

JL
V2m, N84IN
N 88 .
143405.

REG. No. 39945/84

252

57

INDIA PAST AND PRESENT

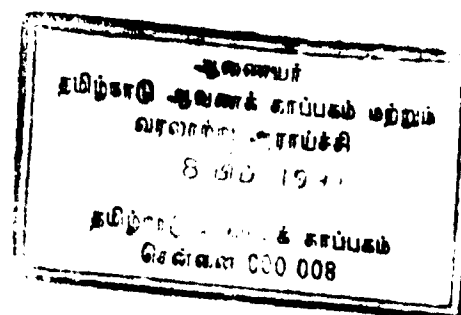
A BIENNIAL JOURNAL OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

VOLUME V

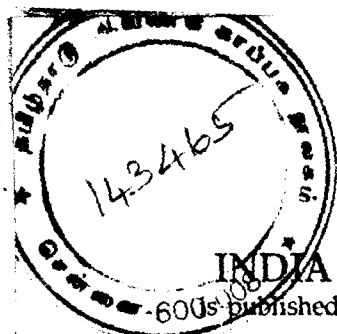
1988

NUMBERS 1 & 2

JL
V200, N84 IN
N88.5.102



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



ISSN 0970-1028
(Reg. No. 39945/84)

INDIA PAST AND PRESENT

600s published half-yearly in June and December.

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

Professor Frank Conlon
University of Washington, Seattle, USA

Professor Dietmar Rothermund
South Asia Institute, Heidelberg

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

Professor Surendra Gopal
Patna University, Patna

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

Professor B. S. Shastri, Head,
Dept. of History, Goa University, Panaji

Professor J. V. Naik
University of Bombay

Mrs. Vijaya Gupchup
Research Scholar, Bombay.

Dr. T. K. Ravindran, Vice-Chancellor
Calicut University, Calicut

Dr. Ashin Das Gupta, Vice-Chancellor
Visva-Bharati Santiniketan

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

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

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

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. Subscriptions should be sent to Dr. M.
D. David, Executive Editor, *India Past and Present*, Mackichan Hall,
Wilson College, Bombay 400 007.

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 V

1988

NUMBERS 1 & 2

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

9 out of 10 fertilizer plants in the U.S. meet their process automation needs through Honeywell's TDC 3000

Now Tata Honeywell brings it to you in India

Honeywell's TDC 3000. A revolution in the world of process automation. A concept that has attracted the world's largest group of industrial automation customers. Especially in petrochemicals, chemicals and fertilizers.

The success of TDC 3000 emanates from its four unique strengths — the

integration of information and control, the enhanced safety, the increased yield and precision, and the ability to grow with time. Here's how it works...

The integration of information and control results in tremendously wider scope and faster speed of decision-making. The system offers the highest safety levels with its advanced alarm system, capable of initiating proper action in an emergency. The higher process efficiency, lower rejection level and optimised process utilisation, boost the yield and precision greatly. Now combine these strengths with TDC 3000's absolute upgradability in the future, to protect your initial

investment! A tremendous combination which is simply unbeatable. The reason why today no other automation system can even think of rivalling TDC 3000.

Now that Tata Honeywell has brought it to India, with its full training and service back-up, you need not look elsewhere. To know why 9 out of 10 fertilizer plants in the U.S. use TDC 3000, write to us today.

Tata Honeywell Limited
55/A B.B. Road, Industrial Estate
Pune - 411 013 • Tel. 470445

TATA
Honeywell

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

	Pages
Super-Power Involvement in the Sub-continent : A Historical Perspective	Parshotam Mehra 1
Dharmavivechan : An Early 19th Century Rationalistic Reform Manifesto in Western India	J.V. Naik 17
Surat Collectorate in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century : A Socio-Economic Profile : Micro Study of Pardi Taluka	Gita Bajpai 33
New Light on Kunavayir Kottam and the Date of Cilappatikaram	M.G.S. Narayanan 43
Charles Forjett and the Modernisation of Bombay Police	S.R. Kapse 62
Origin and Growth of the Poligars of Andhra : A Study of Chittoor Pollams	D. Subramanyam Reddy 19
Professional Education : A Study of Grant Medical College 1845-1858	Mridula Ramanna 159

BOOK REVIEWS

A Miscellany on the Raj : Historical and Other Pieces	Vijaya Gupchup 177
Congress and Indian Nationalism	M.D. David 183
India's Social Crisis	N.P. Shankaranarayana Rao 189
Encyclopedia of Indian Temple Architecture : South India	Subhashini Aryan 190
Encyclopedia of Indian Temple Architecture : North India	
Poona in the Eighteenth Century	G.S. Dikshit 203
Archaeology in Orissa	Laxmi K. Mishra 207
Visvarupa	Subhashini Aryan 213

EDITOR
George M. Moraes

CONTRIBUTORS

PARSHOTAM MEHRA
Formerly Chairman, Department of History and Central Asian
Studies, Punjab University, Chandigarh.

J. V. NAIK
Reader, Department of History, University of Bombay, Bombay.

GITA BAJPAI
Reader, Department of History, University of Baroda, Baroda.

M. G. S. NARAYANAN
Professor and Head, Department of History, Calicut University,
Calicut.

S. R. KAPSE
Assistant Commissioner of Police, Bombay

D. SUBRAMANYAM REDDY
Lecturer, Department of History, Jawahar Bharati, Kavali

MRIDULA RAMANNA
Senior Lecturer, Department of History, S.I.E.S. College, Bombay.

VIJAYA GUPCHUP
Research Scholar, Bombay

M. D. DAVID
Head, Department of History, Wilson College, Bombay.

N. P. SHANKARANARAYANA RAO
Author of Books on Anthropology and National Movement.

SUBHASHINI ARYAN
Research Scholar and Historian

G. S. DIKSHIT
Formerly Professor and Head, Department of History, Karnatak
University, Dharwar.

LAXMI K. MISHRA
Research Scholar and Historian

India Past and Present gratefully acknowledges the grant-in-aid
received from the Indian Council of Historical Research, New
Delhi, and the financial support from advertisers.

**SUPER-POWER INVOLVEMENT IN THE SUB-
CONTINENT : A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ***

Parshotam Mehra

AFTER the elemental force and vitality of the French Revolution had spent itself - with Napoleon safely ensconced at St. Helena, out of harm's way, two - major powers bestrode the world stage as virtual colossi. Great Britain flush with a resounding victory over Bonaparte and Tsarist Russia whose role in that great drama was evident in the powerful weight it wielded both in and outside the Congress of Vienna and the Holy Alliance.¹ It was nothing less than global in its ramifications viz. Canning's famous boast about calling into being a new world to redress the balance of the old. On the continent, in France and Germany and Italy, the victorious powers' conduct was to be seen to be believed. All through the nineteenth century, in Europe, in the Americas no less than Asia, the rude, stark impingement of these super-powers on men and events was immense, their behaviour overbearing, imperious and lordly. The juxtaposition and near-confrontation in Asia of these two expanding European empires, the essence of what has wryly been called the Great Game,² needs close and careful scrutiny for a proper understanding of the contemporary scenario in the subcontinent.

In his definitive study, *The Beginnings of the Great Game in Asia 1828-34*, Professor Edward Ingram of Simon Fraser university in Canada has defined the 'Game' as Great Britain's search 'for a method of preventing the power of Russia from endangering British India.'³ Elsewhere the professor has been more explicit :

* Updated version of the presidential address at the international seminar on 'Security of the Indian subcontinent: challenges from the super-power politics', at Gorakhpur, November, 1986.

The game was the Great Game, and it was played in Asia. The British played it with Turks, Persians, Afghans and Sikhs against Russians... (In Europe) they assumed that in questions of interest to Britain, a continental state could always be found, more interested and on the same side..... Somehow it should have been possible to win without fighting; or by persuading somebody else to fight..... The object of the Great Game in Asia was to persuade somebody else to defend British India...⁴

Dr. Michael Yapp of the School of Oriental and African Studies in the University of London has somewhat restricted the scope of the term. To him the Great Game was essentially the quest 'for a system that would safeguard British India from the north-west.' He broadly accepts with some reservations the Soviet line of reasoning that all through the 19th century there was no actual threat from Russia to the Raj and that the British belief in that threat was simulated in order 'to cloak an ambition to extend British power in Central Asia' so as to gain commercial advantages. He further concedes that the 'basic impulses' of official Russian policy upon their southern frontier were 'defensive.' Yapp nonetheless insists that

this is irrelevant to the British argument. Britons in India did not fear a direct Russian invasion... The danger was that the spread of Russian influence into Iran and Afghanistan would cause unrest in India. Unrest in India would necessitate higher British military expenditure... The finances of British India... would become disastrous and India would... (be) unprofitable to hold and a burden upon Britain itself...⁵

Gerald Morgan who has meticulously chronicled the rivalry between the two super powers all through the 19th

century while conscious that the term

suit well the British view-point of its day, emphasizes that it belittles what was a deadly serious affair marked by many serious diplomatic and strategic blunders from which few emerge with credit...⁶

Professor David Gillard of the University of Glasgow in a perceptive study, *The Struggle for Asia*, offers an excellent summary of what the Great Game was all about. He underlines that after Great Britain and Russia had, during the first two decades of the 19th century, emerged as 'the most formidable powers' on the whole Eurasian land mass, they began 'to frighten' one another. Between 1828 and 1833

there appeared to the British to have been a major shift of power in Russia's favour. By 1860 the British had spectacularly reversed this. After 1860 the balance tipped gradually in favour of the Russians. By 1905 both governments had become more concerned with the prospect of the Germans threatening them in Europe and in China. It is these shifts in the distribution of power and the responses made to them on the Eurasian continent which have to be explained. They constitute the story of what the British called the 'Great Game.'⁷

A knowledgeable American Scholar-diplomat, C. Edmund Clubb, has applied the term to Sino-Russian, not Russo-British, rivalry in Asia as far back as the Mongol (c. 13th-14th century A.D.) avalanche and extends it to the present day global rivalry between Russia, China and the United States.⁸ This may be rated tangential and somewhat wide of the mark. Broadly, however, it has been held that the explorer surgeon William Moorcroft's great exertions (1808-25) in the cause of the John Company he served, mark the

beginnings of the Great Game while the 40 odd years after Lytton's tenure of office as Governor-General (1876-80) mark its culmination and sound the finale as it were.

II

In setting the stage for a detailed analysis of the Russo-British rivalry in the 19th century and its direct impact on developments in the sub-continent, the broad parameters of the Great Game may be briefly sketched and some of its controversial facets placed in perspective. In doing so Professor Gillard's analysis proves helpful. At the outset, he emphasizes that the twin power strife was

conducted by warning signals which may be loosely called aggressive... Yet it is clear that members of either government making the signals thought of them at the same time, as defensive... 'Aggressive' and 'defensive' were not mutually exclusive terms in this context. Aggressive signalling was a normal feature of each government's defensive system. So was imperialism. A pre-occupation with security in the broadest sense of the term... explains the cases of aggressive British and Russian conduct towards neighbouring governments as well as towards one another...

The real difficulty was that political instability and military weakness in the areas bordering both empires

excited the natural potential of British and Russian leaders for imagining future dangers and the changes by which they might be anticipated... Aggressive behaviour in pursuit of greater security was an outstanding feature of the Great Game; but it has characterized most of the principal international

rivalries before and since... And finally the role of war in the Great Game:

It was a normal but unnecessary accompaniment of the imperialist rivalry. There was only one war between the Russians and the British, and, while their wars with neighbours were more frequent, they occasioned a great deal of hesitancy and doubt... (Their) restraint in respect of one another was due partly to the absence in either capital of political leaders addicted to wanton conquest...and...to the political geography of Eurasia which made it easier to strike indirect blows by intimidating governments in the lands between their empires.⁹

The battle-field in this essentially Central Asian drama was the then shadowy region comprising Turkestan, Afghanistan, Transcaspia and Persia. Curzon likened them to pieces on a chess-board and prophesied that while the power that won would attain 'political ascendancy in Asia', the loser would go into 'permanent decline'.¹⁰ As both Professor Ingram and Dr. Yapp underline, until 1838 Indian security was sought in alliance or association with Iran. It may be recalled that almost from the turn of the 18th century signifying the emergence of Napoleon Bonaparte as a key force in France, Britain sought a relationship whereby Iran would serve as an ally that bears the initial shocks of the onslaught from a resurgent France and later an unscrupulous, as the British viewed it, Franco-Russian combine. Ingram recalls that, in 1809, the British envoy to Persia, Sir Hartford Jones, concluded a preliminary treaty of alliance, and sent it to London for confirmation:

Wellesley's revisions revealed that he expected Persia to contribute far more than had been previously expected to the defense of British India. The Persians were

hoping for British support against Russia... (for the British, on the other hand) too obvious an interest in Persia might provoke a Russian counter-attack, precisely what Wellesley was aiming to prevent...¹¹

By the time however the Iranian alliance was consummated (1810-15), Napoleon's fortunes had taken a nose-dive. His much-vaunted Grand Army had been badly mauled, the Tsar turned into a dour enemy. The two succeeding decades of what Yapp calls the 'middle age' of the alliance saw its original character gradually whither away:

After a breathless courtship and whirlwind ceremony, the groom had begun to examine the situation. First he had complained about the bride price and soon had sickened of the union. For long the bride had sought to make the marriage work...but after many a rebuff she had counted her bruises and begun to look elsewhere... It was a question whether the future held a second honeymoon or divorce...¹²

As it turned out, there was no second honeymoon; it was, in fact, time for a parting of ways. By 1838 the Iranian connection had snapped; in its place, the British were out seeking an alternative in Afghanistan. Ever since John Kaye's monumental tomes first appeared in 1851,¹³ the events that crowd the years 1839-41 have been narrated often enough. The dramatic personae are all too familiar. Ranjit Singh's interest in the venture was minimal; Shah Shuja's stake the highest. A discredited pensionary of the British at Ludhiana whose incompetence and inability to win back his throne had been demonstrated more than once, Shah Shuja now found in the British enthusiastic allies to fight his battles. In sharp contrast stood Dost Mohammad of the 'barakzais' who had, in practice, won the rarely yielded confidence of his unruly Afghan subjects. The John Company's decision to replace him

was not easily taken. The worst was that Auckland disliked action. Yapp captions an entire chapter, 'Hamlet at Simla'. His conclusions on the responsibility for the war is unambiguous: 'the plan was basically that of Macnaghten and the decision to adopt it was that of Auckland.' Nor was that all. It is sobering to contemplate the sordid role played in this drama by the then British foreign secretary, Lord Palmerston! To him, 'India was a pawn and the Great Game was in Europe, not in Asia; and the only difference between him and his successors was that he used or abused the Indian pawn more vigorously than they did.'¹⁴

In the wake of a by no means ill-merited disaster, Afghanistan was abandoned. This marks a watershed of sorts bringing into sharp focus an interesting parallel between British and Russian policies in Central Asia. Yapp underlines that before 1830 neither of the two powers is overly interested and yet before long:

each had been able to make deeper penetration and fears of pre-emption led them to drive still further into more and more exposed positions. Eventually both suffered severe rebuffs-Russia at Khiva and Britain in Afghanistan and both realized that the costs of forward strategy outweighed the likely benefits. Each therefore resumed a border policy looking not to a great leap forward but to steady attrition against their immediate neighbours; Russia against the Kazakhs and the British against Sind and the Punjab.¹⁵

Thirty long years were to elapse before the British got entangled into another Afghan imbroglio. Disraeli's return to power (1874) spelt a radical change in the home government's policy in foreign affairs. To supplant a possible Russian move on her borders, Northbrook was instructed to make Afghan Amir Sher Ali accept a British envoy at Kabul, a move to

which both the Viceroy and the Amir were resolutely opposed. Out of step with his political masters, Northbrook was summarily eased out. For his successor Lytton detailed guide lines were drawn up by the new Secretary of State for India, Lord Salisbury. The stage thus appeared well set for a second massive British intervention in Afghan affairs. The new Governor General soon communicated to the Amir his intention of sending a British envoy to Kabul and refused to heed the latter's loud protestations to the contrary. As the Viceroy viewed it, and Sher Ali feared for the worst, a British envoy at the Afghan capital would become an advisor, not simply a resident representative.

It was apparent even to the purblind that, to start with, Lytton had convinced himself that the real solution to the Afghan question lay in securing Kandahar and the Peshawar-Kurram valley. This at any rate was what Salisbury had instructed him to aim at. The Governor General however had soon left his mentor far behind and fixed his eyes on Kabul, the master-key to India. The mountain wall, the passes and the glaces were all to be effectively held. Unfortunately for him, the Kabul campaign failed to throw up an ally commanding a reasonable hold over the Afghan people. In the event, the Viceroy's grandiose fantasy of the triumphant march of a British army into the heart of central Asia backed by its Afghan feudatories and supported by the anti-Russian hordes of the Muslim world remained at best a pipe dream.

Like a ram in the thicket, the onset of Abdur Rahman¹⁶ on the Afghan scene was a god-send for the British, as no doubt for the Russians. Afghanistan after a year or two of gruelling civil war and uncertainty emerged more or less as a singular entity. A great step forward in the next couple of decades was the delineation of well-defined physical boundaries. The new Amir agreed to a demarcation of the Russo-Afghan boundary by a mixed Anglo-Russian

commission, aided and assisted by Afghan experts. Begun in 1884 but seriously interrupted by the Panjdeh crisis (1885), the work was completed in 1887 when the boundary all the way from Heri Rud to Khojah Saleh (more correctly, Khwajah Salar) was at last formally laid down.¹⁷

This settlement of the frontier right up to the line of the Oxus put definite limits to Russian advance in the direction of the Pamirs. Here too after a great deal of bargaining, an agreement was knocked into shape, in March 1895. Afghanistan was to surrender territory north of Panjdeh while Russia gave up part of Darwaz, lying to the south. In the interests of British policy, Afghanistan was saddled with an unwanted narrow strip - that tongue of land in the Wakhan-separating the two rival empires. Here was the first deliberate, and practical, attempt to stave off physical contiguity. As was to be expected, the Amir

was quite reluctant to hold Wakhan because after the surrender of Shignan and Roshan it was like a long arm extended into a desert which could be shorn off by the Russians whenever they pleased.¹⁸

The Pamir settlement was a landmark. A little over a decade later, in 1907, the Anglo-Russian convention put paid to the long rivalry between these two great empires - in Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet.

III

The decade following the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian convention and the outbreak of the October (1917) revolution saw the Russian threat to the Raj almost forgotten. As it was, after nearly a 100 years of an eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation, the two super-powers had clubbed together in the face of a common adversary. Yet even before World War I

against Wilhelmine Germany had been finally won, the red revolution in Russia had begun to cast a deep and abiding shadow that seemed to loom large and darken with every passing year. The Russian danger, if less frontal, was now more insidious, for the Comintern, established in March 1919, was viewed as the right arm of the Soviet Union: its ill-concealed, if not indeed openly proclaimed, objective to subvert all established authority so as to bring about a world wide victory for the proletariat. In its opening years (1919-24) at any rate, its policies were dominated by the Russian Bolsheviks who insisted on the subordination of the member parties to Soviet control of their policies. It followed that local communist parties were to function more or less as conduits through which Russian aims and objectives were sought to be fulfilled.

The Communist Party of India was established in 1921. In public support it was from its inception pretty anaemic and was never, and this holds valid even as of date, politically important or relevant. Under the Raj however, it got more than its due share of attention and was saddled with cases of subversion of which it was sometimes plainly innocent. Not permitted to function openly, it was active underground, clandestinely. In 1942, half way through World War II, in the aftermath of Russia becoming an ally of the western powers, the CPI was, for the first time, given official recognition. The party's role in the war years, in terms of its loyalty to the larger whole of the Indian state, has been a subject of acute controversy. We would let this pass here, being outside the limited purview of this presentation.

In 1947 on the morrow of India's independence, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru declared that while New Delhi would cultivate friendly relations with the Soviet Union, it had no use for communism, much less its Indian outfit. That broad position has continued to be sustained by the successor

governments over the two decades and more since Nehru died. One may add a footnote on the seemingly paradoxical situation that obtains: while New Delhi has cultivated friendly and, after the 1971 Indo-Soviet treaty, even intimate relations with Moscow, it is Beijing's brand of communist ideology that commands greater respect, and more popular support, in the country as a whole.

It may be useful at this stage to list some of the factors that favour a faster growth of Russian influence in Asia in general and the sub-continent in particular. To start with, the Soviet Union has entered into diplomatic relations with almost all countries of the region with most of whom it has on-going projects of considerable military and economic aid. Again, it has a powerful naval presence in the Indian Ocean with shore facilities in South Yemen, East Africa and allegedly, according to Pakistan, in India at Visakhapatnam. Besides it has a vast network of overt, as well as covert, activity in all parts of Asia and certainly in the sub-continent. Again, the remarkable economic, social and cultural development of Soviet Central Asia on a scale unparalleled in the countries to which it lies adjacent has served as a powerful force that, in Asia, impels people to lean towards the Soviet model. To cap it all, the large scale invasion of Afghanistan launched by the Soviet Union in late 1979 has given its image an immense boost.

As against the forces that buttress its strength, there are not a few that militate against the Russian position. One of the most important here is the emergence of Communist China as a great power and a potential challenger to Russia's standing in Asia. There is also an increasing US Involvement in Asian affairs even though Vietnam (1966-76) was a considerable warning and a severe setback. Broadly, there has been an overall tendency in Washington to tilt heavily towards Pakistan and lean on a close alignment with China. Above all there is the phenomenal rise and spread, over the

past half a century and more, of a robust Asian nationalism - a force much more potent than Moscow's communism.

Another factor that needs to be heavily underlined is the plain realization that, so far as the West is concerned, a *direct* military intervention is not on the cards. At the same time, the ability of local communist parties to bring about a revolution entirely off their own bat may be ruled out with equal emphasis as highly improbable. It may be recalled that the Soviet attempt (1945-6) to short-circuit Iran's independence and bring it squarely into the Russian orbit not only boomeranged but almost drove that hapless country headlong into US arms.

The American fiasco in Vietnam has also been an object lesson; for despite its overwhelming military might, Washington was unable to bend a small country of Vietnam's size¹⁹ to its will in the teeth of a roused national purpose. As for the sub-continent, the more politically powerful communist movement in India leans ideologically on the Chinese, *not* the Russians. And for sure, Pakistan's ruling junta while rejecting communism in any shape or form has developed a very close liaison with China. Here it is important to bear in mind that Beijing's active collusion with Pakistan in attaining nuclear capability and the development of the Karakoram highway are hard realities on the ground whose potential cannot be over-emphasized.

Another major development has been the Soviet armed intervention in Afghanistan. For the record it may be recalled that since the 1950s Soviet political and economic relations with Kabul had vastly improved. The April 1978 overthrow of Mohammad Daud by the well-known leftist Nur Mohammad Taraki was widely hailed; in the result the Russians poured in sizeable military and economic aid to buttress the Afghan revolution. In a little over a year however, it was plain for all

to see that Taraki did not enjoy popular support outside of his headquarters in Kabul; that the revolution had ground to a halt; that Afghan forces were unwilling or perhaps unable to maintain order. It was against this background that there was, in December 1979, a massive Russian armed intervention: in Asia it was the first overt move after the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Iran in March 1946. Again it was the first time in nearly 140 years that Russian troops had landed on Afghan soil; the last was a small Tsarist contingent present at the Persian siege of Herat in 1838 !

In April 1878 when the Afghan coup took place, US influence in Iran, through the Shah, was firmly established. Were the Russians, many wondered, making a determined bid to outflank American presence in Teheran by putting their powerful weight in favour of the Taraki government? In less than a year however, the last of the Pahlavis, Mohammed Reza, was forced to flee in the face of a nation wide revolt against him; in February 1979, the fundamentalist and rabidly anti-American, Ayatollah Khomeini, returned home to power and political turmoil. The mortal combat with Iraq that commenced not long after, in September 1980, has bled Iran white and added yet another dimension to the Soviet presence in Kabul.

Gerald Morgan, a perceptive writer on Asia, has cited with approval the famous quartet from Omar Khayam:

But hapless pieces of the Game He plays
Upon His Chequer-board of Nights and Days
Hither and Thither moves, and checks, and slays
And one by one in the Closet lays.

and avers

The pieces of the chequer-board had lain forgotten in
the closet for more than seventy years. That was a long

time in the turbulent history of Central Asia. We are now seeing them being brought out in no uncertain fashion.²⁰

In sum, and not only in Central Asia, the future is a big question mark.

Two footnotes may be in order. To start with, the complete withdrawal of Soviet men and munitions from the Afghan soil completed in February 1989 represents a major de-escalation of super-power rivalry in the heart of Asia. De-escalation - not disappearance though. For in place of what was virtually great power confrontation we now have their proxies in battle array and on opposite sides of the fence. Dr. Najibullah's regime in Kabul aided and abetted by Soviet armour versus the Peshawar-based Afghan Mujahideen, their morale and men shored up strongly by Pentagon hardware. Overtly as no doubt covertly, through the Pakistani conduit. Which is not to under-rate the latter's own widely suspect involvement in fuelling the fires of internecine war across an uneasy border.

A second major development has been the Moscow-Beijing normalization of relations following President Gorbachov's out of turn visit to the Chinese capital in May this year. Barely six months earlier the Indian Prime Minister's three-day sojourn in Beijing was to herald the beginnings of a closer liaison between Asia's two great neighbours. Marking as it did the end of an almost quarter century old adversary relationship.

In the light of this rapidly changing scenario, all one can say is that super-power involvement in the sub-continent will assume new shapes and forms whose exact contours as of date are far too shadowy to admit of any delineation or definition.

NOTES & REFERENCES :

1. Harold Nicolson, *Congress of Vienna : a study in Allied unity 1812-1822*, London, 1961, gives a graphic account of the power and influence of Tsarist Russia : her troops were in Paris, her diplomats in Vienna mapping out the new contours of Europe nearer to their heart's desire.
2. *The International History Review*, a reputed academic journal, published by the University of Toronto press devoted a whole issue, Vol. II, no. 2, (April 1980) 'in celebration of the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the beginnings of the Great Game.' A perceptive overview may be found in Garry Alder 'Big Game Hunting in Central Asia', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, viii (1979-80), pp 318-30; also Edward Ingram, 'Three approaches to the Great Game in Asia', chapter XII, pp 204-17, in his *Defense of British India : Great Britain in the Middle East 1775-1842*, London, 1984.
3. Edward Ingram, *The Beginning of the Great Game in Asia, 1828-34*, Oxford, 1979, p. 13.
4. Edward Ingram, 'The Rules of the Game : a commentary on the Defense of British India, 1798-1829', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, iii (1974-5), pp. 257, 79.
5. M. E. Yapp, *Strategies of British India; Britain, Iran and Afghanistan 1798-1850*, Oxford, 1980, pp. 14-5.
6. Gerald Morgan, *Anglo-Russian Rivalry in Central Asia 1810-1895*, London, 1971, pp. 520-21.
7. David Gillard, *The Struggle for Asia 1828-1914*, London, 1979, p.3.
8. O. Edmund Clubb, *China and Russia : the 'Great Game'*, London, 1971.
9. David Gillard, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-3.
10. G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, 2 vols.

**'DHARMAVIVECHAN' : AN EARLY 19TH CENTURY
RATIONALISTIC REFORM MANIFESTO IN WESTERN
INDIA**

J. V. Naik

WITH the express purpose of providing a rational ideology to nascent social reform movement in Western India, Dadoba Pandurang Tarkhadkar (Dadoba), 1814-1882, a noted philologist and serious student of comparative religion,¹ wrote in 1843 a book in Marathi, entitled *Dharmavivechan*, under the pen name of "A Cosmopolitan Arya".² The treatise has much in common with the theistic rationalism of Raja Rammohan Roy and it compares well with the latter's *Tuhfat-ul-Muwahhiddin*³ in advocating religious and social universalism based on rationalism in seven tenets, each forming a chapter. The two earliest reform associations in Western India adopted the *Dharmavivechan* for their reform programme. The theoretical basis of Jyotiba Phule's subsequent revolutionary social movement was also first indicated in this book. However, this valuable historical source, which applies the critique of reason to religious and social phenomena, has not received the attention it deserves of the scholars. An attempt is made in this paper to study the *Dharmavivechan* in some detail and examine its application to the early reform movements in Western India.

Belonging to the non-Brahmin community, and not forming part of the old ruling elite, but fortunate to have received the new liberal education, Dadoba's perception of the Indian Socio-religious reality sharply differed from that of the contemporary Brahmin reformers. While most of the latter aimed at only a partial social change, without abandoning the traditional values, to meet the demands of the new socio-economic dictates, Dadoba stood for a total change in the existing inequitable social structure on the basis of rationality

- London, 1892, I, pp. 3-4.
11. Edward Ingram, *op.cit.*, n. 4.
12. Yapp, *op. cit.*, p. 124.
13. John Kaye, *War in Afghanistan*, London, 1851, 2 vols; later, 1857 edition, 3 vols.
14. Yapp, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 460.
16. For Abdur Rahman see Vartan Gregorian, *The Emergence of Modern Afghanistan: Politics of Reform and Modernisation 1880-1946*, Stanford, 1969, pp. 129-62.
17. For a critical assessment of the negotiations leading to these settlements see D. P. Singhal, *India and Afghanistan, 1876-1907*, St Lucia (Australia), 1963; also Suhash Chakravarty, *From Khyber to Oxus, A study in imperial expansion*, New Delhi, 1976.
18. D. P. Singhal, *op. cit.*, p. 145.
19. Vietnam, a highly mountainous and primarily agricultural country has an area of 329, 566 sq. kilometres and a population of a little over 58 millions (to be exact, 58,307,000).
20. *Supra*, n. 6, pp. 214-15.

and equality. Nor did he, significantly enough, share the view common to most socio-religious reformers that British rule was a "Divine Dispensation". On the contrary, he ranged himself on the side of those discerning few who, as early as 1841, made a studied attack on the British rule denouncing it as "the most bitter curse India has ever been visited with",⁴ which is an index not only to his penetrating intellect but also to his grasp of the inherent contradiction between foreign rule and the interests of the Indian people.

The *Dharmavivechan* is a rational statement of his theistic humanism. It enunciates the following seven tenets :

1. God is one and He alone should be worshipped.
2. The real religion is devotion to God based on love and good moral conduct.
3. The spiritual religion of mankind is one.
4. Every individual must have freedom of thought.
5. All our daily work should be consistent with reason and discrimination.
6. The whole of mankind is one caste.
7. The right kind of knowledge should be imparted to all.

A perusal of these tenets reveals that Dadoba's religion was thought out basically in secular terms. Faith in the existence of God was, no doubt, central to his whole socio-religious philosophy. But his line of argument ran from ethics to God and not *vice-versa*. He categorically denied divine authority to the scriptures and asserted that "the final truth is

that which stands the test of reason after a minute scrutiny and especially that which contributes to the welfare of the people."⁵ "Our attitude", he wrote, "is the same towards the Vedas, the Koran, the Bible and other religious works. All these are creations of men. Unthinking people consider that these scriptures are written for us by God himself and sent from heaven. But that is not so."⁶

He admitted that there is a good deal of wisdom and spiritual thought in all the scriptures, but he also saw in them a lot of irrationalities and complained that "it is mostly the style in which they are written that has contributed to the growth of ignorance and misunderstanding among people. All Puranas and *Shastras* are thus cheats. They have made mountains out of molehills and unnecessarily confused people instead of showing them the right path. This method of misguiding people is most despicable."⁷ He added, even according to the etymology of the word "*Shashtra*" "that which governs the people, and governs them in a manner which will give them happiness in this world and beyond, is *shastra*". And he warned : "To consider all that is written in Sanskrit as the final truth is the height of foolishness".⁸

The first three tenets in the *Dharmavivechan* are devoted to explain the 'real' meaning and purpose of religion and to establish the basic proposition that "the spiritual religion of mankind is one". The concepts of religious universalism and monotheism, which are central to Dadoba's theistic faith, are clarified with reference to the belief, common to all faiths, in a single Creator; and a strong plea is made against idolatrous worship. The tract begins with the statement that "the commonly accepted principle in the Vedas and all other scriptures of the world is that there is only one God who is the creator and regulator of the Universe."⁹ The God conceived by Dadoba is not a person but an Omnipotent Omniscient entity without human attributes. The fact is that

"the full knowledge of the nature and form of God is beyond human comprehension". However, the devotees have, through their sheer ignorance, instead of worshipping one Supreme Being, taken to the worship of innumerable imaginary deities, each one of which named differently like the Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva, Shakti, etc., supposedly sharing the countless attributes of that one Supreme Being. But, "in reality these deities have no independent power of their own".¹⁰ Nevertheless, the pride in one's own deities has given rise to a variety of mutually warring sects with disastrous consequences. This 'calamitous' situation could be saved if the people take to monotheism, and instead of indulging in the worship of many deities, surrender themselves to the one Supreme Being through love and good conduct.¹¹

The real religion, according to Dadoba, consists in the devotion to God through good moral behaviour with the value of truth as the sole guide for human conduct, the test of which lies in the promotion of human welfare :

One should resort to truth in this world... one must follow the rules of moral conduct, not cause unnecessary hurt to anyone, secure the welfare of all to the extent possible and give them maximum happiness that one is capable of giving. We should consider all men as children in a single family with one God as our common father and adopt an attitude of friendship towards all humanity. Seeking the truth, we must follow it assiduously and do everything to propagate it in this world. This kind of behaviour will so please the Lord as no other behaviour possibly can. Therefore, this alone is the highest devotion and the greatest spiritual duty.¹²

Though Dadoba rejected the idea of divine revelation, he had no objection in regarding that religion which causes

highest human welfare as 'God-given' religion. "...Just as mercifulness, peacefulness and other sentiments of mind are generally found in men so is also the religious sentiment, the spiritual feeling, a mental disposition which works for the highest welfare of men. As a consequence, one may call 'God-given' what causes the highest welfare... What is, besides this, is without doubt pure ignorance. Without doubt, the core of all religions in this world is to behave morally in this life..."¹³

Dadoba painfully observed that though "the scriptures of all the peoples recognize an identical Supreme Reality...yet these people are having big controversies and disputes about things without substance, which result in a warfare, involving slaughter of millions of poor human beings."¹⁴ By giving a fairly detailed account of the irrationalities and absurdities practised by various religious communities of India - Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Jain, Parsee, in the name of religion, Dadoba accused them of reducing religion to a business proposition. "These people have opened different shops. As a matter of fact, the important item to be sold in all these shops is one and the same; but no one knows where the invaluable jewel is lying amidst the sprawling goods in the shop. Most of the business is in respect of the counterfeit stones. Neither the seller knows what he is selling, nor the customer knows what he is buying. Only he, who can recognize a genuine jewel, would understand the fake business going on in this market. But such connoisseurs are very rare; and they are therefore helpless in stopping this counterfeit trade."¹⁵ With value of truth a sure guide, the *Dharmavivechan* called upon the people to worship God, who is one, for everybody, permanent and eternal.

The tenets 4 to 7, while making a rational critique of the social slavery of caste-ridden Indian society, indicated the lines for bringing about a fundamental change in the whole social structure on the basis of rationality and social equality.

Here, a considerable space is devoted to the discussion of the baneful institution of caste with its numerous ramifications and disintegrating influences, and to the demolition of the theory that the castes are divinely ordained. "The understanding of all men who have been followers of Vedic religion" wrote Dadoba, "has been that God has created these differences of *Varna* and *Ashram*. This is sheer ignorance on their part. The merciful God, Who is the father of the Universe, desires unity throughout the world and mutual love. To accuse him of causing dissensions among men by creating the differences of caste is indeed a great sin".¹⁶ He said that the priestly class, in order to maintain its own supremacy, deliberately kept others in a state of ignorance which was at the root of all evils.¹⁷ He held the caste-system primarily responsible for the national decline and downfall. "The natural unity, which should have developed among the people on account of their common religion or single nationality was itself nipped in the bud, when the castes came into being."¹⁸

Applying the criteria of reason and social good, Dadoba advocated the use of force to put down "wicked customs" and in-human practices, even if they were sanctioned by the so-called "religions hallowed by ancient tradition."¹⁹ This implied that he advocated State intervention and social legislation for the good of the community. However, the sure way to fight obscurantism in the country, Dadoba stated in the last tenet, is to impart right kind of knowledge to all people. "Knowledge", he said, "is the root of all progress; it is strength".²⁰ He did not belittle the value of traditional learning, but he said that it is "futile to spend years on learning grammar, *Naya* or memorizing the Vedas, which are not of much practical value." He exhorted his fellow-countrymen to go in for useful scientific studies and to seek after truth. But he also cautioned that any learning without a sound base of moral and spiritual education was

not likely to yield beneficial results. He upheld the dignity of labour and said that no one should feel ashamed to take up any kind of work, which is not of an evil nature, to earn one's livelihood.²¹

II

To translate his religious and social philosophy into action, Dadoba inspired the founding of the two earliest reform associations in Western India: The Manavdharma Sabha of Surat (1844) and a revolutionary secret society called the Paramahansa Sabha of Bombay (1849).²² These associations adopted the tenets of the *Dharmavivechan* for their reform programme. By the abolition of caste, creed and customs, they aimed at uniting all in one fraternity and in the worship of One God. It is important to note that the Manavdharma Sabha (or the Association for the religion of mankind) had rejected the infallibility of scriptures even before the Brahmo Samaj had publicly renounced the doctrine of Vedic infallibility.²³ The declared objectives of the Paramahansa Sabha (an Eclectic Society) were: the abolition of caste; renunciation of idolatry; introduction of widow marriage; promotion of female education and spread of education among the depressed classes like the Mahars and the Mangs.²⁴

The chequered career of the short-lived Paramahansa Sabha has a significance, all its own, in the social history of modern Maharashtra. After 1860, due to several factors, the Sabha became defunct but did not completely die out as is generally believed. Realizing the folly of attempting social reform through a secret organization, some members of the Sabha and a few others, eleven in all, met at the residence of Dr. Atmaram Pandurang on the 30th December 1866 with the intention of founding an open reformatory association. After several such meetings, the majority agreed that the new

reform body should concentrate more on the promotion of spiritual than on material betterment. Those who disagreed with this philosophy kept out of the organization which was founded on March 31, 1867 and named as Prarthana Samaj. It was in this manner that the Paramahansa Sabha was resuscitated with its emphasis shifted relatively from man to God.²⁵ It seems that this decision was reached at the suggestion of Mary Carpenter.²⁶ Dadoba specially offered his *Dharmavivechan* to "the Prarthana Samaj and other thoughtful men" in 1868. However, the Prarthana Samaj adopted the root principles of the Brahmo Samaj and modified them.²⁷ Less iconoclastic and more prudent than its counterpart in Bengal, the Prarthana Samaj never became a sect outside the Hindu fold. In fact, its chief idealogue, Justice Ranade, declared it to be "only a faint reflection and humble off-shoot" of the ancient Bhagwata Dharma which he described as "Protestant Hinduism."²⁸ Even though Ranade and the other Samajists spoke in the accent of Hinduism, the spirit which animated them was universal. Even so, it marked a retreat from the kind of unqualified religious universalism expounded in the *Dharmavivechan*. Dadoba, it seems, was postulating a universal church. The names like 'Society for the Religion of Mankind' and 'Eclectic Society' which he gave to the associations which he founded are suggestive of that idea.

There is enough evidence to indicate that Jyotiba Phule, founder of the Satyashodhak Samaj, was actively associated with the Paramahansa Sabha.²⁹ A social activist and not an armchair philosopher, Phule was deeply moved by the pitiable plight of the downtrodden. He was not the man to be satisfied with mere slogans such as those of Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of man given by the Brahmo Samaj and the Prarthana Samaj, unless they were translated into action. It is reasonable to argue that, had the Prarthana Samaj attempted to follow the revolutionary social programme of the

Paramahansa Sabha, perhaps Phule would not have thought of starting his own organization, the theoretical basis of which had already been clarified in the *Dharmavivechan*. A careful scrutiny of Jyotiba's own last work, *Sarvajanikasatyadharmapustak*,³⁰ which is a comprehensive statement of his social, religious and moral ideas, shows that it is, in essence, an elaborate exposition of the rationalism and theistic humanism of the *Dharmavivechan*. Compared to Phule's work, which is militantly anti-Brahmanical, the *Dharmavivechan* is a sober piece. Nevertheless, it does hold Brahmanism, and the values that it represented, primarily responsible for the ills from which the country suffered.

Although the Brahmo Samaj and the Prarthana Samaj had rejected the authority of the scriptures, they mainly relied on the Upanishads and the other Hindu religious literature for their inspiration and guidance. To Phule, the whole corpus of Hindu literature represented the Aryan heritage which was Brahmanical and anti-masses. He basically rebelled against that heritage and sought to wipe it out root and branch. Phule, therefore, could not find in Brahmoism a sufficient answer to the problems he had identified. For Phule, the Prarthana Samaj, the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj were essentially class organizations of the higher castes. He bitterly attacked them. Arguing that the Brahmins have always exploited the Shudras and Atishudras, Phule observed that the children of the shrewd *Bhat-Brahmins* acquired their learning in the English educational institutions set up with the money squeezed from the downtrodden by way of taxes. They have now hastily organized associations like the Brahmo Samaj and the Prarthana Samaj with the real design of covering their cunning plot for dominating the masses, and to save themselves by giving their movements a religious twist. They are really shrewd attempts to create confusion in the minds of the lower castes and perpetuate the Brahmin supremacy.³¹

But it should be noted that the forces of conservatism were so strong in the country that "Phule's ideal of equality did not assert itself for long even in the Satyashodhak Samaj".³² Indeed, the rationalist strand, as represented in the *Dharmavivechan*, in the early phase of the complex movement of 'renaissance' thought in Maharashtra, gradually underwent a marked decline and virtually disappeared in the later-day revivalist nationalism, despite the brilliant individual efforts of men like Ranade, Agarkar and Gokhale.

A recapitulation of the reform movement initiated by Dadoba Pandurang Tarkhadkar highlights two things. First, rationalism and religious universalism were its guiding principles. Second, its object was not so much religious as social and secular. This stand was reversed when the Paramahansa Sabha was transformed into the Prarthana Samaj whose founders firmly held the view that "social reform could not have a stable and healthy footing unless based on religious reform".³³ In reaching this position the leaders of the Prarthana Samaj were deeply influenced by the Brahmo Samaj. Even so, in actual practice, they were constrained to reject the more radical element in Brahmo thought. This was in conformity with the innate conservatism which informed the whole of Maharashtrian 'renaissance' thought beginning with Bal Shastri Jambhekar (1812-1846). Maharashtra never had anything like the Derozian movement, the Paramahansas notwithstanding. Although the liberal ideology and the social vision of the leading Prarthana Samajists like Ranade, Bhandarkar and Chandavarkar was comprehensive, their programme was never extended to embrace the whole of the society but remained confined to the reform of the institution of the family and individual life. They were painfully aware of this; and yet they were unable to take up the challenge. Even some of the leading members of the Prarthana Samaj were occasionally constrained to compromise and temporize with the forces of orthodoxy.

Admittedly, this retreat from an earlier rationalist stand was not something very peculiar to Maharashtra only. It was rather an all India phenomenon.³⁴ But it was perhaps in Maharashtra that the orthodox opposition to social reform assumed an articulate form, with a considerable following as evidenced by the writings of Vishnushastri Chiplunkar (1850-1882) as also by the cry "Hinduism-in-danger" during the acrimonious debate over the Age of Consent Bill. A concerted effort was made to idealize the past, rationalize religion, traditional values, caste, custom and idolatry. Those few like Ranade, Bhandarkar, Agarkar and Phule who dared to express dissent and protest were ridiculed. The fact is that, given their political past and traditional pride, the old ruling classes of Maharashtra could never reconcile themselves to the loss of power in 1818. There was a sullen resentment amongst them. The tables had to be turned and the lost ground recovered. That could be achieved by learning much that was useful in the British system without abandoning, however, the traditional values. The result was that the idea of total reorganization of society never became "an item of fundamental faith among the main stream of Maharashtrian thought".³⁵ And that explains the failure of the *Dharmavivechan* to make an appeal to the general Maharashtrian intelligentsia.

NOTES AND REFERENCES :

1. For the life of Dadoba Pandurang, see A. K. Priolkar's massive research work in Marathi, *Rao Bahadur Dadoba Pandurang: Atmcharitra Va Charitra*, Keshav Bhikaji Dhavle, Bombay, 1947 (Dadoba's autobiography covers the period upto 1846, and the rest from 1847 to 1882 is a biography). Well known as "Panini of Marathi Grammar", Dadoba authored several books, many of which are on religious subjects. His internationally

famous work, *A Hindu Gentleman's Reflections respecting the works of Emmanuel Swedenborg* (1878), provides an idea of his deep study of comparative religion. In his review of this work, Justice Ranade assigned Dadoba "a foremost place in the ranks of thoughtful inquirers after religious truth", *Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha*, Vol I, No. 3 (January 1879), p. 42.

2. The full title of this work is, *Dharmavivechan Arthat Parmarthik Dharma, Ani Vyavaharik Dharma Yanche Vivekapurvok, Nishchayatmak, va Saranvshyarupane Kathan* by "Eka Jagdwasi Arya". Although written in 1843, it was first published by Vasudeo Babaji Naorange in 1868 for the guidance of the members of the Bombay Prarthana Samaj. In 1875, Bholanath Sarabai translated it into Gujarati and dedicated it to the Ahmedabad Prarthana Samaj. For our purpose, we have used the Marathi reprint of this work appended to A. K. Priolkar's *Paramahansa Sabha va Tiche Adhyaksha Ramchandra Balkrishna*, Mumbai Marathi Grantha Sangrahalaya, Bombay, 1966, pp. 63-122.
3. For an excellent discussion of Raja Rammohun Roy's uncompromising rationality in his *Tuhfat-ul-Muwahhiddin* see K. N. Panikkar, "Rationalism in the Religious thought of Rammohun Roy", *Proceedings of the Thirty-fourth Session of the Indian History Congress*, Vol. II, Chandigarh, 1973, pp. 182-189; also Sumit Sarkar, "Rammohun Roy and the Break with the Past" in V. C. Joshi (ed), *Rammohun Roy and the Process of Modernization in India*, Vikas, Delhi, 1975, pp. 49-50.
4. In the Year 1941, younger brother of Dadoba, Bhaskar Pandurang Tarkhadkar (1816-1847) who was an uncompromising rationalist made a devastating attack on the British colonial rule denouncing it as "the most bitter curse India has ever been visited with." Dadoba

fully approved of his brother's intellectual assault on British rule in all its aspects. For a fuller account of this, cf. J. V. Naik, "An Early Appraisal of the British Colonial Policy", *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Arts Nos. XLIV & XLV, Nos. 80-81, 1975-76 pp. 243-270.

5. *Dharmavivechan*, *op. cit.*, p. 97.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 67.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*, p. 96.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 118.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 120-122.
22. For a detailed account of these associations, cf. J. V. Naik, "Early Anti-caste Movement in Western India: The Paramahansa Sabha" and references therein, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Vols. 49-50-51 1974-75-76 (N.S.), 1979, pp. 236-261.
23. The Manavdharma Sabha rejected the infallibility of the scriptures right from the day on which it was founded, that is June 22, 1844. *Dnanodaya* (Vol. 4 No. 4) February 15, 1845. The Brahmo Samaj publicly renounced the doctrine of Vedic infallibility only after 1845, see Sivanath Sastri, *History of the Brahmo Samaj*, 2nd ed., Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, Calcutta, 1974, pp. 63-69.

24. This is corroborated by all the contemporary accounts, cf. J. V. Naik, *loc. cit.* (22).
25. *Official Report of the Prarthana Samaj of Bombay for the first sixteen years*, dt. 26 December, 1883, *The Prarthana Samaj Minute Book*, Vol. I 1883, pp. 1-2.
26. Mary Carpenter, *Six Months in India*, Vol. II, London, 1868, pp. 20-21.
27. *Collected works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar*, Vol. II, (ed) N. B. Utgikar, B.O.I.R., Poona, 1927-1933, p. 480.
28. M. G. Ranade, *Religious and Social Reform* (Essays and speeches comp. by M. B. Kolaskar), Bombay, 1902, pp. 198-199.
29. Jyotiba Phule's religious and social philosophy, save his militant anti-Brahmin stance, shows an unmistakable influence of the Paramahansa Sabha (P.S.). Dadoba had occasions to meet Phule on his usual rounds of school inspection. Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man*, which influenced Phule greatly, used to be first circulated among the members of the P.S., cf. Baba Padmanji, *Arunodaya*, 3rd ed., Tract and Book Society, Bombay, 1955, p. 201. Phule was a close friend of K. S. Bhavalkar, who was specially commissioned by Dadoba to spread the message of P.S. in Pune where Phule closely collaborated with him in his work, cf. *Raosaheb Keshav Shivram Bhavalkar Yanche Atmavritta*, B. S. Pandit (ed), Vidharba Samshodhan Mandal, Nagpur, 1966, p. 84. In 1865 Phule brought out the second edition of a book *Jatibheda Vivekasar or Reflections on the Institution of Caste* by Tukaram Tatyapa Padval, who was an active member of the P.S. and who refused to join the Prarthana Samaj on ideological grounds. In 1869, Phule dedicated his ballad 'Life of Shivaji in Poetical Metre' "to the Memory of Rao Bahadur Ramchandra Balkrishnaji, President of Param Hans Sabha... As a mark of profound Respect and a Testimony of sincere Affection", *Mahatma Phule*

- Samagra Vangmaya*, (ed) D. Keer & S. G. Malshe, R.S.S. Mandal, Bombay, 1969, pp. 1-38; see also R. N. Chavan, "Samaj Sudharnechya Itihasantil Paramahansa Sabheche Sthan", *Navbharat*, No.1 July 1971, pp. 39-46; D. Keer, *Mahatma Jyotirao Phule*. Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1964, p. 58; G. B. Sardar, *Ranadepranit Samajik Sudharanechi Tatvamimansa*, Poona University, Pune, 1973, p. 23.
30. *Mahatma Phule Samagra Vangmaya*, pp. 341-442.
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 405, 281-84 and 296; see also *Subodha Patrika* (Vol. 6, No. 34) December 22, 1878.
32. M. P. Mangudkar, *Mahatma Phule Ani Satyashodhak Chalval*, S. M. Garge, Pune, 1954, p. 43; Cf. Matthew Lederle, *Philosophical Trends in Maharashtra*, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1976, p. 129. For an excellent account of the changes that took place in the Satyashodak Samaj after the death of Jyotiba Phule, see Y. D. Phadke, "Dusare Parva", *Mauj* (Diwali Issue), 1979, pp. 89-98; also Gail Omvedt, *Cultural Revolt in a Colonial Society: The Non-Brahman Movement in Western India, 1873 to 1930*, S.S.E. Trust, Bombay, 1976.
33. *Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar*, vol. II, p. 480.
34. See K. N. Panikkar's Presidential Address (Section III: Modern India) *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, thirty-sixth Session, Aligarh, 1975, pp. 365-385.
35. For a perceptive analysis of the nature of 'renaissance' thought in Maharashtra, see K. Mukerji, "The Renaissance in Bengal and Maharashtra Thought from 1850 to 1920", *Artha Vijnan*, (Gokhale Institute of Politics & Economics), December 1962, Vol. 4, No. 4, pp. 331-341.

WITH BEST COMPLIMENTS
FROM



**MALTRANS
SHIPPING AGENCIES
(INDIA) PVT. LTD.**



KUSUM VIJAY HOUSE,
2ND FLOOR, ROOM NO.5,
174/180 MODY STREET,
BOMBAY 400 001.

TEL : 2620827
FAX : 2619663

TLX : 011 75695 MTRN IN
CABLE : MALAGENCY.

**SURAT COLLECTORATE IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY : A SOCIO-ECONOMIC
PROFILE : MICRO STUDY OF PARDI TALUKA**

Gita Bajpai

Pardi *taluka*, lying south of the Bulsar district, and separated from it by Par river, was relatively one of the more compact *talukas* of the collectorate spreading over about 103,425 acres of land.¹ Its undulating terrain, interrupted by water courses, offered good prospects for cultivation in the northern part with its deeper and more productive soils; the southern part of the *taluka* being rocky and hence having a poorer potential for cultivation.² Apart from the Par in the north and the Daman Ganga which separated the *taluka* from its neighbouring districts of Dharampur state and the Portuguese territories of Daman, was the river Koluk running through the centre and dividing the northern and southern parts.³

The unevenness of terrain, and consequently of potentialities for cultivation, was matched by the unevenness in concentration of the agrarian classes in Pardi. Thus, the northern villages were not only more populous but they also had a higher concentration of the well to do agriculturists particularly the *Bhatella* Brahmins.⁴ These agriculturists were engaged in the cultivation of a variety of crops as cotton, bajri and jowar, which these northern soils permitted.⁵ The southern villages with much less to offer were poor, permitting only inferior cultivation, and hence having large tracts of uncultivated lands with a much lower concentration of the better class of cultivators.⁶ In fact, reportedly, in these parts, cultivation of crops familiar in northern part was found to be non-existent.⁷ Moreover, the particular inferiority of *jarayat* lands of Pardi, also contributed to limitations in cultivation in the district.⁸

Along with the physical disparity was the social disparity in Pardi. This becomes evident in the conditions of the agrarian classes reported. Thus, in contrast with the "substantial houses" of the *Bhatellas* were the "huts" of the aboriginal tribes.⁹ The differences between the upper and lower strata can also be inferred from the nature of the revenue system which made for a higher crop assessment on commercial crops as rice and sugarcane, and a lower assessment on the poorer varieties of *jarayat* crops.¹⁰ Disparity between the two classes is reflected also in the privileges and perquisites that the upper strata enjoyed. Thus, reportedly "Patels were granted land on easier terms, in addition to service lands for their slaves free of cess."¹¹ Agrarian society evidently had an inequalitarian structure wherein the privileges of the upper strata were well entrenched.

Such were the physical, economic, and social characteristics of Pardi's agrarian system when it was ceded by the Peshwa to the British in 1817-18.¹² Our analysis of the trends in the economy and society of Pardi in the first half of the nineteenth century, now takes us into an examination of the nature and pace of transition in the agrarian sector in these early decades of colonial rule.

Mercantilist policies of the Company necessitated modifications in the pre-colonial revenue system so as to ensure a steady and increasing flow of funds from its new territorial acquisitions. These modifications were in the nature of charge in the tenurial system, in assessment pattern and in the proportion of surplus appropriated as land revenue. Accordingly the first survey and settlement while introducing the *raiyyatwar khatabandi* in "several villages" also subjected the *jarayat* lands, hitherto not taxed, to a land tax at the rate of rupee one per *bigha*.¹³ This revision, no doubt, lowered the overall tax rate; yet with the

extension of assessment to dry crop lands, and the rates fixed on tank cultivation, it did, on the whole increase the revenue paying liabilities of agriculturists; the proportion of land revenue to total gross produce being fixed at one-third. With this modification went the compensation for high rates on rice and sugarcane, that the precolonial practice of allowing three *bighas* of land to one *bigha* of rice free of tax gave.

The second revision of 1827/28, further increased the revenue paying liabilities of the agriculturists. While the extension of *raiyyatwari* to other villages secured for the state a closer supervision of more villages in Pardi, the leases for 8 years made in respect of *budlan* lands under *Hundabandi* tenure set a time limit upon the enjoyment of revenue free lands of cultivable waste occupied by agriculturists.¹⁴ Furthermore, *raiyyats* were deprived "of the free use of the date trees growing in their Hundas,"¹⁵ by putting upon them a separate charge at the rate of 10 rupees per 100 trees. The tax burden fell even more heavily on account of its being progressively claimed in cash instead of in kind as per the pre-colonial practice.¹⁶ Thus, by 1845, about 48% of Pardi villages had been brought under cash assessment.¹⁷ More evidence of the progressive extension of the scope of colonial taxation comes from the recovery under regular assessment of lands under *Hundabandi* tenure at the expiry of their term in 1835-38.¹⁸

A characteristic feature of the early colonial revenue system was the continuity from pre-British times in respect of the consideration shown to the *kaliparej* sections of society. This is amply borne out by the favourable land revenue policy towards them. The early settlement in Pardi reportedly brought, "...a deduction of 10 per canton the rates fixed for the fair class..."¹⁹ for the *Kaliparej*.¹⁹ This class continued to receive such favourable treatment till the 1860s.²⁰

Under Company administration, then, the major changes in the land revenue system that Pardi witnessed were; one, the change in assessment on crop to assessment on land; two, the "...adoption for the first time of dry crop rates..."²¹ three, the progressive replacement of assessment in kind by assessment in cash; four, the recovery of rent free cultivable waste under a regular land tax, and, lastly the partial curtailment of privileges of *patels* by which they enjoyed service lands for maintenance of slaves, free of rent.²² The inference regarding this last development is based on the subjection of lands hitherto left free of rent, under a regular assessment.

These revenue arrangements, increasing the financial burden of the revenue paying classes, admittedly injured the interests of the agriculturists, and the economy of the *taluka*.²³ Agricultural enterprise, notably capitalist ventures, were inhibited with the curtailment of profits of the agrarian classes in the district. Further, given the existing relations of production reflected in the system of agrestic erfdom and the stratified structure of society it is plausible to conclude that the buck was passed on to the lesser landholders and to the landless. This made for a greater impoverishment and indebtedness. No doubt, the 10 per cent concessions in land revenue demand to the *Kaliparej* would have somewhat relieved the pressures upon them. Nevertheless, considering the social structure of society, it is really to be wondered whether the relief from concessional rates really accrued to the poorer sections. One can, thus, perceive the squeeze being suffered by the lesser landholders. From this it follows that it is from this section of agrarian society that there were drop outs into the ranks of economically the lowest order of peasantry viz., the landless. Of course in this context we have to bear in mind the fact that since in the pre-railway era commercialization progressed only slowly, the pace of swelling of the ranks of the landless class also remained

unescalated. We ought, therefore, to be careful in not deducing from these circumstances the rapid growth in numbers of the impoverished class.

We now briefly turn to the factors that would have offset the pressures of agrarian taxation in the first half of the nineteenth century. First of all we must consider the nature of these early settlements. Being rough²⁴, they necessarily left unrecorded the details of *Khatas* i.e., landholdings. This provides us with useful insights into the working of the revenue administration. Evidently the high demands intended to be levied by the colonial regime could be warded off on account of the cooperation or connivance at play at the village level by the revenue officials viz., *Munsiffs*, deputed by the British and the revenue paying classes. Evidently both expediency and inexperience prevented the state from effectively conducting surveys and settlement in the district. An idea of the inaccuracies of these early settlements can be had from the following extract: "It may be observed that these surveys were never conducted by European Officers, or by even scientific natives, and from the light the Gujarat Survey has thrown upon the ideas which prevented as to area, we find that these wise men of the East invariably estimated a *bigha* in a *raiots* holding at half its actual size, thus, giving the raiyot the utmost benefit of rates estimated upon the produce of a measured *bigha*..."

Another factor that offset the pressure of taxation was the inability of the State to subject certain lands under a regular assessment, and, instead, grant leases of *budlan* lands under the *Hundabandi* tenure in 1832-36.²⁵ Even in this latter endeavour were the British not fully successful. Mr. Stubbs, the collector of Surat, reportedly got only partial success in his attempts at implementing the *Hundabandi* tenure on lease in 1832-33,²⁶ with the long term objective of bringing these lands under regular assessment at the expiry of the leases.

We cite below an extract which illustrates the point: "...The *Hundabandi* was restored by him in 1832-33 wherever it could be affected, but the attempt generally failed as the redistribution of land would have deprived many *rai-yots* of their rice; and improved fields; but in several villages a compromise was affected by each holder being permitted to retain his rice field..."²⁷ The limited success which the collector achieved can be gauged by the fact that only 28 per cent of Pardi villages could be brought under the tenure discussed.²⁸

The third factor in the present context was that of the inability of the colonial regime in dislocating certain influential classes of society viz., *Patels*. These could not be divested of their privileges. The evidence for this is the partial success in implementing the *rai-yatwari* tenure which entailed the curtailment of power and privileges of this section which they enjoyed as important revenue functionaries. Thus, 48 per cent of villages remained under the pre-colonial tenures viz., *Hunda* and *Khatawar*, through the decades under review.²⁹⁺⁺⁺

Finally in the context of the cushioning of pressures of colonial taxation is the evidence of the absence of any significant restiveness among agriculturists. It was noted that, "...In all these partial revisions, executed by the collector's Assistants upon no trustworthy data as to actual area occupied by field owners, and as to what were the net profits obtained by cultivation of the land, the only criterion of success was the contentedness of the people..."³⁰ Now while contentment and satisfaction were not realities of the day as the British officials erroneously would have us believe, there is, on the other hand little to warrant the conclusion of

+++The foregoing discussion confirms the views regarding the resilience of the indigenous system and, consequently, of the inability of the colonial regime to make a significant impact in the early years of its rule in Gujarat.

distress of the orders which would have manifested itself in some form of significant protest.

The cumulative effect of the acts of omission and commission of the Company administration upon economy undoubtedly had been to depress it. This is further borne out from the data pertaining to lands occupied and revenues during the term of the settlement i.e., the years 1840s to 1860s. Thus, while government occupied land area increased by 18 per cent, land revenues did by 24 per cent, clearly outpacing the pace of growth in the former case.³¹ This means that cultivators, on account of increasing demands could not enjoy the fruits of the extended cultivation; the profits being diverted into the company's coffers instead. Had not the revenue demand increased, one could have accepted the official version of "the progress of the district during a period of 20 years..."³² What is reflected is the improved prospects of the state from increased occupied land, rather than those of the agriculturists as the official noting cited earlier indicates.

There are besides, the figures of net realisations of demand which indicate almost total recovery of dues. These never fell below 95 per cent, and at times during 1840s and 1860s were 100%.³³ Furthermore, the extension of cash assessment to about 30 per cent of Pardi villages³⁴ is not likely to have come except at the cost of indebtedness caused to a large extent by the instalments and the rigours of the revenue administration in this period.

Turning to another aspect of economy, i.e., urbanisation, it must be mentioned that there appears to have been little progress in this regard. While the old *Kasba* town of Bugwara had already fallen into decay during the conflict between the Peshwa's representative Hunaji Balkaria³⁵ and the Portuguese long before the British figured in the region; the conditions

are likely to have worsened in the following years during which there ensued a struggle between the Raja of Mandvi and the British,³⁶ the only other town was Pardi, the *taluka* headquarters which was also the marketing centre of the district.³⁷ Of progress in these decades in terms of urban growth, there appears to have been little.

Developments in society in Pardi were concomitant with the changes in Pardi as was the trend in most cases. First it must be stated that the innovations in the land revenue administration gave a setback to the revenue functionaries of the pre-British period. With *raiyyatwari* tenure, therefore, was relegated into the background the intermediary in the existing revenue system, viz., the *ijardar*. So also was the Patel's economic strength affected with his rent free lands being subjected to the payment of a regular assessment. However, given the shortcomings of the early settlements, as also the fact that the revenue measures were affected only gradually, there is every reason to assert the view that damages suffered by the dominant sections were not severe. Hence the stratified structure of society continued by and large unaffected. However, with the clipping of economic privileges of the administrative powers on the one hand, and the favourable terms to the lower order society on the other, a certain degree of a 'levelling' tendency had been initiated wittingly or unwittingly by the British. By and large of course, it is tenable to speak of continuity more than change in these decades under Company rule.

NOTES AND REFERENCES :

1. MSS, Maharashtra State Archives (cited hereinafter as MSA), Bombay, Revenue Department (cited hereinafter as RD), Selections from Bombay Government Records (cited hereinafter as SBGR) and Revision Settlement

Report (cited hereinafter as RSR), *Pardi taluka*, FN14849/13, 1904, App. R, p. 36.

2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*
13. Under the precolonial, Maratha system, the crop rate on irrigated rice land was Rs.24 per acre, and on sugarcane, was Rs.15 per *bigha*; the British rates were Rs.3 to 10 for rice; Rs.8-12 for sugarcane; Rs.1-3 for tank cultivation and Re.1 per *jarayat* land. *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
15. *Ibid.*
16. The Maratha revenue system installed in Pardi in 1738-39 by Sankraji Panth Nana, and which was in force till the district was ceded to the British, was a crop rate in kind. This was replaced by a cash rate on land by the British with *raiyyatwari* tenure, *Ibid.*, pp.46-47.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 47.

- 27. *Ibid.*
- 28. *Ibid.*
- 29. *Ibid.*
- 30. *Ibid.* p. 48.
- 31. *Ibid.*
- 32. *Ibid.*
- 33. *Ibid.* p. 47.
- 34. *Ibid.*
- 35. *Ibid.* p. 37.
- 36. *Ibid.* p. 46.
- 37. *Ibid.* p. 38.

NEW LIGHT ON KUNAVAYIR KOTTAM AND THE DATE OF CILAPPATIKARAM

M. G. S. Narayanan

THE patikam in Cilappatikaram, the ancient Tamil classic, claimed to have been composed by Ilamko Atikal, the younger brother of Ceran Cenkuttuvan, says that the royal bard had taken up residence at Kunavayir Kottam after his renunciation.¹ The old commentator Atiyarkkunallar designates Kunavayir Kottam as Tirukkunavayil. Following this a number of scholars have identified Kunavayir Kottam or Tirukkunavayil as Trikkanamatilakam also known as Kunavay, 5 miles to the North of Kodungallur (Cranganore) in central Kerala.² The pronounced Jain bent of mind exhibited by the author of Cilappatikaram would suggest that this place must have been a Jain monastic centre though there was, till recently, no other evidence regarding an old Jain centre of Kerala with that name. Against this background it is interesting to examine epigraphic and literary evidence which, when put together, would clearly establish the existence of a Jain temple called Tirukkunavayie which had been the model of other Jain temples of Kerala in the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries of the Christian era. This paper is intended to bring out such evidence and discuss its implications for the date of Cilappatikaram, leaving it to literary scholars to decide how far this information could be reconciled with other forms of internal evidence.

A Vatteluthu inscription comes from Tiruvannur, within Calicut city limits, mentioning Tirukkunavay as the model for Tiruvannur temple.³ The script is Vatteluthu, the characters of which may be assigned to the 11th century on the basis of a comparative study of Cera inscriptions. The language used is old Malayalam found in all Cera inscriptions of this age

which closely resembles Tamil but shows characteristic new features. (See Appendix A)

The temple of Tirumunnur Bhatarar in question must be the same as the big Siva temple now found in that place or its predecessor there. However no Ur (Assembly) or Paridai (temple committee) figures in this document as in the case of Hindu temple records of Kerala belonging to the same age. Besides, the Hindu temple records of Kerala in this period quote either the rules and regulations obtaining in some neighbouring temple or the rules and regulations obtaining in Tirumulikkalam temple situated near the Cera capital of Makotai (kodungallur) as the model or precedent to be followed. The practice was followed both in Vaishnavite and Saivite temples. The present inscription on the other hand cites the temple of Tirukkunavay as model in two places. Therefore such interesting departure from the general practice would suggest that it was different from the ordinary Hindu shrine. The possibility of its being a Buddhist or Jain temple is revealed here. The reference to Brahmaswam or Brahmin property is possible in the case of Jain temples also.

The nature of Tirukkunavay temple is clarified by some new finds made by the Department of Archaeology of the Kerala State. The Government of India Epigraphists had noticed in 1908, a Vatteluthu inscription at Kavassari amsom in Alathur, now in Palghat District, Kerala.⁴ The state department of Archaeology noticed there in 1960 a ruined Jain temple in the site popularly known as Cakkayar tottam or Kundam on a hillock known as Pallikkunru.⁵ They found beams, slabs, pillars etc. scattered in that place. They also collected from the site two beautiful sculptures of Mahavira and Parsvanatha and these along with the fragmentary vatteluthu inscription have been placed in the Trichur Archaeological Museum. (See Appendix B)

With regard to the fragmentary Vatteluth inscription, the Government of India Epigraphist observes that it may be placed about the 10th century and gives the following details:⁶

"Dynasty nil - King nil - Date nil - Language Tamil - Script Vatteluthu".

"States that this is the sila-lekha arranged to be engraved by an assembly of several bodies such as Narpattennayiravar, Patipadamulam of Tirukkanavaytavar, attikosam and the adiganmar of Nalanjiyar and it seems to lay down that the right of collecting levies such as ulaikkalam etc. from the Nalanjiyarppalli and other connected establishments shall not be mortgaged to others".

They have not published this record so far. The fragmentary text has been deciphered and reconstructed by the present writer from a study in situ and it may be suggested that 'atikarar' may be read in the place of 'atikarmar' and 'Valanciyar' in place of 'Nalanciyar' in the official version. (See Appendix C)

From this fragmentary text it may be gathered that the inscription records an agreement by Narppattennayiravar, (the Forty eight Thousand), the two Pattakal (Bhattar or scholars), the Adhikarar of Tirukkanavay etc. regarding the Pallikal (non-Hindu temples) of Valanciyar and their property and that those who committed an offence against the agreement shall be deemed as offenders against the deity of Tirukkanavay. It is further stated that they shall be considered as having slaughtered cows and committed the five great sins, and that they and their descendents shall be kept out from the lands of the Pallikkal, the lands of Ulaikkalam, and the Karanmai.

Though the precise meaning is not clear the participation of the adhikarar (officers) of Tirukkunavay in the

agreement and the invocation of the authority of Tirukkunay Tevar in this document of the Jain Centre unequivocally prove that Tirukkunavay, which formed the model for these pallikal, was also a Jain temple.

Another inscription was discovered recently from the neighbourhood of an ancient Jain Basati at Talakkavu near Putadi in Wynad taluk, Cannanore district, Kerala state.⁷

This record, which may approximately be assigned to the close of the 9th century on the basis of the early characteristics of Vatteluthu script and Old Malayalam language employed, is more important than the other two since it not only quotes the authority of Tirukkunavay but also employees the era of Tirukkunavay's foundation. (See Appendix D) The Govt. Epigraphist of Kerala reads the date portion as "nurri aimpattelu" meaning one hundred and fifty seventh year of the temple.⁸ The present writer would like to put it as "nurru muppattelu" meaning one hundred and thirty seventh year of the temple. However this difference is negligible. The more important fact is that it places the foundation of Tirukkunavay roughly about one and a half centuries before the foundation of the nakaram which is recorded in the inscription. Therefore one is led to place the foundation of Tirukkunavay Jain temple somewhere at the beginning of the 8th century of the Christian era.

There is another inscription from Kinalur, near Balusseri about 18 miles to the north-east of Calicut, dated in the 189th year of Tirukkaliyappadarar which gives indirect evidence of the prominence achieved by Tirukkunavay in Kerala within about a century after its foundation.⁹ Though this record was published long ago, its real significance has not yet been recognised. The inscription deals with the institution of rice offering and permanent lamp to the 'Palli' of 'Vijayarageswaram' it may be inferred that the palli or non-

Vedic shrine was established by the Cera king Vijayaraga who must be attributed to the close of the 9th century.¹⁰ This king is known to have led an expedition through these areas to Kolathunadu in the extreme north of Kerala and the foundation of the temple must have taken place at that time.¹¹ The name of the village Kunavaynallur clearly shows its association with Tirukkunavay, thereby proving the popularity and prestige of the latter at the close of the 9th century. The astronomical details given in the text would help us to fix A.D. 1083 as the date.¹² The shape of Vatteluthu script and the language also would suit that period. Therefore the foundation of Vijayarageswara at Kunavayanallur must be assigned to A.D. 894. The record shows that the Cera king Vijayaraga was a patron of Jainism and devotee of Tirukkunavay situated near his capital Makotai. (See Appendix E)

The 15th century Manipravala kavya called Kokasandesha which gives a factual account of the coastal route from Tirupparangode to Edappali mentions this Tirukkunavay also. It is interesting to note that the anonymous author refers to it as 'Gunaka' and 'Kunaka' and uses the term 'Matilakam' meaning fortress which became part of the name Trikkanamatilakam and ultimately became the only part of the name to survive.¹³ He says that it is a big centre of 'Vaniyar' or traders a fact which acquires new significance when we remember that Jainism was most popular among the trading communities. Though the chief temple of the place is called the above of Purari or Siva the poet specifically states that Dwijas or Brahmins were not allowed to see the Lord of Kunaka. From this it is clear that it was not a Hindu temple. Perhaps the Jain deity was confused with Siva by the poet who had no intimate knowledge of this religion.

'Kunavay' is mentioned as an important city in the 14th century poem called Unniyachi after the name of its heroine.

The poet says that Marudur in Wynad, the home town of the heroine, would easily defeat Kollam, Kodungallur, Kunavay, Valluvappali, Mangalapuram and Dorasamudram, thereby indicating that the prosperity of Kunavay remained undiminished at that time also.¹⁴ In addition to this, Gunka's name is mentioned in Sukasandesa and Bhramarasandesa, two Sanskrit works of about the same age. Tradition says that Trikkannamattilakam temple and town were flourishing under the leadership of two Nayar families-Vadakkedathu Nayar and Tekkedathu Nayar and that following a boundary dispute between them and the Brahmin Uralar of the neighbouring Irinjalakkuda village, the Brahmins began the ancient form of satyagriha called pattini for the downfall of their enemy and that the ruin was accomplished in forty days time.¹⁵ Though this tradition may be genuine the date of the event cannot be fixed with any precision. Since it is known that the Portuguese made use of the ruins of the temple, in the 16th century, it may be inferred that the destruction took place towards the close of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century.

Recent archaeological investigations in this region conducted by the Archaeological Survey of India, in which the present writer also participated, brought out portions of a mediaeval citadel wall and the foundations of an early mediaeval temple of about the 8th or 9th century. Two Rajaraja coins of the 10th century were also recovered from this place.¹⁶ In the light of the Putadi-Talakkavu inscription this foundation may provisionally be identified as belonging to the old Tirukkunavay shrine.

The identification of Kunavayirkottam as Tirukkunavay and the discovery of the period of its foundation have an important bearing on the date of Cilappatikaram. If the Jain centre itself was established only in the 8th century at the earliest, the poem written by an inmate of its monastery could

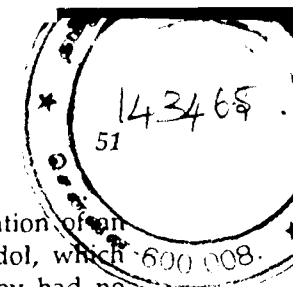
not be of an earlier date. Then it is necessary to question the truth of the statement that the poet was the younger brother of Ceran Cenkuttuvan who is described in the text as a contemporary of Gajabahu, a second century king of Ceylon. Are we to disbelieve and reject part or whole of the patikam? Or, are we to imagine that a scholarly Jain monk of Tirukkunavay composed Cilappatikaram in the 8th or early 9th century and assumed that in a previous birth he witnessed the consecration of Kannaki in the form of Ilamko Atikal, the junior prince? It is up to literary pundits to decide, if possible, with the help of more internal evidence.¹⁷ The present evidence at our disposal regarding Tirukkunavay only helps us to raise this possibility but not to offer a solution. However it is more natural to think that the foremost Jain epic of the South which eulogises an ancient Cera king was the creation of a period when Tirukkunavay, the foremost Jain temple of Kerala, was enjoying popularity and prestige.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. "Kunavayir kkottattaracu turantirunta Kudakkoccerai ilankovatikatku"
2. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Seran Vanji*, P. 24; T. K. Krishna Menon, *Bulletin of The Rama Varma Research Institute* VIII, II, 'The Vanci Problem', P.113; Elamkulam P.N.K. Pillai, *Kokasandesam (Commentary)* P. 55; Ulloor S. P. Aiyar, *Kerala Sahitya Caritram* I, pp. 53.4. A. S. Menon, *Kerala State Gazetteers, Trichur*, PP. 78-9, 90, 139, 537.
3. No.220 of 1895. A translation of this inscription, based on the imperfect decipherment of Dr. Gundert was published by William Logan, *Manual of Malabar*, Vol. II (1897) App.XII. PP.CXXII. No.4. Since then the text has appeared in *South Indian Inscriptions* Vol. V. (1926)

No.784. P.338. The whereabouts of the original stone were not known for a long time. The present writer located it in 1960 in the compound of the Collector's Bungalow, Calicut and it has since been removed to the Archaeological Museum, Trichur. The text given here is prepared in situ by the present writer and differs from the official text in one passage. In the last two lines where the official text reads "akanaliyaiceelavinun akkoyilkanmi pporul kavavaravitun ceyyumuralan" we read "akanaliyaiccelavinul pukkuvilakkuvitu porul kavaruvitun ceyyumuralan".

4. No.561 of 1908.
5. N. G. Unnithan, *Journal of Indian History* Vol.XLIV, Part II "Relics of Jainism-Alatur", pp.537-43.
6. No.238 of 1960. See Annual Report of Epigraphy for 1960. The stone is now placed in Trichur Archaeological Museum.
7. This was discovered in the forest by Sri. K.K.N. Kurup, student in the Department of History, Calicut University. Following a report from the Department of History, the Kerala State Department of Archaeology has taken charge of the stone. The text remains unpublished. The present text is reconstructed by the writer from the eye copy and estampage prepared by Sri. M. R. Raghava Varier from the site.
8. V. T. Induchudan, *The Indian Express*, Saturday 11th July, 1970, "More light on Tirukunavayir". p.6.
9. No.14 of 1901; S.I.I. VII. p.74. No.174. The present writer made a through search for Kinalur temple in Panangad amsam in 1961 but it could not be traced. Even as early as 1897 Logan had described it as a "ruined and deserted temple". Logan, *Malabar*, II. App.XXI p.CCCXXIII. Probably the temple has completely disappeared. Some local people showed me a compound called 'ambalapparambu' (temple compound) where according to them the old Kinalur



Siva temple was located. The granite foundation of an old shrine and the fragment of a granite idol, which cannot be identified, were found there. They had no information regarding the inscribed stones.

The present writer recently examined the estampage taken in 1901 and preserved in the Govt. of India Epigraphist's office, Maysoe, with their kind permission. My decipherment of the Vatteluthu characters differed slightly from the published version. Where they read "Kunaviyanallur vicaiyarakiccuvarattu patararku" the correct reading would be "Kunavay nallur vicaiyarakiccuvarattu pallikku". Other differences are not relevant here.

10. Vijayaragadeva is mentioned as Koyiladhikarikal or prince in the second set of Kottayam-Tarsappalli copper plates, the first set of which was issued in the 5th year of Sthanu Ravi. This king Sthanu Ravi Kulasekhara came to the throne in A.D. 844. See Prof. Elamkulam P.N.K. Pillai, *Keralacaritrattile Irulatanja Edukal*, "Sthanurairiyate kalam", pp.95-106 (Third Edition, 1963) The last known year of Sthanu Ravi is A.D. 870 when his courtier Sankaranarayana composed a commentary on Laghubhaskariya. Though Prof. Elamkulam, who reconstructed later Cera history does not include Vijayaraga among these kings there are two inscriptions which lead to the conclusion that he succeeded Sthanu Ravi on the throne. An undated Tirunandikkara inscription states that Vijayaragadeva married the daughter of Kulasekharadeva who may be identified as the same Sthanu Ravi Kulasekhara mentioned above. See TAS, IV. No.36. pp.144-5. A Cola inscription of A.D. 936 from Tiruvorriyur describes the donor as the daughter of Ceramanar Vijayaragadeva who is also mentioned as Keralaraja. No.169 of 1912, *SII*, Vol.III. No.103. pp.235-6. King Vijayaraga must have ruled in the last quarter of the 9th century starting from somewhere near A.D. 870.

JL
V 200, 18500
18500

11. See M.G.S. Narayanan, "History From the Mushakavamsakavya", *Proceedings of The All India Oriental Conference*, Jadhavpur, 1969.
12. Since Vijayaraga ruled sometime after A.D. 870 the foundation of Vijayarageswaram should be attributed to that period. In that case the 189th year of the temple era would fall some where about A.D. 1059. The record was issued on Wednesday with Avittam star in the month of Mesha in a year when Jupiter stood in Makara. The only year in this period when this combination is possible is A.D. 1083.
13. *Kokasandesha*, slokas 45-54.
14. "Kollavibhutam kollum vibhava Nurumatangu kotungallurilu-
Mera vilanginapangupayata Kunavay kkunamapi kunapam dadhati
Valluvanagarappallijayanti Putavittinipukal Vilthinasobha
Mandikritamangalapuramahima Dorassanudram nirasamudram"
15. *Rasikaranjini*, Book II. pp.281-350.
16. The excavation work was conducted in February-March 1970. Dr. K. V. Raman who headed the team presented a preliminary report at a Seminar held in Kodungallur.
17. It may be borne in mind that scholars like Vaiyapuri Pillai, K. R. Srinivasan, and K. A. Nilakanta Sastri have suggested 8th century or 9th century as the date of the kavya.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Tiruvannur Inscription

Text :

1. Swasti Sri Ko Sri Irai irayarkkucellaninra yantu nalamantaikkettir.
2. Nalu avvantu irama valanatu vanna paḷiyattu kannan kantanum paṇiyutai -
3. Yavakalum arunurruvarunnilalorum pattar ceyta kariyamavatu/Tirumannurp
4. Tirararmel kanaiyapalli yakkancellan kollaventumenra ponpantillatatu ko -
5. Ila ventatenrolincar/Ippatararmel evvakaippattitun-kollaperar naduvalumava
6. num paṇiyutaiyavakalum/Tirumunnur pattararutaiya tevattuvamum piramattuvamum aranur -
7. ruvarakkum kilittu/Itinukko kilittu kanam oru nantavilakkerikkakattavar urala
8. rippatararkkei/Ippatararkku arunurruvarum oru naliyuri kontu aratinal ceyvikkakka
9. tavar/Ippatararutaiya itaiyitu tiru kkunuvayoto-kkayilakkikka katavar arunurruvaru -
10. Itinukku nallituntiyiyitunkantu celutta kkatavan ulpatu ceyyummanavan/Ippata -

11. rakkatutta tevakariyavun tarieeirukkil potuval cenru conratu vittikkotukka kkatavar a
12. runurruvarum/Vittikkotatavan tirukkunavay ccellun-celnatai mutticeoravhor/
13. Arunkatan totam arunurruvarkkum palaiyurotokkum/Akanaliyaicelavinol puk
14. kuvilakkuvitu porul kavalaruvitun ceyyumuralan irupattainkalaincu pontanta arunurruvarkku.

Translation

Swasti Sri! The fourth year opposite the fourth year of the regnal year of Ko Sri Ira Irayar. This is the agreement made in that year by Paliyattu Kannan Kantan, the governor of Iramavalanadu, the Paniyudaiyavakal (Officers), the Arunurruvar (the six hundred), and the Nilalor (companions). We hereby relinquish the claim for gold payment on this Bhatarar (deity) advanced by Kanaiya palli yakkan Cellan (probably the previous governor) which was not founded on ancient practice. The governor of the nadu and his officers are not entitled to receive any payment on this Bhatarar (deity). The Devaswam (temple property) and the Brahmaswam (Brahmin property) belonging to Tirumunnur Bhatarar (the deity of Tirumunnur) shall be subordinate to the six hundred. (This term could be employed for the body of six hundred chief men of the district or the person of their leader. The second alternative is more appropriate in this context since the term 'nilalor' or companions would then apply to his followers, i.e. the whole body of six hundred men) The uralar shall burn a nandavilakku (permanent lamp) before this Bhatarar as the subordination fee. The six hundred shall cause worship with rice every day to this Bhatarar. The six hundred shall protect the idaiyidu (belongings) of this Bhatarar (deity) as equal to Tirukkunavay. The Ulpadu ceyyumavan (the

sanctun keeper) shall decide what is good or bad for this institution. When the Poduval (General supervisor) goes and reports on the affairs of the god, the six hundred shall remove the grievances. He who fails to remove the grievances shall be deemed equal to one who obstructs the sacred offering to Tirukkunavay. The garden of Arungadan shall go to the six hundred on the same conditions as Palaiyur, and the Uralan who enters to cause obstruction or commit theft in the property set apart for temple expenses shall pay twenty five kalanju of gold to the six hundred as fine.

APPENDIX B

Relics of Jainism-Alatur

"The image of Mahavira recovered from Alatur is seated in the Paryankasana pose on a simple but nicely finished bhadrasana. The figure is exceedingly graceful and the proportions are well-modelled. The face displays inner composure and self absorption. The face is round and the ears are long and extended. The shoulders are straight and square and the arms and body are beautifully modelled. The usual marks of Jain sculpture are absent except the triple umbrella, nudity, long arms, youthful body and the lanchana of Mahavira, namely the lions. The Gandharvas flank the sides of the Jina. The well-modelled proportions of the body, the graceful face etc. indicate an early period probably 9th-10th century A.D. The Gandharvas hold the Cauris in their right hands and they keep the left ones akimbo. Two lions with palm upwards are carved on the sides of Mahavira."

"The other sculpture is that of Parsva Natha which is also intact except for certain cracks here and there. All the lanchanas for the Jain figure are not seen in the sculpture. Instead of a seven or five-hooded cobra above Parasvanatha, a three-hooded Cobra alone is seen. He is in the kayotsarga

pose. The hands and body indicate deep meditation. The face is round and the shoulders straight. The limbs are gracefully modelled and trunk is nude. The other identifying marks of a Jain figure like Srivatsa symbol, Yaksha figures etc., are not seen. The Yaksha Dharanendra and Yaksini Padmavate too are absent." (N.G. Unnithan, *Journal of Indian History*, XLIV, II, 'Relics of Jainism Alatur', p.540).

APPENDIX C

Alatur Inscription

Text :

1. Swasti, Narpattennayi -
2. ravarum patta(kal)iruvaruntirukkunava(yil)
3. tevar atikararum pati.....
4. nalamaitta.....
5.
6. lancyarpalli.....ppallikal teyum.....
7. ppati evvakaippattataiyum ulaikkalamevvakaippattataiyu
8. mpa.....ppattar iva kavaravam panaiya
9. mveykkavun tandam.....
10. rkotuppalarayil avarkal tirukkunavay ttevaritai.....
11.yum pattaravar anu (pantam ceyyuma)
vanumapapa
12. ceyyakalar nattar.....tavaru mavar iravi.....
13.yum pala.....pacukkalaiyum konra panca
14. patakarumavar/avarkalum avarkal cantatiyumi ppallikal

15. kkirayarumavar/ippalli kalin pumikalumulaikkalam pu
16. miyam palliyutaikkaranmaiy mevvakaiyalu(mo)ral tiru-
17. kkunavay ttevaraiyum.....
18.kkollatu avar ka.....kkappattavan tirukkunavaytte
19. var kal.....ravakkatavar.....ippa
20.ippallikal.....pumi.....mel.....
21. vasaretu vasundhara.....sahasra.....palli.....

APPENDIX D

Putadi-Talakkavu Inscription

Text :

1. Swasti Sri. Tiruk(ku)
2. navat
3. tevaru cellaninrayantu
4. nurru muppattelu avvantu
5. nakaram cetu nalpatennayi-
6. ravaru.....
7. vecca vilakinukum
8. kutampati irupatu
9. nalu poti nakeraporai pa-
10. nnirantu poti/cen
11. ratu vilakil tiruku-
12. nava pilaicoravitu i
13.matu.

Translation :

Hail Prosperity! In the year one hundred and thirty seven of Tirukkunavay Tevar, the nalppattennayiravar founded a nakaram (trading station) and instituted a vilakku (lamp) and twenty four poti from Kudampadi and twelve poti from Nakerporai are set apart for the purpose. If any one obstructs the same he shall be deemed as having violated (the sanctity of) Tirukkunavay temple.

APPENDIX E

Kinalur Inscription

Text :

1. Savastisri/Tirukkaliyappatararark -
2. ku tiruva(bhiseka)n cetu cellaninrayantu
3. nurrenpattonpatamantu makarattul
4. viyalannirka metanayirru
5. pputanantavittattu nalkku
6. navaynallur vicaiyarakiccu -
7. varattu pallikku niecanataik -
8. ku nanaliyariyunnantavila -
9. kkirantinukkungkutiyirunali -
10. pitikkuntuniyal nalpatu po -
11. ti(yaka)tiruppallikkuncantikku -
12. ngkutaikkung.....cantanat -
13. tinukkum pallittamatinukkum

14. arappan kunciyayina kuri
15. mpurai arttankontu tiruva -
16. neakkalattu cattanarukkati -
17. kku karanmai kututta ur tan
18. kuru kantapuramum mutakka
19. raiyurum painkantatturung -
20. kurattiyum paralumivai kara -
21. nmai valntu celava celuttak -
22. kataval/celuttavalla(takkil)
23. irunalittuniyal nurrirupa -
24. tu poti nel mukkal vattattalavu
25. kutukka kkataval/orantu muttuki
26. lkka.....vitakkataval/Te
27. varkku cattanurukkati muttayin -
28. nayiru koyir kunrunkulavanceri -
29. kkaliyunkaranmai valntu tirup -
30. palikkaingkalannel kutukka ka
31. taval kunran cirunangkai/Muvantu
32. kalinnattantainnalittuni
33. yal mukkalannel ku -
34. tukkataval kunran ceruna -
35. ngkai/Kunavaynallurttevar -
36. ku kurattiyalorunantavilak -
37. ku celuttakkataval cattanarukka

38. to/Tevakinatai ppurayitangka -
39. ranmai valutu vicairakccu -
40. varattu viriccika vilakku ce -
41. lotta kkatavan cattancirikan -
42. tan/Manukulaicekaranallur vatak -
43. kinkaraiyarappan kunciyayi -
44. na kurumpurai tankuru kunavay -
45. nallur tevarakku niccanataiyi -
46. runaliyumakkirammonrum (pocanmi)
47. rantinukkungkuttinincelutti -
48. kanranmal ceyyakkatavan cattanci -
49. rikantan/Orantu mutti pani vi -
50. takkatavan palikalava kotuka katave -
51. lunurruvarum karalanum muvayi -
52. ravaruntiruttu celutti kkol -
53. lakkatavar aram patu kakka/

Translation :

Hail! Prosperity! In the one hundred and eighty ninth year after the sacred bath of Tirukkaliyappatarar when Jupiter stood in Makara, (this agreement was made) on Wednesday, Avittam nakshatra, in the month of Mesha. For the palli of Vijayaragesvaram at Kunavay nallur forty poti of rice measured by a tuni of two nali is required for daily offering of two nali of rice, two nantavilakku and other items like sribali, Santi, kuta,, candanam, and pallittamam and Arappan Kunci alias Kuram purai gave in return for gold his share in Kantapuram, Mutakkaraiyur, Painkantattur, Kuratti,

and Paralatu as karanmai (permanent base) to Cattanarukkati of Tiruvancikkulam who is to pay for the above expenses with the amount of karanmai. If she cannot conduct the expenses she is to give one hundred and twenty poti measured by a tuni of two nali to the temple. If she defaults for one year, she is to leave the karanmai. Cattanarukkati shall not fail the Tevar. Kunran Cirunankai shall accept karanmai of koyirkunru and Kulavance rikkali, and pay five kalam of paddy for sribali. After three years Kunran Cirunankai shall pay every year three kalam of paddy measured by tuni of five nali. Catanarukkati shall institute a nandavilakku with the proceeds of Kuratti. Cantan Cirikantan shall take up the karanmai of Tevakinata compound and institute Vrischikavilakku at Vijayaragesvaram. Cattan Cirikantan shall take up the karanmai of the share of Arappan Kunci alias Kurumpurai in Mamikulasekharanallur Vatakkinkara and institute the daily offering of two nali, one Brahmin feeding, two ordinary feeding, and kuttu at Kunavaynallur. If he defaults for one year, he is to leave the karanmai. The Seven Hundred, Karalan and the Thousand shall supervise the measure".

WITH BEST COMPLIMENTS
FROM



*Cadbury
India
Limited*

(Formerly Hindustan Cocoa
Products Limited)



- BOMBAY
- DELHI
- CALCUTTA
- MADRAS
- AHMEDABAD
- HYDERABAD

CHARLES FORJETT AND THE MODERNISATION OF BOMBAY POLICE

S. R. Kapse

THE first major effort to reform and reorganise Bombay Police administration in order to make it effective to deal with the ever increasing problem of law and order in Bombay City, was undertaken by the first de facto Police Commissioner Charles Forjett.

He had served in the Bombay Presidency in various capacities before he was appointed as the Acting Superintendent of Police in Bombay in 1855. He responded to the challenges of the Bombay City with such resourcefulness that he became the founder of the modern police administrative organisation in Bombay.

Born and brought up as an Anglo-Indian, he was the son of an Officer in the Old Madras fort artillery.¹ He worked in the Bombay Presidency in various capacities - as topographical surveyor, official translator in Marathi and Hindustani, Sheriff, Chief of Poona Police, Subordinate and Uncovenanted Asst. Judge and Superintendent of Police in Belgaum. It was as the police chief of Belgaum that he caught the attention of the big wigs in Bombay as he had most effectively reorganised the police system in Belgaum Division.² His success in Belgaum led the Bombay Government to bring him to Bombay as its Police Chief. Here he shot to fame as an adventurous and innovative police officer.

His success in Bombay was based on four factors : Firstly, he had a talent for learning languages and knew several Indian languages. Secondly, he had a wide knowledge of Indian castes, customs, beliefs and manners. Thirdly, he

had an unusual ability to disguise himself in any role as an Indian. This he could do with ease because of his black hair and sallow complexion.³ Fourthly, he was a good student of human nature and psychology.

Though Forjett's sudden rise to fame rests on his masterly detection of the plot of the mutineers in 1857 and on keeping Bombay free from the danger of the outbreak of the Great Rebellion of 1857,⁴ his contribution to the streamlining of the police administration of the city is perhaps far more enduring and significant.

After he took over as the acting Police Superintendent, he made a thorough study of the system and discovered various defects in it and worked to remove them. It is useful to understand in brief the report he prepared after making a study of the Bombay Police System.

According to the beat system that prevailed a policeman on duty was required to perambulate his area from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. In the evening his place was taken by two policemen who were believed to be on the move all night. It was humanly impossible for the policemen to be vigilant when they performed night-duty for days and years together. At night, though the supervision of the European constables was little more than nominal, the Indian sepoy on duty remained asleep during the greater part of the night.

The policemen, when propitiated, even kept out of the way of the criminals and allowed them a free hand to carry on their depredations and private revenge. It was a common complaint in Bombay that the police were seldom visible when their services were most needed. When a robbery or an assault was committed the policeman on duty would find ignorance of it on the plea that he was on duty elsewhere.⁵

People had lost faith in the Bombay Police because they had come to know that crimes were committed either through the complicity of the police or through the corrupt influence over them, so that many of the criminals escaped without punishment.⁶

The police were unable to check the violent acts committed by the hired gangs who were paid to use violence or unlawful force to gratify the feelings of revenge of those who hired them.⁷

Such distrust of the police could not have existed unless the system itself provided opportunities to the policemen to neglect their duty or connive at those who preyed on society. According to Forjett the police arrangements were such that they prevented full and correct information reaching the Superintendent.⁸

Before suggesting changes for the effective functioning of the police in Bombay, Forjett gave an outline of the existing system. The European Section of the constabulary consisted of a Chief Inspector and Inspectors of Divisions who were in charge of two or more sections and also of European constables in charge of a section.

The number of Indian constables in a section varied from section to section. The section in charge made his report to the Divisional Inspector who in turn reported to the Chief Inspector. It was the Chief Inspector who normally communicated with the Superintendent of Police. Complainants normally lodged their complaints with the constable who after a preliminary inquiry sent them to the Inspector. The Inspector carried it to the Chief Inspector who either disposed of the case himself or sent it to the Superintendent for his orders.⁹

This passing of a complaint from one officer to the others led to delays in dealing with a case, causing great inconvenience to the public. In the process the complaint became garbled in many instances. This system also provided scope for corruption.¹⁰

Corruption

Corruption seems to have been one of the besetting sins of the Bombay Police. From the time of James Todd (1780) until 1855 corruption had been one of the causes of the inefficiency of the Bombay Police.¹¹ In 1855 Forjett, while describing the Bombay Police system, wrote: "It was the popular belief... that from the Chief Inspector downwards venality was rife".¹²

Indian Policeman

In 1855, Forjett found that the Indian policemen were physically weak because of age and they also lacked ordinary intelligence. Due to their apathetic nature, they were unfit for police duties. Their only qualification to be in the police force was that they could read and write, but that too indifferently.

Mounted Police

The mounted police had not been trained to act together. Since they were not being drilled, they lacked efficiency.¹³

No Written Orders or Instructions

One of the serious lacunae in the day-to-day functioning of the Bombay police which Charles Forjett found was that there were no written orders or instructions defining

the duties of each policeman or officer and the course of action he had to follow under certain given circumstances and in order to take instant action in case of an emergency.¹⁴

Forjett's Reforms

Soon after making this review, Forjett lost no time in introducing whatever changes he could under his own authority. With the sanction of the Governor-in-Council the office of the Chief Inspector was abolished. Reporting about the reforms he introduced, he wrote :¹⁵ "The Constables were placed in direct communication with myself. All unfits (exceeding 100 in number) were discharged. A body of detectives has been created and brought into action. Formerly the European portion of the force was paid as under: Inspectors a salary of Rs.75 with Rs.25 house allowance; Constables Rs.50. Instead of a uniform rate, a graduated scale of pay has now been introduced without any increase of expenses by the abolition of the Chief Inspectorship of Rs.150 and a Constablenesship of Rs.50. All the constables are now allowed house rent in addition to their pay, whereby they are, in a pecuniary point of view, placed in a much better position than they were before. The extent of each constable charge has been reduced whereby they are enabled to act more effectively in the prevention of crime and the distribution of the Police over the town arranged with a view to strengthening it where it was numerically weak".

Order Books

One of the permanent contributions made by Forjett to police administration in Bombay was the introduction of *Order Books*, a system that has been followed ever since to remedy the defects arising from their non-existence. Forjett prepared a set of rules for the guidance of the police force. He wrote :¹⁶

"These (rules) have been entered in Order Books kept in English and in the Vernacular language for the information both of the European and native branches of the constabulary. Appendix is a copy of these rules and a few of the orders subsequently made. A reference to these rules will show at once the system of checks and supervision now kept up in order to secure vigilance and detect neglect of duty or other misconduct".

After having introduced the Order Books he took pains to check and verify that the system was implemented. Describing what he did in this regard, he wrote :¹⁷

"With the same object in view I am myself generally out during the dark nights for about four hours, and very often at other times either on horseback or on foot, in my own dress or in disguise, to see that the rules laid down are not neglected nor allowed to fall into disuse."¹⁸

"The maintenance of a rigid system of supervision and discipline I am conscious is not alone sufficient to effect all that is requisite in a police force. With the fear of punishment to deter from misconduct, I have endeavoured, by the hope of such rewards as I had the means of placing before them, to stimulate exertion and excite zeal."

"Punishment by fines is confined to cases of dereliction of duty, such as a policeman being found asleep at his post, having quitted without leave or failed to attend roll call at the proper time, to disobedience of orders in minor matters or venal neglect of duty. The fines are small in amount so as not to inflict want which might incite to dishonesty. Flagrant neglect of duty, wilful violation of orders, or conduct involving a breach of morality is visited with immediate dismissal and if there has been criminality the party put on his trial before the proper authorities."

"The reason for every dismissal is fully stated in the native Order Book and notified to the Police as a warning to the rest."

Police Orders

Charles Forjett did not allow the grass to grow under his feet after he streamlined the administrative machinery of the Bombay Police.

In order to communicate his orders to the European constables and to the Indian policemen, Forjett placed an Order Book in his office which contained instructions to all policemen. It was the duty of every policeman to read those instructions. The order concerning the Indian policemen were written in Marathi so that they could read them. They were also written in English for the information of the European Constabulary.¹⁸

The immediate effect of Forjett's reforms was a marked improvement in the conduct and efficiency of the Police. The Bombay Chamber of Commerce paid him compliments. They appreciatingly observed a decided improvement in the efficiency of the police in Bombay. Since Forjett took over, the organised bodies of robbers who had terrorized the business community and the goonda gangs who had constantly harassed the people of Bombay had ceased to operate.¹⁹

Pilfering in the Docks

There was great dissatisfaction among the traders at the unabated pilfering and robberies in the landing and shipment of goods. Usually the robberies took place while the property was on the bunders. The bunders were under the control of the Customs. At the request of the businessmen and the Bombay Chamber of Commerce a recommendation was sent

to the Government to place the bunders under the charge of the Superintendent of Police.²⁰

Police Personnel

The absence of pensionary provision for Indian policemen and the lack of avenues of promotion by grades to the European Constabulary had irked the policemen. Another serious problem that bogged police administration was the shortage of men.

Forjett demanded that at least 93 policemen were needed to strengthen the police force in 9 out of 23 sections in Bombay.²¹ He also asked for a deputy to assist him and to act on his behalf whenever an occasion arose, especially whenever the Superintendent of Police could not attend to his duties due to sickness or any other cause. He made it clear that such a deputy was only meant to carry out his orders and was not to act as a channel of communication.

Easy Accessibility

From his experience of over twenty years he had come to realise that he could be effective as an officer only if he made himself easily accessible to all his men and to the public at all times. He also believed in personally knowing about the conduct, character and sense of duty of his subordinates. Explaining how this would help him to lessen the incidence of corruption, he wrote:²²

"So long as it is known throughout Bombay that any person may freely and at any time communicate with me personally, it is not possible that corruption could exist in the force without my becoming aware of it. In all cases there is a complainant and a defendant party. Should either be favoured by the constable, the fact is not likely to escape the scrutiny of

the other; nor is the latter likely to omit representing it to me."

Comparison

While explaining the need for increasing the strength of the Bombay Police he compared the strength and cost of the police establishment in other cities like London, Calcutta and Madras. He pointed out that there was one policeman for every 533 people in Bombay according to the Census of 1851, while in London the ratio was 1 : 432, in Calcutta 1 : 238 and in Madras 1 : 1159. The cost of a policeman in Calcutta was Rs.7.72, in Madras Rs.2.8 and in Bombay it was Rs.4.11.²³ Bombay unlike Calcutta and Madras was an emporium of trade with a heterogeneous population who had come from Europe, Arabia and other parts of India. This made the duty of the Bombay Policemen far more arduous and difficult than in other cities.²⁴

Problem of Securing Witnesses

One of the major difficulties in the apprehension and conviction of offenders was the apathy and recalcitrant attitude of Indian witnesses in the case of a crime. Forjett commented that Indians by and large strongly disliked appearing in court to give evidence. Few cared to come to the assistance of the police. Even the least educated Indians did not volunteer out of apathy and prejudice. They would let a criminal escape rather than assist the police in arresting him.²⁵

One of the reasons for this, Forjett said, was that there was no practice of compensating a witness for loss of time. It was inconvenient for people to give up many days of work to attend the magistrate's office to bear witness. Especially, in the case of poor people and labourers, this deprived them of their meagre means of livelihood.

Compensation to Witnesses

Therefore Forjett recommended that witnesses should be compensated for the loss of their time. He wrote : "To compensate witnesses for the loss of their time would be only an act of common justice, while it would remove one of the impediments to the detection and prosecution, to the conviction of criminals of every degree". In Europe witnesses were remunerated for the time they gave in furthering the ends of justice. Forjett wanted this to be done in Bombay because it could also help to secure the willing cooperation of a large part of the community.²⁶

Patrol

Another important and lasting contribution that Forjett made to the efficiency of the Bombay Police was to frame a detailed structure for the night-patrol system which continues to operate in Bombay even today. Every police constable, as a general rule, was made to live within his division and he was not permitted to remain absent from his division without the permission of the European constable. The jamadar, duffedar, the first class havildar, the naiks and privates detailed for night duty presented themselves to the European constables at 6 p.m. every day for night duty. Two privates were posted for night duty at a fixed place in each division and the jamadar was asked to supervise their posting.²⁷

The patrol system had been first organised in Bombay with the help of the militia. The patrol system or the beat system was reorganised intermittently. But it had not helped much to curb crimes. It was the detailed and meticulous system which Forjett planned that ultimately helped in reducing the incidence of crime in Bombay. It is best described in his own words :

"One of the two men at such posts will remain on sentry from 6 O'clock till 9 O'clock, while the other takes his rest; he will then be relieved by the other who will be on sentry till 12 O'clock, and they will during the moonlight nights so relieve each other until 7 O'clock in the morning but during the dark nights, namely from the night of the waning to the 10th night of the waxing of the moon, the man relieved from sentry at 12 O'clock will be awakened at 2 O'clock and will proceed to patrol his beat for one hour, namely, till 3 O'clock. He will then relieve the man on sentry who will immediately continue the patrol through the beat with all possible vigilance till daylight, and every man on patrol shall be in disguise.

"The man on sentry and the man at rest will on no account quit their posts during the night.

"Their business on sentry will be to be watchful and take into custody all suspicious characters loitering about and to give a good account of themselves; and to seize all suspicious property found in their possession.

"On taking charge of such property or person it will be their duty to convey them immediately to the European Constable of the division.

"The Jamadar or Duffedar with one of the Naiques will patrol the whole of the division from 6 O'clock until 9 p.m. The first Class Havildar with the other Naiques will then take up the duty of patrolling the division until midnight and each party will relieve the other until morning.

"The Jamadar and Naique or Havildar and Naique will start from a central point selected for them by the acting Superintendent of police and proceeding in opposite directions, each traverses every street and lane in the division,

and thus continues to patrol during the three hours that each party remains on duty.

"While thus on patrols they will see that the sentries are all on the alert, as well as the Police Ramoosees in the employ of private individuals. They will examine every lock on the doors of warehouses and report to the constable if they find anything wrong.

"They will examine the doors of all narrow gualies and with the light of the dark lanterns examine and satisfy themselves that all is right.

"They will be observant of the movement of persons likely to commit burglary and persons who have been convicted of this crime and have suffered imprisonment, they will ascertain by making inquiry whether or not they are at, or absent from home at night.

"The men told off for day duty will attend at 6 O'clock in the morning and muster before the 2nd class Havildar, and take up their stations at the places already appointed.

"Men posted at the different points will not go beyond 20 paces therefrom on either side unless it be necessary to do so in the performance of any particular duty. In case of any affray or assault, constables, whether employed on sentry or patrol during night or day, shall hasten to the spot as quickly as possible and take the parties committing such affray or assault into custody and have them immediately conveyed to the European Constable. In the event of any cry within doors such as to furnish reasonable grounds for the belief that a serious assault is being committed, Constables will immediately effect a forcible entry and seize the person or persons by whom the assault is being committed. In the event of any policeman having reason to believe that a

breach of the peace is about to take place, or that a felony is likely to be committed he will immediately report it to the European Constable, if practicable, if not he will himself take measures to guard against the one, and prevent the other."²⁸

Forjett further adds :

"Every European Constable is placed in direct communication with the acting Superintendent of Police.

European Constables will make themselves acquainted with all parts of their divisions, with the streets, thoroughfares, and houses, and they will be expected to know generally all persons living within their division.

"Each European Constable will be out on patrol during at least three hours, every night, and for a longer period wherever circumstances may render necessary. During the dark nights, viz., from the tenth night of the waning to the night of the waxing of the moon, they will turn out at 1 O'clock in the morning and remain out till 5 O'clock, and exercise the strictest possible supervision over the privates patrolling their respective beats and sentries stationed at different points of the section, and over the native officers patrolling it. During the remaining night they will go on patrol at uncertain hours.

"Each European Constable will be accompanied during patrol by a native constable who will have charge of his dark lantern, by means of which he will examine all the doors to satisfy himself that no robber is lurking about and that every thing is all right.

"During his rounds he will be careful to see that all persons under his order are attending to their duty.

"He will personally ascertain whether or not all persons likely to commit felony are present in their houses."²⁹

Racist Approach

It is clear that the entire control of administration was meticulously preserved in the hands of the European constables and officers.³⁰ Whether it was due to the distrust of Indians or lack of faith in the ability of the Indian policemen, the British authorities never gave responsible positions to Indian policemen. Perhaps this was part of the policy of the Europeanisation of the Indian administration which had been introduced in India by Lord Cornwallis in 1795. The dominance of Europeans over the Indian Police is clear from the fact that all supervisory positions in the police administration from the sectional head and above were held invariably by Europeans.

Distrust of Indian policemen is observed in the following rules: Indian constables were prohibited from searching drunken men taken into custody unless a European constable was present. Search for stolen property could not be conducted unless a European constable was present.³¹

Diary

European constables were asked to maintain a diary of the occurrence of offenses within the division and the action taken by them. They were asked to forward their diaries to the Superintendent of Police and, if all was well, the words All's well were written in the report with the date.³² Forjett subjected European constables to strict discipline. He told the men under his charge that it was their bounden duty to discharge their functions with vigilance and care. He impressed upon every European constable that his tenure of office depended on his personal usefulness and the success

with which he discharged his duties.³³ European policemen were warned, under pain of summary dismissal, against visiting a liquor shop.³⁴

Corruption Curbed

To prevent corruption Forjett issued an order which said, "No policemen shall ask for, or receive from any person under the designation of Pan Sooparee Dustoree, Cherry merry, or other name any money or goods whatever.

Policemen are strictly prohibited from calling at the houses or shops of any of the inhabitants on Holidays for the alleged purpose of making as it is called, their salams on which occasions presents are generally expected and too often given.

Any policeman guilty of receiving a bribe or conniving in any way at corrupt practices will be immediately dismissed.

Riding in any hack conveyance without payment of fare, is strictly prohibited and will be punished with dismissal."

The quick rise of Charles Forjett as the most dynamic police administrator was mainly due to his concrete achievements in reforming and revitalising the police system and making it a truly working and effective body in maintaining peace and curbing crime in the city.

Reorganisation and Reforms

Charles Forjett's dynamism and resourcefulness as Bombay's Superintendent of Police transformed the entire ethos in the city. The police patrol and detection of crime was so well streamlined that the incidence of crime declined.

Forjett remained the de facto head of the Bombay Police from 1855 until his retirement in April, 1864.

Forjett is known more for his role in nipping the rebellion of 1857 in the bud than for his other equally important or perhaps more important achievements in the field of administration and in the checking of corruption and crime in Bombay.

Edwardes, commenting on Forjett's career, observed: "Forjett's fame rests mainly upon his action during the Mutiny, and one is apt to overlook the great but less sensational services which he rendered to Government and the public in subduing lawlessness and crime in Bombay."³⁵

He took over as the Acting Superintendent of Police in August, 1855. Later he became Superintendent, and when Act XIII of 1856 for regulating the police of the towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay was passed, he was appointed Deputy Commissioner of Police from 22nd June, 1857 under orders from Lord Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay.³⁶ The Senior Magistrate of Police, W. Crawford, became the Commissioner of Police from that date. Though Crawford was appointed Commissioner, the real head of the Police in Bombay was Charles Forjett, the Deputy Commissioner.

Bombay Police Act of 1856

The Police Act XIII of 1856 forms an important landmark in the history of the Bombay Police as it was the most comprehensive Police Act and it superseded the Police Regulations of 1812, 1827, 1834 and other similar Acts as far as the Bombay City Police administration was concerned. Repealing the earlier regulations, the Act stated, "The several Acts and Rules, Ordinances and Regulations mentioned in the Schedule hereto annexed are hereby repealed, except so far as

they repeal the whole or any part of any other Act, or Rule, Ordinance, and Regulation."³⁷

The Police Commissioner

Among other things, the creation of the post of Police Commissioner as head of the Bombay Police was perhaps most significant. Even today the head of the police in the city of Bombay is the Commissioner. Referring to the provision, the Act stated :

"The administration of the Police in each of the said towns shall be vested in an officer to be styled the Commissioner of Police for such town, who shall from time to time be appointed by the Local Government, and may be removed by the same authority and shall receive such salary as the Governor-General of India-in-Council shall allow. All powers which by law are given to a Superintendent of Police in any such town shall be vested in the commissioner of Police."³⁸

This act came into force in November, 1856, and it dealt with the office of the Police Commissioner, his powers, superannuation, police pensions, appointment of constables, demarcation of police districts, appointment of police magistrates, criminal processes and trial and punishment.³⁹ The following are the main features of the Act :

Under the provisions of this Act the Commissioner of Police for Bombay was appointed by the Bombay Government. All powers given to the Superintendent of Police were vested in the Commissioner of Police. Under this Act normally the Commissioner was not appointed as Magistrate of Police, but if so desired he could be appointed as Magistrate of Police with the sanction of the Governor-General of India. He was appointed as a Justice of the Peace.⁴⁰

Deputy Commissioner of Police

The Governor with the sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council appointed one or more Deputy Commissioners of Police as required. They could be appointed Justices of the Peace.

Police Force

The police force in Bombay with all its officers and men were placed under the direction and control of the Commissioner of Police who could frame such orders and regulations as he deemed fit for the general government of the force, the places of residence, classification, rank distribution, service, inspection, arms, description of arms, accoutrements and other necessary arms furnished and could also make regulations relative to the police from time to time for the prevention of crime, neglect or abuse of power and in order to render such a force efficient in the discharge of all its duties. The Commissioner could appoint, dismiss or suspend a policeman. The constables were issued with appointment certificates which vested certain powers, privileges and functions in them. After leaving the police service for whatever reason the men or officers had to leave behind their uniform and other material supplied to them, and they could be fined for disobedience of this rule.⁴¹

Police Superannuation Fund and Pension

From every member of the force a certain amount not more than half anna per rupee was deducted from his pay and was deposited to create the Police Superannuation Fund. After retirement because of old age or any infirmity, a policeman received a monthly pension under certain terms and conditions.

Additional Constables and Special Constables

The Commissioner of Police could appoint additional constables and special constables to assist the police in an emergency on a temporary basis.

Police District

The Local Government with the sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council was empowered to constitute a police district according to necessity.

Police Magistrates

For the police Court the local Government was empowered to appoint a fit person as a Magistrate of Police who was authorised to summarily punish offenders. The police officers were to attend the court to give evidence, to serve summons, and execute warrants.

Juvenile Offenders

They were to be given corporal punishment with a light rattan or cane, not exceeding ten strokes on the bare buttocks instead of imprisonment.

Theft

An accused found stealing or in fraudulent possession of stolen property or attempting to steal if the value of such property did not exceed the value of Rs.50 - was summarily liable for imprisonment with or without hard labour for six months or in the case of males for corporal punishment of not more than 30 strokes of a rattan.⁴²

Stolen property

In the case of stolen property, if the owner is not

traced, such property could be disposed of with an order from the magistrate.

Assault, Assembly, Trespass, etc.

Cases of assault, forcible entry and injury as well as unlawful assembly and trespass on others' property were punishable by a fine from Rs.100/- to Rs.500/- and imprisonment for three to six months.

Apprehension and Punishment of Reputed Thieves

Any persons or reputed thieves found disguised between sunset and sunrise armed with dangerous weapons with intent to commit an offense or loitering in a bazar or street, and not able to give a satisfactory account of his presence on the spot could be taken into police custody by any police officer without any warrant. Such a person was liable to imprisonment with or without hard labour for three months.⁴³

Intoxicants

Carrying liquor, spirits or intoxicating drugs into the barracks or buildings occupied by troops, into guardrooms, jails or a vessel-of-war without the license in writing from the commanding officer was liable to punishment.

Arms

Carrying arms except by the police, army and navy personnel without a license was punishable and such arms or weapons were to be forfeited.

Harbouring and Concealing a Deserter

Any body harbouring a deserter or any seaman of any merchant vessel was liable to a fine. Since gambling was an

offense, the police were empowered to take action against any offense connected with gambling without a warrant.

Money Changers and Pawn-Brokers

They were under obligation to inform the police about persons with stolen property seeking to sell or alter stolen goods. Such an offense was made punishable.

Gunpowder

The Police Commissioner was authorised to issue a license to possess or manufacture gunpowder and was empowered to issue a warrant against offenders and punish them.

Public Processions, Carriages

The Commissioner of Police was empowered to make rules for the conduct of processions in streets and public places and issue licenses for playing music in the streets.

Street Lamps

The Police Commissioner was empowered to take cognisance of any damage caused to lamp-posts or lamps or to the light. Such an offense was punishable.

Power of Commissioner in other Minor Offenses

The Police Commissioner was authorised to take into custody without a warrant any one committing nuisance in the street, beggars and assaulters. He was also empowered to take charge of goods on suspicion and carry out a search for stolen property.⁴⁴

Power of Magistrates

Magistrates could issue summons, and proceed and issue a warrant in civil cases. In the absence of the party they could proceed without summons, they were empowered to adjourn cases, dismiss them and allow the parties to go in for a compromise.

The Court of Petty Sessions

It was empowered to issue summons and carry on other processes of law such as enforcing attendance of prosecutors, defendants, witnesses and issuing warrants.

Movable property

In the case of a person dying intestate the police was empowered to take charge of the property upto the value of Rs.200.⁴⁵

Stray Dogs

The Commissioner could issue orders to destroy stray dogs at fixed times after notifying the public about it in the newspapers.

Senior Magistrate and Deputy Commissioner

During Charles Forjett's tenure of office the post of the Senior Magistrate of Police and Commissioner of Police was held by William Crawford. Forjett and Crawford had the most amicable relations. Act XIII of 1856 further strengthened the position of the officers by giving wider powers to the police for the regulation and prevention of crime and nuisance and enabled the magistracy to deal promptly and efficiently with the offenses.⁴⁶

Decline in Crime Rate

The streamlining of the police administration by Forjett seems to have produced good results, as the police annual crime report for the year 1856 showed considerable reduction in almost all branches of crime. The Senior Magistrate of Police wrote: "My colleagues in the Magistracy are indefatigable in the exercise of their functions, and the successful exertions of Mr. Forjett, the Superintendent of Police, especially in the detection of crime have already been frequently recognised by the Right Honorable the Governor-in-Council."⁴⁷

Absence of Highway Robberies

The most satisfactory aspect of the police report was the absence of gang and highway robberies,⁴⁸ which indicated that perhaps for the first time the people of Bombay could sleep in peace free from anxiety.

This does not mean that there was no incidence of crime. Various types of crimes like murders, larcenies and minor robberies continued to be committed; but by and large, they had diminished in number.

Six Returns

The annual Police reports sent to the Government contained six police returns. The first return gave the usual comprehensive picture of crime; the second return was the usual comparative statement which gave an idea of the increase or decrease in crimes; the third return showed the number of inquests held by the Coroner; the fourth return showed the cases adjudicated by the Court of Petty Sessions; the fifth return showed the number of juvenile offenders; and the sixth return showed the amount of mortality in the island.⁴⁹

Guard Duties

The Bombay Police had to perform regular guard duties at least in eight places in the city including the Government House at Parel where the Governor resided. The following were the guard posts manned by the Bombay Police: Jail Guard 14, Arther Bunder 4, Apollo Pier 5, Barrack Yard 4, Chief Engineers Office 5, Town Barracks 5, European General Hospital 4, and Government House, Parel.⁵⁰

The Dress of the Bombay Police

The Indian policemen in Bombay were dressed in blue woolen cloth, blue dungaree cloth overalls and yellow turbans with black waist plates. The breadth of the brass waist plates was 2.5 inches and length 3 inches, and on it the number of each man in the corps was engraved. The policemen in Bombay City were armed with painted bamboo batons, while those in the districts carried swords as well.⁵¹

Cost of Dress and Equipment

The cost of the coat supplied to the policemen once in eighteen months was Rs.5/- and it was paid for from their salary "by stoppages at Rs.4/- per cent." Forjett adds : "They find themselves in turbans and overalls. The batons which cost each six annas...and swords and waist belts which cost Rs.1-8; the latter are provided by Government. These being durable articles, last, with occasional trifling repairs, for at least 10 years."⁵²

The average cost of the dress and equipment of each man might approximately be estimated at Rs.4/- per annum and the average annual expense for the clothing and equipment of the force at Rs.4000/- of which the amount paid

by the men may be estimated at about Rs.3400/-, and that paid by Government at about Rs.600/-.

Cost of Police Establishment

The government took up the question of the cost of the police establishment in Bombay again in 1857.

Emoluments	Rs.	Rs.
Commissioner of Police		2,500/-
Deputy Commissioner of Police		1,200/-
2nd Magistrate of Police		1,200/-
House rent of 2nd Magistrate of Police	100/-	1,300/-
3rd Magistrate		1,000/-
Establishments for the Fort and Mazagon Offices		650/-
Do Court of Petty Sessions		458/-
	Total Rs. :	7,108/-
		=====

At the time of the passing of Act XIII of 1856 it was arranged that the then existing salaries of the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner of Police would not be altered during the tenure of the then incumbents of those posts. But on the occurrence of a vacancy, the salary of the Commissioner was to be reduced to Rs.1,500/- per month, the rate that had been sanctioned at Madras, and that of the Deputy Commissioner to Rs.600/- per month and he was to be provided with quarters.⁵³

The Government carefully calculated the emoluments it paid to its officers. The Senior Magistrate was paid Rs.100/- as house rent in addition to his salary of Rs.1,500/-. The Government decided to pay him Rs.1,200/- per month after the then incumbent retired. The money thus saved amounting to Rs.215/- per month was made available to meet the additional cost of paying the fourth magistrate, when appointed.⁵⁴

The head clerk in the Police Office was also a clerk in the Court of Petty Sessions and was paid a salary of Rs.250/- for each of the two functions, so that he received Rs.500/- in all. William Crawford, Senior Magistrate and Commissioner of Police, made the following suggestions regarding the changes in the police establishment in Bombay : "(The Head Clerk) should still receive Rs.500/- and that an addition of establishment will be necessary when the appointment of a 4th Magistrate takes place. The financial arrangements, will then be as follows" :

Present :	Rs.	Rs.
Commissioner of Police		2,500/-
Deputy Commissioner of Police		1,200/-
Junior Magistrate		1,200/-
House Rent	100/-	1,300/-
Third Magistrate		1,000/-
Office establishment		653/-
Office establishment of Court of Petty Sessions		458/-
Total Rs. :		<u>7,111/-</u> =====

To add	
Fourth Magistrate	750/-
Do to the Pay of Head Clerk to make it 500/-	250/-
Increase of establishment	150/-
Office for 4th Magistrate at Matunga or Lower Mahim	50/-
Total Rs. :	<u>8,311/-</u> =====

Deduct establishment of Court of Petty Sessions to be abolished.	458/-
Total per mensem	<u>7,853/-</u> =====

Prospective	
Commissioner of Police	1,500/-
Deputy Commissioner of Police	600/-
Second Magistrate	1,200/-
Third Magistrate	1,000/-
Fourth Magistrate	750/-
Office establishment	650/-
Addition of Head Clerk's pay	250/-
Increase to establishment	150/-
Office for 4th Magistrate at Matunga on Lower Mahim	50/-
Total per mensem Rs. :	<u>6,150/-</u> =====

The suggestions of the Commissioner of Police to save money in order to pay the fourth magistrate were turned down by the Government of Bombay. They contended that the Government of India had directed them not to make any increase in the establishment "pending the enquiry regarding civil salaries and establishments." Therefore the question of appointing a fourth magistrate had to be postponed.⁵⁵

Bombay and the Great Rebellion of 1857

In 1857 the entire country seethed with discontent and was in turmoil because of the Great Rebellion. Though India south of the river Narmada was not much disturbed. Bombay City did not remain unaffected by the happenings in the rest of the country.

Police Security Tightened

In order to protect Bombay from the repercussions of the Great Rebellion, the Government made all arrangements to tighten police security and Charles Forjett had a major role in it.

The European community in Bombay was tense. The Government decided to augment the European contingent of the police force as they thought that European policemen would be more reliable than Indian and ordered that the number of European mounted and foot police be increased to 80 and 100 men respectively.⁵⁶ Referring to these arrangements, Charles Forjett wrote to the Government and said, "Under the instructions recently conveyed to me to enroll a body of European mounted and foot police, I have only been able up to the present date, to enlist 43 men. This want of success in enrolling the number of men ordered by Government has been owing to the smallness of the pay fixed for them, which is Rs.30 per mensem per man, besides

being messed and quartered which costs Rs.17/-. Were the pay to be fixed at Rs.45/- (instead of Rs.30/-), the difficulty, I would beg to submit of enrolling the number of men that Government may sanction, will, in a very great measure, be overcome, and to this increase in the pay of the men I would beg to solicit the favourable consideration of Government.⁵⁷

"The manner in which the mounted Police are armed is known to Government. The foot police I would beg to submit should be armed with the Enfield rifle, to fit them for any service in which it may be found necessary to employ them independently of their duties as policemen."⁵⁸

The Government responded favourably to the re-arrangements suggested by Forjett for the security of Bombay. It ordered that the police force should be sufficiently augmented by increasing the European horse patrols to sixty. And it not only sanctioned the necessary sum needed for the purpose, but it also agreed to increase the pay of those men from Rs.30/- to Rs.35/- per month. This was in addition to messing and quarters with which they were provided.⁵⁹

When the news of the outbreak of the Rebellion in Meerut reached Bombay, the Government took action and asked Brigadier Shortt to make plans for the protection of the European inhabitants and to keep a vigil at the potential trouble spots. William Crawford, the Police Commissioner, Charles Forjett, the Deputy Commissioner, Sir William Yardley, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and Brigadier Shortt were consulted and blueprints for maintaining peace in Bombay were ready.

Referring to this fact, Charles Forjett, who was the key figure in the whole event, wrote : "When the disasters at Meerut and Delhi were mentioned to me by Lord Elphinstone,

and I was instructed to be most careful and vigilant, and told that it was of the utmost importance that Bombay should be kept quiet, I concluded that it was purely a military outbreak, and submitted the absolute necessity of the sepoys being carefully looked after, which duty, also, the Governor desired me to undertake."⁶⁰

Difference of Opinion

There was a difference of opinion between Brigadier Shortt and Forjett on the security arrangements and the deployment of the European and Indian Police. While others mistakenly placed implicit faith in the loyalty of the Indian sepoys, Forjett was convinced that, since the Rebellion started in the regiments of the Indian sepoys in North India, it would begin among the Indian sepoys, and not among the inhabitants, if it broke out in Bombay. Brigadier Shortt and others thought that the trouble, if any, would break out among the inhabitants and not among the sepoys. Forjett was confident that no initiative would come from the inhabitants until the sepoys moved first.

It is this basic difference of opinion between Brigadier Shortt and Charles Forjett that led to a certain amount of conflict in their plan for counteracting the expected trouble.

Mohurram

It was just the time when the festival of Mohurram was due to be observed. The celebration of this festival every year was a cause for anxiety to the police. Especially on the last day of the festival when people became excited, one could expect some trouble. In 1857 the Government apprehended that there might be an outbreak among the 1,50,000 Muslims on the occasion of the Mohurram festival.

However the differences between Forjett and the Government in the procedure for dealing with the situation is best explained in the letter written by Major-General Bates to Charles Forjett. He says,⁶¹ "In the arrangement proposed by yourself, although at that time you said you had no reason whatever to doubt the loyalty of the sepoys, your precautions seem to have been chiefly directed against the sepoys, not apparently giving equal consideration to the possibility of an outbreak amongst 1,50,000 Mahomedans at a festival when, notoriously, they become much excited and violent. In ordinary times, even the presence of Europeans has always been considered necessary at this festival, to check disturbances in the town. Last year, more especially, this precaution was necessary, and if an outbreak had occurred, and Europeans had not been posted at the points marked in your plan, there would have been absolutely little or nothing to prevent excited men making their way unchecked to Malabar Hill and Mazagon where, as you know, most of the European inhabitants with their families reside.

"In regard to the sepoys, I have no doubt that Brigadier Shortt took such measures as in his judgement were necessary to suppress any attempt at an outbreak, and these, with your own good arrangements, seem to have been sufficient to check any determination of this kind, if any such existed".

Forjett's firm control

Forjett continued to maintain his stand that he expected trouble from the sepoys and not from the inhabitants, either Muslim or Hindu. In order to meet with any contingency arising out of the expected trouble in the Muslim area, the chief body of the European mounted police was stationed there. This body of police was kept in communication with other parts of the area. Forjett wrote,⁶² "So much for any possible contingency from the inhabitants: but every scoundrel

in the town was closely watched and kept in a state of terror, when, on my rounds at a night in disguise, I found anybody speaking of the successes of the rebels in anything like a tone of exultation, I seized him on the spot. A whistle brought up three or four policemen who, too, followed in disguise and the person or persons were at once bound and walked off to prison. It soon became known that the police were everywhere about, which had a very salutary effect. Such were the impressions as regards its ubiquity, etc., that during the whole of the last night and day of the Mohorum, the Mahomedans and the rest of the townspeople were so well behaved, that it was not found necessary to take even a single man into custody".

Forjett Suppresses Sepoy Unrest

On the eve of the last night of Mohurram, a Hindu god was carried in a procession. A Christian drummer of the 10th Regiment in a state of drunkenness assaulted the carriers and knocked down the image of the god. Two policemen on duty arrested the drummer. When the news reached the regiment, twenty of the soldiers came to the police lock up, broke it open, rescued the drummer, assaulted the policemen and took them to their lines as prisoners. The European constable with four others went to the regiment and demanded the release of the policemen. A large body of the sepoy surrounded and began assaulting policemen, and the policemen fought back and killed two sepoys⁶³ Describing the incident Forjett said : "This was followed by great excitement among the sepoys, and a large number took to their arms. A report was brought to me that the native regiments had broken out. Ordering the European mounted police to come on as soon as possible, I hastened to the spot as quickly as my horse could carry me. I found the sepoys in a state of tumult, trying to force their way out of the lines, and five or six of their European officers, with drawn swords, keeping them back. On seeing

me the sepoys clamoured that I was the man who ordered them to be killed; and the European officers repeatedly cried out, 'For God's sake, Mr. Forjett, go away; your presence is exciting the men' My reply was, 'If your men are bent of mischief the sooner it is over better'. Within three or four minutes after, my assistant, Mr. Edington, came galloping up, followed very soon after by my mounted Europeans, about fifty-five in number. Bringing my men to the 'halt', I cried, 'Throw open the gates, I am prepared for them'. This had the effect of cooling their ardor for an outbreak, and they soon fell back. Had I in compliance with the wishes of the officers, attempted to retire and ordered my men to do so, the sepoys would have fired upon us and broken out into mutiny. This I was resolved not to afford them the opportunity of doing; feeling confident that if not disposed of before being joined by my men, I should be readily able to cope with sepoy disloyalty and violence".

But the Mohurram itself passed off quietly and Forjett had taken care to keep a vigil by deploying Europeans on each of the two sides of the sepoy lines. The expected outbreak of the mutiny on the last night of Mohurram did not take place because of the vigilance maintained by the police.⁶⁴

Conspiracy Located

Forjett, however, was able to locate the centre of the incipient rebellion in Bombay. A detective serving under Subedar Mohammed Booden of the Bombay Police discovered a short time after the Mohurram of 1857 that the house of one Ganga Prasad in Sonapur (premises that belonged to Nana Shankar Shet, a wellknown Hindu merchant and leader) near Backbay had become a secret meeting-place of the rebels. Forjett managed to get Ganga Prasad to divulge the facts under promise of a comparatively large pecuniary reward. He

then went in disguise with Major Barrow, the Officer Commanding Marine battalion, and listened to the discussions of the mutineers. After discovering the plot, Forjett wrote : "The outbreak fixed for the last night of the Moharrum of 1857 had been put off, it was said, because of the vigilance that was maintained on the occasion. By postponing it to the time of the Dewallee festival, they calculated upon finding us less watchful, and therefore less prepared to resist".⁶⁵

Rebellion Nipped in the Bud

But the mutineers were mistaken. Forjett out-smarted them. He discovered that Drill Havaladar Sayed Hussein of the Marine Battalion and Sepoy Mangal Guddrea of the 10th Native Indian Regiment were the two main persons implicated in the conspiracy.

Meanwhile, news was received from Pune that the mutineers had put up placards stating that all Europeans were to be murdered and a sum of Rs. 5,000 offered as reward for the Governor's head. The placards were purported to have been signed by Nana Saheb Peshwa, who it was said was marching towards Pune to reoccupy his throne as the Peshwa.

Sayed Hussein and Guddrea were tried for sedition at Fort St. George on October 13 and found guilty by a Court Martial.

At 4.30 p.m. on October 15, a part of the Esplanade between the Fort and the barracks of the Marine Battalion was crowded with people - Indians as well as Europeans. The first to march onto the grounds was the 95 member-strong body of seamen belonging to His Majesty's Indian Navy. They were armed with muskets and bayonets and a battery of royal artillery. Then came the Marine Battalion followed by the 10th and 11th Native Indian regiments.

The prisoners were made to strip their regimentals uniforms; they were led forward to the guns and were tied with their backs to the muzzles.

The findings of the Court Martial were read out and the sentence delivered. Sayed, a tall looking man with huge whiskers, appeared to be overcome with emotion.

All but the gunners retreated. Orders were given by Captain Miles in a thundering voice. There was a sharp report, a sudden flash of fire and when the clouds of smoke blew away there lay scattered the bloody fragments of the two men.

The crowds dispersed and there were no other signs of the mutiny in Bombay. Ironically enough, instead of acknowledging the two men as martyrs to a cause, some Indian citizens of Bombay presented Forjett with a plate valued at 1,250 guineas for having unearthed the conspiracy.

W. Crawford, the Senior Magistrate and Commissioner of police, wrote with a sense of elation in the annual crime report for 1857 that "Though in many parts of India, it was a year of trial, of tumult, and of treason and outrage unprecedented, Bombay was almost entirely free from all descriptions of heinous crime. Treason here was summarily arrested by military executions; and though at one moment considerable excitement and alarm prevailed, the Civil Power was never disturbed in the due preservation of peace and order among the inhabitants of the town."⁶⁶

People's Response

The people of Bombay had to choose between two alternatives, either to be passive spectators of the tragic drama which was unfolding itself in the north or be blown to bits by

the cannon which had asserted itself at the very inception of the plot to mutiny.

The first war of Independence⁶⁷ shook the very roots of the British administration in India. The inadequacy of the police in facing increasing problems of violence and disorder impressed the Imperial Government with the urgency of developing a unified and re-organised police force for the whole country. This led to the introduction of a number of reforms in the police administration in the country including Bombay.⁶⁸

Queen's Proclamation

On 1st November, 1858, Queen Victoria of England by a proclamation took over the administration of Indian Territories which so far were administered by the East India Company.

At the time of the proclamation Earl Canning was the Governor General and he took over as the first Viceroy of India. He issued orders and made regulations for the administration of India in the name of the British Crown. All servants, civil and military of the East India Company, were absorbed in the service of the British Crown.

Queen's Proclamation read in Bombay

Vinayak Vasudeo read out the proclamation in vernacular on the very day at the Town Hall of Bombay in the presence of Lord Elphinstone, the Governor, his Council, the Judges, the great civil and military officers. Well-known citizens, Europeans and Indians, were present. The Union Jack was hoisted. All who assembled witnessed the historical ceremony in Bombay at the Custom House. It was celebrated with great rejoicings.⁶⁹

Bombay under Triumvirate

The administration of Bombay underwent some changes during the year of the Queen's Proclamation. By Act XXV of 1858 the administration of the city was entrusted to the care of three commissioners.⁷⁰ The Act provided for raising a fund for municipal purposes in the town of Bombay. But it repealed the provisions of Regulation XIX relating to the scales of fees devised in the Court of Petty Sessions and Offices of the Magistrates of Police. There was no compelling reason to do so because the people had not complained about such fees. On the contrary the fees levied on filing complaints and the issue of summons had helped to discourage vexatious and frivolous complaints. This Act also abolished the fees collected on Music Licenses issued by the police department. As a result the Government lost an annual income of nearly Rs. 10,000 which was normally assigned to the Municipality.⁷¹

Dockyard Police

In order to restrict pilfering of goods in the dockyard, provisional arrangements were made to set up a separate Dockyard Police for a period of two years as an experiment with a provision that it could be continued with the sanction of the Government of India after the expiry of the period of two years. The Government on the recommendation of the Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Navy decided to permit the Dockyard Police to continue.⁷²

Street Processions and Music

The Bombay Police encountered great difficulty in regulating traffic on the roads at the time of marriage processions. People could not be made to confine themselves to one of the roads according to rule.

The processionists also violated the rule which provided that music should stop when they came across horse-drawn carriages or horses. Policemen found it extremely difficult to enforce the rule. The roads were already narrow and at the time of such processions the entire road came to be occupied, creating hardship and nuisance to others, and at times even death.

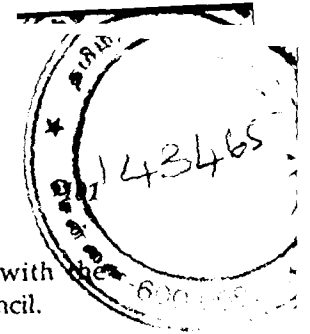
There was an instance of a Parsi named Bhikaji Dossabhoy who lost his life because of a horse taking fright at one of those processions, and the Coroner's Jury returned the following verdict. "The Jury find the deceased was accidentally killed on the 20th instant by the horse of one Jamsctjee Rustomjee which horse was frightened by the noise of music played in a Native (Hindoo) procession on that day." The Coroner of Bombay laid the blame for the death on the processionists squarely. He wrote that maddened by the noise of the Indian music, "toms toms (drums) being played" in the procession, the horse went berserk and caused the death of the Parsi. Therefore the Police Commissioner strongly recommended to the Governor-in-Council that the rules in order to regulate the conduct of assemblies and processions with or without music be amended. Meanwhile, on the recommendation of Charles Forjett, the Commissioner ordered and "prohibited processions and assemblies occupying the two principal thoroughfares in the Town in the morning and evening when they are so crowded with carriages and horses."⁷³

In response to this plea of the Commissioner of Police the following Rules for the regulation of assemblies and processions on the public roads and streets in Bombay were passed by the Government.⁷⁴

"Rules for the conduct of assemblies and processions in the Public Roads, Streets, and thorough-fares, within the Town of Bombay and for keeping order therein, made under

authority of section LXXVII of Act XIII of 1856, with the sanction of the Right Honorable the Governor-in-Council.

1. All assemblies and processions in the public roads, streets, or thoroughfares shall not occupy more than one half of such road, street or thoroughfare and in moving shall keep to the left in order that there may be no obstruction to the free passage of horses, vehicles and foot passengers.
2. All assemblies and processions shall, on the approach of carriages or horses, cease playing country or other music and shall not recommence playing until such carriages or horses shall have passed clear of the assembly or procession.
3. No such assembly or procession shall occupy or pass along with country or other music any part of the Parel Road from the Esplanade to the Railway Bridge of Byculla, or the Breach Candy Road, from the Esplanade to Chowpatty from 9 till 12 O'clock in the forenoon or from four till 8 O'clock in the evening.
4. No unnecessary noise will be permitted in the neighbourhood of any place of public worship. Processions passing such places during the time of worship shall cease playing music.
5. Processions with corpses from those parts of the Town south of Warree Bunder, Baboola Tank Road, Obelisk Road and Grant Road, shall proceed by the Grant Road to the new junction Road and thence to the burial place on the Flat beyond Byculla.
6. Every person committing a breach of any of the foregoing rules is liable to fine of one hundred rupees."



31
V.D. 100, 1000, 1000, 1000

Successful Working

The successful working of the police system in Bombay was in no small measure due to Forjett's effective administration. The Government and the people recognised it. W. Crawford in his annual crime report for 1859 wrote : "During the past year under the able and energetic directions of Mr. Forjett, its operations have been successful in the detection of crime, and in bringing offenders to justice."⁷⁵

Police Reform of 1860

In order to remove the lacunae in the Act of 1856, the amendment Act of 1860 was passed by the Legislative Council of India and it received the assent of the Governor-General of India in December, 1860. The Act was greatly helpful in helping the Police Department to function more effectively as some very important omissions in the Police Act of 1856 were filled so that the magistrates could deal promptly with a number of offenses which were not covered by that Act.⁷⁶

Some of the new features introduced by the Act of 1860 were as follows :

1. The Commissioner of Police was empowered to dismiss any member of the police force for taking a bribe or unauthorised reward. The magistrates could convict them and punish them with a fine of Rs.500/- or imprisonment with or without hard labour.
2. No member of the police could leave the force without notice in writing to the Commissioner. The notice period in the case of the Mounted Police was six months and for other policemen it was two months. Any default was punishable by forfeiture of arrears of pay.

3. The jurisdiction and the powers of the magistrates were widened and they were empowered to deal with a large variety of offenses and also restitute stolen property to the owner.
4. Assault on any policeman on duty or resistance offered to any police officer in the execution of his duty was made a cognizable offense liable to a fine of Rs.200/- or imprisonment with or without hard labour for 6 months.
5. A person escaping or attempting to escape from legal confinement was made liable to imprisonment with or without hard labour for 3 months after the expiration of his original punishment.
6. The offense of wilfully trespassing in any dwelling house or premises was made punishable with a fine of Rs.20/-. If any person, having sufficient means, neglects or refuses to maintain his wife and children the magistrates were empowered to grant maintenance allowance to such wives and children who were unable to maintain themselves.
7. Hotels, shops or liquor shops, taverns, and places of public entertainment could not run without a license from the Commissioner of Police. Defaulters were liable to a fine not exceeding Rs.50/- for breach of any of the conditions.
8. In case of brothels or gambling houses, if a genuine complaint is lodged by the neighbours against nuisance or any other complaint, the keeper of such houses was to be called and warned to discontinue such use of it and in default he was liable to be fined to the extent of Rs.25/- for every day.

9. If anybody took an article as a pawn, pledge or security from children below 14 years of age without the knowledge or consent of the owner of the article for money lent, the buyer was made punishable to pay a fine not exceeding Rs.100/-.
10. Using false weights and measures was made punishable by a fine not exceeding Rs.50/- and such false measures and weights were forfeited. The police inspectors were empowered to enter any shop for such inspection.
11. In the interest of the common good and public safety the Police Commissioner was empowered to impose a fine not exceeding Rs.50/- for offenses committed in any public road, street, or public place of resort. Such offenses included driving a vehicle furiously, negligent driving, riding without sufficient light at night on the right side, using indecent language, threatening, abusing, insulting or any other breach of peace or other nuisance such as letting a horse loose, leaving carts without control on the road, obstructing the road or footpath, beating drums, lighting fires, letting off guns, and firework, affixing bills and bathing in public.
12. The Commissioner of Police was empowered to make rules for regulation of the blasting of rocks for the safety of the people.
13. Cruelty to animals such as beating, ill-treatment, abuses, tortures was made an offense punishable by a fine not exceeding a fine of Rs.100/-.
14. Persons found drunk and uncontrollable and those displaying indecent behaviour in public places, such as courts, police offices and stations, were made liable to

punishment by a fine not exceeding Rs.20/- or imprisonment with or without hard labour for 14 days.

15. A fee of half a rupee was fixed for issuing summons by the Commissioner of Police or Magistrate.
16. Magistrates were empowered to order offenders to be brought to the police office for examination.
17. If fines and penalties imposed by a Magistrate of Police under this Act were not paid, the Government would arrange to sell the goods in order to collect the fine.
18. Non-attendance before the Commissioner or the Magistrate after the summons had been issued was made punishable by a fine upto Rs.20/-. The policemen were empowered to impound stray animals and sell them unless redeemed by the owners in ten days.⁷⁷

American Civil War

Bombay saw some of the most prosperous years during the American Civil War between 1861 and 1865. During these years the British textile mills were stranded for want of cotton supplies from America. They turned to India, and Bombay became the main centre of cotton export. Cotton from all over the Deccan poured into Bombay, filling the entire market area in the Fort and even the streets with cotton bales. The unprecedented export of cotton brought untold wealth to Bombay. It was estimated that Bombay became richer by nearly ninety million pounds sterling during these five years.

This prosperity gave rise to a number of building activities under the dynamic Governorship of Sir Bartle Frere. As a result of an enormous influx of people into the city there

was an acute shortage of space. Therefore the hundred and fifty year old Fort wall was demolished in 1862 so that the city could expand.

The Bombay Police administration had to tighten its belt and rise to the occasion to deal with the situation of law and order even with the inadequate force which had already been over-worked.

Housing for Policemen

One of the problems connected with the Bombay Police that constantly bothered the authorities was the lack of proper housing accommodation for policemen. In 1862 the Government requested Charles Forjett to prepare a plan in consultation with the Collector of Bombay and the Civil Architect in order to provide accommodation for those European and Indian policemen, for whom the Government was obliged to provide accommodation.⁷⁸

Two years later when Lieutenant Colonel Bruce was asked to report on the conditions of the Bombay Police, he emphasised that the constables were hard pressed for want of accommodation and were forced to spend their meagre income on it which further impoverished them and impaired their efficiency. He stated, "There are but few stations affording any accommodation whatever for men; and consequently the Police Peons, who ought to live at their stations, have to hire rooms in the neighbourhood, defraying the hire of the same out of their pay. Now a scale of salary is proposed under the supposition that the Constables will be suitably accommodated, otherwise I doubt whether the salaries proposed will be sufficient."⁷⁹ The Government decided to pay an additional amount of one rupee to each constable and Rs.2/- to each Indian Officer if no accommodation was provided.

Office Buildings

Most police offices in Bombay were situated in privately owned buildings. In November, 1862, the landlord of a building housing the Nowrojee Hill Police station demanded an increase in the rent from Rs.19/- to Rs.22/- per month. The Commissioner of Police not only sanctioned the increased rent but he also suggested that an agreement be entered into with the landlord, for a period of 3 years at least, so as to prevent any further increase in the rent during the term.⁸⁰

Referring to the acute need of government premises to house police stations in Bombay, Lieutenant Colonel Bruce, in his report of 1864 on the Bombay City Police, argued that the "Government was spending not less than Rs.1724 per month or in other words, the interest on something like 3.5 lakhs of rupees for the hire of police buildings, and yet there is hardly a decent police station in Bombay, and most inadequate accommodation for policemen...I would venture to urge that amidst all the improvements everywhere in progress throughout the city in Bombay, the police station should not be forgotten."⁸¹

Indian Penal Code

The new Penal Code which came into operation in January, 1862 helped to speed up procedures for the apprehension and trial of offenders. As a consequence the annual crime return⁸² of the Bombay Police for 1862 showed an increase in some of the more serious offenses and in the number of cases sent up to the High Court during the year.

Police Reforms, 1864

The Government of India appointed Lieutenant Colonel H. Bruce, the Inspector General of Police in India, to study

and report on the conditions of the police of the city and Port of Bombay and also make recommendations for their improvement. Some of his recommendations such as combining the office of the Municipal Commissioner and the Office of the Police Commissioner in one person were not accepted by the Government. The Senior Officer of the police force was made responsible solely to the police administration. The Police Commissioner under the new Municipal Act of 1865 had to work under the authority of the Municipal Commissioner in matters relating to the maintenance of peace and order in the city. The fire brigade continued to be under the supervision of the Commissioner of Police. Except for these duties and his membership of the Corporation, the Police Commissioner had no responsibility for conservancy or any other municipal duty in the city. The Act also provided that the expenses of the Police of Bombay should be paid out of the municipal fund.⁸³ However, the Police Commissioner continued to hold charge of other Departments, viz. (i) Registration of Births and Deaths, (ii) Superintendent of Convicts, (iii) Stamping of weights and Measures, and (iv) The Civil Branch of Fire Engines.⁸⁴

The Act of 1865 provided for the establishment of a separate post of the Commissioner of Police with effect from 1st July of that year. Frank Souter took over as the first independent full-fledged Commissioner of Police of Bombay from 1865 on a salary of Rs.1,700/-.⁸⁵ Until then the Senior Magistrate of Police was designated Commissioner of Police. Forjett, the Deputy Commissioner of Police, became an Acting Commissioner of Police in 1863 and held that office until his retirement in 1864. The ambiguous position of the Senior Magistrate holding the post of the Commissioner of Police was rectified by the Municipal Act of 1865.

The City of Bombay was divided for Police and sanitary purposes into six divisions. They had never been

adequately manned. The Assistant Deputy Commissioner of Police was the only officer to supervise the six police divisions. In view of this fact Bruce's recommendation of amalgamating the Harbour Police with the Land Police and making it the 7th division and appointing a Superintendent for each of the seven divisions was approved by the Governor. Each Superintendent of the six land divisions was asked to keep a horse to enable him to effectively supervise his division. For the purpose each superintendent was sanctioned Rs.50/- per month as horse allowance.⁸⁶

As a result of the recommendations of Lieutenant Colonel Bruce for an increase in the strength of the police establishment, the force came to include 21 inspectors, 2 European Sergeants, 15 European Constables, 25 Jamadars, 70 Havildars and 1315 Constables.

Policemen on Private Duty

A large number of policemen were provided to wealthy Indians for private duty on payment of certain fees. These policemen were employed by the Indian merchants for the purpose of parade and show or to guard the doors of godowns. Some of the merchants who used to maintain their own watchmen found the arrangement unsatisfactory and therefore preferred to hire policemen.⁸⁷ There were about 520 such policemen who were paid directly by the householders. Such a system was perhaps necessary in order to meet a particular need and it fitted well in the working of the general system.

There were also about 118 Indian police guards supplied for guard duty at public departments like the Town Hall.⁸⁸ Small Causes Court, Stamp Office, Income Tax Office, J. J. Hospital, Grant Medical College, Telegraph Office and other places of the kind. The Government also approved the

salary scale varying from Rs.10/- to Rs.13/- per month for constables and other suggested scales for the office personnel as proposed by Lieutenant Colonel Bruce.⁸⁹

The Police Commissioner

The making of the Police Commissioner of Bombay into an independent Police Chief solely responsible for police administration in the city was long over due. The separation of the magistracy and the police departments and the separation of the Conservancy work from among the duties of the Police Chief left the Police Commissioner of Bombay free to attend to the ever-mounting pressure of his police duties which had considerably increased by 1865. The change was timely. Because of the growth of industries and the development of Bombay as a national and international emporium of trade, there was a phenomenal increase in the population and the city began to grow at a rapid pace. Under the circumstances the Commissioner's responsibilities in maintaining vigilance, peace and order in the city of Bombay had grown beyond expectation.

NOTES AND REFERENCES :

1. Griffiths, P., *The History of Indian Police*, p.339.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, p.398; Kay and Malleon, *History of the Indian Mutiny*, vol. V, p.31.
4. Forjett published an interesting work entitled *Our Real Danger in India*. He wrote in the Preface that it was his intention to correct the mistaken views of Sir John Kaye regarding the causes of the outbreak of the 'Sepoy War'. He further wrote, "In the preventive and precautionary measures taken in Bombay during the Munity, my share was a very prominent one, and I have found it

impossible to exclude all mention of myself in the relation of those incidents, and I solicit, in consequence, the indulgence of the reader for the obtrusive but unavoidable display of egotism. I have deemed it a duty to dedicate this little volume to the memory of the late Lord Elphinstone, in admiration of his efforts in the cause of order during the period of the mutiny, and from feelings of official gratitude. But for Lord Elphinstone, I should, in all probability, both at Belgaum and in Bombay, have been superseded for having presumed, under critical circumstances, to act in contravention of the orders of Government."

5. *Judicial Dept.*, vol. 74 of 1856, pp. 126-129 (Hereinafter JD).
6. *Ibid.*, p. 129.
7. *JD*, vol. No. 74 of 1856, p. 129.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*, p. 129.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Even today such charges are levelled against the Bombay City Police.
12. *JD*, vol. 74 of 1856, p. 129.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*, p. 131.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 133.
17. *JD*, vol. 74 of 1856, pp. 134-135.
18. *JD*, vol. 74 of 1856, p. 175.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 136.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 138.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 145.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 150.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 152.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 158.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 154.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 156-157.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 175-176.
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 176-178.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 180-181.
30. Earlier when an effort was made to appoint an Indian as Superintendent of Police it was turned down. An application was made to Government in 1835, by a person named Manackee Sumjee Cowasjee, to be appointed an Assistant to the Superintendent of Police at Bombay; but Captain Shortt represented that there were many serious objections to the appointment, and that, whilst he was not in want of a native assistant, he could not place so much confidence in any native as in most of the higher and many of the junior grades in the police. The appointment was not, therefore, made. The European High Constable of Police, is, in fact, the Deputy Superintendent, and he is probably far better qualified for the office, in such a place as Bombay, than any Indian.
31. *JD*, vol. 74 of 1856, p. 183.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 184. It is interesting to learn that even today a police station is expected to give the All's Well report to the control room at 8 a.m. and the same All's Well report is submitted to the Commissioner at 11 a.m. every day.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 187.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 190.
35. Edwardes, S. M., *The Bombay City Police*, p. 40.
36. *JD*, vol. No. 74/1857, pp. 1-5.
37. West Raymond, Ed., *The Acts and Regulations of the Legislature*, p. 5.
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.
39. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-10.
40. In Bombay W. Crawford was appointed Commissioner of Police but he also continued to hold the post of the Senior Magistrate of Police.
41. *Ibid.*, pp. 80-11.

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-12.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-15.
44. *Ibid.*, pp. 15-17.
45. *Ibid.*, pp. 17-25.
46. *GBCI*, vol. III, p. 49, Edwardes S. M., *The Bombay City Police*, p. 45.
47. *JD*, vol. 73, of 1856, p. 133.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 228.
49. *Ibid.*, pp. 120, 132-133.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 137.
51. *JD*, vol. No. 75 of 1857, p. 77.
52. *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78.
53. *JD*, vol. No. 74 of 1858, p. 25.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 37. One Senior Magistrate of Police had suggested that the Court of Petty Sessions be abolished and the money saved be spent in appointing a 4th magistrate who was to perform the functions of the Petty Sessions.
56. *JD*, vol. No. 74 of 1857, p. 24.
57. *Ibid.*
58. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
59. *JD*, vol. 74 of 1857, p. 27; Forjett C., *op.cit.*, p. 108.
60. Forjett C., *op.cit.*, pp. 105-106.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 118. Major General-Bates was a private Secretary to Governor Elphinstone. He wrote this letter to Forjett on 12th April, 1857.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
64. *Ibid.*, pp. 134-135, Forjett wrote that he had asked Lord Elphinstone for permission to disobey the orders of the Government regarding the plan for the preservation of peace during Mohurram. Elphinstone remarked, "It is a very risky thing to do, disobey orders; but I am sure you will do nothing rash" *Ibid.*, PDS.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 141.

66. Annual Police Return - State of Crime in the Town and Island of Bombay, 1858, p. 8.
67. The Great Rebellion of 1857 is named variously. The British called it the Mutiny of 1857. Veer Sawarkar called it the First War of Independence.
68. Sharma P. D., *op.cit.*, p. 10; Wood A., *Nineteenth Century Britain*, pp. 215-217.
69. Wacha, D. E., *op. cit.*, pp. 167-173.
70. Masani R. P., *Evolution of Local Self Government in Bombay*, p. 154. One of these Commissioners was appointed by the Government and the other two were appointed by Justices in Sessions. The Three Commissioners replaced the Board of Conservancy.
71. *Ibid.*
72. *JD*, vol. No. 72 of 1858, pp. 153-157.
73. *JD*, vol. No. 74 of 1857
74. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
75. *Annual Police Return During the year 1859*, p. 8.
76. Acts passed by the Legislative Council of India in 1860; Annual Crime Return for 1860, p. 10. During the year 1860, a Police Commission was appointed for India and on the basis of its recommendations Act V of 1861 was passed which was made applicable to the whole of India including Bombay Presidency. But for Bombay City the Acts of 1856 and 1860 as stated above were made applicable.
77. Many of these regulations are still in operation with a few variations.
78. *JD*, vol. No. 25 of 1862, p. 94.
79. *JD*, vol. No. 34 of 1865, pp. 225 and 264. Even today one-fifth of the 25,000 constables in Bombay are without accommodation.
80. *JD*, vol. No. 23 of 1863, p. 44.
81. *JD*, vol. No. 34 of 1865, p. 225.
82. Annual Police Return for the year 1862, p. 8. The Senior Magistrate of Police wrote to the Governor

asking him to clarify whether the annual Police Returns should in future be furnished by his department or by the Commissioner of Police as was the practice in Calcutta. *Ibid.* The Indian Penal Code of 1861 is still in operation with minor changes. Wacha, D. E. *Rise and Growth of Bombay Municipal Government*, pp. 80-81.

83. Masani, R. P., *op. cit.*, pp. 170-171.
84. *JD*, vol. No. 34 of 1865, p. 235.
85. *JD*, vol. No. 34 of 1865, p. 263; *JD*, vol. No. 34 of 1865 Letter No. 21 of 1865, p. 1.
86. *JD*, vol. No. 34 of 1865, pp. 233, 264.
87. *JD*, vol. No. 404 of 1864, pp. 111-113.
88. *JD*, vol. No. 404 of 1864, p. 113.
89. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

*With Best
Compliments
From*

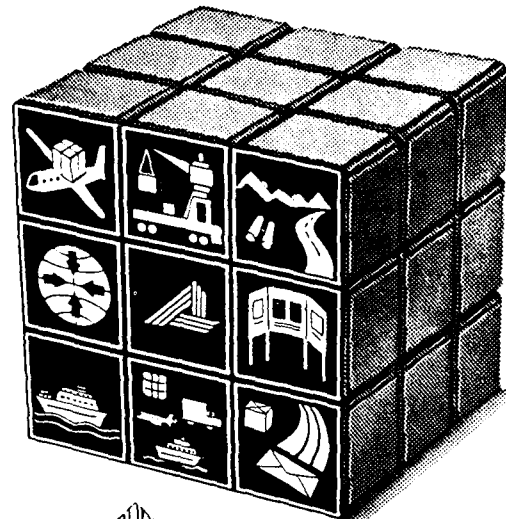


Yogi Restaurant



403K, Sion Trombay Road,
Near Diamond Garden, Chembur,
Bombay-400 071.

We've got it all worked out for you



— the single-source service advantage.

Airfreight Limited, an enterprise with over 80 offices in India, presents a complete package of services. All conveniently under one roof.

When you have to freight anything, anywhere in the world, by air or by sea, just leave it to us.

We'll take care of all the details. Whenever you need to despatch any official or business-related documents or parcels,

desk-to-desk, just call us. DHL, our Courier Division delivers anywhere in India and abroad.

Planning a trip or a tour? INDTRAVELS, our Travel & Tours Division will organise one for you, anywhere on earth. We organise trade fairs, exhibitions and conferences as well, through our Trade Fairs, Exhibitions & Conferences Division.

We deliver the goods.

AIRFREIGHT
AIR CARGO &
IMPORT CONSOLIDATION

ACE
DOOR-TO-DOOR
CARGO

INDTRAVELS
(A Division of Airfreight Limited)
TRAVEL & TOURS

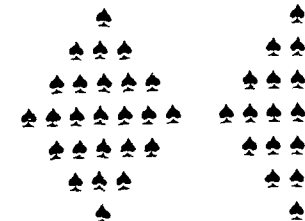
SEAFREIGHT
(A Division of Airfreight Limited)
SEA CARGO

DHL
DHL THE COURIER DIVISION OF
AIRFREIGHT LIMITED

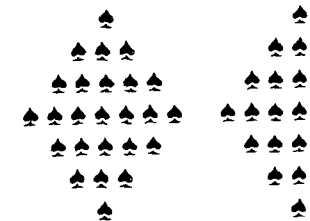
Regd. Office: Neville House, Currimbhoy Road, Ballard Estate, Bombay 400 038.

To contact us, please refer to your local Telephone Yellow Pages Directory.

with best compliments from



RIZVI BUILDERS
BUILDERS & CONTRACTORS



RIZVI HOUSE, 1st FLOOR,
JUNCTION OF HILL ROAD &
ST. MARTIN ROAD, BANDRA,
BOMBAY-400 050.

☎ : 640 97 79 • 640 97 80 • 642 49 61
642 67 67 • 642 67 69

**With
the
Compliments
of**



**N. S. Guzder
&
Company Ltd.**



*Neville House,
Ballard Estate,
Bombay-400 038.*

**ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE POLIGARS OF
ANDHRA : A STUDY OF CHITTOOR POLLAMS***

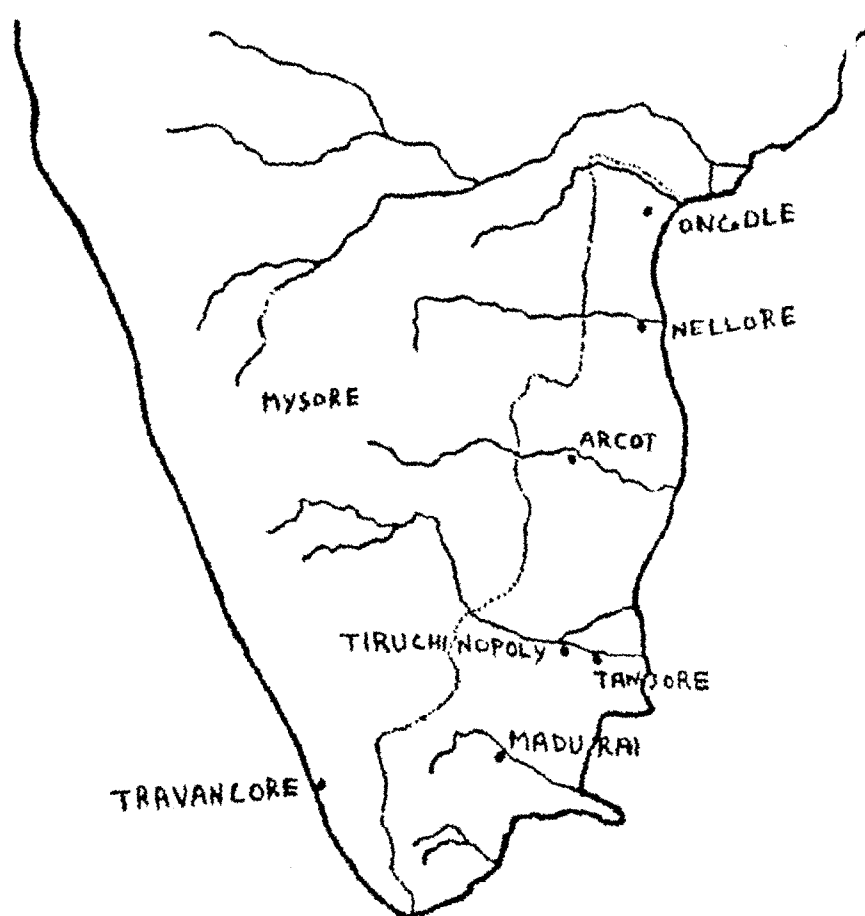
D. Subramanyam Reddy

WHEN the British extended their territorial power in South India during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, this part of the Indian Sub-continent comprised several pollams of poligars. The poligars were not found useful for realizing the Company's objectives of stability, peace, and tribute. These chieftains had not developed the client relationships of the landed agents like the Zamindars of Bengal. They had also failed to create for themselves an integrated place within the social structure essential for the intermediary functions which the British required. In the face of British expansion, poligars could only fight to retain their unstable overlordships and thereby risk annihilation or they could forego their positions and accept the status of village renter or Zamindar under the Company. Many Chieftains chose the former. The late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century witnessed the liquidation of this class of military leaders and the violent end of the poligari system that had flourished for two and a half centuries.¹

In the British records the Pollams of these poligars were referred to as "Southern Pollams" in the Tamil region, "Ceded Pollams", "Northern Pollams", "Western Pollams" and "Chittoor Pollams" in the Rayalaseema area (excepting greater part of Chittoor), and the Coastal region parts of Nellore and Chittoor districts respectively of Andhra Pradesh. Those of Mysore region were called "Mysore Pollams".

* I am thankful to Professor V. Kameswara Rao, Department of History, S. V. University, Tirupati, for his suggestions. Also I thank the U.G.C., New Delhi, for supporting me with a grant for undertaking a Project on "Revolt of the Poligars of Chittoor Pollams against the British" out of which this article has grown.

THE CARNATIC 1710-1801



SOURCE : DR. K. RAJAYAN, ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIETY IN THE CARNATIC, 1701-1801, TIRUPATI, 1966

The Poligars represented an influential institution in the polity of South India of the sixteenth to the early 19th century. The South Indian polity of this period was marked by a three tier system. At the higher level was the princely order. This comprised the rulers of territories like the Nawab of Carnatic, the Nizam of Hyderabad, the *Rajas* of Mysore and Thanjavur. Second in order were the auxiliary powers called the *Poligars*, *Zamindars* and *Talookdars* and *Jagirdars*. At the third and lower level were the village communities all over the South. The latter were called by the British "the little Republics" or "Republics". In general the rulers considered defence and revenue as their primary responsibility, the auxiliary powers preserved law and order, while the village community with the village committee or *panchayat* at its helm promoted agricultural production, local administration and social welfare.

The territory held by the rulers was called *Sircar* territory, while that held by these Chieftains was called *Poligari*, *Zamindari* or *Jagirdari* territory. At times the Chieftains extended by hook or crook their jurisdiction over the villages in the *Sircar* territory too. The Poligars of South India appeared on the political scene neither suddenly nor spontaneously. They came into existence gradually through stages and as the result of interplay of historical circumstances and political considerations. They lived and flourished so long as the same situation that gave rise to them prevailed. But it declined and vanished when a new order came.

When the Chalukyas, Cholas, Pandyas, Kakatiyas and Hoyasalas ceased to be political sovereigns in the South, the Khiljis and Tughlaks moved into their place. But the Muslim rulers also soon fell to the onslaught of the Vijayanagar rulers in 1371.² This collapse of the established order, the constant threat of Muslim invasions and later the independent spirit of the inhabitants and the inability of the

new sovereigns (the Vijayanagar rulers) to assert their authority in overwhelming strength in the Tamil and some Telugu regions created a situation favourable for the rise of the Poligari system.³

The establishment of Poligars is generally attributed to the Nayakkan ruler Visvanatha.⁴ But the truth is that when Visvanatha Nayak was appointed governor or administrator of the Tamil territories with Madurai as his head-quarters, he found two classes of leaders already in existence: the traditional Chieftains who descended from the royal houses of the past with territories inherited or acquired through might or reward and wielded considerable influence among the people, and the feudatories who owed their loyalty to the fallen sovereigns and lived in a state of independence.⁵ When Visvanatha Nayak reached Madurai there were Chieftains called 'Pancha Pandyas'. These Chieftains were believed to be the descendants of the Pandyas and were sufficiently powerful to oppose the *Nayak's* authority. He, therefore, associated them with the administration and thereby established the newly termed Poligari system. Hence, it is not very correct to say that the rulers of Vijayanagar created the system. What they really did was to accept a situation that had already existed, partly because of their inability to change it and partly because of the advantages it offered. But they were responsible to put it into a definite form.⁶ At this time the Sultans of Bijapur and Golconda and rulers of Kalinga (Orissa) were also concentrating their forces against the Vijayanagar frontier on the north. Guided by all these considerations Visvanatha Nayak saw the wisdom of effecting a settlement that would "pacify"⁷ the chieftains and serve the needs of the times i.e., facing the northern enemies. The result was the acceptance of the Poligari system. As this reform was of considerable political importance, it appears that he implemented it with the approval of Achyuta Raya, the emperor of Vijayanagar. But the *Nayaks* only associated the

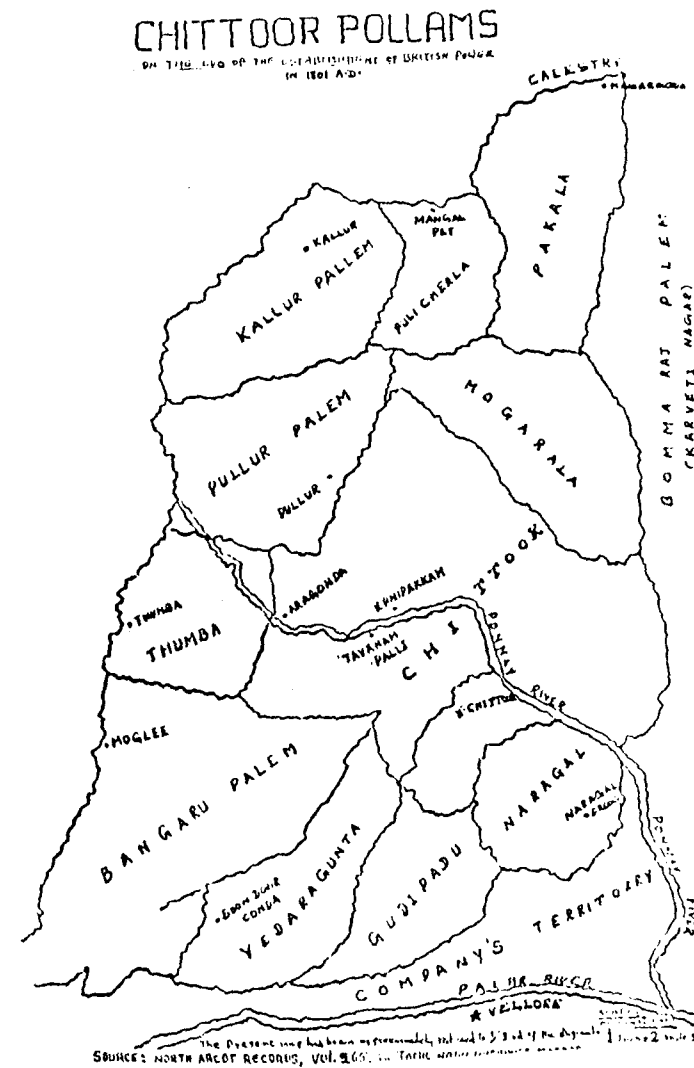
Poligars with the administration and defined their rights and duties. Visvanatha Nayak gave recognition to 72 Pollams.⁸ But this Poligari system caused "havoc" in the later days. The history of the Poligars is, therefore, mainly an account of petty rivalries and interminable warfare among those who had bartered the honour and safety of the land for their own selfish ends.⁹

Nevertheless, it was one of those measures which satisfied an urgent need of the times. In the palmy days of the *Nayaka* rule it proved to be a boon to the Government in maintaining peace and order in the South¹⁰ by subjugating the unruly tribes who infested it. It also helped to reclaim a large tract of the fertile regions and colonization of the south by the new-comers, (the Vijayanagar rulers) from the north.¹¹ The Poligari system also served as a safeguard (or second defence) against the "foreigners" (Muslim rulers).¹² While the poligars in the northern part of Vijayanagar empire were generally under the direct control of the Vijayanagar emperor (or princes), the Southern poligars were under a *Nayak* or viceroy.¹³ The *Nayaks* allowed the Chieftains to retain their possessions, to collect the taxes, to pay one-third of the collections as tribute to the sovereign, and to retain the rest for their private expenses and to maintain a number of troops. They were directed to render military service to the sovereign whenever it was demanded and to administer justice to their people.¹⁴ This arrangement, important in itself, accorded legal sanction to the Poligari system rather than creating something new and left the chieftains as masters of their territories with fixed rights and duties. Remissions of revenue and grants of villages from the state for devoted service later added to their strength. This settlement fulfilled two major objectives of the government: firstly it provided for the administration of the poligar territories and secondly, it created a second line of defence indispensable during this period of anarchy and disorder.¹⁵

In short, what the *Nayaks* proceeded to do was to accord recognition to a historical phenomenon created by the vicissitudes in the fortunes of the ruling houses of the Tamil Country. In the meantime adventurers also asserted their power. The followers and favourites of the new rulers also secured grants of land for service or sacrifice. Thus a fourfold process contributed to the rise of the Poligars. They were : descent from royal houses, assertion of authority in command of armed followers (in these cases they owed their existence to a deliberate act of the sovereign), adventure by revenue servants, headmen of villages etc; and creation of new ones by the sovereign. However, it is difficult to state that a particular poligar of the Tamil region owed his existence to one particular cause or the other. But in the case of Telugu region their origin could be mostly ascertained i.e., most of them were originally appointed *Kavalgars* or superintendents of police. The Fifth Report and the Collectors reports give a lot of details about them. While the early Poligars gained more of rights through service to the rulers, the later chieftains took advantage of the turmoils to attain the status of early Poligars. In fact a combination of different factors and forces contributed in one way or the other to the emergence of the Poligars into a powerful political institution.¹⁶

THE POLIGARS OF CHITTOOR POLLAMS :

The "Chittoor Pollams", which formed part of the present Chittoor district¹⁷ of Andhra Pradesh, originally formed part of the "Northern Division of Arcot" of the Carnatic which came under British rule in 1801. The Chittoor Pollams comprised ten Pollams each under the rule of a Poligar. They were Bangari, Mogarala, Pakala, Narganti, Pullur, Kallur, Pulicherla, Tumba, Yadarakonda and Gudipati which were spread over the present talukas of Chittoor, Chandragiri and Bangarupalem in Chittoor district.



Topography :

The Chittoor Pollams are situated on the eastern coast of the triangular table land of Southern India, along the Eastern Ghats. The general elevation of this part of Chittoor district is about 2500 feet above the sea level. Numerous passes lead from the low land talukas to those above the *ghats*. Only three of these namely Kallur, Mogili and Sainagunta passes admitted wheeled traffic in the early part of the nineteenth century. The Kallur pass in the Chandragiri taluka runs along the Damalacheruvu Valley, and through the Kallur Pollam to the Pileru taluk of Cuddapah. The Mogili pass in the Chittoor taluk commences at a point almost directly west of some 20 miles from Chittoor. The Sainagunta pass leads from Gudiyatham taluk to Palamaner. Besides these, there are many other minor passes. There are high precipitous cliffs at the bases of which green slopes decline once covered with scrub jungles. The hills are rugged and barren, but the valleys at their base are very productive. The river Poiney or Payani runs through the centre of the Chittoor valley.

Strategic importance of Chittoor Valley :

The whole of Chittoor district is dotted with serpentine hills winding into a series of circles, interspersed with fertile valleys and mountain streams criss-crossing all over the country-side. Kaleidoscopic patterns of these hills remind us of the Hellenic landscape and the Athenian spirit of liberty. These treacherous ravines even today conceal isolated villages. The Poligars once erected their forts on these slopes. Their pollams were surrounded by these circular hills. Narrow gaps in the range were once blocked with long walls and they were called "*Thettu*" and watch towers were built at vantage points. Of course, today there remain only ruins. On most of these peaks perennial springs supplied water to the military

detachments. Thus the detachments could withstand sustained attacks, even if the supply line was cut off by the besiegers. The thick jungles in those days enabled their withdrawal and regrouping manoeuvres easier. Often they launched surprise attacks on the enemy. The Poligars were quite at home in their jungles and were capable of shifting whole families with women folk and children unnoticed by others in times of danger. The hardy inhabitants of these pollams living in their clusters of small villages were capable of challenging the British might during early nineteenth century. The persistence of the poligars in their resistance to the British authority was largely due to the strategic advantages offered by these mountain ranges in the district. The British records often refer to these hills as Payanghaults.¹⁸

Location of the Chittoor Pollams :

With regard to the location of the Pollams and their chieftains at the time of the establishment of British power in 1801 we have authentic information. Bangari Pollam is situated to the west of Chittoor with a land area of 1,53,892 acres, and the Pollam once consisted of 113 villages. Chandrasekar Naid was the Poligar of the Bangari Pollam on the eve of the rebellion of the Poligars of Chittoor Pollams during 1801-1805. His eldest son was the Poligar at Yadarkonda. Gudipati Pollam lies to the South-West of Chittoor with a land area of about 33,730 acres and it had once 45 villages. Seshama Naid ruled over this Pollam on the eve of the insurrection. He was the only Chittoor Poligar who did not join the poligars' revolt in Chittoor Pollams. Kallur Pollam is situated in the north-west corner of the Chandragiri taluk, with a land area of 31,500 acres, comprising 94 villages. This pollam had a strategic importance as the well-known Damalcheruvu or Kalluru pass which was one of the main routes between Deccan and Carnatic was within the limits of this pollam. The chieftain of this pollam at the time it came

under the British was Rangapathy Raju. Mogarala Pollam is situated to the North-East of Chittoor. Chennappa Naid was the Poligar of this Pollam on the eve of the confrontation with the British. He was related to the Poligar of Pakala. Naraganti Pollam is situated to the south-east of Chittoor. Its principal town was Nargallu on the right bank of Ponne river. It was in its neighbourhood that Hyder Ali died. This pollam had a landed area of 28,023 acres comprising 69 villages. Anantappa Naid was its poligar at the time of the outbreak of the rebellion. Pakala is to the north-east of Chittoor. Seshama Naid presided over the pollam at the time of the confrontation with the British. Pulicherla Pollam is situated to the north of Chittoor. The poligar had his residence at Mangalampet. Timma Naid was the leader of this pollam at the time of the rebellion. Pullur Pollam is situated to the north-western part of Chittoor. Kumara Raghunath Naid presided over the pollam when it came under the British. Rumba Pollam lies to the extreme west of the Chittoor taluk, with a landed area of 25,277 acres comprising 10 villages. Mallappa Naid was the Poligar of this pollam in 1801. Yadaragunta pollam is situated to the south-west of Chittoor. Muddu Ramappa Naid was the poligar of this pollam when the hostilities broke out with the British.¹⁹ He was the son of Bangari Poligar.

Social origins or caste of the Chittoor Poligars :

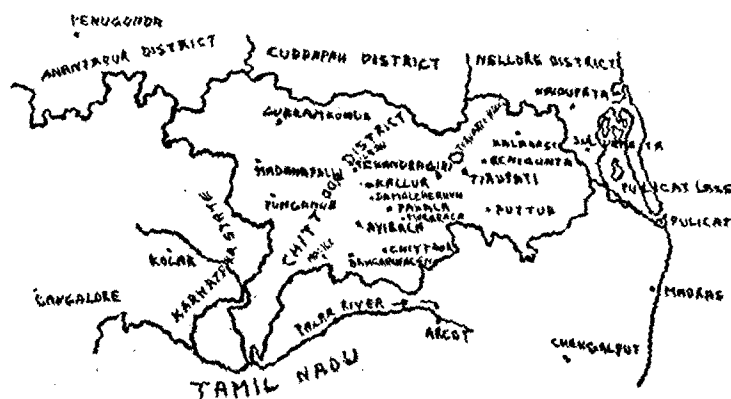
The Poligars of Chittoor pollams were originally a nomadic forest hunting tribe closely allied either to the caste of *Boyas*²⁰ or to the forest hunting (and mercenary) tribe of *Ekaris*.²¹ The important subdivisions of the *Boyas* Caste were *Mutracha* or *Muthiriyar*²² and the *Vidamanji*. The *Ekaris* were called *Ekaris* or *Yakarlur* in Chittoor, *Boyas* and *Kiratas* in Nellore and Cuddapah. The *Kiratas* were the criminal tribes of hills during the Vijayanagar period. Krishnadevaraya also refers to them in his *Amuktamalyada*.

Both the *Boyas* and *Ekaris* were at first appointed by Vijayanagar kings as *Kavalgars* or village policemen (watchmen caste later called as village *talari* or *taliari*). These *Kavalgars* were either called or in course of time took the title of "*Naid*" probably a corrupted form of *Nayak* or *Nayakkan*, which might have at a later date changed, in usage, into *Naidu*, (the present usage), and "*Dora*" (meaning Lord), and declared themselves as poligars around 1565.²³ Members of these castes were considered (in the later nineteenth century) as a low and poor caste of settled community of cultivators.

Origin of the Chittoor poligars :

It is interesting to note that the poligars of "Chittoor Pollams" were neither the traditional chieftains who descended from the royal houses of the past nor the feudatories of the fallen sovereigns who lived in a state of independence and got recognition as chieftains by Visvanatha Nayak, the governor of Krishnadevaraya in the Tamil regions with Madurai as headquarters. The ten poligars of Chittoor pollams were originally appointed by the Vijayanagar *Rayas*²⁴ as *Kavalgars* or military police to superintend the police arrangements (or for guarding the borders of the kingdom) of these "districts"²⁵ and by the middle of the 15th century (about 350 years before George Stratton, the first Collector of the "Northern Division of Arcot") by one of the *Rayals*²⁶ (probably Governors) of Penugonda,²⁷ who about that time settled at Chandragiri for this purpose.²⁸ For example the earliest known ancestor of the Poligars of Bangarpollam by name Aggi Timma Naid was a *Kavalgar* or *Palayappattudora* in the middle of the 14th century.²⁹ In consideration of the above service, thus rendered, they had some villages conferred on them in *inam* at a favourable rent and were besides empowered to collect *kavali* (police) fees, denominated "*neetha*"³⁰ or fixed *kavali* which they levied on

CHITTOOR DISTRICT



SOURCE : B. S. KAUSHAL, ANDHRA PRADESH MAP, INDIAN BOOK DEPOT PUBLICATION, DELHI, 1970.

the (Vijayanagar) *Sirkar* villages within their ranges³¹ (by this time there were no poligari territories as the system had not yet developed in the region) on the principle of *Bilmuctah*³² assessments for the support of the peons whom they maintained.³³ So long as the control of the Government of Vijayanagar rulers over them was vigorous and efficient, these *kavalgars* fulfilled the object of their institution.³⁴

As the defeat of Vijayanagar at Talikota (Rakshasi-Tangadi) in 1565 at the hands of the Bahamani Sultanates resulted in the steady decline of Vijayanagar there came more

of external aggressions and internal disorders or dissensions both in the former Telugu regions (now under the Kutubshahis) of the Vijayanagar rulers and also in the southern Tamil regions and northern Telugu regions (in which Chittoor Pollams were a part) of the Carnatic region of the Vijayanagar rulers. The *Nayaks* of Madura and Tanjore asserted their "independence".³⁵ The rulers of Vijayanagar, therefore, tried to regain their lost ground and to reassert their waning authority over the provinces. They carried war to the Tamil country too. On the other hand Mysore, Madurai and Tanjore entered into a three cornered rivalry for political supremacy. The Marathas and Mysoreans began making inroads into the Tamil country. The *Nayaks* looked for the Poligars support. In return for their help the *Nayaks* granted additional land to them and also created new ones to accommodate new chieftains.³⁶ This situation gave rise to and strength of the poligars. But the *Nayak* powers, to whom the Poligars extended their loyalty traditionally, declined in their influence by the end of the seventeenth century due to Kunub Shahi, Maratha and Mughal aggressions and internal dissensions among the *Nayaks*. Repeated invasions of the Muslim "foreigners" had also administered devastating blows and subjected the poligars to shattering experiences. These developments threw them into a quandary -- whether to surrender to alien exactions and humiliation or to resist and assert their independence. As circumstances warranted they relied upon one course or the other, but generally the second. Not only did they survive the long chain of perils but greatly did they consolidate their strength.

In the case of Chittoor Pollams also the general condition of anarchy which prevailed there, as in the other parts of South India, during the battle of Talikota in 1565, tempted these "large *Kavalgars*" of Chittoor to aim at "independence" after having served under the direct administration of the Vijayanagar rulers. Assuming the title of

Poligar, they seized upon the whole villages (of the *Sirkar* of Vijayanagar) within their respective ranges, and discontinued the payment of quit-rent on those they had hitherto held as *inam*.³⁷ "Naturally of warlike and aspiring habits, these ambitious Chieftains seized with avidity the many favourable opportunities for increasing their power and influence which arose out of the imbecility of the declining Government and the convulsed state of public affairs during the struggles which subsequently ensued between the last race of Hindu princes and the Muslim invaders of the peninsula. They gradually usurped the rights of the Government they were bound to support. They also at length threw off all disguise and openly asserted their independence".³⁸ It was in this manner that their pollams were originally formed and founded in usurpation and subject to no regular control. As the spirit of encroachment extended its influence they commenced levying further *kavali* fees on the rest of the *Sirkar* (Government of Aravidu dynasty of Vijayanagar) villages (those villages outside the territory on which the poligars had established their authority and assumed the title of poligar) denominated "*Oobah*"³⁹ or additional *kavali* fees, which the inhabitants were obliged to pay to the full extent of the *Kavalgars* (now called Poligars) demands. The Government could not afford the villagers any redress. It was not until the Muslim (Golkonda Kutub Shahis or Carnatic Nawabs) Government had begun to assume a settled form that they ventured to make these chieftains acknowledge their authority.⁴⁰ Most of these poligars were petty and many of them gathered round the more influential ones. A peculiarity of all these poligars was that every one, however small his territory might have been, kept up (like the other poligars of Carnatic or Andhra) the paraphernalia of royalty, appointed officers holding the same titles as the officers in the sovereign courts and maintained a small standing army of permanently appointed men. These small standing armies were seldom paid and the greater part of their earnings was gained by

depredations in times of war. During peace these armies continued their usual practices and earned their livelihood by pillaging border villages of their enemies or weak central rulers. Consequently every village of the border areas endeavoured to put itself in a state of ceaseless vigilance to ward off these attacks.⁴¹ The poligars usually maintained the *Amaram* and *Kattubadi* peons. This state of affairs, in course of time, enabled the poligars to consolidate their position.

Disorders and the Chittoor Poligars' struggle for growth :

By 1670 Mysore occupied Coimbatore and Salem, the north western provinces of Madurai. In 1674 Ekoji, the Maratha adventurer and half brother of Shivaji, occupied Tanjore from Nayaks. Two years later Shivaji at the command of 30,000 cavalry and 40,000 infantry undertook his brilliant campaign to the Carnatic. He occupied Ginji from Bijapur, advanced to Tanjore and routed a combination of the poligars of Chittoor and Vellore.⁴²

In 1686 and 1687 Aurangzeb subdued Bijapur and Golconda and annexed them. In 1694 Aurangzeb appointed Zulficar Khan (1694-1705) as Nawab of the Carnatic with his capital at Arcot. He was succeeded by Daud Khan (1706-1709). The Mughal empire which was declining could not reduce various chieftains in its territory to a state of subordination and order.⁴³

After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 there began a period of disorder during which several provinces declared independence. The convulsions and final dissolution of the Mughal empire also enabled the Poligars and other chieftains to extend their dominion and strengthen their power.⁴⁴ In this situation Saadat-Ullah Khan (1710-1731) organised the Carnatic into an independent kingdom under the rule of his house, Nevayet ruler with the help of Chanda Sahib and his

brothers, Budda Sahib and Sadak Sahib, not only crippled the Southern Tamil Poligars' resistance to their rule, occupied their forts and erected new outposts with a view to keep the country under submission⁴⁵ but also tried to bring, for the first time, the poligars of Chittoor Pollams to obedience.

During the administration of Ghulam Mohhammad, the *Bukshee* of Tyre Mohhammad Khan (the *Faujdar* or provincial commander at Chittoor under Sadat Ullah Khan, the Nawab of Arcot) was sent to Chittoor Pollams earlier in the eighteenth century with a small army to retain the poligars' rebellious character which had risen to an alarming height.⁴⁶ After some years of desultory warfare between Ghulam Mohammad and the Poligars (during which both parties alternately experienced various successes and defeats), the former at last succeeded in securing by stratagem the poligars of Bangari and Mogarala who headed the insurgents and put both to a "cruel and ignominious death".⁴⁷ This example of severity to their chiefs had a salutary effect on the rest of the poligars, who, terror-struck at this first check, laid down their arms and submitted to the terms which Ghulam Mohammad chose to impose. He restored the Mogarala and Bangari Pollams to the sons of the deceased poligars and exacted from the Chittoor poligars an annual *peshcush* amounting to 40,000 *pulleput pagodas*.⁴⁸ How he had distributed the *peshcush* is not known. This was the first instance of any *peshcush* being levied and collected from these poligars, and which they continued to pay for some years.⁴⁹

But during the administration of Nawab Dost Alikhan (1732-1740) of Carnatic the Chittoor Poligars however ventured to withhold the full payment of their *peshcush*. During Dost Ali's period the *peshcush* of the poligars of Chittoor Pollams was reduced from 40,000 *pulleput pagodas* to half of that amount besides which the poligars were allowed an annual remission of 915⁵⁰ *Pagodas*. Despite the

reduction in the *peshcush* poligars fell in arrears in their payment.⁵¹

Meanwhile, inspite of serious reverses, the Southern Poligars of the Tamil region refused to submit to the Nevayet Nawabs of Arcot and appealed to the Marathas for intervention. Chhatrapati Shahu, was anxious to protect the Maratha kingdom of Tanjore which was threatened by the Nevayets. He also wanted to check Muslim advance in the South. Accordingly, in 1740 a Maratha army consisting of about 50,000 strong cavalry under the command of Raghuji Bhonsle and Fateh Singh moved to the Carnatic via the Ceded Districts and Chittoor Pollams. On 20th May, 1740 they defeated and killed Nawab Dost Ali in the battle at Damalcherri (Damalacheruvu) near Chandragiri.⁵² Defences of the Carnatic collapsed and Arcot fell to the invading forces. On 16th March, 1741 the Marathas took Chanda Sahib, a son-in-law of Dost Ali, prisoner at Tiruchinapalli and appointed Murari Rao Governor of that place. Nevayet troops rallied to the aid of Chanda Sahib but they were intercepted at Manaparari and their generals, Budda Sahib and Sadak Sahib, were killed in battle. The Maratha intervention relieved the poligars from the threat of extinction. The Marathas respected the rights of the poligars as guaranteed to them by tradition and maintained cordial relations with them. They also restored Arcot to Safdar Ali (1741-1742), son of Dost Ali, in return for payment of one crore of rupees. But he was murdered in 1742 by Murtaza Ali (1742), another son-in-law of Dost Ali. He was a son of the latter's brother Boker Ali. But he was expelled by the Carnatic forces which rose in revolt. The peace, however, did not last long. Determined to reassert the Mughal power in the Carnatic and when the Marathas were preoccupied with their internal conflicts, Asaf Jah Nizam Ul Mulk, the Mughal *Subadar* of Hyderabad, at the command of 80,000 horse and 2,00,000 foot, marched unopposed to the Carnatic in 1743. He established his

influence at Arcot, marched to Tiruchinapalli, made settlement with Murari Rao, agreeing to give him Penugonda and gained possession of the coveted stronghold of Tiruchinapalli in 1743.⁵³ Asaf Jah then led his army to Madurai, took the city and appointed Khwaja Abdulla (1743-1744) as Nawab at Madurai and also as the guardian of the Nevayet prince Sadat Ullah Khan II (1742-1744), son of Safdar Ali. As situation was worsening in the Deccan during his absence, Asaf Jah made no attempt to suppress the poligars and hurried back to Hyderabad.⁵⁴

On the death of Khwaja Abdulla in 1744 Asaf Jah appointed in his place his general Anwar-ud-din. In June 1744 Saadat Ullah Khan, the ten year old prince was killed, it is believed with the collusion of Anwar-ud-din, his guardian. The Nizam who was interested in the preservation of his own influence appointed Anwar-ud-din (1744-1749) as Nawab of the Carnatic. Anwar-ud-din founded the rule of his dynasty, the Wallajah Nawabs of Arcot *Sirkar* in the *Subah* of the Nizam of Deccan (Hyderabad). The rise of another dynasty created again a situation of embarrassment to the poligars. In 1744 Anwar-ud-din sent his son Maphuz Khan on an expedition to the far south for the suppression of the poligars. He was defeated and forced to retreat. Mohammad Ali, the second son of Anwar Uddin, led a second expedition, routed a confederacy of poligars at Tirunelvel held them prisoners and levied contributions. But at Natham he was looted and he made a narrow escape. Then the poligars entered into a settlement with the *Raja* of Mysore to expel the Wallajas and to re-establish the *Nayak* rule. Before this plan could be translated into practice there came unexpected developments. Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-Mulk died, (1748) and his son and grand son Nasir Jang and Muzafar Jang respectively contested for authority in the Deccan (during the Anglo-French Carnatic wars). Sayaji and Pratap Singh came into conflict with each other in Tanjavur. The Wallajas and Neyayets, (Anwar-ud-din

and Chanda Sahib) entered into a bitter struggle for the possession of the Carnatic.

It was after Chanda Sahib returned from captivity at Satara that the struggle for the Nawabship of Carnatic began. When there was confusion and divided authority in Carnatic during the Carnatic wars in the peninsula for the Nawabship, the Chittoor Poligars discontinued the payment of even the reduced sum during the administration of Dost Ali Khan.⁵⁵ It was at this stage, during the First Carnatic War that Anwar uddin was killed in 1749 by Chanda Sahib.

During the struggle (Second Carnatic War) between the new Nawab Chanda Sahib (1749-1752) and Mohammad Ali for the possession of the Carnatic, the Chittoor Poligars took advantage of the divided authority and again showed defiance to the Nawab's authority by refusing for some years to pay any *peshcush* whatever.⁵⁶ Meanwhile, Chanda Sahib was killed by Robert Clive of the British East India Company, the ally of Mohammad Ali, in 1752, and Mohammad Ali became the Nawab of Carnatic in 1752 and ruled upto 1799.

The British and the French at the same period of the Carnatic wars, also embarked upon a prolonged war for supremacy in the South, while the Mysore in alliance with Murari Rao tried to occupy Madurai. All these powers conspired together in converting the Carnatic into a vast area of conflict. Overwhelmed by these unforeseen developments the Poligars found it to their advantage to retire into isolation and concentrated upon matters of local interest. This period was marked by an expansion and consolidation of their influence.⁵⁷ While the people on the other hand suffered, for North Arcot was the very cock-pit of Southern India, the constant scene of battles and sieges, invasions and raids. The French and the English, contending *Subahdars* of the Deccan,

rival Nawabs of the Carnatic, Maratha horsemen and invaders from Mysore were constantly passing and repassing through the district, while even when these were absent, the oppression and exacting of the local poligars, always heavy, but particularly so in those years of turbulence, left the peasant but little of his produce and frequently deprived him of life itself..... Their share, in fact, was often only 'what they could conceal or take away with', to quote the words of Stratton, the first Collector⁵⁸ of the Northern Division of Arcot. Of course the condition of the ryot continued to be the same.⁵⁹

The political affairs continued in this manner until Mohammad Ali, fairly seated on the *Musnud* (throne), resolved to bring back the refractory tributaries to submission. To bring the Chittoor poligars to submission the Nawab Wallajah had conferred on his younger brother, Abdul Wahab Khan, the Chittoor and Chandragiri "districts" as a part of "his *Jagir*" along with the right to receive the *peshcush* of the poligars.⁶⁰ He stationed with him 200 horse, 400 regular infantry and 600 peons to force the collections.⁶¹ The *peshcush* (15,560 *pulleput pagodas*) and *nuzzers* (15,000 *pulleput pagodas*) then settled by Abdul Wahab amounted to 30,560 *pulleput pagodas*⁶² the pollam wise distribution of which is given in the third chapter in connection with the revenue or *peshcush* settlement with the poligars.

The *Peshcush* and *Nuzzers* thus fixed by Abdul Wahab was but irregularly collected from the poligars by resorting to the mode of issuing '*Tuncahs*' or assignments on those incharge of arrears to the Nawab's troops stationed in Chittoor Pollams. Stratton writes : "Abdul Wahab appears to have had small success in enforcing the necessity of obedience upon his trouble-some subjects and only collected such inadequate sums as the poligars chose occasionally to pay."⁶³

When the Anglo-Mysore wars broke out Hyder Ali, the Mysore ruler, in 1780 invaded Carnatic including Chittoor Pollams and the Jagirdar, Abdul Wahab Khan, was made a prisoner and carried to Seringapatam. When Wahab was made prisoner by Hyder Ali during this invasion, the Chittoor Poligars relapsed once more into their irregular ways.⁶⁴ The Collections made by Hyder Ali from the Chittoor Poligars during that destructive war amounted to about one year's *peshcush* and *nuzzers*.⁶⁵

When Abdul Wahab Khan, on his release after the peace treaty, came back to his *Jagir*, the Chittoor Poligars submitted a representation (as they had sustained losses during Hyder's invasion) to remit their *nuzzers* (paid every alternate year). Abdul Wahab Khan not only remitted the *nuzzers* of all the poligars but also reduced, as a favour, the Bangari and Mogarala Poligars' *nuzzers* to half the former fixed amount. The latter's *peshcush* was also reduced by him. Despite Abdul Wahab Khan remitting payment of the annual *nuzzer* of the Chittoor Poligars, they became more irregular than ever in the payment of their tribute and they continued, rigidly, to enforce the collection of their *Kavali* fees from the *Sirkar* villages whose protection had been taken over by the poligars several years before. Thus owing to the weakness of the Nawab's government the poligars entirely reversed the object of their original institution.⁶⁷ The last 30 years period of the Nawab's rule was, in fact, marked by weakness and instability. During this period the Chittoor poligars seized every opportunity of attaining independence by extending their possessions -- withholding payment of the tribute -- and resisting in "open warfare", the authority and power of the Nawab. The allegiance and payment of tribute of the poligars of Chittoor had been irregular. They paid tribute only when compelled by the Nawab. In the few instances in which measures were adopted to compel respect and submission to the Government, the poligars caused disturbances when

occasion arose.⁶⁸ After ineffectual efforts to establish its authority in the pollams, the Nawab's Government "in general found itself necessitated to compound matters with the Poligars (Chittoor Poligars) or to barter its power for a fine which it could not exact."⁶⁹

When such was the insubordination of the Poligars the Nawab decided to wait for an opportunity to suppress them. His determination got strength when he heard an atrocity of the Chittoor Poligars from the Poligar of Bommaraju (or Karvetinagar) Pollam.⁷⁰ The Bommaraju Poligar wrote an '*arz-dast*' to the Nawab Wallajah of Arcot about the murder of his principal man, one Venkata Reddy. When the poligar of Pakala asked the Bommaraju Poligar to send Venkata Reddy saying that there was something to confer with him the latter was ordered to meet the former. The Reddy on his way to Pakala halted for the night at Mangapur (now called Srinivasamangapuram) near the fort of Chandragiri. But in the night the Pakala Poligar sent about 50 of his men and murdered the Reddy. Not stopping there, the men beheaded Venkata Reddy's brothers who were at some distance from Mangapur. They also did not allow the dead body to be taken away by the relatives. The 50 peons keeping vigilance on the dead body used indecent and foul language when (they) approached. They also burnt the dead body themselves while the custom was for the eldest son to do this ceremony. The Nawab who got angry with this behaviour of the poligars of Chittoor Pollams decided to punish them. He appealed to the East India Company to allow their troops to join in the march against the poligars. But Fort William did not appreciate the Nawab's plan to use Company's troops to put down the poligars, for the Company was desirous of seeking the help of the poligars here as in the other regions of South India against Hyder Ali, the Mysore ruler in the Anglo-Mysore wars. The Company did not want to antagonise them.⁷¹ It was against the "general extermination" of the poligars.⁷² It

was not enthusiastic about re-establishing a garrison of the Company's troops at Chandragiri as suggested by the Nawab. A garrison was hitherto maintained at Chandragiri under Sir Eyre Coote during the Third Carnatic War (1756-1763).

But the Company preferred the Nawab to settle his own affairs without expecting the Company to extend any help to curb the poligars. The Governor of Madras wrote to the Nawab thus : "I have no doubt that the conduct of the Polygars... has been in many instances irregular, but I am inclined to hope the evils complained of may be removed or in a great measure checked by the rigorous exertions of your managers without having recourse to such an extremity as that proposed by your Highness."⁷³ Fort William also wrote to the Governor thus, "you will use every means in your power to prevent the demand of an unreasonable number of men to induce His Highness to abstain from all acts of cruelty on the Poligars. Around June 1799, the Nawab dispatched a force of 3000 armed peons to punish the poligar. But he could not proceed to do anything in this regard, as the British, feeling it as an act leading to "alarming consequences" and "petty warfare", asked the Nawab to stop sending the force."⁷⁷

It was in this unsettled state that the ten Chittoor Pollams were acquired by the British in 1801 from the then Nawab of Arcot. On the cession of the Carnatic to the British and the consequent assumption of the family *Jagirs*, the collection of *peshcush* of the poligars of Chittoor Pollams also devolved on the British Government. But the Poligars, who acquired "independence" during a long period of disturbed or unstable political conditions and especially during the "relaxed and dubious control of the Nawab"⁷⁸ over them, gradually began opposing the British rule.

Though it was in 1792 that the administration of Carnatic was transferred to the Company it was only in 1801

that Carnatic was annexed to the British territories. But even before this final act had taken place the Governor of Madras, Lord Hobart, recorded a minute in 1797 itself suggesting the means of rendering poligars as useful subjects and obedient tributaries of the Company.⁷⁹ On 5th June 1799 the Directors of the Company also, in their reply, insisted on the absolute suppression of the military power and independent attitude of all the poligars (not poligar community) of South India and on the Institution of the pecuniary tribute higher than the poligars had paid before.⁸⁰ Armed with this despatch the Madras authorities went beyond all reasonable limits. The revenue exceeded the previous demand by no less than 117 percent.⁸¹ So the Southern Poligars who numbered 33 in the last decade of the 18th century rose in insurrection, but the rising was soon put down. Finally, a permanent settlement was made in 1803 for fourteen estates⁸² of the Southern Poligars. The insurgents were deprived of their estates and in some cases capitally punished. Of the chiefs who had held their patrimonial estates for several generations, we find thirteen only in 1803 still in possession; the lands of 14 others were under the charge of the European Collectors and 6 were forfeited, given away or sold.⁸³ In the "Western Pollams" there were 4 pollams⁸⁴ which, though discontented, did not join the revolt against the British and hence were brought under the regulations of the permanent settlement as in the case of some of the Southern Poligars. In the districts Ceded by the Nizam, there were 80 poligars. These poligars resisted the British with about 30,000 peons and were finally reduced to subjection.⁸⁵ In 1807 they were found to have been thus disposed of : pensioned 2, holding a Jaghir 1, residing on their estates deprived of authority 23, managing their own estates 40, expelled 40, expelled by force 6, in confinement 8, total 80.⁸⁶ To the Poligars of Chittoor Pollams (which formed part of the "Northern Division of Arcot" of the Carnatic) who came under the British rule with the annexation of the Carnatic in 1801 a worse fate was reserved. They resisted the British claims

between 1801 and 1805, and were mostly driven from their "fastnesses" and took refuge in the jungles to fight the British. With a few exceptions all the estates of the poligars of Chittoor Pollams were resumed in 1805 and settlements were made (by the British) with the tenants direct.⁸⁷

Summary of the growth of the Poligars :

Thus it was the stormy political atmosphere that favoured the growth of the power and influence of the Poligars. The acquisition of rights and concessions was made at the expense of the jurisdiction either of the central authority or of the village communities. The rewards made by the rulers and his *amildars* in return for services swelled the resources of the poligars. The *amildars* also entered into collusion with the poligars and connived at their increasing the territorial extent of their pollams and interfering in the collection of revenue of the *Sirkar* territories.

The neglect of responsibilities and perpetration of atrocities by the Nawabs also left the village communities in the *Sirkar* territory with no alternative but to seek the protection of the poligars. Preoccupied with his own problems, the sovereign found it impossible to enforce law and order and protect life and property of the people. His administration also harassed the inhabitants with oppressive taxation and arbitrary exaction. Because of such abnoxious practices of the *Sirkar* administration, the villagers appealed to the poligars for protection. Readily the chieftains responded, they reappointed the old *Kavalgars* or appointed their own servants and directed them to safeguard the interests of the inhabitants. In return for this service they received from the villages a voluntary contribution called *Kaval* or *deshakaval*. In subsequent periods in their attempt to escape from the terrors wrought by the interminable conflicts more and more villages sought the protection of the chieftains. Meanwhile the villages

which had already accepted their protection paid enhanced rates in proportion to the increased responsibility undertaken by the poligars. Thus the two-fold process — more villages seeking their protection and the *kaval* villages (*Sirkar* villages now under poligars) paying increased rates — vastly extended the jurisdiction of the poligars powers. Nevertheless, the consent of the inhabitants in enhancing the status of the chieftains served as the motivating force.

The chieftains employed the other methods also to extend their authority over *sircar* lands. One method was to supersede the local authority. In this case, they subjected, instead of removing, the *Sircar kavalgars* into a complete submission to his will and levied an annual contribution upon them as a badge of their dependence upon them. A second method was to induce the inhabitants of the *Sirkar* villages to settle in the poligars' territory. A third practice was to plough on the *kaval* village lands in the *Sirkar* territory and thereby to encroach from one point to another and add the land to his poligari territory. The poligar also diverted the trade from the *Sirkar* country to his territory for obtaining the benefits it carried. In short, the weakness of the central government and tyranny that marked the administration enabled the poligars to take over its rights with the consent or otherwise of the rulers and the village officials. The evolution of the poligari system represented the culmination of an interplay of local and national developments over several decades. When the *Nayaks* disappeared the new rulers made repeated efforts either to curb or to liquidate the system, but failed. The changed conditions changed the character of the poligars. From a class of public servants they transformed themselves into a domestic militia, compensated for their services and paid by the rulers and the villagers. They received more of resources, converted their detached villages into military posts, strengthened their armed establishments and gradually rendered themselves independent.

NOTES AND REFERENCES :

1. Burton Stein, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India* (New Delhi, 1980), p.51; K. Rajayyan, *Rise and Fall of the Poligars of Tamilnadu* (Madras, 1974), p.113.
2. Burton Stein, *op.cit.*, p.381.
3. K. Rajayyan, *op.cit.*, p.2.
4. B. A. Saletore, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire (A.D.1346-A.D.1646)* (Madras, 1934), vol.I, pp.351-56, R. Sathyanatha Aiyer, *History of the Nayaks of Madura* (The Madras University Historical series, No.2, ed. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Madras, 1924, p.58; Sundararaja Iyyengar, *Land Tenures in Madras Presidency* (Madras, 1916, Student edition, 1933), p.113.
5. J. H. Nelson, *Madras Country : A Manual compiled by order of the Madras Government* - in 5 parts, (Madras, 1868), part III, p.98, Saletore, *op.cit.*, vol.I, pp.330-31.
6. K. Rajayyan, *op.cit.*, p.4, Saletore, *op.cit.*, vol.I, pp.330-31, J. H. Nelson, *op.cit.*, part III, p.98.
7. A. Krishnaswami Pillai, *The Tamil Country under Vijayanagar*, Annamalai Historical Series, No.20 (Annamalainagar, Annamalai University, 1964), pp.193-94.
8. Saletore, *op.cit.*, vol.1, p.351.
9. *Ibid.*, p.356.
10. *Ibid.*, p.351.
11. *Ibid.*, p.355, Sathyanatha Aiyer, *op.cit.*, p.60.
12. *Ibid.*, p.60, Saletore, *op.cit.*, vol.I, p.355.
13. Lewis Rice, *Mysore Gazetteer*, (In 2 Vols.), vol.I (1st ed. 1877-78), p.234, (Rev. ed. Westminster, 1897), p.356.
14. K. Rajayyan, *op.cit.*, p.6.
15. Sathyanatha Aiyer, *op.cit.*, p.58.
16. For an account of the Poligars see William Taylor, *Oriental Historical Manuscripts in the Tamil Language*,

translated with annotations, (in two volumes), (Madras, 1835), vol.I, pp.161-3. *The Fifth Report (edited by Walter Kelly Firminger) of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, dated 28th July 1812 (Calcutta, 1818)*, vol. II, p.88, C. D. Maclean, *Standing Information regarding the Official Administration of the Madras Presidency in each department in Illustration of the yearly Administration Reports (Madras, 1877)*, pp.95-96; Sundararaja Iyyengar, *op.cit.*, p.111; B. H. Baden - Powell, *The Land Systems of British India (Delhi, 1974)*, vol.III, p.19; C. D. Maclean, *Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency in Illustration of the Records of Government and the yearly Administration Reports (Madras, 1885)*, vol.I, pp.166-67.

17. The Chittoor Pollams now form the present Chittoor, Chandragiri and Bangarupalem taluks of the Chittoor District of Andhra Pradesh. Chittoor district was not a homogeneous administrative unit in the past. Its component parts were under the control of various principal dynasties at different periods of time, namely, the Mauryas, Satavahanas, Pallavas, Chalukyas of Badami, Rashtrakutas, Chalukyas of Kalyani, Cholas, Pandyas, Rayas of Vijayanagara, Qutb Shahis, Mughals, Asaf Jahis, Marathas, and Hyder Ali and Tippu of Mysore, besides minor dynasties such as the Renadu Cholas, Banas, Vaidumbas, Nolambas, Western Gangas, Yadava Rayas and Matlis, Mayana Nawabs of Cuddapah and Nawabs of Arcot. The Zamindars of Karvetinagar, Kalahasti (Srikalahasti), Punganur and Kangundi (Kuppam) also ruled over this district. Chittoor was once a part of North Arcot district and was constituted as a separate district on the 1st of April, 1911 with headquarters at Chittoor. It then comprised the taluks of Chittoor, Palamaner and

Chandragiri transferred from North Arcot district, Madanapalli and Vayalpad from Cuddapah district and the Ex.Zamindari areas of Punganur, Kalahasti, Puttur and the old Karvetinagar or Bommaraju estate (Tiruttani). Later, Kangundi taluk of North Arcot district excluding 22 villages was transferred to Palamaner taluk on the 1st of December, 1928. This taluk also gained eight villages which were the enclaves of Mysore (Karnataka) State, under the Provinces and States (Absorption of Enclaves) Order, 1950. The next important change in the jurisdiction of this district took place on the 1st of April, 1960 consequent on the implementation of what is known as Pataskar's award on the Madras and Andhra border dispute, mainly on linguistic basis. According to this several changes were made. As per the census of 1961, the district consists of eleven taluks including the two independent sub-taluks of Kuppam and Bangarupalem (N. Ramesan, ed., *Chittoor District Gazetteer (Curnool, 1979)*, pp.1-2.

18. *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial series : Madras, Parts I & II, (Calcutta, 1908)*.
19. Arthur F. Cox, *North Arcot District Manual*, new edition revised by Harold A. Stuart, (Madras, 1885), vol.II, pp.336-349, David Cckburn, *the Second Collector of the Northern Division of Arcot to the Commissioners appointed to settle the affairs of Chittoor Pollams dated 6th October, 1804 (written from Pooloor), North Arcot Records, vol.VI, pp.133-151*, This letter is also found in *Revenue consultations*, vol.139, pp.4297-4319.
20. The Boyas of the Telugu districts and Bedars of Canarese districts were the same. They were originally a hunting tribe. In course of time they became the poligari caste in the Chittoor Pollams which formed part of the "Northern Division of Arcot" of the

Carnatic. The different stages of their transition from the nomadic life of the forest tribe to that of a settled community of cultivators were well preserved in the marriage ceremonies of that caste. On the first day of their marriage the bridegroom worships a Jambu (*Calypatranthes caryophyllifolia*) twig by offering milk and ghee and frankincense to it and ties it to the central pillar of the marriage booth. On the morning of the second day the married couple go in procession to an ant-hill outside the village, pour milk and ghee over it and carry home five baskets of soil from it. The bridegroom mixes the earth with water and places a lamp of it at each of the twelve pillars. On the third day, the bridegroom accompanied by some of his relations goes to a plot of ground outside the village taking with him two bullocks, a plough, two yokes and nine kinds of grain. He yokes the bullocks to the plough, turns up a small space of ground and sows the nine kinds of grain. Both Saivites and Vaishnavites were found in the caste and Brahmins were employed as purohits for their ceremonies. The dead were usually burned but burial was also practised. Their funeral ceremonies differed very little from those of ordinary castes, except that the pot of fire was carried to the cremation ground by a Paraiyan. They were said to belong to the left-hand faction, and their marriage and other processions can only pass through the streets which are inhabited by the left-hand castes. The important sub-divisions of this caste were Muttracha or Muttiriyar and Vadamanji (*North Arcot District Manual*, vol.I, pp.217-19).

21. Ekaris or Yakarlur were a class of cultivators and village watchmen found chiefly in the northern taluks of North Arcot (Chittoor) and in the adjoining districts of Cuddapah. It is very doubtful whether the Ekaris and Muttrachas were identical castes as stated by F. Cox in

the first edition of North Arcot District Manual. They were said to be hunters and mercenaries. In Nellore and in Cuddapah they were known to some as Boyas and Kiratas. They were classed as the forest tribe. It is clear however that they enjoyed some authority and that is why several of them rose to the position of poligars. The Poligars of Kallur, Tumba, Pulicherla, Bangari and Gudipati belonged to this caste and many of its members were village policemen. They did not wear the sacred thread, but employed Brahmins as their priests. Their ceremonies differed very little from those of Kapus. They were meat-eaters and their titles were Naid and Dora. Little is known of the caste history as the people were very ignorant. But some assert that they were formerly Hindu cotton cleaners and that their name was derived from the verb 'Yekuta', to clean cotton. They called themselves Naid or in Tamil taluks Nayakkan (*Ibid.*, pp.217-18).

22. Muttrachas were a Telugu sub-caste most numerous found in the Chandragiri taluk. They were also found all over the district in the person of the village *talari* caste. Even at a later date they proudly called themselves Poligars. In Chandragiri they were called 'Doralu' or lords, because several Chittoor pollams were in possession of members of their caste. They seem to have entered the contry in the time of the Vijayanagar Kings; and to have been appointed as its Kavalgars. The Caste was usually regarded by others as a low one. Most of its members were poor, even when they had left the profession of *talari* and taken to agriculture. They ate in the houses of other castes, and were not trammelled by many restrictions. In Chandragiri they rarely married but from connections with women of their caste, which were often permanent, though not sanctioned by the marriage ceremonies, the offspring of such associations were regarded as legitimate. The

word Mutracha is derived from the Dravidian roots mudi, old, racha, a king (*Ibid.*, p.218).

23.

Ibid., pp.215-218.

24.

The Chittoor district passed under the Rayas of Vijayanagar from Sriranganatha Yadavaraya of Yadavarayas, the feudatories of the Cholas who came to power in A.D. 1336 or 1337 and ruled Chandragiri, Tirupati and other surrounding areas for about 20 years (P. Sree Rama Sarma, *Saluva Dynasty of Vijayanagar* (Hyderabad, 1979), pp.88-89, N. Ramesan, *op.cit*; pp.32-37). Harihara I (1336) and Bukka-I (1344-77) ruled over this district. During the reign of Bukka I, Saluva Mangideva, a general of Kampana, son of Bukka I, governed the "Chittoor-Rajya." During the war of succession after Harihara II (1377-1404), Malla Reddi, a cousin of the Reddi ruler Peda Komati Vema, occupied Pulugulanadu, a sub-division of Chandragirisima in 1406 and held it upto A.D. 1413 when he was expelled by Devaraya I (1406-22). During the rule of Devaraya II (1422-46) his subordinate Mallana governed Chandragirirajya and then Saluva Peri Mallayadava. In 1463 during the reign of Mallikarjuna, Hamvira, son of the Gajapati ruler Kapilendra, occupied the fort of Chandragiri but he soon retraced for reasons unknown. During Virupaksha II (1465-85) Saluva Narasimha, son of Saluva Gunda, succeeded to his family estate Chandragiri. It continued to be under Vijayanagar even until Krishnadevaraya whose reign in this district is evidenced by his inscriptions which also mention his 7 visits to Tirumala (Tirupati) temple. At the end of his reign he freed Achyuta from prison at Chandragiri and nominated him as his successor. Due to problems and opposition of Aliya Ramaraja he celebrated his coronation three times - at Tirupati, Kalahasti and Vijayanagar and ruled between 1530-42. In 1543 Sadasiva was crowned and Aliya became his regent.

The opponents of Aliya took possession of Chandragiri. Though he soon suppressed them, he died in 1565 in the battle of Rakshasi-Tangadi. Then Tirumala became Sadasiva's regent, left Vijayanagar and administered from Penukonda. Venkata who was appointed Governor of Tamil region administered from Chandragiri. Tirumala crowned himself in 1570. His successor Sriranga I (1572-85) repaired, when Bijapur Sultan invaded in 1576, to Chandragiri leaving the defence of his capital in the hands of his able general Chennappa. The district continued to be under the Vijayanagar rulers until Sriranga III who went to Tirupati and entrenched himself there in 1643 in order to oppose the Golkonda army. Damerla Venkatapati of Kalahasti, who was hostile to him, encouraged the enemy to attack him. Sriranga, therefore, retreated to Narayanavanam and then to Vellore on the approach of the Golkonda army. But while the Bijapur army marched against Vellore through Bukkapatnam of this district, the Golkonda army under Mir Jumla captured Tirupati, Chandragiri and other places in this district. Sriranga gave up all hopes and therefore fled to Tanjore and then to Mysore. But later in a fight with Bijapur he obliged it to come to terms and cede him Chandragiri with its dependencies. However in 1658 he was defeated by the Qutb Shahis and he ceded Chandragiri to them. He appears to have returned to Penukonda in 1665 and ruled a portion of the Kingdom until 1681. (N. Ramesan, *op.cit*; pp.32-37).

On the other hand, at the peoples' level, we find expansion of Telugu migrants in the 15th and 16th centuries to the northern Tamil regions, of which the Chittoor Pollams also formed part. This is evident from the establishment of two capitals by Vijayanagar rulers in Tondaimandalam at Padividu and Tiruvadi (*ARE*, 1904, p.14). The Telugu speaking warrior caste of

Reddies displaced the Tamil speaking local leaders (ARE, 1904, p.14). It was part of the Reddies movement in the late 15th century from their home in the west of Andhra (ARE, 1960-61, Copper plate No.4 of 1960-1) due to pressure of and conflict with Orissan warriors in the north-east of Andhra. (While Devaraya I (1406-1422) brought the south-eastern part of the Reddi Kingdom, his successor Devaraya II (1422-1446) conquered the entire coastal Andhra and annexed the Reddi Kingdom to his territory. He also conquered the present Rayalaseema region. But during the weak rule of Mallikarjuna and Virupaksha, the ruler of Kalinga, Kapilesvara Gajapati (1435-1470), captured Rajamundri and Kondavidu in 1454 and by 1462 he captured the entire Andhra Country. It is only during the reign of Krishnadevaraya (1509-1529) that the Gajapaties were defeated and all the Andhra territories were recovered (K. Sundaram, *Studies in Economic and Social Conditions of Medieval Andhra (A.D. 1000-1600)* (Machilipatnam, 1968), pp.13-14. Probably during this turbulent period that the Reddies of the north-eastern coastal region of Andhra moved to the west and south-west of Andhra and encouraged by the Vijayanagar rulers established new Telugu colonies in places like the North Arcot district (*Ibid.*)

But during the Cholas i.e. before the Vijayanagar rulers we find the reverse. In the Chola period the Vellalas or Kallars (or Maravars), a militarily capable and clan-organised people (who later became poligars and got labelled by the British as 'Criminal castes' but were recognised and appointed as Zamindars (Ex: Ramnad) and played an important role) moved towards the northern regions of the Chola territory of Tondaimandalam of which Chittoor Pollams also formed part. In course of time the Kallars and Maravars changed to each other tribe. It was Adonai

(or Adondai or Ananda) who conquered Tondaimandalam or the '48000 country' from its pastoral occupants, the Kurumbar, and brought 48000 selected and good families of Vellalas, the warrior peasants (nattar) to settle or colonize the central and northern portions of the Tamil plain of which Chittoor pollams formed part. The northern Tamil plain or Tondaimandalam was also called 'Jayangonda Cholamandalam' or '48000 country' from late tenth to twelfth century A.D. during the Cholas. During the Cholas there were three Zones : The Central Zone of the Chola segmentary state, Cholamandalam: three intermediate Zones of which Tondaimandalam and Pandimandalam were most important, and Naduvilnadu, less important and the peripheral zones of Kongu and Gangavadi. Again each had central, intermediate and peripheral areas. (*Topographical list of the Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, collected till 1915 with notes and references, V. Rangacharya, ed; 3 Vols; Madras, 1919, I M P, Vol.2, p.1245, *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1911, No.159, *Department of Archaeology*, V. Venkata subba Ayyer, *Kalahasti and its Inscriptions*, *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* (Bangalore, 1910, vol.16 (1925-26), p.22, B. Ramaswami Naidu, *Remarks on the Revenue system and landed Tenures of the provinces under the Presidency of Fort St. George*, *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1834), pp.295 ff, Edgar Thurston and K. Rangachari, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, 6 vols, (Madras, 1909), vol.7, pp.382-5, M. Arokiaswami, *The Early History of the Vellar Basin with special reference to the Irukkuvels of Kodumbalur* (Madras, 1954), p.36, Burton Stein, *op.cit*; pp.91-98.

25. The word "district" was used in the sense of a group of villages under a Kavalgar or Poligar. This term was

- used even some time after the establishment of British power over the Chittoor Pollams in 1801.
26. The word is written as "ryots" in the original document. It might have been used in the senses of lord or chief since the word ryot was also used in the place of village dora (Village lord) or dora (head) of a place.
 27. In the contemporary inscriptions and literature it is also mentioned as Ghanagiri and Ghanadri. It appears that most of the Vijayanagar rulers got administrative experience at this fort before they became rulers of the Kingdom. This fort also played an important role during several wars of successions among the Vijayanagar rulers. In A.D. 1343 itself Bukkaraya I was ruling over Penugonda, Chandragiri and Gutti rayyas as an agent of his brother and ruler of Vijayanagar, Harihara-I.
 28. *George Stratton (the first Collector of the Northern Division of Arcot) Report to the Board of Revenue, Fort. St. George, dated 15th November 1802 (written from Chittoor), in Revenue Consultations, vol.139, pp.4321-37.* This report is also found in *Stratton Reports, North Arcot Records, vol.25, pp.7-17.*
 29. A. Vadivelu, *Ruling Chiefs, Nobles and Zamindars of India* (Madras, 1915), pp.642-645.
 30. Stratton to Board of Revenue dated 15 November 1802, *op.cit.*
 31. *Ibid.*
 32. The term "Bilmuktha", adopted in various dialects as per H. W. Wilson's Glossary of "Judicial and Revenue terms of British India", means "according to agreement stipulated fixed consolidated." This peculiar tenure was found in the taluks of North Arcot, of which Chittoor Pollams formed part and Chengalput district only. (*History of Land Revenue Settlement and Abolition of Intermediary Tenures in Tamil Nadu*, Published by the Government of Tamil Nadu, (Madras, 1977), p.313.

33. George Stratton to Board of Revenue, 15th November, 1802, *op.cit.*
34. *Ibid.*
35. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and N. Venkataramanayya, *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History* (Madras University Historical Series No.18), (Madras: University of Madras, 1946), vol.3, p.299.
36. K. Rajayyan, *op.cit*; p.7.
37. George Stratton to Board of Revenue, 15th November, 1802, *op.cit.*
38. *Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, dated 16th November, 1815, in Reports of Ross, in North Arcot Records, vol.29, p.263, para.81.*
39. George Stratton to Board of Revenue, 15th November, 1802, *op.cit.*
40. *Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, 16th November, 1815, Ross Reports, North Arcot Records, 9.262, para.81.*
41. N. Ramesan, *op.cit*; p.44.
42. K. Rajayyan, *op.cit*; p.11.
43. *Minute of the Commandar-in-Chief, For St. George, dated 9th October 1804, at Consultation dated 9th October, 1804, Secret Consultations, vol.16, p.310.*
44. *Ibid.*
45. K. Rajayyan, *op.cit*; p.13.
46. George Stratton to Board of Revenue, 15th November 1802, *op.cit.*
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Ibid.*
49. *Ibid*; North Arcot District Manual, *op.cit*; vol.I, p.99.
50. George Stratton to Board of Revenue, 15th November 1802, *op.cit.*
51. *Ibid.*
52. K. Rajayyan, *op.cit*; p.13.
53. Ananda Ranga Pillai, *Diary (Trans.)*, vol.I, p.243.
54. *Military Consultations, dated 29th July, 1769, vol.23, pp.715-16.*

55. George Stratton to Board of Revenue, 15th November 1802, *op.cit*; North Arcot District Manual, *op.cit*; vol.I, p.100, N. Ramesan, *op.cit*; p.44.
56. George Stratton to Board of Revenue, 15th November, 1802, *op.cit*.
57. *Ananda Ranga Pillai Diary (trans)*, vol.5, p.177.
58. North Arcot District Manual, *op.cit*; vol.II, p.279.
59. *Ibid.*, p.279. S. Srinivasa Raghavaiahengar, *Memorandum on the progress of the Madras Presidency during the last Forty years of British administration* (Madras, 1883), p.XXXVIII.
60. George Stratton to Board of Revenue, 15th November, 1802, *op.cit*.
61. *Ibid*; North Arcot District Manual, *op.cit*; vol.I, p.100.
62. George Stratton to Board of Revenue, 15th November, 1802, *op.cit*.
63. *Ibid.*
64. *Ibid.*
65. *Ibid.*
66. *Ibid.*
67. *Ibid.*
68. *David Cockburn's Report to the Commissioners appointed to settle the affairs of Chittoor Pollams, 6th October 1804 (written from Pooloor), Revenue Consultations*, vol.139, pp.4297-4320. This report is also found in *North Arcot Records*, vol.6, pp.133-151 and *Tamil Nadu Archives printed original sources*, vol.ASO(D) 25, pp.1-5, *Nawab Wallaja to the Governor in Council, Fort. St. George, 28th February 1793, in Foreign Political proceedings, March, 1793.*
69. *David Cockburn's Report to the Commissioners*, 6th October 1804, *op.cit*.
70. *Bomrauze Poligar to Nawab Wallajah, in answer to the letter dated 21st February, 1793, in Political Proceedings of 1793.*
71. *Foreign Political Proceedings of 1793.*

72. *Ibid.*
73. *Ibid.*
74. *Ibid.*
75. *Fort William - India House Correspondence, 1792-1795.*
76. *Despatch, dated 5th June 1799, Political Despatches from England*, vol.2, p.255, para.43.
77. *Ibid.*, p.228, para.4.
78. *David Cockburn Report to the Commissioners*, October 6, 1804, *op.cit*.
79. Romesh Dutt, *The Economic History of India* (second edition, New Delhi, 1970), vol.I, p.87.
80. In their despatches dated 10th June 1795 and the 5th of June 1799 the Court of Directors issued instructions to their representatives in India that "all subordinate military establishments should be annihilated within the limits now subject to our domination." They also directed the revision of the assessments more proportionate to the resources of the pollams and more adequate to the public demand for defraying the expenses (*Court of Directors, instructions, Revenue Consultations, dtd.13th Aug, 1802*, vol.118, p.2690). These military and financial measures implied the annihilation of the fundamental character of the poligari system.
81. Romesh Dutt; *op.cit*; vol.I, p.88.
82. *Ibid.*
83. C. D. Maclean, *Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency in illustration of Records of Government the yearly Administraiports* (Madras, 1885), vol.I, p.96.
84. *Ibid.*
85. V. Yasodadevi, *British expansion: Internal Resistance in Andhradesa (1750-1850)*, paper read at the Seminar on Modern History, Madurai, 1971.
86. C. D. Maclean, *op.cit*; vol.I, p.96.
87. Ramesh Dutt, *op.cit*; vol.I, p.89, C.D.Maclean, vol.I, *op.cit*; p.55.

PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION : A STUDY OF GRANT MEDICAL COLLEGE 1845-1858.

Mridula Ramanna

THE Western System of medical education was established in Bombay City not only in response to the British Government's requirement of subordinate professional assistants in the medical service but also because Indians felt the necessity to study this system. It was the large donations of Jamsetji Jejeebhoy that established the Jamsetji Jejeebhoy Hospital and Grant Medical College. Other Indians too made contributions towards the growth of the institutions while the number of students grew steadily. An attempt is made here to review the first decade of medical instruction in the city, with reference to the social composition of the student body, the curricula they pursued and their later medical careers.

Early Efforts to provide medical training :

Mountsuar Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, in his Minute on Education, which so influenced British education¹ policy in Bombay in the first half of the nineteenth century, had advocated the spread of medical knowledge. As an incentive for the study of Anatomy, Medicine and Chemistry by Indians, he recommended payment of Rs.200 - Rs.250 hoping that "they would serve as a superior class of native medical assistants."¹ Subsequently, the Medical Board established an institution, in 1825, like the School at Calcutta, called the "School for Native Doctors" to train such assistants. Dr. Mc Lennan was appointed Superintendent, assisted by three *Munshis* to help him in the translation of medical works. Thus the London Pharmacopoeia was translated into Marathi and the Materia Medica into Hindustani. For practical study a skeleton, other anatomical preparations and a small set of chemical apparatus were procured.² On the Medical

Schrader

Tyre Valves and Accessories
Schrader Garage and Service
Equipment and Schrader
Bellows Pneumatic Products.



Schrader-Scovill Duncan Limited

Mulund, Bombay 400 080.

☎ 561-3451.

Telex 0118-2597.

Board's recommendation, Dr. Mc Lennan was appointed Surgeon at the Native General Hospital and his students received their practical training there.³ By 1829 students had made some progress so as to be posted as apprentices to European Corps and Indian regiments. None of these, however, were considered to be adequately trained in the absence of translations of medical works.⁴ Governor John Malcolm suggested changes in the School's function so that only assistants to vaccinators, who might also be attached to Collector's establishments and jails, were trained at the School. The Indian 'medical person' would be furnished with translated works and allowed to practice, to compensate him for the small pay from Government. It was hoped that such trained personnel would soon gain superiority over the 'ignorant practitioners' and acquire 'professional popularity'. The school underwent modifications as is indicated in Malcolm's Minute.⁵ It was however closed in the early 1830s.⁶

Indian interest in spreading Western medicine was soon apparent. In 1830, the Medical Board referred to the repeated proposals by the "more respectable native inhabitants" to support a dispensary for the poor.⁷ The Bombay Native Dispensary opened in 1834. Located in one of the "poorest and most densely populated districts", the Dispensary did "more in its time to relieve sickness and alleviate sufferings than other establishments."⁸ There were a few other private dispensaries providing medical aid to Indians.⁹ The necessity for Indians to study medicine was pointed out by the contemporary paper, *The Bombay Durpun*, edited by Bal Shastri Jambhekar. The paper observed that few Indians could afford to pay the fees of English doctors and hence turned to *Hakims* and *Vaids* in whom they had "very little confidence". If Indians, trained in the Western System, could secure a livelihood, it was hoped that they would charge much less than Europeans, who received an "expensive education" and had "expensive habits."¹⁰

The J. J. Hospital and Grant Medical College :

At the initiative of Robert Grant, Governor of Bombay, the Bombay Medical and Physical Society was established to encourage a spirit of scientific enquiry. On the basis of the reports prepared by the Society on the condition of Indian medical practice, Grant drew up a scheme for the establishment of a medical college, with the Native General Hospital providing practical experience. But it was with the munificent donation of one lakh of rupees by Jamsetji Jejeebhoy that medical education was truly established. He specified that the sum be paid to the Government Treasury, provided Government paid an equal sum and granted interest of 6% to maintain a Hospital "for the relief of the sick native poor of all denominations."¹¹ The Court of Directors acceded to the wishes of Jejeebhoy that the two institutions be connected.¹² The Hospital accommodating 300 patients was to be named after Jejeebhoy, and located in close proximity to the Medical College, to be named after Grant. Both the institutions were opened in 1845, the Hospital taking over the patients of the Native General Hospital and the Native Dispensary.¹³

The Staff of the College were all Europeans. Principal Morehead taught Institutes and Practice of Medicine, John Peet Anatomy and Surgery and Herbert Giraud Chemistry and Materia Medica, R.D. Peele was later appointed Professor of Midwifery and W.C. Coles of Medical Jurisprudence. In the late 1850s, except for Giraud, the staff had changed - R. Haines and G.M.C. Birdwood taught Materia Medica, N. Campbell was Professor of Medical Jurisprudence, H.S. Carter of Ophthalmic Surgery, G.C. Mead of Midwifery and T.M. Lownds of Anatomy and Physiology. The Staff had to work at the Hospital as well on salaries lower than their counterparts in the Bengal and Madras Medical Colleges.¹⁴

The social composition of the students of Grant Medical College shows the dominance of the Parsis. Among the Hindus, Brahmins, Shenvis and Pulsias¹⁵ were far greater in number than the Prabhus, who figure so prominently in the statistics of the arts and science courses at the contemporary collegiate level institution, the Elphinstone College. The other Hindu students were Kayasths, Khattris, the commercial and trading castes viz., Vantias and Vaishyas, and the artisan castes viz., *Sonars* (goldsmiths), *Sutars* (carpenters), and *Kansaras* (coppersmiths). It was considered a 'sign of the times' that the 'gentle Hindu' and 'scrupulous Parses' united with the 'bold' European in opening up and examining all the 'awful mysteries of the human frame'.¹⁶ In 1854-5, three 'vegetarian' Brahmins joined the College.¹⁷ Christian students constituted ten percent of the total strength, Muslims appearing only after 1855. Most of the students were apparently from marginal economic background, stipends being a major incentive. Medical students were fewer than those in general literature and science, and this was due both to the reservations regarding medical studies and the preference for jobs as writers, clerks and accountants in the growing metropolis. It was found impossible to retain and fill the average number of fifty seats, while the boom of the 1860s led to a fall in numbers.¹⁸

The students entered the College between the ages of 17 and 20. Most of them had schooled locally.¹⁹ There were a few from Surat, Broach, Pune, Ratnagiri and Goa.²⁰

The College also provided instruction, through a shorter curriculum, to subordinate medical personnel of the public services viz., Student Apprentices and Warrant Medical Officers attached to the Revenue Commissioner's Office. The majority were either European or Anglo Indian, and among Indian students. Christians dominated.²¹ On passing the examination, Student Apprentices qualified for the post of

Assistant Apothecaries and Warrant Medical Officers, who included Hospital Stewards qualified as Apothecaries.

The syllabi were modelled on courses taught at medical schools in England. Medical Studies commenced with Anatomy and Chemistry in the first year; Institutes of Medicine, including Physiology, Pathology, Therapeutics and Materia Medica, which included Pharmacy and Elements of Botany in the second year; and Clinical Medicine and Clinical Surgery in the third year. The students served as clinical clerks and surgical dressers in the J. J. Hospital.²² Obstetrics and Medical Jurisprudence were added to the curriculum.

To 'illustrate' the Anatomy Course, a Museum was set up, under the charge of a Curator. By the second year there were 200-300 preparations including specimens in Human and Comparative Osteology, wax models, plates, etc.²³ For the study of Materia Medica, specimens of drugs and pharmaceutical preparations were procured including articles used in Indian medicine. Instruments and apparatus for the Chemistry Laboratory and secondhand medical works for the library were purchased in England.²⁴ Connected with the Hospital were the 'Male and Females Out patients Dispensaries', the Eye Dispensary, which provided practical training in the study of Ophthalmic Surgery and the Obstetrics Institution, which gave experience in Clinical Midwifery. The symptoms of mental disorders were studied at the Mental Asylum, Colaba.²⁵

The extent of Indian involvement in the growth of the College is apparent. Jamsetji Jejeebhoy, Jagannath Shankar Shet, Framji Cowasji, Vinayak Gangadhar Shastri and Ali Khan Roghay headed the list of those who contributed towards scholarships and prizes. Most of them had been closely associated with the development of Western education,

and this support reflects their conviction of the efficacy of Western medical education.²⁶

The students were granted a diploma or license to practice medicine, with the designation of 'Graduates of the Grant Medical College', after a lengthy examination.²⁷ The first group of eight students graduated in 1851. They were, in order of merit :- Sebastian Carvalho, Anant Chandroba, J.C. Lisboa, Bhau Daji, Atmaram Pandurang, Paul F. Gomes, Merwanji Sorabji and Burjorji Dorabji. In his report on the examination, Mc Lennan, Government Examiner, admitted that, while he had entertained no doubt of the students' capacity to acquire the preliminary necessary information, he had doubted their 'reasoning powers'; but their performance had "proved their fitness to as great a degree" as their European counterparts.²⁸ The College was subsequently recognised by the Royal College of Surgeons.²⁹

In the late 1850s, there appears to have been a controversy over declining standards of the students and the smaller numbers who opted for medical studies. Principal Morehead attributed this to 'defective preparatory education',³⁰ while the Director of Public Instruction, E.I. Howard, suggested that a better grounding in the English language would increase the number of students.³¹ The *Rast Goftar* more correctly ascribed this situation to the discontinuance of stipends to poor students, the easier entrance examinations and the lack of attractive opportunities for the employment of the medical graduates.³²

Though British authorities claimed that medical education was being imparted not with reference to 'executive wants', but to provide for India's own need, since medical schools in Europe were filled with doctors, who would "flock to India given the chance", the fact was that the Bombay Government, in contrast to its counterpart in Bengal, had not

made adequate provisions for the employment of these graduates.³³ The majority of the first group of students to obtain diplomas began their careers in Government service as sub-assistant surgeons on Rs.100/- per month.³⁴ But most of them preferred private medical practice, where, on an average, they earned Rs.200-300 per month, while the more successful made Rs.1,000/- per month.³⁵ Consequently, out of 28 graduates who had been in Government employment up to 1857-58, only 11 found it worthwhile to remain.³⁶ The *Rast Goftar* and *Satya Prakash* noted that there was scarcely a single rich Indian family in Bombay that was not glad to employ these graduates, either by annual payment or as occasion required, and maintained that they had nearly "driven out" private European practitioners who were confined to the European sections of the City.³⁷

Of the first batch of graduates, Carvalho and Lisboa were initially attached to the College and Hospital as Sub-Assistant Surgeons. Lisboa officiated as Professor of Botany and Anatomy in Peet's absence.³⁸ Later both took up private practice. Atmaram Pandurang also began his career at J. J. Hospital but soon moved to Bhiwandi, where he was initially discouraged from going, in view of the 'bad climate' and the probably opposition to vaccination there. He was successful here, though his practice was not as lucrative as Bhau Daji's. Atmaram was keen on making his patients accept modern medicine and apparently expected them to follow his medical instructions exactly. In fact, he wanted them to correctly report their responses to his treatment and did not approve of any attempts at self-diagnosis or medication.³⁹ Gomes was appointed in charge of a dispensary at 'Bandora', the government paying him Rs.130/- per month and the Indian community bearing the expenses of the building, the medicines and diet for the patients.⁴⁰ Anant Chandroba served with a Bheel corps at Bhopawar (Central India Agency). He was sub-assistant surgeon at Indore and Bhopal

for a couple of years and was subsequently with the Karachi Municipality between 1854-59, where he earned the praise of the then Commissioner, Bartle Frere. He returned to Bombay as Vaccination Superintendent.⁴¹

Bhau Daji also began his career in Government service but soon set up on his own, where he enjoyed "an amount of practice which notwithstanding the novelty of regular professional men, among the natives, and their aversion to pay for anything intellectual, a medical man of his age in England would be proud of."⁴² Assisted by his brother, Narayan Daji, Bhau Daji provided free medical attention at the Nagdevi Charitable Dispensary. Between 1853 and 1861 they treated more than 81,000 patients, some of whom came from Sind, Kutch, Khatiawar, Khandesh, Nasik and Hyderabad in the Deccan. It was claimed that the operations which included lithotomy, cataract and obstetrical operations, performed at this Dispensary, alone, exceeded all the operations of European private practitioners during the period of its existence.⁴³ After several years of research with herbs, Bhau Daji put forward the claim that he could cure leprosy. While there were those who described its effectiveness in newspapers, critics doubted its efficacy. In fact, Bhau Daji's request for 12 beds in the 'incurables' ward at J. J. Hospitals to be placed under his treatment for leprosy was turned down by the authorities, who demanded that the remedy be divulged. Bhau Daji was apparently reluctant to do so till it was tested. He showed fellow members of the Asiatic Society photographs of patients in different stages of cure, but his death prevented the completion of this work.⁴⁴

Among the first graduates were also Burjorji Dorabji, who gave up medicine for a while to conduct an import export enterprise in England and later resumed his practice in the Fort area, and Merwanji Sorabji, who like Bhau Daji, resigned from Government service after a short stint and set

up on his own, also in the Fort area.⁴⁵ The former attended the Fort Charitable Dispensary with Ardeshir Jamsetji who graduated the following year⁴⁶ (in 1852).

The doctors who passed out of Grant Medical College had a wide field for their professional practice - the cities of Ahmedabad, Baroda, Surat and Poona.⁴⁷ There is reference to a Parsi graduate who established himself in the Deccan. Sadashiv Hemraj was so popular with the Rao of Kutch that he was induced to resign Government service and take up employment with the ruler. The Dispensary at Bhuj, 'formerly just a name', 'literally swarmed' with patients as soon as the 'Kala Doctor Saheb' took charge of it. The cure of three of the powerful *Maharajas*, religious leaders in the Gujarati speaking community, won over their numerous following.⁴⁸ The hope that the Grant Medical College would train medical advisers, who would combine the knowledge of Western medicine with sympathy for Indian habits of thought and feeling, seems to have been realised.⁴⁹ The *Rast Gofar* and *Satya Prakash* maintained that they won 'golden opinions' everywhere.⁵⁰ Rustomji Byramji, who went to England, was awarded the diploma of the Royal College of Surgeons, London, the degree of Doctor of Medicine from the University of St. Andrews and successfully competed for the appointment of Assistant Surgeon in the Indian service.⁵¹

The Grant College Medical Society was established in 1851-2 with the Professors and graduates of the College as members. Monthly meetings were held, where papers were read. At the outset, Professor Peet suggested that the foundations of a vernacular medical literature should be laid and studies conducted on the habits and customs, dress, cleanliness and habits of temperance, with reference to sexes, ages, 'Castes and Classes' for a better understanding of diseases among Indians.⁵² Paul Gomes read a paper entitled 'General Sketch of the Medical Topography of the Island of

Salsette', discussing the soil and physical features of the island and the diseases they lead to. Bhau Daji presented his findings on the 'Diet of Western India', Ananta Chandroba sent a topographical account of Bhopawar, and Rustomji Merwanji described the 'medical topography' of Panvel. These doctors also discussed their cases; Bhau Daji his treatment of arsenic poisoning with lime water and milk, effervescing draughts and 'the application of leeches and blisters to epigastrium', Ardeshir Jamsetji reported on a Parsi diabetes patient, Dosabhai Bazunji on an abortion, Balkrishna Chintoba contended that quinine was the best antidote to intermittent fevers, and Moreswar Janardhan made his observations on cases of measles. While Indian remedies such as those used in the treatment of snake bites were reviewed, caution was expressed about methods, based on superstition.⁵³

All the members of the Society, practising in Bombay, offered their free services to spread the concept of vaccination. They established a vaccination committee which published a report on the prevalence of small pox between 1848 and 1852. 4038 deaths from the disease were reported, 3203 being children. Vaccination of every child within three months of birth was recommended, with a proper explanation that vaccination was not dangerous. Vaccinations were performed at Colaba, Nagdevi, Fort, Bhuleswar, Kalbadevi, Matharpacady, Cavel, Chanduwadi, Khand Bazaar, Mazgaon, Mahim and Bandra.⁵⁴

The Society was also in communication with such activities elsewhere. They heard of treatment of ovarian tumours in Kumbakonam and reports on cases of cholera in other parts of India.⁵⁵

Medical education was thus established and Grant Medical College was affiliated to the University of Bombay in

1860. The institution had modelled on the syllabi of medical schools in Europe and the diplomas granted received recognitions, yet medical graduates found that they qualified for positions in Government no higher than Sub-Assistant Surgeon and hence preferred private practice. Even towards the end of the century, Dadabhai Naoroji pointed out that the maximum salary they could draw was Rs.350/- per month, while Hospital Apprentices and Warrant Medical Officers, for whom admission requirements and the qualifying examination were less exacting, could be promoted till they reached the grade of Honorary Assistant Surgeon on Rs.700/- per month.⁵⁶ But there was such a demand for their services that in this first decade the doctors did well in private practice. European doctors, who would have preferred a monopoly over Western medicine, pointed out that ex-students who had failed in the final examination and subordinate Government servants like Apothecaries, Assistant Apothecaries and Stewards practiced in Bombay, but as the *Rast Goftar* and *Satya Prakash* commented, the poor could only afford the 'kala doctor'.⁵⁷

Since medical instruction was free and many of the students came from marginal economic backgrounds, material prosperity and social status must have resulted from this new profession.⁵⁸ It is significant that these graduates were able to bring about wider acceptance of Western medicine. Thus as members of the Students Literary and Scientific Society, they disseminated information on medical subjects to fellow members. They were also closely involved with the other activities of the Society viz., the promotion of vernacular education among boys and girls and creating an awareness of the need for social reform. The role that Bhau Daji played in 'Young Bombay' and the close association of Atmaram Pandurang with the Paramahansa Sabha, spearheaded by his brother, Dadoba Pandurang, and his later presidentship of the Prarthana Samaj are very well known. Thus, too, was Paul

Francis Gomes, the first President of the Bombay East Indian Association. Anant Chanroba was associated with his elder brother, Madhav Chandroba's efforts to publish old Marathi poetry in *Sarva Sangraha*, and Lisboa did important work on the Flora of Bombay. They were not merely 'professional' men, but were aware of their responsibilities and rights as members of a changing society and cultivated interests in addition to pursuing their medical practice.

NOTES AND REFERENCES :

1. *Appendix to the Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company* (hereinafter ARHC) London : 1832, *Minute by Mountstuart Elphinstone*, 13 December, 1823, pp.370-71.
2. *Ibid.*, pp.312-3. Dr. Mc Lennan's reports for 1827 & 1828 quoted by Thomas Fisher, Searcher of the Records, East India House in his Memoir, 23 February 1832.
3. *Ibid.*, p.314. The Native General Hospital, established around 1809, was supported by the Government and treated the destitutes sent in by the police. *Gazetteer of Bombay City & Island*, (Bombay 1910), vol. III, p.184.
4. ARHC Malcolm's *Minute*, 10 October, 1829, p.403.
5. *Ibid.*, p.413, 30 November, 1830.
6. *Appendix to Education Commission Report, Bombay, vol.I, Report of the Bombay Provincial Committee* (Calcutta 1884), p.11.
7. ARHC, p.314.
8. *Bombay Times*, 26 February, 1845.
9. *City Gazetteer*, vol. III, p.184.
10. *Memoirs and Writings of Acarya Bal Gangadhar Shastri Jambhekar* (1812-1846) (ed.) G.G. Jambhekar (Poona, 1950), vol.II, p.119.
11. *Report of the Board of Education, Bombay* (hereinafter RBE) 1847-48, *Grant Medical College Reports* (hereinafter RGMC) 1845-48, pp.1-5.
12. 44,800/- was collected through public donations while the Court of Directors granted Rs.45,106 for the establishment of the College. RBE, 1847-48, RGMC, 1845-48, p.4. The income derived from this fund and the Government's contribution was to be disbursed thus :- Rs.2,000 p.m. for the Medical College and Rs.1,000 p.m. for the maintenance of the Hospital, *Home Public Proceedings*, 6 November 1840, No.13.
13. The Hospital was built at a cost of Rs.1,35,706 with Jamsetji Jejeebhoy donating Rs.50,000 and the remainder paid by Government. The cost of the ground and other expenditure were borne by Government, Jejeebhoy contributing a further sum of Rs.8,531 for the clock-tower and other expenses *Ibid.*, pp.5-6. Designed by Maj. Goodfellow of the Bombay Engineers, the building was regarded second only to the Town Hall with regard to the "imposing aspect it presents". *Monthly Miscellany of Western India* (Bombay, 1850), p.319.
14. *General Department Volumes*, Government of Maharashtra Archives (hereinafter GD, Vol.) 28 of 1850, p.271.
15. The *Pulsias* are perhaps the *palashes*, referred to as priests, physicians, astrologers and beggars. *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency* (Reprinted : Pune, 1984), vol.XIII, part I, p.81. It is perhaps of them it was noted that the profession of medicine was hereditary in their families, who were "practitioners according to the Hindoo System," RBE, 1850-51, RGMC, 1849-50, p.24.
16. *Oriental Christian Spectator*, 1847, p.171
17. They were Bhikaji Amrat and Vaman Vasudev from Pune and Hari Vishnu from Bombay. A.K. Priolkar, Dr. Bhau Daji (Bombay, 1971), p.35.

18. *Report of the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay* (hereinafter *RDPI*) 1857-58, p.70.
19. The majority were from the Elphinstone Institution while the others were from the General Assembly Institution, Boswell's School and the Jamsetji Jejeebhoy Parsee Benevolent Institution.
20. *RBE*, 1850-55, *RGMC*, 1850-55, *RDPI*, 1856-9.
21. In 1851-52, one of the Indians was Shripat Sheshadri, who had been a cause celebre earlier when he was sheltered at the Scottish Mission. Subsequently, he was readmitted into Hinduism, due to the efforts of reformers led by Bal Shastri Jambhekar. Interestingly, Jambhekar himself had to perform *prayaschita* to recover his footing in society. *Memoirs and Writings of Bal Shastri Jambhekar*, vol.II, pp.545-72.
22. The Professor of Surgery was impressed by their dexterity and capability. *RBE*, 1850-51, *RGMC*, 1849-50, p.5.
23. Preparations by students included minute dissections of arteries and nerves by Narayan Daji and of various problems of the heart by Atmaram Pandurang which were presented to the Museum. Bhau Daji, Burjorji Dorabji and Sebastian Carvalho also assisted in the preparation of anatomical demonstrations.
24. *RBE*, 1847-48, *RGMC*, 1845-48, pp.13, 28, *GD*, vol.32 of 1848, p.43.
25. *Bombay Telegraph & Courier*, 22 June 1853.
26. The Farish Scholarship had funds amounting to Rs.8,360, the Carnac and Anderson scholarships sums of Rs.10,000 and 10,997 while for the Reid Scholarship, instituted in 1849, a subscription of Rs.8,000 was collected. *GD*, vol.27 of 1845, p.11; *RBE*, 1849, *RGMC*, 1848-49, p.17. The Farish Scholarship of Rs.20 p.m. was awarded to the best student in Chemistry and Anatomy, the Carnac & Anderson of Rs.30 and Rs.20 p.m., respectively to students proficient in Chemistry

- and Anatomy. For a detailed analysis of Indian support, see Mridula Ramanna, "Indian Financial Support of Western Education : Bombay City 1824-1856," *India Past and Present*, vol.IV, 1987, no.1, pp.105-122.
27. The method of "searching practical testing" was also adopted by the examining board of London University. *RBE*, 1852-53, *RGMC*, 1852-53, p. cxvi.
28. *RBE*, 1850-51, *RGMC*, 1850-51, p.201. Morehead, who had been afraid that Indian interest in professional studies was temporary, observed that those who had questioned the aptitudes of Indian youth had been proved wrong by the medical graduates, whose accomplishments were of a high order. *RBE*, 1850-51, *RGMC*, 1850-51, App. A., p.208.
29. *GD*, vol. 41 of 1855, p.203. The Bombay College was rated superior to its counterparts in Bengal and Madras in its arrangements, and in the quality of both staff and students. *The Lancet*, January 1855 in Srinivas Narayan Karnataki, *Dr. Bhau Daji Lad Yanche Charitra* (Bombay, 1931), p.10.
30. *RDPI*, 1856-57, *RGMC*, 1856-57, p.iii.
31. *GD*, vol.31 of 1857, p.240. Out of 4 students, none passed in 1857-58, *RDPI*, 1857-58, *RGMC*, 1857-58, p.89.
32. Quoted in *Bombay Times*, 11 June, 1858.
33. *RBE*, 1850-51, *RGMC*, 1850-51, p.220; *GD*, vol.28 of 1850, 261. Consequently the number of students in Bombay were fewer. In 1849, while the Grant Medical College had 22 students, the Bengal and Madras Medical Colleges had 185 and 103 students respectively. *GD*, vol.22 of 1849, p.46.
34. They were eligible for promotion to the II Class after 7 years, when they would receive Rs.150 per month and to the I Class after another 7 years, when they would receive Rs.200 per month. *RBE*, 1851-52, *RGMC*, 1851-52, p.cxxiii.

35. RBE, 1853-54, GMC Report, 1853-54, p.viii. *Bombay Telegraph and Courier*, 21 September, 1852.
36. RDPI, 1857-58, RGMC, 1857-58, p.8. *Bombay Times*, 22 April, 1858. The Bengal Government had a similar experience. Out of 74 graduates of the Bengal College between 1852-59, only 43 remained in Government service by 1859. *Home Public Proceedings*, 7 October 1859, Nos.26/28.
37. *Rast Goftar and Satya Prakash*, 13 October, 1861.
38. RBE, 1851-52, RGMC, 1851-52, p.iii. Lisboa received his early education in Latin and learnt English at Goa before joining Grant Medical College.
39. D.V. Vaid, *Prarthana Samajacha Itihas* (Bombay, 1927), p.8 of section entitled *Charitratmak Lekh*.
40. *Bombay Telegraph and Courier*, 21 September, 1852.
41. *Ibid.*, Priolkar, *op.cit.*, p.455.
42. *The Lancet*, 6 January, 1855. Quoted by Karnataki, Bhau Daji. That Pheroza Mehta was treated by Bhau Daji is well known.
43. *Rast Goftar and Satya Prakash*, 13 October, 1861.
44. Priolkar, *op.cit.*, pp.353-388.
45. H.D. Darukhanawala, *Parsi Lustre on Indian Soil* (Bombay, 1939), pp.225, 240.
46. *Rast Goftar and Satya Prakash*, 13 October 1861.
47. RDPI, 1857-58, RGMC, 1857-58, p.8.
48. *Rast Goftar and Satya Prakash*, 13 October 1861.
49. *Bombay Telegraph and Courier*, 17 March 1851. However, critics like *The Oriental News* labelled these medical graduates "quacks", claiming to be "first rate" physicians on the "strength" of their diplomas; and skeptics like Howard felt that they had yet to gain their countryman's confidence. *The Oriental News*, 18 May, 1856. *Rast Goftar and Satya Prakash*, 13 October, 1861.
50. *Ibid.*
51. RDPI, 1856-57, RGMC, 1856-57, p.vi.
52. RBE, 1851-52, RGMC, 1851, p.cix

53. *Reports of the Grant College Medical Society*, 1851-58 in RGMC, (relevant years).
54. RBE, 1853-54, RGMC, 1853-54, p.xciv.
55. RDPI, 1857-58; RGMC, 1857-58, pp.86-82.
56. Dadabhai Naoroji, *Poverty and Un British Rule in India* (London, 1901), pp.102-4.
57. *Rast Goftar and Satya Prakash*, 2 November 1862.
58. Some of them were however affected by the "Crash" in the 1860s, owing to "rash speculations", Priolkar, *op.cit.*, p.316.

WITH BEST COMPLIMENTS FROM

AAMCOL TOOLS LIMITED

✦ REGISTERED & HEAD OFFICE ✦

BOAT HARD ROAD, COAL BUNDER, BOMBAY 400 010.
Tel. Nos. 872 4855 - 872 1969 Grams : GEARHOBS, BOMBAY 400 010.

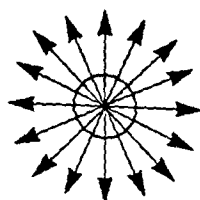
✦ WORKS ✦

L-3, MIDC INDUSTRIAL AREA, P.O. CHIKALTHANA 431 210.
AURANGABAD DECCAN.
Tel. Nos. 82201 - 82202
Grams : GEARHOBS, AURANGABAD DN. Telex : 0745-286 HOBS-IN

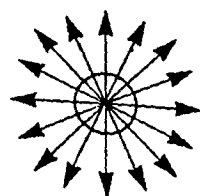
✦ MANUFACTURERS OF ✦

"AAMCOL" GEAR HOBGING CUTTERS
"AAMCOL" FORM CUTTERS & TOOLS

**WITH BEST
COMPLIMENTS FROM**



**PRASHANT
PRINTERS**
COMMERCIAL PRINTERS



*1st Fofalwadi, Kalbadevi Road,
Opp. Cotton Exchange,
BOMBAY-400 002.
Phone : 38 74 78 • 35 93 27*

BOOK REVIEWS

**A MISCELLANY ON THE RAJ, HISTORICAL AND
OTHER PIECES, By L. M. Bhatia, New Delhi, 1989**
Reliance Publishing House, 147PP Rs.120/-

Vijaya Gupchup

In publishing the work, under review, the author, who retired from the Indian Administrative Service, is an experienced free-lance journalist and well-recognised public personality and has a purpose in writing the book. The object is to acquaint the young readers with the historical panorama of the earliest British connection with India and its metamorphosis resulting in an Independent India.

It is a well-arranged system of work, its eutechnics exuding a sense of history. The first article speaks of the diplomatic efforts of Sir Thomas Roe, the first English ambassador to the Court of the Moghul Emperor Jahangir. Bhatia tacitly underplays the importance of the ambassador's presence at the Moghul Court from September 19, 1615 to 1618. The Moghuls maintained their hegemony and allowed the English to trade and maintain residences in India, as a counterpoise to the Portuguese.

The second article relating to "Moghul Court Etiquette and Matters of Protocol", paints the glory of the Moghul Court during its hey-day; it traces with a tinge of sadness the Moghul Emperor's gradual loss of prestige during the Governor Generalship of Lord Amherst and Lord Ellenborough.

The third piece is a pen picture of Tipu Sultan (born in 1753) and his rule of 17 years and 4 months. It makes him out as an audacious fanatic in contrast to his sagacious father,

Haider. Bhatia is critical of 'neo-historians' who tend to gloss over the excesses of Tipu's rule. His later acts, the author believes, were an after-thought to placate the people and pacify his political rivals. Far from being an 'Islamic Secularist', he performed these acts to prevent the nemesis that was threatening him.

"Sleeping Dictionaries", the nick-name given to the native Indian mistresses, implying the part they played as interpreters to their paramours, lacking a sound knowledge of Indian languages, is an unfortunate but true and accepted fact of the late eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries. With the advent of the 'Memsahibs', Grundyism triumphed, moral righteousness and middle class propriety was brought to India with the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869.

The pride and self-exaltation of General Barnes in contrast to the quiet, gracious Governor General William Cavendish Bentinck is the theme of the next piece. It is presented interestingly through the correspondence of Lord Bentinck and unravels how he finally achieved the removal from the army of the pompous Commander-in-Chief, General Edward Barnes.

In "1857 - the Dark Shudder", the author tries to convey the idea that the revolt cannot be regarded as a national rising, far less, a war of Independence. He tries to prove his point by holding that the uprising was uncoordinated and fragmentary, with a nostalgic current running through the action. The importance of the event lies in the change of ideas that it brought about, quickening the pace towards a national consciousness which became a viable truth before the end of the nineteenth century.

"The Legend of Shrimen Nana Dhondu Pant Bahadur Bithoor", makes out Nana Sahib an elusive person. The article

indicates that, though Nana Sahib may have been guilty, his role in the mutiny as the murderer of English women and children is doubtful, rather he was forced by his blood-thirsty followers. Taty Topey's statement made on April 10, 1859, bears out Nana Sahib's plea that he was a victim of circumstances and not an originator of Mutinies.

The thread of the uprising is picked up again in "Delhi Survives a Nightmare". It describes the capture of Delhi by British forces which was complete on 21 September 1857. It speaks of the excesses of the army and the timely intervention of Lord Canning, who ordered the preservation of old buildings of architectural or historical significance. It is thus that Delhi was rescued, and in December 1911 the seat of the Government was changed from Calcutta to Delhi.

The fact that Viceroy Dufferin encouraged the Muslims to regard themselves as a political entity is supported by facts. An important one is that in December 1884, on his arrival in Bombay, he declared that he would watch over the interests of the Muslims of India.

On the other hand, Allan Octavian Hume, a retired member of the Indian Civil Service, about whom the next piece is written was a liberal and noble Englishman who devoted his life to the cause of India. It is he who started the Indian National Union whose only important function was to usher in the first Indian National Congress at Bombay in 1885.

The subtle changes in the attitude of the British towards Indians is seen in the treatment meted out to the "Queen's Munshi". It highlights the 'high-ups' contempt for 'black men' in the hey-day of the Empire. The Munshi, however, showed dignity in the scrimmage with the courtiers, though he himself was a person of no consequence.

No doubt there were Viceroy's like Lord Curzon with their vast and varied contribution for India - 'his first love' and throughout the seven years of his work, 'the main love' of his political life.

However, the craft and slow intrigue of Curzon's Commander-in-Chief, Lord Kitchner (the subject of the next article), proved too much for the Viceroy who was never any good at political intrigue. Indeed, it finally led to Curzon's resignation on August 21, 1905.

The shift of the capital of India from Calcutta to Delhi is the topic of the next piece. Although this question began to be considered as early as 3 September 1828, Lord Hardinge in 1931 attended the inauguration of the Viceroy's House, though its first occupant was Lord Irwin.

The life sketches of C.R. Rajgopalachari and Lala Lajpat Rai follow next and vividly describe their contribution to nationalism.

"The Disloyal Movement of 1942" portrays the growing national consciousness of Indians and states how the Raj, regarded as 'unshrinkable' and 'unsinkable', whose exit was 'unthinkable' became a plausible reality.

The next three pieces portray the thorn in India's side - Jinnah, a despair to Indian politics; the fear that minorities will be led down the abyss by their myopic leaders, the need for realism in the Indian situation; and Field Marshall A.P. Wavell, Viceroy from October 1943 to March 1947, who never understood Gandhi.

Then a change in the situation brought about by Mountbatten's splendid self-possessed attitude. The emergence of a healthy relationship fostered between the two countries

because of Britain's fair attitude and magnanimity of Indian leaders, even though the Partition loomed large. "The Aura of Gandhi" brings out the pain that it caused him, for he could not conceive religion as a basis for politics and he believed in an ordered moral government of the Universe. The communal carnage of the Partition turned the pleasure of gaining Independence to sadness.

The "End of the Princely System" justifies Mrs. Indira Gandhi's stance as regards the princes who had become an anachronistic counterweight to nationalism.

Nehru's sense of proportion and poise is well-expressed in "A Romantic Possibilist"; while Rajendra Prasad's deep faith and quiet humility which influenced Indian politics is spoken of in the following article. For the first President, politics without morality was inconceivable.

Dr. Zakir Husain, though proud of Islamic contribution to the enrichment of mankind, did not believe in the two nation theory. Instead he felt that India was a laboratory where a cultural synthesis could take place.

The articles are chronologically well arranged, yet in the latter part there seems to be a void with the exclusion of the second President of India, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, a scholar acclaimed by all as a great philosopher, whose subtle influence undoubtedly elevated India culturally in the eyes of the world, promoting international understanding.

On the whole the book makes interesting reading. However, the excessive misprints detract the eye from an otherwise valuable historical perspective. The collection of articles would have carried more weight had these technical drawbacks been eliminated.

With Best
Compliments
From

B. VIJAYKUMAR & CO.

311 Charni Road,
Mehta Bhavan
6th Floor, Opp. Hinduja College,
Bombay 400 004.

With Best Compliments From

GOA
*Towage And Salvage
Company Private
Limited*

1-B, VULCAN INSURANCE BUILDING, VEER
NARIMAN ROAD, CHURCHGATE,
BOMBAY 400 020.
Tel : 866702, 8555951, 861257, 220624, 222014

CONGRESS AND INDIAN NATIONALISM
(The Pre-independence Phase)

Ed. Richard Sisson and Stanley Wolpert
(University of California Press),
Berkeley, 1988, 420pp.

M. D. David

HERE is a book dealing with a wide assortment of topics concerning the most written about subject viz. Indian National Congress.

The seventeen articles contained in this book are a collection of papers presented by scholars at an International Seminar held at UCLA in March 1984. The various topics connected with the study of Indian National Congress are broadly grouped together in four parts: Congress and Indian Nationalisms; Emergence of Political Elites and the Problem of Mobilisation; Social Representation and the Problem of Political Control; and Leadership, Conflict and Problem of Unity.

The book covers a wide spectrum and hence its scope for indepth study of any particular theme is limited. The papers bring out new interpretations and facts. They make an interesting and refreshing reading.

Stanley Wolpert in his well studied article, "Congress in Nationalist Perspective", gives credit to Ripon and Hume for the establishment of the Indian National Congress. But he fails to emphasize the significant role played by Dufferin in giving to Congress its character. Dufferin, he says, was "less receptive to Hume's advice and imprecations". On the contrary Dufferin took great interest in the matter. Hume originally envisaged a limited role for the Congress. He wanted it to be no more than an annual social gathering of Indian politicians to discuss social matters. Hume held this

view because he felt that the recognised political bodies already in existence in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras might lose their importance if the Indian politicians discussed politics at such meetings.

Dufferin did not agree with Hume in this regard and he felt that Hume's project would not be of much use. Dufferin saw a more positive role for the Congress. He wanted the Congress to perform the functions which Her Majesty's opposition did in England. He felt that, "Indian politicians should meet yearly and point out to the Government in what respects the administration was defective and how it could be improved". Dufferin also opined that such a body should not be presided over by the Governor as was suggested by Hume. When Hume placed both his own and Dufferin's schemes before the Indian politicians at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, they accepted Dufferin's scheme.¹

One may tend to agree with Wolpert when he suggests that Tilak and Gandhi made effective use of Hindu elements in order to make it easier for the Congress to carry the majority of the Indian people. In the process, they inadvertently helped the growth of communal politics. "Inevitably, the other side of that process of Congress growing attraction to India's Hindu masses was the increasing alienation of India's Muslims".

To emphasize only religion as a factor for the growth of communal politics in India would be to tell only a partial truth. For a balanced view it is equally important to emphasize that the felt-needs of the Muslim community for economic improvement and for fulfilling political aspirations, compelled them to succumb to the British policy of "divide and rule".

In an interesting article "The Early Congress Hindu Populism and the wider society", John McLane observes that

it was Hume who was the first to envisage a secular and socialistic role for the Congress. When he proposed to expand the social base of the Congress by recruiting Indian peasants as its members, it was the elitism Congress politicians who resisted the move.

Hume was also responsible for giving a secular character to the Congress by making a special effort to include Muslims in the Congress and broadening its base. The early overtures to the Muslims was mainly the work of Hume and Budruddin Tyabji and not of the Hindu leaders of the Congress. This idea of communal harmony which was forged by Hume has continued to remain the bedrock of the Congress policy. But by the first decade of the present century the Hindu Congress leaders faced a benumbing and apparently irresolvable dilemma when they considered the stark reality of a conjunction of nationalism and Hinduism.

Implicit in the Congress secularism was the notion that religion was a dangerous and an inappropriate base for nationalism. India's cultural pluralism and distrust of priestly authority made the Congress leaders to seek alternative source of national identity. The Congress leaders except men like Gokhale were unattracted or unaware of the ethic of shared poverty or socialistic pattern. They drew upon Brahmanical tradition for personal behaviour of diet, consumption of alcohol and the concept of equality. However, for their own economic behaviour, they preferred to look to Western liberalism more often than to traditional Hindu emphasis of self-denial. No doubt, the first generation of the Congress leaders were raised on ideas of John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer and certainly not of Karl Marx.

Morris-Jones in his article on 'British Perceptions of the Congress' points out how the British opinion about the Congress changed from the time of Hume to that of Gandhi.

Under Hume the British saw in the Congress a "union in some kind of partnership of the Conqueror and the Conquered". This character of the Congress had changed after the partition of Bengal in 1905. The partition aroused the Bengali pride and they responded with "Swadeshi Movement, boycott and terrorism". In the process the Indian nationalism got jerked into a different gear. J. Kier Hardie, a member of the Labour Party, wrote after his visit to India in around 1909 that the Congress was still ultra loyal. What shocked him was the growing alienation between the two races. He saw in this British practice of racial superiority the real menace to the "Safety of the Indian Empire". By 1929 according to Craddock, another British writer, the Congress had become a seditious body.

Englishmen like H. M. Hyndmann wrote as early as 1918 that the demands of the Congress had sealed the fate of British Government in India. He asserted that the "Tide has turned and that ere long the area of European influence in the East will be considerably reduced". C. F. Andrews saw the rise of the man of destiny in the rise of Gandhi on the Indian political scene. He wrote : "With such a volcanic force as the personality of Mahatma Gandhi the disease *dependence* would end". But Coupland saw in the rising power of the Congress in the election of 1937 a sort of "a state within the state" and commented that the Congress had developed a totalitarian mentality and an authoritarian organisation.

The seven articles in the third part specially deal with the Congress and its relationship with different sections of the society such as the peasants, elites, landlords, untouchables, Muslims, working class and business men. Despite their diversity and mutual clash of interests on account of class, religion and economic status among them, the Congress made an effort to build its base with the support of these very diverse groups. In this it did achieve a major share of success except in the case of Muslims and the Depressed Classes.

Five essays found in part IV deal with Gandhi's role in the Congress, Congress relationship with Muslim League and Aligarh and the role of the Congress in the People's Movements in the princely states.

There is no doubt that the best thing that ever happened to the Indian National Congress was the arrival of Mahatma Gandhi from South Africa and his taking over as the leader of the Congress movement. Gandhi, perhaps, was most qualified for the job. Describing himself Gandhi said : "There are people who may call me a visionary but I tell you I am a real Bania and my business is to obtain Swaraj". Gandhi could dominate the Congress for nearly thirty years because the Indian people saw in him their liberator and supported him. The British soon realised that the astuteness and business man's cunning in Gandhi's leadership made him the most difficult customer to deal with.

It is equally important to know what Gandhi himself thought of the Congress which he used as his political instrument. Gandhi saw Congress as a "Most effective instrument of our progress and capable of being used to prepare the country for a final and successful effort for achieving freedom". He saw it as a truly national and trans-communal organisation that could take over the governance from the British which it did. Gandhi's persistent role in the Congress can be described as that of a mediator, unifier and a reconciler. In all factional problems like the Hindu-Muslim problem, Hindu-Harijan problem or the problem of relation between the princely states and the Congress, Gandhi played the role of a mediator. He succeeded in his role most of the time except in bringing Hindu-Muslim unity.

Bimal Prasad, in his article "The Congress and the Muslim League 1935-37" explains that the electoral competition to provincial assemblies in 1936-37 sharpened the

antagonism between the Congress and the Muslim League. The clash between the Congress and League was spearheaded by none other than Nehru and Jinnah respectively. The Congress emerged as the majority party in the elections winning 716 of the 1586 seats in all provincial assemblies. The Muslim League did badly by securing only 105 of the 482 Muslim seats. However, the Congress had secured only 26 Muslim seats. This election made it clear that despite the efforts of the Congress to project itself as a trans-communal party, the elections revealed that its support base was largely confined to the Hindus. Nehru who had personally launched the Muslim mass contact campaign during the elections confessed in March 1936 that "only in regard to Muslim seats did we lack success". In Aligarh District, the Congress faced a difficult problem in managing the conflict between the two communal groups. Zoya Hasan referring to the results of the election of 1937 in Aligarh district says : "In the case of the Muslim community, conflict consequent to the 1937 elections induced groups in Aligarh Muslim University, formerly strong supporters of a secular nationalist ethic, to turn inward and to extend support to the developing sense of Muslim separatism and nationalism".

The study of relations between the Muslim League and the Congress, an important topic for such a work as well as the role of Jinnah in the history of the Congress are inadequately dealt with. As a result one finds a lacuna in this area of the study of the history of Congress. However, no student of Modern India and the Indian National Movement can afford to miss this book as it certainly provides many insights into the history of this multi-faceted Asia's largest political party.

1. Pandey B. N., *The Indian Nationalist Movement - Select Documents*, pp.5-6.

INDIA'S SOCIAL CRISIS :

An essay on Capitalism, Socialism, Individualism and Indian Civilization. By Arun Bose, New Delhi : Oxford University Press, 155 + XV pp., Price : Rs.130/-

N. P. Shankaranarayana Rao

HERE we have a serious attempt to analyze and understand the complications that plague the Indian Social situation. These complications have their roots in the religious, caste, ethnic and linguistic divisions of our Society. Unless we understand all these, their inter and intra relationships and that all of these are forces that pull and push our society in different directions, we will never come to grips with the problems of our society even at the conceptual level, let alone the practical implications of such an understanding. Hence, the author has tried to develop, a reliable analytical framework to understand India.

The tools he has relied on are world systemic thesis of both Capitalist and Communist schools and Indo-centric systems of Marxian overtones. The world system considers world as a unit of analyses while the Indo-Centric system treats India, with its long history as a civilization to be the centerpiece.

The author examines the world systems as envisaged by Adam Smith, Ricardo and Karl Marx along with the works of other social philosophers who can broadly be classified as Capitalist and Communist schools, and assesses their applicability to the Indian context. Model proposed by Sraffa is dealt with in a bit more detail, according to which India is classified as 'A dominated, underdeveloped economy'.

Bose next turns his attention to Indo-Centric approaches. In this section his analysis of the policy of

reservation to various religious, caste and ethnic groups in legislatures and jobs as it has developed in India is fair, illuminating and original. In our Society which had been in main organised on the basis of reservation of occupations, now since that basis has broken down, there appears to be no other viable solution other than reservation of jobs in the general pool for this problem. While explaining the Marxian Indo-Centric approach, he has relied on Marx and Engels themselves rather than the other authors belonging to the Marxian hue. Net result is that the reader gets a clear idea of what Marx himself thought on Indian social situations and conflicts. His deep understanding of our Society as well as our history are remarkable and some of his insights almost prophetic.

The author has dealt with the uniqueness of the Indian caste system particularly as portrayed by Louis Demont in his anthropological writings. The summary of Demont's concepts of hierarchy turn out to be among the best parts of this book. The caste system characterised as the 'single principle of disjunction between status and power' is 'crucial' for an understanding of the Indian caste system. The ideas Demont has put forward regarding the caste system should receive the utmost attention of any student of Indian society.

Basing himself on these concepts the author details eight hard facts about our society. They include the caste system, caste collusions and consolidations, Statism, politics both Parliamentary and extra-parliamentary and Ethno communities. These are equally significant and reciprocally inter-dependent.

The author envisages three alternatives for India. They are Capitalist future, Communist stagnation or communist development. Finally he asks a question of himself. "Will India ever really change?" His answer is in a metaphor that

India resembles more a salad bowl than a melting pot. 'India never has been, nor will it ever become a large collection of small ciphers on the map of the world. In India diversity is intrinsic, uniformity is not'.

However the book has certain inadequacies. While he has listed eight facts which affect the problem on hand, he has left off one important fact viz. the religious divide and its peculiar nature in India. There are many societies which face this situation of religious divide. Two antagonistic religious groups are in a headon collision in Cyprus, Northern Ireland etc. During crusades the Muslim-Christian conflict was one such. But here in India, on the one side we have an amalgam of various groups who rarely unite and who are not organised and controlled by any one and on the other side a well organised religion based on the teachings of a prophet. A Hindu is someone who has not embraced any other religion like Islam or Sikh religion. Equating the Hindu religion with Islam or Sikhism will be fatal to the proper understanding of our Society. While the author has referred to the issue, he has not pinpointed this specific nature of the Indian situation.

Secondly, all the factors in the situation have become more volatile due to the staggering unemployment and over population. These are to be treated as of a temporary nature but they do not appear to be as temporary as we conceive them to be. Fast industrialization of agriculture and food-processing are robbing millions of their livelihood. The huge army of unemployed are readily available as recruits to dacoity gangs, terrorist activities and drug peddling. As factors aggravating India's Social Crisis they should have received some attention of the author.

The third and most glaring omission appears to be the manner in which Mahatma Gandhi's ideas on our society have been kept out of the book as if no such thing exists. If

isolated statements of Adam Smith or Ricardo have a bearing on the problem, why not Gandhi's extensive writings on almost every aspect of our Social life ? One may not agree with what all the Mahatma said or have a reverential attitude towards him. But he cannot be treated as a non-entity when we are trying to understand India's Social Crisis. Particularly his ideas regarding the restoration of self-regulating and self-sufficient villages, concept of work ethics, equality of castes, abolition of untouchability reinforced by the prescription of the so called menial work for all should have been considered by the author even if they were to be set aside as impracticable.

Finally a string of questions arise. Is there a specific phenomenon that may be designated as 'India's Social Crisis' ? Can it not be considered as a part of world Crisis brought about by social and cultural upheavals, triggered off by industrialization ? Can it not be considered as a situation faced by all large scale societies, which have destroyed their autonomous units which gave birth to them ? Which society in the present world is free from Crisis ? Crisis in some societies such as USA, West Germany may not be clearly visible in the thick fog of material wealth or Military Power or both enveloping those Societies. In some societies such as Soviet or Chinese, an iron rule may have contained it. To imagine a Crisis free Society is some thing like looking out for the fairy tale type conclusion of 'thereafter they lived happily for ever' in human life. Societies, like individuals, move from Crisis to Crisis and that is called life.

Apart from such questions, the book is a signal contribution to our Sociological literature.

EUROPE RECONSIDERED :
Perceptions of the West in Nineteenth Century Bengal. By
Tapan Raychaudhuri, Delhi : Oxford University Press, 1988.
xviii 369pp. Rs.170/-.

Kanakalatha Mukund

THE confrontation of the peoples of two vastly different cultures evokes a range of responses and perceptions which is of great interest, especially because of the social psychology which underlies such responses. When this interaction is further complicated by other historical forces, especially conquest and subjugation, a whole new dimension is added to these perceptions. This then was the case when the British came to India and stayed on as conquerors and rulers. British reactions to India and all things Indian have been well-documented in memoirs and travelogues by officials and non-officials, and analyzed in depth by historians (G. D. Bearce, *British Attitudes to India*, Michael Edwardes, *Bound to Exile - The Victorians in India et al.*). In the current phase of nostalgia for the "Raj" in the West, there has been a renewed revival of this interest manifested not only in books, but also in media like television and films.

The whole world is now therefore well aware of how Englishmen of all persuasions viewed India. The other side of the picture -- as to how Indians of past generations reacted to Europeans and Western culture is hardly studied. Now an eminent economic historian turns his interest to a socio-cultural analysis of the perceptions of the West in 19th century Bengal, and if this will inspire further works on other regions of India, this lacuna in our intellectual history would be filled.

There are several complex layers of consciousness which underlie the Indian response to the intrusion of

European culture. Though contact with Europeans had existed for several centuries, as long as the European presence was peripheral to the life of the average Indian, it aroused little interest. The advent of British rule was thus the significant factor which forced a response from Indian society. The introduction of English education and closer contacts with western technology, as well as the employment opportunities under the new rulers all provided much greater exposure to European society, and naturally led to an introspective appraisal of the new culture and a reexamination of the old, burgeoning feelings of national pride and resentment of alien domination -- fuelled in particular by the 19th century Englishman's contempt for Hindus and Hinduism -- also influenced studied judgements on western culture. Paradoxically, western education provided the analytical tools to the intelligentsia for evaluating, and quite often, rejecting the social and cultural values of the West. At the same time, subconsciously, it was perhaps difficult to escape a sneaking feeling that the conquering race must possess some superior ethnic characteristics, even while resenting the fact of being conquered.

This last was, in fact, an extremely strong factor which influenced all Indian opinions on Europe, since these were closely intertwined with implicit judgments on Indian society. An admiration for the West automatically meant a rejection of traditional values (as evidenced by the number of English educated Indians who began to eat beef, take alcohol and wear western clothes), while an honest criticism and revaluation of Hinduism and existing practices by social reformers was taken to mean a treacherous acceptance of western norms by a people whose national pride had been ground into the dust after a hundred years of alien rule.

Perceptions and reactions to European culture were thus partly shaped by historical forces. In order to eliminate is

subjective variations in reactions which would result if the authors chosen for study came from divergent social and educational backgrounds, Raychaudhuri focuses attention on three leading Bengali intellectuals of the mid-19th century - Bhudev Mukhopadhyay, Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay and Swami Vivekananda, all from similar social backgrounds. But, as Raychaudhuri emphasizes, despite such similarities their responses were characterized by highly individual perceptions and subconscious complexes, shaped to some extent by each person's family life and background, but primarily by each one's highly individualistic and idiosyncratic interests, aptitudes and turn of mind. The reactions of proud, scholarly people to the snubs and indignities suffered under British superiors with their racial prejudices were also significant in the overall perceptions of the West. Raychaudhuri carefully unravels all these complicated strands to highlight the views of these three intellectual giants of Bengali society.

Bhudev Mukhopadhyay came from the kind of high-thinking, austere and Brahminical family which is rarely seen nowadays. But the austerity and orthodox discipline did not mean a loveless family life. His was a felicitous family experience, in which child marriages matured into happy and faithful lifelong relationships, and sincere and strong affection bound parents and children, and this naturally coloured Bhudev's views of Hindu society. He criticized attempts to reform practices like child marriages not merely because of his personal and entirely happy family background, but also because he felt that the reformers were adopting European values as norms of social organization and behaviour. His rejection of western culture was honed by analytical tools provided by his western education, though he was probably unconscious of this, and was a highly personal and individual reaction.

Bankimchandra's family background did not possess

the same storybook happiness, nor was he by nature as single-minded as Bhudev. He was perhaps more typical in his confused and ambivalent reactions to the West of the average Indian, for such reactions are common even today, a hundred years later. A non-believer in Hinduism in his early years, and an admirer of several aspects of European society and culture, especially its scientific temper and technological advances, he ultimately developed a highly individual perception of Hinduism based on liberal humanist values imbibed from writers like Comte. He was a staunch nationalist, but never lost his admiration for the positive aspects of western culture. With his highly artistic temperament, his ideas and personality developed and evolved in a highly idiosyncratic style, with a great deal of influence from western philosophy and intellectual traditions.

Swami Vivekananda, with his deep spirituality and mystic religiosity, was fundamentally different not only from Bhudev and Bankimchandra, but from most of his contemporaries. He was also the only one of the three writers studied here who had an extensive and personal knowledge of the West, acquired during his travels and sojourns in America and Europe. He admired the vigour of western society, while he was critical of its spiritual poverty. At the same time, he felt that a docile acceptance of the doctrine of renunciation had sapped the vitality of Hindu society which could do with an injection of the robust materialism of the West, even while the spiritual heritage of the former would illuminate the West. He was not afraid to criticize the social evils which plagued contemporary Hindu society, and could maintain a balanced and critical perspective of East and West in spite of his strong nationalist fervour and devoutness as a Hindu.

Raychaudhuri, with almost superhuman reticence, refrains from making critical evaluations of the opinions of his

authors. With empathy and a gently ironic style he traces the evolution of their ideas, but makes no criticism nor does he defend these opinions. This is a little disconcerting, for the clinical impersonality of the presentation leaves the reader with a feeling of aseptic detachment – rather like watching a surgeon on film. But this also forces us to sharpen our critical faculties and evaluate the perceptions and arguments of the three writers. While admiring Bhudev Mukhopadhyay as an exemplary intellectual in the best traditions of austere, high-thinking Hindu society, it is still difficult to accept his defense of practices like child marriage and other social evils. A personal happy experience should not obscure one's judgment of an inherently bad custom. To follow Bankimchandra's complex and contradictory thought processes is intellectually rewarding, but does not evoke a sympathetic interest. Vivekananda is perhaps the most exciting and interesting to the modern mind. A swami he might have been, but his views and perceptions exude a vigour and universality which are not merely appealing, but are still relevant nearly a century later. The entire book is deep and scholarly. It is perhaps a pity that it does not aim at a less exclusive readership, when the subject matter is of such interest.

One last word about the quality of the printing. There are innumerable printing mistakes throughout the book – the quality of the paper also leaves much to be desired – which are inexcusable in a high-priced book from a reputed publisher. Worst of all are mistakes even on the page listing "Abbreviations" (p. xvii), and a reference to James Stuart Mill (p. 177) – OUP's inspired synthesis of father and son !

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF INDIAN TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE: SOUTH INDIA (Under Dravidadesa : Early Phase) edited by Michael Meister and M.A. Dhaky, Vols. 1 & 2. Oxford University Press. 1986. 250 pp., plates 656. Price Rs.975/-.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF INDIAN TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE : NORTH INDIA (Foundations of North Indian Style) edited by Krishna Deva, M.A. Dhaky and Michael Meister, Vols. 1 & 2. Oxford University Press, 1988. 422 pp., plates 778. Price Rs.1200/-.

Subhashini Aryan

MORE than forty years ago, a highly talented European scholar, then teaching in Calcutta University, published two monumental volumes on the Hindu Temple, in which she displayed a rare comprehension of the philosophy underlying Hindu temple architecture. All her observations were based on our ancient architectural texts in Sanskrit. Stella Kramrisch, an art historian of rare calibre, had blazed a new track in the study of temple architecture which has been followed by the team of three outstanding scholars : Krishna Deva, M.A. Dhaky and Michael Meister. They have been working assiduously over more than ten years under the aegis of American Institute of Indian Studies on these volumes.

The series began with a set of two volumes devoted to Upper Dravidadesa which is a compendium of essays by eminent scholars, viz. K.V. Soundrarajan, H. Sarkar, Carol Radcliffe Bolon, in addition to Dhaky and Meister. Here the main focus is on the evolution of temple architecture in South India from 550 to 1075 A.D. The temple architectural styles are known as the Karnata style patronised by the Chalukyas of Badami (550-750 A.D.), the Tulu Nadu style by the Alupas of Udayapura (700-900 A.D.), the Rashtrakutas of Malked

who introduced the later Karnata style. The contribution to temple building activity of smaller kingdoms is not ignored which flourished mainly between the 9th and 11th centuries A.D.

The third volume in the series is devoted to an intensive study of the factors responsible for the foundations of north Indian style. Our ancient Sanskrit texts on the vastu shilpa designate the term 'Nagara' for the temple architectural style prevalent in the northern Indian plains. The compilers have attempted to trace the evolution of Nagara style temples in different parts of north India which also had extensions in the Deccan under the Chalukyas and Rashtrakuta dynasties.

The text is spread over twenty-three chapters contributed by eminent scholars of Indian temple architecture viz. Krishna Deva, M.A. Dhaky, Meister, B.R. Prasad, Carol Radcliffe Bolon, M.P. Vora, Debala Mitra and A.P. Jamkhedkar.

The origins of temple architecture in north India go back to hoary antiquity, but unfortunately no vestiges are available. One has no choice but to rely on the allusions in ancient literary texts. The editors have confined themselves to the select few texts which allude to shrines dedicated to numerous deities, most of them Vedic gods and goddesses. However graphic may be the descriptions of these shrines, an idea of the shrines can be gleaned only from the relief carvings embellishing the stupas of Bharhut and Sanchi. They are all extremely simple unpretentious structures, bearing no resemblance whatsoever to extant Nagara style temples. Nonetheless, the germs of later temples lay in them. Each of the tersely written chapters traces the evolution of the Nagara style from its incipience down to the 11th century A.D. systematically from the Mauryas, Sungas, Kushanas, Guptas down to the Karkota and Utpalas of Kashmir. The chronological spectrum is wide. The dynastic designations

facilitate the chronological identification of the various phases of temple styles. All the provinces, barring Himachal Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan, the hills of Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh, are taken into account.

In both the volumes, the same pattern is followed : each chapter begins with an outline sketch of historical background, the architectural features peculiar to a particular epoch and dynasty and finally individual temples are briefly dealt with.

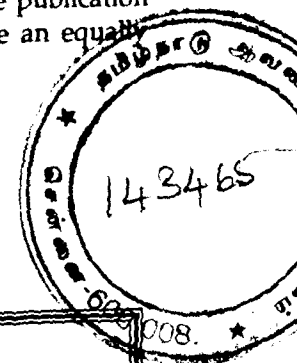
The temples were fashioned according to the prescriptions of vastushastras which mention architectural terms. These terms find a particularly comprehensive treatment in these volumes. An exhaustive list of these is added at the end of the volumes devoted to text. The editors have successfully established a rapport between the technical guidelines laid down by the authors of these treatises and the extent to which they had been followed by the architects.

Like art, architecture is by its very nature visual and these volumes are copiously illustrated by excellent photographs from the archives of the AIIS, Varanasi. They yield hours of delight in repeated contemplation. The exhaustive textual details are corroborated by temple plans, very competently rendered drawings of sections, elevations, pillars, base mouldings, doorways and sikharas done by expert architects. They capture details the camera is not capable of.

Both the volumes display clarity of exposition and sobriety of presentation, so characteristic of the writings of the compilers. They marshal unimpeachable evidences. The opinions of the vastushastras are illuminating. The references from literature are very useful in supplementing the elucidations of architectural terms. These researches will

remain a valuable contribution and a major landmark in the history of Indian temple architecture, as they furnish chronological perspective to most of the important developments from its origins till late mediaeval period. No pedantry is noticeable.

The world of scholarship eagerly awaits the publication of companion volumes which, it is hoped, will be an equally enlightening experience.



With Best Compliments From



**LINK BULK DRUG
PRODUCTS P. LTD.**

Mnfrs. of DOT, PCBA and allied
Chemicals



334, Narshi Natha Street,
BOMBAY-400 009.
Tel.: 322351/321426/328092

JL
100/1000

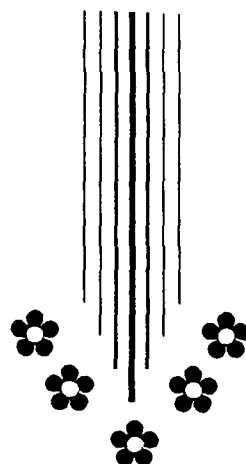
POONA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY :

An urban history by Balkrishna Govind Gokhale, Delhi :
Oxford University Press, 1988, 225 + xiii pp, price Rs.125/-.

G. S. Dikshit

PROF. B. G. GOKHALE has established himself as a sound scholar in the field of Indian History and culture. Currently he is Professor of History and Director, Asian Studies, Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, U.S.A. Among his earlier publications must be mentioned his work, *Surat in the Seventeenth Century*, which apparently, has paved the way for the present work. During the last one hundred years and more, Poona (the old familiar name for modern Pune) has been the intellectual and cultural centre of Maharashtra. During the same period, Ranade, Gokhale and Tilak made it famous all over India as the home of social reformers, economic thinkers and political leaders. It would not have achieved this eminence had there not been an earlier Poona in the eighteenth century. Then it was the centre of the Maratha Empire whose armies marched triumphantly from Attock to Madras and from Bombay to Calcutta. It is about this Golden Age in the history of Poona that the author concerns himself in the present work.

Eighteen *Peths* or wards formed the heart of this old Poona. Very important information about them is preserved in the revenue (*jamat*) papers in many bundles (*rumals*) in the Pune Archives. Our author has made full use of this invaluable contemporary source for the first time to give a detailed picture of the number of houses, occupancy by castes and taxes paid by the citizens. In addition to this unpublished source, he has made good use of published documents of the *Peshwa Daftar*, Diaries of the Peshwas and family histories of Purandares and the like. This work is embellished by two old maps - one of the city of Poona and another of its environs.



J & J

*"The true measure of our success
is the trust people have in us."*



Johnson & Johnson

Serving the world of health care

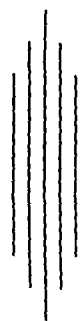
Poona came into prominence as the place where Shivaji spent his childhood. It was also the scene of his daring attack on Shayasta Khan. Shivaji had no time to build it as a capital. This was done by the Peshwas. They converted an obscure *Kasba* (town) into a flourishing metropolis, equal to any at that time in India or outside. It was a charming city, adorned by parks, temples, tanks and *Vedas* or mansions which "made Poona one of the best built native town".

The opening chapters describe the layout and growth of Poona's eighteen *Peths* or wards, their administration under Shete-Mahajans, Xanivisdars, Kotwals and Judges. Since it was also the capital of the Peshwas, an account of the Peshwas, their families, residences, gardens, dress, food, entertainments, religious activities and the machinery of their government finds a place in this work. In the social hierarchy, next to the Peshwas were the elite, whom the author calls power-brokers. They belonged to two categories, officers (military and civil) and financiers or bankers. They mostly belonged to the sub-sect of the Peshwas viz Chitpawan Brahmins. After describing this elite class, the author gives an account of economy and society - the former relates to Poona's markets, commodities, which were sold there and their prices; the latter relates to the caste composition of Poona city. The last three chapters tell us about the temples and mansions (*Vedas*), religious activities, art and literature in Poona under the Peshwas.

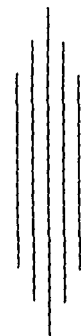
This work is remarkable for the wealth of information it contains which is called from original sources. Such detailed information is not likely to be available about any other Indian city in that century. To the students of economic, social and religious history, such information is invaluable. It is also a portrait gallery of great men like chief judge Ramshastri "His conduct and unwearied zeal had a wonderful effect in improving the people of all ranks; he was a pattern to th

well-disposed, but the greatest man who did wrong stood in awe of Ramshastri". Poona cannot forget the poet Honaji-Bala who "sang with great pride of the city and its life under Madhavrao II". He was a cowherd by caste. He is immortalised by his famous *Bhupali* (early morning devotional song) *Ghanashyama Sundara* which is popular even today. Nor can Poona afford to forget its most famous Kotwal Ghasiram, a Kanauj Brahmin, who held this office for fifty years.

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.
Phones : 891262 ~ 891191 ~ 370601
Gram : "MANHOOD"

207

ARCHAEOLOGY IN ORISSA
(in two volumes)

By R. P. Mahapatra, Delhi : B. R. Publishing
Corporation, 1986, Price Rs.680/-.

Laxmi K. Mishra

R. P. MAHAPATRA's "Archaeology in Orissa" is undoubtedly a good addition to Orissan Bibliography. As the author has mentioned in the preface to his book, he ventured to write this stupendous compilation work on Orissan Archaeology based on the reports of earlier scholars, his own researches and investigations on various aspects of Orissan archaeology in order to meet the demands of scholars in the field, interested public and tourists. The whole work is divided into two volumes. The first volume contains five chapters including a comprehensive introduction to Orissan history and culture with physiographic features. This includes a brief preface as well. The second volume is divided into nine chapters, including a glossary and a general bibliography. At the beginning of both the volumes, he has given separate indexes to the sites with separate illustrations. In all he has dealt with 550 important sites, relics and monuments spread all over the thirteen districts of the state of Orissa. His description of the sites and monuments with brief notes substantiated by beautiful illustrations, is really a marvel. The work has almost reached nearer to the status of an encyclopedia on Orissan archaeology.

The author begins the general description with a brief on the prehistoric cultures of Orissa, basing his notes on the findings of G.C. Mahapatra and K.C. Tripathy. It is followed by brief notes on the political history and biological development of the state on the basis of biological and historical sources.

Orissa has a rich cultural heritage of its own. Every one would find a curious mixture and cultural assimilation between North and South Indian cultural trends in Orissan mainland. The social and cultural aspects of Orissa's ancient history has beautifully manifested itself on the prehistoric stone tools, rock painting, temples, sculptures, paintings on the walls of the temples, ancient literature preserved in the 'Talpothis' (palm-leaves). The political history of Orissa is preserved in the inscriptions attached to the temples, large number of copperplate grants issued by the kings for purposes like land donations to the Brahmins, donations to the temples and finally through literatures especially temple chronicles.

Right from the prehistoric period Orissa has given us a continuous archaeo-cultural development. Although not much research has been done in the cultural history of prehistoric Orissa, still the existence of two cultural ecozones is quite evident from the prehistoric discoveries from various districts of Orissa. North and North-West Orissa situated to the Northern bank of the river Mahanadi comes under the greater Chhotanagpur plateau and it has given us cultural antiquities dating back to the palaeolithic period, while south and south west Orissa comes under the Andhra palaeolithic industry. Excepting Koraput district in South Orissa where S.C. Nanda (1983) had discovered upper Palaeolithic industry, we do not have any clear evidence of the existence of Palaeolithic culture. What we find here is a rich mesolithic Industry followed by Eastern Neolithic culture. But chalcolithic situation in Orissa is too poor to receive due analysis. We have a number of rich prehistoric sites spreading over almost all the districts of Orissa to our credit. Thanks to the pioneering work done by Scholars like G.C. Mahapatra, Ashok Ghosh, Dharani Sen and K.C. Tripathy, their incessant labour has brought to light many prehistoric sites and has helped to place it in the prehistoric map of India.

Coming to the historical period we have a large number of temples, monuments, mediaeval forts, Buddhist stupas, Jaina caves and ancient fortified cities to our credit. The movement of temple architecture in India coincides with the same in Orissa. The discovery of Viraja temple at Jajpur and Bhima temple on the top of the Mahendra mountain in Ganjam district testifies to the fact that the temple architecture in Orissa started right from the Early Gupta period. Saivism and Vaisnavism as a major religious force in Orissa started gaining momentum during 6th-7th century A.D. It is during this period that adornment of temple walls and doorways with sculptures and paintings of gods, goddesses of Hindu pantheon, animals, birds, trees, flowers, men and women of the various sections of the people started. The cause of Saivism was championed by Somavamsis. During that period, thousands of Siva temples came up in Bhubaneswar and other parts of Orissa. While Saivism was facing ups and downs all through its history, Vaisnavism had a good passage. While Saivism started declining during the Ganga period, Vaisnavism was vigorously championed. It is from the time of Anangabhimadev III of Ganga dynasty that religion started playing a dominant role in the administration and diplomacy of the state. The patronization of Vaisnavism and Jagannath cult reached its climax during the rule of the Gajapatis. It is during the time of Somavamsis, Gangas and Gajapatis (8th C.A.D. to 16th C.A.D.) that thousands of Vaisnava temples came up. Besides Jagannath temple at Puri, many more temples of the same name numbering about 20 were built up by the local feudatory rulers. It is during the time of Gajapatis that large number of forts in medieval style were built up. The Tantric and Shakti cult is being highly worshipped by the Orissan people. Tantricism and Shaktism retained its identity inspite of greater devotion of masses towards Vaisnavism. This is evident from the presence of Shakti temples in almost every cultural zone of Orissa. Besides Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism received royal patronage. Jaina caves of Khandagiri

and Udayagiri near Bhubaneswar in Puri district, Dhaulistupa near Bhubaneswar and Buddhist stupas in Lalitgiri and Ratnagiri in Cuttack district testifies to the royal patronage extended to Jainism and Buddhism. The rich cultural history of Orissa is evident from the discovery from these site places of rich cultural antiquities.

All said and done, the author's descriptions of the sites and monuments in Chapter No. 2 to 5 in vol. I and Chapter No. 1 to 9 in Vol. II have been horizontally exhaustive, too little for academic exercises. Discussion on each corresponding district begins with a general introduction containing information on physiographic features, short political history along with a short list of sites substantiated by illustrations. He has arranged sites in alphabetical order for description purposes. While describing the sites and monuments, though he has taken adequate care in indicating their location, period of the artifacts and monuments, brief history, special features and present condition, still he is not exhaustive, not supplementing by references and foot notes. That is why the book has failed to achieve its fundamental value.

The work lacks clarity as regards age, concepts and terminological problems. It ascribes the paintings at the facades of the natural rock shelters of Gudahandi in Kalahandi district to the early stone age culture. The author should note that nowhere in India or anywhere in the world for that matter we get any prehistoric rock paintings belonging to an age prior to upper and/or mesolithic. At best the Gudahandi rock paintings can be ascribed to Mesolithic period. According to the author, the late stone age culture is predominantly represented by microliths, neoliths and rock engravings. The term neoliths lacks clarity of definition. Although he has casually mentioned about some prehistoric sites like Kuchai, Kuliana, Vaidipur, Khitching, Sankarjang in the introductory chapter of the first volume and the

introduction of part of relevant districts, he has not taken care to describe these important sites in greater details, which stands very much in line in the socio-cultural development of Orissa.

Being a researcher in historical archaeology, he has selected mostly historical sites for descriptive purposes. The description of the sites are indeed noteworthy. Through his personal investigations into the sites, he had collected folklores and heresays attached to the temple sites. He has done serious crime by omitting references and foot notes. Again he has not arranged the sites in a definite chronological order with brief introduction to each cultural phase. Nonmaintenance of historical processes and culture chronology and cultural variations never fulfils the general purpose of the book. He has included a glossary of terms used variously in his work at the end of the work. Although a compilation, the chapter is a good contribution. But the general bibliography, which he has added at the end of Vol. 2, is neither exhaustive nor up-to-date.

As we go on evaluating this work, we find that the book has utterly failed in fulfilling the general purpose of a book which is of fundamental value in book writing. Here I want to draw the kind attention of the author to the views of David L. Clarke regarding the purpose of book writing. To quote D.L. Clarke, "Books are consciously written towards limited objectives, for a particular audience, they are not with the aim of total explanation of all aspects of a field for all possible audiences. Unconsciously, however authors write books to educate themselves by clarifying their own observations and by demonstrating to themselves that their tacit beliefs may be explicitly and logically linked together in a valid system of inference, whilst at the outer fringes of his work the author is semi-consciously exploring the reasonableness of the distant consequences of some of his

more central, conscious thoughts. This conscious and unconscious procedure may produce an uncomfortable contrast in passages of comparative obscurity and lucidity; but it may be noted that the few real areas of fresh insight and new exploration are often strongly co-related with the obscure passages, since authors tend to express with perfect lucidity only that which is already widely understood. On the whole these semi-conscious meandering of the authors are therefore valuable activities since they at least enable the limited audience to obtain from reading the book some proportion of any understanding or insight that the author gained from writing it" (Analytical Archaeology Epilogue, Norwegian Archeological review, 3, p.27, 1970). Considering the general points outlined above, the work never satisfies general conditions of book writing. Although designed to satisfy the needs of interested public, scholars and foreign tourists, apparently it would never serve its basic aim and purpose.

However, with regard to the popularization of the discipline, which archaeology is yet to attain in India, it should be the basic aim and responsibility of every archaeologist to make the work comprehensive and elegant, so that it would reach the common mass. Technicalities should be avoided in their work so that readers can derive pleasure out of pain. From general point of view, Mr. Mahapatra through this compilation has successfully tried to give a glimpse of ideas about the rich cultural antiquities of Orissa's ancient past. The publisher certainly has taken adequate care in printing and the binding of the book. I hope people in general and academicians in particular would definitely welcome this sort of move in future.

VISVARUPA

By T. S. Maxwell, Delhi : Oxford University Press, 1988,
303 pp., Monochrome illustrations : 70. Price Rs.225/-.

Subhashini Aryan

VISVARUPA is a term used for the cosmic form assumed by Lord Krisna in the battlefield of Kurukshetra during the great Mahabharata war to reveal his real self to Arjuna. This vision of Krisna manifests him as God and is also known as Visnu Vaikuntha. This cosmic manifestation of the god finds mention in Vedic mythology as well as iconographical treatises.

In the volume under review, originally a doctoral dissertation submitted to Oxford University, the author, T.S. Maxwell, focuses his attention on the sculptural interpretation of this theme, tracing its origins from the second century A.D. and its evolution upto the ninth century A.D. For this purpose, he has confined his study to selected specimens from northern India. Unfortunately no specimen from Kashmir has been included, which would have added another dimension to this study. In fact, the Visnu Visvarupa sculptures from Kashmir are so well known that often the scholars of Indian art have a tendency to regard this province and the Visvarupa sculptures as synonymous.

Actually this aspect of Visnu is derived from the Pancaratra Samhita which is not exclusively the monopoly of Kashmiri pandits. The Visvarupa sculptures were fashioned all over the country. The subject has been dealt with great thoroughness and precision by taking into account relevant Shaiva, Brahma and Buddhist sculptures. The Sanskrit texts are constantly alluded to in order to trace the stylistic and iconographical evolution of this cosmic image. The Visvarupa cult that originated in the Mahabharata period was very

popular in ancient India but has lost its ground now, according to Maxwell whose study is confined to sculptures alone. But this is not true of paintings which have this cosmic deity for this theme till the end of the 19th, in some cases, 20th century.

The images featuring the cosmic forms of Hindu deities, Vishnu, Siva and others, appear to be complex which have been presented in a simplified manner by the author by using diagrams and reconstructions done by himself. These geometrical analyses comprise elements that figure commonly in Indian art such as mandalas, the cosmic egg (Brahmanda) on the primeval ocean, the Visakhayupa and the tree motifs.

The art historical writing is inseparable from religion, mythology and iconography. The author is fully conversant with the latest researches in these allied areas; his knowledge and understanding of Indian sculpture and its allied areas is stupendous - this is what has enabled him to create a new understanding of the Visvarupa, cosmic form or vision of Visnu. The physical multiplicity of Hindu deities has often perplexed westerners and this book will go a long way to enlighten them and provide new insights into Hindu iconography.

The book is preceded by an illuminating Foreword by that doyen of art historians, Stella Kramrisch, whose great books have immortalized her name. The contents run into six exhaustive chapters beginning with the experimental phase which dates from the Kusana period and early Gupta era. The evolution of this imagery is traced through the high classical phase in the Gupta period, the renowned Visvarupa images fashioned by the Samalaji sculptors of Gujarat, Parel in Bombay, Deogarh and finally its phase of decline noticeable in the sculptures from Kannauj. The planning of the sculptures, their form and significance, the thought construct, the

cosmogonic aspect of the images, the close cooperation that existed between the priests and the sculptors have been discussed by Maxwell in the most convincing manner.

The book has not been unduly burdened with superfluous illustrations. The black-and-white illustrations, seventy in number, have been selected very carefully. As is customary, the notes, bibliography and index have been appended at the end which will serve their purpose for serious scholars of Indian art and future researchers. It is a scholarly book meant for serious students of Indian art history. It is not written in the conventional manner and this departure from conventionalism is a very welcome change.

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 Publication : Twice a year
Printer's Name : Dr. M. D. David
Nationality : Indian
Address : Mackichan Hall, 50,
Ramabai Road, Bombay 400 007.
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. M. D. David at Mackichan Hall, 50, Ramabai Road, Bombay 400 007 and published by Dr. George M. Moraes at 9, New marine Lines, Bombay 400 020.

NAVA BHARAT ENTERPRISES LIMITED

(A Trading House Recognised by Govt. of India)

REGISTERED OFFICE :
"NAVA BHARAT HOUSE", 6-3-654, SOMAJIGUDA,
HYDERABAD-500 482.

TELEGRAM : "NAVENTER"
TELEPHONE : 210520 - 212077
TELEX : 0425-6268 IN
FAX : 0842210695



Exports of :
TEA, TOBACCO, CIGARETTES, LEATHER
GOODS

To Countries :
U.S.S.R., U.K., Czechoslovakia, Sudan, Jordan,
Iran, Hungary, Poland, Japan etc.

And Manufacturers of :
Tantallum Capacitors,
Vegetable Oils & Cigarettes.,

From Its Branches at :
COCHIN, NEW DELHI, CALCUTTA, BOMBAY,
GUNTUR, MADRAS AND BANGALORE

