66. *Ibid.*, pp. 342-343.

INDIAN FINANCIAL SUPPORT OF WESTERN EDUCATION : BOMBAY CITY 1820 - 1856

Mridula Ramanna

THAT considerable Indian financial support was extended towards the establishment and promotion of Western education in Bombay city is well known. The increasing job opportunities in the commercial offices of the city and the openings with the British Government led to a demand for those knowing English. Indian initiative and assistance were notable not only in the founding of schools teaching the English language but also in the endowment of professorships in English literature and the Arts and Sciences of Europe, which subsequently led to the establishment of Elphinstone College. Jamsetji Jejeebhoy's munificent donation made possible the establishment of Grant Medical College, providing Western medical education. Classes for teaching law were liberally endowed by Indians while Jamsetji Jejeebhoy again took the initiative in contributing towards the founding of the School of Arts. This reflects support of Western education. But the question that arises is : did their large donations give the Indian community a voice in the development of educational policy or even in routine decisions?

English education in Bombay City began with efforts by the Bombay Education Society to teach poorer Europeans and Eurasians both English and Christianity. Indians joined this school to learn English, "which is in a great degree necessary at Bombay to qualify them for many situations." The Society opened the first school for Indians at Fort and later at Girgaum and Mazgaon in 1818. The Fourth Annual Report makes particular mention of the efforts of Mulla Firoz, who had explained the views of the Society to his 'fellow country men' and persuaded them to send their children to the school.² The Bombay Native School Book and School

Committee was formed in 1822, to publish and prepare works, introducing Western Arts and Sciences to Indians. The Committee included twelve Indian members who were subscribers to the Native School and School Book Funds.³ Subsequently, the Committee broke away from the parent Bombay Education Society to detach itself from imparting Christian education and the Bombay Native Education Society was formed in 1824. The Society conducted English, Marathi and Gujarati Schools and aimed at improving existing standards through the publication and translation of school books and the training of school masters.

The Society appealed to the Government for assistance.⁴ Mountstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, in his well-known minute of 1824 urged that a part of the revenue should be spent on education - a necessary expense, to be "cheerfully incurred".⁵ Francis Warden, a member of Elphinstone's Council, also maintained the expediency of promoting education, with liberal funds from England, while disagreeing with Elphinstone on the means of diffusing education.⁶ The Society initially received Rs. 1,060 per month from the Governor-in-Council.⁷

Parsi, Hindu and Muslim subscribers and British officials contributed to the funds of the Society through 'benefactions' and 'subscriptions'.⁸ A building to house the schools of the Society was constructed at a cost of Rs. 20,000/-, met partly by subscription and partly by a Government grant.⁹

In 1827, the Indian community made the most generous of all endowments to the Native Education Society for the creation of the Elphinstone professorships. English language, Literature and the Arts and Sciences of Europe were to be taught by these professors at a college to be set up, and named after Mountstuart Elphinstone. A meeting of leading personalities of Bombay City set up a Committee consisting of Madhavdas Ranchoddas, Jamsetji Jejeebhoy, Framji Cowasji, Bomanji Hormusji, Dadaji Dhackji, Devidas Harjivandas, Jagannath Shankar Shet, Mohammed Ali Roghay and Capt. Jervis, who also acted as Secretary to the committee. Rs. 50,276 was collected from among those present and it was resolved

to invest the sum in Government Securities.¹⁰ At the end of the year the endowment fund had increased to Rs. 2,29,656/-. Contributions came from Satara, Sangamner, Ahmednagar, Akola, Shinnur, Nasik, Khandesh, Dhulia, Surat and Kaira. Heading the list of princes who contributed was the Maharaja of Satara, with a donation of Rs. 17,000/-.¹¹ It is noteworthy that the list of subscribers included pensioners as well as various categories of officials like the Record Keeper and the Head Accountant of the Ahmednagar Collector's Office, **Kamavisadars** and **Shirestadars** of different parts of the Presidency, **Daftardars**, **Karkuns**, Head Prabhus, Clerks, **Kamats**, 'Nazurs', the Persian interpreter and the Minute Book Keeper of the **Sadar Adalat**, the 'Head Powder Maker' and his assistant from Bombay City and two Head Inspectors. Employees of the Resident's Office, Bombay Collector's Office, the Bombay Custom House, the Chief Secretary's Office, Bombay, the **Sadar Adalat** and the **Adalat**, and many **Vakils** also subscribed various sums. Fifty **Patels** contributed Re. 1 each, seven **Patels** subscribed Rs. 2 each, fifteen **Taladdars** gave Re. 1 each, four **Girashias** gave Rs. 5 each and two other **Girashias** gave Rs. 2 each.¹² There were also very small amounts grouped under the head of sundry subscriptions, which accounts for the "small change". Such persons probably gave their contributions more as a gesture to the Native Education Society. This overwhelming response was regarded as "an unequivocal and unprecedented mark of affection"¹³ for Elphinstone, who acknowledged this honour and noted that "this measure was worthy of the judgement and foresight with which many of you are eminently gifted; and tends to raise still higher the opinion which I had already formed of your community."¹⁴ At the same time, the Society regarded it as an "auspicious sign" of increasing confidence in British rule.¹⁵

However, for three years after these large funds were collected, the Indian subscriptions to the Society registered a decline, the Government maintaining that the donations of Europeans were larger than those made by Indians.¹⁶ The Society pointed out that the benefits of Western education were only recently becoming apparent through those who had completed a regular course at the Society's Schools. Besides, Indians were unwilling to donate more money when nothing had emerged as yet from the contributions made

to the Elphinstone Professorships.¹⁷ The *Bombay Durpun*, which was the voice of the educated of the time and was edited by Bal Shastri Jambhekar, appealed to fellow countrymen, particularly the wealthy, to come forward and support the Society since the "utility of learning" was positively perceivable through the growing response.¹⁸ Indians were soon the major donors, numbering 44 out of 63 subscribers by 1839.¹⁹ They also contributed generously to the West and Clare Scholarship funds, established by the Society to assist meritorious students. Their share in the latter fund was 60%.²⁰

The Government made grants to these scholarships. The preparation and printing of school books was subsidised, the average expenditure amounting to Rs.40,000 per annum between 1826 and 1830.²¹ The unprofitability of this activity for Government led to a reduction of aid to Rs.20,000 per annum in 1832²² much to the regret of the *Bombay Durpun*, which held that it was "the paramount duty of the Ruling power to encourage, direct and afford every aid to the cultivation of the mind and dissemination of knowledge amongst the people."²³

Despite this expectation and the Indian community's generous support, the managing council of the proposed Elphinstone College had five Europeans and four Indians in contrast to the 'model' Hindu College, Calcutta, where there were eight Indians and three Europeans on the college committee.²⁴ Further the Government got Regulation 3 of the plan for the management of the Institution altered so that it read "The College be under the general superintendence of Government."²⁵ The President of the Council and one European member were to be Government nominees, while the other seven members were to be elected by the Native Education Society. Except for this role, the connection of the Society with Elphinstone College ceased.

In 1840, the Bombay Government replaced the Bombay Native Education Society with the Board of Education as the main agency for the promotion of education in Bombay Presidency and consequently Government control and interference increased. The Society objected to the transfer "of

the large sums subscribed by the Natives for the benefit of their countrymen,"²⁶ and protested its supercession in vain. A letter to the *Bombay Times* signed by 'F.E.' wanted to know on what principles the Government could claim to be the trustees of a Fund, legally placed in the hands of an independent body.²⁷ But the fact remained that the Government through its nomination of the President and Secretary to the Board of Education, the appointment of three European members, the Society electing three Indian members, and the Elphinstone Professors having to perform educational inspector's duties, in close co-ordination with the Collectors, had replaced the Native Education Society with its own pervasive influence. By arrogating to itself the right to decide when the Indian would be ready for the higher branches of knowledge and by rejecting all the modifications proposed, the Government revealed an imperialist attitude in educational policy.

During the 'Anglicist-Vernacular' controversy in the Board of Education, the three Indian members, Jagannath Shankar Shet, Framji Cawasji and Mohamed Ibrahim Mukba argued that Indians had contributed so generously to the professorship funds on the understanding that the 'vernaculars' would not be neglected. They maintained that progress in the study of English would be more rapid with a foundation in the 'vernaculars'.²⁸ Col. George Jervis, who was also a member of the Board, concurred with these views and pointed out that a large part of the funds available for the education of Indians was contributed by Indians themselves. While they desired to instruct their sons in the English language it was never their intention that the funds be exclusively appropriated to the study of English.²⁹ Erskine Perry, President of the Board of Education, was supported by fellow European members, Escombe and Dr. McLennan, in his forceful arguments for English. Convinced that English would become the language of communication between different Indians,³⁰ Perry encouraged the opening of English schools during his tenure as President and claimed that educational prospects were "flourishing".³¹ But John Willoughby, in his minute on education dated 12 January 1850 observed differently, that "opulent and influential" Indians stayed away from the annual general meetings of the Board of Education, this apathy being in contrast to their enthusiasm,

when Elphinstone Institution was founded.³² The result of this controversy was the acceptance of English as the exclusive means of instruction at the collegiate level.

In 1842 a sum of Rs. 125,000 was sanctioned by the Government as the annual expenditure on education.³³ In 1852, the Bombay Government supported the Board's suggestion that the amount should be increased to Rs. 150,000 and the Court of Directors granted the additional amount.³⁴ As the appended table shows, the Government's share in the Elphinstone Institutional Funds was 52.8% and in the Professorship Funds 55.8%.

The various income heads of the Elphinstone Institution were as follows in the mid-1850s:

Institutional Funds:

Government Grant	Rs. 20,000
Schooling fees	13,000
Subscriptions	2,000
Interest on the Funded Capital of Rs. 68,000	<u>2,820</u>
Total:	Rs. 37,820

Professorship Funds:

Government Grant	22,000
Interest on the original Capital of Rs. 300,000	12,000
Interest on the subsequent subscription accumulation of Rs. 1,33,901	<u>5,406</u>
Total:	Rs. 39,406

To which was added the total of
Institutional Funds

	<u>37,820</u>
Total:	Rs. 77,226

To this sum was added:

Interest on Rs. 10,000 since funded	Rs. 400
Subscriptions to Perry Professorships	2,028
Government grant for Law Professorship (19 June. 1856)	8,400
Government grant for Trained School Masters (21 Sept. 1855)	385
Government grant for House Rent (30 April, 1856)	Rs. <u>1,200</u>
Total:	Rs. <u>12,413</u>
Grand Total:	Rs. <u>89,639</u> ³⁵

The replacement of the Board of Education by the Department of Public Instruction, subsequent to the Despatch of 1854, led to further Government control. The Government of India laid down that the practise of capitalising the savings and enlarging the income of the Elphinstone Institution and Professorship Funds by the Trustees, who were Indians, should be discontinued. The latter protested that the major part of this capital had been formed by private contributions. The Director of Public Instruction, E.I. Howard, regretted that this reduced the trustees to mere depositories, without power of responsibility. The Government finally agreed to forgo its claims to a refund of surplus funds.³⁶

However, the trustees could do nothing to prevent low salaries being paid to Indian assistant masters, for which Jagannath Shankar Shet, Bhau Daji and Bomanji Hormusji were criticised by the *Rast Goftar*.³⁷ The discrepancies in salaries between European and Indian masters in the School Division of the Elphinstone Institution were glaring. While Charles Anthony Beyts was paid Rs.225 per month, the highest paid Indian master Ardeshir Framji received Rs.110 per month and the salaries of assistant masters ranged between Rs.20 and Rs.90 per month.³⁸ Even in routine matters, the Indian voice was not heard. Both the Board and Jagannath Shankar Shet could not have Professor Dadabhai Naoroji's leave for two years sanctioned by Government, while similar requests were granted to European professors.³⁹ However, when the

Board suggested that 'vernacular' schools of Elphinstone Institution should maintain themselves and the sums thus appropriated be used to increase Professors' salaries, in the Elphinstone College, Jagannath Shankar Shet was able to stall the move.⁴⁰

To promote 'anglo-vernacular' education, schools were set up by Jagannath Shankar Shet and Goculdas Tejpal, the founders providing the school house and furniture and paying half the salaries of the masters and Government bearing the other half. The Jagannath Shankar Shet School (1857) at Girgaum catered to Marathi speaking boys and the Goculdas Tejpal School (1858) located at Ganeshwadi⁴¹ was attended by Gujarati speaking boys, including Khojas and Memons.⁴²

Indians also financed institutions which did not receive Government aid. Thus schools were endowed for students of a particular community or caste. The Jamsetji Jejeebhoy Parsee Benevolent Institution was founded in 1849 as a charity English School for poor Parsis, following a generous donation of Rs. 3 lakhs by Jamsetji Jejeebhoy.⁴³ Later fee paying students were enrolled.⁴⁴ In 1855, leading members of the Prabhu caste founded the Prabhu Seminary which served as a preparatory school.⁴⁵ Ayrton's School, where Dinsha Edulji Wacha schooled, was founded by the beneficence of Bhunjibhoy Cama.⁴⁶ Enterprising Indians conducted a number of private schools, like the coaching classes of today, which ensured that their pupils passed the examination for admission into Elphinstone Institution. Fourteen Parsi Schools are mentioned in the admission registers of Elphinstone Institution, while Muslim boys came from Muhammad Hussain's school and Hindus from Mahadev and Kaliandas schools.⁴⁷

Indian support was also extended towards professional education. Jamsetji Jejeebhoy's generous donation of one lakh of rupees led to the establishment of the Jamsetji Jejeebhoy (J.J.) Hospital and the Grant Medical College. The public contributions to the latter institution was to the tune of Rs.44,800/-⁴⁸ the donors being those who had supported Elphinstone Institution, thus showing that they were not only convinced of the need to study the English language but also

to adopt Western medicine. Scholarships and prizes were endowed by Indians for proficiency in various subjects.⁴⁹ As a result of Jagannath Shankar Shet's forceful argument that instruction in Midwifery and Medical Jurisprudence was necessary in view of the high rates of mortality during child birth and the many instances in which medical evidence was sought,⁵⁰ the Court of Directors approved the professorships in these subjects. The Obstetrics Institution was set up in 1850 to look after the 'poorer classes' and to provide the students of the College with practical experience in Clinical Midwifery.⁵¹ Jejeebhoy also donated Rs.10,000 to constitute a permanent fund to assist medical students with books and instruments after their graduation.⁵² The medical graduates of Grant Medical College practised in Bombay and other parts of the Presidency, winning 'golden opinions' everywhere, according to the *Rast Goftar*.⁵³ The Indian donors to medical education would doubtless have been among their patients.

In 1853, Jamsetji Jejeebhoy offered one lakh of Rupees to a school for the improvement and augmentation of industrial arts and manufacturers in Bombay.⁵⁴ The establishment of the Arts Classes in Elphinstone Institution in 1857 marked the founding of the J. J. School of Arts, one more proof of Jejeebhoy's munificence.⁵⁵

For the establishment of law classes, the Perry Testimonial Committee was formed, with Jagannath Shankar Shet as Chairman. A sum of Rs. 48,000 was collected, donations ranging from Rs. 4,000 to Rs.25.⁵⁶ The objective of the class was to provide this facility to those who were candidates for judicial employment in the mofussil. The Committee had to wait two years for the Court of Director's reply regarding the sanction of additional Government contribution, required to pay the salary of a Professor of jurisprudence when about to found a University with a professorship of law.⁵⁷ Jagannath Shankar Shet's suggestion that the professorships be amalgamated was accepted and Government sanctioned enough to pay the Perry Professor, Rs.300 per month. The former's recommendation of Professor Reid for the post was also accepted.⁵⁸ The classes commenced in 1855, with most students being from Bombay city.

The reformist activities of the Western educated through the Students' Literary and Scientific Society⁵⁹ was solely dependent on Indian financial assistance. The first 'friend' of the Society's admirable efforts in the field of girls' education was that great patron, Jagannath Shankar Shet, whose cottage was used as a school house.⁶⁰ At the outset the Society conducted three Marathi 'Hindu' Schools and three Parsi schools teaching through the vernaculars. The generosity of four Parsi "gentlemen" - Nasarvanji Manekji Kama, Framji Nasarvanji Patel, Dhanjibhai Nasarvanji Kama and Khurshedji Nasarvanji Kama - made possible the appointment of paid teachers, the teaching earlier having been done by volunteer members, before their working hours. This support to both Hindu and Parsi schools was considered an indication of "larger sympathy beyond the confines of caste."⁶¹ In 1851 a Gujarati school was set up for the instruction of "the daughters of the great trading castes of Gujarat"⁶² and in 1854 a second school was opened with Mangaldas Nathubhai's contribution of Rs.200 per annum in addition to providing school room accommodation.⁶³ In 1857, the four Parsi schools, (the number having increased) with 409 pupils, were transferred to a committee of Parsis, denominated Parsi Girls' Schools Association, which undertook to support and manage them.⁶⁴ Hindu merchants and bankers supported the Hindu Schools. In 1859 Magaldas Nathubhai endowed Rs.1,000 as a permanent annual grant, and subsequently the Gujarati schools were named after him, and following his precedent Bhagwandas Purshotamdas endowed Rs.600 per annum, for a Marathi school, regarded as 'disinterested generosity', since it benefitted another community. Jagannath Shankar Shet also made a permanent annual endowment towards a Marathi school. Others who offered monthly contributions were English education reformers - Bhau Daji, who supported a Marathi school with Rs. 40 per month, Vinayak Dev and Narayan Dinanath assisting another Marathi school.⁶⁵

The Society also conducted boys schools from 1851. The poor students received free instruction, which was both in English and Gujarati. A dozen Gujarati Shets made annual subscriptions totalling nearly Rs. 400. Chief among them were Mangaldas Nathubhai, Varjivandas Madhavdas, Narotamdas Madhavdas and Bhagwandas Purshotam.⁶⁶ By 1855 there were two Hindu and five Parsi boys schools,⁶⁷ the parents of many

pupils hoping that this preparatory instruction would gain their wards admission into Elphinstone Institution.⁶⁸

Thus Indian financial support played a significant role in promoting Western education and in encouraging the reformist efforts of the Western educated. The Bombay Government maintained that a feature of this assistance was that Indian donors, willing to endow educational institutions, looked to Government to make a corresponding grant or to give a favourable rate of interest on the donation.⁶⁹ This was, perhaps, because the Indian community, while taking the initiative, expected the Government to do what they considered its 'duty' in providing Western knowledge. Besides, many of the job openings for the Western educated were in the growing administrative machinery of the British Government. However, as has appeared from the instances cited above, Government's involvement meant an all pervasive influence and increasing control. In major education policy decisions, the government's view prevailed. Doubtless Indians wanted Western education, but not at the cost of or the neglect of the vernaculars. They could do little to prevent this. Their generous contributions towards the establishment of professional courses reflects their conviction of the need to make available more courses, that would lead to new careers.

They were forthcoming in their support to private institutions, some of which were established for the underprivileged of their own communities. The pioneering attempts in girl's education, during these years, was promoted by Indian enterprise; the missionaries, having made the beginning, were carrying on their commendable efforts, despite resistance. On the other hand, the government's contribution in this field was negligible. Therefore, Indian assistance was not confined only to institutions which received governmental aid.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor within the Government of Bombay (Bombay, 1816) Annual Reports of the Bombay Education Society, II Report, 1817, p. 17.

116

India Past and Present

2. *Ibid.*, IV Report, 1819, pp. 21-3.
3. They were Ruttonji Bomanji, Framji Cawasji, Hormusji Dhanji, Mulla Firoz, Jamsetji Jejeebhoy, Devidas Harjivandas, Nagardas Hirji Modi, Raghunath Keushra Joshi, Sadashiv Kashinath Chatre, The Kazi of Bombay, Kazi Ghulam Husain, Mohammed Ali Roghay and Mohamed Ibrahim Mukba. *First Report of Bombay Native School Book and School Society*, 1824, p.3.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-11.
5. G. W. Forrest, *Selections from The Minutes and Other Official Writings of Mountstuart Elphinstone*, London, Richard Bentley and Sons, 1884, p. 103.
6. *General Department Volumes*, Government of Maharashtra Archives (hereinafter GD), Vol. 8/63 of 1824, pp. 189-190.
7. *Appendix to Report of Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company* (hereinafter App. H.C./Com Memoir by T. Fisher, p. 231.
The amount was spent as follows:

1. Towards rent of a room for meetings and a depository for books	Rs. 80
2. Sum used for encouragement of 'native' works	210
3. Support of Marathi and Gujarati Schools	150
4. Support of the English School	200
5. Salary of the 'Native' Secretary	100
6. Marathi and Gujarati School Superintendents	320
Total:	Rs. 1,060
	per month
	or Rs. 12,720/- per annum
8. The Indian donors included 'principal' Indians like The Nawab of Surat, who paid Rs.500; Jamsetji Jejeebhoy who made two donations totalling Rs.250; Aga Moohummud Soostree, Bomanji Muncherji Dhunjisha

Ferozsha Ardashir, Framji Cawasji, Hormusji Bomanji, Jagannath Shankar Shet, and Mohammed Ali Roghay who made benefactions of Rs.200 each; Devidas Harjivandas who gave Rs.150; and Cursetji Manekji, Kazi Ghulam Husain, Ramchandra Shastri Janwakar, Ranchoddas Girdharbhai, Sadudin Shekh Ullakoor, Rs.100 each. Annual subscriptions ranged between Rs.150 and Rs.6. The list of benefactions included small sums by clerks of the Sadar Adalat and a Gujarati 'Peshkar'; collections made by the Pay Master, Baroda subsidiary force from three 'purvoes' and one shroff, of Rs. 5 each and Rs. 25 from the head 'purvoo', and those made by the Assistant Revenue Surveyor from Bania Surveyors, Brahmins, 'Bohra Patels' and Kunbis of amounts between Rs.5 and Re.1. *Bombay Native Education Society Reports* (hereinafter *BNES*) 1824-5, App. 8, pp. 30-5. Heading the lists of British donors was Governor Mountstuart Elphinstone with a donation of Rs.600 and a subscription of Rs.300. *Ibid.*

9. Rs. 3,550 was donated by twenty four 'native gentlemen', of whom Hormusji Bomanji gave Rs.500, Jamsetji Jejeebhoy Rs.400, Devidas Harjivandas and Jagannath Shankar Shet Rs.3000 each, while others contributed between Rs.200 and Rs.50 *BNES*, 1824-5, App. 7, pp. 29-30.
10. Jamsetji Jejeebhoy and Framji Cawasji giving Rs. 7,000 each, Jagannath Shankar Shet, Mohammed Ali Roghay and Rupji Dhanji, Rs.3,000, each and Dadaji Dhackji, Rs.2500. *BNES*, 1827, pp.30-31.
11. From the family of Patwardhans, there were two donations : of Rs.11,000 from Chintamanrao Apasahib and Rs.10,000 from Gopalrao Sahib Jumkhinder. The other contributors from princely states were Raghoji Angre, who gave Rs.8,000; The Nawab of Radhumpur, Rs.5,200; the Rajas of Kutch and Bhavnagar, Rs.5,000 each; the Nawabs of Surat and Cambay and the Raja of Akulkote, Rs.2,000 each, the Diwan of Palunpur, Rs.2,500 and the widow of Nana Phadnavis, Rs. 1,000. *Ibid.*, pp.66-76.

12. Ibid., pp. 67-76. **Kamavisadar** was in charge of a small division; **Shirestadar**, a head clerk, **Daf-tardar**; a registrar and accountant; **Karkun**, a clerk; **Kamat**, an English writer; **Nazur**, perhaps **Nazir**, an official in the Courts, **Patel**, headman and **Talatdar**, an official who collected sums due from cultivators. Henry Yule and A.C. Burnell, **Hobson-Jobson**, London; 1903. **Girashia** was a proprietor, **Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency**, Bombay : Government Central Press, 1904, Vol. IV, p. 150.
13. **GD**, Vol. 10/163 of 1828, p. 7.
14. **BNES**, 1827, p. 39.
15. **GD**, Vol. 10/163 of 1828, p. 9.
16. **BNES**, 1832, p. 34. The European contribution was Rs. 8,183 while the Indian share was Rs. 4,714 in the years 1828-30.
17. **BNES**, p. 37.
18. **Bombay Durpun**, 24 August 1832.
19. **BNES**, 1839, App. O, pp. 82-4.
20. The scholarships were instituted in memory of Edward West, first Chief Justice of Bombay and The Earl of Clare, Governor of Bombay. **Jamsetji Jejeebhoy** gave Rs. 1,500 and **Gursetji Cawasji**, **Framji Cawasji**, **Jagannath Shankar Shet**, **Mohammed Ali Roghay** and **Vinayak Gangadhar Shastri** Rs. 1,000 each. **BNES**, 1835, App. H, pp. 54-55.
21. **BNES**, 1832, p. 34.
22. **BNES**, p. 14.
23. **Bombay Durpun**, 9 November 1832.
24. **BNES**, 1832. App. G, pp. 31-2. The Indian members of the Committee which had drawn up the plan sent a letter of protest. They were **Jagannath Shankar Shet**, **Devidas Harjivandas**, **Framji Cawasji**, **Jamsetji Jejeebhoy**, **M.A. Roghay**, **M. Ibrahim Muckba**.

25. **BNES**, 1839, pp. 50-51.
26. **GD**, Vol. 13/530 of 1840, p. 161.
27. **Bombay Times**, 2 June 1840.
28. **Report of the Board of Education**, Bombay (hereinafter **RBE**) 1847 and 1848, p. 62.
29. **RBE**, pp. 83-84.
30. **Erskine Perry** "On the Geographical Distribution of the Principal Languages of India and the feasibility of introducing English as the Lingua Franca" in the **Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society**, Vol. IV, 1853, pp. 289-317.
31. **RBE**, 1847 and 1848, p. 61.
32. **RBE**, 172. **Willoughby**, member of the Bombay Council 1846-51, pleaded for funds for vernacular education which he felt was being neglected. He noted that 44% more was spent on English schools than on vernacular institutions.
33. **GD**, Vol. 30 of 1842. p. 327. The Court of Directors tried to reduce this amount to Rs. 1 lakh but the Bombay Governor and the Board protested and the Court had to stand by its earlier commitment. **GD**, Vol. 23 of 1843, p. 111.
34. **GD**, Vol. 21 of 1854, p. 29.
35. **Elphinstone College Records** (hereinafter **ECR**) of 1856 Government of India/Government of Bombay, 12 September, 1856.
36. **Report of the Department of Public Instruction** (hereinafter **RDPI**) 1857-58, pp. 78-79. This amounted to Rs. 44,810 since 1854-55.
37. **Rast Goftar**, 30 January 1859.

38. ECR of 1857, Half-Yearly Return of Elphinstone Institution, no date.
39. ECR of 1855, No. 92 of 1855, 14 June 1855, Letter from J. S. Shet, 15 June 1855.
40. ECR of 1855 No. 438 of 1855, 20 July, 1855.
41. RDPI, 1857-58, App. I, p. 413
42. *Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Bombay : Times Press, 1909, Reprinted, Pune : 1978, Vol. III, p. 108.
43. *Correspondence Relating to J.J.P.B. Institution*, Bombay : 1859, pp. 75-77. Other Parsis who contributed to the Institution included Nowroji Jamsetji, Bomanji Hormusji, Dadabhoy Pestonji, Hormusji Bomanji Sett, Jejeebhoy Dadabhoy, Cursetji Rustomji, Cursetji Jamsetji, Cursetji Furdoonji, Manekji Limji, Dosabnai Sorabji, Munshi and Manekji Nusserwanji.
44. Jal H. Wadia, *J.J.P.B. Institution Centenary Volume*, Bombay : The Author, 1950.
45. *Bombay Telegraph and Courier*, 31 May, 1855. They were Sucaram Luxmanji, Bhugwantrao Ramchanderji, Bhaskar Shamji, Raghunath Luxmanji, Krishnanath Abbaji, Eknath Govindji, Mahadevrao Moroji, Vasudev Narayan, Janardan Ramchanderji, Bapuji Shamrao, Shamrao Moroji, Anandrao Luxmanji, Moongaji Vasudevji.
46. *Representative Men of Bombay Presidency*, Philadelphia, G.B. Burrows, 1900, p. 120.
47. ECR of 1853, Admission List, no Page No. A School managed by Narotam Sakharan is also mentioned. RBE, 1849, p. 74.
48. RBE, 1847-48, Report of the Grant Medical College (hereinafter *RGMC*), 1845-48, pp. 1-5.

49. The Farish scholarship had funds amounting to Rs.8,360. The Carnac and Anderson scholarships sums of Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 10,997, respectively, while Rs. 8,000 was collected for the Reid Scholarship instituted in 1849. GD, Vol. 27 of 1845, p. 11; RBE, 1849, *RGMC* 1848-49, p. 17.
50. RBE, 1850-51, *RGMC*, 1849-50, App. K, pp. 83-84.
51. RBE, 1850-51, *RGMC*, 1849-50, App. K, p. 84. The list of contributors was headed by Jamsetji Jejeebhoy and included the Gaikwar, Vinayak Gangadhar Shastri, M.A. Roghay, Cursetji Framji, Bhaskar Sunderji, A. Mohamed Khan, David Sassoon and Others. *Ibid.*, pp. 185-6. By 1852-53, a sum of Rs.31,386 was collected. RBE, 1852-53, *RGMC.*, 1852-53, p. 1 xxxiii.
52. RBE, 1849, *RGMC*, 1848-49, p. 14. The amount was deposited in the Government treasury to earn an interest of 6%.
53. Rast Goftar and Satya Prakash, 13 October, 1861.
54. J. A. Richey (ed.) *Selections from Educational Records*, Calcutta : Superintendent of Government Printing, 1927, p. 351.
55. RDPI, 1857-58, p. 99.
56. *Bombay Telegraph and Courier*, 16 November, 1852. This amount earned an interest of Rs. 160 p.m. GD, Vol. 21, of 1854, p. 80. This fund subsequently increased to Rs. 50,700, ECR of 1855, No. 522 of 1855, 22 October 1855.
57. GD, Vol. 21 of 1854, p. 80.
58. GD, Vol. 21 of 1854, pp. 18, 26.
59. The Society was formed in 1848. Professors, Masters, students and alumni of Elphinstone Institution were its members.

60. **Proceedings of the Students' Literary and Scientific Society** (hereinafter **SLSS**), 1854-56, p. 10.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 11. Also see D.F. Karaka, **History of the Parsis**, London : Macmillan & Co., 1884, Vol. I, p. 310.
62. **SLSS**, 1854-56, p. 13.
63. **SLSS**, 1854-56, pp. 13-14.
64. **SLSS**, 1856-59, p. 2.
65. **SLSS**, 1856-59, pp. 10-11, 38.
- 66., **SLSS**, 1856-59, p. 20.
67. **SLSS**, 1854-56, p. 40.
68. **SLSS**, 1852-53, p. 14.
69. E.I. Howard, **Memorandum on Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency**, Bombay : Viegas and Sons Press, 1865. Letter from the Bombay Government to the Government of India, 24 October 1860.

REVIEW ARTICLE

PEASANT INSURGENCY*

G.J. Ramarao

IT is nothing new to say that we, in India, as also people in two thirds of the world still live under dispensations of Capitalism. This socio-economic system needs markets and for the sake of markets, it has to devise planned, perpetually obsolescent products. One of such product is the motive force of all products, namely fashion.

As it happened, fashion is not confined to consumer products and consumer durables only. It extends to even intellectual and academic wares. And, in these the more radical it **sounds**, the better. The sound is more important than the substance. In fact, when the sound alone is made out to be the substance, capitalism jumps at it, obviously because of all round, i.e., theoretical and practical confusion that would result in. For, it suits the interests of capitalism to detract attention from the essential to the irrelevant. Time was when Sartre, Marcuse, Debrey, Althusser, Gramsci - and you can name more - were the fashion on campuses everywhere.

In the 'publish or perish' context of academic contracts and in the rat race for publication, when publication becomes more important than what is published, fashion and flamboyance are inevitable. These would, moreover, bring hot profits to the capitalists in the publishing industry. So, everybody is happy. Only scholarship suffers; depth and profundity disappear. Scholasticism takes over. The inquiry is no longer whether there is any proof that angels exist but how many angels with what mystical characteristics could inhabit or dance on a pinhead. This kind of arid research takes place in the humanities.

*Review of Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India : Ranajit Guha, Delhi : Oxford University Press, 1983, viii + 361 pp. Price: Rs. 140.00

Sometimes, a fashion comes into being even without the knowledge or conscious effort of the originator-author. The author's purpose is misunderstood and criticised. And, then, to improve matters, the critic begins researching into minute details which are of neither theoretical nor were of practical interest.

One glaring example of this process is Eric Hobsbawm's *Primitive Rebels*, *The Bandits*, etc. These works provoked or inspired many works which aspire to study the history and movements of people who chose to deviate from, opt out of, rob, rebel against the existing social formation.

In the history of several countries, there have been such movements and forms of protest upto and including revolts. And, the people involved in them are those who had endured class oppression for a long time or those who were sought to be freshly brought under class oppression, native or foreign. And the most oppressed have been people pursuing agriculture or those still practising tribal economy which needed vast territories. These people, whenever possible, acted in unison, in which case there were armed rebellions, no matter how primitive the arms were. If such unity was not possible they acted in small groups but being small groups they ended up as 'criminals', killing and robbing the oppressors and the rich, who could become rich by practising oppression. And, in some cases, small groups, even though not drawn from the poorer sections of the population, were inspired by practical ideals like liberation of the nation from foreign rule and adopted impractical means of individual heroism, such as murder of officers who were symbols of foreign rule and raiding police stations and army camps not only to kill officers but also to capture arms.

One can admire all such individuals, groups, or even large number of fighters and their heroism. One can research and produce first rate books on them showing how and why they took to those means and methods and how they applied them and with what and, what kind of, results. One can even go on to assess the role played by them in the history of a country. All these are valid concerns of a historian. And any historian, worth the name, would also see, realise, and

bring to light that those movements, important as they were in providing the backdrop of inspiration and, probably, for weakening the oppressor or the ruling foreigner, never played the determining role, a role that determined the course of history. Theirs, in short, was not a historic role.

No historian, worth his salt, irrespective of whether he belongs on the side of the oppressor or not, has fully seen eye to eye with the protesting movement or not, has never ignored them or failed to assess them. If the assessment was to help the oppressor, it would naturally focus attention on the weaknesses of the protesters and their movement. If a historian did not like the means and methods employed by the protesting movement, while conceding the justness of the cause, he would pass his moral judgement. Those who are in full sympathy with the protest, find adequate rationale not only for the protest but also provide reasons for the means and methods employed. But none of these three types of studying the historical protest movement would think of hiding facts about and of the movement, its leaders, its course, etc., if only because each type of study has its own purpose. And, none can fulfil the purpose by hiding the facts. The dictum valid for journalists has always been the *modus operandi* of historians, viz., facts are sacred; interpretation is free.

Things mentioned above are not new to any student of history, no matter what his specialisation is within it. But they had to be mentioned, by way of a resume, if you like, for the reviewing that follows.

The book, which is the subject of this review article, the author tells us in the Preface, "owes much to two groups of scholars of the younger generation. Some of them were undergraduates at the University of Sussex...." The other, the second group obviously are a bunch of postgraduates with whom the author had participated in a "collective project designated now as *Subaltern Studies*. Indeed it constitutes the initial moment of my own participation in that project."

And, we are told that "My work on this book developed over the years concurrently, with and as integral to the collective project...." mentioned above. "This book would have taken much longer to write and publish but for the excellent working conditions provided by the Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University." And, it took "nine years..... to write this book."

Immediately, after a page of "Abbreviations", the author quotes from *Assal-āyanasuttarh* (93) of *Majjhima-Nikaya* and gives below "a slightly modified version of the translation of the passage". There is no explanation why it was "modified", which indeed it is.

Follows Chapter I entitled "Introduction". But let us stop and ruminate: Why the neologism "subaltern"?*

This book is supposed to be on "peasant insurgency". Obviously, it is the peasant who is called 'subaltern'. There are only two meanings of 'subaltern' appropriate to the present context: (a) Of a vassal: Holding of one who is himself a vassal. Hence of a few of right; (b) Of inferior status, quality or importance.**

Of these two meanings, the first has no validity in the context of colonial Indian history. The second meaning which fits the context is clearly derogatory. A historian who complains that "peasant insurgency" has not been properly treated by historians ought not to treat the peasant in such derogation, notwithstanding the fact that Gramsci uses the term subaltern (sometimes between quotes and sometimes without them).

* Gramsci uses the word "subaltern" sometimes qualified with quotes and sometimes not. His works were published posthumously. So one is not sure of his intention and purpose.

** See: The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary. Calcutta, 1964, p. 2055.

Coming back to Chapter I, we read: "..... agrarian disturbances in many forms and on scales ranging from local riots to war-like campaigns spread over many districts were endemic throughout the first three quarters of British rule until the very end of the nineteenth century. At a simple count, there are no fewer than 110 known instances of these even for the somewhat shorter period of 117 years - from the Rangpur *dhing* to the Birsait *ulgulan* - spanned by the present work. The formative layers of the developing state were ruptured again and again by these seismic* upheavals until it was to learn to adjust to its unfamiliar site.... by the increasing legislative, administrative and cultural controls."

To restate the content of the quotation: There were not less than 110 "agrarian disturbances" (which later on become "seismic upheavals") during 117 years of British Colonial rule and the British learned to control them through legislative, administrative and cultural measures. So far so good.

But the sentence after the quotation reads "Insurgency was thus the necessary antithesis of Colonialism during the entire phase between its incipience and coming of age." (2) How should one make out this formulation? The author uses "thus" but he has not shown how "Insurgency" was not only "necessary" but also "the necessary antithesis" of colonialism. By implication, "colonialism" seems to be the thesis. How it is so, there is no explanation. What the thesis and the anti-thesis produced we do not know.

To tackle "peasant insurgency" Colonial administrators composed reports, which also could serve as guides. Naturally the colonial power was interested in its own secure existence and was partisan in its own favour. "The discourse on peasant insurgency... did not even bother to conceal its partisan character" (3) This sentence seems to suggest that the "discourse" ought to have concealed its "partisan character"! It also implies

* One has to ignore such exaggerations. It is obvious that they were not so 'seismic' and if they were, the tremor was low on the Richter scale. For, British rule survived the "upheavals".

that "partisan" character can be concealed which can, in fact, never be!

Further on, we are told that the Calcutta judicial authorities, after the Titu Mir "insurrection", were of the view "that the cause which gave rise to (those disturbances) should be fully investigated in order that the motives which activated the insurgents (might) be rightly understood and such measures adopted as (were) deemed expedient to prevent a recurrence of similar disorders." This is the view any government faced with disturbances will take. To find causes for and to redress or prevent disturbances is what a government always does. The writer comments that "Causality was harnessed thus to counter insurgency and the sense of history converted into an element of administrative concern". (3) The judicial view above does not corroborate this statement because it does not talk of "counterinsurgency" but of "measures" ... deemed expedient to prevent a recurrence of similar disorders." So 'Causality' was *not* "harnessed to counterinsurgency" at all. And, what is to be made of the idea, "the sense of history converted into an element of administrative concern"? Is "administrative concern" supposed to operate without "sense of history"? Are the two of them exclusive? The author should throw some light.

Still further on, the author says ".... such representation... by making the security of the state into the central problematic* of peasant insurgency, it assimilated the latter as merely an element in the career of colonialism." (3) Look at that phrase "element in the career of colonialism". Obviously, "career" here means 'course' or simply history of colonialism. What else but colonial history or history of Colonialism can be expected to do during colonial rule? If one takes the whole history of colonial rule, the so-called "peasant insurgency" is surely "an element" only, no matter how important one considers it.

* 'Problematic' according to dictionaries means, doubtful, questionable etc. what the word means here is anybody's guess. Probably the author merely means "problem" which means a difficult question or talk. See: Concise Oxford Dictionary.

In view of this, what does the following sentence mean?

"In other words, the peasant was denied recognition as a subject of history in his own right even for a project that was all his own." (3)

Probably, the author would expect Colonial administrators or rulers to write learned books on the history of "peasant insurgency"? Even if they had done so the author could still charge them with converting "the sense of history" into "an element of administrative concern"! Leaving this aside, it is the Colonial administrators' conscientious factual reports, admittedly for their own colonial aims, that provide the basis, "known to the profession as 'primary sources'", for the author's present work. So, after all, the peasant was not denied any "recognition as a subject of history."

But, then, the author has a grouse against professional historians also. He says "Even when a writer was apparently under no obligation to think like a bureaucrat...., he was conditioned to write the history of a peasant revolt as if it were some other history - that of the Raj, or of Indian nationalism, or of socialism, depending on his particular ideological bent. The result.... has been to exclude the insurgent as the subject of his own history." (4)

Peasants operate in the context of the country's history which is the sum total of all social, economic and political concerns, both theoretical and practical. They can never be outside this context. If they rebel, they rebel against these very socio-economic and political conditions as they have evolved in the course of the history of the country of which the peasants are a part. Even when they constitute the largest part, they still are a part only. So, it is not irresponsible history writing to treat them as such and to show which dominant ideas motivated their activities including revolt and rebellion. Every social group, peasantry included, is so to say the "subject" of its own history only as part of the history of the society or the country as a whole. Then only, it has meaning. In any other way, the "subject" of history will be reduced to or will become an abstraction or a set of abstractions. Ranajit Guha and others who have taken

to the recent fashion of 'subaltern' studies are not really writing history of the peasant revolts but are reducing these revolts to categories and characteristics, which are shorn of social meaning and relevance.

Here, for a while, we must stop to discuss another relevant matter. The concept "insurgency" has become fashionable* in recent times. But this name seems to have been given by the foreign intruder to indigenous revolts. It is like the concepts "native" "subjects", etc. Why responsible and apparently non-ideological historians like Guha have had recourse to an ideology-loaded concept like "insurgency", they alone can explain.

Guha does explain, if it is indeed an explanation. Here it is:

"To acknowledge the peasant as the maker of his own rebellion is to attribute... a consciousness to him. Hence, the word 'insurgency' has been used in the title and the text as the name of that consciousness which informs the activity of the rural masses known as jacquerie, revolt, uprising, etc.... This amounts, of course, to a rejection of the idea of such activity as purely spontaneous - an idea that is elitist as well as erroneous."

We have to note several things here: firstly, "insurgency" is used as the name of "consciousness", secondly, this "consciousness" informs "The activity of the rural masses"; thirdly "To acknowledge the peasant as the maker of his rebellion is.... to attribute consciousness to him", that is to say, the author's acknowledgement attributes "consciousness to him", (which, apparently, without such acknowledgement will not be an attribute to him); fourthly, the author, thanks to him,

* Similarly, 'fundamentalism' has become fashionable for bigotry and fanaticism. The fundamental principles of any belief, religious or pagan, do not preach terrorism and violence.

graciously acknowledges "the peasant as the maker of his own rebellion" (that is, the peasant is the maker of peasant rebellion; - a momentous discovery indeed!), and fifthly, the "consciousness" the name of which is insurgency refutes the "elitist and erroneous" idea of "such activity (i.e. jackerie, revolt, uprising) as purely spontaneous."

'Insurgency', the name of consciousness, which informs the activity of the rural masses such as jackerie, revolt etc., rejects the "elitist and erroneous" idea of such activity as purely spontaneous. That in short is the validity of the concept of 'insurgency', that is the explanation and justification of the concept.

What the author says may sound profound and highly conceptual but it is all an abstraction, nothing to do with the history of actual peasant revolts and uprisings. It is illogical to call consciousness by the name of "insurgency" an activity like revolt. If "insurgency" is activity, it is, of course, 'tainted' by consciousness. Yet, it may still be spontaneous, although the author never defines what he means by "purely" spontaneous. (He is, in fact, worried about 'pure' categories which he does not find anywhere; for such 'pure' things do not exist except in his thought alienated from history).

According to him, "scholastic and academic historico-political outlook" considers "worthwhile only such movements of revolt as are one hundred percent conscious i.e. movements that are governed by plans worked out in advance to the last detail or in line with abstract theory (which comes to the same thing". Thus, he disapproves "the 'scholastic and academic' historico-political outlook." He is at liberty to do so. But now where does his 'insurgency' which is "the name of that consciousness (which informs the activity of the rural masses known as jackerie..." etc.) figure? What is the difference between his concept of "consciousness" and scholastic and academic outlook of "one hundred percent" consciousness? His "consciousness" seems to be lacking "plans".

Ranajit Guha creates his own versions of what others are supposed to have said and demolishes those versions.

He combats figments of his own imagination as will be shown below:

Gramsci, whom he quotes, did talk about "spontaneity". In fact he even suggestively defined it parenthetically: "'Spontaneous' in the sense that they are not the result of any systematic educational activity on the part of an already conscious leading group, but have been formed through everyday experience illuminated by 'commonsense', i.e. by the traditional popular conception of the world - what is unimaginatively called 'instinct', although it too is in fact a primitive and elementary historical acquisition." Gramsci, A., *Prison Notebooks*, International Publishers, New York, 1973, pp. 198-199.

This view of Gramsci's gives a definite working definition. And, it clearly implies that a 'spontaneous' movement, uprising, revolt or what you will, does not have organisation, is not organised. Whatever consciousness the 'spontaneous' activity has is rarely political consciousness and, therefore, has rarely a political aim. Gramsci does not talk about anything like "purely" spontaneous activity as Guha does. Nor does Gramsci use the concept "spontaneous" as though the activity was devoid of consciousness, as if it was unconscious activity. But Guha attributes this to Gramsci when he says:

"But as Antonio Gramsci... has said, there is no room for pure spontaneity in history. This is precisely where they err who fail to recognize the trace of consciousness in the apparently unstructured movements of the masses. The error derives more often than not from two nearly interchangeable notions of organisation and politics. What is conscious is presumed in this view to be identical with what is organised in the sense that it has, first, a 'conscious leadership', secondly, some well-defined aim, and thirdly a programme... To those who prefer this device, it offers the special advantage of identifying consciousness with their own political ideals and norms so that the activity of the masses found wanting in these terms may then be characterised as unconscious, hence pre-political." All this is Guha's interpretation, nothing to do with Gramsci.

What Gramsci called 'spontaneous' was something motivated by "everyday experience illuminated by 'common sense', i.e. by the traditional popular conception of the world" which obviously could not be anything but "consciousness". Gramsci did not deny consciousness to spontaneity. Far from failing to recognise "The trace of consciousness," whatever that means, Gramsci defined that consciousness as everyday experience illuminated by "the traditional popular conception of the world." Guha opposes Gramsci in theory but admits all that Gramsci says in practice.

Moreover, Gramsci or even Hobsbawm whom Guha wants to take to task (and, of course, miserably fails), never characterised the activity of the masses as "unconscious". Since, "spontaneous" activity of the masses is devoid of political aims, Hobsbawm calls it 'pre-political'. For, the "spontaneous" activities which Guha described as jackerie, revolt, etc., have had no political aims. All popular political aims concern themselves with capture of political power, to put an end to the existing socio-economic system. This was not the aim of the "spontaneous" activities, not the aim of the revolts and uprisings.

The "spontaneous" activities were directed against a specific set of conditions, difficulties, oppression. Their aim was to end that set and restore the *status quo ante*. Sometimes they hearkened back to a mythical golden age and messianism. Some other times, they yearned for an imagined golden age often by substituting themselves as oppressors! In neither case did they know how to bring about the golden age. Because of lack of political aims and organisation, the "spontaneous" movement collapsed after the leader was killed or captured or when the conditions giving rise to it were improved or changed. The people who revolted once again settled to the routine without bothering about considerations of power. And, often, the collapse or success of the "spontaneous" movement, resulted in the growth of reaction sometimes from within the movement itself. This is precisely why, Gramsci, far from excluding "spontaneous" activity from its due importance, emphasises that, "Neglecting, or worse still despising, so-called 'spontaneous' movements i.e. failing to give them a conscious leadership or to raise them to a higher plane

by inserting them into politics, may often have extremely serious consequences." (Gramsci. Ibid).

So, we note that Guha distorts others to prove his self-righteousness.

Even when a revolt is against a set of conditions, in so far as the state power comes in to suppress it, it is part of the politics of the country. But the "spontaneous" movement culminating in a revolt does not become a political revolt as its concern is not capture of state power but (to quote Guha) "a task in which the existing power nexus had to be turned on its head as a necessary condition for the redress of any particular grievance".(8)

What turning the power nexus "on its head" means is this: "..... this (revolt) was designed primarily to destroy the authority of the superordinate elite and carried no elaborate blueprint for its replacement...." (a) In other words, it has no political aim and objective, "no elaborate blueprint" for "replacement".

Moreover, though in the Indian context between 1783 and 1900, the "superordinate" consisted of the "triumvirate - Sarkari, Sahukari and Zamindari" (8), the revolt was seldom directed against the colonial state - Sarkari. For as Guha himself admits: ".... the raj they wanted to substitute for the one they were out to destroy did not conform to the model of a secular and national state* and their concept of power failed to rise above localism, sectarianism and ethnicity...." This admission clearly shows that the aim of the 'spontaneous' movements did not, precisely for the reason that they were 'spontaneous', visualise capture of state power, did not rise above "localism, sectarianism and ethnicity."

This is the kind of history that all 'spontaneous' movements everywhere have had. That is why they were not able to determine the course and mould the outcome of a country's history. This is valid even for India.

* which is to say it was reactionary!

Guha says "By trying to force a mutual substitution of the dominant and the dominated in the power structure...." i.e., by trying to become local oppressors themselves, the revolt revealed itself as a "project of power". The "power" here is the local oppressors and the rebels wanted to occupy that place. It has nothing to do with state power. But this "project of power" which is the aim, and inspite of the existence of some leadership, as Guha admits, could not "compare in maturity and sophistication with those of the historically more advanced movements of the twentieth century." That is quite as it should be because those revolts were 'spontaneous'. In Guha's own shamefaced admission, "It would be wrong of course to overestimate the maturity of this politics... the peasant movements of the first three-quarters of British rule represented a somewhat inchoate and naive state of consciousness."(10-11). All this, in short, is "spontaneity" which Guha has resented earlier. After falling foul of Gramsci, Hobsbawm and professional historians, Guha shamefacedly admits what they have said!

Guha "proposes to focus on this "consciousness" as our central theme to rehabilitate" (the subject of peasant revolts.)

The subject i.e. the maker of peasant revolts is the peasant and works of history have given due and deserving place to the peasantry, peasant movements, leaders, uprisings, etc. None can 'rehabilitate' the peasantry; for they existed and played their part in history and this received adequate treatment in works of history. Only, this part, the part peasantry played, as has been said earlier, did not shape the course and determine the outcome of history. That is why histories (of peasants' "inchoate and naive state of consciousness", their "feeble and tragically ineffective awareness and will" which, no doubt, are "nothing less than the elements of consciousness" and remain just that), have not thought it proper to elevate the "still imperfect, almost embryonic" consciousness to the level of "theoretical consciousness" as Guha does.

However, Guha thinks some grave injustice was done to "subaltern" consciousness or "insurgency". So one would

expect him to sketch the history of each of the 110 or more "peasant disturbances" to show the peasants as the "subject" of history, whatever that means. But his mission is something else. As has been said earlier, he wants to isolate the peasant from the history of the country, alienate the peasant from whatever role he had played in history and reduce the peasant to "Consciousness." As he says, "It will be our aim in this work to try and identify some of these 'common forms or general ideas' in rebel consciousness during the colonial period." How this abstraction called "common forms or general ideas" in rebel consciousness will "rehabilitate" the peasant in Indian history is mysterious.

In consonance with his "aim", he reduces the "peasant disturbances" to 'common forms and general ideas' such as "Negation, Ambiguity, Modality, Solidarity, Transmission, Territoriality, etc." In short, it is all abstraction - with no living contact with the history of "peasant disturbances", as was said earlier. It is a subjective history of subjectiveness, of the "consciousness" of one who is Guha's "subject of his own history." This method of research and inquiry may stand as testimony of personal ingenuity of a historian called Guha. But its use-value is precious little. It does not enable us to understand the nature, purpose, place and final outcome of the peasant revolts in the history of the country. Nor does it do credit to the peasant, his insurgency and history.

BOOK REVIEWS

ARCHITECTURE IN INDIA. Association Francaise d'Action Artistique, Paris : Distributed in India by Roli Books International, 5 Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi 110 002, 1986, 184 pp, Price not stated.

THIS liberally illustrated book was brought out on the occasion of the exhibition on Indian architecture held in Paris from November 1985 to January 1986 and presents its material in three sections with several writers contributing to each section.

The first section is on traditional architecture. Rather intriguingly, and for many somewhat disconcertingly too, no systematic account of the major forms that emerged during the historical evolution is offered. Even conceding the limitations of space, a synoptic survey mentioning the three major Buddhist contributions by way of the Stupa or memorial structure, the Vihara or residential complexes for the monastic orders and the Chaitya or the hall of religious worship, the expansion of the cella in the Hindu temple with ambulatory, dance-hall, refectory, portico and tower and the Islamic contribution in mosque, mausoleum, fort and palace could have been attempted. But this material is available in many books while what is in fact offered in the present volume is not available in this handy form elsewhere.

Sthapati, the Indian term for architect, literally means 'master of space', and *Manasara*, that old and great Indian text on architecture, had consistently underlined this great spread of meaning in its analysis of space-structure relations. Taking a cue from here, the present volume selects for detailed study several edifices of the past with regional and functional diversity and with accent on the vernacular idiom. This refreshingly variant approach has yielded excellent material on Jaisalmer, the city built in a desert with its scansion of cool and shady alleyways and large enclosures lined with palaces, temples and places of work, Datia and Orcha with their roof-terraces, Adalaj with its step-wells, Mandu with its harmony with the landscape siting, Padmanabhapuram with its sensitive deployment of small functional units around

the inner courts. Illustrations bring out the points made in all these instances adequately except perhaps in the case of Padmanabhapuram, a classic of wooden architecture almost matching the Japanese sensibility seen in Horiyui and Katsura and deserving a whole volume for itself like the study by Gropius on Katsura.

The whole of the second section is on the work of Le Corbusier in India, a highlighting understandable in the context of an exhibition in Europe on Indian architecture. The years that have passed since the building of Chandigarh have brought some questionings about his contribution, especially from those who feel nervous about the lingering of psychological and cultural colonialism even after the end of the era of political domination by Europe. Like Havell in the field of Indian painting, the Englishman, Claude Batley, had deplored the 'inferiority complex' of Indian architects which made them accept Western perspectives unquestioningly. But in his own way, Le Corbusier had thought about the problem of reconciling tradition and modernity in the Indian milieu, regarded his work as "a message towards an Indian architecture", used traditional and historicist references like a crescent motif derived from the horns of the Nandi bull and derivations from the Jantar Mantar in the functional structures shaped like sculpture on the roof of the Assembly and Senate in Chandigarh.

In the receding perspective stabilised for pictorial representation from the Renaissance onwards, the foreground takes up larger space and this approach has been adopted in the present volume; and with advantage too, for the discussion of contemporary Indian architecture in the third and last section is its finest contribution, not matched by other books on the subject. There has been serious, and inevitably controversial, discussion of the problem of tradition and modernity, of retaining roots while meeting the demands of changing times. The problem is not simple. If we opt for development using modern technology, the distinction of east and west will become blurred. The functional demands of a factory dictate a form that cannot be modulated beyond a very narrow range and any factory built here will inevitably recall in one way or the other the prototype created by Behrens. The

steel and glass cube of Mies van der Rohe will become the module for urban architecture. Nevertheless, there are areas where the pressure is not so rigidly deterministic and the volume establishes a right to our gratitude by pointing out edifices that remember tradition. The Kalakshetra theatre in Madras uses the traditional vernacular architecture of South India to create an ideal functional setting for the performance of classical dance and music. The Indian Institute of Management in Bangalore resembles Fatehpur Sikri in the layout of space, South Indian temple galleries in the articulation of interior circulation, Jaisalmer in the varied treatment of facades. Social concern is inspiring integrative solutions to the problem of keeping costs low, as in the project at Okhla. The documentation and illustration of a large number of constructions from the fifties onwards make the publication a unique and valuable one.

Krishna Chaitanya

GANDHI AND THE NON-CONFORMISTS - ENCOUNTERS IN SOUTH AFRICA. By Prof. James D. Hunt, New Delhi: Promila & Co., Rs. 175.

JAMES D. HUNT is professor of Religion and Philosophy at Shaw University, Raleigh, North Carolina, U.S.A.

Gandhi and the Non-Conformists is his second book on the Mahatma, the first being *Gandhi in London*. This book is mainly intended to highlight the kind of Christianity Gandhi experienced. The author sees a close relationship between the non-conformist attitude in the public life of Mahatma Gandhi and the attitude and philosophy of the Protestant Non-conformists of England. The Protestant Non-conformists form only a very small minority when compared to the large groups of Christian churches such as the Roman Catholic Church, the Eastern Orthodox Church, and the Church of England.

SIMPLE BUT UNANALYSABLE

Of all the great heroes of our time Mahatma Gandhi alone lived a public life that did not leave any day, any event, any utterance, or any writing of his inaccessible either to his contemporaries or to posterity. Everything said or written by him and the reaction he elicited from individuals, institutions, and the public at large were all meticulously recorded and published by several agencies. The Gandhi Foundation series alone runs into two hundred volumes. Anyone who wants to study Gandhi has to face an information explosion. For this reason he is less and less understood as we study more and more about him.

For all outward appearance Mahatma Gandhi was a very simple Indian. Meagre in his sartorial outfits, an ascetic in his personal needs, he did not possess either money or power or personal effects except perhaps of a few yards of linen, a pair of slippers, a pair of spectacles and a pocket watch. Poverty sat so very gracefully with him that it became the responsibility of everyone around him to take utmost care to provide him with whatever he needed for the fulfilment of every program with which he woke up each day. In this way he was richer than any sovereign head of any state and he wielded power over millions of his contemporaries who gladly held themselves in absolute loyalty to carry out even the whimsical wishes of Gandhi. If history did not place him in the unique position of sainthood (Mahatma) and also a cunning intriguing politician who alone knew how to pull around the stewards of the British Empire by their noses with perfect decorum and such inimitable aggressive humility, Gandhi would have been easily labelled by the psychiatrist as an incorrigible case of multiple personality.

From early childhood there was nothing in which he was not interested and yet nothing could hold him with its addictive power unless the external attraction was in complete rapport with an inner voice which was constantly guiding his faculty of value judgement. His life bristles with contradictions and yet there is no contradiction in his adherence to the voice of his daemon. In this respect his religion is more like Socrates' rather than any other philosopher. What

perplexes a student of Gandhi's life and personality are the extreme opposites that were seen operating side by side such as his hypersensitivity and cool reason in which his reason ultimately makes his sensitivity ineffective. His cravings in matters of food, sex, power, learning, were all more than equally balanced by his sense of ethical perfection, the intention to safeguard the virginity of his soul, his withdrawal from fame and power, which even a recluse could not have excelled, and his power to suppress any emotion that seemed ethically unacceptable to him. Outwardly he was timid, shy, hesitant, and unable to decide. Inwardly he had an iron will to carry out every intention of his to the highest degree of perfection and execution. All such contradictions, however, puzzling they look, are the warp and woof on which his own spiritual strength was established.

In understanding a person like Mahatma Gandhi our best guide is Gandhi himself and not what others think he was. So it is better that we first listen to his own guidelines before going into the merit of what others think he was. In the introduction to his autobiography, M. K. Gandhi categorically says that his purpose to attempt an autobiography was only to tell the story of his numerous experiments with truth. There is no guarantee that every experiment should be successful. The failure of the Michaelson-Morley experiment brought about a great departure even in the history of physics. So it is understandable that Mahatma Gandhi calls his autobiography, "The Story of My Experiments with Truth". He qualifies his concept of truth by including in it his concept of non-violence, celibacy, and other principles of conduct. Gandhi says, "For me truth is the sovereign principle which includes numerous other principles. The truth is not only truthfulness in word, but truthfulness in thought also, and not only the relative truth of our conception but the absolute truth, the eternal principle, that is God. There are innumerable definitions of God because His manifestations are innumerable. They overwhelm me with wonder and awe and for a moment stun me. But I worship God as Truth, only I have not yet found Him, but I am seeking after Him. I am prepared to sacrifice the things dearest to me in pursuit of this quest."

Gandhi wrote this in 1925 and we do not know whether he ultimately found God in the twenty three years he lived thereafter.

In the vast ocean of Mahatma Gandhi's experiments with truth and search for God, how important was his exposure to Christianity and the place of Christ in his life is the specific field in which Dr. James D. Hunt is making a thorough-going study. As an academician with good training he goes about his search very methodically and cogently argues his case presenting one exhibit after another. The reader should certainly be grateful to Dr. Hunt for bringing to light several incidents which have caused anguish in the mind of Gandhi.

Dr. Hunt gives a good account of the circumstances which led to Gandhi's encounters with Evangelical Protestants, both of England and South Africa, especially Johannesburg. He also recounts the hearsay that Gandhi once presented himself to the City Temple for membership. Hunt speaks of Gandhi's intimate involvement with Christianity, but this is not the idea one gets from Gandhi's autobiography, "My Experiments with Truth". As a good and generous man, and being shy by nature, Gandhi simply tolerated or allowed the generally aggressive Christian Evangelists to prevail upon him to read the Bible or go to Church. The only place where he admits his appreciation of the Bible is the Sermon on the Mount. Gandhi's appreciation of the Sermon on the Mount is compared to Tolstoy's Christian experience. Hunt points out that Tolstoy's affinity to Christian teaching was in matters where it corresponded with the truth. Its appeal was reason and conscience rather than historical evidence. He also points out that, "Tolstoy denied that people were corrupted by sin to the extent that they were unable to save themselves or to know the truth. Instead, he thought Jesus showed and demonstrated 'the ideal of inward perfection, truth, and love' which was attainable by all people" (page 42, *Gandhi and the Non-Conformists*). Again Hunt says, "For Tolstoy, Christ was not a divine saviour atoning for the sins of mankind and offering eternal life, but a teacher and moral example, the core of whose teaching lies in the five commandments of the Sermon on the Mount:

1. To have no ill-will towards anyone, not to provoke ill-will, but to love all men.
2. Perfect chastity, even in thought.
3. Not to be concerned for the future, and to live in the present.
4. Never for any purpose to employ violence.
5. Love our enemies and those that hate us".

Hunt is perfectly right in thinking that Gandhi's admiration for Christ concurs with Tolstoy's appreciation. But in all matters of ardent faith, Gandhi always remained a thorough-going Vaisnavite. Spinning his absolute faith in *rama nama* and the *Bhagavad Gita*, he only regrets that he had no occasion to read the *Bhagvata* in an early impressionable age. (See Chapter 10, *My Experiments with Truth*).

Even though Gandhi remained in heart Hindu, and that too a *vaisnavite* Hindu, the suffering in which he gladly exposed himself created a myth of Christian affinity in the minds of many people. Romain Rolland reports on 14 September 1925 how Madeline Slade looked upon Gandhi as a new Christ. The main reason for thinking Mahatma Gandhi to be a new Christ was because of his staunch adherence to *ahimsa* (non-violence) and passive resistance.

Though Gandhi admits a favourable disposition towards the Sermon on the Mount he was turned on to Christianity by Tolstoy as early as in 1910. So it was not the Christ of the Church that favourably symbolized *ahimsa* but the symbol of Christ in the mind of Tolstoy that favourably affected Gandhi in his ideal of passive resistance. (Read 'A letter from Tolstoy to Gandhi' *The Writings of Gandhi* edited by Ronald Duncan, Fontana/Collins, page 61 to 64).

Gandhi never allowed his Hindu affinity to come in the way of appreciation of other faiths. However, he never tolerated the Christian missionaries role of proselytizing

in India. Gandhi is quoted in *The Writings of Gandhi* (pages 136-137):

I have endeavoured to study the Bible. I consider it as part of my scriptures. The spirit of the Sermon on the Mount competes on almost equal terms with the Bhagavad Gita for the domination of my heart. I yield to no Christian in the strength of devotion with which I sing 'Lead Kindly Light' and several other inspired hymns of a similar nature. I have come under the influence of noted Christian missionaries belonging to different denominations, and I enjoy to this day the privilege of friendship with some of them. You will, therefore, allow that I have offered the above suggestion not as a biased Hindu, but as a humble and impartial student of religion with great leanings towards Christianity. May it not be that the 'Go ye unto all the world' message has been somewhat narrowly interpreted and the spirit of it missed? It will not be denied, I speak from experience, that many of the conversions are only so-called. In some cases the appeal has gone not to the heart but to the stomach. And in every case a conversion leaves a sore behind it which, I venture to think, is avoidable. Quoting again from experience, a new birth, a change of heart, is perfectly possible in every one of the great faiths. I know I am now treading upon thin ice. But I do not apologize, in closing this part of my subject, for saying that the frightful outrage that is just going on in Europe, perhaps shows that the message of Jesus of Nazareth the Son of Peace, has been little understood in Europe and that light upon it may have to be thrown from the East.

Considering all this, it is difficult to agree fully with Dr. Hunt that Gandhi's only Christian influence came from the Non-Conformist Protestants. Gandhi's exposure to Christianity is not even one drop in an ocean of his universal exposure to many ways of looking at life. Whatever was the friendly disposition which Mahatma Gandhi had towards Christians and Muslims, I want to quote here what he writes about inter-dining with them (page 167, *The Writings of Gandhi*):

I have never quarrelled with a single Mohammedan or Christian, but for years I have taken nothing but fruits in Mohammedan or Christian households. I would certainly decline to eat cooked foods from the same plate with my son or to drink water out of a cup which his lips have touched and which has not been washed.

We should be very thankful to Dr. Hunt for presenting us with many important documents which highlight some of the obscure chapters in Gandhi's life in South Africa which are only partially highlighted in his autobiography. The book makes serious reading and here and there touches us, inspiring and elevating our spirit. I recommend this book to all serious readers who care for Christians, love, and truth.

Guru Nitya Chaitanya Yati

THE ENCYCLOPAEDIAS OF INDIA. By Henry Scholberg, New Delhi : Promila & Co., 1986, 109 pp, Rs. 120.

IF we accept the definition that an encyclopaedia is a compendium of knowledge arranged systematically (usually alphabetically) for easy reference, then it has only a history of one and a quarter century as far as the Indian languages are concerned. However, if we relax the definition to some extent, India and China get the pride of place in the preservation and popularisation of knowledge of great variety. 'Vast-uratra Kosh' in Sanskrit, of probably the 10th century A.D., predates the French Encyclopaedia of Diderot and Britannica by eight centuries. The date of the Chinese Encyclopaedia is not earlier. However, the modern type of Encyclopaedia planned and arranged for quick reference with world coverage like Britannica has only a history of nearly 220 years. What is the history of the Indian contribution (in its various languages) towards encyclopaedia compilation covering both the traditional and modern types of arrangement and presentation of authentic knowledge? The answer is found in the present book *Encyclopaedias of India* authored by Henry Scholberg.

The author is an eminent bibliographer who has been a librarian since 1954. He was till recently Director of Ames Library of South Asia at the University of Minnesota. Scholberg's interest in India and its culture is understandable as he was born of American Missionary parents at Darjeeling and had his early schooling in Mussoorie. He has to his credit five books which come under the category bibliographies, and three plays. As a specialist in the scientific analysis and systematic presentation of facts about books, he has surveyed the Indian situation in the branch of encyclopaedias and the result is this very valuable reference book of encyclopaedias.

Apart from the Introduction, which serves as a suitable background for the study, there are 13 chapters one for each language in the following order: Sanskrit (6), Bengali (6), Hindi (4), Marathi (6), Gujarati (3), Oriya (5), Punjabi (1), Assamese (1), Kannada (3), Malayalam (4), Tamil (2), Telugu (4) and Urdu (2). The number in brackets indicates the number of encyclopaedias in the language. In addition to the 47 encyclopaedias in these languages, there have been some commendable efforts in English like *Cyclopaedia of India and of Eastern and Southern Asia* compiled by the Rev. Banerjee and *Encyclopaedia of Indian Culture* by R. N. Salatore, which actually deals with Hindu culture, discussed in Chapter XIV. There is then an extra Chapter with the intriguing title "The Encyclopaedia that Never Was". This gives some details about the "India Encyclopaedia Project" worked out by Mr. Ames way back in 1949. This has only a passing interest for the average reader.

As indicated earlier, each language is given a chapter; the entries within each chapter are arranged chronologically, by and large. For any person to work out the details of such a prodigious book consisting of information to be culled from 14 languages, the major problem will be lack of knowledge of the many languages. Scholberg therefore spent some time in the offices of the Indian National Bibliography at Calcutta and enlisted the help and guidance of 12 editors there. This step had its obvious advantages and limitations. He was able to get the basic details of the various encyclopaedias in the different languages within a short time. However, the assessments had their own limitations too, especially as they were

second hand, more so when the different books are irregular in quality, content and size. He himself admits that there is an unevenness in the dissertation. Despite these limitations, I must say that Scholberg has succeeded commendably.

The language that is best known to me is Malayalam and I was the chief editor of *Sarvavignana Kosham (Malayalam General Encyclopaedia)* from 1969 to 1975. Therefore, my remarks about encyclopaedias in Malayalam has, I suppose, a special relevance. About *Vishvavignana Kosham* in Malayalam, Scholberg in one place says that the entire task of compiling, editing, printing and selling the work was completed in three years! In another place on the same page he quotes "This encyclopaedia took 69 months and Rs. 25 lakhs to produce." The latter statement is nearer the truth. Its Chief Editor's name is given as P. T. Bhaskara Rao; it is actually P. T. Bhaskara Panicker. As regards *Sarvavignana Kosham*, there is a misleading sentence which states that its first editor N. Gopala Pillai had collected, prepared and alphabetised the topics. He had his own difficulties and problems to face; but what he handed over to his successor was only a select library and about 100 articles written by his colleagues. Preparation of the topics in a comprehensive manner was undertaken by his successor. The author's appreciative references about the project makes me happy. I am tempted to quote one statement which he supports:

"The entire orientation of the universally acclaimed encyclopaedias like Britannica, Americana, Caxton etc. is typically western. We have made a thorough change in the concept of the preparation of the Malayalam Encyclopaedia. We have projected an image of India in general and Kerala in particular. At the same time, due importance has been given to the topics of international prominence also." This is a rough English rendering of what I wrote as the Chief Editor's preface to the first volume of *Sarvavignana Kosham*. I believe this balanced approach has been accepted by most editors of general encyclopaedias in India, though there are a few who maintain that Indian encyclopaedias should have only Indian subjects, while a few others who hold that all that is worth knowing is contained in Britannica and we have only to translate or adapt them in our languages.

While dealing with Encyclopaedias, Indian as well as Western, I must point out the existence of a very important reference book in Malayalam titled *Encyclopaedia - oru Pathanam* (Encyclopaedia - A Study, 1979) written by Dr. M. S. Nayar, a valued erstwhile colleague of mine. The whole subject of encyclopaedia making and its evolution in all parts of the world has been treated with a thoroughness and competence that is rare. This is also well documented and illustrated. There is a chapter on Encyclopaedias in India and another on Encyclopaedias in Malayalam. Scholberg could have made good use of this work at least through his consultant for Malayalam.

The Chapter in respect of Kannada appears to be too brief. There is no mention of the successor of Jaware Gouda who was the first editor of *Kannada Visva Kosha* who ceased to be in that capacity eight years ago. His biodata appears to be out of proportion in the context. For this the author depends on the book *The Presidents* by L. S. Seshagiri Rao (and not Seshadri Rao as printed in the book, p. 57). Such inaccuracies in the first edition of a reference work which deals with 14 languages should be looked upon with consideration. The main point is that we are able to get a total picture of the Indian efforts in encyclopaedia making in English language - a medium which is understood by the educated Indian wherever he is and by all students of India and its civilisation throughout the world if they possess a working knowledge of English.

The Chapter on the English Efforts is particularly significant, not because the efforts have been very valuable; but because such efforts highlighting the Indian contribution to world knowledge and culture are highly needed in the international tongue, English. We are being ignored by Western savants and editors mostly out of ignorance than out of indifference or arrogance. The only way to correct this imbalance is to provide authentic materials in a language known to them.

As there was no encyclopaedia in the Urdu language in India, the author considered it necessary to go across to Pakistan to collect information in order to make the picture

more complete. Two encyclopaedias were available there. Language can also unite people of different nationalities. Scholberg deserves a special compliment for this unusual step.

The carefully selected illustrations (reproductions of pages from 11 encyclopaedias) and the exhaustive Index add to the value of the book.

K. M. George

POLICE POWER AND COLONIAL RULE - MADRAS 1859-1947. By David Arnold, Delhi : Oxford University Press, Rs. 130.

THIS book - 'Police Power and Colonial Rule' is a scholarly piece of work by David Arnold, representing masterly analysis and comprehensive documentation. It deals specifically with the developments in Madras Presidency between the Rebellion of 1857-58 and Independence ninety years later. The author examines the reasons for the creation of a colonial constabulary and its use against such varied targets as decoits and nationalists, adivasi hillmen and urban proletarians.

The author carefully examines the social composition of the police force. This book proves how the Police turned out a source of unquestioned authority and power to create a sense of fear in the mind of the Indian, and thereby enabled perpetuation of colonial rule.

The Madras Police is conceived within the terms of the broader debate on the nature of colonial rule. The reasons for the creation of a colonial constabulary, the nature of police functions and the growth of police power from 1859 to 1947 are explained by the author in six chapters.

The British acquired India as a colony largely through the use of its army, and it was to the army that they turned both in moments of extreme crisis and to provide a background

source of deterrent strength. But it was through the use of the Police that they held India and exercised control over it, and met continued successive challenges to colonial control. Each rural insurrection, each major strike or political upheaval was followed by a fresh reappraisal of police resources and responsibilities. As opposition to British rule grew in strength and diversity, so were the Police developed and adapted to counter it.

The Police stood at the colonial point of intersection between the state and the people. They were among the few agents of the state with whom the peasant, the plantation workers and the factory labourers had direct contact. Much of the state's executive authority was channelled through the Police. For the bulk of the population the Policeman symbolized state power. Therefore, it is not surprising that anti-Police riots were frequent, arising either from resentment at the activities of the Police themselves or because of their implementation of unpopular policies.

The police organisation established by the British in India in the mid nineteenth century was foreign in its inspiration and design. It owed nothing to Indian tradition. The establishment of the new police in the 1850s was an essential part of the strengthening and refining of the state apparatus. It is significant that the police rather than the army emerged as the main agency for the defence of property and the maintenance of 'law and order'. The formation of 'civil' police forces was intended to lessen what by the 1850s had come to be seen as a dangerous reliance on the army for internal policing.

The traditional police of South India were of two kinds - the talaiaris and the Kavalkars. Encountering the kaval system as a bastion of Poligar power and implicitly a threat to their own supremacy and effective control, the officials of the East India Company set out their own force to suppress the Kavalkars or to co-opt and subordinate them. Hence the Directors of the East India Company in London agreed that radical changes were necessary to remedy the evils of the existing

system. The first step was to separate the Police from the land revenue administration. In 1859 the District Collector was relieved of the functions of the Police. Increasing specialisation of function and the requirements of effective control were leading to a greater compartmentalisation of government.

The decision to form a modern constabulary in Madras can be traced to the double shock of the Torture Commission and Conally's assassination. The tasks of the new constabulary were listed such as preservation of public peace, protection of person and property, and prevention and detection of crime, besides procuring of continued accurate information on the state of the country and the feelings and sentiments of the population. For these purposes the British Police models stood conveniently to hand. The first attempt to introduce into India a police force on Irish lines was made by General Sir Charles Napier.

The supervising role of the District Magistrate over the Police was jealously guarded. Adequate examples, taken from primary sources, are given by the author to prove the above statements. The members of the Indian Civil Service (ICS) exercised control over the Police for nearly 33 years. After 1919, ICS officers were appointed to examine problems relating to broader matters of Police Policy in Madras.

By inculcating loyalty and obedience to the police department and through it to the government, the British were able to create a closely knit bureaucratic structure that not only served their purposes fairly effectively but also survived the transition to Indian Independence without radical reorganisation. Max Weber pointed out that a bureaucracy "is among those social structures which are the hardest to destroy".

As a colonial institution, created to serve the needs of the colonial state, the police were never intended to be answerable to the Indian public. Some attempts to restrain police power and to make it subject to Indian control were made in the Madras legislature during the period of the dyarchy

constitution, 1920 to 1937, but with little effect. The enhanced status and importance of the police first became evident during the antipartition and Swadeshi movements. The army, could be of little practical use in countering the kind of political opposition now confronting the British, whether in the form of mass meetings, popular demonstrations and boycotts or of secret underground organisations.

Colonial India bears little resemblance to the colonial self-image of a benign, paternalistic Raj governing a quiescent society through the "rule of law" and the "steel frame" of the ICS. However, despite the accusing cries of "Police Raj" that issued periodically from its political opponents, India's colonial regime fell short of being a police state in the conventional sense. It was not a society ruled through fear of a secret Police that pursued, terrorized and eliminated all those who dared speak out against the government.

The rise of police power in colonial India was a gradual development, spread over the period between the Mutiny and Independence but accelerating appreciably during the closing decades of British rule. Created by colonialism, the Police were expressive of the very nature of colonial rule in India. The changes that resulted from the Transfer of Power in August 1947 were not without significance. But these changes did nothing to alter the intrinsic character of the Police.

N Balasubramaniam

SELECT DOCUMENTS, GURDWARA REFORM MOVEMENT : AN ERA OF CONGRESS AKALIS COLLABORATION, 1920-25.
By M. L. Ahluwalia (ed.), New Delhi : 1985, xxxii + 492 pp, Rs. 300.

IN recent years, particularly after the publication of Mansergh's *Transfer of Power* volumes, a number of scholars have edited the documents of some phase or other of the Indian national movement or any regional anti-imperialist movement. Mr. Ahluwalia ventures to join this band of scholars

by editing the documents of the Gurdwara reform movement or popularly known as Akali movement, which took place in Punjab from 1920 to 1925. Earlier, Dr. Ganda Singh, a well-known historian of the Sikhs, had edited the records of this movement preserved by the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandak Committee (SGPC), Amritsar. His collation (*Some Confidential papers of the Akali Movement*, Amritsar (1965), though carefully edited and highly informative, presents only a partial account of the movement. He did not include the British official records in his collection with the result the official stand point is missing in the work. Mr. Ahluwalia has included in the present volume a 'complete set of documents' which include official records, private papers of the Congress and Akali leaders, the press reports and editorials, etc. Through this vast assemblage of documents, the editor seeks to offer to the 'reader as full and comprehensive a view of this (Akali) movement as was possible' (preface).

In the introduction to the documents, Ahluwalia traces the history of the institution of the Gurdwara from the period of Guru Nanak Dev to the early 20th century. He further attempts to examine the forces which contributed to the origin of the Gurdwara reform movement. But there is hardly any discussion of the actual movement in it, nor does he make any observations on the documents. Irrelevant matters rather cover much of the space of an otherwise long introductory chapter.

After the annexation of Punjab in 1849, the British government gradually took over the administration of a few leading Gurdwaras such as the Golden Temple, Akal Takhat and Taran Tarn Sahib. The other Gurdwaras about 260 in number were left in the hands of *Sahadhari Mahants* (priests) who were loyal to the government and were using these Gurdwaras to serve the British interests. In return the British government gave them complete protection. The government fully realised that the Gurdwaras, being the focal point in the religious and social ethos of the Sikhs, had a strong religious appeal. Keeping in view this fact the government used these Gurdwaras to make colonial ideology hegemonic in the Sikh society at all levels. From the platform of Gurdwara, appeals were made in the name of religion urging the Sikhs

to remain loyal to the British rule and those Sikhs who participated in anti-government activities were publicly denigrated and condemned. The priests of the Golden Temple criticised the Agrarian movement of 1907 and exhorted the Sikh masses to dissociate themselves from this movement. Again the Ghadrīte Sikhs were condemned as 'traitors of Sikh Panth'. The worst came when Arur Singh, the manager of the Golden Temple, appointed by the British Government presented a *Saropa* (robe of honour) to General Dyer after the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy. At the same time priests openly flouted the tenets of Sikhism and even Brahmanical practices were followed within the precincts of the Golden Temple. In other Gurdwaras Mahants under the fostering care of British Raj, indulged in all types of vices and misused large Gurdwara funds for personal ends. The most notorious was Mahant Narain Das of Nankana Sahib, the birth place of Guru Nanak, which had an annual income of five lakhs from daily offerings and the land attached to the Gurdwara.

Ahluwalia searches the roots of the Gurdwara reform movement in the Singh Sabha movement, a socio-religious revivalist movement of the Sikhs which emerged in the late 19th century. The main thrust of this movement was to establish the distinct identity of the Sikhs at the religious and social level. Its off-shoot, Chief Khalsa Diwan, often raised its voice against the malpractices perpetrated by the Mahants and also appealed the Government to hand over the administration of the Golden Temple and other Gurdwaras to the Sikh Panth. But Chief Khalsa Diwan, being the loyalist organisation of the Sikh landed aristocracy, refrained itself from taking any action which might embarrass or displease the Government whose goodwill and patronage it always cherished and valued. The Central Sikh League, a political organisation formed by the educated middle class Sikhs in late 1919, chided the loyalists of Chief Khalsa Diwan and made loud protest against the dilatory tactics and indifferent attitude of the Government towards their demand of Gurdwara reforms. In November 1920, the SGPC, a religious body of the Sikh community, was constituted to control and manage the Gurdwaras according to the tenets of Sikhism. Another organisation called Shromani Akali Dal was formed to enable the Akali

volunteers to participate in the agitation for the Gurdwara reforms. It was not a political party at the time of its inception as stated by Ahluwalia (p. III). It is clearly revealed from the documents that the Akali Dal had a very broad social base among the Sikh agriculturists, particularly in the lower and middle section of the Sikh peasantry, who formed *Jathas* (bands) under a local leader called *Jathedar* to participate in the movement.

What could be the *raison d'être* for such a massive participation of the Sikh peasantry? The mere religiosity of the Sikhs or their concern for Gurdwaras is too simplistic an explanation offered by Ahluwalia to understand the phenomenon of mass mobilisation in a movement. In this case, in fact, a deep probing beyond the religious aspect of the movement is called for. Perhaps it would be more proper to locate the linkage between the growing anti-imperialist consciousness with the existing socio-economic realities of the Sikh rural society. Recent researches have convincingly established that the factors such as exorbitant rates of land revenue, indebtedness, alienation of land of small land holders and the demobilisation after the War had resulted in unbearable economic pressure upon the lower and middle peasantry. Probably, the struggle for Gurdwara reforms against the Government provided a rallying point to the oppressed Sikh peasantry to manifest their discontent against the British rule. After all religion has always had a stronger appeal in traditional and pre-industrial society and the situation in Punjab at that time was not much different.

Surprisingly, Ahluwalia in the introduction, does not touch upon the three successive agitations of the Akalis namely *Keys* affairs, *Guru Ka Bagh* Maha and *Jaito Morcha* against the Government. In the beginning the Government was not prepared to relent. The British officials suspected that the Akali movement was not merely religious in character, but had political under-currents. The fear of the Government was that if Akalis' demand for handing over all the Gurdwaras to the SGPC was conceded, it would not only be interpreted as surrender by the Government, but also provide opportunity to the SGPC to use these religious places and their funds in political activities against the Government. Therefore, the latter used all repressive methods to strangle the movement,

but its efforts came to naught. The Akalis showed stubborn resistance and their exemplary courage forced the Government to yield. Finally a new Gurdwara Act was passed in 1925 following which the Gurdwaras were handed over to the Sikh Panth. The final success of the Akali movement gave a great setback to the hegemonic position of the colonial rule and strengthened the anti-colonial forces as well.

Ahluwalia rightly argues that the Akali movement was not aimed at establishing 'Sikh Raj' in Punjab as was propagated by some British officials. In fact, this propaganda tactic was adopted by the British merely to incite other communities against the Sikhs. According to Ahluwalia the object of the movement was 'nothing more than the establishment of the control of the Sikh Panth over the Sikh Gurdwaras' (p. xxix). He also recognises the close collaboration of the Akalis and the Congress, but he fails to bring out the anti-imperialist character of the movement in a clear manner, and merely ends by saying that 'Akali leadership was then composed of the nationalist Sikhs' (Ibid).

It is now an established fact that the Akali movement derived its strength from the Non-cooperation movement launched by Gandhi in 1920. The official records clearly show that it was under the influence of Gandhi and Congress that SGPC had adopted the programme of Non-cooperation in its struggle for Gurdwara reforms. Gandhi was convinced that if the demand of Gurdwara reform was given support, the Sikhs would join the Non-cooperation and thereby contribute to the strengthening of the anti-colonial forces. In late 1923, the Congress established Akali Sahayak Bureau under K. M. Panikkar to provide moral and material support to the Akalis in their struggle against the government. But soon the cracks began to appear in the Congress-Akali rapprochement - an aspect which Ahluwalia totally overlooks in the selection of documents.

The religious and nationalist identities had almost submerged in Akalis' struggle against the British rule. In such a situation it was rather difficult for the Sikh masses to make clear distinction between the religious struggle and

the national movement. But in the case of Akali leadership there was a strong division over the attitude towards the national movement or the Congress. A few Sikh leaders like Sardul Singh Caveshar and Mangal Singh always kept the nationalist object supreme and described Akali movement as only an auxiliary of the national movement. But a major section of the Akali leadership constantly emphasised that Gurdwara reform was purely religious in character, and therefore it was distinct from the national movement. In fact, the Akalis neither surrendered the leadership of the movement to the Congress nor allowed the latter's volunteers to participate in their movement. Moreover, the Akalis never accepted the programme of the Congress in toto. Non-violence was a matter of tactics and not a creed for them. Nevertheless, the Akali leadership found it tactically more sound to maintain collaboration with the congress because of two basic advantages: First, they secured material and moral support from the Congress; and secondly, their association with Congress worked as pressure upon the Government to accept their demand of Gurdwara reforms. All the same, the excessive emphasis laid on the religious aspect of the movement by the Akalis obviously caused discomfort in the Congress camp. Jawaharlal Nehru wrote to K. M. Panikkar, the incharge of the Akali Sahayak Bureau, that "their (Akalis) movement is largely separatist movement as far as religion is concerned and this has naturally reacted in social and political sphere." The Congress was thus forced to make a review of its policy and eventually its attitude towards the Akali movement became lukewarm.

Broadly speaking, there are two essential features in the editing of source material : (1) the selection of documents and (2) their arrangement. Although the selection of documents is influenced by the preferences and prejudices of the editor, his real task is not only to include directly relevant material but to exclude rigorously what lies outside the basic theme of the subject. In the arrangement of the documents, again, there can be two different methods : (1) topic basis, and (2) strict chronological order. The 'topic basis' approach seems to be more logical as it facilitates the

1. S. Gopal (ed.) *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, Vol. II, p. 151.

job of the reader in comprehending the subject in its entirety. Ahluwalia therefore rightly prefers to arrange his documents on 'topic basis' and groups them in eleven chapters. But Ahluwalia's problem is with the selection of material which he has done in the most indiscreet manner and this consequently makes the assemblage of documents totally disarrayed. It is surprising that the editor does not bother to cite the source of the document invariably. This collection is not a faithful reproduction of the documents as the editor tampers with the original text by giving his own sub-heading to each paragraph of the document. It becomes more intolerable when these sub-headings are found not strictly in consonance with the content.

In the preface Ahluwalia claims to have included the private correspondence of Jawaharlal Nehru and Abul Kalam Azad, but in his selection we don't find any such papers. He has not even consulted S. Gopal's (ed.) *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru* (these volumes are not listed in the bibliography). Ahluwalia is blissfully ignorant about the papers of Lord Reading, (Viceroy of India, 1921-26) which are available in Nehru Museum Library and contains massive information on the Akali movement. Some basic historical errors such as the inclusion of Gopal Krishna Gokhale among the extremist leaders (p. iv) are unfortunate. Numerous printing mistakes make the reading burdensome. In sum, the book is recommended for preliminary survey of the Akali movement, but serious scholars should use it in a more cautious manner.

K. L. Tuteja

NECROLOGY

PROFESSOR ANTSHER LOBO

(1901-1986)

It is with deep sorrow that we report the death on 16th June 1986 of Professor Antsher Lobo - an esteemed vice-director of the Institute of Historical Research.

A musical genius, Professor Lobo had risen to the prestigious position of President of the Musicological Society of India. He was the first National Composer of O.S.D. - Ministry of Defence - from 1956 to 1962 to compose, orchestrate and introduce Indian Music in military bands, and he was the chief adviser to the Sangeet Natak Academy for years.

He had done postgraduate research in Acoustics and Atomic Structures at the Royal Institute of Science. He studied Indian Music under Ustad Alladiy Khan and Western Music under equally renowned Maestros : Composition, orchestration and instrumentation under Professor Savini, and Harmony and Counterpoint under Dr. Sevinzi. For 30 years he carried on intensive research in the world's musical systems.

Composer of Indian and Western Music, he was Founder-Conductor and Director of the Goan Folk song and Choral Society and was instrumental in placing Goan Music on the cultural map of India. He conducted orchestras - mass, choir and band - at the International Marian Congress 1954 and the International Eucharistic Congress 1964.

He was co-author of Audio-visual System "Introducing Indian Music". He produced an Anthology of Tagore's Songs in four volumes and Record Albums - classical and folk.

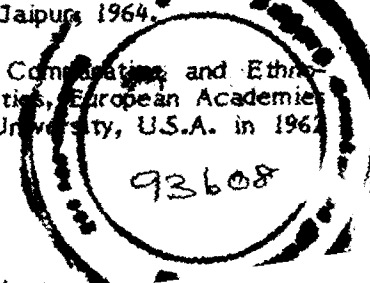
His lasting contribution was his Anti-harmonic theory of Musical Scales and his fundamental research in the scientific system of "Grāma-Śruti" of Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra.

Recipient of the Prime Minister's (Nehru) Prize, 1954, he won the first prize for Composition of the International Eucharistic Congress's Official Anthem and was honoured at the All India Triennial Convention, Jaipur, 1964.

He was Visiting Professor in Comparative and Ethnomusicology to several Indian Universities, European Academies of Science, and to Oklahoma State University, U.S.A. in 1967.

JL
V2-11, N84

NAT-4.1



India Past and Present

and 1969. He was Resident Artist-Guest Professor at South Illinois, U.S.A. in 1969, and produced and directed Indian Music Programme, featuring the University students, on the occasion of the Mahatma Gandhi Centennial celebration.

Professor Lobo was the Indian Delegate in the cultural exchange programme to musical congresses in Europe - at Prague, Berlin, Budapest and Moscow in 1970 and to the XII Musical Congress in 1977 at Berklay, University of Strasbourg and Paris.

There are words and expressions which live in the mind, ready to be revived when a corresponding occasion, a similar event or memory, summons for them. Such on the present occasion are those of Plato at the conclusion of Phaedrus:

"Among the people whom I knew the best, the wisest and the most upright."

George M. Moraes

**STATEMENT ABOUT OWNERSHIP AND OTHER PARTICULARS
ABOUT INDIA PAST AND PRESENT .. Form IV [See Rule 8]**

Place of Publication:	9, New Marine Lines, Bombay 20
Periodicity of its Publications:	Twice a year
Printer's Name:	George M. Moraes
Nationality:	Indian
Address:	9, New Marine Lines, Bombay 20
Publisher's Name:	George M. Moraes
Nationality:	Indian
Address:	9, New Marine Lines, Bombay 20
Editor's Name:	George M. Moraes
Nationality:	Indian
Address:	9, New Marine Lines, Bombay 20
Names & Addresses of individuals who own the newspaper and partners and shareholders holding more than one per cent of the total capital:	George M. Moraes 9, New Marine Lines, Bombay 20

I, George M. Moraes, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Sd/-

George M. Moraes
Signature of the Publisher

Printed by Dr. George M. Moraes at Great Prints, 1-4 Everest, Bombay 400 034 and published by him at 9, New Marine Lines, Bombay 400 020.

New from Oxford

The Non-Official British in India to 1920

RAYMOND K. RENFORD

Who were the non-official British? What was their composition, their political, economic, social, educational and religious activities? Unlike most other histories of British India, which focus on the government and officialdom's relations with India, this book is a pioneering study of hitherto unposed questions based on material scattered all over India. Rs 220

Subaltern Studies V

Writings on South Asian History and Society

Edited by RANAJIT GUHA

The fifth volume of this series has an essay by David Hardiman on Bhils and Shahukars in Gujarat, David Arnold on the plague of 1896-1900, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak on Mahasweta Devi, Ranajit Guha on abortion as crime and Shahid Amin on Chauri Chaura. There are also two discussion pieces by Asok Sen and Ajit K Chaudhury. Rs 150

Already published: Volumes I - IV

Oxford University Papers on India Volume 1, Part 2

Edited by N.J. ALLEN & OTHERS

The six essays which appear here focus on issues in modern Indian history. Francis Robinson writes on an Islamic School in Lucknow, Richard Symonds on Eurasians under British rule, Anita Inder Singh on Partition, Sunil Chander on provincial autonomy 1937-9, Hameeda Hossain on Company weavers in the nineteenth century, and Sunanda Krishnamurty on Deccan agriculture 1880-1922. Rs 110

Already published: Volume 1, Part 1



Oxford University Press
Bombay Delhi Calcutta Madras