BIAS IN
INDIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

Edited by
DEVAHUTI

D. K. PUBLICATIONS
28/9, NANGA PARK, SHAKTI NAGAR
DELHI - 110007
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Seafaring in Ancient India</td>
<td>Nand Kishore Kumar</td>
<td>90-100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Indian Artisans in European Accounts</td>
<td>Rajiv Sharma</td>
<td>101-106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Havell's Pan-Aryanist Justification of British Rule Over India</td>
<td>Raghavendra Vajpeyi</td>
<td>107-116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Orissa and British Historians</td>
<td>K.C. Jena</td>
<td>117-119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Studies on Early Krishna Worship</td>
<td>S.R. Goyal</td>
<td>120-139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>A Christian View of Buddhism - A Case study of Burma</td>
<td>Pratap Chandra</td>
<td>140-149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Vilification of Indian Muslims</td>
<td>Mohammad Yasin</td>
<td>150-156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Search for Science in the Scriptures</td>
<td>G.H. Keswani</td>
<td>157-165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Nation, Islam or Muslims? Sir Sayyid Ahmad's Choice</td>
<td>Madhvi Yasin</td>
<td>166-182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Regional Bias in South Indian History</td>
<td>A.V. Narasimha Murthy</td>
<td>183-189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>The Mystery of Indian Feudalism</td>
<td>Rajendra Ram</td>
<td>190-200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Prof Mohammad Habib's Historical Fallacies</td>
<td>Prabha Dixit</td>
<td>201-213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>A Study of Marxist Interpretations of Ram Mohan Roy's Place in Indian History</td>
<td>Sumanto Niyogi</td>
<td>224-230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Authors</td>
<td>Pages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>An Unexplored Aspect of Indian Iconography</td>
<td>Arya Ramchandra G. Tiwari</td>
<td>231-235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>A case study of Madura Vijayam</td>
<td>S. Selvin Kumar</td>
<td>236-239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>A Note on the Interpretation of Medieval Historiography</td>
<td>Tariq Ahmad</td>
<td>247-250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Some New Trends in the study of Medieval Indian History</td>
<td>Zahiruddin Malik</td>
<td>251-259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Bias in Indian History—Scope and Need for Selective Rationalization</td>
<td>K.V. Soundara Rajan</td>
<td>260-263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>The Role of Oral History in Data Collection</td>
<td>Aarind Sharma</td>
<td>264-272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>An Early Terracotta Printing Block</td>
<td>R.C. Gaur</td>
<td>276-277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Evolution of the Iconography of Siva</td>
<td>K.D. Bajpai</td>
<td>278-282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Some new Archaeological and Epigraphic Sources from Gujarat</td>
<td>Rasesh Jamindar</td>
<td>283-287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Fertility Control in Ancient India</td>
<td>J.N. Sharma</td>
<td>294-302</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
39. Early India in Chinese Records
   —Tan Chung 303—310

   —Yogendra Mishra 311—317

41. Copper Plate Inscriptions from Orissa
   —K.S. Behera 318—320

42. A Medieval Assamese Text on Architecture
   —R. Dasgupta 321—324

43. Muslim Aggression and Hindu Response in Medieval Southern India
   —S. Selvin Kumar 325—328

44. Works of Legal Nature in the Reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq
   —Zafarul Islam 329—337

45. Sufi Saints of Malabar
   —V. Kunhali 338—346

46. Munis-ul-Fuqara—a 16th Century Manual on Mysticism
   —S.A. Latif 347—351

47. Mirat-ul-Makhlufat of Abdur Rahman Chishti
   —Mohammad Zaki 352—354

48. The 'Sarbangi' of Rajabdas
   —Shahabuddin Iraqi 355—359

49. An Evaluation of Gulzar-i-Azar-al-Sufiyyah
   —M.Z. Siddiqi 360—364

50. Some Selected Farmans, Nishans, etc., of the Mughal Period—Ishwar Prakash Gupta 365—371

51. Sources for Awadh During the 17th Century
   —Mohammad Taiyab 372—376

52. Karnataoka Problem and Tabrez'i’s Golkonda letters
   —Masood Ahmed Khan 377—379
53. The adventures of Captain Robert Covert in Moghul India — Arvind Sharma 380—386

54. Sources for the History of Erstwhile Bhopal State — Y.K. Bukhari 387—389


Obituaries — Mohammed Yasin 398—399
— R.C. Majumdar 400—402

Proposed Programme for third Annual Conference 403—405

Announcement 406—407
Preface

The Indian History and Culture Society in its second session held at Delhi from 9-11, February, 1970, organised a seminar on the theme of Bias in Indian Historiography. Sixty one papers were presented of which fifty five appear in this volume. The topics covered range from the neglect of oral source materials to biases such as regional, Hindu, Muslim, Christian, imperial and Marxist. This section is followed by new or reinterpreted textual, archaeological and epigraphic data for the historian. The latter section is not mentioned in the main title to avoid cumbrousness.

The second seminar was a sequel to the first one held in February, 1978 in which a number of general and fundamental problems that confront the historian were discussed from a broad-based forum. These were published last year as Problems of Indian Historiography.

The topics proposed for the three seminars and the contents of the two sets of the Proceedings convey our major concern: to arrive at new and viable frames of reference for the reinterpretation of Indian history through the identification of its unique i.e. specific features. In this major task we invite, from all quarters, as much discussion and debate as possible.

After editing the two volumes I may be allowed a comment on our command of the language. Contending with so much 'INDISH', including my own, has convinced me that if we want, what I may describe as our refreshing but rudimentary stage of originality and intellectual freedom to evolve further, we should express ourselves in Indian languages far more than we have done so far.
The contents of this book are arranged chronologically and subject-wise although the late arrival of some revised papers has resulted in a few deviations. We apologise for lack of uniformity in the placing of footnotes and in the matter of certain spellings. We also regret the printing lapses which have remained in spite of our best efforts.

In the end the Indian History and Culture Society would like to thank the Indian Council of Historical Research for financial assistance to the value of Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 15,000 respectively for the publication of the Proceedings of Sessions held in 1978 and 1979.

Devaliuti

Delhi, 1980
Aims and Objectives of

Indian History and Culture Society

History and culture encompass a very large area of intellectual activity to include multiple genres of man's response to objects, events, and ideas of which he is at the same time creator, observer and recipient. These genres range from the critically controlled to the imaginative and cognitive. The widening base of education in India—populous, developing, and with a premium on learning in its value system—is leading to a gradual increase in the numbers of those who derive at least their livelihood, if not also moral sustenance, from intellectual activity.

The thoughts and ideas, written and unwritten, produced by this activity unless regularly exposed to sympathetic and critical evaluation by its holders, both at an intimate, group level, and at a wider community and mass media level, face the dangers of inbreeding. There are not so many forums promoting such discussion that one more is too many.

The Indian History and Culture Society has been formed at a time when it has become necessary to ask some basic questions about the study and writing of history in our country. A forum is needed for a dialogue among likeminded as well as contending historians so that a consensus can be reached, no doubt to give rise to conflict and then a further consensus, in a continuing process. Not only is interaction needed among historians themselves, between them and other social scientists, but also between them and those who make history—the artists, literary writers and philosophers. For it is the activity of these latter which culminates in a norm of collective action and becomes an integral part of concrete history. They are as much the makers of history as the agents of change, both in the sense of evolution and in the sense of permutation and innovation, as are the mechanisms
of production and distribution during any age. Integrated history, therefore, is involved with the arts, humanities and social sciences.

For the study of Indian history in general, we are very much in need of Indian frameworks of reference because the general becomes intelligible only through the specific, the universal through the unique. Abstractions are intimately connected with actualities and must flow from them. Moreover, one view of actuality may differ from another in time and space and lead to a different set of abstractions, even in the matter of universal institutions. Thus, not only would the medieval European approach to family and kingship be found to be different from the modern European, but the latter would be unlike the modern American, Chinese or Indian. While different historical approaches are valid for their own time and place, they will ring true to us, if they do, in part or in whole, or not at all, only if we comprehend them in terms of our own reality and our own past experience.

We have to be our own 'messiahs', to feel, to understand, to interpret our own history, and to appreciate the validity or otherwise of the 'revelations' of others—of their frames of reference in other words, in our context of time and place.

To comprehend history, we have to keep on observing the remains and reading our sources till we are able to see those objects in use and those people in action. The essential matter of history is not what happened, but what people thought and said about it. The essential matter of Indian history is what the Indian people, ordinary or special, thought and said about events and ideas. It is that self-definition which represents the Indian feel for, attitude towards, and use of history even if it be the rejection of history as real, i.e., of ultimate significance, and therefore its transmutation into myths and symbols. By understanding the process of how they made history, the philosophers, the kings, the social reformers, the artists, the artisans, the tillers, shall
we be able to discern their attitude to history. This will supply us with Indian frameworks, possibly dissimilar to each other owing to factors of space, time and external influences. It may indeed be that some of these are analogous to frameworks worked out by other civilizations. The important thing is that we would have cognised them as Indian assumptions. Comparisons with others would, no doubt, provide us with a more meaningful understanding of Indian frameworks.

To discuss these and related questions, the Indian History and Culture Society had organised a seminar in March, 1978, on the theme, Indian History Writing—an exercise in self-examination. Its second seminar on Bias in Indian Historiography was held from 9th to 11th Feb. 1979.

For the third Annual Conference and Seminar in 1980 plans are now being finalized. There is a keen need for interchange of ideas on a number of fundamental issues as well as on several important subjects. We need to identify, for instance, the components of our culture on the basis of which generalisations are made, and to understand the spirit of our tradition which we seek to harmonise with modernity. We also need to deal with specific problems of immediate relevance, such as India's political culture, the role of the intellectual, the logic and illogic of Hindu communalism and of Muslim communalism, the linguistic ethos, and so forth.

The Indian History and Culture Society intends to have a base as wide as permissible under its title, with regard to participants, subjects to be discussed and activities to be carried out. It invites the participation and cooperation of all scholars sympathetic to its aims and ideals.
Second Session of the Indian History and Culture Society, New Delhi, Feb. 9-11, 1979

Friends, we meet after a successful year. A year in which we have done some solid work. Also a year in which we have countered some solid, although completely uncalled for, resistance. I shall refer to it later.

Those of you who were here for the first seminar on Indian History Writing will recall a number of lively sessions, a good amount of fruitful discussion, both conflict and consensus in good measure, and the enthusiastic response of all the delegates, who, oblivious of time, would continue their discussions, well beyond the scheduled closing time on all the three days.

The advent of the Indian History and Culture Society filled a lacuna. It also fulfilled a pent up need, first of all, just to have the opportunity to talk in a national community of scholars and equally importantly to be able to speak without inhibition. So a number of scholars told us. It was touching and fulfilling at the same time when they said that they had felt deprived of a basic need for a long time and that they regarded the new forum so precious that they would want to build it up, to strengthen, and expand it.

The issues that were taken up at the first seminar had been chosen for discussion after a good deal of deliberation—they were some of the basic issues which disturb the Indian intellectual in general and the historian in particular. The intrinsic need for identifying oneself in relation to one’s culture and analysing one’s culture, both with faith and doubt. That we all know is a tall order, also one which is a continuing
process—only in our case we have to start with a heavy backlog

We cannot afford to lose time, nor slacken our pace. We have entered the fourth decade after the cataclysmic event of freedom and we feel unfree intellectually. We feel bound not only by the sheer physical insufficiency of knowledge, but by attitudes, approaches, and frames of reference which we find constrain and distort our effort to understand ourselves.

The physical insufficiency of knowledge, when you give it a thought, is colossal, and consists of areas of vital importance. If we are studying the north we lack any intimate knowledge of the south, the east and the west of the country, and so on when we make any other direction our point of reference. Having accepted as gospel truth that history begins with the written word we remain unacquainted with our oral tradition, or we do not try to understand the logic of its development through the oral, to the writing and re-writing stages. We are ignorant of our so-called tribal cultures, both of the hills and the plains. We have made no effort at a comparative study of our languages and literatures to mark their specificities and to identify in them the common denominators of our culture. We have not examined the question of the roots, organic growth and syntheses of various indigenous and foreign influences on our art styles, nor have we tried to sift the elements of unity and individuality in our monuments. How, indeed, can we do it when we are only vaguely aware of the presence, say, of the beautiful architecture complexes of early medieval period in the open plains of Madhya Pradesh, or of the rock-cut temples in the mountain terrain of the Himalayas. It is only very recently that a detailed study of the Orissa temples has been made. There is nil effort on our part to promote the study of foreign languages imperative for the study of Indian history, such as Greek, Arabic, or Chinese, let alone Aramaic, Kawi or Tagalog. We have only a superficial awareness of the signi-
Sciences of Central Asian and South-east Asian studies for locating the sources of Indian dynamics.

With regard to the ancient and medieval periods, we have for the most part, in the last few decades, worked on the peripheries of existing knowledge and tried to fit the facts of Indian history in the medieval-Europe-frames-of-reference which for quite some time have been undergoing drastic revision, for they too were worked out on the basis of a unitary or insufficiently pluralist approach to human affairs that dominated early modern Europe. Regarding our modern period we have swung rather helplessly from the colonial to the anti-colonial interpretation of Indian history. In addition, our brand of modernity has irrationally ignored such human actions as spring from idealistic impulses, and condemned those which arise from the need for identity with a tangible, viable core such as religion, language, cultural nationhood or political nationhood.

These are the issues of uniqueness and universality, conflict and consensus, identity and approaches which we tried to scratch the surface of in our last year’s discussions and which in the form of our inadequately worked-upon papers are now published in a bound volume entitled Problems of Indian Historiography.

We have impressed upon the need for a holistic, integrated approach to the study of history. Not only is interaction needed among historians themselves, between them and other social scientists, but also between them and those who make history—the artists, the literary writers, the philosophers, the scientists whose activity culminates in a norm of collective action and becomes an integral part of concrete history.

We have also affirmed that we believe in a pluralist, multi-model approach to history—one which does not think in terms of the undifferentiated dominance of one factor
over all others all the time, but in terms of different permutations and combinations of factors at given times and places in history.

In as much as the historian responds to the social situation, we do not brand criminal, the nationalist, the communist, the colonialist or the marxist historian; we try to understand him. For the present and the future we plead for a heightening of historical awareness about the reality of bias but not its inevitability, the inevitability of values but of a crying need to raise their quality.

The Indian History and Culture Society, it may be reiterated, is a challenge to no one, because we wish to contain conflict in the framework of consensus—we do not want to restrict consensus within the framework of conflict as in the party system in the field of politics the world over. We do not want the party system to engulf the academic, intellectual world. We wish to analyse each issue, and each situation on its merit. We want no walls and a constant dialogue between opposites. We believe in a continuous exercise in self-examination.

Name me one institution which in the very year of its inception started with an openness of approach that we practised. The most outspoken of all our papers—"Modern India and the Bengal School of History—a critique", uncompromisingly attacks Bengali historians of which we have two among our patrons. Of these Prof. R. C. Majumdar has been the special butt of attack in circles that regard our Society a challenge. A challenge we might be in the sense that we salute R. C. Majumdar for his versatility, width of knowledge, pioneering work and continuous updating of materials in many fields, but a challenge we also are in the fact that we presented such a criticism. We see beyond our noses and we are no less ruthless than we are sympathetic to our historical personality.
If the Indian History and Culture Society has, through its very appearance, succeeded in cracking the magic ring consisting of certain historians it is because of their nervousness at being exposed. For it is well known that they are assiduously engaged in maintaining their hold over the scholars’ media and machinery for personal positions and gains behind the smoke-screen of an ideology which they know little about, understand less and practice least whether in life or in historical writing. They indulge in repression at the lower level, nepotism at the higher level, and produce unhistorical writings which harm historiography and, more seriously, society.

Threatened by our free, open, multi-causal, and multi-model approach to history these self-styled ‘progressives’ have tried to malign the I.H.C.S. as “obscurantist”. We would just like to say that the two volumes of our Proceedings, the character of our membership, and the invitees at the two conferences from our credentials.

A lot of intellectuals consider it axiomatic that there should be conflict between them and the political party in power. Such conflict can certainly be lessened if its causes can be identified.

Holders of power must clash whether it is the intellectual, political or economic power they hold. They must also collude because they can not be effective without each other. The more highly esteemed the variety of power in the current value system and practice, the greater its strength vis-à-vis other kinds of powers.

Another important reason for the conflict between intellectuals and politicians (aggravated when the latter are in power) may be traced to the difference in their thought structures. The intellectuals—even those who defer to
credal dictatorship—do recognise in theory the legitimacy of different approaches. On the political level these can best be accommodated through a multi-party consensus and not through a two-party system which is only the first stage of improvement on rule by a single person whatever the nature of checks upon him. There is not, therefore, a rapport of minds between the intellectual and the politician. The next best thing to such a rapport is respect for diversity among the intellectuals by the rulers. The greater the coalitional nature and consensus-orientation of the government, resulting in an affinity of their thought process with the intellectuals, the greater the possibility of their mutual happy relationship. But where is the ray of hope for an intellectual—politician consensus, in a two-party system which is one of the various manifestations of the conflict model, and which also dominates, in practice, the intellectual world, specially in certain disciplines.

People of a similar train of thought, however, must exist among politicians and the intellectuals need not be so presumptuous as to believe that they have the monopoly of liberalism.

On our part we wish to practice, what we hold dear in theory: the one truth is that truth is manifold. And so our fight against monolithism in whichever form it may express itself, in historiography or in society.

—Dervahuti
Presidential Address

K. A. Nizami

Fellow delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen!

I am deeply conscious of the honour the founder-members of the Indian History and Culture Society have done me in electing me President of the Second Session of their Society. The Society has just completed a year of its existence but the ideals and objectives which inspired its foundation have justly been hailed as fulfilling a great need of the hour. At a time when the reconstruction of the history of our country has to be carried forward, the formation of this Society has reminded the historians of their responsibilities and has informed them what O’clock it is in the history of India and whither are we moving! Its role is not negative—to point out merely where others have failed or faltered—but to emphasize positively and constructively that history is essentially a quest for truth and ‘Truth’ being a value in itself cannot be subordinated to any other value, however impressive or sacrosanct. It stands to liberate history from the superstitions of nationalism, sectarianism, communalism, regionalism and parochialism as also from the imposition of imported jackets of theories which when indiscriminately applied to Indian history, blur historical perspective and sacrifice ‘truth’ at the altar of politically oriented approaches to historical studies. The Society has one and only one commitment and that is to ‘truth’.

As this Session of the Society will deal mainly with two themes; ‘Bias in Indian Historiography’ and ‘Source materials,’ I wish to confine myself to these topics in this Address.

Modern Indian historiography owes its beginning to British scholars who, soon after the occupation of the country, applied their mind to the study of the history, society
and culture of India in the light of their imperialistic needs. While no honest assessment can ignore the contribution made by these British historians to preserve the historical literature, records and relics of India, it is also undeniable that their colonial interests determined their approach to history. Sir Henry Elliot's idea in placing the historical literature of medieval India before the people was to "make our native subjects more sensible of the immense advantages accruing to them under the mildness and equity of our rule" (I p. XXII) He, therefore, blackened the Indian past to glorify the British present and used medieval Indian history as an instrument for the implementation of the formula 'counter-poise of Indians against Indians' evolved by the British Army Commission. Sir Henry Elliot's Memorandum to the Home Government makes his motives abundantly clear. He had a proud consciousness of "our high destiny as the rulers of India" and was confident that if the "tyranny and capriciousness of the despotic rulers" of medieval India was discussed in that way, it would make the Indians shudder at their past and hail the British regime as a blessing. "We should no longer" wrote Elliot, "hear bombastic Babus, enjoying under our government the highest degree of personal liberty, and many more political privileges than were ever conceded to a conquered nation, rant about patriotism. If they would dive into any of the volumes mentioned herein... (they would) learn that in the days of that dark period for whose return they sigh, even the bare utterance of their ridiculous fantasies would have been attended, not by silence and contempt but with the severer discipline of molten lead or impalement. We should be compelled to listen no more to the clamours against resumption of rent-free tenures." In his attempt to serve the imperialistic needs of the British government in India, Sir Henry Elliot blurred our historical perspective and, by his subtle insinuations, poisoned the springs of our national life. For generations these volumes have been the basis of countless text books on Indian history and the virus so imperceptibly
injected by Elliot has dangerously affected the ideology of three generations. The fact that the 'bombastic Babus' were clamouring not for the return of the middle ages but for advance into a 'newer age' was, of course, quite unintelligible to an Anglo-Indian administration of Elliot's type.

Notwithstanding a serious complaint made by Rhys Davids in the early 20th century that in spite of half a century of University Education, Indians had not made any worthwhile contribution to the history of India, it is a fact that during the first three decades of the present century, Indian historians like J. N. Sarkar, Bhandarkar, Ranade, Sulaiman Nadvi, Tara Chand, Mohd. Habib, R P Tripathi and others produced works which were characterized by freshness of approach and succeeded considerably in divesting Indian history of the communal bias which imperialist historians had introduced in it.

With the dawn of freedom Indian historiography entered another phase but as an unfortunate concomitant of the partition of the country, historical works of the sub-continent assumed communal overtones. Inevitable as this reaction was, it was bound to be short-lived and transitory. As Indian historiographical studies were pulling out of this situation, a slogan was raised 'no theory, no history' and the trappings of an imported ideology were sought to be imposed on Indian historical studies. There is no harm if different theories of history are used as tools for interpreting the historical data from different angles, but when, in the fashion of medieval orthodoxy wherein every religion claimed to be the sole custodian of true faith and dubbed all others as misguided, the advocates of the new theory started claiming that they alone represented the correct historical approach and that all others were either incompetent, or communalists or reactionaries, it posed a threat to intellectual freedom. Most of the writers thus condemned were neither incompetent, nor reactionaries; their only fault
was that they did not subscribe to their ideology as an article of faith. The Marxist theory of history is, no doubt, interesting and thought-provoking but to dub all other approaches as 'unscientific' is fraught with dangerous consequences of curtailing freedom of enquiry, investigation and interpretation. Every country has its own historiographical traditions and the source material is ultimately rooted in the attitudes and traditions of the people who produced it, and can be scrutinized only in the light of their own conceptual framework. To ignore all this and to regiment historical thought to revolve round and investigate only class-struggle and to concentrate on economic aspects to the exclusion of all other equally, if not more, important aspects of religion, culture, thought and traditions is tantamount to distortion of Indian history. Emile Durkheim's view that religion is the source of superior culture fully applies to India. If the history of a country which has been the cradle of religions and where rishis, bhagats, gurus, sufis and saints have toiled to inculcate moral and spiritual ideals and have looked down upon materialistic pursuits, is sought to be interpreted in terms of economic needs only, the urges and aspirations of the Indian people, may even their psyche and the direction of their thought, can never be properly understood. The situation becomes alarmingly disturbing when the props of a political organization are provided for propagation of the ideology.

In fact, human life and activity cannot be explained merely in terms of the means of production. A variety of factors - religious, psychological, social, environmental and moral - influence human behaviour which is a complex phenomena of actions and reactions to different situations. To peg human personality and all its motivations round its economic needs is sustainable neither psychologically nor sociologically. Max Weber rightly disagrees with the view that everything originates from material factors. History is, and should be, concerned with the totality of human
experience in space and time. Then alone a complete picture of society and a correct perspective of history can emerge. History may or may not be a biography of individuals; it is no doubt a biography of nations and civilizations which like individuals has a ‘memory’, perpetuating its needs, its traditions and even its mistakes, as also its aspirations and ideals. Chateaubriand once remarked: “The Greeks would not have liked an Egyptian temple at Athens any more than the Egyptians would have liked a Greek temple at Memphis. These two monuments, moved from their own milieu, would have lost their chief beauty, that is their connection with the institutions and habits of the people.” The same is true of the historical traditions of a country. You remove them from their context and their significance is lost. Instruments of production do influence living conditions but social system and ideological apparatus are also potent factors in shaping the direction of human efforts. Attempts of some scholars to divert historical studies into parochial channels of ideological commitment, remind one of the fear that Lord Morley once expressed about historical studies in his day. He wrote: “There have been signs in our own day of its (conception of history) becoming narrow, pedantic and trivial. It threatens to degenerate from a broad survey of great periods and movements of human societies into vast and countless accumulations of insignificant facts, sterile knowledge, and frivolous antiquarianism, in which the spirit of epochs is lost, and the direction, meaning and summary of the various courses of human history all disappear.”

It was sometime in early thirties that the late Professor Mohd. Habib observed: “The history of India, as Indians have understood it, is the study of her religious and cultural movements.” In a subsequent work he has thus explained his view: “Religion had, at the great turning points of history in the past, been the chief instrument for this ideological revolution. In this lies its real value. The Marxist condemnation of religion as a whole is no longer necessary.
was that they did not subscribe to their ideology as an article of faith. The Marxist theory of history is, no doubt, interesting and thought-provoking but to dub all other approaches as 'unscientific' is fraught with dangerous consequences of curtailing freedom of enquiry, investigation and interpretation. Every country has its own historiographical traditions and the source material is ultimately rooted in the attitudes and traditions of the people who produced it, and can be scrutinized only in the light of their own conceptual framework. To ignore all this and to regiment historical thought to revolve round and investigate only class-struggle and to concentrate on economic aspects to the exclusion of all other equally, if not more, important aspects of religion, culture, thought and traditions is tantamount to distortion of Indian history. Emile Durkheim's view that religion is the source of superior culture fully applies to India. If the history of a country which has been the cradle of religions and where rishis, bhagats, gurus, sufis and saints have toiled to inculcate moral and spiritual ideals and have looked down upon materialistic pursuits, is sought to be interpreted in terms of economic needs only, the urges and aspirations of the Indian people, may even their psyche and the direction of their thought, can never be properly understood. The situation becomes alarmingly disturbing when the prop of a political organization are provided for propagation of the ideology.

In fact, human life and activity cannot be explained merely in terms of the means of production. A variety of factors - religious, psychological, social, environmental and moral-influence human behaviour which is a complex phenomena of actions and reactions to different situations. To peg human personality and all its motivations round its economic needs is sustainable neither psychologically nor sociologically. Max Weber rightly disagrees with the view that everything originates from material factors. History is, and should be, concerned with the totality of human
experience in space and time. Then alone a complete picture of society and a correct perspective of history can emerge. History may or may not be a biography of individuals; it is no doubt a biography of nations and civilizations which like individuals has a ‘memory’, perpetuating its needs, its traditions and even its mistakes, as also its aspirations and ideals. Chateaubriand once remarked: “The Greeks would not have liked an Egyptian temple at Athens any more than the Egyptians would have liked a Greek temple at Memphis. These two monuments, moved from their own milieu, would have lost their chief beauty, that is their connection with the institutions and habits of the people.” The same is true of the historical traditions of a country. You remove them from their context and their significance is lost. Instruments of production do influence living conditions but social system and ideological apparatus are also potent factors in shaping the direction of human efforts. Attempts of some scholars to divert historical studies into parochial channels of ideological commitment, remind one of the fear that Lord Morley once expressed about historical studies in his day. He wrote: “There have been signs in our own day of its (conception of history) becoming narrow, pedantic and trivial. It threatens to degenerate from a broad survey of great periods and movements of human societies into vast and countless accumulations of insignificant facts, sterile knowledge, and frivolous antiquarianism, in which the spirit of epochs is lost, and the direction, meaning and summary of the various courses of human history all disappear.”

It was sometime in early thirties that the late Professor Mohd. Habib observed: “The history of India, as Indians have understood it, is the study of her religious and cultural movements.” In a subsequent work he has thus explained his view. “Religion had, at the great turning points of history in the past, been the chief instrument for the ideological revolution. In this lies its real value. The Marxist condemnation of religion as a whole is no longer necessary,
We have to discriminate with reference to time and circumstances. There have been progressive adventures of human society which religion alone could undertake. What is going to happen to Indian history if all discussions of religion are made a taboo and all historical phenomena are seen and explained in terms of dialectical materialism!

Quantification of data is valuable as a means for checking conclusions based on other sources, but is not the only tool for historical formulations. Human behaviour does not lend itself to quantitative analysis and to repeated re-examination under identical conditions, and therefore all generalizations are unreliable. Marxism, as Finley has said, distorts human behaviour by reducing it to a monistic theory. Societies display both conflict and consensus and a truthful record should present both these aspects of human conduct.

Similarly any unilinear delineation of historical developments in India through the centuries is neither proper nor justifiable because human thought, as also the society, moves in ascents and descents. At times Marxist tools of analysis have been helpful in studying particular aspects of Indian history e.g. the British economic exploitation of India and the role of 'Indian tribute' in the industrialization of Britain. But this does not mean that the historical development of modern India has all along been unilinear. If there have been peasant revolts there have also been socio-religious reaction to the expansion of Western religious and cultural ethos.

Likewise patterning the history of India as one of orthodoxy and liberalism or religious commitment and secularism is basically unsound. The whole thesis leads to a wrong assumption that if in a society there is an increase of activity in the direction of the secular pole, there must be a corresponding decrease of energy in the direction of the religious pole. It is incorrect to hold, remarks Hexter that 'the flow of social energy in the direction of any such pole
can take place only by way of subtraction from the flow of energy to the opposite pole.' Commenting on Polard's *Factors in Modern History*, he has very correctly observed: 'If we adopt (the polar view)...we court confusion...Although between the opposed members of each (pair) there is tension, the issue is never *either or* it is always *more or less*...the question is never how one can annihilate the other; it is how to strike a viable balance between them, under varying conditions to work out ever anew the terms of adjustment and reconciliation'.

Permanent categorization and labelling of men and movements thwarts understanding of their real role in history. In fact, no individual, or group or sect can be permanently placed in any such category. For instance, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi and his school of thought is labelled as representing orthodoxy but it is completely forgotten that one of his spiritual descendants, Mirza Mazhar Jan-i-Janah gave evidence of great spiritual virility and dynamism when he included the Hindus among *ahl-i-Kitab* and declared the Vedas to be a revealed Book. Dara Shukoh, the greatest exponent of liberal thought in his day, pays eloquent tribute to Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, something which modern critics of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi can hardly explain or understand. In fact, while looking back at the past we should not inject our present-day prejudices and predilections. The concept of orthodoxy or liberalism which we have today may not have existed then with the same implications. Liberty was one thing in nineteenth century France, and quite another in fifth century Athens. Let not our modern concepts be projected in the study of the past. Past should be judged in the context of the past.

I may be permitted to cite a couple of examples to illustrate how distortion may follow even from partial or incomplete data:

To say that Mahmud of Gharni attacked India for
economic reasons is correct but it is a distortion if the statement ends here. One has to add that he destroyed Indian temples. But this also does not complete the picture. It must be added that his contemporary saint Abul Hasan Bulami refused to accept gold from Somnath because he thought that the campaign was not in consonance with the teachings of the Prophet. The picture of Mahmud will be complete only when it is also added that the famous Persian poet Sa'di considered Mahmud avuncular and greedy and that his contemporary Alberuni remarked that Mahmud’s invasions created bitterness against Islam in Indian mind. Any attempt to suppress any of these aspects would distort history and prevent correct assessment.

Akbar was doubtless a ruler with a broad vision who sought to establish an Indian empire on the identity of political and economic interests. But why suppress the significance of Rana Pratap’s struggle against him or refuse to understand the viewpoint of the Rashtraimgas, Akbar’s efforts to give a really Indian character to the Mughal Empire were laudable but why suppress the fact that his attempt to assume the role of religious leadership was resented both by the Hindus and the Muslims, more by the Muslims as they saw grave danger to their faith in his experiments.

Similarly, while highlighting Aurangzeb’s attitude towards the Shias, the fact should be stated that out of his 4 wazirs 3 were Shias and one was a Hindu!

Examples may be multiplied. What is needed is a total picture of men and movements without injecting any bias or without introducing any pre-fabricated theories to justify or malign their actions.

Indian historical scholarship has to reiterate its commitment to truth and nothing but truth, and all considerations of theories and their propagation to sustain any approach should be discarded. It is not objectionable to have an
approach or even a natural sympathy with the subject, but deliberate distortions to suit theories have to be rejected. Every writer should be free to view the historical landscape from whatever angle he wishes to and so long as he is truthful and has no axe to grind he should be heard with patience. Let a thousand flowers bloom in the field of historical research and investigation for therein lies the future of Indian historical studies.

Freedom has brought new facilities of historical research and vast treasures of source material are now coming to light. Our accent has rightly shifted from the rulers and the ruling dynasties to the people. This is in keeping with the new democratic urges in the country. There should be an all-out effort to make it possible for every research scholar to reach the source material without difficulty. The recent discovery of Geniza records has brought to light new aspects of Indian involvement in international trade. The formation of an international trading corporation known as Karim (In Tamil Karyam means business) in which Hindus, Arabs, Christians, Jews and others were involved was an interesting experiment in international trade. The information about Indian imports and exports found in these documents is extremely revealing and valuable. Six varieties of iron and steel, 12 types of brass and bronze vessels and several types of textiles, particularly Indian muslin referred to as lanus and lalis appear in the export lists, besides timber, spices, aromatics etc.
are an important adjunct to our study of Indian history and culture. The regional historian is in a better position to tap all the available literature in local languages and dialects. But all such studies should help in providing an integrated picture of the total Indian scene and should not try to take out the history of any particular region from the mainstream of Indian life. Macro and micro studies of Indian society should proceed hand in hand, checking and testing the generalizations on the basis of regional studies. For instance, Bernier’s account of the agrarian scene of India is not fully corroborated by some agrarian studies pertaining to Rajasthan and Golconda.

It is necessary for Indian historical scholarship to establish closer contact with South East Asian and West Asian countries for an extended Asiatic view of our history. It will provide the conspectus necessary for understanding the interaction of cultural forces. For instance, a number of foreign teams of archaeologists are working in Syria but there is no Indian participation in them. A careful study of these sites would bring many interesting aspects of Indian cultural influences to light. The civilizations which flourished on the Euphrates, the Nile, the Indus and the Ganges have to be studied in depth and detail. Besides, the libraries of West Asian countries have to be intensively consulted to assess how much material is available there having a bearing on Indian history and culture. The history of the Delhi Sultanate begins from the 12th century when there was a general gloom and frustration prevailing in Indian society. This has made many scholars oblivious of the achievements of Indian scholarship in the earlier centuries and its impact on Arab lands. I may be permitted to quote from my work on the thirteenth century:

“This gloomy picture of Indian Society in the 11th and 12th centuries should not however, make one oblivious of the intellectual achievements of Hinduism in the preceding ages. Long before the advent of the
Turks, Hindu contributions in the sphere of mathematics, astronomy, toxicology, chemistry, medicine, astrology, parables and politics had attracted the attention of the Arabs and large number of Sanskrit works on these subjects had been translated into Arabic. This glorious intellectual heritage of India was, however, not open to the Indian masses in the 11th and 12th centuries. The Mussalmans brought with them, besides their own sciences, many of the sciences which they had initially borrowed from the Hindus.” (p. 74)

A study of the Arab literature would facilitate evaluation of the impact of Indian scholarship on Arab lands and vice versa. South East Asian countries have also much to contribute to an understanding of the history of Indian cultural relations with Malaysia and Indonesia.

This is time that a concerted effort is made to organize, calendar and catalogue material which is available in India and to take stock of what is of value for our history in South East Asian and West Asian countries. With increasing UNESCO interest in such studies, a venture of this type would be fully rewarding. A great French historian, Fustel de Coulanges, once observed: “Years of analysis is required for a day of synthesis.” Let us hope that our efforts would one day help us in viewing Indian history and culture in all its aspects and free from all sorts of distortions and misrepresentations.

Before I close I would like to draw attention to the risks involved in translation of terms and concepts. If in translations we are not able to adhere to the original connotation, historical thinking will get blurred and it would be difficult to correct the impressions later. The use of English terms for Indian institutions which developed in a different background hinders clear understanding of many institutions. Original terms should be explained carefully but use of equi-
should be avoided. A number of misconceptions about Mughal administration have arisen from ignorance of the original connotation of terms. One instance would suffice. Economic historians often use the term *aimah dar* for stipend holders and consider the word *aimah* to be plural of *imam*, religious leader. In fact the term is *yema* not *â’ima*. In the Turkish language *yema* means "daily bread or allowance."

An atmosphere of intellectual freedom, respect for every genuine point of view and sincerë effort to view the history and culture of India in a broad historical perspective alone can lead to a coherent conception of the imperatives of historical understanding. The Indian History and Culture Society should remain committed to this ideal.
Valedictory Address

RAMLAL PARIKH

History has been defined in many ways and its definition goes on changing from time to time but the important thing is that history continues to grow and widen. It has ever-widening dimensions and ever-lengthening horizons. Its focus is becoming increasingly larger and deeper. It is most unfortunate that enough attention is not being given to the understanding of the philosophy of history. Without relating events in the framework of basic philosophy, as a science of human endeavour, in quest of Truth, historiography would not be able to retain much significance. This is particularly relevant in the case of Indian history which needs to be studied from the point of view of diversity and totality together. This will not be possible unless the prevalent fragmentary approach to history is given up.

Of late, there has been lot of interaction between history and social sciences and this has led to the treading of new ground by scholars of history such as in social history, cultural history, economic history, the history of science, etc. This should promote the widening process of history. While we should continue to strive for filling up the real gaps in our knowledge of history we should not fall prey to the narrowing process of so-called social sciences.
spell of methodology. This reinforces the need to study the founding disciplines of philosophy and history, as basic to all knowledge. These two were the fundamental disciplines for cultivating knowledge and critical understanding of any event or problem whether past or present. We view history through the contemporary prism so that Croce proclaimed “All history is contemporary”. By this statement he also wanted to stress the importance of all historical knowledge to our contemporary life.

Historical knowledge has also been described as “an unending dialogue between present and past”. Whichever way it is explained, it is certain that history will continue to absorb the attention of generations to come in search of truth. We are all in this quest and the founding of the Indian History and Culture Society is an important step in this unending quest.

The myth of social sciences has now been exploded. Social sciences, far from widening their dimensions, are narrowing fast and in some cases have reached a crippling stage. Their claim to modernity and contemporaneity is also fast collapsing. The British author Mr. M.M. Postan in his famous essay “Facts and Relevance” has reflected on this and has established that the so-called modern disciplines of social sciences are fast narrowing and in the process, reaching the point of non-relevance and extinction. For example, economics has reduced itself to computerisation and sociology which started with a big claim to study society as a whole, is now confining itself to extremely limited aspects of some social institutions like caste, family and the like. It is almost on the verge of winding up itself. With the decline in these major disciplines of social sciences all eyes are on history again. The historians’ responsibilities, have therefore, become very great.

Although the science of historiography developed in India much later, perhaps after Kalhana’s ‘Rajatarangini,
the responsibility of a historian was defined allegorically as early as in the Vedic age. The following Sanskrit verse by Bhrigu Rishi in the Atharvaveda quoted by Prof. Rasiklal Parikh,* envisions a historian riding a horse with seven strings at a time and compares him to a person with a thousand eyes which stand for a thousand perspectives.

*Kalo Ashvo Vahti Saptarashmi Sahasiraksho Afro Bhunireta Tamarohanti Kayyo Vyaschitah Tasya Chakra Bhuranani Vishva

* * *

The Kala (Time) is a horse with seven strings, six seasons, the seventh additional month, and has a thousand eyes. It is unaging, unending and heroic. It carries all planets of the universe as its wheels. It is on such a horse that the learned poets ride*.

These then are the infinite horizons of history. Let the Indian History and Culture Society aspire to reach these horizons through the many young and energetic scholars of history attending this conference. We need their heroic effort to regain for history its place in learning as a fountain source of all knowledge.

* In his lectures on "Itibhas nu Swarup"
Bias in Indian Historiography

Subjects proposed for Seminar organised by the Second Annual Conference of the IICS held at Vishwa Yuvak Kendra, February 9—11, 1979

I. Greek bias in Indian historiography: illustrations and study of the tendency on the part of Western scholars to attribute developments they consider positive to Greek influence, e.g. the suggestion that Nagarjuna of Milindapanha may have been a Greek.

II. Christian bias in Indian historiography: illustrations and study of the tendency on the part of Western scholars to attribute developments considered positive to Christian influence, e.g. exaggerating the influence of Christianity on Mahatma Gandhi.

III. Imperialist bias in Indian historiography: Illustrations and study of the tendency on the part of Western, particularly British, scholars to justify British rule over India, e.g. the writings of Vincent Smith.

IV. Foreign bias in Indian historiography: illustrations and study of the view that the stimulus to any progress in India has come from outside India—through the Aryans, the Greeks, the Arabs and Turks, the Mongols and finally the British, e.g., the claim that Brahmi is derived from a Semitic script notwithstanding the evidence of Indus Valley culture and the Later Vedic texts.

V. Racial bias in Indian historiography: illustrations and study of the overplaying of the so-called Aryan-Dravidian conflict.
VI. Self-righteous bias in Indian historiography: criticism of Indian institutions such as the caste-system by say British scholars whose own society is acutely class conscious.

VII. Face-saving bias in Indian historiography: attempts to conceal the enormity of the negative aspects of British rule in India, e.g., the casual treatment of the Jalianwala Bagh massacre, or the Bengal famines.

VIII. Linguistic bias in Indian historiography: through such terms as "oriental despotism" pejorative adjectival use of "native" etc., labelling of patriotism, as "sedition" and revolutionaries as terrorists; currency of the expression "Black Hole".

IX. "Catch 22" bias in Indian historiography: any positive development due to British while Indians, responsible for any negative development.

X. Marxist bias in Indian historiography: e.g., conflation of "class" with other factors.

XI. Hindu bias in Indian historiography: e.g., concealment of the Muslim parentage of Kabir in Hindu hagiography.

XII. Muslim bias in Indian historiography: e.g., suppression of the fact that even Akbar, at one stage in his life, forcibly converted Hindus.

**Original Sources**

New materials or fresh interpretation of known materials: literature, epigraphy, numismatics, art and architecture, archaeology, maps and others.
List of Contributors

1. B.B. Lal — Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla

2. Sachchidananda Vatsyayan — Bharatiya Jnanapith, Connaught Place, New Delhi

3. Ved P. Vatuk — Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, Ca., U.S.A.

4. Warren Fusfeld — C/o Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh

5. B. P. Sinha — Patna University, Patna

6. G. S. Chhabra — Jammu University, Jammu

7. K. C. Verma — KB - 32, Old Kavinagar, Ghaziabad, 201002

8. Parimal Kumar Das — Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi

9. Om Prakash — Allahabad University, Allahabad

10. A.B.L. Awashti — Sagar University, Sagar

11. B. N. Puri — Lucknow University, Lucknow

12. Nand Kishore Kumar — Patna University, Patna

13. Rajiv Sharma — Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh

14. Raghavendra Vajpeyi — Delhi University, Delhi

15. K. C Jena — Berhampur University, Orissa

16. S. R. Goyal — Jodhpur University, Jodhpur
40. K S Behera — Utkal University, Orissa
41. R Dasgupta — Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi
42. Zafrul Islam — Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh
43. V Kunnath — Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh
44. S A Latif — Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh
45. Mohammad Zaki — Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh
46. Shahabuddin Iraqi — Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh
47. M. Z. Siddiqi — Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh
48. Ishwar Prakash Gupta — Delhi University, Delhi
49. Mohammad Taqiy — Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh
50. Masood Ahmed Khan — Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh
51. Y. K. Bukhari — Director, Indian Archives, Bhopal
52. Syed Layaqat Hussain Mooin — Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh
Pride and Prejudice in Archaeological Interpretation

B. B. Lal

THE PURPOSE of the present note is to bring to the surface an approach in archaeological interpretation, which results from certain elements that are present—only the degree may vary—in the subconscious minds of archaeologists, but of which we may or may not be aware. The elements I wish to refer to are pride and prejudice, which have often been found to play a very vital role in our interpretation of archaeological data and even in the laying down of the guidelines of our approaches. May it be stressed that it is not the intention to decry or extol these vices and virtues—according to how we look upon them—but to stir us up to attempt a self-analysis and to find out if and how far these elements have played a part in our own writings or in our approaches to certain problems. We may not confess in public, if we do not feel like doing so, but let us at least look within ourselves for the truth. Even this latter step might lead us to a better understanding of our own writings and approaches and consequently of our colleagues.

We know that our actions are guided by what we think. And what are thoughts? These are mental reactions to external objects, words, etc., guided by a bundle of
memories including archetypal images. Memories, in turn are remnants of earlier reactions sieved through the mesh of the individual's mental make-up. This make-up comprises, amongst so many other elements, those of pride and prejudice. Thus, in the ultimate analysis, pride and prejudice do play a part, however significant, or insignificant, in our thinking, unless we rise above the level of the individual mental make up. But how many of us can do that?

We may now consider the actual process in which these two elements come into play in our writings or approaches. More often than not our excavations, explorations and allied research-projects are planned with a view to finding out 'something', which, on the basis of other factors, viz., literary, traditional, geographical, etc., we expect would occur at a particular site or in a given area. This is not to say that it should or should not be so. It is only a statement of facts - of how things happen in actual practice. Thus, it would be seen that we are often propelled by certain expectations which, in the long run, take the form of, would it be too much to say, our pre-conceived notions?

Let us, for example, suppose that we have been working in an area for a very long time and have established in that area a sequence of culture from the Neolithic to the Bronze Age; in the earlier stages there is the evidence of the beginning of domestication of plants and animals, then of developing village-life and finally of urbanization. Now, after a decade or two, some one else finds a Bronze Age culture in a neighbouring area. This culture does not tally with the culture in our area, except for the fact that it is also a Bronze Age one. In the neighbouring area the excavators have not yet found the earlier stages of the newly-discovered culture, In such a situation our first reaction would be that since in the neighbouring area the early stages are not represented and since our area does
have all the stages and since it would be somewhat unusual to expect another parallel development in a neighbouring area, the Bronze Age culture in the neighbouring area must owe its ultimate origin to our area. If the people working in the neighbouring area argue that their Bronze Age culture is different from ours even in broad outlines, let alone in minor details, we would go to the extent of saying that 'ideas have wings' and thus if not that culture itself, at least the idea must have travelled from our area, little bothering to pause and think that the origin of the neighbouring culture may still be found during the course of a future excavation in that land itself or there may be yet another area which may give a clue to the whole problem.

Having once thrown out a suggestion, howsoever mild at the beginning, to the effect that the neighbouring culture is likely to have developed as a facet of our Neolithic or Bronze Age cultures, we keep on repeating the idea, whenever and wherever an occasion presents itself, till

1 An example from Indian archaeology, illustrative of this attitude, may be cited as follows. Writing about the Indus Civilization, Gordon Childe argued, 'The delicate and, as we now see, enduring adaptation to the Indian environment represented in the Indus civilization, can only have been created and spread over a vast area after a long period of incubation on the spot. Yet this civilization, though contrasted to the Egyptian and the Sumerian as specifically Indian, rests upon the same fundamental ideas, discoveries, and inventions as theirs. The agreements are indeed mostly quite general and abstract—city life, cultivation of cereals, domestication of cattle and sheep, metallurgy, a textile industry, manufacture of bricks and pots, drilling of hard stones for beads, an affection for lapis lazuli, a knowledge of fayence. But even so they can hardly be regarded as independent inventions accumulated in similar environments.' New Light on the Most Ancient East (London, 1958), pp. 185-86

(Note In the above quotation, as also in the ones that follow 1
at last our attitude gets hardened into a "must". At that stage it becomes, not unoften, a matter of 'prestige' and our sense of pride does not permit us to give up our preconceived notions—in other words our prejudices. Rare are such people who do not throw out suggestions of the kind discussed above—we are all humans after all—and still rarer are those who, after having thrown out suggestions, are sporting enough to withdraw them!

There is yet another facet of the issue. If the excavator of the neighbouring land is a local person and happens to be unduly possessed of local enthusiasm, then we may be sure of having a tougher opposition to our theory. This opposition would, then be stemming essentially from a sense of local pride—a kind of perverted patriotism, however unjustified others might consider it—although in the presentation of his case the local celebrity may exploit the basic weakness (already referred to above in our theory. This is another way in which pride and prejudice tend to vitiate archaeological interpretations.

Let us now take up a concrete example from India. It relates to the problem of the Indo-Aryans. The purpose in taking up this problem is not to put forward any solution to it—far from it—but only to illustrate as to how the elements of pride and prejudice have played a dominant role in many of the interpretations that have been advanced from time to time.

* * *

Little did poor Filippo Sassetti, a Florentine merchant sojourning on the western sea-board of India some for


have taken the liberty of emphasizing certain words and phrases which substantiate the theme of this paper. These have been printed in bold letters in order to distinguish them from those printed in italics including names of books, occurring in the original.)
centuries ago, suspect that he was sowing the seeds of a problem that would be exploited in our times by a war-hungry dictator to suit his ends. Keeping his ears and eyes wide open, the Italian observed that some of the words in the Sanskrit language were akin to their counterparts in European languages. The idea was examined and developed by scholars until in 1876 Sir William Jones categorically declared that the similarity in the concerned languages, viz. Greek, Latin, Celtic, Lithuanian, Persian, Sanskrit, etc., could not but be due to their common origin. And here began the real problem: Could a language be dispersed without the agency of human beings? If yes, how? If not, was there a movement of people in ancient times which resulted in the dispersal of the same language to Europe on the one hand and India on the other? What was the nature of this movement? Are we to envisage a single set of people moving from place to place and spreading their language? Or, could it be that the language has been picked up by some other people and passed on still further? If this latter alternative cannot be expected to solve the problem in respect of the entire area of the distribution of the Indo-European languages then the former one may have to stand. In that case, a further query arises. Did the carriers of the Indo-European languages also have their own distinctive physical features? That is to say, are we to accept the one-time existence of separate Indo-European or Aryan ‘race’? Are we also to suppose that the material equipment that the Indo-Europeans used differed very much from what the others used? And further still, are we to envisage that these people moved from place to place with most of their own equipment, or at least insisted on producing it wherever they went? And above all what was the original home of these people? All these are questions extremely difficult to answer. Hundreds of scholars have tried to find solutions, but the questions remain more or less unanswered or only partially answered. A characteristic self-assessment came from the author of *The Aryans* himself. Writing a ‘Retrospect’
at last our attitude gets hardened into a "must". At that
stage it becomes, not unoften, a matter of 'prestige' and
our sense of pride does not permit us to give up our pre-
conceived notions—in other words our prejudices. Rare
are such people who do not throw out suggestions of
the kind discussed above—we are all humans after all—and
still rarer are those who, after having thrown out sugges-
tions, are sporting enough to withdraw them!

There is yet another facet of the issue. If the
excavator of the neighbouring land is a local person and
happens to be unduly possessed of local enthusiasm, then we
may be sure of having a tougher opposition to our theory.
This opposition would, then be stemming essentially from
a sense of local pride—a kind of perverted patriotism,
howsoever unjustified others might consider it—although
in the presentation of his case the local celebrity may
exploit the basic weakness (already referred to above in our
theory. This is another way in which pride and prejudice
tend to vitiate archaeological interpretations.

Let us now take up a concrete example from India. It
relates to the problem of the Indo-Aryans. The purpose
in taking up this problem is not to put forward any solution
to it—far from it—but only to illustrate as to how the
elements of pride and prejudice have played a dominant role
in many of the interpretations that have been advanced
from time to time.

* * *

Little did poor Filippo Sassetti, a Florentine merchant
sojourning on the western sea-board of India some for

have taken the liberty of emphasizing certain words and phrases which
substantiate the theme of this paper. These have been printed in bold
letters in order to distinguish them from those printed in italics
including names of books, occurring in the original.)
of Dusrratta, and his Hittite counterpart, Subuliuma. It is
dated to early fourteenth century B.C. Thus, those who
assume that the Aryans must have come to India from
outside state that their entry into India could not have
been earlier than this date. On the other hand, the same
inscriptional evidence has been utilized by the supporters
of the autochthonous theory to say that as the Aryan
deities, and hence the Aryans, had reached as far west as
Turkey by the middle of the second millennium B.C., in
their home-land, that is India, they must have been very
much older.

Here are some samples illustrating the positions taken
by the supporters of the two theories.

Referring to the Bogaz Keui tablets, Stuart Piggott
says: 'But the most exciting document is a treaty between
the Hittite king Subuliuma and the Mitannian Mattiuaza,
son of Dusrratta, in about 1380, in which the latter invokes
his gods as witnesses, in the formula ilani Mi-it-tra-as-si-il ilani
U-ru-w-na-as-si-il ilu In-da-ra ilani Na-sa-at-ti-ia-an-na. These
can only be the gods Mitra, Varuna, and Indra of the
ancient Indian pantheon as recorded in the earliest Sanskrit
religious texts (such as the Rigveda) described later, and the
last deity is likely to be the Nasatyas, an alternative name
for the heavenly twins, the Asvins, in the same literature.
This Hittite treaty does not, of course, mean that there were
Indians in the Mitannian kingdom at this time, ...'

He goes on to say: 'Archaeologically and linguistically,
this is the nearest one can bring Indo-European speakers
towards India in the second millennium B.C.'

The line of approach for dating the Rigveda also to a
period not earlier than the middle of the second millennium

---
3 Stuart Piggott, Prehistoric India (Harmondsworth 1965), p 250.
4 Ibid., p. 251
a few weeks before his sudden death in 1957, Gordon Childe stated in *Prehistoric Migrations in Europe* (1950) a return to my original quest for the Indo-Europeans completely failed to locate the cradle, while the plausible identification of the Indo-Europeans in Europe with urnfield-folk was refuted within ten years by the Ventris-Chadwick decipherment of the Mycenaean script and the discovery of earlier wheeled vehicles north of the Alps.2 The position has not changed very much since

In so far as the problem pertains to India, two opposing views have all along been expressed. According to one, the Aryans came from outside, entering India some time after 1500 B.C., and the *Rigveda*, their earliest document, is unlikely to have been earlier than 1200 B.C. The other view holds that the Aryans were autochthonous to India and it was from here that they migrated westwards. According to this view, the *Rigveda* is at least as old as 4000 B.C., though some would date it even to 6000 B.C. The supporters of the respective theories then try to fit into their schemes the archaeological cultures prevalent during the concerned periods, labelling them variously as 'Aryan', 'non-Aryan', 'pre-Aryan' or 'post-Aryan', to suit their respective predilections. Here it may perhaps be stated straightaway that so far no unimpeachable evidence has been adduced to prove or even to disprove either of the above-mentioned theories. In such a situation there is little wonder that guesses run wild and pride and prejudice safely prey on them

One of the earliest fixed points in the chronology of the Indo-Aryan language is the well-known inscription from Boghaz-Keui, which mentions the names of four Vedic gods, viz. Mitra, Varuna, Indra and Nasatyra, in the context of a treaty executed between the Milanni king Mattuaza, son

---

idea underlying this theory has a basis other than the purely scientific or historical one;—that idea being that this land of ours, the Bharata-varsa, has in it some such inherent defects as renders it unfit for having been the cradle of the said ‘noble’ people.”

A similar feeling is echoed in what is stated below.

“There is no evidence to show that these Vedic Aryans were foreigners or that they migrated into Sapta-Sindhu within traditional memory, despite the generally accepted theory of their foreign immigration. Sufficient literary materials are available to indicate, with some degree of certainty, what the Vedic Aryans themselves thought of the Sapta-Sindhu. They looked upon it as their original home, devakritayoni or devanirmitadesa. The Vedic literature is intensively Indian in tradition, technique and outlook. There is no outside source known from which it could have evolved or even drawn its inspiration. So far as is known, none of the Sanskrit books, not even the most ancient, contain any distinct reference or allusion to the foreign origin of the Indians.

“Migrating races look back to the land of their origin for centuries. Parsis in India remember their origin after 800 years. The ancient Egyptians looked back to the land of Pontus and the ancient Phoenicians to the Eurethrean Sea, their respective lands of origin, when they had already forgotten their location. The Vedic Aryans, if at all they came from outside, therefore, must have lived in the Sapta-Sindhu so many centuries before the Vedic period, that they had lost all memory of an original home.”

7. K M. Munshi, The Glory that was Gujaradesa (Bombay 1913), p. 46
B.C. may be seen from the following:

"The position of the Rigveda as the archetype within this series has already been pointed out, and internal evidence makes it clear that the Sutras are later than the Brahmanas and the Upanishads, so that a rough relationship of the various work seems established. But when we come to find a chronological framework against which this sequence can be set, we have very little to go on. The one certain fact seems to be that the doctrine preached by Buddha is essentially based on and developed out of the philosophical concepts contained in the Upanishads, and there is a reasonable consensus of evidence to place the date of Buddha's death as within a decade or so of 500 B.C. The Upanishads, therefore, must have been in existence in the sixth century B.C.

"Beyond that date we have to depend on a sort of philosophical dead-reckoning, invented by Max Mueller and still generally accepted, by which the Brahmanas are assigned to the seventh and eighth centuries B.C., the later Vedas to the eleventh or twelfth centuries. These dates Mueller later insisted were minimum dates only, and latterly there has been a sort of tacit agreement (influenced no doubt by the discovery of the Mitannian document of about 1380 with the names of Rigveda gods) to date the composition of the Rigveda somewhere about 1400-1500 B.C., but without any absolutely conclusive evidence."

Against the foregoing statement may be cited the following one from the pen of a very renowned Indian scholar:

"From our boyhood we have been taught that a highly-cultured race of Men, - perhaps, on that account, called 'Aryan', Noble, - came to India through the North-western passes, from some far-off land in Central Asia. This idea has stuck to our minds like a leech and refused to leave the best of our 'educated' people. I have always felt that the

5. Ibid., pp. 254-55.
Rigveda as described in foregoing pages which cannot be doubted although no remains of Aryans living in houses of mud walls are obtained now after such a lapse of time, still the contemporary existence of Rigveda Aryans cannot be denied. Is Rigveda itself not a more reliable "remains" of those ancient people, an evidence which could not be washed away by floods or rivers, which could not be destroyed by barbarian invaders or by lapse of time or suppressed by tyrants and foreign foes, not being in written volumes libraries of which could not be burnt down, but being handed down by mouth from father to son, or teacher to disciple, and heard by the ear and carefully stored in the brain by a people of wonderful memory? Indeed this wonderful feat of Vedic scholars deserves a better recognition than a hasty and cursory nod of the head in uninformed disbelief. And due recognition will surely come, for truth cannot be hidden for all time.  

Even setting aside, at least for the time being, the last-mentioned claim - although the concerned writer might demand an explanation for that - it would be seen that there is a great deal of indefiniteness about the 'original home' of the Indo-Aryans and their date. Under the circumstances, it is anybody's guess as to which archaeological culture could be associated with the Aryans. Indeed, claims have been raised, amongst others, in respect of the following: pre-Harappa Culture of Rana Ghundai; 10 Harappa Culture; 11 Cemetery H Culture; 12 Copper Hoard

9 Ibid., p 81.
10 Anrut Pandya, Lost Saraswati (Vallabh Vidyanagar, India, 1967) p 1
For the date of the *Rigveda*, even 4000 B.C. or 6000 B.C. would appear to be very 'petty' estimates, when one reads the following:

"Thus set the writer on a new quest, as to whether there were any Stone-age people in Rigvedic times." There were the Dasyus and the Dasas but what was their culture? This research disclosed an astounding fact. In Mandala V Sukt 29 Indra kills the Dragon Vritra and sets loose the rivers in Richas 2, 3 and 4, then demolishes the ninety nine castles of the Dragon in Richa 6 and then Indra slays the remaining "noseless" Dasyus in Richa 10, which says:

Anaso dasyunnaramino vadhena ni duryona avrman.

Griffith's translation: Thou slewest noseless Dasyus with thy weapon, and in their home O'ertrowest hostile speakers.

"Thus Indra killed these "noseless" Dasyus of stubbed noses and overthrew the detractors (hostile speakers) of Indra in their very home or the Kashmir valley. *Anaso* can also mean "mouthless" in the sense of being "flat faced" Some consider it to mean also voiceless or without intelligible speech. In any case it does indicate some beings, very primitive in culture (and not fully developed Homo-Sapiens) or people of early Stone-age. And their tools are said to have been discovered in the valley of the Sohan river of the Poonch area in Kashmir. These people are dated to be not "prior to the beginning of the Pleistocene" period which began about six hundred thousand years (600,000) ago".

The writer goes on to say:

"On the basis of the archaeological finds of Stone-age people in Kashmir and their corresponding records in

---

Pride and Prejudice in Archaeological.

Rigveda as described in foregoing pages which cannot be doubted although no remains of Aryans living in houses of mud walls are obtained now after such a lapse of time, still the contemporary existence of Rigveda Aryans cannot be denied. Is Rigveda itself not a more reliable "remains" of those ancient people, an evidence which could not be washed away by floods or rivers, which could not be destroyed by barbarian invaders or by lapse of time or suppressed by tyrants and foreign foes, not being in written volumes libraries of which could not be burnt down, but being handed down by mouth from father to son, or teacher to disciple, and heard by the ear and carefully stored in the brain by a people of wonderful memory? Indeed this wonderful feat of Vedic scholars deserves a better recognition than a hasty and cursory nod of the head in unenlightened disbelief. And due recognition will surely come, for truth cannot be hidden for all time."

Even setting aside, at least for the time being, the last-mentioned claim - although the concerned writer might demand an explanation for that - it would be seen that there is a great deal of indefiniteness about the 'original home' of the Indo-Aryans and their date. Under the circumstances, it is anybody's guess as to which archaeological culture could be associated with the Aryans. Indeed, claims have been raised, amongst others, in respect of the following: pre-Harappa Culture of Rana Ghundai, Harappa Culture, Cemetery H Culture, Copper Hoard.

9 Ibid., p 81.
For the date of the *Rigveda*, even 4,000 B.C. or 6,000 B.C. would appear to be very 'petty' estimates, when one reads the following:

"This set the writer on a new quest, as to whether there were any Stone-age people in Rigvedic times." There were the Dasyus and the Dasyus but what was their culture? This research disclosed an astounding fact. In Mandala V Sukta 29 Indra kills the Dragon Vritra and sets loose the rivers in Richas 2, 3 and 4, then demolishes the ninety nine castles of the Dragon in Richa 6 and then Indra slays the remaining "noseless" Dasyus in Richa 10, which says:

Anaso dasyunramrina vadhena ni duryona avrman-
nandhravachah!

Griffith's translation: Thou slayest noseless Dasyus with thy weapon, and in their home O'erthrewwest hostile speakers.

"Thus Indra killed these "noseless" Dasyus of stubbed noses and overthrew the detractors (hostile speakers) of Indra in their very home or the Kashmir valley. *Anaso* can also mean "mouthless" in the sense of being "flat faced". Some consider it to mean also voiceless or without intelligible speech. In any case it does indicate some beings, very primitive in culture (and not fully developed *Homo-Sapiens*) or people of early Stone-age. And their tools are said to have been discovered in the valley of the Suhna river of the Poonch area in Kashmir. These people are dated to be not "prior to the beginning of the Pleistocene" period which began about six hundred thousand years (600,000) ago".

The writer goes on to say:

"On the basis of the archaeological finds of Stone-age people in Kashmir and their corresponding records in

Rigveda as described in foregoing pages which cannot be doubted although no remains of Aryans living in houses of mud walls are obtained now after such a lapse of time, still the contemporary existence of Rigveda Aryans cannot be denied. Is Rigveda itself not a more reliable "remains" of those ancient people, an evidence which could not be washed away by floods or rivers, which could not be destroyed by barbarian invaders or by lapse of time or suppressed by tyrants and foreign foes. Not being in written volumes libraries of which could not be burnt down, but being handed down by mouth from father to son, or teacher to disciple, and heard by the ear and carefully stored in the brain by a people of wonderful memory? Indeed this wondrous feat of Vedic scholars deserves a better recognition than a hasty and cursory nod of the head in uninformed disbelief and due recognition will surely come, for truth cannot be hidden for all time."

Even setting aside, at least for the time being, the last-mentioned claim - although the concerned writer might demand an explanation for that - it would be seen that there is a great deal of indefiniteness about the 'original home' of the Indo-Aryans and their date. Under the circumstances, it is anybody's guess as to which archaeological culture could be associated with the Aryans. Indeed, claims have been raised, amongst others, in respect of the following: pre-Harappa Culture of Rana Ghundai 10, Harappa Culture, 11 Cemetery H Culture, 12 Copper Hoard

9 Ind., p. 81.
10 Amrit Pandya, Lost Saraswati (Vallabh Vidyanagar, India, 1967) p 1
Culture, 13 Banas Culture, 14 Painted Grey Ware Culture, 15 Central Indian Chalcolithic Culture, 16 and last but not the least, Southern Neolithic Culture. 17 In fact, one wonders as to why claims have not been raised in respect of the Burzahom Neolithic Culture, which is the only one left out of the more notable cultures known to Indian archaeology as dating from the fourth millennium B.C. to the beginning of the first millennium B.C.

In a brief note like the present one it is obviously not possible to go into the merits or demerits of the claims of all the aforesaid cultures, nor, indeed, is that the purpose of this note. I would, thus, take up just a few examples to illustrate as to how pride or prejudice, as the case may be, has operated from behind the scenes in associating a given culture with the Aryans or in the controversy as a whole.

Amongst the first attempts at identifying a ‘post-Boghaz Keui’ culture in India with that of the Aryans was that of Gordon Childe, who, referring to the Cemetery II burials, said: “It is just possible that the later inhumation graves at Harappa may belong to Aryan invaders; inhumation and cremation were alike practised in the Vedic


period."\(^{18}\) The idea was further developed by Wheeler who remarked: "The suggestion has indeed been made, very hesitatingly, [referring to Childe's views just mentioned] that the Cemetery II intruders 'may belong to the Aryan invaders', the conventional date for whose first incursion into India is fifteenth Century B.C."\(^{19}\)

Wheeler's identification of a citadel (Mound AB) at Harappa was indeed epoch-making. This, however, led him to an interpretation of the data in terms of Aryans and non-Aryans. Referring to the mention in the Rigveda of Indra as puramāra (fort-destroyer), he asks:

"Where are...or were...these citadels? It has in the past been supposed that they were mythical, or were 'merely places of refuge against attack, ramparts of hardened earth with palisades and a ditch'. The recent excavation of Harappa may be thought to have changed the picture. Here we have a highly evolved civilization of essentially non-Aryan type, now known to have dominated the river-system of north-western India at a time not distant from the likely period of the earlier Aryan invasions of that region. What destroyed this firmly-settled civilization? Climatic, economic, political deterioration may have weakened it, but its ultimate extinction is more likely to have been completed by deliberate and large-scale destruction. It may be no mere chance that at a late period of Mohenjodaro men, women and children appear to have been massacred there. On circumstantial evidence, Indra stands accused."\(^{20}\)

Revising his *New Light on the Most Ancient East*, Childe wrote: "These agreements suggest that the

---

18 V. Gordon Childe, *op. cit.* (1934), p 223 Mention may be made of a still earlier attempt, in which some mounds excavated by T. Bloch at Laueria, Bihar (*Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report, 1910-11*) were associated with Vedic burials.


barbarians who destroyed the Harappa civilization included at least invaders from the north-western Iran. Wheeler has boldly suggested their identification with the Vedic Aryans. In any case, the rishis sang their Vedic hymns in a prehistoric night; for the invasion completely broke the literary tradition, and there is no fixed point in Indian history till the reign of Darius.\(^{21}\)

The fact of the case, as shown by me on the basis of Wheeler's own excavations at Harappa, is that the Harappans and the Cemetery II people—the invaders and the invaders according to Wheeler—never came face to face, there being a clear-cut break of occupation between the two cultures.\(^{22}\) Dales, on a further examination of issue, proclaimed: Indra and the Barbarian hordes are exonerated.\(^{23}\)

Be that as it may, the protagonists of the autochthonous theory try 'to glimpse an Aryan ghost', to borrow Piggott's term,\(^{24}\) in almost every culture that flourished in the north-western part of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent from the earliest times to the beginning of the early historical period.

Introducing his book, *New Light on the Indus Civilization*, K.N. Shastri remarks: 'I am afraid the low date recently given to it [the Indus Civilization] by foreign archaeologists, which is now being followedfacility by the Indian students and scholars alike, does not fit in the chronological framework of Indian prehistory...'.\(^{25}\)

---

22. B.B Lal, op cit, p 151
According to him, the Indus Civilization should be dated from the fourth to the end of the 3rd millennium B.C. and represents the Atharvaveda stage of the Vedic civilization; the Rigveda being much older than the Indus Civilization. Amongst the arguments put forward by Shastri in support of his thesis is the absence of any reference to the tiger in the Rigveda, which animal occurs so prominently on the Indus seals.

Commenting on the stand taken by D.H. Gordon that Shahi Tump and Jhukar cultures may be associated with the Aryans, Shastri lashes out:

"Col Gordon, like the Vedic seers or Sanjaya of the Mahabharata fame, seems to possess a third eye capable of penetrating into the hoary events of Rigvedic India with the authority of an eye-witness. He imparts a dramatic touch to his narrative when he says unreservedly that 'the Aryans or the semi-Aryan tribes of the Turvasa, Yrchiyanta and Yadus who were located in the south-west and are called dasas in a passage of the Rigveda (x, 62, 10) were descendants of the Jhukar people.'"

Another noteworthy contributor to the thesis of Indus Civilization - Aryan affinity is Buddh Prakash, who argues his case as follows:

"The Vedas are admittedly the earliest literary productions of the people called the Aryans. They unmistakably show that those people were living from the very beginning in the land called Saptasindhu and do not give the slightest hint of their coming to it from outside. Hence the presumption, if any, has to be that the Aryans were the original inhabitants of the Land of Seven Rivers and the

---

26 Ibid. p.1.
28 Ibid
29 Ibid., p 83
burden of proving that it was not their home and they came there from outside lies on those who challenge this evidence and assert to the contrary. So far this onus probandi has not been satisfactorily discharged by those critics so that we have no warrant for holding that the so-called Aryans were not the original inhabitants of the Land of the Seven Rivers in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

If the so-called Aryans were living in the land of the Seven Rivers from the very beginning, the Indus Valley Civilization, which developed there, must reflect some phase of their growth and development.**30

The solution seems to be simple enough: "correlate the data of the Rigveda, which is the earliest literary work of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent with the finds of the Indus Valley Civilization which represents the earliest urban complex that matured there."31

According to another author, Amrit Pandya, all the cultures of the Indus plains and Baluchistan, beginning from Rana Ghundai I - Kili Gul Muhammad II, which stage he places 'during and before 4th millennium B.C.', are to be associated with the Aryans whom he qualifies variously as 'equestrian', 'pre-Vedic', 'Rigvedic', 'Indic', etc. With a chthonic see-saw, he explains away all the floral and faunal incongruities - whether relating to wheat or rice or the tiger or horse - between archaeology and literature.32 Be that as it may, the climax comes when he says:

"Marshall thus, as it were, manoeuvring through such illogical and flimsy means, gave his ruling from the imperial office of the Director General of Archaeology in India that the authors of the Indus Civilization were the pre-Aryan Dravidians who were later destroyed and driven

---

30. Buddha Prakash, op. cit., p.XLV
31. Ibid, inner flap
32. Amrit Pandya, op. cit., pp. 1-111
south by the Aryan invaders. As a result of the excavations in the Indus valley, the prominent among those who received training were H Hargreaves, D.R. Sahni K.N. Dikshit, M.G. Majumdar, R.D. Banerji and M.S. Vats. These were India’s first protohistorians who were all in the Government service and were not expected to comment on Marshall’s hypotheses under the rules of discipline to be maintained during the service, and other research institutes and universities in India had no prehistorians or protohistorians at that time, with the result that Marshall had favourable atmosphere for a wide propaganda that the authors of the Indus Civilization were pre-Aryan Dravidians, whom, later the Aryan invaders destroyed and drove south into the forests. Marshall thus provided the foundation for a regional myth in India to assist perhaps innocently, the ‘divide and rule’ policy of the British Imperialism.”

May we hope that pride and prejudice are kept aside from scientific approach to history?

33. Ibid., p 244.
Omission of Oral Tradition

SACHCHIDANANDA VATSYAYAN

I AM NOT a historian. Even as a student of history, I have, quite understandably I hope, been more interested in the history of literature than in what an august conference of historians might regard as their proper subject. But after confessing my ignorance, I still speak with some confidence because I believe that the ideas I seek to present, though unorthodox from our historians' point of view, still merit consideration. Of course, once again I should like to point out that the approach I suggest would have an immediate impact only on the history of literature, but I am certain that the widespread neglect of the oral tradition has amounted to a failure to use a rich source of historical material.

Historians have, of course, made plentiful use of literary sources, particularly for cross-checking their theories or building up initial hypotheses which they might then verify through archaeological or epigraphical material. For example, dynasties and chronological sequences have often been confirmed through the use of literary material. More recently, the use of linguistic evidence has also become more and more conspicuous.
But a certain strange scepticism persists amongst historians where oral literature is concerned. It should be considered astonishing that even after their willingness to refer to literary sources for various kinds of confirmatory evidence they should be so suspicious of oral literature, forgetting that most of the literary material they are willing to use is itself a part of the oral tradition, having been preserved sometimes for centuries strictly orally before it was reduced to print.

This wariness becomes even more surprising when historians recognise, in the context of the Veda, that India invented and perfected the most ingenious and effective mnemonic system in the world. It was strictly in the oral tradition that the Vedas were preserved in different parts of India, practically without communication with one another, for over a score of centuries without deviation or difference of mode and one single vowel sound—indeed half a quantum of sound.

My own interest in the oral tradition developed out of my interest in the literary history of the modern Indian languages, especially Hindi, particularly in the 17th-19th century. My increasing astonishment at the scepticism of historians about oral evidence also resulted from my study of this period. India did not have a printing press in the 17th century; against that there was a vast amount of manuscript material preserved in small and large private collections and libraries. Towards the end of the 18th century we did have the advent of the printing press—and the beginning of the process by which a print-culture inevitably and inexorably destroys oral culture—but this process of destruction was not completed till the middle of the 20th century (and perhaps is still not complete in this country which continues to be more than two-thirds or perhaps three-fourths unlettered! Unlettered but not uneducated—because still living in an oral culture). This fact should have drawn the attention of historians to the possibility
that a great deal of historical evidence must be available in orally preserved material, but there has been a conspicuous disregard of this source. I noticed over and over again that historians were prepared to give the greatest weight to an item of a few lines from a so-called newspaper of the 19th century and to regard it as evidence beyond doubt for the sole reason that it existed in print; but at the same time they were determined to ignore vast quantities of parallel but divergent evidence, available in various parts of the country, for no other reason than that it was only orally preserved and had not been reduced to print! And this despite the fact that all historians will readily recognize that in this country there were always several parallel traditions meticulously preserved at different levels of society!

It may be useful to take a few examples. First, I shall take an example which originates in the print medium. I have in my collection a book printed in 1909—I should perhaps say lithographed rather than printed—which is an anthology of verses collected by someone who had been a school teacher and later I think became a sub-inspector of schools—I am speaking from memory. This anthology contains songs—ghazals, geets and other kinds of songs—admittedly of doubtful literary quality but of immense value for a different reason. Only a few of these songs are of identified authorship. They are in print in this book, but they are really part of the oral tradition because they meet the essential test of orality—they have an anonymous popular existence. The school-master-anthologist makes it clear on the title page itself that he has collected the songs that he has heard and known to be popular in society. Thus this is an anthology of popular oral poetry. What is even more significant is that almost every ghazal or geet in this collection has an ascription of a different sort: it is not ascribed to an author but to a singer: “song as sung by ‘X’” or “song to the tune of a song sung by the singer ‘Y’.”
As I said, the songs are of poor literary merit. Their significance is not in their literary quality but in their ascription. What does the ascription tell us? That these songs were popular in the society of the period immediately preceding the anthology. Not only that, it tells us who the popular singers—generally *tawaifs*—of that period were. Even more than that it tells us that particular songs sung by these particular singers were so popular in the society of the times that budding poets from different social strata composed their own songs to the tunes of these popular hits—not just any tunes, but a tune as sung by a particular singer. Now if the period referred to is the decade or the generation preceding the publication of the anthology—a reasonable deduction—then we have a good picture of the reading tastes of the Hindustani speaking society of the turn of the century, say 1890-1910, and of the literature generally available to them. But now let us turn to the histories of literature—Hindi or Urdu or Hindustani—honoured and taught in the universities. Do they, when dealing with this period, pay any attention to this category of literature? Do they attach any importance to the fact that this was the kind of literature most current in society at that time? Is it not that, even though this material now exists in print and is available in print, it was really oral literature? Does this not indicate, not only an elitist approach to recent history but even a deliberate disregard of the facts of history, a distorted presentation? Literary historians of this period have shown great diligence in digging out isolated newspaper references and based their entire view of literature on material available in print, without questioning its value or significance in other contexts.

Now for a second order of examples. Even today over most of Rajasthan, in parts of Haryana, parts of Punjab, various parts of Himachal Pradesh and Himalayan or sub-Himalayan Uttar Pradesh and northern Bihar, in eastern or southern Madhya Pradesh, one can hear oral compositions
इतिहासकार और लोक-साहित्य

वेदप्राकाश ‘वटुक’

इतिहासकार उसे सीमा देता है।

प्राचीन यह है कि जो इतिहास हमें तिथियाँ रूप में प्राप्त होता है, वह किसी देश-प्रदेश की जनता को सम्पूर्ण घटनाओं या घटना नहीं है, वरन् है पति-पत्नी द्वारा पुली हुई कविताएं वस्त्रित्रों के जीवन में प्रतिष्ठित प्रमुख पट-पनामों का विलोपन। इतिहास किसी भी देश-काल का समस्याएं तथ्य दा गत्य नहीं है, वरन् है विद्युत वर्ण द्वारा किया गया तत्त्वातिष्ठ विविध रूपों तथा गत विवेचन। इतिहास प्रमाण वौद्धिक विद्वानों द्वारा लिखा गया प्रभावी वर्ण का लेखा-जोशा है। यह भी एक सत्य है कि तमन्ना द्वारा स्वीकृत इतिहास प्रमाण लेखकों के प्रतिनिधियों द्वारा लिखा जाता है। इसीलिए गद्यों का चयन भी विशेषताओं हों उनकी श्रेष्ठ से सियो जाते है।

पदनाम मुख्यक, गुरुवारित, नियोजित भीर वर्णनपत्र कम्य नहीं हूं। पनेख वार इतिहास के निर्नायक में भावनाओं क्रियाकलाप करती है, वृद्धि कम्य। किस्तु इतिहासकार वा विशेषत यहाँ वार चूक भीर ‘टटप्प’ होता है।
‘तद्वय’ यति एक सिद्धात विशेष को सान पर चढ़ाकर मरा पाया हुआ। स्वप्न हो चटित इतिहास ग्राह निवित इतिहास में एक गाई रही है।

भ्रमी तक इतिहास लेखन में जो दृष्टिकोण रहा है, उसमे सामान्य जनता का मृत्तिकांतित वात दूर न के बराबर है। ‘जनवादी’ इतिहासकार भी इसके प्रयत्न नहीं हैं। उनका इतिहास जनता के नहीं, ‘जनवादी’ सिद्धात का प्रतिक है। इतिहास के जी चीज हम जन-जीवन के विशेषण के लिए प्रय-नाटे भी हैं, वे भी प्रय विभिन्नता वात के ही हैं। भारतीय इतिहास को द्वितीय में रखते हुए कहें, तो वे सान उस वात का प्रतिनिधित्व करते हैं, जिसका प्रभुतव काल-विशेष में प्रतापसिंह श्रीर बौद्धिक दलों में रहा। हृद-चाहे हमें द्रोत वाह्य-सत्तुक के ही वा चौड़ श्रीर सैन, इलामों वा बरतनाविल। रूप ही है कि इतिहास परम्परा में ध्वन पाना जीवन पद्धति को कोई स्थान नहीं मिला, जो निम्न वात जीते हैं। इसलिए ‘जान इतिहास’ ग्राह ‘सवरकारी इतिहास’ को एक चौड़ी ही हालत हो। ग्राह उने भरने का प्रयास प्राप्त रही है और उने भरने का प्रयास प्राप्त नहीं हों रहा है। यह ग्राह उस माध्य प्राह भी चौड़ हो। जानी है, जब ‘सवर’ की प्राप्ति ने लाने पर पावनस्वर लगाई जाती है या केवल बुध ‘सवर’ की देने का प्राप्ति ने लाने पर पावनस्वर लगाई जाती है या केवल बुध ‘सवर’ की देने का प्राप्ति ने लाने पर पावनस्वर लगाई जाती है। किर्की भी देव में ऐसे दरवाये हुए ‘इतिहास’ की कमी नहीं है। भारत के प्रारंभिक इतिहास में ब्रिटिश काल ग्राह प्रारंभिक, इतिहास को भुलाने में प्रकट, ‘सत्य’ की प्रकटि में लाने में रूप महत्त्वों रहे हैं।

हम यह स्वीकार करने में कोई मागति नहीं होगी। विषय निम्न वर्ग का प्राप्ति एक इतिहास वाति पश्चाताप के विषय में प्रज्ञात दृष्टिकोण है प्राह वही दृष्टिकोण निम्न है—प्रभुतव दृष्टिकोण से। भारतीय दातो का इतिहास ग्राहे ज़मीनार मानवता का इतिहास नहीं है। चुनावों का प्रमाण दृष्टि हुए भारतीयों का इतिहास प्राप्त करते हुए प्राप्ति का इतिहास नहीं है। भ्रमणों का इतिहास में पत्तर्य इतिहास से मिल है और मिल है प्रमुखकर मान्य उच्च विश्व निम्न के सिद्धात से मिल है, जो उत्ती वर्ग से चाचे थे।

किर्की विश्वविद्यालय पद्धति से प्रकटि न किये जाने से ऐसा इतिहास प्राप्त मिलन ही रहता है। किर भारत ऐसे देश में, जहाँ जनसत्य का सर्व-सर्वस्तर कर्म नाव नहीं है। बादशा जन-शास्त्रियों से यह है, ऐतिहासिक परम्पराओं का प्रकटित होना स्वभाविक ही है। किरु मिलन ही रहता
भारतीय संस्कृति के इतिहास में जो परम्परागत श्रीमतीकेश अपनाया गया है, वह प्रभावशाली वर्ग का ही है और उसके आदर्श न केवल जनसाधारण के भ्रमणीय जीवन से मेल नहीं खाते, बल्कि कभी-कभी वृत्तित्रांगि विरामों होते हैं। उदाहरणतया, ‘माया’ शब्द को हम से, तो उसका पथ भारतीय दर्शन में उस तरह है, जो हमारे ज्ञान में अवरोधक है और जिसका सर्वोत्तम होगा माया के लिए प्रर्शित है। किंतु तीसरे जीवन में-जिसकी सत्य वैदिक काल से ही पृथक स्वीकार की गई है, ‘वैदेप न लोकन न’ कह कर इस शब्द का पथ है ‘समक्षत’—जिसका विस्तार देखे ‘पुराण, पुत्र और समक्षत’ माना गया है। और तीसरी तोराओ, तारी अतरक्षाओ, तारी जनकाओ तथा भ्रम्य लोक-विपाधों में विभिन्न जीवन के घरों का पथ है, इन श्रवणों की साधना। समस्त मौलि का अभिवादन, जहाँ सारा जीवन इस्तेमाल की वस्तु में विलय गया, माता है ‘माया’ की साधना।

इसी प्रकार शब्द ‘देस’ या ‘जाति’ को ले, उसका सकुञ्ज और विस्तार हृदयारी संस्कृतियों के विभिन्न श्लोकों का परिस्करण है। ‘देस’ का पथ स्थानीय संस्कृति में है, जिसमें उपजातियों के समूह के चंद गांव, जिन्हें ‘वोगामा’ ‘सत-गामा’ भारत की संज्ञा की गई है और उनकी सार्वजनिक निष्ठा। उसी भोगोंक है, इसके गुणों की गए। उस नाति के लोगों के मन में शारांतित है, प्राण्य-दुरापह स्त्रीलीय संस्कृति को प्रभावित करता है। यही कारण है कि जब हमने सकुञ्ज याद जनकाओ में भी पुरुष-पुत्र: इस शब्द का ऐसे हो जाति के नोगों के मन में भारारंतित है, प्राण्य-दुरापह स्त्रीलीय संस्कृति को प्रभावित करता है।

“राज बदलते नहीं कभी दो प्रथुंगों की परती से राज बदलते हैं बन्दूरी से, बल्लम से, बरदीसे।”
व्राम हि इन्दिदन हिस्टोरियोग्राफी

और ग्रामस्माष ग्रामस्माष में जाति-निर्देश का गुण गाते हुए भी वे लिख सकते हैं

'जगतमें युद्ध भायं जात'।*

जाति और स्थानीय प्रदेश में घाने जनसाध्या ‘बोली विरोध’ के बहे प्रदेश मे है और वे भाषावाद राजनीतिक मुद्दों को दकाई को कार्यो है। मोजुपुरी, मैस्बली, जग, ग्राम, कौड़ी और प्रदेशों को भाषावाद उच्च प्रदेश, हरियाणा या बिहार प्रदेशों को भाषावादों से गहन और भजन है। हमारे देश के सांस्कृतिक इतिहास मे इन घटकों को महत्वपूर्ण मूल्यांक रही हैं। और देश के राजनीतिक इतिहास को समझने में इन जाति-बोली-युद्ध पटकों के मायस को समझना बहुत आवश्यक है।

जो इतिहास केवल लिखत प्रमाणों के बापार पर लिखा जायेगा, वह पूर्ण सत्य नहीं होगा। भावा का ज्ञान निरोगी सामग्रीशेखर के लिए होता है, उतना ही गति को दुराने के लिए। जिनी भी राजनीतिक सामग्रीशेखर के प्रसार एवं परिणाम के बारे में हैं, वातावरण सामग्री के नहीं। विदेशी और देशी दोनों ही वातावरण के जब-जब सच्चाई सामग्री पर निरखने विषय करता गया है, तब-तब जो इतिहास और सरकार-सच्चाई इतिहास में प्रस्तार प्रायः गया है।

हिंदी महानुभुति में, जिसमें हमान और भारतीय वौद्धिक वहन की महानुभूति मित्र पातीनों के लाय थीं, जिनी सं विलुप्त—जो युद्ध के लोकसाहित्यविश्वास बिषय है—लिस्टर गईं, उनमें जरूर की प्रसारिता प्रभाव थी। हिंदूत के 'प्राय' होने और 'सत्यता बिन्दु' के पुजारी होने को प्रशस्त में थीं। एक प्रकार से उने भारतीय युद्धुक्त का बिश्वास तथा कामयाबी सिद्धांत का पोषक बनाया गया था। और दूर जन इतिहास पूर्णत हास्यप्रभावित रहा, विदेशीयों के पवारे और जाने वाले इतिहास में। ताय ही यह कथन कि प्रवाघर तो मूर्त बोलते हैं।

*इस प्रकार की मायसों किसी न कुष्ट है, यह बात भारतीय (१६५०) निधीमन ने देखी गई। ढाकुरों के गत में जहू दल-विवशय के कार्यरत की समायोजना चार में मुदा गई, वहीं यह बात रुपट होते ही कि उस दल की विजय से एक हरिजन नेता देश में उच्च पद समाज सकता है, ढाकुरों के गत में नहीं उल्लो और उनसे एक ने नहीं, 'जुता दस लागु का भी हैं, तो भी सिर पर नहीं रचा जा सकता।'
वस्तुतः जनसाधारण को, बौद्धिक चर्चा की इमानदारी के प्रति शक्ति की छट्टा का प्रतिच्छेद कर उसे भावित करने के प्रयास में दूरी है। यह कारण है कि धर्मनिरपेक्षता के नाम पर जो इतिहास पढ़ाया जाता है, वह दैनिक देवों जाने वाले नाटक इतिहास से भिन्न है। इतिहास के रूप के रूप में देखा गया है और साहित्य का भी ‘हरकतलाराय’ का द्वारा कहकर धार्मिक प्रस्तावण का प्रतीक माना गया है।

ऐतिहासिक छट्टा ध्यान विशेष के प्रति भी एक सी नहीं रहती, यह वात सबसे प्रथिक उभरता है। भ्रमणी इंदिरा गांधी के शासनकाल में। बहुत नारी जो १९३१ वर्ष में बैंग्ला देश की विजय के बाद ‘दुर्गा’ की प्रतिमा बनाई गई, भारतीय में नागरकोट का शिकार हुई। इस काम दुस्तरकल का था, ‘पर्यावरण’ का था। जब वह दुर्गा की प्रतिमा बनाई गई। जब काम सताने का था, इस काम के बाद, वह दुर्गा की प्रतिमा का था। इस काम के सताने का था, इस काम के सताने का था।

इस प्रकार भावनायें १९६७ के बुधवार को खार-बार मुनने को मिली। यह जीत ‘जनता पार्टी’ की उत्साह नाहीं थी, जितनी कि इंदिरा गांधी के प्रति धार्मिक रहे। जिन लोगों ने उन दिनों का प्रायोगिक सत्ता का चुनाव चाहा था, वे मात्र हैं जिन्हें हार-जीत किसी दस दस के धार्मिक सत्ता, परस्परागमन सामाजिक को हेम तंगने के कारण उन्हें विश्वास विश्वास के कारण प्रतिपादित थी। उन्होंने इतिहास में बहुत गया।

भारतीय, १८६७ में हमसे हुआ गया, गाय-बज्जाने पर मोहर लगाता। हमने सोचा था गाय कामयाब है, देश की पुरात करेगा। पर बुधवार के बाद गाय हुआ बज्जा हुई गया पोर प्रबंध छाता बाद हुई सांका बाद हुई हो गया, जो नई बनने वाले को उसपर नहीं करता।

हाल ही इस प्रतीकात्मक बार में तकनीकी प्रगति को विश्वासपात्री पोर कूदनावला का हामी कहकर, उसकी बहु प्रातीतन नहीं है। खार-बार जल
दिनो मुख्य वेगम मे, जिसने कुछ भी प्राणों घुमते पर जनवित्त मे अपने लड़के को गोली से मरवा दिया था, उस पाषण को तुलना को गई।

भीष पितामह के वोच देखिये इन प्रतीको मे।

(१) यह चुनाव, जा यथाहै, ‘ज’ प्रभाव का प्रत्यक्ष है। जून में जब जगमोहर निहा ने भर्ता निरांदिय पिया। जयप्रकाश ने भारोत्त स्वलाया। जून मे प्रायांकल का घोषणा हुई। जनवरी मे चुनायों की। जेल मे जनता पार्टी का नाम हुः। जयप्रकाशनाथ ने विश्राम घोड़ी। क्या इंदिरा जी जोळिती?

(२) कब-कब १४ अक्टूबर है, दुर्भाग्य है। १४ में भारीजी, १७ में कार्रवार को कम मोटी, १७ में प्रतेक राज्य में कार्रवार की हड़ताल हुई। भीर वस बार तो दो बार भारत का मकर है। निश्चय ही दुर्योगी हार है।

यहाँ वात केवल इंदिरा जी के नाम है, ऐसी वात नहीं। वही नेता। जब सवाग रहे थे, जैसे पर रहे थे प्राणाटी की लड़ाई के नाम, तो उनकी तुलना राम भीर नया से को जाती थी, जो इतिहास मंदिर (कारागार) को प्रसन्न दुःखवत चनाकर वाणिज्यी सोता (भारीजी) के। चुटका रहे थे। किंतु शांति बनने के बाद जब वही नेता कुरखी-प्रिय भीर पत्र-प्रिय हो। वही दो टिक होते ही बदली भीर उन्हें भीर भीर डाकुड़ों की उपाधि दी गई। नई बहावलें बनीं, जैसे—

‘पहले भीर खादर मे रहो तो, घर घूमू मे रहते हूः। या पहले भीर चाहिये करके जेल जाते थे, घर जहाँ जेल पहले गये थे, वहाँ चाहिये कर रहे हैं।’

साथ ही दोनो भीतर की गोर ह्वारा करते हुए भीतर प्रतिनिधियों की परिवारा देते हैं—

“यह एल.ए.” का भाष्य है जो ऐ मे (इस जेल मे) ले भीर ए मे (इस जेल मे) है।

रित्वस्त्र का वात्सल्य का भीर ह्वारा करते हुए वे कहते हैं कि माँजी जी का विचार स्वामिय से हस्ताक्षर लगाया गया कि वे परिवार दिलाकर कहे कि वात करने से पहले कम से कम पैंच जया तो दे हूः।

भीर वात के प्रति जनता का घसटोष इन कहावत मे व्यक्त किया गया—
‘जो रोँ, बो लिखले कुईरोटी’

धर्मवत् शूर नये धामनकाम ने पुराने धामकों की धर्मी वात से ही उनकी
तुलना की जाती है।

टॉड ने निश्चय था कि राजस्थान के गौड़-गाँव में प्रपने ‘हारी’ है, अपने
बीरकाम्य है। यानि प्रपने इतिहास है। सूरज काँग नन्दकृष्ण से कहा है कि राजपूत
का सांस्कृतिक धर्मकार्य भारतीयों की संस्कृति से मिलता है और
अब कई विद्वानों ने इस बात को श्रीर इशारा किया है कि जननायक के तिरंगा-
स्तंत्र वध-पञ्चमवट्टा और शारीर-ना इतिहास स्वीकार होगा। रेडियो साइट
जो हाल है जो प्रपनि जेताका प्रमण्ण की पुस्तक ‘हे रामचंद्र, ऐसा इति-
यन लापि हिटी’ भारतीय संस्कृति का विस्तारण एक हिरियन की धार्मिक प्रामण
के माध्यम से करती है, जो श्रीर है, श्रीमान है। इसी प्रपन के एक धर्म महत्ता
मृतुल-पारीं कोरे ऐसा कारक सभ्य प्रदेश की एक वृत्ता के जीवन के धार्यार
पर सामाजिक परिवर्तनों को बात करती है। देश का प्राचीन इतिहास धी
वढ़े-बढ़े लोगों की जीवनियों के नहीं, दरक्क घोटे-घोटे जागरूकता में बिस्तरे स्था-
नीय नेताओं के जीवन के वन सकता है, जो विद्वान डीड्ड-विश्वेय शे हमारा इति-
हास न देखर सबसीए डॉट्सिस शे देश। ऐसा इतिहास लोक कथाकारों, लोक
गायकों धीर लोक नाटक खेलते बालों के प्रतिरित्त गान के भारो, सिरों
धीर वनहों के पान, जो उसे सतन रज रखें, भिंते धीर धीर-नहीं उत्तरी
प्राध्य मादम्म, राहुल्या नींदुवाद। इतिहासकार के शिक शंकर कोकी
ने कहा धर्मस्त्रीय वान्वर से एक वालक के यह झापसी, ‘वार्ताला
बूढ़ों शा, भविष्य हमारा’ हमारे प्राचीन इतिहास की समान स्थापर है,
जबहाँ भाषात चुनौती ने बूढ़े बूढ़े हैं, धीर पूरी दो पीढ़ियाँ उनको मंडत दी जा चुके हैं।

धार्मिकता इस बात की है कि इस धीर न्यूतिस शादी नहीं, इतिहास-
कार ध्यान है। बिन्दुनीरी गौड़ा के लेखों के प्रतिच्छेद कैपन प्रपने पुस्तक
‘बीमा इन माई हरास’ में प्रपने धीर ध्यानसे शादीयों के प्रतिरित्
इतिहास की चर्चा करते हैं प्रकार के ध्यानों की उत्प्रयोगिता मिला होता है।
प्रपन वस्तुतता ने प्रपने पुस्तक ‘भोरो हैटन’ में जो ध्यानन्द पढ़ता
निष्ठ है। देस का इतिहास संवेदन कन्टेस्ट में नहीं, जनमान के स्वरों में पुस्त-
रित हुआ है।
Indifference to Religious Sources for Political History

WARREN FUSFELD

The history of India during the 19th and 20th centuries is the history of a country under colonial domination. There is no doubt that this single fact is of pre-eminent importance, and may even justify the tendency of those prone to "periodization" to label that particular segment of India's history as the "British period". Such a characterization should lead the historian to investigate certain aspects of important issues, among which may be included studies of the effects and ramifications of colonial rule on culture, economy, and religion.

The question of sources for the history of British India leads us, however, to the issue of bias. This may take various forms, but in the final analysis it is an unavoidable part of the writing of history. History is all that has happened, not what is written by historians. Rather, historians record some selection, and sometimes an interpretation, of a part of what has happened. It is the process of selection which is the ultimate cause of bias, and it cannot be avoided. All that can be expected is that the historian should be aware of that process of selection, and should make known the basis for it. Without that awareness, all dialogue and disputes of interpretation become meaningless.
Indifference to Religious Sources.

There is a clear linkage between sources and bias, which if properly dealt with, can be used to throw new light or present new perspective on whatever period of history is studied. Without going into detail, it is notable that part of what is unsatisfactory about writings on the history of British India is tied to the process of selection. This process has resulted in some historians writing on the British in India, rather than on India under the British (the first topic being simply a subset of the second). Others have chosen to write about Indians in British India but have chosen for study those groups who were most outspoken, either in opposition to the British, or with respect to the condition of Indian society with an eye to reforming it, so as to make it more congruous with their sense of what was "modern" and therefore more correct. As "modern" could more often rather appropriately be termed "western", the study of such reformers also tends to present us with a view from a "western" or British perspective.

In this paper I would argue that there is a need for an alternative bias, which is to say there is a need for use of other kinds of sources which should be consciously selected. Thus, the historian may choose for study documents which have been left by institutions which were in existence, and which had social importance, both before the coming of the British and after. Such a study would allow the study of Indian society itself during the period. One should be able to produce a history with an Indian bias, i.e., a view of the development of Indian society and its interaction with its colonial rulers, from the perspective of the members of that society themselves.

There are many source materials which have been seen mainly as sources for the study of religion and the history of religion. Simply put, I am arguing that we can use these kinds of sources and ask of them new questions.

This process may best be illustrated with a brief example. Malfuzat literature (records of the sayings and
anecdotes related by Sufi teachers) contains many incidents which record a wide variety of events, often of the kind which would surely escape the eye of contemporary chroniclers and historians. One such event will be discussed here so as to demonstrate one way in which such literature throw light on the earliest stages of colonial penetration.

Shah Ghulam Ali (died, 1240 H/1824 AD), a well-known Sufi Shaikh and sayada nashin (successor) of Mirza Marhar Jan-i-Janan, was present at a gathering which included the British resident, Sir Charles Metcalfe. Metcalfe attempted to approach Shah Ghulam Ali but was rebuked and “sent away like a dog.” What is revealing about this incident is not only the fact that he was rebuked, but also the characterization of the incident. Particularly, it is treated in such a way as to indicate that it was simply an example of how the Shaikh acts to avoid contact with the wealthy and the nobility. Metcalfe is conceptualized not as a representative of a foreign and rising non-Muslim power, but as an individual, comparable to other notables of the town. We can see that the British resident is perceived simply as another noble on the scene by the interesting claim made by the compiler that Metcalfe was seeking to do qadambusi (kissing the feet) of Shah Ghulam Ali, and that later, in what is virtually a stereotypical concession to the greatness of the Shaikh, Metcalfe had commented to his servants “In all India I have seen (only) this one Muslim.” Thus, Metcalfe is placed in the larger category of nobles, the wealthy, and various worldly people who believed in and desired, but were typically denied, the blessings of Sufi Shaikhs.

While we may read of the development of British influence and power in India, such a view as that provided in the anecdote above should warn us against overestimating the extent to which the British were able to make them-

selves felt in Indian society in the early 19th century. Furthermore, this should also indicate the usefulness of such sources for analyzing and understanding from an Indian viewpoint, developments in later periods when the British were less easily encapsulated within an already existing conceptual framework.
Race, Region, Religion and Ideology

B. P. SINHA

KALHANA’s idea of a historian is still the ideal for serious and independent-minded scholars. He expected of the historian a degree of objectivity which has eluded writers of both the past and the present. In the ancient times Siva Purana would place Siva on the highest pedestal and would describe all other gods as subservient to him; the Vishnu Purana would do the same for Vishnu. In the modern times when ‘factors’ have been raised to the status of gods, the votary of the economic factor would shut his eyes to all other agents of change, the enthusiasts for religion or geography or race would serve their respective gods in the same way.

When the white man in India, perhaps genuinely, felt burdened, he tried to correct the black man’s perspectives regarding art, religion and polity etc by describing Indian art as grotesque, religion as obscene and polity as fragmented beyond hope. Vincent Smith stands above the rest in such an evaluation of Indian civilization. Even those writers of his clan who credited India with high achievements in the realms of thought and literature depicted her material and political heritage as utterly inconsequential. We
"soared high in the realm of thought but had feet of clay".

Such an evaluation of Indian history and culture naturally led to the rise of the nationalist school. All that was worth while in the modern times had already been achieved by the ancient Indians and this included nationalism and democracy. R. C. Bhandarkar, K. P. Jayaswal, R. K. Mookerji and even R. C. Majumdar may be cited as pioneers of this school. This is not to belittle their contribution to the reconstruction of India's political and cultural history. But it is true that these savants tried to belittle the contribution of newcomers and foreigners such as the Greeks, Sakas, Kushanas, Arabs and Turks to the general fund of Indian civilization. We still have writers who, in spite of the development of new methods of criticism and data research, continue to write in a chauvinistic, obscurantist vein. Little do they realize that this approach is as harmful as the earlier imperialist approach. Giving an example from modern history the History of the Freedom Movement by Dr. Tarachand and Prof. Majumdar read, at certain places, like the accounts of two different movements. If modern history with its facts well laid out can be misinterpreted how much more so is ancient history liable to misrepresentation.

Regional histories have fared no better than the general histories of India. The shortcomings of regional historiography, in fact, obstruct the correct understanding of the history of the country as a whole. Whether it is Magadha or Vanga, the Rashtrakutas or Cholas, hero worship of regions, dynasties, or personalities is rampant. Moreover if in a bid to prove the superiority of his own region in a conflict against another region in the ancient period the historian overstates his case he also, unwittingly, hurts the cause of national integration in the modern times. The Gauda-Kamarupa antagonism or the Pallava-Chalukya
rivalry of the early A.D.s thus assumes a pernicious character today.

Religious prejudice has also fouled the writing of history. Basu's contention that the rise of British power was the rise of Christian power is historically as incorrect as the view of some historians that Aurangzeb converted the Hindus with sword in one hand and the Quran in the other. Similarly, it is sheer oversimplification to view Shivaji's swarajya as Hindu Pad Padshahi. Hindu vs Muslim was not always the nature of confrontations in the Turko-Afghan or the Mughal period. Though Alauddin and Aurangzeb humiliated the Hindus in many ways, the reasons for their actions could be more political and economic than religious, then as now religious zeal was exploited for political ends. On the other hand one cannot overlook the fact that although charters granting land and money to temples in neglected and far off corners of the country were issued by Aurangzeb, hundreds of Hindu temples including the most sacred ones at Mathura and Banaras were destroyed in his time. Aurangzeb also issued royal orders humiliating the Rajputs who were the leaders of the Hindu community in the eyes of the common people. Moreover, revolts by almost all the important Hindu communities from the Sikhs to the Jats, Satyams, Rajputs and Marathas cannot be fully explained as motivated by the political factor only. There is no doubt that unlike Akbar, Aurangzeb was bent upon hurting the religious susceptibilities of the Hindus in the process of destroying their political and economic base. Again, the attempts of some historians to be little the heroism and patriotism of Rana Pratap and Shivaji as rather irritating little feudal oppositions to the desirable goal of political unification by the Mughals is patently ridiculous. There was no idea of nationhood at that time, and the wars waged by Alauddin, Akbar and Aurangzeb against independent powers within the country were made for territorial expansion and dynastic prestige than for welding the
scattered units into a nation-state Rana Pratap and Shivaji viewed Mughal attacks as serious encroachment on their citadels of independence. The heroic tenacity of Rana Pratap for protecting Mewar against the Mughals will always be classed as a shining example of a struggle for independence, and Shivaji's fight was certainly a successful movement for the liberation of his land and people against external aggressors. Moreover, the administration that he gave to his people, however short-lived, was certainly not inferior in quality and organization to that of the Mughals or of the Deccan Sultans. It was therefore natural and proper that examples of Rana Pratap and Shivaji inspired Indian leaders and people in their struggle against offensive alien rule. Both Pratap and Shivaji had to fight the Mughals who happened to be Muslims by faith. But the adherents of that faith who constitute a substantial minority today, should not be denied their due place among the patriots and the heroes who have brightened the pages of modern Indian history. On the one hand we should not forget that the Mughals were aliens even up to the time of Aurangzeb and in this connection it is sheer folly to compare the Aryans with the Mughals (because of their respective lengths of time in the country)—on the other we should remember that the Muslims, most of whom were converts, could not and cannot be considered aliens. Pratap's and Shivaji's roles should be judged in this perspective. Should we condemn the resistance against Persian aggression and Athenian imperialism by independence-loving Greeks as obstacles to Greek unity? Let us not try to rewrite history and distort facts to serve political ends, however patriotic or secular they may sound.

It is not for the first time that ideology has influenced history writing. Myth-making to buttress a socio-religious structure or dynastic rule was often resorted to by the ancient Pauranikas and Itihasakaras. Two of the most recent ideological schools which have dominated the scene are the
Idealist and the Marxist. The dispute about the precedence of ideas over matter or vice-versa is like the proverbial problem of chicken vs egg. So far as Indian historiography is concerned, the Marxist school is very much in the limelight. There is no doubt that the Marxist school has done great service to Indian history, rather to history in general, by bringing into prominent focus the economic factors in the making of history. We are well aware of the time and energy spent, sometimes lost, by scholars in unravelling the minutest political and dynastic details regarding insignificant rulers while not paying the slightest attention to social and economic movements. Through the recent shift to the socio-economic approach to history, the political and cultural aspects of our civilization are becoming much clearer, and both the Marxists and the non-Marxists are making contributions in this respect. But our Marxist friends overshoot, as new converts often do, when they minimize the role of the individual, or say 'hero', and of the forces of religion and tradition. The role of the Buddha, Asoka, Akbar and Gandhi as catalytic factors in the shaping of Indian history should not be underplayed in the zeal to stress economic factors. Buddhism might have helped traders and land-holders in a subtle way but the Buddha was not consciously or unconsciously leading them against small-scale or primitive trade and agriculture. Asoka's Buddhist measures were certainly more influenced by his intensely sensitive personality than by his desire to stabilize and strengthen the empire by using Buddhism as a tool. Our friends often confuse cause for effect, and thereby miss the trees for the wood. In order to stress progress in the material fields, some historians have done yeoman service in researches into the contributions of foreign raiders or conquerors, the Greeks, the Kushanas, the Hunas etc. But in the process they have pushed up the Kushanas and brought down the Guptas. Often one is left with feeling that, very subtly, we are being led back to square one when it was being said that 'the whole subsequent development
of India was dependent on Alexander's institutions, or that the Ramayana and the Mahabharata were adaptations of the Iliad and the Odyssey. Now we are being told that for all our material progress in the ancient times we are beholden to the West or the Near West.

In sociological studies caste is being identified with varna-class.

All in all the Marxist school is becoming a weapon for suicide, rather than serving as a useful tool for the understanding of history.
Six

Objectivity and All That

G S. Chhabra

In my brief note I wish to emphasize two points:

(1) It is not possible to apply generalizations in history in the way they are applied in science. The history of India, like that of any other civilization is, therefore, unique. All the same an in-depth examination of a subject both in the realm of matter and in that of ideas does make the researcher arrive at abstractions. But only a correct premise can lead to correct or near correct abstraction. Hence the urgent need for a framework based on the actual situation which in turn should be observed without hang ups of one kind and another.

(2) To my mind reason and subjectivity, and intuition and objectivity go together. Reason carries the cross of knowledge and intellect which are hindrances in the path of universality. Intuition on the other hand knows no barriers. Great discoverers both in the realm of science and in that of ideas are known to have perceived fundamental principles in a flash, with the help of intuition, no doubt preceded by reason, the crutch which is dropped in the final stage. This is the state of ultimate objectivity.
Objectivity and All That

Is ultimate objectivity possible, even desirable on the part of the intellectual? Does the historian realise that he cannot function without reason and that reason, supported by knowledge cannot enter the state of universality? As objectivity is not possible without a universalist state of mind, is not the historian asking for intellectual suicide in clamouring for objectivity. Only qualified objectivity is possible for the historian. Let him first realise what he is asking for, and aiming at before he makes an issue of it.
Seven

Some Genuine Problems and Their Deliberate Perpetuation

K. C. VERMA

IT IS A MATTER of deep concern to all thoughtful persons that in spite of the emphatic protest of so eminent a historian as D C Sircar¹ bias is becoming ever more pronounced in the reconstruction of Indian history. I had invited the attention of scholars to some such instances in 1970², and now bring some more to the notice of scholars and general readers.

It may be stated that leaving aside those who believe, in the anadiva of the Veda as an article of faith, and hence there can be no argument with them, there are two types of savants who clearly display their prejudices. One group

1. "It is a matter of regret, however, that the historian is often under pressure to suppress facts unpalatable to his own countrymen as well as those resented by other countries. We feel that truth must be said though without a deliberate attempt to offend other peoples. Otherwise, the spirit of history is likely to be totally obliterated by unacademic considerations in the not distant future." Proc. All India Oriental Conf. Ujjain, 1972, Presi Address, pp 12-13

2. See my monograph Some Western Indologists and Indian Civilization, pub by International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi, 1971 and an abridged version of it in India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture (Vivekanand Comm. Vol ) ed. Lokesh Chandra, S. P. Gupta and others pp 165-80
consists of those who insist that the Bharata war was fought in 3137 B.C., and that ancient Indian history begins about 9000-8000 B.C., the other group comprises those who bring the date of the Vedic literature down to 1000 B.C., and none of them cites cogent evidence in support of their assertions.

A group of orthodox Hindu historians holds that the equation Chandragupta Maurya = Sandracottus is basically wrong and that it should be Samudragupta, in place of the former; Asoka Maurya and Chandragupta Maurya should be assigned to 1474 B.C. and 1534 B.C., respectively and the Buddha Nivvana should be placed in 1794 B.C.

But there are differences of opinion even amongst them. Let us take Triveda. He holds (i) that the Indo-Greek kings have no place in ancient Indian history and have been unjustifiably incorporated therein by British Imperialists. Obviously Triveda ignores archaeological, epigraphic and numismatic evidence, (ii) His date for Kanishka I—1353 B.C., is belied by Chinese, and also archaeological and epigraphic evidence from Taxila and Mathura and other places, (iii) Though Triveda admits that the Piyaadasi inscriptions are of Asoka Maurya, yet he dates this Emperor in 1474 B.C.. He ignores the decisive evidence of the Greek and Aramaic inscriptions in Kandahar; he further

---

3 Some of these scholars are C. V. Vaidya, D. S. Triveda, Sunyana Raghavan, Krishnamachariar, Candrakantha Bal, G. S. Sampath Aiyangar, G. S. Sethagiri, Dharmadeva Vidyamanianda, Swami Sakthyananda, Swami Velananda, Yudhithara Mamavaka, Ravindrakumar Siddhantassiri/Pacca-Siddhantassiri, and many others.

4 Almost all Western Indologists with the exception of Sir Thomas Colebrooke, T. Goldstucker, H. Jacobbi, G. Phiiler, Sten Kestner, and a few others, and a fair number of their Indian followers, e.g., H. D. Sankalia, B. K. Chosh, Romila Thapar, A. S. Sharma and others.

5 See note 3 above.
ignores the fact that this date would push the Greek adoption of the Phoenician alphabet to 2000 B.C. from 800-750 B.C. (iv) He assigns the Tamil Classic Manimekalai to 50 A.D. and disregards the epigraphic and literary evidence which assigns this epic and its sister epic the Silappadigaram to A.D. 800-825. (v) By assigning the Bharata war to 3137 B.C. Triveda contradicts his own previous date 1867 B.C. (vi) His contention that the Qutb Minar was built by Samudragupta as an observatory in the fourth century B.C., is contradicted by epigraphic evidence which definitely establishes that the Gupta era year 0=319 A.D. Triveda also ignores the difference between the scripts of the Asokan and Gupta records as well as the fact that the former use Prakrit and the latter Sanskrit. Finally, he relies almost entirely on the dates assigned by Krishnamacharya to Sanskrit literary works, which in many cases have been shown to be untenable. Triveda avoids any reference to the fact that he has accepted the Kalyugaratvantya as the basis of his chronology, although he knew that it was a late nineteenth century forgery! Nowhere does he advance any arguments for assigning Manu Svayambhu to 8201 B.C.

The dates proposed by another historian Krishnamacharya for Asoka, the Buddha, and Samudragupta are the same as those of Triveda, in fact the latter has borrowed his chronology, for the most part, from the former, as acknowledged by him (Ind. Chro, p. 23) though at some places he does differ. There is one great difference between the two. Triveda acknowledges that the Piyadasi inscriptions are to be assigned to Asoka Maurya, while Krishnamacharya ascribes them to Samudragupta.

6. History of Classical Sanskrit Lit., Introduction. The verses of the Kalyugaratvantya are reproduced on pp cxii-cxiv, also on pp. lxxvii-lxxxvii. Regarding King Nanda, and Chandragupta Maurya, he has cited Kathasaritsagaras Kathaprethalambacka, Sixth taranga, pp. xciv-xcvii.
Asokaditya, 326 B.C., Krishnamacharya gives the title Parakramaditya to Skandagupta also! He has ignored the fact that neither Samudragupta nor Skandagupta used any of these titles in any of their inscriptions or coins, nor do the Puranas give these epithets. The whole thing is based on the verses in the Kāliyuga Rajavijñāna, reproduced by Krishnamacharya, in his History of Classical Sanskrit Literature, Introduction, pp 21–22, from the Kings of Magadha by Narayana Sastri Dr R. C Majumdar (Indian Historical Quarterly, Volume XX, pages 345–50) and Dr. Jagannath Agarwal (Journal of Bihar Research Society, Volume XXXI, 1945 pages 28–34) have demonstrated that they were actually penned by Narayana Sastri and passed off as ancient Purana.

Similarly, Indian and Western Indologists differ on the date of Harisvami, commentator of Satapatha Brahmana. The currently accepted data A.D. 638, for Harisvami, was propounded by Mangaladeva Sastri, from the data in the commentary of Harisvami. Since Mangaladeva Sastri did not believe in the existence of a Vikramaditya in first century B.C., he argued that the ‘Vikramaditya’ mentioned above must either have been a local ruler of Avanti or Vikramaditya Chalukya (A D 654 to 691) son of Pulakeshin II. He accomplished this by interpreting Saptatrimsho-chhatan as one word meaning 3700+40 years of Kali-era had passed. This gives A.D. 638.

But Dr. Lakshman Swarup went a step further and changed the text of the statement itself, in order to...

---

7 Saraswati Bharati Series Vol VIII, pp 173 ff, PANOC, Patna, 1933, pp. 595-605
8 Panachaya, "Brahma", and the introduction of an era by him...
equate this Vikramaditya with Yasodharman (A.D. 533) although Yasodharman had never assumed the title Vikramaditya. It will be appreciated that all these manoeuvrings and permutations and combinations have been undertaken in the belief that there was no Vikramaditya and the Kali era itself is a back calculation. Udayavira Sastri makes very interesting comments on this whole question.

Shri I. Mahadevan, following the lead of Western Indologists, who are averse to date the Rigveda beyond 1000 B.C., insists on finding a Dravidian language hidden in the script of the Indus Valley Civilization. And this, in spite of the complete refutation of his thesis by B.B. Lal! Mahadevan insists on finding 'Dravidian words' in the Rigveda, and most conveniently ignores the fact that some of the greatest upholders of this hypothesis have, in sheer desperation, given up the attempt.


Some Genuine Problems and Their Deliberate

These views, when critically examined, leave much to be desired:

(a) It is clear that these scholars accept without a critical examination the Vedic chronology, very hesitatingly propounded by Max Mueller in his *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 1859. Max Mueller, (p. 572), assigns the Chaandas period 1200-1000 B.C. (pp 572, 407), the Mantra period 1000-800 B.C. (pp. 435f), the Brahmana period 800-600 B.C.; and finally the Sutra period 600-200 B.C (pp 249, 313) The supporters of these dates who have followed Max Muller, have endeavoured to support these dates on other philological and archaeological grounds, based on evidence gathered from the Near East, but essentially the real base is Max Mueller’s chronology. This chronology, few of the modern young Indologists and especially archaeologists realise is dependent entirely on the ghost story in the *Kathasaritasagara*, composed by Somadeva Bhatta, in the 12th century A.D. The verses in the story which make Panini and Vararuci Katyayana, contemporaries lead to the absurd result that the Bharata war took place about 425 B.C. and Panini instead of being the Prince of Grammarians becomes the greatest dunderhead known to history.

Max Mueller wrote,—“Suffice it for the present that, if Chandragupta was king in 315, Katyayana may be placed, according to our interpretation of Somadeva’s story, in the second half of fourth century B.C. We may disregard the story of Somadeva, which actually makes Katyayana himself a minister of Nanda and thus would make him an old man at the time of Chandragupta’s accession to the throne. This is, according to its own showing, a mere episode in a ghost story (*Asiatic Res.*, XX, p. 167) (Italics are mine - KCV, and had to be inserted in order to connect Katyayana’s story with other fables of the *Katha-saritasagara*). But there still remains this one fact, however
slender it may appear, that, as late as the twelfth century A.D., the popular tradition of the Brahmanas connected the famous grammarians Katyayana and Panini with that period of their history, which immediately preceded the rise of Chandragupta and his Sudra dynasty; and this, from a European point of view (italics as mine - KCV), we must place in the second half of the fourth century B.C.” The comment of Theodore Gold-tucker, whom Max Mueller himself declared to be the greatest Sanskritist of his time (he should have said Western Sanskritist - KCV), is also worth reproducing “Thus, the whole foundation of Mueller’s date rests on the authority of Somadeva, the author of “an Ocean of (or rather for) the River of Stories” who narrated his tales in the twelfth century after Christ. Somadeva, I am satisfied, would not be a little surprised to learn that “a European point of view” raises a “ghost story” of his to the dignity of an historical document.”

DRAVIDIAN LOAN WORDS There had been prolonged controversy between Dr Aryendra Sharma12 and T. Burrow. The former maintained that in almost all cases where a “Dravidian origin” was claimed there was a stronger case for an Indo-European origin. Dr Sharma informed me in

12. Aryendra Sharma, PAIJC, XIXth Session, Delhi, Presi. Add. Linguistic Section, p. 148. R N Dandekar, ADORI, I VI, 1975, p. 25, observes, “The question of the cerebrals in the Vedic language has intrigued linguists since long and the hypothesis of the borrowings from some non Indo-Aryan languages (particularly Dravidian) has been suggested in many of the cases. Manfred Mayerhofer (Renou Comm. Vol 1968, 509-17) believes that the emergence of the cerebral nasal—n—in many cases (such as manu, athnu, athna, etc. be shown to have been spontaneous. More recently, T Burrow, (Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, 34, 534-39), who has been an exponent of the Dravidian borrowing theory, has veered round to the view that there has occurred in Sanskrit a process of fission by which the original dentals of Indo-Iranian have in Indo-Aryan been partly replaced by cerebrals without the presence of any pre-disposing influence and that such spontaneous cerebralization has taken place in Sanskrit on quite a massive scale.
March 1972 (International Sanskriti Conference) that in private correspondence, Burrow had conceded the argument. It would also not be out of place to mention here the forgotten but extremely important paper "Dravidian Tense-suffixes" in *Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference*, Poona, 1919, pt. 1, pp. lxxxi-lxxviii, from the pen of the illustrious Mr. Swaminatha Aiyar, regarding the alleged Dravidian influence on the Aryan inflection, i.e., "the replacement in Classical Sanskrit of verbal tenses by participles generally, and the increasing use of conjunctive participles in subordinate sentences". In the course of this paper, it becomes clear that the participles which the Aryan languages are said to have imitated are formed after the Aryan model and with Aryan materials.

Moreover, supporters of the Dravidian Loan theory forget that the earliest examples of any Dravidian language do not antedate second century B.C., at the most. This is represented by the "Brahmi cave inscriptions" in the caves in Tinnevelly and elsewhere in South India, and the Sangam literature. It is agreed by K. A. N. Sastrī as well as Vaiyapuri Pillai, that the Tamil language of the Brahmi inscriptions is in its formative stages and it has an appreciable element of Prakrit of northern India. That the Dravidian languages in third century B. C. had not developed sufficiently to express philosophical, ethical and sastric ideas sufficiently well is also attested by the use of Prakrit in the Asokan inscriptions at Yerraguddi and Siddhapur.

13. Sastrī, A Hist. of South Ind. 1955, p 87. Vaiyapuri Pillai, Comp. Hist. of Ind. 11, K.A N. Sastrī (ed). pp. 669-72. Re: Friki (rice) he states that orisi or its earlier form oris/derived from eriti. The high date of A.D. 100-250 for the Sangam literature depends entirely on the supposed synchronum of Gajabahu I of Ceylon with Senguttuvan Chera, for which there is only a late tradition incorporated in *Silappadikaram* (early 9th century A.D.), but there is no mention of such a visit by Gajabahu in Sinhalese records.
Thus it is virtually certain that the thesis of Russian, and Finnish\textsuperscript{14} scholars and of Mahadevan, that the language of the Indus seals was Dravidian and the latter's theory of Dravidian loan words in the Vedic script cannot be sustained. Where everything is pure guess work, it may be hazarded that the language of the Indus seals may either be a dialect very akin to the Vedic Sanskrit or a totally unknown language, in which case there is no hope of its ever being deciphered.

ARYAN INVASION/IMMIGRATION AND THE DATE OF THE RIGVEDA:

Since both are interconnected, they are dealt with as one:

(i) I have consulted, during the last ten years or so, a large number of Veda scholars of international repute such as Prof. Sadhuram, Dr. Ram Gopal, Dr. M. A. Mehendale, Acharya Udayavira Sastri and last but not least, and perhaps the greatest of them all, popularly called the Panini of the twelfth century, the late Mr. K. V. Abhayankar, and they affirmed that there is not, in the hymns, any direct or indirect memory of a pre-Indian home in the minds of the authors! The point is not whether the Aryans were autochthonous to India or came from some other region, as this problem will never be decided, but whether there is any evidence as such of their coming to India. They may or may not have come from outside. But it is certain that by the time the

hymns were composed they had lost all memory of ever having lived outside India (including eastern Afghanistan). A people who invented the Samhita-patha, Pada-patha, Krama-patha, etc. to preserve the text, a feat unparalleled in the history of the world, could not have in a few hundred years forgotten their earlier home. A period of even 1000 years would not be sufficient, for the purpose.

(ii) As to the date of the Rigveda, it is well known that the main prop for the date 1200-1000 B.C. is linguistic, apart from the basis laid down by Max Mueller, already referred to. It is maintained that the Indo-European irruption took place in the first half of the second millennium B.C. when the Hittites and the Kassites arrived in Anatolia and Mesopotamia, respectively; the so-called close resemblance between Kassite, Mitanni and Gothic Avestan is also invoked. As regards the Kassites, there is grave doubt whether the language was Indo-European, Kemal Balkan, _Kassitenstudien, 1: Die Sprachedefe Kassiten_, American Ort. Series, Vol 37, 1954, pp. xiv, +238 (translated from Turkish into German, by R. Krans), has severely criticised the hypothesis of borrowings from Sanskrit into the Kassite language (e.g. Kassite Sur(i)as = Vedic Surs(i)yah). The late K. Chattopadhyaya, whose knowledge of these texts was very deep had very serious doubts in this regard about the Kassite language. H. Kronasser, _Fruchtggeschichte and Spv 1_, Wien, 1948, pp. 162-85, has also, after careful analysis, denied any relationship between Indo-European and Finno-Ugrian languages. The similarity between the Gothic Avesta and the Veda has been over-emphasised. K. Chattopadhyay, _PAIOC_, Trivandrum, 1937, pp. 125-68 (Presi Address) has very ably refuted the similarities, e.g. the equation Greek Ouranos = Varuna, though accepted by many philologists, must be rejected as
there are two differences, viz., the second vowel in 'Varuna' is 'u' while it is 'a' in Ouranos; the former is accented on the first syllable, though accenting it on the syllable third from the end would not have militated against the special law about the place of accent in the Greek language. Either discrepancy would not, by itself, have gone against the equation, but their combination makes it extremely difficult to connect Varuna with Ouranos. Similarly, the assumption Varuna—Akura Mazda has been shown to be baseless.

(iii) No one has yet been able to prove the length of time required by a language to change to a given extent in a given country. This point has been repeatedly urged by many eminent scholars. A C Woolner has shown

15 Woolner, PAIOC, Poona, 1919, pt. 2, pp. 20-33. Macdonell, Hist. of Sansk. Lit. 12, wrote, "A lapse of three centuries, say from 1300-1000 B.C., would amply account for the difference between what is the oldest and newest in Vedic hymn poetry". "A development of language and thought hardly greater than that between the Homeric and the Attic age of Greece." In his article "Sanskrit-Vedic hymns" in the Hastings Enc. of Rel. & Eth., he again observed, (a) to allow for all this gradual development it is necessary to postulate a period of some centuries, decidedly longer, for example, than that between Homeric and Classical Greek. Five hundred years are amply sufficient to account for the gradual changes, linguistic, social, and political, that this hymn literature reveals." Again "If the language of the Avesta were known to us at a stage earlier by six or seven centuries, it could hardly differ at all from that of the Vedic hymns". Ibid. It may be noted that Macdonell assigned Avesta to 6th Century B C., and thus postulated a difference of 700 m years between the Rgveda and the Avesta. The comparison of the Avestan Gathas with the Vedic hymns was first utilized by K. F. Geldner, Enc. Brit. (XIth Ed.), 28, p 1040, to prove the antiquity of the former and then adapted to disprove "the possibility of extreme antiquity" of the Rgveda. He showed that there was close resemblance between the Veda and the Avesta, closer than between any two Romance languages, and that whole strophes of the Gathas could be turned into old Sanskrit by the application of phonetic laws. Geldner dates the Gathas, 1000 B C. Macdonell was even more insistent and observed: "By the mere application of phone-
that the attempt of Macdonell to give an upper date of 1300 B.C. to the Rigveda is not justified and that on linguistic grounds 2000 B.C. is as probable. Winternitz also emphasised the same point. One of the most telling arguments against the linguistic method for determining chronology has been advanced by K. Chattopadhyaya, who in an article endeavoured to establish that Zoroaster lived in the sixth century B.C. 18

DISPERAL OF THE INDO-EUROPEANS: It is no longer possible to maintain that the Indo-Europeans remained a united people till at least 2000 B.C. and the first Greeks reached Peleponnesus about 1200 B.C. It is now conceded by many leading archaeologists that the break-up started earlier than 4000 B.C. If it is then maintained that the Aryans arrived in India about 1400 B.C., the questions will have to be answered as to where they were and what were they doing for more than 3000 years, since linguistic semantics shows that the Indo-Iranians were the first to


break away from the parent body. Moreover it has now been established that Saraswati, the river par excellence in the Vedic hymns, dried up about 2200 B.C., and hence the hymns must be much earlier.


Gurdip Singh, "Indus Valley Culture", *Arch. and physical Anthro in Oceania*, Vol. VI, 1971, 171-89 and Puratattwa, IV, 1970-71, 68-76. Vimal Ghosh and associates, "Comparative Role of the Aravallis and the Himalayan River Systems in the Fluvial Sedimentation of the Rajasthan Desert," paper read at the Tenth International Cong of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Nat. Museum, New Delhi, Dec. 15, 1978, and in a private letter No. F.8237-KM of 20 Jan. 1979, that 3800 years B.C., says the learned Ghosh, has to the Indus Valley culture had devoured the Indus Valley. And to my query whether his discoveries entitle me to assume that the Saraswati dried up at the same time as the lakes of Rajasthan, he answered in a strong affirmative. None of the 'indologists' among whom were
MISINTERPRETATION OF VEDIC TEXTS: Many eminent Indian Vedic scholars have protested in the past against the misinterpretation of Vedic hymns not only by Western Vedists but even by those Indian and Western Indologists, who do not possess any knowledge of even classical Sanskrit let alone the Vedic. In the process they completely ignore the continuous tradition of Vedic interpretation.

"... with fantastical certainty, (they) scruple about astronomical facts, and present fantastical facts with astronomical certainty." 19

Finally I venture to suggest to Indologists that it does not show critical scholarship when they shun the aid of astronomy in the formulation of chronology. 20

Moreover, an over-exercise of critical faculties on their part, in the absence of an appreciation of the sources which requires not only a knowledge of language but also an understanding of the purpose and methodology of the preservation of material in Vedic times, can only lead to disastrous consequences.

R. Morton Smith and Romita Thapar dared to challenge him. Perhaps they did not comprehend the implications of the discoveries and of my query. Again in the Ind. Arch. Cong. Session, 1976, Jaipur, Gurup Singh repeated the same answer to the same query made by me and all the geologists gathered there agreed with him; no “Indologist” disagreed!

19. The above sentence is a plagiarism of Goldstuck’s remark on Weber.

20. Just as Egyptologists use the Sothic Cycle, the Babylonian chronology is based on Venus tablets and the Hittite chronology is partially built on a tablet of Murshili II, which speaks of a “portent of the sun” and which has been interpreted as a solar eclipse! (Camb. Anc. Hist., 1, 1971, p. 1, p 205).
इतिहास लेखन : एक दृष्टिकोण

परिमल कुमार दास

किसी भी इतिहासकार की तथ्यों को सच्चाई के साथ प्रस्तुत करना चाहिए। तथ्यों का प्रयोग और उसके तुल्यांकन में सत्येत ही सकते हैं। इसलिए पहीं तथ्यों के भाषार पर ही, जो एक यहूदी सोच कार्य के परिणाम हो, वस्तुविषयक इतिहास बनना उचित है।

यह बात सही है, कि इतिहास अवश्य को हटनावों के प्रभाव पर लिखा जाता है, परंतु व्यक्तिगत ताजांगीक अवस्थाएँ सोम्य भाषा में रखकर इसका सम्पूर्णता होना चाहिए। हर समीक्षा और व्यक्ति के भाषार पर इसकी व्याख्या करता है।

आलोचक पर इतिहास राजपूत सी कहाँं वना रहा है। जनसंख्या पुरुष में यह जरूरी है, कि इतिहास सामाजिक व्यक्ति के बोध का प्रतिक्रिया बने।

इसलिए देखें कि, कि नेपोलियन ने हमारे इतिहास के तथ्यों को लंबा प्रमाण, उसे ताजांगीक सृष्टिकोण ले देखते हुए खूब की साक्ष्यों को प्रतिबंध उपलब्ध किया। इसलिए यह जरूरी है, कि हम इसने व्यक्तिगत इतिहास लेखन इतिहास के प्रभाव के पुत्र होकर नये सिरे होकर ।

वीरें वर्तमान यह है कि हर प्रकार के भारतीय इतिहास विभी, प्राकृतवाची या सूद-प्राकृतवाची, विशिष्ट इतिहास, परिवर्तन निष्ठु, परिवार ब्राह्मण और यहूदी भाषा के इतिहास से रास्ता है; इसलिए सही इतिहास
लेखन संयम नहीं हो गया। इतिहास लेखन नकलमान बनकर रहा गया है।

यह भी यह है कि हमारे देश में इतिहास लेखन की परवर्ता नहीं रही है। वेदों का एक श्रौत नाम 'भूति' रहा है। इस लोगों में इतिहास के प्रति नागरत्न का अभाव रहा है, जिसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि प्राचीन काल से हमारे यह बहुत ही कम इतिहास लिखा गया। हालाँकि रामायण और महाभारत मामूली भाषामी की सम्पत्ति बने रहे हैं। राम एक ऐतिहासिक पुस्तक में या नहीं, यह प्रस्तर जहर है परन्तु रामायण उस समय का सामाजिक इतिहास है। राम 'सर्वोपरि पुष्प' की कल्पना का एक जिथ है। इस मामले में रामायण और महाभारत उस समय के बादर्श सामाजिक इतिहास के नहीं हैं। दुष्क की बात है कि रामायण और महाभारत की या तो धार्मिक सुन्दरवादी दृष्टि से या संभावित रूप से नकारात्मक की दृष्टि से देखा गया है। हमारे धर्मात्मक बुद्धि जीवियों ने इसका यह मानी में ध्यानात्मक (पेशुर) मूल्यांकन नहीं किया जबकि दोनों ही प्रमुख धार्मिक रूप में जन भाषायाधीनों के प्रतिनिधियों ने।

मिसाल के तौर पर, हिंदू शाब्द को लिया जाय। हिंदू शाब्द का उल्लेख किसी प्राचीन धर्मग्रन्थ में नहीं मिलता। दरअसल यह शब्द फारसी लोगों तथा बाबू ने भुमि दिया है। उनके पहले पूजनी भी इसका इतिहास लिखा था। 'हिंदू' नदी के पास रहने वाले लोगों को ये हिंदू कहा करते थे। 'हिंदू' शब्द का प्रारंभ भी से हुमा, ऐसा प्रतीत होता है। जिनहें हम हिंदू भूखते हैं वे सनातन धर्म के भागवत वर्ण ध्वस्त भी मानने लोग कहते हैं। दरअसल 'हिंदू' कोई होता नहीं। 'हिंदू' कहने वाला बाह्यहृद्य, अधिक, वैदेह, या ऊपर में कोई होता है। यही कारण है कि हिंदू दृष्टि में परम्परागत्व को हिंदू नहीं बना पाये। क्योंकि किसी 'परं' में दूसरे धर्म बालों को वेदों पानी प्रस्ताव था। हिंदूओं में परम्परागत्व का

-समर्दक
व्यास इन हिंदू इतिहासिकोपादेशी

कारण की तरह समाजसाधियों ने किया है और वे वास्तवम ने नहीं मानते हैं। वास्तवम ने ना मानते बताते श्रमाध्यक्ष हैं नहीं कहा पाए, उन्होंने बारे में बहुत अधिक आदर प्रस्तुत किया। यदि भारत में कभी जातिप्रथा समाप्त नहीं हो तो इस वस्तुताने में रहने बाले हर मनोकामना को 'हिंदू' कहा जाए सकेगा, चाहे वह कदम भी वर्तमान प्रचलन को न हो।

इसलिए धर्म को मानने वाले थे हमारे देश में ब्राह्म उनमें देवो धर्म धर्म विवेक का फर्ज करता जरूरी है। हमारे लिए इतिहास न हो सात्ताओं या प्राचीन सहजा तक खत्म होना चाहिए धर्म वापस न हो यहीं से शुरू। समुदाय द्वारा धर्म धर्म परमार्थक तथा, तो सक्षम देशी था। उसी वर्ष श्रेष्ठ धर्मी था। मूँला नहीं चाहिए कि मुगल जब हमलावर बनकर धर्मे तो पहले देशी बन जाये थे। यही सिलसिला मुगल और बाद के दूसरे हमलावरों के साथ रहा। मुसलमान और श्रमिक के बीच यह एक गुप्तात्मक नेतृत्व रहा। पर देशी होने हुए हो थे, राजा या नागर, बल्ला बा थे। श्रमिकों देशी होते हुए भी बुलती थी। अन्याय के विलाक तलन हुर द्वारा का धर्म होता है। आजी जुल्म के विलास तड़े, मुसलमान के विलास नहीं। इसलिए धर्मी और धर्मी और धर्म धर्म के बीच फर्ज करता धर्मस्थल है। मध्ययुगीन इतिहास में भी देशी और धर्मी मुसलमानों के बीच सामर्थ्य चलता रहा। तो मुसलमानों ने हमलावर को हराकर देश को नुकसान प्रकाश दिया। सियाज़ूबुद्दीन, हैंदराबादी, टीपू मुसलिम, वहांदेशी हादिर वोरता के साथ देश की धार्मिक खड़े हो गए। वे देशी थे। समकालीन सदी में जाकिरखान्स देशी थे तो समय लाने विवेकी थे।

दूसरा उदाहरण: 'राष्ट्रीयता' का लिया जाये। राष्ट्रीयता की कल्पना ने राष्ट्रीयता की कल्पना की हो नहीं है, जैसा कि कई भारतीय इतिहास लेखन सामाजिक के खिलाफ की मानता है। भारत प्रारंभ से ही एक राष्ट्र रहा है। कालिदास के 'प्राचीन इतिहास' के रूप में भारत की व्यवहार से हमारे देश देश की दृष्टि और प्रामाण्य सीधे ही जाती है। 'राष्ट्रीयता' धर्म राष्ट्र राज्य की घट-घटाओं में बहुत बदल करता। चाहिए। राष्ट्र राज्य की कल्पना का विकास १५वीं सदी के गुरुप्रेम में हुआ। उसकी बुलना में भारत की राष्ट्रीयता की कल्पना जैविक रहा। 'भारत माता' या 'बाले माताम' इन शब्दों वे जो तारंग है, वह राष्ट्र राज्य की कल्पना के दायरे के बाहर को वस्तु है। अतः इन,
तिलक, गायत्री और सुभाष ने भारतमाता की जो कल्पना की थी, वह राष्ट्र-राज्य के कदमों में समा हो नहीं सकती। प्रेमेन्द्र लाल राम की 'भारतवर्ष' कथिता पढ़ने में भी इसकी रचना मिलती है। पर प्रफुल्लों की कहा है कि हमारे इतिहास लेखक मार्क्स का इतिहास लिखते समय परिचयों और जोड़ों का इस्तेमाल करते हैं। प्रेम और मार्क्सवादी राष्ट्रीयता का यही पर्यय नहीं लगा पाते।

इस संबंध में एक प्रेम मिलाव पर्यावरण होने-भारत के समी पथ और दीर्घमय चार सीमाओं में सियात है। उत्तर में केवल-बदोलीय, दक्षिण में रोहतास पर्वत, पूर्व में कामाला और पश्चिम में ढाकाखाँजी। किसी भी व्यक्ति का सौंदर्य जीवन तब तक साधनक नहीं माना जाता था, जब तक वह इन चारों धारों का दर्शन न करते। वहाँ ध्यान रखने की बात है कि लोग इन धाराओं के लिये पैदल यात्रा किया करते थे, प्रेम समूह में। इस यात्रा से सामूहिक एकता का सृजन मजबूत बना दिया था, जो राष्ट्रीय चेतना का एक प्रावश्चिक अंग हुआ करता है। किसी भी देश में इस तरह की प्रकट मिलना मुश्किल है। इसी तरह रामायण की कहानी जहाँ उत्तर में दक्षिण को जोड़ती है, वहाँ महाभारत पूर्व से पश्चिम को। भारत के भार सवितों से किसी भी प्राचीन देश का स्वाभाविक चारक उसकी राष्ट्रीय चेतना का जागरूक अंग नहीं रहा होगा। प्रेमें ने इस देश की राष्ट्रीयता की बहरी को कमजोर करने की कोशिश की, प्रेम सफल हुए। पर इसमें हमारे इतिहासकारों का योगदान कम नहीं रहा।

वर भी, इस दृष्टि से हमारी राष्ट्रभावना गहरी प्रेम व्यापक होती चाहिए थी। प्रेमी ने हमारी सफलता नहीं मिलीं, पर ध्यान में रखी खास व्यवस्था या जातिप्राप्त नहीं रही होती। हमारे समाज की विद्वेषी जातियों को राष्ट्रीय चेतना के इस पहलु प्रमुख से लगता रहकर, भारतीय राष्ट्रीयता को कारपर प्रेम बलशाली रूप लेने से रोका गया।

हमारे इतिहासकारों ने एक प्रेम प्रस्ताव प्रस्ताव करते हैं। वह यह है कि प्रेमी ने इस देश में साम्राज्यविरोध को जन्म दिया प्रेम और उसके पहले इसका प्रस्ताव तक नहीं था। दरबार साम्राज्यविरोध जातिप्राप्त की उपज है। प्रेमें ने इससे पूरा-पूरा फायदा उठाया। देश के सम्राटवादी प्रेम व्यापा-रूपायें प्रगतिशील साम्राज्यविरोध-विरोधी, दोनों जातिप्राप्त के महान प्रमुख
इतिहास लेखन : एक विद्वानकोष

तितक, गंगार भीर भुवाय ने भारतमाता की जो क्षणों की थी, वहाे रायकृत वंग के कटरे में सहा ही नहीं लगा है। प्रेमज लाल राम की 'भारतवर्ध' कविता पढ़ने से भी इसकी अतंक मिलती है। पर नवीकरक की बात है, कि हमारे इतिहास लेखक भारत का इतिहास लिखने समय पतिथार घोंटारों का इस्तेमाल करते हैं और भारतीय राजस्वता का सही अर्थ नहीं लगा पाते।

इस संबंध मे एक और मिसाल पयास होमी-भारत के सभी धार्मिक और तीव्रतान चार सीमाओं में सियात है। उत्तर मे केदार-बदोलाने, दस्ताने में चेतब्यु रामेत्रप्रयु, पूर्व मे कामाक्षी और पवित्रम में दासकपूरी। किसी भी ध्वनिक के लोगक जीवन तब तक सार्थक नहीं माना जाता था, जब तक वह इन चारों घोंटों का दर्शन न ले ले। यहाँ व्यापक रूप से बात है कि लोग इन घोंटों के लिए वेदांत राज्य का रचना करते हैं, और समूह मे। इस राज्य के संशोधित एकता का सूक्ष्मता है जिसे, जो राजा वेनना का एक प्रश्नक प्रश्न हुआ करता है। किसी देश मे इस तरह देन की मिसाल मिलना मुणिमम है। इसी तरह मायारान की कहानी जहाँ उत्तर से दस्ताने को जोड़ती है, वही महारानार चूके से रहती है। भारत को तरह सीधी से किसी भी प्रश्न का स्वीकार उसकी राज्य वेनना का आँख कपड़ा नहीं रहा होगा। प्रेमजे के इस देश के राज्योद्योग की जड़ों को कमजोर करने की कोशिश की, और लगा हुआ। पर इसमे हमारे इतिहासकारों का योगदान कम नहीं रहा।

फिर भी, इस दृष्टि से हमारे राज्यवाना गहरी और व्यापक होनी चाहिये थे। प्रेमजे को इसमे सफलता नहीं मिलती, भगवा इस देश मे वहें व्यवस्था या व्यापक अतिप्रभु नहीं रही होगी। हमारी समकट की निदर्शी नाजियाँ को राज्यवाना वेनना के इस महत्त्व प्रमुख से प्रतिलिपि रहकर, भारतीय राज्योद्योग को कारगर और बलसाती रूप देने मे रोका गया।

हमारे इतिहासकारों ने एक और धार्मसंगति है। वह छुट कि दृष्टि से इस देश मे साधारणकता को जगत दिया और उसके पर सिद्ध प्रतिस्वर तक नहीं है। दरअसल साधारणकता जातिप्रभा को लें घर है। प्रेमजे ने इसमे पुराना-पुराना पाया रहता है। देश के समस्त प्राचीन रूप व्यवस्था-कृषि प्रतियोत ताम्रप्राचीनता-बिरोधी, शेषी जातिप्रभा के ने घटणाएँ
है, और मवर्ण हैं। साम्प्रदायिकता की समस्या मूलतः ऊर्जा बनाम विचारकी जाति की है और इसका निदान जातिप्रतिक ने समाधि में है। पर ये दोनों अस्वीकार्य स्त्री सम्पदा की समस्या बनाकर मूल प्रश्न से ध्यान दिखाये में सफल हुए हैं।

तुम्हें यह नहीं भूलता चाहिए कि देश में जितने धर्मपरिवर्तन हुए हैं उतने से दृष्टिकोण विचारक प्राणियों के लोग रहे हैं, और उन्होंने स्वेच्छा से धर्म परिवर्तन किया है। कुछ ऊर्जा जाति के लोग का ही वस्तुपूर्वक धर्मपरिवर्तन हुआ है। जिनके लिए दृष्टिकोण में व्याख्या तथा सम्पन्नपूर्वक जीवन व्यापी होना आवश्यक करना प्रसन्न था उन सभी मे हुमारा धर्म चुना लिया है और वह श्रीमति श्री जी जारी है। तुम देखे जो नये धर्मों का जन्म हुआ है वह भी जातिप्रति के विषय मे एक सुधार या बलवा रहा है। इसलिए साम्प्रदायिकता का प्रश्न प्रसन्न रह जायगा, राहु जातिप्रति का निरूपण न किया जाय।

श्रावण का विशेष नकारकर राष्ट्रीय धूर्तजीवन वर्तमान नहीं है। भारत के प्रतीत का नये कुछ ही बेकार वा परिवारकीय है, यह सही नहीं है। लेकिन प्रतीत की सभी बातें महत्त्वपूर्ण है, उस कहना बलत होगा। जैसे—जातिप्रति।

राष्ट्रीय भाषा का विषय के लिए पत्रिपत्र का सही शुभदर्शन भावस्थाक है। तो देखे जो प्रतीत का सुकुल ना होता है, वह अपने लिए कोई भावस्था नहीं बना सकता। श्रावण भारत को २५०० साल पुराना सम्मूचे मे कोई तो वात है। इकबाल के सब्बो मे:-

कुछ बात है कि हस्ती मिलती नहीं हमारी, नये रहा है दुर्गम दीर जहाँ हमारा।

उपर्युक्त का यह मंत्र 'तीन रवस्त्रेत मूर्ति, भारत भारत मन्दिक्षरम्' यानि रचना करने हुए भूमि करो—भारतीय समाजवादी दर्शन का धर्मपरिवर्तन चतुर्वेद होना चाहिए।

भारतीय तक जहाँ एक वर्ष इतिहास लेखन का, राष्ट्रवादी दृष्टि का श्रत को रसिक म्हमंत्र श्रद्धित रहा है तो इसके अर्थ मानसार्थक दृष्टि प्रभाव से और उपरासुदृष्टि वाली रही है। मान्य के धनुरार इतिहास वर्ग सम्प्रेक्षण का इतिहास रहा है, जो इतिहास का महत्त्व भरत है। भारतीय संस्कृति मे जाति भाषाक भाषाकारण व्यवस्था रही है। श्रावण मे—श्रावण गतिशील रहकर
शौर वर्ग के बीच का यह आपसी सम्बन्ध समयों तक जल्दी है। इसलिए भाव-शक्ति के लिए इस बात की है कि सेवन जनाविभाजक हो, जब उदारवादी और ध्वंसर कार्यकर्ताओं हो। याम्यवादी देशों के इतिहास लेखन के तरीकों से म्यूजेट हो जाता है कि तथाकथित मार्क्सवादी दृष्टि दर्शन में एक पश्चिम शौरी मतावधाय लेखन दृष्टि करती है, जो सदैव विज्ञ है।
Mentality of Indian Culture

OM PRAKASH

UNDERSTANDING Indian culture has been a baffling task on account of its extreme complexity, vast geographical extent and unbroken continuity. One is not sure how much of this mammoth assemblage of forms and ideas with their innumerable contradictions and ceaseless fluctuations in time and space, both physical and social, has an immanent logical unity and how much of it is mere congeries simply occupying the multidimensional space without any effort at integration. Impressions of unchangeability and persistence of many a form and idea in the face of phenomenal change of the rest is again an intriguing phenomenon. Coexistence of contradictions and factual defiance of bold generalizations make it sui generis to such an extent that all models of interpretation become inapplicable or, if applied in spite of the incompatibilities, look like poor examples of bald attempts at pigeon-holing. This is not to argue that all efforts at generalizations and simplification of complexities to facilitate understanding should be given up. In fact, there can be no philosophization without reducing earthly details to their inspiring principles and without philosophization there can hardly be any understanding of the subject. But this generalisation should, of necessity, follow from an analysis of
the exquisite wealth of details present in Indian culture so that its spirit may be reached, rather than reducing them to the principles of such logical systems as have been evolved as tools of interpretation of human culture as a whole. Such an attempt will be approaching the problem from the wrong end. In the natural order of things man, being a consciously articulate creature, develops a society by virtue of his inter-relation and interaction with his fellow beings and such societies with their culture constitute what is collectively called human culture or world civilization. Approaching 'individual cultures primarily as parts of the totality of human culture will be creating Plato's Communism by suppressing the individuality of the family altogether. To such approaches individual cultures are bound to appear in a distorted form and the study of a distortion, however scientific, is sure to produce misleading results. That Indian culture has been a victim of such distortions can be easily demonstrated.

Material milieu versus mentality

Probably under the impact of the Marxist jargon that everything non-material in a culture constitutes the superstructure securely based on its material foundations, there has recently been much talk of a material milieu of almost every non-material aspect of Indian culture, virtually suggesting that the material aspects have a deterministic role in the shaping of the non-material ones. If will and mental attitudes of man are entirely subordinate to his material surroundings why did so many cultures, each with its own individuality, emerge from more or less similar material conditions of the primitive man? In fact, the material aspects do not have an inherent primacy in themselves; they acquire primacy in proportion to the increase in the manipulation and control of man over them, and it is obvious that this hold grew only with the passage of time. Helplessness of the primitive man before his material conditions created by nature is by no means comparable to the helplessness of
the poor before the organised industrial or capitalist exploitation largely of human creation. If social space and social time are to be distinguished from natural space and natural time, man-made material conditions are to be distinguished from the material conditions of Nature's making. If this is so man-made material conditions are simply externalizations of immanent mental attitudes, not always individually or consciously conceived. Over-emphasis on material aspects of Indian culture without distinguishing those made by man from those created by nature has been responsible for undermining the importance of the role of mental attitudes in the development of Indian culture.

This recent trend in Indology represents an angry protest against an earlier approach which overstressed the spiritual and ideological aspects of Indian culture at the cost of the material aspect. India along with its culture was reduced to a Wonder Land to warrant the title 'The Wonder That was India' by A.L. Basham (who chose it at the behest of his publishers). The recent trend referred to above did not analyse the basic mental attitudes which lead to pious platitudes, labels and speech reactions which usually militate against the objective social facts. Instead of correcting the fault in the approach of their predecessors the advocates of the recent trend have rejected the sounder beginning in the right direction, and have chosen a path of identity-rejection more scientific only in appearance.

The advocates of the materialistic approach have taken the beginnings of Indian social and political institutions to their tribal past in their bid to indicate a material origin for them. But strangely enough the tribes of their concept are still those of innocent savages, who have no private property, but only community ownership, who have no social classes, no government, no permanent territory and who observe their mores impelled by their apprehensions of the unknown. Recent researches
in anthropology have materially changed these notions regarding tribes. Let me quote from Sorokin:

"Traditional opinion about primitive groups as community societies which do not have any commerce or private property or economic inequality, or inheritance of fortune, are far from being correct. The primitive economy is neither an economy of individuals searching for food (as Bucher thinks), nor the economy of communism or collective production. What we really have is the economic group composed of mutually dependent and economically active individuals and of the smaller part of the group which have system of commerce and barter with each other."

The explorations regarding the material basis of ancient Indian social and political institutions with the postulates of Marx and Engels about tribal and primitive life have led to further distortions.

While the idealists have failed to differentiate between the facts of the ancient Indian social pyramid and its lofty theoretical proclamations, the materialists endeavoured to fill the Indian social space with economic, political and occupational stratifications which cut across and often militate against the caste divisions which they ignore as a cultural phenomenon. The former idealise the Indian social order as the best thing conceivable and attribute its obvious faults to motivated and historical deformities which have shrouded its original nature. The latter try to apply forms of economic, political and occupational stratification either as "monistic" conceptions of social classes or in a combination of the three. As pointed out by Sorokin, "the weak point of the first three "monistic" conceptions of social classes is that they take one of the forms of social stratification, make it exclusive, and disregard other forms which are different from the form taken. Such one-sidedness leads these authors to an undue simplification of social reality, to its disfigurement and to
many logical and factual fallacies. The fourth mixed group of the class definitions are purely local and temporary, and, on this account, could not be applied to different societies and to different times. Besides, they also suffer from many logical inconsistencies and factual mistakes.” The image of Indian social substratum as a static cellular structure with its endless cyclic repetitions, and with the enormous storm of political changes ceaselessly blowing on its surface, may the whole problem of the ‘Asiatic Mode of Production’, is a distortion occasioned by the wrong approach of applying the European social patterns as models for the rest of the world. The fallacy is also caused by interpreting individual cultures primarily as parts of the human culture as a whole, which for scientific system-makers of the West means hardly more than the culture of the European societies. Wittfoetegel’s thesis of oriental despotism is another example of applying “monistic” conception of political stratification taken as an exclusive principle.

Generalization and Indian culture

Generalization becomes inevitable for a proper understanding of anything rich in diverse and contradictory details. Unless generalization is resorted to, there can be no comprehension of the abstract principles which inspire the development of external forms and institutions. But this generalization should emerge from below and follow the analysis of details which readily assume tangible patterns as soon as the immanent principle is discovered. If, however, it is imposed from above, it is bound to run into difficulties and result in factual errors and oversimplifications. A concrete example of such a case is the theory proposed by Sorokin himself. He first assumes two abstract types of culture which never exist in their perfection in the factual world. The cultures in existence are combinations of the two types in varying degrees. As the two principles shade off in the make-up of individual cultures, a number of varieties are produced in practice. Sorokin’s
two abstract types are Ideational culture and Sensate culture. In the ideational culture "ultimate reality is considered to be immaterial, hidden beyond the reach of the senses. It is Being, eternal, everlasting, having none of the properties of the sensate and the material world. Conversely, the sensate reality is thought of as a Becoming, Process, Change, Flux, Evolution, Progress, Transformation". Sorokin illustrates how these abstract principles are not arbitrary assumptions and how their presence is demonstrable in actual examples of cultures. In the course of these illustrations he commits the factual error of assigning to Buddhism a notion of ultimate reality which it never professed.

"The philosophy of Hinduism and Buddhism", he writes, "is that of Being, it develops a high ability to control the self, its ideal of activity is entirely introvert, even to the point of advocating the relinquishing of sensations, contacts with the external world, the disregard of the testimony of the "six entrances", and the assumption of a superhuman attitude of indifference to the whole external and material world".

Every student of Buddhism knows that the characterization of the Buddhist view of reality as that of Being is factually wrong. Buddha has defined his philosophy as the golden mean of Becoming between the two extremes of Being and Non-Being. But this attitude of Buddhism ill fits Sorokin's scheme of things which runs into further difficulties when we remember that Buddhism combines with the philosophy of Becoming the entirely ideational attitude of indifference towards things of the sensate material world and a positively ascetic outlook of life. According to his postulates a philosophy of becoming, must of necessity, promotes a dynamic, evolutionary and progressive view of full-blooded life which seeks to transform material world for the sake of greater and greater pleasure to the sensate self. This would never have been the case if
to accept the inability of his scheme to explain all the actual types of human culture. His scheme has run into such difficulties mainly on account of the fact that he has allowed logical necessity to enter the domain which does not belong to it. Logical necessity begins where axioms end. Axioms are not always to be explained logically. They have to be postulated as self-evident, and they appear to be self-evident to those who cherish them because they are highly valued as acts of will and preference, not always rational, and not necessarily individual. Such axiomatic postulations have to be resorted to even in the domain of science, but there they do not pertain to value judgment but are primarily willful acts of nature and have been observed as natural facts. Thus there can be no answers to the questions: why should there be such a thing as carbon, sodium or hydrogen? Why should a particular atom be structured in its peculiar way? Why should there be as many elements as are there? Combination of the philosophy of Becoming with the ascetic way of life is something which should never have been questioned or twisted to conform to the necessity of theoretical assumptions. It is something like a cultural atom which developed in the Universe of Indian culture. Similarly, Hinduism's combination of polytheism with the highly monistic conceptions is something which is to be taken for granted as an absolutely first principle, howsoever violative of logical necessity. If human history cannot proceed along the lines of geometrical precision and if laws of rationalism and perfect causation do not apply to history in their entirety, how can they be expected to hold good in respect of human cultures which are products of historical developments? Further, it is a wrong policy and a bad logic to ignore the individuality of each culture as a hard fact of life and derive the same from the expostulations of unknown values. It is like suspending a socio-cultural pyramid from the top. The peculiarity of the mentality of each culture lies in the way it has chosen to structure the various elements of its mental
Sorokin had developed his generalisations after studying the particulars of Indian culture even from the well-known textbooks. In fact, he was imposing a generalization from above instead of reaching it from within.

Axiomatic and logical

Sorokin arrived at the above generalisation in his bid to distinguish logically integral parts of human cultures from the non-integral ones, in order to understand their internal nature. The integral parts of every culture, he believes, are logically united to the nucleus formed by the mentality of each which is to be individualised from its ideational and sensate types in the manner summarised in the preceding section of this paper. But, as we have seen, this grandiose scheme is confronted with factual errors and fallacies of a serious nature in respect of Indian culture. Experts in Chinese and other cultures may come across similar errors and incompatibilities. This shows that Sorokin’s own approach is not above the criticism he levied against Marxism and other mixed and monistic conceptions of social classes. Let us locate the fundamental error in his system.

Sorokin was trying to discover the area of logical unity in every culture and has rightly concluded that the logically inhering parts are always integrated round some nucleus represented by some sort of peculiar mental attitudes. Then he proceeded to propose a logical theory which would account for all sorts of mental attitudes from the two principles of ideational and sensate attitudes which again are supposed to consist of so many elements united by logical necessity. It is by virtue of this necessity that an ideational type can have the ascetic attitude of life along with the super-sensate view of reality. But the ascetic way of life cannot be combined with the sensate view of reality. If by actual types this necessity is violated, Sorokin has no choice but either to misrepresent the facts or
necessity, to an understanding of the innumerable externalisations of the nuclei of mental attitudes in the shape of culture forms.

Mentality of Indian culture as a question of Indian axiology

The question of the mentality of Indian culture is, therefore, to be decided neither by the Hindu view of reality nor by the Buddhist view of reality. It is a question of the domain of axiology. Axiology in the Indian context is a subject which has still to find a beginning. We may, therefore, conclude this paper by indicating the broad lines along which axiology in the Indian context could be developed in order to arrive at the correct notion of the mentality of Indian culture.

Axiology is a comparatively new branch of knowledge. The first use of the term is available in the German philosopher Hartmann's work Grundriss Axiologie published in the year 1909. It is a subject dealing with value and value judgement. The distinction between value and facts lies in their being symbolic of objectivity and subjectivity, respectively. Value is again to be distinguished from the things actually valued. Value is very intimately connected with the desire or interest of man or groups of men, both individually and collectively, though it is not always clear if something is of value because it is desired or it is desired because it has value. Although axiology deals with all sorts of values, all values are not axiomatic in character. Axioms forming the individuality of a culture belong to only one of the five different senses attributed to the word axiom. In this sense an axiom signifies a subjective necessity when someone feels convinced of the truth of a proposition. When such a feeling attends a conviction, and when no demonstration of truth of the conviction can be given beyond the meaning of the proposition, it attains the level of an axiomatic value. Such axiomatic values or convictions underlying the fabric of a culture constitute
attitudes which as isolated elements may be common to
every other culture. Like electrons, protons and neutrons,
the constituent elements of various cultures may be common
and recurrent, but their number and combination in each
case is bound to be different. This difference, imparting
individuality to every culture, should be given its due
place, before any appreciation of a culture is essayed.
The question of appreciating human culture as a whole
arises only when each culture of the world is individually
analysed and their common elements are ascertained.
Probably there can never be a thing like world culture
inasmuch as there cannot be a world state. Individuality
in culture is as valuable as individuality of man, and it is
no individuality at all, if it is to be derived in accordance
with a fixed plan of logical necessity. Jacques Monod, a
famous biologist, considers chance and necessity as the
two factors which determine the course and character of
the entire biological world. Sorokin’s scheme takes notice
of the element of necessity and ignores that of chance alto-
gether. But it is chance alone which accounts for
individuality alike among the creatures of the biological
world and cultures of human beings. If we take the axioms
of every culture as the starting point of the process of
logical necessity in order to outline areas of integration,
the element of chance will be assigned its due place in
deciding the axiomatic structures of values composed, no
doubt, of common recurrent elements of the mental attitudes
of man, both individually and collectively. It would have
been better for Sorokin to confine himself to simply isoła-
ting the various recurrent elements comprising the
innumerable collective and individual attitudes of man
and leave the structuring of the mentality of individual
cultures to the element of chance as contained in the
exercise of the value judgement of each culture. The
mentality of individual cultures he should have assumed axi-
omatically, after due investigation and observation of each,
individually, before applying the principle of logical
times, when it originated, to the present day. The Dharmasastras embodying the laws of different orders are highly repetitive in spite of their being compositions of different periods.

3. Political history, immigrations, social mobility and the process of the cultural transformation of the newcomers, as actual facts, present a view of kaleidoscopic change.

4. The dichotomy of realistic and idealistic philosophy does not apply to Indian systems of philosophy. One may easily locate this difficulty in the work of K. Damodaran in Indian philosophy (Indian Thought). Numerous contradictions often coexist in the same texts. As for example, in the Manusmriti it has been asserted that women, slaves and sudras are always without wealth while at another place the same text says that the power of a Brahmana lies in his words, power of a ksatriya in his arms and the power of vaisyas and sudras in their wealth. Buddhism combines an ascetic way of life with a philosophy of Becoming, and so forth.

5. Many of us are aware of the tendency to avoid inconvenient facts in order to present a neatly symmetrical picture of Indian socio-cultural development on the material plane. This is present in so many works of Indian and foreign authors on Indology. I would mention here only the work of Wittfogel (Oriental Despotism, New Haven, 1957) as an example.

6. One is reminded here of the theory of samanyikarana in the traditional Indian philosophy of rasa which is similar to the Aristotelian theory of superkatharsis. According to this theory, an emotion does not become a subject of common enjoyment unless it is shorn off its earthly sensualities confining it to individual experience alone. Needless to say that this difficult,
the mentality of a culture which is highly individualistic in character.

To understand the mentality of Indian culture, therefore, these axiomatic values or convictions immanent in the body of Indian culture will have to be discovered. These represent the central urge and a point where plurality in the various views of metaphysical reality, ways of life, ritual and religious faith vanish, and all roads appear to lead to the same destination. The unity of value structure amidst the diversity of actual facts, or things and forms actually valued consists of such topics as the Weltanschauung, ideas of virtue and vice, notions of primacy, the question of right and wrong, etc., which appear as universally held convictions by all philosophies and faiths. These timeless convictions have found their richest expression in the mythological lore of ancient India which is shared alike by all shades of conscious theories and opinions tacitly and unconsciously as heritage of the past. They are always taken for granted and are popularised beyond the limits of time and space. They constitute a group of such subjectively held convictions as are innate to the very being of Indian culture and, therefore, its mentality. Any conscious creation belonging to the genius of Indian culture cannot transcend it. Unless these axiomially held convictions are worked out in detail on the lines indicated above, the mentality of Indian culture is bound to remain a closed book to us.

Notes and References


2. As for example, the scheme of social order which remains practically the same right from the Vedic
of a Wonder Land. Moreover the other books in the series had titles with catchy sounds and phrases e.g. The Glory that, was Greece.

13. Sorokin has shown that such platitudes exist in our modern constitutions and the speeches of our reformers and popular political leaders. But such wishing in and wishing away do not materially affect the facts of social life. Social and Cultural Mobility, pp. 11-17.

14. While abusing the pioneers in the field of Indian history and culture, these young historians of materialistic persuasion forget the enormous service that the former have done in amassing the wealth of literary, epigraphic and archaeological data in various branches of Indology besides giving them all an ordered appearance. Instead of paying tribute to their labour and best possible intentions and convictions, these writers are out to attribute motives to their scholarly works. It is obvious that their errors in methodology were bona fide, as any body working at the time would have committed them.

15. Some of the papers collected in the Aspects of Ancient Indian Political Ideas and Institutions by R. S. Sharma have essayed this task


17. Sorokin, Social and Cultural Mobility, p 14.

18. Engels, F., The Origin of Family, Private Property and State, pp 95-98. For recent views on the subject see International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences under appropriate headings, e.g. Tribe, Political Anthropology, etc

19. Oliver C. Cox (Caste, Class and Race: A Study in Social Dynamics, p. 11) looks upon caste "as a number of cultural unities unobiously juxtaposed; and greater
theory has been advanced in the field of aesthetic experience only to stress the value of generalization.

7. Sorokin (Social and Cultural Mobility, pp. 13ff.) shows that even among the primitive tribal group permanent social life and interaction exist.


9. D N. Jha's textbook on Indian history of the ancient period may be cited as an example to confirm this impression. Devi Prasad Chattopadhyaya's works on Indian philosophy also tends to leave a similar feeling.

10. For the concept of social space as distinct from geometrical space see Sorokin, Social and Cultural Mobility, pp. 3ff; and for the concept of social time as distinct from physical time, refer to his Social and Cultural Dynamics, p. 54.

11. The advocates of the so-called traditional approach have earned the contemptuous names of imperialist, bourgeois, chauvinistic, and nationalist historians who always draw a redherring in the path of scientific interpretation of Indian history by their materialistic opponents. See D N. Jha in his review of Romila Thapar's 'Past and Prejudice', Indian Historical Review, Vol. II no. 1, pp. 150-52.

12. This question was put by Dr. Tara Chand who presided over the three lectures delivered by the author Dr. A. L. Basham in the History Department of the Allahabad University. Basham's reply was that he had given this name to his book not because he considered Indians to be creatures of a Wonder Land but because it was insisted upon by the publishers. Apparently the publishers had a feel for the popular opinion in England which considered Indians to be creatures
See the five different senses which the word axiom is taken to mean in the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. I, pp. 279-81.

"For if all sciences rest upon a determinate set of absolutely first principles and if no science can demonstrate these principles, then either all science is uncertain or some principle is 'immediately evident.' This is how Aristotle has argued to prove the necessity and validity of the absolutely first principles even in the field of sciences. Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. I, p. 279

Sorokin himself refutes the unceasing conception of history besides denying teleological and deterministic views of it and concludes that its progress is 'variably recurrent' with its course highly unpredictable. Yet, strangely enough, he suggests a course of logical necessity for even the absolutely first principles in the domain of culture. Social and Cultural Dynamics, pp. 56-56.


G. C. Pande's Mulya Mimansa, Jaipur, 1973 (in Hindi) is a pioneering work in India on general axiology.

Other landmarks in the progress of the subject are the following works:


Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics under Axiom.
the struggle for position, the more secure is the structure as a whole.” See also Altekar, M.D. “Caste System and Its Relation to Social and Economic Life” in the Annals of American Academy. Vol CXLIV, p. 183.


22. Sorokin, Social and Cultural Mobility, p. 18.


24. Wittfoetegel, Oriental Despotism, New Haven, 1963 See also Lichtheim, George, Marx and Asiatic Mode of Production, St Antony's Papers, No. 14, 1963 for a similar approach to the problem of Asiatic Mode of Production.


26. Ibid, p. 43

27. Ibid, p. 44.

28. See the summary chart of Sorokin's book cited above in the relevant chapter.


30. Sorokin, Social and Cultural Mobility, p. 18

कर्म एवं स्वभावā विवेचनायोऽपि महान्तोऽपि कर्मणां यथायथं यथा भवेत्

सत्यस्वयंवर्त्योऽक्षयानात्मकोऽक्षयात्मिक्योऽक्षयानात्मिकिनिधिपायत्

उदात्सनातेर्वर्त्यं बध्यं बध्यं प्रारंभवतः सुहृदुच्यते।

सारवारात्वा च कर्मविरुद्ध जनोपयमनुप्रतिष्ठति

विन्दूः कर्मविरुद्ध स्वारात्वा नाविन्दूः प्रभवेत्।

तव तवं नेवायोगो भवतोऽक्षयम् द्वारा निर्विचारित्

श्रवयाः लोकिकस्तनाम यूघवतः सारुः सन्तनम्।

नन्द उदाधन——

पर्यायं भगवातिन्द्रे मेघरस्तवतम्यूर्तं

तैःपरविश्वस्ति भूतानाः प्रायीयें जोवन पव।

तव तवं वधनात्वे च वामः पातिमेववर्मः

इश्वरेश्वरता सिद्धे भिन्नते कालिकराः।

तवदेवेऽवृत्त्वान्विज्ञान्ति विन्दूः पर्यायं

पुराणं पुरुषार्थाः पर्यायं। भवम्बहावः।

य एवं बिद्वेदूः घमं पारस्यविमं पर्यायं

भास्मार्गातं श्रवयाः सन्तनोपतिपोषणम।

वद्वा विस्मयं नन्दस्य तथायथे यो वज्ञास्मात्

इन्द्राय मनुशयान्तिः पितार प्रायं केस्व।

कर्मणाः जन्यते जन्य गणेष्वै विन्दूः विचित्रते

सुलभं दुःस्मयं कर्मम् कर्मकर्मविचारितज्ञ।

प्रस्तिका वदीर्यां। कार्तिकम् फलवन्यकर्मणां

कर्मविचारे भूतानाः स्वत्वकर्मणात्मिनिवितम्।

किन्त्रैः कर्मणाम् स्वत्वाभविविहिताम्।

स्वभावाण्डो धि जन स्वभावान्यः सर्वं संदेहास्मात्।

हृदस्तुभवायतं भास्मार्गां वनस्य कर्मणां

सार्वतंत्रिककर्मणां गुरुक्षेत्रः।
Ten

Karma and Svabhava in the Purana

A B L. AWASTHI

We quote below a long passage from the Bhagavata Purana in which Krishna argues in favour of the worship of go, gopa, Govardhana, and the brahman, and against that of Indra. In the process he throws light on some of the basic social and psychological concepts of Hinduism. Although the passage is significant from many points of view, we quote it specifically to emphasize the following facts: (1) that the bias against the Puranic literature as a source of ancient Indian history has deprived us of some most useful data for the social, societal and sociological studies of the period, and (2) the definition and interpretation of the concepts of karma and svabhava by indologists all over the world have been thoroughly misleading and detrimental to a correct appreciation of Hinduism.

भगवाननि तत्तैं बन्देन्वेन समुक्तः
प्रवद्यनिवसनु योपानिन्द्रयाक्षंतोद्भ मानु ॥ ॥

तदभिषोविन्यमान भगवान सर्वत्र वस्ममाय वर्द्धार्यः
प्रववानितोप्रशुष्यितु वृद्धानु नन्दपुरोपायमानु ॥ ॥

कथ्यता मे सित कौर्य सम्भमी ब उपागतः
किन्फळ कृष्ण चोदेश जेनवा साध्यते मयं ॥ ॥
Though aware of it, the Lord, who dwells in all, and is all perceiving and was (yet) bent low with humility, enquired of the elderly people (of Vraja) the leader of whom was Nanda, (as follows):— "It may kindly be pointed out to me, O father, what is this occasion for flutter come up before you? What will be the fruit (of it)? For whom is it intended? And by whom and through what materials is this sacrifice going to be performed? (Kindly) Tell me this, eager as I am to hear it, O father! Great is my longing (for it). The action of good people—for whom none is their own, none a stranger, none a friend, none a neutral, none an enemy—are not secretive. (Of course, where this is not the case) a neutral (too) ought to be shunned like an enemy, whereas a friend has been declared to be as good as one's own self (and hence nothing should be kept secret from him). People perform actions either deliberately (i.e., after weighing their consequences) or without deliberation. But success does not attend the actions of a thoughtless man as it crowns those of a thoughtful person. Of such actions, then has this expedient in the form of ritual been considered by you? Or, is it in accordance with the ways of the world? (Pray) explain this fully to me, inquisitive as I am".

Nanda replied: The all-powerful Indra is the god of rain, the clouds being his (so many) manifestations dear as his own self. They pour forth water, which is the delight and life of living beings. We and other men, O darling, worship the aforesaid almighty ruler of the clouds through sacrificial performances conducted by means of substances produced with the water discharged by him, and subsist on the remains of such sacrifices for the attainment of the threefold reward in the shape of religious merit, enjoyment and worldly possessions. (In this way) it is Indra who yields the fruit (in the shape of a bumper crop) of men's efforts (in the form of agriculture). The man who relinquishes a religious practice that has come down thus through successive generations owing to love of enjoyment, greed, fear (of
"Dwelling in the same land of Vraja accompanied by Baladeva, Sri Krishna too saw the cowherds engaged in preparations for the worship of Indra (the god of rain)"
opposition) or prejudice, surely does not achieve good results.

Hearing the reply of Nanda and the other inhabitants of Vraja, Lord Sri Krishna addressed his father (as follows) in order to rouse the anger of Indra.

The Lord said: A creature is born in accordance with karma (past actions), in accordance with karma alone it dies. In accordance with karma, it experiences pleasure and pain, is subjected to fear, and enjoys well being. If there is any Isvara (supreme ruler?) who dispenses the fruits of others' actions, he too attends to the doer; indeed he has no authority over him who does nothing. What have created beings - each of whom follows the course of its own actions in this world - to do with Indra, who is incapable of altering the course of actions performed by men according to their individual nature? Indeed every created being is a slave to its nature and follows its own svabhava (natural disposition). The whole of this creation including gods, demons and human beings has its being in svabhava. In accordance to karma a soul takes (diverse) corporeal forms, high and low, and quits them. Karma alone appears in the form of an enemy, a friend or a neutral and karma alone is our preceptor and almighty Lord. Therefore, sticking to the varna (class) and asrama (stage in life) determined by one's own nature and performing one's own duty, one should duly worship Karma alone. In fact, that alone is one's deity by which one lives happily (in this world). Depending on a particular deity, he who worships another does not derive happiness from the latter any more than an unchaste woman who loves a paramour. A brahman should live by (the teaching and exposition of) the Vedas; a kshatriya, by protecting the land; a vaisya, by (what is known as varsa; while a sudra should live by service (rendered) to the (afore-said) twice-born classes. Varta is said to be of four kinds, viz. agriculture, commerce, rearing cattle and usury. Out of these (four) the cow has ever been our (only) means of
subsistence. (The qualities of) rātta, rajas and tamas are severally the cause of the continuance, appearance and dissolution (of the universe); it is through rajas that by mutual union (of the male and female) is brought forth the heterogenous universe. Impelled by rajas, clouds shower water all around. It is through such water that living beings achieve their purpose (of getting their food etc.) What has Mahendra to do with this? There are neither cities, nor territories, nor villages, nor houses in our possession. We have ever had our abode in the forest, dwelling as we do in woodlands and on mountains. Therefore, let there be instituted a worship of cows, the brahman, and the mountain (Govardhan). Let this worship be accomplished with those very materials that have been brought together for the worship of Indra. Let different varieties of cooked food from rice boiled in milk with sugar (payasa), down to boiled pulses including samyava (a kind of porridge made of wheat flour with milk and ghee etc.), buns and cakes be prepared, and let all the milk be collected. Let fires be properly fed with offerings by brahmans who are expositors of the Vedas. Let excellent food be offered to them by you as well as cows and sacrificial fees. Food should also be given to (all) others down to the dog, the Chandala, and the lowly as may be deemed proper. After supplying grass to the cows let the (aforesaid articles of) food be offered to the mountain. Only adorned, (properly) fed, tastefully anointed with perfume (sandal-paste etc.) and well dressed, circumambulate the cows, the brahmans, the sacred fires and the mountain, keeping them to your right (as a mark of respect). Let this view (advice) of mine be adopted, O father, if it pleases you. This worship will be dear to the cows, the brahmans and the mountain as well as to myself.”
Eleven

Greek Bias in Indian Historiography

B N Puri

In the absence of any Indian account of Alexander’s invasion, one has to depend on the one-sided version of it left by early Greek and Roman writers—the five consecutive narratives of Arrian, Diodorus, Plutarch, Curtius and Justin, besides fragments of accounts of Alexander’s historians Aristobulus, Nearchus and Onesikritus which were preserved by Strabo. The accounts of the five writers mentioned above were analysed by Freedman in his *Historical Essays - 2nd Series* (3rd edition, p. 136 ff). In his words, ‘among all the five there is not a single contemporary chronicler. Unluckily again, among all the five, only one (Arrian) has any claim to the name of a critic’. Diodorus, we believe to be perfectly honest, but he is at the same time impenetrably stupid. Plutarch, as he himself tells us, does not write history, but only writes anecdotes to point a moral, rather than providing a formal narrative of political and military events. Justin is a feeble and careless epitomiser. Quintus Curtius is in our eyes, little better than a romance writer’. In a study of this invasion, one has to take into consideration the personality of the hero, the nature of the campaign, a military success or failure, and finally its impact on India. Scholars
have tried to analyse the evidence available from these above-mentioned sources and interpreted it in their own way with the result that consensus is wanting on all the three salient points. In this connection some scholars have started doubting the success of Alexander at the battle of Hydaspas.

H.C. Seth in his paper entitled 'Was Poros the Victor of the Battle of Jhelum?' published more than forty years ago raised that problem, with a big question mark. According to Plutarch, Poros' army consisted of only 20,000 infantry and an equal number of cavalry, while Alexander had no less than 120,000 foot and 15,000 horses and also the forces of Taxila. From the beginning Alexander found the battle of Jhelum a difficult affair. According to Curtius, a party led by Symmachus and Nicanor which crossed to an island in the middle of the river was surrounded by men who had, unperceived, swum over to the island, and were overthrown by discharges of missiles. Those who escaped the enemy were either swept away by the force of the current or swallowed up in the eddies. (Mccrinlde—The Invasion of Alexander the Great, p. 205). Arrian referring to the preliminary skirmish with the son of Poros, refers to Alexander himself being wounded by the Indian prince, and his favourite horse Boukephala was killed (ibid., p. 101).Justin refers to Alexander being saved by his attendants when he had fallen headlong to the ground and his horse was wounded. (ibid., p. 322).

Curtius refers to the doubtful nature of the battle with the Macedonians sometimes pursuing and sometimes fleeing from the elephants, so that the struggle was prolonged till the day was far spent (ibid., p 211). The destruction caused by the elephants and the havoc they created in the Macedonian army is also recorded by Diodorus. (ibid., p. 235), and Arrian (ibid., p. 100), but the latter, curiously enough, mentions that on the Macedonian side the casualties were about 80 of the infantry, 10 of the horse
archers, 20 of the companion cavalry, and 200 of the other cavalry, as against the Indian figure of 20,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry being killed and all the chariots broken to pieces. This account appears to be in striking contrast to the description of Poros' elephants charging the ranks of the Macedonian infantry, and crushing through the Macedonian phalanx though in close formation (ibid., p. 106). According to Diodorus, 'of the Macedonians, there fell 280 horsemen and more than 700 foot soldiers' (ibid, p. 276).

It, thus, appears that the early Greek and Roman writers carefully concealed Alexander's losses in this battle, a fact accepted in the Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. VI, p. 408. Bevan in his chapter on 'Alexander the Great' in the Cambridge History of India does not mention the Macedonian losses, but carefully records that 'the Indian cavalry was unable to hold its own against the Macedonian horses, practised in a hundred fights over half Asia. The irretrievable defeat of the Indian cavalry threw the infantry into confusion, and the crush in the centre made the elephants a terror to their own side. When the European infantry came into action, all resistance had become hopeless, and what followed was not fighting but butchery. Between the broken squadrons of horse plunging among them and the rushes of the maddened elephants, the Indian army was reduced to a bewildered mob (p. 307) The role of the elephants when attacked and wounded and turning against Poros' own forces whom they trampled under their feet, and finally being driven away from the battlefield like a flock of sheep, appears to be a fiction. Now if the terror and the fight of the elephants causing incalculable damage to their own side and thus betraying their essential weakness as an arm of fighting forces was a fact, then these beasts could never have been idolised by Seleukus and other contemporary Macedonian and Greek captains who fought for Asiatic supremacy after Alexander's death. In the words of the authors of the 'Cambridge
Ancient History', there is a conclusive proof of the des- perate nature of the battle with the elephants - its effect on the minds of the generals and especially on that of Seleukus who had actually fought with them, when he ceded whole provinces in order to obtain war elephants, and they became the special arm and symbol of his dynasty. (C. A. H. VI. p. 408.09). Diodorus refers to Poros mounting on the most powerful of all his elephants, about forty that were under his control and falling upon the enemy with all the weight of the elephants, making a great slaughter (op. cit., p. 275)

The battle of Hydaspes between Poros and Alexander is also recorded in the Ethiopic Text covering the Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great (edited and translated by E. A. W. Badge). According to this text, Poros continued to fight with Alexander for twenty days, and many of his horsemen were slain and there was such great sorrow among his soldiers that they wept and howled like dogs, wishing to throw down the arms, foresaking Alexander and going over to Poros. Alexander sent message to Poros saying that 'although I may wish to destroy my own life, I would not that all these men (who are with me) should perish, for it is I who brought them nigh unto death here, and it is not a right thing for a king to deliver his soldiers unto death. (ibid., p. 123). Some of the classical writers seem to suggest that efforts were made by Alexander towards the close of the battle of Jhelum to reconcile with Poros. We learn from Arrian that Alexander first sent the king of Taxila with the message of peace (ibid., p. 103) but according to Curtius it was not the king of Taxila but his brother and Poros actually killed him. (ibid., p. 212). According to Arrian, once again, Alexander sent messenger after messenger, and finally Merces, an Indian, probably an old friend of Poros (ibid., p. 108). This significant passage of Arrian tells us that it was the defeated, wounded and dying Poros that Alexander was so keen to
reconcile. Plutarch, however, notices that 'the battle with Poros depressed the spirits of the Macedonians,' (p 310), thus pointing to the good shaking that the Macedonian army received.

It appears that in the official reports of Alexander's campaign, attempts were made to cover the discomfiture of the Macedonian at the battle of Jhelum and Alexander befriended Poros and offered back his kingdom. This is in striking contrast to the treatment accorded to Bessus, the Persian satrap of Bactria, who, according to Arran, was scourged, his nose and ears cut off and put to death. (ibid, p. 185). It is rather difficult to exonerate Alexander for the brutal murder of his father's trusted general Parmenion. Others, who became target of his brutality were Callisthenes, nephew of his preceptor Aristotle, Cleitus, the brother of his nurse, and the cold-blooded massacre under cover of night of the Indian soldiers who were allowed to retire from Massaga. His campaign in fact is full of destruction of prosperous cities, massacre of women and children during his campaign in Sindh. His brief life is full of orgies of bloodshed, foul murders and ignoble revenges.

While the Greek and Roman historians have not failed to point to Alexander's weaknesses and the difficulties encountered by him, Vincent Smith has extolled him as a hero. Out of the 501 pages of his 'Early History of India,' 70 pages are devoted to Alexander's campaign. Smith's racial prejudice is apparent from the concluding remark - the triumphant progress of Alexander from the Himalaya to the sea demonstrated the inherent weakness of the greatest Asiatic armies when confronted with European skill and discipline. All his proceedings prove conclusively that he intended the permanent annexation of those provinces to his empire, and the measures which he took for the purpose were apparently adequate to ensure success. Further, the wounds of battle were quickly healed,
the ravaged fields smiled again as the patient oxen and no less patient husbandsmen resumed their interrupted labours, and the place of the slain myriads was filled by the teeming millions of a population which knows no limit, some of those imposed by the cruelty of men, or the still more pitiless operations of nature'. (p. 11). This concluding paragraph and Smith's comments clearly point to the fact which he admits implicitly, as pointed out by Basham (Historians, p. 267), that he is writing chiefly for the European readers.

In sharp contrast to Smith's assessment of Alexander and his Indian campaign, one may like to record Radha Kumud Mookerji's views. 'The only permanent result', says Mookerji, 'of Alexander's campaign was that it opened up commerce between Greece and India and paved the way for a more intimate intercourse between the two. And this was achieved at a cost of untold suffering inflicted upon India - massacre, rapine and plunder, on a scale till then without any precedent in her annals. In spite of the halo of romance that Greek writers have woven round the name of Alexander, the historians of India can regard him only as the precursor of those recognised scourges of mankind. Basham admits in his appraisal of Indian historians on Ancient India that 'at least in his approach to Alexander's Indian campaigns, Mookerji is a more impartial historian than the hero-worshipping Smiths and Tans, who had never been able to view history from the angle of the East.

In the light of the above observations, it might be suggested that the classical Greek and Latin sources, need close scrutiny. An analysis is all the more necessary before one cares to interpret these as decisive in pronouncing judgements on the course of ancient Indian political history.
Seafaring in Ancient India

NAND KISHORE KUMAR

PROFESSOR A. L. BASHAM observes that "certain over-enthusiastic Indian scholars have perhaps made too much of the achievements of ancient Indian seafarers, which cannot compare with those of the Vikings or of some other early maritime peoples." A careful examination of the problems raised by this statement indicates that Prof. Basham's assessment is a characteristic example of colonialist bias in Indian historiography.

What was the Viking achievement? Specialists such as Peter Foote and D. M. Wilson observe: "Until the voyages and colonizations of the four centuries following the discoveries of Columbus, no people from European homelands ever spread so wide in the world as the Scandinavians of the Viking Age. From Norway they settled in the Atlantic islands, Shetland, Orkney, the Farores and Ireland.

"... Piracy, trade, land to plough and the pilgrims' gain, these were attractions that stirred the Scandinavian from his farm or village and carried him to Dublin or Noirmoutier, Greenland or Seville, Baku or Compostelle, Utrecht or
Kiev. Their chief lasting settlements were in the west either in uninhabited or sparsely inhabited countries or in the lands of the Franks, English and Irish. They could rapidly come to terms with native populations, and the process was greatly quickened by the newcomers' early adoption of Christianity. The smaller the number of Scandinavians involved the more effective and swift the change was likely to be. The Swedes who stayed in Russia must soon have adopted Slav ways, and it is now only with difficulty that the archaeologist or philologist can detect Scandinavian origin or influence in the early Slav world. The Danes in Normandy soon lost their native tongue and in 150 years turned into the Normans."

It is clear that although the Vikings, during the period A.D. 800 to A.D. 1200, migrated to all the corners of Europe, they did not influence the people they came in contact with. On the contrary, they lost their identity under the influence of the superior cultures of the lands they visited.

In comparison to this, both from the qualitative and the quantitative viewpoints, what was the Indian achievement? With regard to their contact with Southeast Asia Professor D. P. Singh remarks: "Indians came into contact with the countries of Southeast Asia principally for commercial reasons. But wherever they settled they introduced their culture and civilization. In turn, they were influenced by the indigenous culture, laying thus the foundation of a new culture in the region. Indian cultural contact with Southeast Asia covers a period of more than thirteen hundred years, and segments of Indian culture even reached eastwards of this region." Comparing the achievements of the Indians and the Chinese in Southeast Asia, T. V. Mahalingam observes: "Though China also exercised a considerable influence over countries of Southeast Asia, Indian influence was more effective and durable for the
Chinese always remained colonies of foreigners with little inclination to mix with the local population and in contrast to what the Hindus achieved, there is nowhere any trace of the taking-over of Chinese culture by the children of the soil." The views have also been upheld by John F. Cady who concluded that "Indian cultural patterns in particular became widely disseminated during the early centuries A.D., while Chinese influence, although culturally less contagious, virtually dominated from Sung times (960 and later) the trade and politics of the eastern seas."

The achievements of Indian seafarers in the Far East and Southeast Asia have been acknowledged by a host of scholars. According to Professor Lactouerpic, "The maritime intercourse of India with China dates back to about 680 B.C., when the sea traders of the Indian Ocean whose chiefs were Hindus, founded a colony called Langa-ga, after the Indian name Lanka of Ceylon, about the present Gulf of Kiantchoa". These Indian colonists had, however, to retreat before the gradual advance of the Chinese till they became merged in the kingdom of Cambodia, founded by Hindus in the Indo-Chinese peninsula about the 1st century A.D. But throughout this period the monopoly of the sea borne trade of China was in their hands. In the opinion of Kekasu Okakura "Down to the days of the Mohammedan conquest went, by the ancient highways of the sea, the intrepid mariners of the Bengal coast, founding their colonies in Ceylon, Java and Sumatra, and binding Cathay (China) and India fast in mutual intercourse." G Coedes considered that Indian colonisation, intensive in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D., came to full fruition in 4th and 5th centuries. Indianization of Southeast Asia continued even during the early mediaeval times which is explained by Sylvain Levi who proposed that "India has produced its true masterpieces in foreign lands under foreign inspiration and that in architecture it is in distant Cambodia and Java that one must seek the two marvellous products
of Indian geniuses, Angkor Wat and Barabudur." [Constructed in 12th and 9th centuries A.D. respectively].

Anthony Christie remarks that "although attempts have been made from time to time to minimise the extent of Indian influences upon Southeast Asia, the evidence for their importance is there for all to see and cannot becontroverted." Alastair Lamb observes that "by the opening of the Christian era the civilization of India had begun to spread across the bay of Bengal into both island and mainland Southeast Asia; and by the fifth century A.D. Indianised states, that is to say, states organised along the traditional lines of Indian political theory and following the Buddhist or Hindu religion, had established themselves in many regions of Burma, Thailand, Indo-China, Malaysia, and Indonesia. The Indianization of Southeast Asia was a slow and gradual process. With a few exceptions like the Chola attacks of the eleventh century, it was carried out by peaceful means and in consequence, as it developed, it did not build up a resistance to its further progress. Though its initial impact was probably at the level of the ruling classes, Indian influence had no difficulty in merging with indigenous cultures to create a series of distinct Southeast Asian amalgams in which it is now virtually impossible to disentangle all the Indians from the non-Indians. The result may not have simplified the task of a cultural historian; but it has now without doubt guaranteed the Indian heritage a place in Southeast Asian civilization from which it cannot possibly be dislodged without the total destruction of that civilization."

Indian seafarers did not absent themselves from the Middle East or the European mainland. From the Sanskrit name of Socotra (Island abode of bliss) and from certain

---

Chinese always remained colonies of foreigners with little inclination to mix with the local population and in contrast to what the Hindus achieved, there is nowhere any trace of the taking-over of Chinese culture by the children of the soil". His views have also been upheld by John F. Cady who concluded that "Indian cultural patterns in particular became widely disseminated during the early centuries A.D., while Chinese influence, although culturally less contagious, virtually dominated from Sung times (960 and later) the trade and politics of the eastern seas".

The achievements of Indian seafarers in the Far East and Southeast Asia have been acknowledged by a host of scholars. According to Professor Lacouperie, "The maritime intercourse of India with China dates back to about 680 B.C., when the sea traders of the Indian Ocean whose chiefs were Hindus, founded a colony called Langa-ga, after the Indian name Lanksa of Ceylon, about the present "Gulf of Kiaotchoa". These Indian colonists had, however to retreat before the gradual advance of the Chinese till they became merged in the kingdom of Cambodia, founded by Hindus in the Indo-Chinese peninsula about the 1st century A.D. But throughout this period the monopoly of the sea-borne trade of China was in their hands. In the opinion of Kakasu Okakura "Down to the days of the Mohammedan conquest went, by the ancient highways of the sea, the intrepid mariners of the Bengal coast, founding their colonies in Ceylon, Java and Sumatra, and binding Cathay (China) and India fast in mutual intercourse." G. Coedes considered that Indian colonisation, intensive in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D., came to full fruition in 4th and 5th centuries. Indianization of Southeast Asia continued even during the early mediaeval times which is explained by Sylvain Levi who proposed that "India has produced its true masterpieces in foreign lands under foreign inspiration and that in architecture it is in distant Cambodia and Java that one must seek the two marvellous products
native of the British Isles which conquered the world through superior military strength but cannot compare with its erstwhile colony which for over a millennium dominated the world through civilized means?

Let us now look at some of the indigenous and foreign sources which throw light on Indian maritime activity, seaborne trade, ships etc.

Testimony to the flourishing condition of the ship-building industry in India is available in the description of the return journey of Alexander the Great from India via the sea route. For purposes of the famous voyage of Nearchus down the river and to the Persian Gulf, all available country boats were pressed into service, and a stupendous fleet was formed, numbering according to Arrian, about 1000 vessels, but according to the more reliable estimate of Ptolemy nearly 2000 vessels, which between them accommodated 8000 troops, several thousand horses, and vast quantities of supplies. This vivid description speaks not only of the ready resources and expertise of Indian craftsmen but also of the tonnage of the seaworthy ships estimated at about 75 tons (or 3000 amphorae) by Pliny. The largest ships carried 10,000 talents or 250 tons. Ajantha paintings of a later date depict horses and elephants aboard the ship which carried prince Vijaya to Ceylon.
Hindu-like divisions and customs among the people of East Arabia, C. Lassen suggested that the first sailors and colonisers on the Indian Ocean came from India. Schweinfurth also believed that the shipping and coast towns of the Red Sea were of Indian origin. Rhys Davids observed that "Seagoing merchants, availing themselves of the monsoons, were in the habit at the beginning of the 7th century B.C., of trading from ports of the Southwest Coast of India to Babylon, then a great mercantile emporium". V. A. Smith also accepted that "Ancient Tamil literature and the Greek and Roman authors prove that in the first two centuries of the Christian era the ports on the Corromandal or Chola Coast enjoyed the benefits of active commerce with both West and East." On the basis of West Asian and Egyptian archaeological finds and European classical literature which testify to the presence of Indians and Indian objects in those lands during the first few centuries of Christian era, it may be said that Indians frequently visited the western world on political and mercantile missions. According to Jeannine Auboyer "merchant shipping was very active in India and had, even since Roman times, linked the Mediterranean world to China with great vessels (nava) of which the Indian king owned a fleet, though most of them belonged to wealthy individuals. These ships competed with the fleets of Greece and Rome, Iran and Arab countries as well as China's ocean-going vessels."

It will be hard to find a secondary source from any part of the world which will endorse Professor Basham's view. Indeed it is difficult to understand, how in view of uncontroversible primary evidence proving Indian maritime activity, extensive in respect of space and time-span, intensive in terms of variety, tonnage and value, and altogether of far reaching consequences in material as well as ideational spheres, Professor Basham could have belittled that is when he found it worth a mention at all - this aspect of Indian civilization. Is it because it is hurtful to the pride of a
Light houses were provided, remains of some are extant. Late Simhalese sources speak of an artificial harbour made during the time of Karikal Chola (1st cen. A.D.)

According to the Divyavadana the desire to amass wealth without making a sea voyage is like an effort to fill a pitcher with a few drops. The work also records that the captain of a ship reminded the passengers that there were more perils than pleasure in seafaring. Many went out but few came back and that it was rare to sail six times successfully across the ocean. This narration points out the hazards of deep sea sailing but there is no scope for suggesting that the Indians hated the sea. Similarly, Fa-hsien's account of his terrible experiences when aboard a ship does not indicate that the Chinese hated sea voyages. Nor do the stories of Sindbad suggest Arab dislike for the sea. The Jatakas, the Manimekhla, Raghuvamsa, Tilakamanjari, Kathasaritasagara, etc. abound in tales of the sea as exciting as they are terrifying and point to the Indians' familiarity with, and lure of the sea. The Yuktikalpataru of Bhoja (11th century A.D.) affirms that the king who has boats, wins war, and the king who through ignorance does not keep boats, loses his prestige, vigour and treasury. This text also supplies details regarding the construction of ships. The Jain texts like the Gyanadharma Avasyaka-churni also refer to sea voyages to distant lands. The Ping-chou-ko-t'an (A.D 1122) mentions large ships from Kialing (Kaling) that carried several hundred men and smaller ones which carried hundred or more men.

The Muslim invasions did not encourage xenophobia. In the first phase the Indian reaction was most tolerant. They cooperated with the Arabs. The Arab response too, to Indian learning for instance, was that of the learned forever desirous of more learning; religious bigotry being nowhere in the picture. But when the Turko-Afghans, the newly converted enthusiastic Muslims acted in an un-Islamic manner, the Hindus naturally reacted sharply. This does
guidebook of 1st century A.D. by an anonymous Graeco-
Egyptian takes note of several ports on the Indian coast.
Beginning from the mouth of the Sindh, notice is taken of
Barbaricum. Then follows Barygaza, i.e., modern Broach.
In Dachinabades two sea ports are mentioned namely, Supara
and Calliana, both situated near Bombay. Muziris was the
most important port of Kerala. It gained prominence after
the discovery of the monsoons and was always crowded
with a large number of Greek and Arab ships. Nelccynda
was another port of Kerala located 500 stadia or 50 miles
south of Muziris. Near Kanya Kumari also there were two
ports named Paralia and Balita. All these ports were well
looked after either by the local or the imperial rulers of
India. The ports served as the chief source of state revenue.

On the eastern coast in Cholamandal, there were three
important ports viz., Camara (Kaveripattinam or Puhar),
Podura near Pondicherry, and Sopatma or Sopattinam.
Machalipattinam, Tosali and Ganga were also important
ports which fall respectively in the modern states of Andhra
Pradesh, Orissa and Bengal.

There is extant, a prakrit text on ship-building named
Angavija written in the Kushana period and edited in the
Gupta period. This text enlists about a dozen names of
different types of ships, such as Nava, Pota, Kotumba, Siluka,
Sarghad, Plava, Tappaka, Pindika, Kanda, Katha, Velu,
Tumba, Kumba and Dati. Some of these varieties of ships
such as Tappaka (Trappaga), Kotumba and Sarghad have
also been mentioned in the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea.
They are considered to be very large ships capable of sailing
along the coast as well as in deep sea.

Chinese travellers like Fa-hsien, Hsuan-tsang and I-tsing
invariably speak of Tamralipti, the main outlet for north
Indians who wanted to travel to Southeast Asia via Ceylon
or by a more direct route. From the volume of exports
and imports and the variety of goods exchanged it appears
that considerable facilities were available at all the ports.
Bengal was a Chola lake in the eleventh century. A ship built at an Indian dockyard is said to have been used in the Napoleonic wars. In fact Indian navigational expertise and enthusiasm seems to have suffered in direct proportion to the British economic policies reducing India to the position of a mere supplier of raw materials. People whose ships had traded with the Mediterranean world in the west, and with the lands of gold and spice in the east now considered themselves heroic if they made it to England to land at Lincoln's Inn.

Professor Bascham is not the only scholar to have underplayed India's achievements with regard to ship-building, navigation, and sea travel. The colonialist bias against Indian culture is fully matched by the Indian 'Marxist' bias against culture. For example, Professor R. S. Sharma's oversimplification of facts for children plays havoc with the subject matter of history. He writes: "In early times the ancient Indians obtained some knowledge of navigation, and they contributed to the craft of ship-building. But since important political powers had their seats of power far away from the coast and since there was no danger from the sea-side, the ancient Indian princes did not pay any particular attention to navigation." The italics which are mine clearly manifest Professor Sharma's negative treatment of Indian's accomplishments whereas the obliteration of Pallavas and Cholas from his memory - important political power which were not far away from the coast - divulges his northern, perhaps Aryan and Brahman bias.

We have cited enough evidence to prove that despite religious injunctions, if any, Indians maintained their maritime activity throughout the ancient and medieval periods, naturally with variations in its extent and excellence, over such a long period of time.

In conclusion, it
not mean that Indians disliked Islam and things Islamic. Rather, the Indians embraced Islam in greater numbers than did any other peoples. Muslim language, dress, food, art forms, etc were adopted by Indians to a much greater extent than by the Europeans. Above all the Indians did not work up a sense of crusades against their western neighbours. Nor were they so dead as not to react to excesses.

Marco Polo found Socotra a prey to multitudes of Hindu pirates who encamped there and sold off their booty. He speaks of Aden as a "port to which many ships of India come with their cargo." He also gives details regarding the size, form, fittings and mode of repairing of Indian ships. He remarks about the strength of Indian ships and says that they were built to last a hundred years. Marco Polo saw ships so large as to require a crew of 300 men, and other ships that were manned by crews of 200 and 150 men. Friar Odoric (A.D. 1321) travelled in a ship owned by a Gujarati Rajput that carried a load of 700 people. About this Dr. Vincent Smith remarks: "This is a confirmation of the account we have of those large ships from the time of Agatharcides down to the 16th century, the ships of Gujarat which traversed the Indian ocean in all ages". There is an even earlier mention of Rajput ships sailing between Sumena (Somnath) and China in Yule's Cathay. Abd-ar-Razzak (A.D. 1442) informs us that "from Calicut vessels continually sailing for Mecca, which are for the most part laden with pepper. The inhabitants of Calicut are adventurous sailors, and pirates do not dare to attack the vessels of Calicut." Nicolo Conti (15th century) acknowledged that "the natives of India build some ships larger than ours." In 1498 Vasco de Gama found Indian sailors in east Africa. In 1510 Albuquerque met Hindu sailors and traders in Java and Malacca.

Indian land-lubberry was not synchronous with the coming of Islam, nor with the Middle Ages. The Bay of
Thirteen

Indian Artisans in European Accounts

RAJIV SHARMA

While elaborating the socio-economic conditions of the people of Hindustan during the medieval period in the light of the observations made by the contemporary foreign travellers certain considerations are to be kept in view. The Europeans who visited India in this period came from a socio-economic environment totally different from that of India. Their prejudices and biases are bound to have a bearing on their assessment and evaluation of the Indian socio-economic set up. While there can be little doubt about the correctness of their narratives, it would be unwise to assume that these observations indicate and reflect in every case the miseries of the people in general.

This paper intends to cite an example where the historians guided by the accounts of foreign travellers have come to the conclusion that the Karkhana system of production during the seventeenth century represented 'The feudal structure of production' of which the important features were 'compulsory labour, and regimentation by state of the remuneration of labour', in which the skilled
biased. He has presented untruth, and half truth as truth. This historiographical blemish on his part deserves criticism and correction.

References

9. A.N. Bose, *Social and Rural Economy of Northern India*, Calcutta, 1946, Ch. V.
13. Shashi Asthana, *History and Archaeology of India’s Contact with Other Countries*, Delhi, 1976.
Keeping in mind the over-all socio-economic set up of medieval India, a critical examination of such observations in the light of other contemporary sources brings out a picture of this medieval Indian industrial organisation which is not as gloomy as one would tend to believe otherwise.

The development of state industries was a result of deliberate policy. Indeed the establishment of state workshops was more to meet the demands of royal household and the state requirements rather than any economic considerations. The artisans did not have enough capital to start manufacture on their own on a large scale. The merchants were not prepared to invest other capital which involved huge expenditure and much time without a corresponding return in terms of profit and expansion of trade. The state consequently had its own workshops which could meet its requirements which were varied and many.

The most significant feature of the karkhana system of production was that it preserved the arts and crafts which otherwise would have died soon. Crafts like that of gold and silver embroidery, manufacture of woolen shawls and things

6. Akbar was not averse to earning profits when he reserved some of the fine industries of Gujarat, Agra, and Kashmir. See, Commentary of Father Monseuratte, p. 207. Similarly, in the seventeenth century William Finch and Jourdain mention the extensive trading operation by the members of the royal family. But these instances are rare. See, Early Travels in India (ed.) W. Foster, p. 123.

7. For example it was in the imperial karkhanas that the large tents were manufactured. We know from Abul Fazl about the largest single tent (bargah) which had the capacity of accommodating ten thousand people. See Ain-i Akbari, Vol. 1, pp. 55-56 (Tr. Blochman). In fact throughout the middle ages such industries were necessitated. Foreign travellers of 14th century also refer to state workshops of Sultan Firuzshah. Masulik-ul Abad (Tr.) History of India As Told by its Own Historians, Vol. 3, p. 578. Also, Tarikh-i Firuzshahi of Afj, op cit. pp. 326-57.
artisans were employed by methods of 'non-economic feudal, coercion'.

The most important single authority on whose testimony such categorical assertions are made is Bernier—a French doctor, who visited India during the middle of the seventeenth century. While giving a graphic account of the royal karkhanas, Bernier states that the working conditions in the karkhanas were miserable. Lamenting over the treatment meted out to these artisans Bernier adds:

''...but these unhappy men are condemned, treated with harshness, and inadequately remunerated for their labour... When an Omrah or mansabdar requires the services of an artisan, he sends to the bazar for him, employing force if necessary to make the poor man work; the unfeeling lord pays not according to the value of the labour..., the artisan having reason to congratulate himself if the korrah has not been given in part payment.''

The European travellers have invariably described the condition of the artisans in general as miserable. The artisans had to pay fine and taxes to their superiors, and were often forced to work for nothing.

---

1. See, Chucerove, A. L., *India-Economic Development in the 16th-18th Centuries*, pp. 181-33. Jada Nath Sarkar also seems to have the same view when he contends that in the karkhana system of production the artisans were forced to do work and thus it was not conducive to the true economic development of the country. See, Mughal Administration, p. 169.

2. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 239

3. *Op cit*, pp. 255-56. Bernier's grudge was towards the maladministration of the Mughals, and the oppression by the nobility. See, pp. 225, 228

4. De Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogol*, pp. 88-89 ("...The artisans who are numerous can rarely rise to a higher position."). See also, Pelsert F., *Akbar's India*, p. 64

workmen, maintains that which is right and prevents quarrels." The official manuals of the seventeenth century mention that besides administrative duties, the Khan-i Saman had the instructions that he must treat well and attach himself by ties of gratitude to the artisans.

Another important document Muraqat-i Hassan—a collection of letters—incidentally throws some light on the mode of treatment meted out to the artisans in Orissa during the 17th century. When the state required certain commodities the Amils were instructed to advance money to the craftsmen after settling the prices amicably. Similarly, for working at the royal shipyard in Balasore the Subedar wrote that the carpenters, iron-smiths, and other artisans be won over through persuasion and not by force. The artisans were paid their wages regularly, and whenever there were any grievances, the Central authority took prompt action to redress them.

There might have been cases where the artisans were employed forcibly and paid little for their work. But these cases should not be made the basis of generalisations to prove one's pre-conceived notions regarding the socio-economic set-up of the day. It is difficult to believe that skillful craftsmen, forcibly dragged into the dark narrow cells of the karkhanas and put to work under iron discipline, should have felt inclined to bring out the best in them in producing

11. Aina-ib Ahmar, Vol. II
12. As translated by Jadu Nath Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 41.
13. Muraqat-i Hassan, pp 301, 302. I am thankful to my senior colleague Dr. Shafullah who provided me this information.
14. When the potters, diggers, carpenters, and other wage earners of Ahmedabad complained that the wages they received were less than those received by others in private service, a royal order was issued to the Diwan of Subah that their wages be paid in ready money as is usual concerning other buildings in the city. Mawar-i Ahamdi, (Tr.) M F Lakhandwala Oriental Institute, Baroda, p. 245.
made of silk, carpet weaving etc., required initial capital and special implements with constant supply of raw material. The artisan system of production owing to lack of finances could not have fostered such arts. In the state karkhanas the efficient and skilled workmen found all the necessary things along with guidance and direction of master-craftsmen. In this way the excellence of arts and crafts was kept alive. Even a critic like Bernier concedes that “the artists, therefore, who arrive at any eminence in their art are those only who are in the service of the king or of some powerful Omrah and who work exclusively for their patron.”

Besides, the karkhanas were also the training centres for the craftsmen, and new apprentices were employed on daily wages. After vigorous training under the guidance of an Ustad, and having acquired skill and efficiency in a particular area of craft production, they secured permanent positions either in the royal karkhanas or sought patronage of nobles and Rajas who had their own karkhanas.

As regards the treatment meted out to the artisans in the karkhanas we know of an officer called Amin whose duty was to keep the relations between workers and the officers harmonious. Detailing his duties, Abul Fazl writes that the Amin “must possess impartiality and integrity. Should there be any differences, he assists the darogha and other


9. Travels in the Mughal Empire, p. 256. See also Manucci who writes that the art of embroidery by gold and silver thread could flourish only because of royal patronage. Storia do Mogor, Vol. 2, p. 424.

Fourteen

Havell’s Pan-Aryanist Justification of British Rule Over India

RAGHAVENDRA VAJPEYI

If history has not always been able to light up the past and has, at times, confounded general readers or even specialists, it is because of the biased interpretations of historical forces, events and situations by scholars like E. B. Havell who is regarded as an Indophile. It may be argued that if his name cannot be included in the list of staunch imperialist historians like James Mill, why should an analysis of his bias—which still remains to be conclusively proved as imperialist bias—be attempted.

My decision to study what was happening in the inner recesses of Havell’s mind when he planned and published his History of Aryan Rule in India in 1913 has been affected by three factors. They are: first, that although Havell had set before himself the high ideal of scientific and objective history, his approach to Indian history was highly subjective. Secondly, Havell’s criticism of Vincent Smith’s attitude towards Indian history was, in my opinion, not guided by a historian’s sense of impartiality. The ‘Introduction’ to his book leaves no doubt that preservation of the British Empire was uppermost in his mind. His understanding of the world situation—the situation that prevailed after the outbreak of
masterpieces of art and crafts. Under conditions of bondage, humiliation, and tyranny, as described by Bernier, and other foreign travellers, the arts and crafts could not have developed to the highest level of excellence. These foreign travellers have sought to suppress their feelings of envy at the simple technique, yet superior quality and novelty of goods manufactured by the Indian artisans, by finding fault with the system under which the Indian artisans had attained them.
Although a staunch imperialist historian like V.A. Smith, Havell was an imperialist with a difference. Since the British Empire had undergone a drastic change it was not in a position of strength as in 1901, the year Smith had published his *Early History of India*—it was obvious that the imperialist historians' attitude towards the problems of the Empire too, should undergo a degree of rethinking, especially because during the period of the war India had identified herself with her imperialist masters. Perhaps, Havell felt that for ensuring the continued support of Indians, of whom Hindus were in a majority and emotionally attached to their ancient past, praise of all institutions dear to them was a must.

This analysis of the situation as it prevailed in 1918—the date of the publication of Havell's *History of Aryan Rule in India*—made him invent a pan-Aryanist theory. It seems that Havell was convinced that by over-emphasizing Aryan virtues, and by constantly reminding Hindus that they and their British rulers were heirs of common Aryan forefathers, and that in spite of their ruler and ruled relationship both had great regard for Aryan values, the British rulers could make the Hindus their permanent supporters. In other words, the pan-Aryanist slogan, if used carefully, could ensure the permanence of British rule in India.

It is a real pity that Havell did not receive the attention he deserved. His Hindu readers took full advantage of his views on ancient India. Hindu political theorists read and utilized his book in their effort to prove that India had enough wisdom to guide her into leading an independent existence. But they, too, did not have more than a silent appreciation for his pro-Hindu views. The British readers ignored his book. They, very probably, thought that instead of serving the imperialist cause Havell's views were harming it. Thus his pan-Aryanist theory failed to attract, much less to convince, his British readers. And his desire to become
World War I in 1914—and the loss of Great Britain's supremacy on land and ocean by the year 1917—all had convinced Havell that the future of the empire was linked with that of India, the country which had willingly remained on the side of her British rulers. Havell decided that a more sympathetic treatment of Indians, and a cautious and seemingly pro-Indian study of India's past were the need of the hour. His keen desire to educate his British and European readers about the 'real' history of India makes one feel that Havell had taken upon himself the responsibility of telling his countrymen that sympathetic treatment of India's past, particularly of her cultural heritage, was the only way to ensure the permanence of British rule over India, because the Indians in general and the Hindus in particular were emotionally attached to the history of their forefathers. Thus, though Smith had become a convenient scape-goat, it was not the injustice which he had done to Indian history but Havell's own imperialist spirit that was responsible for his pro-India pronouncements. Although Havell had addressed his book to European readers, it becomes amply clear through the course of the book that he always had the Hindu readers in mind.

I am convinced that whether we like it or not, bias creeps into all writings, and historical writing is no exception to the rule. Bias, in fact, happens to be the manifestation of one's commitment to a particular ideology which one may or may not share with one's contemporaries. I also feel that bias has, along with its positive side, a negative aspect. For example, the imperialist bias does not remain satisfied with the ideal of the preservation of the imperialist interests in the colony. It also acts in such a manner that the colony in question remains in the position of an inferior society, always looking at the imperial overlord with certain amount of awe, reverence and admiration. And Havell had, in my opinion, done his very best to ensure that this end should be served.
the guiding spirit of the British policy makers remained wishful thinking.

But it is difficult to agree with A. L. Basham that "Havell rode a peculiar hobby-horse, which we may label Pan-Aryanism." No doubt Basham is right when he declares Havell's imperialist spirit as sturdier than that of Smith. But it is difficult to accept that it was "healthier" than that of Vincent Smith or that it welcomed the future of India "with confidence". In my opinion, Basham's view amounts to an understatement. In fact Havell's imperialist spirit was not only sturdier than that of Smith but it was also much more vicious than that of any other imperialist historian.

Through his pan-Aryanist theory, Havell suggested to the Hindus that while the British rulers stood for the ancient Indian institutions and values, it was the forefathers of their Muslim contemporaries who had destroyed the grand achievements of ancient Indians; And that the British rulers were the real well-wishers of Hindus and not of Muslims, with whom they had identified themselves.

Havell's pan-Aryanism was thus a deliberate and mischievous exposition of an absurd theory in which he himself had no faith. It was indeed the most dangerous and lethal weapon with which Havell tried to blunt the sensibility of Hindus by trying to turn them against the Muslims. Havell's 'divide and rule' policy based on the pan-Aryanist theory had deep penetrating power, wide range, and tremendous capacity to harm the cause of the national movement. It was just a chance that he failed in his mission. Or to put it differently, the then leaders of India showed a greater sense of maturity and were successful in identifying the real enemy, i.e., the imperialist ruler.

Havell's pro-Indian Aryan statements, if read out of context are startling. Even staunch Hindu nationalists
(5) The British factory-hand and dweller in city slum sings when he goes to war because war is for him a release from servitude and misery often far more degrading than the Indian caste system at its worst.\textsuperscript{19}

(6) The student of Indian history may also be led to consider whether the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain constituted as it is on more or less empirical lines, is really more efficient as political machinery than the philosophical scheme of Indo-Aryan polity, in which the common law of the land, formulated by the chosen representatives of the people, had a religious as well as a legal sanction, and represented the highest power of the State to which even the king and his ministers must bow\textsuperscript{20}.

(7) It will be a surprise to many readers to discover that the Mother of the Western Parliaments had an Aryan relative in India, showing a strong family likeness, before the sixth century B.C., and that her descendants were a great power in the State at the time of the Norman Conquest.\textsuperscript{21} And, finally asserts Havell,

(8) ...the philosophical debating halls, in which the king and the commoner met on terms of equality, always played a more important part in Indo-Aryan politics than councils of war, Acts of Parliament, or royal edicts; and for the same reason the political education of the Indian masses in the Dark Ages of European history was probably far better than that which obtains in most European countries in the twentieth century.\textsuperscript{22}

However, Havell's praise of ancient Indian developments had a definite purpose. He wanted to justify why his
With these high ideals in view, Havell, while writing the *History of Aryan Rule in India*, asserted that "To overvalue them can hardly be a mistake."  

Once Havell had decided to overvalue the achievements of ancient Indians, he made the following statement for the benefit of his British and European readers:

(1) The ancient Aryan rulers of India were confronted by political, economic, and social problems in many ways similar to those with which modern British statesmen and social reformers are struggling, and their solutions of them, according to all the evidence of history, were much more satisfactory to the people at large than any which modern Europe has found.

(2) The freedom and general happiness attained by the people of Great Britain with the help of Parliamentary institutions and the richest revenues of the world can hardly be compared with that which Indians within the Aryan pale enjoyed both before and after the fifth century A.D.—the time which is regarded as our Dark Ages, and theirs.

(3) The Indo-Aryan constitution, built upon the basis of the village communities, and not wrung from unwilling war-lords and landlords by century-long struggles and civil war, secured to the Indian peasant-proprietor not only the ownership of the land, but very considerable powers of self-government.

(4) When Indo-Aryan law and order prevailed in India in the long centuries before the Muhammadan invasions, the economic and political status of the Indian peasant was certainly far higher than that of the English peasant of the twentieth century.
they saw a great opportunity for themselves and their country.25

It deserves to be asked, why the great champion of Aryan rule in India, Havell, did not like to continue the narrative after the reign of Akbar whom he had most gladly declared a Chakravartin. The obvious reply seems to be that if he had tried to write a complete history of India and had brought it up to date, he would not have been able either to justify or to ignore the display of the British faith in the principle of "justice" and "fair-play", the two great assets with the help of which the Company Bahadur had, in the 18th century, established itself as the greatest power in India and had in the centuries that followed succeeded in making "the people of India accept Aryan domination as the greatest of divine blessings".26

Thus we have seen that Havell's pro-Indian Aryan outbursts and his stress on the desirability of sympathetic treatment of India's past, were not the expressions of an Indophile who was unaware of the changing power position. We can close this discussion by saying that Havell's pan-Aryanism was one of the many ways in which British imperialism had expressed itself.

References

3. Ibid., and p. x.
4. Op cit., p. xv
6 Op cit., pp. v-vi, vii-x.
contemporary Indians had preferred to accept the British rulers as their well-wishers. Hence, he declared:

(a) Indian loyalty to the British Empire and the British Crown is therefore in its fullest content a feeling of devoted attachment to those Aryan principles of conduct and Aryan national ideals which Indians as well as British have upheld in peace and in war, in life and in death. And,

(b) Lord Macaulay, in spite of his contempt for Indo-Aryan culture, is still regarded by them as a great statesman and benefactor of India — and from their point of view rightly so, for, though profoundly ignorant of Indo-Aryan history, his intuitive genius showed him the path leading to an Indian Renaissance, though he himself totally miscalculated the direction it would take.

Though Havell had showered all these praises on Indians in general, he always meant to refer to the vast majority of Hindus. This, however, does not mean that he was unaware of the fact that like the Hindus the Muslims too had remained on the British side. Thinking that the Indian Muslims deserved a word of praise, Havell blamed the others. He thus said: The course of the Great War has shown how groundless were the fears that Indian Muhammadans, as a body, would desire to prolong the unholy alliance between Islam and the powers of evil which Turkish rulers, young and old, in Europe and in Asia, have maintained for so many centuries. India herself has been in the past one of the chief sufferers from this alliance — as Muhammadan historians have clearly shown — and Indian Muhammadans love their motherland too well and respect Islam too much to become the tool of the criminal conspiracy which plunged Europe into a mad war — a conspiracy in which the purblind politicians of Young Turkey believed
Fifteen

Orissa and British Historians

K. C JENA

ANDREW STIRLING, Sir William Wilson Hunter, John Beams and G. Toynbee were noted British Historians who wrote on the history of Orissa. Stirling came to India in 1813 and wrote a history of Orissa giving it a geographical, statistical and historical treatment. His book was published in 1825. Stirling died in May 1830.

Sir William Hunter came to India in 1862 and devoted himself to research in Indology. He made a substantial contribution in the field of Indian history and published a history of Orissa in two volumes in 1872. Until his death in 1900, he continued to write on many historical problems and did not lose interest in Orissa and its history.

John Beams another great scholar was a contemporary of W.H. Hunter. He was born in 1837 and joined Indian service in 1858. He served as the Collector of Balasore and the Commissioner of the Orissa Division. He had sound knowledge of many Indian languages of which Oriya was one. His interest in Oriya literature was noteworthy. He brought many palm-leaf books to light and opened a new dimension in the field of Oriya literature and regional culture.
9 Ibid.
10 Ibid.
13 Ibid.
14 Ibid
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.
18 Op. cit., p xii
19 Ibid.
20 Op cit., p xiii.
21 Ibid
There were many dark sides to British administration. There were corrupt and inefficient officers. There were judges who were deeply involved in unjust dealings. These facts have been kept hidden from the public eye.

The history of Orissa has, thus, suffered from lack of objectivity in the writings of British historians. However, credit should be given to them to have made known the history of Orissa to the general public. It is now the task of modern writers to free Orissan history from the imperial legacy.
G. Toynbee was an officer in Orissa. His book on the history of Orissa covered twenty-five of the very critical years (1803-28) of early British administration of the province. In fact he had practical experience of these problems.

These four British historians paved the way for later writers. Following them, scholars from different schools of thought wrote on Orissa. Special mention may be made of Rajendralal Mitra, M.M. Chakraverty, Krupasindhu Mishra, R.D. Banerjee, Jagabandhu Singh and H.K. Mahatab. The four British historians left a lasting impression on future writers. Although there has been a growing feeling that they had depicted Orissan history from an imperial standpoint and there were many areas where basic changes in historical perspective were needed, most historians, to this day, have not been able to free themselves from their impact.

All the four British historians—Stirling, Hunter, Beams and Toynbee were in the British administrative service. Their bias may not be deliberate, but it is a fact that in their writings they have supported the East India Company and the British authorities. They are eager to give the impression that foreign rule was a blessing for the province. They present a dark picture of Maratha administration and suggest that during the Maratha period Orissa suffered much. This is not correct. Obviously the historians have done it to set in deep contrast, the good features of British administration.

The same prejudice appears when they describe the land revenue administration and allied subjects. They wrongly depict the feudatory rajas as barbarians. In fact Orissa had known many kind and good rulers and had seen great periods of prosperity.

The British historians' description of the social conditions of the period also needs rethinking. Moreover, trade and commerce which were in a healthy state have not been touched upon by these historians.
people like H.H. Wilson pleaded for the study of Vaishnavism and other Hindu religions if only to prove their falsity and persuade the Hindu intelligentsia to adopt the Christian faith. As a reaction to this, nationalist historians interpreted all the available evidence on the subject with a view to proving the prevalence of the worship of Vasudeva Krishna long before the advent of Christ. The object of the present paper is to examine some of the recent works from this angle and give a few suggestions specially regarding the supposed evidence of Megasthenes on Krishna worship.

Christian Bias in the Historiography of Early Krishna Worship

The theory that Krishna worship originated as a distorted form of Christianity and that the name of Krishna itself is only ‘a corruption of the name of the Saviour’ was first advanced by P. Georgi as early as 1762. It found a number of adherents among Western scholars, though many of them conceded that Krishna was an ancient god of India whose worship was radically transformed under the impact of Christianity. Albrecht Weber, who wrote his famous essay on ‘An Investigation into the Origin of the Festival of Krana Janmastami’ in 1874, that is more than a century after Georgi, gave a new impetus to this theory. In this and many other articles he argued that the transformation of the personality of Krishna from the ‘eager

---


4. Cf. the views of Sir William Jones, Pother, Kleuker, S. Bartolomae, etc. discussed in MIR, p. 12 and by H.L. Raychaudhuri in his Early History of the Vaishnava Sect p. 77 (hereafter referred to as EHYSS).

Sixteen

Studies on Early Krishna Worship

S. R GOYAL

ONE OF THE earliest and the most important of the Pauranic religious systems to emerge was Bhagavatism which came to be described at a comparatively late date as Vaishnavism. In the Puranas and the Mahabharata it centres round the worship of the Sattvata chief Vasudeva-Krishna. It has enjoyed and still enjoys immense popularity among the masses. It has attracted the attention of Indologists from the very beginning of the study of ancient Indian religions in the modern period. Unfortunately, however, their attitude towards it has not always been objective. As this religion betrays several common features with Christianity—such as belief in the grace of god, efficacy of faith and devotion, value attributed to prayer, doctrine of incarnation etc—Western scholars, with their conviction in the theory of the White Man's Burden, found it difficult to resist the temptation of assuming that Krishna worship was nothing but a plagiarism of Christianity. Some of them, such as Pavie,1 even thought it humiliating for Christianity to be compared with the Krishna cult, while

1. Quoted by Allan Dablquist in his Megasthenes and Indian Religion, Uppsala 1962 p 13 (hereafter referred to as MIR)
Auguste Barth,¹⁴ Telang,¹⁵ and H. C. Raychaudhuri.¹⁶ Even R. G. Bhandarkar, who believed that the cult of the child Krishna was at least partially influenced by Christianity, advanced cogent reasons to show that Krishna worship as a bhakti cult originated in the pre-Christian period.¹⁷ After examining the views of these scholars, especially those of Raychaudhuri, one is tempted to regard further discussion on the supposed influence of Christianity on the origin of the Krishna bhakti as unnecessary. But unfortunately some Western scholars are still trying to flog the dead horse. The attempt of Allan Dahlquist, a Swedish scholar, is a case in point.

Christian Bias in Allan Dahlquist’s Works

In his book Megasthenes and Indian Religion, published in 1962, Dahlquist has advanced the thesis (which, to the best of my knowledge, has not been refuted by any scholar so far)¹⁸ that the sole reliable evidence for the existence of

---

15. Quoted in DHVS, pp. 79, 81, 91, 95, 96.
17. Bhandarkar, op cit. Bhandarkar believed that the concept of the child-god Gopala-Krishna was the direct outcome of the immigration into India of such foreign tribes as the Abhiras with their belief in the personal god Jesus Christ, the shepherd, in the early centuries of the Christian era (op. cit., pp. 49 ff.). However, he believed that Krishna-Vasudeva was already an object of worship in the pre-Christian period (op. cit., pp 3-5, 13) and that the concept of bhakti originated from the Upanishadic concept of upasana (ibid. pp., 37 ff)
18. The work of Allan Dahlquist was published in 1962. It is included in the bibliography of Suvira Jaiswal’s The Origin and Development of Vaishnavism (New Delhi, 1967) but it is not discussed anywhere in the text. In the works of D. C. Sircar (Studies in the Religious Life of Ancient and Medieval India, Delhi, 1971) and J N. Banerjea, Religion in Art and Archaeology, Lucknow, 1968, and Puranic and Tantric Religion, Calcutta, 1966 published after 1962, it is not even mentioned anywhere.
scholar of the Chhandogya Upanishad and the brave hero of the early portions of the Mahabharata into a deity can be explained only on the supposition of an external influence which in the circumstances could be no other than Christianity. He also stated his conviction that the theory of *avatara* originated as an imitation of the Christian doctrine of incarnation.

Weber's thesis was supported *mutatis mutandis* by Hopkins,7 Macnicol,8 Grierson,9 Kennedy,10 Lounier11 etc., and on some points by a few Indian scholars such as B. N. Seal12 and R. G. Bhandarkar13 also. It is unnecessary to repeat here the views of these scholars which differed considerably from each other, they have been critically examined by the opponents of the 'Borrowing Theory', specially

---

6 *Indische Studien*, II, pp 159 ff.
7 E. W. Hopkins, *The Religion of India*, Boston, 1895. In one of his essays he pointed out many similarities between the Gospel of John and the Gita which he ascribed to Christian influence.
8 Nicol Macnicol, *India Theism*, London, 1915, quoted in *EHVS*, p 87
9 G. A Grierson, Bhakti-Marga *EHIC*, II, pp. 539a, 555b; I4, 1908, pp. 231-62, 373-86 He had believed that Bhakti was more recent than Christianity.
11 von F. Lounier, J4, II, pp 283 ff. He suggests that the author of the Gita was acquainted with, and used the Gospels
12 B N. Seal, Comparative Studies in Vaishnavism and Christianity, pp 30, 51. Seal concurs with Weber in assuming that the Narayanya Section of the *Abh* was composed under the impact of Christianity. He finds the description of the Eucharist in the *Abh* xi 315 11 However, he is also critical of the tendency of Western scholars to regard all other religions as rudimentary in comparison with Christianity
Dahlquist has approached the problem with a Christian bias. One may easily understand the eagerness of a historian to suggest a new identification of the Hercules of Megasthenes purely on academic grounds—I myself do not believe in the identification of Krishna with Hercules as described by Megasthenes—but the position which Dahlquist has adopted shows that his object is not to analyse the problem of the identity of Hercules dispassionately but to prove, somehow, the indebtedness of the Krishna cult to Christianity. As such, he seems to be bent upon either to neglect or explain away, on extremely flimsy and sometimes ridiculous grounds, the facts which prove the prevalence of Krishna bhakti in the pre-Christian centuries. For example, while discussing the evidence of the *Ashtadhyayi* of Panini,²⁴ (4th cent. B.C.) he takes shelter behind the now discredited view that the famous sutra of Panini on the worship of Vasudeva and Arjuna refers to something entirely other than Krishna bhakti,²⁵ and

---

24 Panini, *Ashtadhyayi*, IV.3.98: *Vasudeva arjunabhaktam eva*

25 U C. Bhattacharjee (*IHQ*, I, 1925, pp. 483-99) does not believe that the Panini sutra IV.3.98 refers to the bhakti of Vasudeva and Arjuna. Dahlquist follows him (*MIR*, pp. 23 ff) but the objections raised by Bhattacharjee are met by P. Bonnerjee (*JBR*, XL, 1954, pp. 74-79) and J. N. Banerjea (*Religion in Art and Archaeology* p. 3 and n. 1). The heading for sūtra IV.3.98 is found in IV.3.95. It reads *Bhaktā* and applies to all the sūtras from IV.3.96 to 100 which refer to things like cakes and milk-products in 96, the Maharaja in 97, all the Kshatriya and Gotta names like Nakula in 99 and all the countries and Kshatriyas in 100. Therefore, Bhattacharjee argues, that here, the term *bhakti* only means *anurakta* or ‘a preference for’ and not devotion (*cf* also Sircar, *ABI*, p. 432, n. 2). But if Vasudeva and Arjuna were only Kshatriya heroes, the sūtra IV.3.99 would also have served their purpose. As later explained by Patanjali, a separate sūtra for them was formed because they were the divine ones. Grierson, Raychaudhuri and Bhandarkar accept this suggestion. The placing of the name of Vasudeva before Arjuna in the *devadāsa* compound *Vasudevarjuna* shows that Vasudeva was a more honoured deity than Arjuna. The *MBh* (V. 49.19)
the Krishna bhakti in the pre-Christian period supposedly comes from Megasthenes. As is well-known Megasthenes, who came to the court of Chandragupta Maurya as the ambassador of Seleucus in 300 B.C., reports that Heracles was held in special honour by the Sourasenoi, an Indian tribe possessing two large cities Mathora and Kleisobora, on the river Jubaes flowing through their country. Following R. G Bhandarkar Indian scholars almost unanimously identify Heracles of the Sourasenoi with Krishna-Vasudeva, the Sourasenoi itself (evidently a derivative of the tribal name Surasena who lived in the Mathura region) with the Sattvatas; the two cities with Mathura and Krishnapura (probably modern Gokula) and the river Jubaes with the Yamuna. Dahlquist contests the identification of the Heracles of Megasthenes with Vasudeva-Krishna and suggests that in Heracles Megasthenes was describing the personality of the Vedic Indra. I do not think that he has been able to give sufficient proof to make his suggestion a viable theory, but apparently he is sure of its correctness and is of the opinion that it places the problem of the relation between Christianity and Krishnism on a new footing, since ‘the only witness of the Krishna cult as early as 300 before Christ is now removed’. He therefore asks: “May not Krishna, despite everything that has been said on the subject, be a result of Christian influence”.

Criticism of Dahlquist

Whether the identification of the Heracles of Megasthenes with Indra is correct or not, it cannot be denied that

19 R. C. Majumdar, Classical Accounts of India, p 221 f. J W. McCrindle, Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian, p. 206.
20 Bhandarkar, op cit, pp. 12 ff
21 So far as I know, among Indian scholars only Coomaraswamy has cast doubt on the identification of Heracles with Krishna
22 MIR, pp 88 ff.
23 Ibid., p. 166
deification of Vasudeva-Krishna and the existence of the Bhagavata sect as pre-Christian developments, is really amusing. He suggests that Heliodorus, who came to the court of King Bhagabhadrā as the envoy of the Greek king Antialkidas of Taxila and was responsible for the erection of a Garudadhvaja at Vidisa, as well as Gautamiputra who erected another Garudadhvaja there during the reign of King Bhagavata, were both Buddhists. The facts that the deity worshipped by Heliodorus is called Devadeva Vasudeva (a name never appropriated by the Buddha), that the Garudadhvajas were erected in his honour (a patent-ly Vaishnava, and not Buddhist, practice), that the name Bhagavata was used for the followers of Vasudeva (a name never used for the Buddhists) and that a reference is made by Heliodorus to the three immortal precepts of the Bhagavata sect - dama, tyaga and apramada - which he most likely quoted from the Gita itself, have been dismissed by Dahlquist in an extremely cavalier fashion in favour of his contention that the name Gautamiputra “immediately suggests the Buddha”. As regards the Nanaghat record of the Satavahana queen Naganika (1st cent. B.C.), which begins with an adoration to the gods Dharma, Indra, Sankarshana and Vasudeva, the Moon and the Sun, and the four Lokapalas, it is not mentioned by him at all though the reference to Sankarshana and Vasudeva in a dvandya compound (Samkasana-Vasudevan) makes it certain that the author of this record had Vasudeva-Krishna in mind. Similarly, he does not discuss the famous Ghosundi.

29. D C Sircar, SI, p. 88
31 MIR, p. 167.
32. Cf. the Gita xvi.1-2; also Abh., xii 541.22; Ellis’, p. 52 f.; J. N. Banerjea, Religion in Art and Archaeology, p. 8.
33 MIR, p. 167
34. SI, p. 193.
35 Ibid., p. 90
dismisses the *Mahabhashya* references (2nd century B.C.) to the divinity of Krishna-Vasudeva with the remark that “to judge from the works of such authors as Garbo and Bhandarkar, however, Patanjali’s *Mahabhashya* seems to provide no clear evidence of Krishna’s divinity”.

As regards the *Gita* and the Buddhist works *Niddesa* and the *Ghata Jataka* he does not discuss them at all presumably because the dates of their composition are not certain. Although undecided about their exact dates most scholars believe that these works belong to the pre-Christian period and, therefore, point to the existence of the Krishna cult before the advent of Christ.

Allan Dahlquist’s interpretation of the Besnagar Garuda Pillar Inscriptions of Hecodorus and Gautamiputra belonging to c. 100 B.C., which almost certainly proves the preserves a tradition that Arjuna was the incarnation of an ancient deity Nara, as Vasudeva was of Narayana (cf Banerjee, *Paurasari and Tantric Religion*, p 22) Barf also believed in the prevalence of Arjuna worship (*op. cit.*, p 172 n 2). The word Vasudevaka may be compared with the word Gotamaka a follower of Gautama (Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 145).

Patanjali alludes to the *Varisika* on Panini sutra IV.2.104 and names the followers of Akutra and Vasudeva. While commenting on the sutra *alapch taram* (I.I.2 34) he refers to his temples of Rama (Sankarshana) and Kesava (Krishna-Vasudeva). Lastly, while commenting on Panini sutra IV.3.98 he justifies the formation of a separate rule for the admirers of Vasudeva and Arjuna by stating that these two were also ‘divine and worshipful ones’ (*lataabhavatah*).


27. *K. Jataka* gives a garbled version of the story of Vasudeva Krishna. The Buddhist works *Niddesa* refer to the sects of Vasudeva and Baladeva (Sankarshana) along with a number of other sects. The *Gita*, as is well-known, is the basic work of Bhagavatism. All these works are assigned to the pre-Christian period by competent authorities, whatever their exact dates might have been (cf. *AIU*, p 437, Bhandarkar *op. cit.*, 3, 8; *EHVS*, 38 ff.)
detail by Megasthenes and other Greek writers his personality does not correspond with the personality of his Greek counterpart.\textsuperscript{37} In other words for the identification of the Indian Heracles we will have to seek parallels to his characteristics in the features of Indian gods and heroes themselves. But here the difficulty is—and it has not been appreciated by any scholar so far—that the Greek writer has used only two names for the Indian gods and heroes—Dionysos whom he calls the god of the hill people and Heracles whom he describes as the god of plains or cities.\textsuperscript{38} The possibility, therefore, emerges that in Heracles Megasthenes has described several Indian gods and heroes. In other words, it is possible that the personality of the Indian Heracles is a composite one. We feel that this possibility is a certainty, because one can easily discern several different strains in his personality.

Indian Heracles in Classical Writers

The first god, who appears to have contributed to the composite personality of the Indian Heracles, is Siva. This strain manifests itself best when the Greek authors describe his association with the Sibae or the Sibi people. It is said that like Heracles they wore skins, carried clubs and branded on the back of their oxen the representation of a club where-in the Greeks recognised a memorial of the club of Heracles.\textsuperscript{39} These features, as Cunningham\textsuperscript{40} believed, tend to suggest the identity of the Indian Heracles with Siva.

That Krishna may be meant by Heracles is suggested but only slightly, by an observation of Quintus Curtius (1st cent.

\textsuperscript{37} Cf. \textit{M.I.R.}, p. 33 f

\textsuperscript{38} Majumdar, \textit{Classical Accounts of India}, p. 273.

\textsuperscript{39} \textit{Ibid}., p. 219.

\textsuperscript{40} A. Cunningham, \textit{Coins of Ancient India}, p. vii-viii. Siva wears animal skin and, in his Lakulisa incarnation at least, carries a club. On the Kushana coins also he is shown as carrying a club. The tribal name Sibi suggests this identification.
inscription of Sarvatata from Rajasthan (1st cent. B.C.) which records the erection of a pujaśila prakara at the Narayana-vatika for Bhagavat Sankarshana and Vasudeva, both described as Anahita and Sarvesvāra. The record conclusively proves that the worship of the Vrāshni heroes Vasudeva-Krishna and Balarama (Sankarshana) was already popular in the first century B.C. and had also become associated with the worship of Narayana by then. Allan Dahlquist has obviously overlooked all these facts. No further comments on such a prejudiced mind are called for.

Nationalist Bias: Identity of Heracles and Krishna An A Priori Assumption

If the attitude of Western scholars towards the early history of Kṛṣṇa-worship has usually been prejudiced by their bias for Christianity, it is also true that an undercurrent of nationalism has coloured, however lightly, the writings of many Indian historians. An almost unanimous acceptance accorded to the evidence of Megasthenes is an example of this bias. As noted earlier, almost all the Indian historians follow Bhandarkar in assuming that the Heracles, who was held in special honour by the people of Mathura, may be identified with Vasudeva-Krishna. They have done so without analysing the statement of Megasthenes critically, probably because it carries the antiquity of Kṛṣṇa worship back to at least the fourth century B.C. But I do not think that the supposed identification is at all tenable. In this connection it must be remembered that the identity of Vasudeva-Krishna and the Heracles of Megasthenes cannot be assumed by arguing that the nature and characteristics of the Indian and Greek gods are similar—if they are similar at all. The identification of the Indian Heracles must rest upon his own characteristics, for though he has been described in

flourished 138 generations before Sandracottus (Chandragupta Maurya). He had a daughter named Pandaina, who was born to him late in life. He had 'incestuous intercourse with the girl in order that a race of kings sprung from their common blood might be left to rule over India'. He had 'a very numerous progeny of male children' born to him. Diodorus makes this point more explicit. He says that 'the sons having reached man's estate' Heracles 'divided all India into equal portions for his children whom he made kings in different parts of his dominions. He provided similarly for his only daughter whom he reared up and made a queen'. Arrian adds the additional information that Heracles entrusted his daughter with the sovereignty of the region which was called after her name, Pandaina. 'When he was ridding land and sea of whatever evil monsters infested them, he found the sea-pearl. Appreciating its beauty as a wearing ornament, Heracles, it is said, caused it to be brought from all the seas into India, that he might adorn with it the person of his daughter'.

Vaiyavatya Manu in the Vedic and Pauranic Literature

The legend of the Indian Heracles as detailed above at once reminds one of Manu, the ancestor of all the Vedic Kabhatriya dynasties. He has nothing in common with Vasudeva-Krishna, and for that matter with Siva or Indra. The notion popular with a section of scholars that Megasthenes has described Heracles as the incarnation of Vishnu is absolutely baseless, while the similarities between Manu Vaiyavatya and the Indian Heracles are too numerous and significant to be ignored. In the Vedic literature which

45. Lassen (quoted in MIR, p 97) was the first to suggest it. It won acceptance among a section of scholars. Cf The Cambridge History of India, I. Cambridge, 1922, p 167. Also see A. D. Pusalker (Studies in the Epics and Puranas of India, Bombay, 1955, p 65), who believes that 'The Greek ambassador definitely states that Krishna was regarded as an incarnation of Vishnu'
B.C.) On the authority of the historians of Alexander he informs us that the soldiers of Porus, who regarded it a dishonour more undesirable than death to flee from the battle field, carried the image of Heracles in front of their ranks, for they believed that it would enthuse them for victory. As Porus was himself a descendant of the Pandavas and as Krishna is said to have taught Arjuna to fight in the Bharata War with zeal, J.N. Banerjea is inclined to identify the Heracles described by Curtius with Krishna. He may be right.

But what about the description of Heracles in connection with Mathura, which is regarded as the main basis for the prevalence of the worship of Vasudeva-Krishna in 300 B.C? Before we discuss this question let us see what Megasthenes himself has to say about it. He has been quoted extensively by Arrian who explicitly states that he took his material for this passage from Megasthenes whom he mentions three times by name. Diodorus also uses this material but briefly, and without naming his source. However, he adds a few minor points and helps us in understanding the intention of Arrian better. Other classical writers do not add anything new.

Shorn of the unnecessary details and miraculous elements, the following is the summary of the Heracles legend, as given with reference to Mathura:—

According to Megasthenes, as quoted by Arrian, Heracles who ‘was held in special honour’ by the Sourasena of Mathura, came to India ‘as a stranger’ but according to another tradition was ‘in reality a native of India’.

41. Majumdar, op. cit, pp. 119-20
42. Banerjea, Pauranic and Tantric Religion, p. 25.
43 Majumdar, op. cit, pp. 221-23.
44. Ibid, p. 236.
A. S. Altekar and many others, in their original form these works existed in the later Vedic and post-Vedic periods also. Hence it may be reasonably surmised that in some form or other the Manu legend of the Puranas was known to the Indians of the age of Megasthenes. Now, what do the Puranas tell us about Manu? Firstly, he is described as the son of Vivasvant and the first post-diluvian ruler of India though the story of the Deluge is found in a greatly amplified form and the fish of the Satapatha Brahmana has become the fish incarnation of Vishnu. Secondly, all the Vedic Kshatriya dynasties are said to have sprung from him. He is described as the father of nine valiant sons, Nabhanandishtha of the Brahmanas being one of them. Thirdly, apart from these nine sons he is described as the father of a tenth son also who had a dual personality—as male Ila and female Ila. It appears that the moral outlook of the post-Vedic Indians compelled them to give this twist to the Vedic legend of Manu's incestuous relations with Ida. However, it is significant that Ila or Ida continues, in the Puranas, to be the eldest child of Manu. Fourthly, the Pauranic Manu, like his Vedic counterpart, divided his whole realm amongst his sons including Ila/Ida. The association of Manu, if not of Ila, with the South (where the Pandya kingdom of Megasthenes was situated) is mentioned in the Bhagavata Purana where, in the Dravida legend, he is described as the Lord of the Dravida Country (Dravidesvarah). And lastly, and it is also a very significant point, Manu is supposed to have flourishing 135 generations before Chandragupta Maurya, for according

51 A S Altekar, Presidential Address (Ancient India Section), Indian History Congress, 1934, A. D. Pusalker in The Vedic Age, Bombay, 1965, p. 271 f.


53 Bhagavata Purana, VII. 24.11.
Interesting that the Pandyas had their capital at Mathura (Madurai) and it existed at least as early as the date of the Ghata Jataka, for its author refers to the Mathura of northern India as Upper Mathura which by implication suggests the existence of southern Mathura. Further, the name Pandya is derived by Katyayana, in a Vartika, from Pandu who was himself an Aila, that is a descendant of Ila. These facts indicate the process by which the legend of Pandava might have evolved.*

Possible Objections Answered

Here a few objections against the proposed identification of Heracles with Vaivasvata Manu may be anticipated and answered. Firstly, it may be pointed out that nowhere in Indian literature the worship of Manu as a god occurs; he is described only as a human ancestor. That is so. But we submit that Megasthenes has also mentioned Heracles only as a human ancestor; while describing him in association with Mathura, he nowhere refers to his ‘worship as a god’.

All he says is that Heracles was ‘held in special honour’ by the Sorousenoi. Secondly, an objection may be raised that the name of the town Kleisobora, which may be the Greek form of the name Krishnapura, suggests that in the age of Megasthenes Krishna was already popular in the Mathura region. But it is not our contention that Krishna worship

58 Cowell’s Tr IV. p 55 f, cf D Sircar, Religious Life in Ancient and Medieval India, p 18.

59. On Panini 1IV.1 168

*It was the genealogist’s and the bard’s prerogative to indulge in such symbolisms. Y S. Pathak has kept it in mind when describing Bana’s Varaha-Charita as a source for the historian (Ancient Historians of India, Asia Pub Hsc., 1966, pp. 30 ff). Also see O.W. Wolters’ analysis of the Sajana Malayu as a historical source (The Fall of Srivijaya in Malay History, Cornell Uni Press 1970, Ch. VI). —Editor

60 Some doubt this identification (cf MIR, pp 131-33).
to the genealogical tables of the Pauranic dynasties prepared by Pargiter,\textsuperscript{54} from Manu to the fall of the Nanda dynasty 135 generations of kings had ruled over the various parts of the country (95 generations of the pre-Bharata War period + 5 generations from Yudhishthira to Adhisimakrishna + 26 generations between Adhisimakrishna and Mahapadma Nanda + 9 kings of the Nanda dynasty); Chandragupta Maurya himself belonged to the 136th generation.

**Indian Heracles is Manu Vaivasvata**

Thus we find that almost all the main points about Heracles (as described in connection with Mathura) and Manu Vaivasvata are similar. Both of them flourished at about the same time (roughly more than 135 generations earlier than Chandragupta Maurya). Manu Vaivasvata, like Heracles, had many sons and divided his kingdom among them. Like Heracles also, he is said to have had incestuous relations with his daughter whom he gave a part of his dominion. From Megasthenes it appears that in his days it was also believed that Heracles had been the ruler of a southern country which came to be known as Pandya after the name of his daughter Pandra who was made its queen by Heracles. The memory of the association of Manu Vaivasvata with this region is preserved in the Bhagavata Purana wherein he has been described as the Lord of the Dravida country. It appears that by the time Megasthenes visited India some legends about the Pandya country had got currency. In this connection it is worth noting that Megasthenes himself heard of the famous pearls of this country—of course in the form of a legend—which were in the later ages so graphically described by Kharavela,\textsuperscript{55} Kalidasa,\textsuperscript{56} Marco Polo,\textsuperscript{57} etc. It is also

\textsuperscript{54} F. E. Pargiter, op. cit., 144-48 and 179-83.
\textsuperscript{55} Cf. Kharavela's Hathigumpha inscription, SI, p 217 (\textit{Padmaraja ...mata-manis ratanam aharapayati})
\textsuperscript{56} Raghuvamsa.
worshipped as Vasudeva. All the same there appears to be some evidence to suggest that the worship of a divinity named Vasudeva was prevalent before the advent of the Krishna cult. But Indian historians have generally ignored this evidence. D. C. Sircar has even suggested that the Pancharatras invented the myth of a supreme Vasudeva other than Vasudeva-Krishna in order to absolve their deity of the misdeeds attributed to the latter in the Mahabharata etc. One suspects that at least sub-consciously such scholars have been motivated by a desire to use material pertaining to the worship of Vasudeva for proving the antiquity of Krishna bhakti. The possibility of a distinction between the divine Vasudeva and Vasudeva-Krishna was probably first suggested by A. Govindacharya Swamin, and was accepted mutatis mutandis by Charles Eliot, R. G. Bhandarkar, and some others.

It is quite possible that some of the arguments advanced by them are not sound. For example, it may be maintained that the Padma Tantra, a Pancharatra text which lays down that the image of the son of Vasudeva should be made like that of the god Vasudeva, is a late document which has theoretically conceived a supra-mundane Vasudeva whose incarnation Vasudeva-Krishna was, just as the Buddhists, in later ages, developed the concept of the Adi Buddha from whom the rest of the Buddhas supposedly emanate. It may also be argued that the distinction assumed by Patanjali between divine Vasudeva and Kshatriya

63. MIU, p. 440

64. A Govindacharya Swamin, JRAS, 1911, p. 936.

65. Charles Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, II. London. 1921, p. 154

66. Bhandarkar, op cit, p. 15 f.


68. Vasudeva-sutasya stapanam Vasudeva-vat (The Padma Tantra, III. 24-28, quoted by A. Rangacharya Swamin, op. cit.).
was not known in Mathura in the fourth century B.C. What we are suggesting is that the Heracles who was held in 'special honour' by the Sourasenois is to be identified with Manu. Logically these two are quite different propositions. Here it may also be pointed out that Diodorus describes Heracles as the founder of a number of cities, the most renowned and the greatest of which was Palibothra (Pataliputra). It was 'fortified with trenches of notable dimension which were filled with water introduced from the river'. He also built a costly palace there. But apparently this legend has nothing to do with either Manu or Krishna. It appears that the foundation of Pataliputra, which came into existence as late as fifth century B.C., was wrongly attributed to Heracles either by Megasthenes himself or by his informants. To Manu, the first king of the country, such an achievement is easily attributable.

Divine Vasudeva was Distinct from Krishna-Vasudeva

Another tendency among Indian historians has been to overlook the evidence which tends to prove the prevalence of the worship of a deity named Vasudeva even before the worship of Vasudeva-Krishna became popular. They generally subscribe to the thesis of H.C. Raychaudhuri that Krishna, the son of Vasudeva and hero of the Satraversa sect of the Yadavas was apotheosised first by his tribe which popularised his cult. We agree that Krishna has been mentioned as Vasudeva in such pre-Christian works as the Ghata Jataka, the Mahabhashya, the early portions of the Mahabharata and the Gita. The Vasudeva of Panini, mentioned in a dvandva compound with Arjuna, should also be obviously identified with Krishna. The various pre-Christian epigraphs discussed above, which mention Vasudeva along with Sankarshana, also prove that it was Krishna, the brother of Sankarshana, who was

61 Majumdar, op cit., p. 236
62. EHYS, pp. 3, 18 ff, 36
worshipped as Vasudeva. All the same there appears to be some evidence to suggest that the worship of a divinity named Vasudeva was prevalent before the advent of the Krishna cult. But Indian historians have generally ignored this evidence. D. C. Sircar has even suggested that the Pancharatras invented the myth of a supreme Vasudeva other than Vasudeva-Krishna in order to absolve their deity of the misdeeds attributed to the latter in the Mahabharata etc. One suspects that at least sub-consciously such scholars have been motivated by a desire to use all the material pertaining to the worship of Vasudeva for proving the antiquity of Krishna bhakti. The possibility of a distinction between the divine Vasudeva and Vasudeva-Krishna was probably first suggested by A. Govindacharya Swamin, and was accepted mutatis mutandis by Charles Eliot, R. G. Bhandarkar and some others. It is quite possible that some of the arguments advanced by them are not sound. For example, it may be maintained that the Padma Tantra, a Pancharatra text which lays down that the image of the son of Vasudeva should be made like that of the god Vasudeva, is a late document which has theoretically conceived a supra-mundane Vasudeva whose incarnation Vasudeva-Krishna was, just as the Buddhists, in later ages, developed the concept of the Adi Buddha from whom the rest of the Buddhas supposedly emanate. It may also be argued that the distinction assumed by Patanjali between divine Vasudeva and Kshatriya

63. AIU, p. 440
64 A Govindacharya Swamin, JIJS, 1911, p. 936.
66 Bhandarkar, op cit., p. 15 ff.
68 Vasudeva-nitayahopstapannam Vasudeva-cat (The Padma Tantra, III. 24-28, quoted by A. Rangacharya Swamin, op. cit.)
Vasudeva\textsuperscript{69} is at par with the distinction which a modern Hindu theoretically assumes between the divine Rama and the Kshatriya prince Rama. Similarly, one may dismiss those etymologies as later philoshophical concoctions which derive the word Vasudeva not from Vasudeva but from the root \textit{vas}, 'to dwell', meaning thereby that Vasudeva is one 'who dwells in all beings'.\textsuperscript{70} But I do not think that the \textit{Mahabharata} story of Paundraka Vasudeva who contested the claim of Krishna for the status of true Vasudeva,\textsuperscript{71} can be explained by any supposition other than that the worship of divine Vasudeva was prevalent even before the time of Krishna and that Krishna and Paundraka Vasudeva both claimed to be his \textit{avatara}s, and in the struggle that followed the Vishnu hero emerged as victorious. A verse of the \textit{Vishnu Purana},\textsuperscript{72} clearly differentiates between the divine Vasudeva and Vasudeva-Krishna, for it states that a part of the god Vasudeva is established in a twofold manner in the persons of Krishna and Baladeva.\textsuperscript{73}

\textsuperscript{69} Supra.


\textsuperscript{71} \textit{Mahabharata}, III, 14.8. The story is also related in the \textit{Harivamsa} (III, 91, f) and the \textit{Vishnu Purana} (V. 34). For other references see \textit{ABORI}, X, p. 316

\textsuperscript{72} \textit{Vishnu Purana}, V. 17. 26, Wilson's ed., p. 431 f.

\textsuperscript{73} Suvira Jaiswal, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 64
It is quite likely that the divine Vasudeva was another name of Vishnu. The evidence of the Vishnu gāyatrī of the tenth praṇāma of the Taittiriya Aranyakā definitely identifies Vishnu with Vasudeva and Narayana.74 However, as this part of the work is regarded as a later addition,75 it will not be proper to dwell on this suggestion.

74. Om Narayanaya vidmahe Vasudevaya dhimahi tatah Vishnuḥ prachodayat (T4, X 1.6)

75. For the date of the Taittiriya Aranyakā see EHYE, p. 96, JEA, 1915, p. 840; Keith believed that it cannot be placed later than the third century B.C.
SEVENTEEN

A Christian View of Buddhism—
A Case Study of Burma

PRATAP CHANDRA

DETECTION OF BIAS in a piece of historical writing is not a simple and straightforward exercise. The complicating factors with which it is fraught can be overlooked only by one whose commitment to the minimizing of subjective elements in historiography is less than what is expected from a historian. There can be only one purpose behind this exercise; putting history on firmer scientific basis. In undertaking it one owes it to oneself and to one's chosen profession to make sure that no non-academic consideration creeps in. Haste and enthusiasm can have no place in it. Before reaching a definite conclusion in this regard, one ought to ponder over the nature and character of historiography and the role of the historian in it. This paper may as well begin with this.

In one sense, history-writing can never be wholly without bias. In another, it has to be. This paradox is rooted in the fact that 'bias' is a multiple-connotation term. Essentially a factual epithet, it signifies nothing more than an inclination of temperament and/or outlook. As such, it need not be a pejorative term. As a matter of fact, we do use this term in a non-disparaging sense when, for
instance, we seek to impart rural bias to education or economy. By and large, however, this term is used as a synonym of 'prejudice' by most people, which invests it with an undeniably odious implication. Being biased ordinarily means being unfairly predisposed against some person or thing. Nevertheless, remembering that bias has another connotation as well would help us maintain our cool while using it.

It will be useful to draw another distinction—between a consciously nursed or deliberate bias and one unconsciously or sub-consciously informing a person's approach or mentality. In the latter sense, bias is structurally in-built and hence cannot—and therefore need not—be avoided. A temperament or outlook with no inclination whatsoever is simply unimaginable. There is a great deal of truth in Freire's observation that all comprehension involves translation. It results when one interprets or translates according to one's pre-existing inclination what one grasps from without. Grasping itself has to be routed through the perceiver's sensory apparatus on which one has no control. The same situation may very well leave different impressions on two observers, and this is what usually happens too. The internal and the external constituents of comprehension are evidently of equal significance, leading to the conclusion that, in this sense of the term, no one can help being biased and nobody needs being apologetic about it. History-writing, consequently, is inevitably influenced by the inclinations, temperament, inherited or acquired values and outlook of the historian.

It would not be easy to decide what constitutes a consciously nursed or deliberate bias. This type of bias can be of two distinct kinds: that evoked by one's deep-rooted prejudices produced by extra-empirical, non-rational factors like sentiments, faith and unquestioning beliefs, for one, and that caused by the use of historical models developed
on empirical and rational basis. Since no scientific history is possible without the adoption of a model warranted by the known facts, every historian becomes deliberately biased in the second sense. This is why it is necessary to remember that all bias is not pejorative. If someone thinks that he or she is free from bias of this kind, the reason would be insufficient introspection and self-analysis. Human mind has been created in such a way that the unknown or not-yet-experienced can be comprehended only by comparing it with the known or the already-experienced. This compulsion of human nature is really behind the adoption and/or evolving of a historical model.

Deliberate bias of the first kind is really what a historian is supposed and expected to avoid. There can be no two opinions that if a person has fanatical predilections, he or she must be dealt with warily. There may be an element of truth in what he or she says, but an intelligent observer would first look for ulterior motives before even taking the trouble of evaluating the evidence on which the statement in question is based.

All this, however, should not make us oblivious of another complicating factor. There is no guarantee that the bias-hunter is not biased himself. No one can have pretensions of being objective in a robot-like manner. Most of us are likely to be proved prejudiced if a way could be found of peeping into one’s mind. Freud had ordained that a psychoanalyst must psychoanalyse himself before launching on this profession just to ensure that his own complexes do not colour his diagnosis of other people’s mental disorders. Historians, unfortunately, are not even encouraged to undertake such an exercise. To one consciously or unconsciously prejudiced in favour of a point of view, contrary points of view would most probably appear prejudiced. Two rival prejudices neither cancel each other out nor add up to one objective truth as a synthesis. They
merely cause bad blood and impair true historical perspective. This leaves a seeker after truth with only one option: he must closely scrutinise the credentials of the bias-hunter and his reason for making the accusation after an equally thorough self-examination. The prescription is far from easy. But then so is objective history!

I have concerned myself in this paper with a deliberate bias springing from evangelical motives. I aim at not only highlighting the bias inherent in the works of two Christian missionaries who were engaged in clerical duties in Burma and Sri Lanka during the middle decades of the last century but also at touching on the modus operandi of most such writers and the possible consequences such writings can have for serious history.

Buddhism as a mass religion has two distinct aspects, Southern and Northern. The West became acquainted with the Northern—i.e., Mahayana—tradition through the writings of travellers visiting China and Tibet. Neither of these came under Western dominance. Moreover, there are certain points of similarity between the Mahayana and Christianity. The situation regarding the Southern tradition was different inasmuch as it belonged to lands over which the colonial powers ruled, providing full scope for proselytising activities. Added to this is the vast difference between the Theravada Buddhism and Christianity. Some of the pioneers of Pali researches—R. C. Childers and T. W. Rhys Davids in particular—served as civilans in Sri Lanka. Others—like E. Burnouf, Fausboll, Oldenberg and Max Mueller—were all Christians but were eminently fair and scholarly. But the same cannot be said about the writers I wish to speak about, though one fears that they were more widely read than the outstanding Indologists.

Reverend B. Spence Hardy worked in Sri Lanka. He apparently knew about the existence of the Pali Tipitaka.
but does not seem to rely on it much. He published two works, *Eastern Monachism* in 1860 and *A Manual of Buddhism in Its Modern Development* in 1857. Both the works had re-issues. Bishop Bigandet's field was Burma. He does not seem to be aware of the Buddhist scriptures and based himself wholly on local hearsay. He even followed the Burmese accent, thus, 'Gaudama'. All the names in his *The Life or Legend of Gaudama*, published in 1858 and re-issued as a popular edition in 1914, would sound strange to Indian ears since they are all spelt according to the Burmese accent, like Thoodzata (for Sujata) and Thooprabuddha (for Suprabuddha).

Both these writers are equally keen on denigrating Buddhism though only the latter is honest—or crude enough to admit this in so many words. "The best way to undermine the foundations of a false creed and successfully attack it," he observes in the preface, "is to lay it open to the eyes of all and exhibit it as it really is." By 'the eyes of all' he obviously meant the eyes of all English-speaking people interested in books on religion.

As religions, Buddhism and Christianity are poles apart, based as they are on entirely different sets of assumptions and values. A modicum of mental and methodological training is necessary if a person belonging to one milieu—fanatical believer or no—wishes to comprehend an alien milieu. Radhakrishnan very pertinently declared more than half a century ago: "No cultural or religious imperialist who has the settled conviction that he alone has all the light and others are groping in darkness can be a safe guide in comparative studies." In Hardy and Bigandet we are confronted with two 'cultural and religious imperialists' out to conquer rather than comprehend. They seem to have marked out early the Buddhist tenets which went farthest against Christian beliefs and which could be used for emotionalising the whole issue. A word about this
aspect of their method would be in place before taking a sample of their writings.

Early Buddhist position on God, self and salvation is characteristic. Like most other very early Indian thinkers, the Buddha and his associates were not theists. That is to say, they did not view the world as a divine creation, with a divinely assigned purpose. This viewpoint is still with us in the shape of the presupposition in the root of karma theory. Man has been regarded as wholly responsible for himself and his destiny at least since the times of the early Upanishads. In their thinking on the nature of self, early Buddhists differ from every other religion and from most philosophies too. Postulation of an unchanging, permanent self with a supra-mundane element in it appears to be a widely-felt psychological need. How the early Buddhists could rid themselves of this notion no one can adequately explain today. But the fact remains that they claimed to be deniers of self (anattavadins) and really regarded this as their point of departure. Denial of the reality of self, however, seems to imply nothing more than the repudiation of an unchanging, substantial entity. As a stream of series of psycho-physical states self is very much there in early Buddhism. It could not have been anything else, since the Buddha firmly believed in the karma theory. The Buddhist concept of nībāna (Sansk. nirvāna) has also given rise to a great deal of controversy and has undergone many changes with the evolution of Buddhist thought. As far as the Theravadins are concerned, it is a real but indescribable position, indescribable because it is the precise opposite of existence, and language has been designed to express only the existents. All this was understood and highlighted by most of the early scholars. Yet, both Hardy and Bigandet chose to rest their denunciation of Buddhism on these three doctrines. The reason is not at all difficult to understand. These are the matters about which a devout Christian feels most strongly. In his
view, this is God's world, created by Him out of love, and any one not feeling grateful for it is the worst kind of heretic. Similarly, if God created man in his own image, soul becomes the most divine aspect of personality. Finally, there can be only one aim of religious life—heaven. A Christian cannot sympathise even with the goal set by the Upanishads—merger with the World soul—much less with leaving the final liberation undefined the way Buddhists do in South Asia.

Hardy asserts that Buddhism was atheistic, materialistic and annihilationistic. That is to say, it was a godless religion which made no difference between body and soul and could promise by way of salvation only cutting off for ever! All this without adducing any worthwhile evidence. To cap it all, he says, "...in all these errors the system is consistent with itself, materialism, atheism, and the entire cessation of existence stand or fall together."

In his other work he gives reasons why he considered Buddhism materialistic. Personality is viewed by the Buddhists as a conglomeration of five constituent factors: body (or 'organised body', as Hardy puts it), feelings, cognition, consciousness and impressions or plastic forces. The first is material while the rest are not. Hardy tells his readers that the four non-material constituents of personality, according to the Buddhists, "are results, or properties of the first." Therefore, "...if there be anything equivalent to that which we call soul, it must be found under the first class (i.e., the organised body)"

Acceptance of the karma theory by Buddhists has been cited as the basis for dubbing Buddhism atheistic. "Inasmuch as Buddhism declares karma to be supreme controlling power of the universe, it is an atheistic system. It ignores the existence of an intelligent and personal Deity." The full impact of a statement like this can be gauged only
when one remembers that the term 'atheism' was much more than merely a factual epithet in the eyes of a Christian of mid-nineteenth century.

Bishop Bigandet regards Buddhism as a creed based upon "capital and revolting errors..." To him, Buddhism was a "grand and irresistible demonstration" of "the absolute inability of man to rescue from evil and attain good and of the indispensable necessity of divine interference to help him in accomplishing that twofold achievement." Finally, "But by an inexplicable and deplorable eccentricity, the pretended saviour, after having taught the man of the way to deliver himself from the tyranny of his passions, only leads him after all, into the bottomless gulf of total annihilation."

That these two writers of popular books were imbued with a fanatical zeal to bring the Word of God to the lost millions is beyond any reasonable doubt. Their loyalty to their faith is matched by the seriousness of their intent. One could justifiably generalise that biased writers belonging to this type are, mostly for irrational reasons, always so devoted. They can hardly be expected to amend their stand, fundamentally irrational as it always is. A serious historian may discard one historical model in favour of another if he becomes convinced of its infeasibility, but not writers of the kind dealt with in the foregoing pages. Yet one could not afford to overlook the role such writers play in the shaping of public opinion. It would be idle to suppose that the formulation and/or acceptance of a historical interpretation can remain unaffected by current public opinion.

It would be interesting to sample some of the scholarly writings on Buddhism published in the decades immediately following the work of Hardy and Bigandet. Though these writers are scarcely mentioned by name, their presence can be felt palpably. Owing to the limitations of time, I
will content myself with touching upon only two instances. The first concerns the replies given by scholarly writers to Hardy and Bigandet, without naming them; the second is about the manner in which this emotional onslaught against Buddhism came in the way of an objective understanding of this great tradition.

In his Hibbert Lectures, T.W. Rhys Davids appears to have the last quotation from Bigandet in mind when he observes, "For the first time in the history of the world, it [i.e. Buddhism] proclaims a salvation which each man could gain for himself, and by himself, in this world, during this life, without the least reference to God or gods, either great or small." What was in Bigandet's eyes a 'capital and revolting error' of Buddhism became one of its merits in the eyes of a non-fanatical humanist, Oldenberg, similarly, feels concerned with another aspect. After stating that "It is not incorrect to say that Buddhism disaffirms the existence of soul", he hastens to add, "but this cannot be understood in a sense which would in any way give this thought a materialistic stamp. It might be said with equal propriety that Buddhism denies the existence of body." No contemporary Buddhologist bothers to add such apologetic words.

A number of factors combined to make a satisfactory interpretation of early Buddhist ideas difficult. Impact of the kind of writings we have been sampling in the foregoing pages, in my opinion, is not the least of them. Since there was a real danger of Buddhism falling a prey to gross misunderstanding, a number of savants—Max Mueller, Monier-Williams and Otto Schrader among them—decided to do something. And materialism can be countered only by spiritualism! As Hardy and Bigandet were trying to paint Buddhism in materialistic colours, their rectifiers, so to speak, chose the other extreme and started spiritualising the entire gamut of early Buddhism. They did their best to obliterate all differences between the Upanishadic thought
and Buddhism. Denial of self became restricted to the phenomenal world, leaving noumenal self beyond its purview. Salvation became merger with world soul, a notion not at all at variance with the Upanishadic. All this was done mostly on not-very-convincing grounds. One kind of bias was sought to be cancelled out by another kind of bias. The spiritualistic predilections of these scholars and those who followed them - Mrs. Rhys Davids, Radhakrishnan, Ananda Coomaraswamy, et al. - were also responsible for these interpretations. But one look at the writings of Max Mueller would be enough to convince one that the acquittal of Buddhism from being considered materialistic did not have a little to do with his efforts. Of course, like Hardy and Bigandet the others also did not regard themselves biased. The irony of the situation cannot be missed by one who remembers the Buddha’s insistence on, and pride in, avoiding the two extremes and opting for the middle path.

References

3. Hardy, R. S., Eastern Monachism, 1860, p. 308.
5. Ibid., p. 413.
Eighteen

Vilification of Indian Muslims

MOHAMMAD YASIN

HISTORY has been understood differently, written in a variety of ways and harnessed to serve various interests. The ideal of history has, almost invariably, been lost sight of. The true concept of history as a scientific mode of enquiry into the events of the past, has received a rude shock in the case of Indian history.

The history of India is usually divided into three periods: ancient, medieval and modern, which are also termed Hindu, Muslim and British. The history of ancient India suffers from want of adequate data; it also suffers from a sentimental interpretation of events which aims at glorifying the past, as if the present generation could claim credit for the deeds of their ancestors.

Let us now examine the case of medieval India. The events of that period were mainly chronicled by the Muslims. That is, the ruling class itself recorded its doings and actions. These records generally serve as the source material for reconstructing Indo-Muslim history. The Muslim chroniclers looked at things from the viewpoint of a conqueror and suffered from a superiority complex. As religion was the distinguishing trait of medieval times, events were interpreted from the religious point of view.
There was a common pattern of history-writing. The Muslim writers start with Hamil, that is, the praise of God, followed by a detailed narrative of the virtues of the Prophet. They take delight in mentioning how the world came into existence and Adam appeared. In detailing the events of a reign, the thing which was uppermost in their mind was that the ruler was a Muslim. As a Muslim, the ruler automatically became entitled to all the honorific titles bestowed on good Muslim rulers of the Islamic world. A Muslim owned his first duty towards his religion, Islam, hence all his acts were aimed at the glorification of that religion. Whether they actually glorified the religion is another matter. To them, India was necessarily the land of infidels, a dar-ul-harb. The chronicles laud high-handedness, injustice, and immoral acts, all because they are committed by Muslim rulers while ruling over a non-Muslim country. Drunkards, debauches and degraded kings who ruled to the disgrace of Islam and humanity in general, have been extolled. Sultan Shamsuddin Itutmish, Dalban, Alauddin Khilji and Firuz Shah Taghlaq, have been treated in the same strain as Aram Shah, Ruknuddin, Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah and a host of others. The later Mughals receive no less praises than the early Mughals—Akbar, Shajahan and Aurangzeb.

Secondly, the medieval Muslim rulers, as well as chroniclers mostly belonged to foreign stock. When any attempt was made by Indian Muslims to assert themselves or when they revolted against the foreign Muslim domination, the former were equated with non-Muslims and all their actions condemned as heresy and infidelity. This aspect of contemporary Persian sources of Medieval Indian history, calls for close scrutiny. The modern historians of Medieval India have in most cases blindly relied on the version of the Persian chroniclers because they are contemporary informants, eye-witnesses, and therefore, primary sources of information. No trouble has been taken to sift the religious and racial bias in their writings.
Vilification of Indian Muslims

MOHAMMAD YASIN

HISTORY has been understood differently, written in a variety of ways and harnessed to serve various interests. The ideal of history has, almost invariably, been lost sight of. The true concept of history as a scientific mode of enquiry into the events of the past, has received a rude shock in the case of Indian history.

The history of India is usually divided into three periods: ancient, medieval and modern, which are also termed Hindu, Muslim and British. The history of ancient India suffers from want of adequate data; it also suffers from a sentimental interpretation of events which aims at glorifying the past, as if the present generation could claim credit for the deeds of their ancestors.

Let us now examine the case of medieval India. The events of that period were mainly chronicled by the Muslims. That is, the ruling class itself recorded its doings and actions. These records generally serve as the source material for reconstructing Indo-Muslim history. The Muslim chroniclers looked at things from the viewpoint of a conqueror and suffered from a superiority complex. As religion was the distinguishing trait of medieval times, events were interpreted from the religious point of view.
Another group which undertook the study and reconstruction of Indo-Muslim history in the first half of the present century, consisted of Indian non-Muslims. It is an interesting phenomenon of medieval Indian historiography that of the Indian historians ninety-five per cent were non-Muslims. It is gratifying to note that excepting a few, all have risen above communal considerations, and their writings carry conviction. On the other hand, the Muslim historians of medieval India, during this period, betray communal leanings. Almost all have indiscriminately tried to glorify Muslim rule in India. They have also shown a distrust of the non-Muslim historians. The medieval Indian rulers were neither angels nor prophets but as the political atmosphere of India, early in the century, was surcharged with communal tension, politicians started interpreting history as the devil would quote scriptures. The confusion became worse confounded.

Since the dawn of Indian independence and the creation of Pakistan, a fresh wave of communalism has swept over Indian history-writing. Pakistani historians have justified the birth and establishment of Pakistan as a natural and logical culmination of earlier events. They have sorted out the Muslim share in the struggle for freedom. The very existence of other communities and their share in Indian polity have been ignored. The roots of Pakistani culture are traced back to Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. Pakistan has now its own volumes on the history of the freedom struggle and on the history of the area under its sway. There is nothing but praise for the record of medieval India. The Pakistani historians do not realise that true history, whether glorious or golden, is an asset to a country or a people.

The Indian historians have reacted in a different manner. In the first place, the struggle for Indian independence is presented in a way which makes it mainly a
The most glaring example of bias towards Indian Muslims is the case of Nasiruddin Khusrau Shah, who usurped power after the death of Alauddin Khilji. An ordinary reader would be intrigued if not shocked to notice that, according to the chronicles, Nasiruddin, although a Muslim, dishonoured the Holy Quran, desecrated the mosques and caused harm to the Muslim community in general. Here was a Muslim who had assumed the title of the “Support of the Faith” and did everything in his power to strike at the roots of that religion.

How did this Muslim king earn such infamy? The answer is simple. Nasiruddin Khusrau Shah was a Hindustani Muselman as opposed to, and distinguished from Iranis, Turanis, Afghans, Abyssinians and Arabs. He aimed at an indigenous government as was attempted by Sher Shah Sur later on. Instead of inquiring into the problem of the conflict between Indian Muslims and foreign Muslims, the modern historians accept the accounts of the Persian chroniclers literally, and present us with an utterly confused picture.

The first generation of historians, who tackled the problems of Medieval Indian history were mainly British. Partly on account of their ignorance of the Persian language and the medieval style of history-writing, and partly on account of their anxiety to create a cleavage between the various sections of the population, the British historians reproduced into English the material available in Persian chronicles because it suited them to do so. Instead of subjecting the material to scrutiny they took the plea that they were objective and detached and what they wrote was based on Indian sources. Elliot and Dowson’s *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, is the best example of this genre. The British historians, moreover, concentrated their attention only on the political history of the period. The English-knowing world thus, only got a lop-sided picture of the state of affairs in medieval India.
that some research institute in Maharashtra had discovered the fact that when Shivaji went to Delhi to see the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb, the latter was so discourteous as to receive the Maratha Chief in Ghusal-khana, i.e., a bath room. Shivaji naturally felt insulted and annoyed. This led to deterioration in Mughal-Maratha relations. Had Aurangzeb not committed this blunder he would surely have won the friendship of the Marathas and the downfall of the Mughal Empire would have been averted! A heated controversy started in the newspapers about Mughal-Maratha relations and the conduct of Aurangzeb. I spoiled the fun by pointing out to the enthusiasts and the so-called historians that Ghusal-khana is a word used in Persian histories for Diwan-i-Khas or the Hall of Private Audience. Certainly it is a misnomer. During Shahjahan's time, the Diwan-i-Khas of Delhi Fort was also known as Shah Mahal and Daulat Khana-i-Khas. The Ghusal-khana or the Diwan-i-Khas unlike the Diwan-i-Am, was used by the Mughal Emperors exclusively for the reception of kings, ambassadors and nobles in private audience, and for the transaction of the most important affairs of the State. Bernier says: "Few are suffered to enter the Diwan-i-Khas".

Similarly, Dr. R. C. Majumdar in his article on "Hindu Muslim Relations" (The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol VI 'The Delhi Sultanate', Bombay, 1960, pp. 615-22) has quoted the Ordinance or Code of Umar, the second Khalifah of Islam, for a fuller exposition of the Islamic theocracy, on the authority of Zakhirat-ul-Muluk of Shaikh Hamadan (vide Sources of Indian Tradition, Columbia University Press, New York, 1958, pp. 489-90). But it may be pointed out that the alleged Ordinances are not genuine and they were not heard of earlier than the eighth century of the Hijrah (cf. Steinachner, Polemische und Apologetische, etc., Leipzig, 1877, pp. 105-87; T. W. Arnold, The Preaching of Islam, Westminster, 1896, pp. 52-53. For Umar's treatment of the non-Muslims see Shibli Nu'mani,
non-Muslim affair. The basic role, according to them, was played by non-Muslims. In some irresponsible and politicised historical writings, it was argued that India became free after a lapse of a thousand years. The historically incorrect view was put forward that medieval India was ruled by foreigners. Also, as pointed out earlier, a zealous attempt was made, and the zeal has not subsided yet, to portray the ancient period as the most glorious age in the annals of Indian history. Every accomplishment of the modern times was there in Ancient India, only in a more perfect form. These historians refuse to see the point that in denying the medieval period its share of achievements the very continuity of Indian history is denied. It also means the denial of a logical process of evolution.

The glorification of Ancient India is one thing and a deliberate attempt to demolish the picture of medieval India is another. After independence an attitude of apathy and aversion towards Indo-Muslim history is also visible. The cry that Indian history needs rewriting is being used for purposes neither pious nor politic. Several series have been published; several monographs written, but the way in which they have been planned and executed reflects very adversely on the future of Indian historiography. Discovery of new facts is always welcome, for fresh interpretations are offered on the basis of new finds, but the most benevolent feature of present-day Indian history-writing is to reconstruct it upside down. Conclusions are drawn first and the facts are twisted to justify them. The tragedy of the whole situation is that these attempts are encouraged, patronised, and even financed by private and semi-public agencies and institutions. Worst of all, those who select the medieval period of Indian history for research and advanced studies, are, most of them, ignorant of Arabic, Persian and Urdu languages. They have no access to the original sources, and rely mainly on English translations which are by no means satisfactory. Let me narrate an interesting episode. A news agency flashed the report
Search for Science in the Scriptures

G H. KESVANI

Science is concerned with the discovery of truth, philosophy with the understanding of it and, if I may use a word often vulgarised, spirituality tries to live up to this truth. The Vedas, they say, are equally concerned with matters scientific (Adidarśika), spiritual (Adhyatmika) and organizational, connected with society and life (Adhi yajurveda).

The Vedas, we are told, contain the word which could shake the sensibilities of a scientist, of a philosopher and of a man stirred to discover the spirit and the true way of life. This is so because the Vedas are not religion but knowledge. The word Veda from vid, means just that. And it is said to be knowledge not merely by description but by acquaintance. It is immediate knowledge which can be realized.

The main obstacle in the understanding of the Vedas has been language. Dayanand and Aravinda, the latter rated highly the former’s insights succeeded to some extent in revealing what was itself regarded as a revealed scripture. But neither of the two was a scientist by training. They have left behind some clues and inspiration, but they had just
Al-Farooq, Lahore, 1938, pp. 193-203. The letters and farmans of Umar fully refute the allegation, cf. Hazrat Umar Farooq ke Sarkari Khutut, ed Khurshid Ahmad Fariq, Delhi, 1953)

To my mind, these are some of the problems of present-day Indian history-writing emanating from the religious bias and if the muse of history is to be saved, the communal sickness should be speedily diagnosed, treated and cured.
Let me now state my expectations of the Vedas, the Upanishads and the Gita in so far as science is concerned. If we claim that the Veda contains all scientific knowledge—at least the fundamental principles—one difficulty raises its head immediately. Since modern science is only, say, three thousand years old (four centuries would be a more correct estimate), and we shall have an opportunity to extend scientific knowledge for some billion years to come, the science in our possession is an infinitesimal fraction of what we shall discover in the long years ahead. It follows, therefore, that most of the Veda, I mean the portions containing scientific ideas, would be unintelligible at present. This is probably the case, looking at the obscure and incongruous translations in English!

However, the situation is not altogether hopeless.

The mathematics, physics, cosmology and biology, for example, known so far probably contain some ideas which will always remain valid. Let us, therefore, look for such possibly immutable ideas in the scriptures.

Perhaps the following ideas and principles of science will hold sway for all time to come, in some shape or form. Let us deliberately look out for these notions and laws in the scriptures and see if they can be identified in them. I think this could be a constructive and rewarding programme. Not that I have much to contribute in these connections. I was merely suggesting a possible scheme for search for science in the scriptures.

(I) The notion of infinity and zero

There is a beautiful definition of the infinite in the following line of a Vedic mantra, which forms the introductory verse to the Isa Upanishad:

प्रारंभम गृहम देवं रूपेश्वरस्वरूप ॥

It says: Take the whole (infinite Brahman) from the whole, and the whole still remains.
begun the work. The Sanskrit of the Vedas is different from that of the succeeding works like the Upanishads, and the more difficult. To understand the meaning of 20,349 mantras of the four Vedas, with a little more than half taken up by the Rig Veda, the appropriate grammar and rules of interpretation according to Dayanand, are contained in Panini’s Ashtadhyayi and Patanjali’s commentary on it, the Mahabhashya, and in Yaska Muni’s Nirukta. Dayanand also insisted that an understanding of the Vedas is possible only for those who are specially prepared in mind and spirit. These requirements are difficult and somewhat underlined, if not impossible. At any rate, it is obvious that only a few could approach the Vedas in the hope of full understanding. A great awakening is necessary before one could enter the Veda.

the Katha Upanishad (I. in. 14) warns us:

उत्तरतः जापत
साप्त बरास्तिरोधत ।
शुरुव मारा निशिता दुरस्थया
हुर्ग पयंताकिवो चवबिरि ॥

Incidentally, Somerset Maugham borrowed the title of one of his novels, Razor’s Edge (Kshurasya Dhara), from the Katha.

In these circumstances, one can only say that one must live out one’s desires boldly even if the task is difficult. There is the dark veil of the language and a stiff standard of scholarship and the need of a spirit prepared—all adding up to a mighty challenge. However, it is also said that soon one hears a rustle behind the veil, then the breath of life and some even claim to have seen the face on the other side. At any rate, it is refreshing to know from Aravinda that the delight of being is what the ancient seers of the Veda meant by knowledge.

Similar claims have been made for other scriptures.
(v) Quanta of electricity of two different kinds

Experiments have conclusively shown that electricity occurs in indivisible, small units and these of two opposite signs, i.e., positive and negative electricity.

Also magnets have two opposite poles, but unlike electricity, the magnetic poles always occur in pairs of the opposite.

(vi) Nuclear fission and fusion processes

As is well known transformation of matter into energy (and vice versa) takes place in the processes of nuclear fission and fusion, which are among the most important reactions in the cosmical world. What light do the scriptures shed on these fundamental reactions?

(vii) Fundamental particles of matter

The process of division of matter into smaller and smaller parts does not appear to be endless. Is this so?

It is the same problem as that of discontinuity versus continuity mentioned earlier.

(viii) Nature of various forces

Physics finds four different kinds of forces at play - gravitational, electromagnetic, strong nuclear forces at very short distances, and weak nuclear forces responsible for radioactivity. These forces are believed to arise from exchange of different types of particles, photons in the case of electromagnetic reactions, for example. Which are the fundamental forces of nature and what are the mediating particles for these forces?

There seems to be mention in the Vedas of the gravitational attraction as the basis of the stability of the solar system and some mention of electrical forces. Are the remaining two types of non-Coulombian forces fundamental?
This is almost like the mathematician Cantor's definition of infinity.

It has been claimed that the Yajur contains a siūka about zero (XL 1) but I am not sure of its meaning.

(ii) The law of inertia in mechanics

It is known experimentally that all bodies continue in their state of rest or motion, relative to inertial reference systems, when left to themselves. This is Newton's first law of motion.

(iii) Constancy of velocity of light and relativity of electromagnetic phenomena

It is now an experimentally well-established fact that the measured velocity of light has the same value, no matter what the motion of the observer relative to the source of light. This defies common sense because the velocity of light compounded with any other velocity is found to be laws of electromagnetic (note: light is propagation of an electromagnetic field) will be observed to be the same in all the same. This principle leads to the conclusion that the laws of electromagnetics (Note: light is propagation of an electromagnetic field) will be observed to be the same in all inertial, i.e., non-accelerated, reference systems.

The nature of light is perhaps the most important study in physics and surely our scriptures should say something on this subject.

(iv) The quantum of action

For the explanation of many physical phenomena, it has been found necessary to assume that action, which has the dimensions of energy x time, involved in any process, proceeds in equal jumps and not continuously. Do the scriptures throw any light on the question of continuity versus discontinuity?
(v) Quanta of electricity of two different kinds

Experiments have conclusively shown that electricity occurs in indivisible, small units and these of two opposite signs, i.e., positive and negative electricity.

Also magnets have two opposite poles, but unlike electricity, the magnetic poles always occur in pairs of the opposite.

(vi) Nuclear fission and fusion processes

As is well known, transformation of matter into energy (and vice versa) takes place in the processes of nuclear fission and fusion, which are among the most important reactions in the cosmical world. What light do the scriptures shed on these fundamental reactions?

(vii) Fundamental particles of matter

The process of division of matter into smaller and smaller parts does not appear to be endless. Is this so? It is the same problem as that of discontinuity versus continuity mentioned earlier.

(viii) Nature of various forces

Physics finds four different kinds of forces at play - gravitational, electromagnetic, strong nuclear forces at very short distances, and weak nuclear forces responsible for radioactivity. These forces are believed to arise from exchange of different types of particles, photons in the case of electromagnetic reactions, for example. Which are the fundamental forces of nature and what are the mediating particles for these forces?

There seems to be mention in the Vedas of the gravitational attraction as the basis of the stability of the solar system and some mention of electrical forces. Are the remaining two types of non-Coulombian forces fundamental?
(ix) Nature of the chemical bond

Existence of different types of matter and life itself are dependent on chemical bonds. Is there any discussion of these bonds in the scriptures?

(x) Various conservation laws

In physics a number of laws are known according to which certain quantities or entities remain conserved no matter what the reactions and transformations may be. For example, energy and its equivalent matter are conserved. Surely, the scriptures should comment on the principles of conservation if they do talk about science at all.

(xi) The origin and career of the universe

There is something definite in the scriptures. The Vedas and Upanishads have unequivocally projected an oscillating cosmological model, involving creation and dissolution endlessly. In fact, Dayanand following clues contained in the Vedas, estimated in the last century that the Vedas were created 1.96 billion solar years ago. Tilak made astronomical calculations to show that during the Vedic period Aryans had homes in the arctic region and this on the basis of the position of stellar constellations mentioned in the Vedas. But more research is needed here.

(xii) Origin of life, evolution, mutation, genetics, etc

These are central issues in biology and the scriptures must dwell on these, if science is also their province.

(xlii) Brain mechanism, memory, etc.

How does the brain function? This is still a mystery to us. Is there light on this, in the scriptures?

(xiv) Karma and rebirth

The Indian scriptures are replete with references to the law of \( k\) and rebirth which continue until an individual
soul attains salvation. But the theory of evolution has to be reconciled with the theory of karma. According to evolution human beings evolved on this earth only a few million years ago. Where were the human souls earlier?

If we assume that there is a sufficiently large number of planets in the universe with life at various stages of development, it is possible to sustain the theories of karma and evolution simultaneously. Souls could then migrate to our earth from some other distant inhabited planet. Of course, without the theory of rebirth and karma, a rational explanation for inequalities among human beings cannot be given. When the orientalist Deussen landed in Bombay, he found a happy blind beggar. When questioned by Deussen over his handicap, he said that this was merely a result of actions in the past lives.

(xv) Laws of thought

What have the scriptures to say on the thinking process, logical methods, and related ideas of sufficient reason, the principle of the excluded middle, etc.

(xvi) Phenomenon of self-consciousness

Following Descartes, we take self-consciousness for granted. Are there degrees of self-consciousness and do lower animals have some degree of self-consciousness and capacity to reflect on their own condition, past and future? Do they plan? Let us examine the scriptures to see if there are any corresponding ideas or answers to these questions.

(xvii) Death awareness

The knowledge of death has been held by some, including Patanjali, to imply rebirth. A more detailed analysis of this situation appears necessary. What do the older scriptures say?
(ix) Nature of the chemical bond

Existence of different types of matter and life itself are dependent on chemical bonds. Is there any discussion of these bonds in the scriptures?

(x) Various conservation laws

In physics a number of laws are known according to which certain quantities or entities remain conserved no matter what the reactions and transformations may be. For example, energy and its equivalent matter are conserved. Surely, the scriptures should comment on the principles of conservation if they do talk about science at all.

(xi) The origin and career of the universe

There is something definite in the scriptures. The Vedas and Upanishads have unequivocally projected an oscillating cosmological model, involving creation and dissolution endlessly. In fact, Dayanand following clues contained in the Vedas, estimated in the last century that the Vedas were created 1.96 billion solar years ago. Tilak made astronomical calculations to show that during the Vedic period Aryans had homes in the arctic region and this on the basis of the position of stellar constellations mentioned in the Vedas. But more research is needed here.

(xii) Origin of life, evolution, mutation, genetics, etc.

These are central issues in biology and the scriptures must dwell on these, if science is also their province.

(xiii) Brain mechanism, memory, etc.

How does the brain function? This is still a mystery to us. Is there light on this, in the scriptures?

(xiv) Karma and rebirth

The Indian scriptures are replete with references to the law of karma and rebirth which continue until an individual
Inner transformation

This is a most important question and a variety of answers are given by the Indian scriptures, particularly the Gita, for accomplishing this transformation. The brotherhood of man is announced by the Gita, not on the basis of biological similarity, but spiritual identity.

Three-fold division

The words sattva, rajas and tamas seem to state categories which are applicable in physics (energy propagated with the velocity of light, other forms of energy, and matter) and in psychology alike.

Concluding remark

The purpose of this short essay is to suggest that we should studiously look for well-established principles or ideas of current science and see if there are corresponding ideas in the scriptures to support, or otherwise, the "assertion often made that ancient scriptures contain the germ of all science."
No doubt, the possibility of rebirth makes death more acceptable. In fact, the rishi of the Isa-Upanishad welcomes death when it comes, in the following words:

वायुरतिलमोत्तमे भर्मात्सरीरिषि ।
अ कर्तो समर कुनेन समर कर्तो समर क्रससमर ||१७||

Let my breath mix with the eternal air and let my body be burnt. And then I will recount all that happened in the past.

It appears that the West has not yet reached a stage where fundamental principles of the discipline of psychology can be clearly stated. At any rate, psychological analysis of the Indian scriptures would appear somewhat novel to western societies.

(xviii) Necessity, free-will and chance

The position and interplay of these three factors have been stated unequivocally in the Gita. In reply to Arjun’s question as to what determines action, i.e., the future, Krishna said:

अपविष्टान समपर करानं च पूणविधवतं ।
विविदाष्ट्र पूष्कन्त्या देव चंबाल पञ्चवतं ||१५||

The place, the doer (physiological self), agencies of various kinds, one’s own efforts and besides these, the fifth called the divine dispensation (call it chance).

Where we are (Sahara; New York), what we are (old, young, blind, in possession of vision), and the wherewithal we have (an aeroplane; a bullock cart), are the karmic load of the past. The fourth determinant is our desires and efforts. But there is another element, a cosmic element, because the future of an individual is also subject to the unknown state of the whole universe, over which he has little control.
thinking of Mujaddid Alf-i-Sami that "Shariat is under the shadow of the sword." Sayyid Ahmed started his movement in 1820 with his two lieutenants Maulana Mohammad Ismail and Maulana Abdul Haiy on his tour of the eastern parts of modern Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Bengal, preaching the gospel of true Islam, enrolling disciples, persuading the Muslims to stick to the Shariat and inviting them to Jihad-f-i-sabi-lilah.

Sir Sayyid's movement gathered momentum after his return from Haj in 1823, where he was presented with arms, ammunition and guns to fight against the unbelievers. On his way home he also purchased war material for his arsenal. He started a regular movement for jihad (holy war) in 1825. On January 10, 1826 with about six hundred mujahids, he migrated (hijrat) from India, as it was, according to him, dar-ul-harb. His belief was that an unbeliever was an enemy of God, whatever his religion may be; Jihad was not possible while remaining in dar-ul-harb (India). He could not muster support from the Muslim states of Sindh, Baluchistan, and Afghanistan. Finally, he encamped at Naushera (Naushabra) on December 19, 1826 on the Northwest frontier. Here the response was favourable. He started Jihad against the Sikh ruler, Ranjit Singh of the

3. Prinsep, Origin of the Sikh Power, etc., p. 146.
4. Hughes, Dictionary of Islam, S.V
6. Holy, Warners
7. Latif, Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, pp. 319, 320-322
8. Ibid., pp. 319, 320-322
11. Foreign Department Political Proceedings, No. 32, dated 30th March, 1827.
Nation, Islam or Muslims?  
Sir Sayyid Ahmad’s Choice

MADHVI YASIN

BEFORE the advent of British rule in India, Hindus and Muslims had lived side by side for about a thousand years in distinct social compartments, accommodating each other’s religious beliefs. They were conscious of their social and religious identities. However, the development of modern politics, involving a relentless struggle between Indian nationalism and British imperialism, gave rise to Muslim nationalism, in which religion dominated other considerations.

Two important personalities bearing similar names, contributed their mite to the course this complex problem followed. It did not take long for the Muslim kingdoms to be swept away by the advancing tide of British Imperialism. Islam had reached its nadir, due to moral lapses, degeneration and social abuses among the Muslims. It had become the sick man of India. Sayyid Ahmad (1746-1831) who preceded Sir Sayyid Ahmad (1817-98), was inspired by the school of thought of Shah Waliullah and his son Shah Abdul Aziz but shaped them in a practical way to usher in a political system based on social justice in consonance with the Islamic law.¹ His militant nature was more in tune with the

¹ “And, I created iron which is very dangerous in the form of weapons”. Quran, 57:25.
whether good or bad, important or trivial acquired from the Hindus, and reversion to purely Arab traditions of the Prophet's time made the two communities drift apart. "From this movement a current of thought has continued to flow which has strengthened isolationist tendencies and exclusiveness." 16 Fifthly, the faraiziyah movement in East Bengal around 1831, which aimed at purifying Islam of idolatrous customs and superstitions was reinforced by the followers of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid. Finally, his martyrdom ceased the militancy of his followers, and directed their energies to the revivisitist movements among the Muslims by peaceful channels of Tabligh. But whether Jihad or Tabligh, both did immeasurable harm to the forces of integration and communal harmony. The political result of Sayyid Ahmad's movement was disastrous for the Muslims, as they became suspect in the eyes of the Government, and lost their confidence. 17

Later, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan exhorted Muslims to change their religious outlook and discard their opposition to western education, and reconcile themselves to the changing environment.

Sir Sayyid's contribution to the shaping of the destiny of the Muslims in India had won encomiums from the scholars not only of India and Pakistan, but also from those of Islamic history all over the world. The Muslims in the Indian sub-continent today, owe to him their boldness, courage, imaginativeness, sustained efforts and enterprise. He is the doyen of Muslim nationalism and the father of renaissance and reformation of Islam in India.

15 Ibid
17. A speech in Persian with English translation on pernicious and necessity of promoting knowledge in India, Ghareebwala, the Mohammadan Literary Society, 1863, p. 13.
Punjab. He wished that after getting a foothold in the Punjab, he would fight against the British and would expel them from India. The British connived at the religious war against their ally, Ranjit Singh. The statesman in the British was happy to find Indians fighting against Indians which was to their advantage. Sayyid Ahmad was not a statesman, but a true representative of militant Islam, who literally propagated the gospel of his faith with the Quran in one hand and sword in another. He died fighting in the battle of Balakot on May 6, 1831. His martyrdom (shahadat) is praiseworthy, but untimely and unstatesmanlike. He committed the same mistake, which 37 years before was committed by Shah Waliullah in inviting Abdali to crush the Marathas. In both the events the ultimate beneficiaries were the British. Thus he unwittingly helped the British, whom he also wanted to destroy, by weakening the Sikh power and making them the enemies of the Muslims.

Sayyid Ahmad’s movement, purely Indian in character, profoundly influenced the future course of Indian history. Firstly, the movement was not the result of inspiration from outside, but from within India. Secondly, it retarded the progress of the composite Mughal culture, tradition and heritage, which had flourished even during the later Mughal Emperors—the fusion of two great cultures and civilisations Hinduism and Islam. Thirdly, the movement would not have regenerated the sagging spirit of the Muslim community had he not changed its direction. For “Jihad: was the need of the hour but not with the sword, nor directed towards non-Muslims. The Jihad would have been better waged within the Muslim society itself.” Fourthly, it gave a strong impetus to separatist tendencies in Indian society. His emphasis on the rejection of all customs and habits

14 Yasin, Mohd., Studies: Historical and Cultural, p. 156.
interpretation is that the European civilization totally overwhelmed him, while his unrestrained flattery of the British is interpreted as opportunism and sycophancy. In reality he was genuinely convinced that the salvation of the Muslims lay in discarding the medieval outlook, and the adoption of a modernist approach.

The third phase of Loyalism from 1887 to 1898 was the period of Muslim political separatism in the wake of the birth of the Indian National Congress and its demands for political concessions. Sir Sayyid's bold opposition to the Congress was not only appreciated, but encouraged by the British, Sir Sayyid dubbed the Congress as a Hindu body in the interests of its own community. In 1867, began the Hindustani controversy, and in the same year, he pointed out to a British friend, a civil servant, that the widening cultural and linguistic gulf between the two communities would block the composite development of a single nationhood.

The educational programme conceived by Sir Sayyid in 1859, metamorphosed the intellectual, economic and political life of the Muslims. His achievements in the educational field earned him the title of "Raja Kam Mohan Rai of

20 Graham, op. cit., pp. 183-84, Sir Sayyid in a letter from London, dated 15th October, expressed supreme contempt for Indians. He wrote, "without flattering the English, I cannot say that the natives of India, high and low, merchants and petty shop-keepers, educated and illiterate, when contrasted with the same are at like them."


Sir Sayyid took over the leadership of his community, at a time, when the Muslims felt frustrated over the fact that the Hindus had stolen a march over them in every sphere of life. He set about the task of rejuvenating his community economically, culturally and politically through western education and the removal of British suspicion of the Muslims. He stood for loyalty in politics and modernism in institutions. His three works, the *History of the Mutiny in Bynore* (1858), *Ashab-i-baghawat-i-Hind* (Causes of the Indian Mutiny, 1858) and the *Loyal Mohammadans of India* (1860) were the birthpangs of the new movement.

His programme to win the rulers for his community, and to ensure the loyalty of his community to the rulers may be divided into three stages, 1859 to 1870, 1870 to 1884 and 1887 to 1898. The first stage was essentially a politically stabilizing factor and was aimed at changing the attitudes of both the rulers and the Mussalmans, the former from hostility to paternalism and the latter from opposition to loyalty.  

The second phase involved cautious political handling to wean away Muslims from a Pan Islamic ideology, which Sayyid Ahmad Khan considered as dangerous political adventurism. He made it quite clear that the Muslims owed their primary loyalty to the British government, which had ensured peace and religious freedom in India. Muslims were not the subjects of Sultan Abdul Hamid of Turkey. He was only a Muslim king and not their khalifa. This attitude of Sir Sayyid has been variously interpreted. Some say that he had come to believe that the British rule in India had become a permanent feature. Another

---

18 Akbar Mazumder, I, pp. 162, 174, 175

He gathered round him a galaxy of enthusiastic workers whose sincerity and devotion to the Aligarh Movement, was a source of great strength to him. Chiragh Ali, Nazir Ahmad, Zaka Ullah and Altaf Hussain Hali were renowned scholars, whereas Muhsin-ul-Mulk and Vaqar-ul-Mulk later on became the champions of Muslim separatism in Indian political life.  

The Aligarh Movement had three objectives—educational, religious, and political. The first and third objectives were very successful but the second objective—that of Islamic religious reformation remained unfulfilled. It was not only the orthodox Ulama who vehemently disagreed with Sir Sayyid’s religious views, but also some of his own trusted lieutenants, who were staunch supporters of his educational policy.

The Aligarh Movement, like its master, is a subject of everlasting controversy. It has earned, alternatively, the epithets of political separatism and rationalism based upon western learning. R. C. Majumdar is of the view that the foundation of the Aligarh Movement was based upon the principle of separatism, i.e., the Hindus and Musalmans were two separate political entities with different outlooks and conflicting interests. Dr. M. S. Jain similarly feels

30. Jain, M.S., The Aligarh Movement, p. 117. He writes, “Sir Sayyid’s supposed advocacy of Hindu-Muslim unity is a myth... The concept of a united Indian nationality never crossed his mind”, and all those statements which advocate Hindu-Muslim unity were a “mask to secure financial assistance for the MAO college from the Hindus”. The Aligarh Institute Gazette makes a revelation. Its issue of June 23, 1871 contains a statement that “by the pretext of this (Hindu-Muslim) Unity we get our work done” (Khaloof-i-Sir Sayyid, pp. 219-20), quoted in M.S. Jain, The Aligarh Movement p. 141.
Muslim India. In 1864, he founded a scientific society at Ghazipur for the introduction of western sciences primarily among Muslims in India. He also established a school, which later on became famous as Victoria College. When he was transferred to Aligarh, he took along with him the office of the newly founded society.

After his return from London, the first work he did was the publication of a journal Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq, named after the famous ethical treatise of Ibn Miskaway. The scope varied from public hygiene, social reform, reconstruction of religious thought to remodelling of the educational system. He started a process of modernisation and rational interpretation of Islam through its columns, but it was unfortunate that owing to opposition he had to stop the publication of the journal in 1878. Then he directed all his energies into more practical channels—the rehabilitation of the community in favour of the government so as to retrieve the economic condition of the Muslim upper classes.

The keystone of the Aligarh movement was the Mohammadan Anglo Oriental College founded in 1875, popularly known as M.A.O. College. The Aligarh Institute Gazette and Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq were the edifices and Mohammadan Educational Conference, the wing of the Aligarh Movement. The college, besides being a seat of learning, served also as a centre of the political, cultural and literary life of the elite Muslims. Sir Sayyid's life mission achieved its goal. His object on the educational side was that the Muslims should not only learn western education; but also assimilate the most perfect civilization.

25. He was an aristocrat and therefore all his efforts were to be for the betterment of the Upper Muslim Class.
26. The College was founded on 27th December, 1876.
27. cf, Hussain, S. Abd, The Destiny of Indian Muslims, p 32.
Some scholars are of the opinion that his speeches in the Punjab were motivated by financial considerations. They feel he resorted to flattery as he was collecting funds for his college mostly from rich Hindus. This is not only uncharitable but also unhistorical, because even after his college was well set to progress, he was still making speeches in favour of Hindu-Muslim unity.  

However, during the third phase of loyalism, from 1887 until his death in 1898, Sir Sayyid openly criticised the Congress. This period is termed as that of political separatism of the Muslims. One should also keep in mind the psychology of Sir Sayyid. He had passed through a traumatic period during and after the mutiny. He had seen the heavy hand of reprisal ruining a class which had enjoyed prestige and power. The victory of the English against the mutineers convinced him that the English were invincible. Enmity to them would bring ruin and disaster, whereas their friendship would bring rewards. The best way out was to be loyal to the English. He had a very difficult time in making his intransigent community to veer round to his view. For this he quoted the Quran, which did not forbid Muslims to have any social contacts with the Christians. They could interdine. He set the example by dining with them. He took to western-style living. Similarly, he broke the spell of the caliphate from

36. First phase from 1859 to 1870, second phase from 1870 to 1884.
38. Ahmad, Aziz, op. cit., p 36. "The theologians frowned and majority looked askance at his eating with the English masters, but he killed contrary to the prescribed Muslim ritual, a position for which he offered a scholarly apologetic defence in his treatise on eating with the people of the book."
39. Ibid. It gave rise to some biting satire from friends and foes, such as a novel by his protégé Nazir Ahmad, Ibn al-Waqit (The time-server), and some facetious verses by the brilliant conservative poet Akbar Allahabadi.
that the Aligarh Movement was "a separatist movement from the very beginning."31

The Aligarh Movement became a panacea to cure the ills and deep frustrations of the Muslim mind. It cleared the cobwebs of misunderstanding in the minds of the rulers towards the Muslims. The Muslims also regained their lost confidence in themselves. The alumni of M.A.O. College were considered as a bulwark to the British Imperialism in India. The Muslim and Hindu positions vis-a-vis the British changed owing to the efforts of Sir Sayyid. The Hindus with the nationalistic consciousness became an eye-sore to the British government. For this very reason, Lord Salisbury, the Prime Minister of Britain, set aside Dufferin's proposal for elective system as dangerous, "We shall, in no way please the classes on whose good will the submission of India depends; we shall not reconcile with our enemies, but we shall give them arms against ourselves."32 The movement brought instant dividends in the form of steady increase in the number of educated Muslims in government services.

Dr. Tarachand is of the opinion that Sir Sayyid's liberalism began to erode after the birth of the Congress in 1885. His writings and speeches until 1883, harped on Hindu-Muslim unity. He laid emphasis on the composite culture, which had evolved in the course of centuries of contact. Urdu language is one of its products.33 He defined the meaning of Hindu in the words: "Every one who lives in India has the right to call himself a Hindu."34

31 Op cit, pp 138-141
34. Akhti Mazamin, op. cit., pp. 56-57
for the loaves and fishes brought into clash the interests of the educated Hindus and Muslims. Sir Sayyid contemptuously discarded the demands of the Congress for representative government and competitive examinations. The Muslims of all shades and opinions, except a few, stood solidly behind him as a man against the Congress. He also took concrete steps to check its popularity by founding the United Indian Patriotic Association, which had Muslims, Hindus and English on its roll. He also founded on December 27, 1886, the Annual Muslim Educational Conference for weaning away the Muslims from the Congress. The Conference went a long way in imparting solidarity and cohesion within the Muslim society. The United Indian Patriotic Association did not last for long, owing to communal disturbances in 1893 in many parts of India including Bombay. On the debris of the United Indian Patriotic Association Beck founded the Muhammadan Defence Association, of which he and Sayyid Mahmud became Secretaries. This body, according to Beck, was the need of the hour to fight against the Congress.

He also took credit for having "contributed something towards the cause I have made specially my own, that of the Indian Mohammedans." On his return to England he persuaded Lord Randolph Churchill that Indian Muslims had not been justly treated. He thought that Churchill's visit as Secretary of State for India in 1885 marked a turning point in the official policy towards the Indian Muslims.

42. Aligarh Institute Gazette, 28 August, 1888, Vol. II. The aims of the patriotic Association were: (a) to let the British public know by means of "pamphlets and other papers", the mis-statements of the Congress that "All the nations of India and the Indian chiefs and rulers agree with the aims and objects of the National Congress." (b) to inform the members of Parliament and newspapers of Great Britain of Muslim opinion and their Society which opposed the "object of the National Congress." (c) to strengthen British rule and to remove "bad feelings" stirred up by the supporters of the Congress in India.

the Muslim minds. Several storms came in the way of his enterprise, such as the humiliation of the Ottoman Empire by the Russians in 1878, the British hold over Egypt—a Muslim state, the deposition of the Khedive and the defeat of Arabi Pasha in 1881, the second Afghan war in 1878, capture of the Persian gulf jointly by the British and the Russians, the coming of Sayyid Jamal-al-Din Afghani in 1879-80, for the third time to India, to incite the Muslim to fight for independence and who mounted a fierce opposition to Sir Sayyid, but he weathered all of them with courage and fortitude. The British diplomacy gradually restored its lost position in the Islamic world. In India they started rapprochement with the Muslims, though no definite date could be ascertained for this change.

In 1885, the Indian National Congress was born, as a result of the influence of Western political institutions, and Indian nationalistic fervour. When Badruddin Tyabji was elected to preside over the Congress session of 1887, Sir Sayyid felt that his edifice of loyalty was going to crack up. The first Congress had passed three resolutions, considered to be damaging by Sir Sayyid. The resolutions were for the demands of reform and expansion of the supreme and provincial legislative Councils on elective principle, appointment of an ad hoc commission to review and revise political system in India, and holding of civil service examination in India. The British diehard naturally resented representative government, as it would mean sharing of power. They fanned the fears of Sir Sayyid that the representative form of government would prove suicidal to the interests of the Muslims. The competition

41. Blunt W.S., India under Lord Ripon, London, 1909, pp. 103-4. He goaded them to assert themselves. He said, "I told them if the Mohammedans only knew their power they would not be neglected and ill-treated by the Government as they now were."
third Congress at Madras. Lord Dufferin, who had come to an understanding with Sir Sayyid personally tried to influence Tyabji but without success. But Tyabji's overtures to veer Sir Sayyid round to his views also ended in failure. Sir Sayyid's vituperation against the Congress went on unabated. He said that the Congress was against the interests of Muslims as well as those of Indians. He declared that he objected to "every congress in any shape or form which regards India as a nation". Sir Sayyid's hold on the Muslims went on waxing, and that of Tyabji waning to such an extent that Tyabji's own organisation, the Anjuman-i-Islam mounted an offensive against the Congress. In desperation Tyabji wrote to Hume that the top Muslim leaders like the Nizam, Munirul Mulk, Fateh Nawab Jung and above all Sayyid Husain Belgrami have joined Sir Sayyid Ahmad's camp, hence it was "useless saying that the intelligent and educated Mohammedans are in favour of the Congress." The Congressmen ought to realise, "that the overwhelming majority of the Muslims are against us... the movement ipso facto ceases to be a general or national congress." The bureaucracy was successful in silencing Tyabji by appointing him the justice of the Bombay High Court in 1895.

Except for microscopic element of the Muslim community, the rest joined Sir Sayyid in criticising the Congress Aligarh Institute Gazette which led the attack lost no opportunity in reprinting the criticisms of the Congress by other papers. The Central National Muhammadan Association of Bengal, the Muhammadan Literary Society of Calcutta, the Anjuman-i-Islamia of Madras, the Dindigul Anjuman and the Muhammadan Central Association, Punjab, joined Sir Sayyid in the tirade against Congress.

48 Babadur Lal, Muslim League, p. 4.
Sir Sayyid was against competitive examination for the services, but favoured the retention of the statutory services which had given fifteen out of forty-eight places to the Muslims. His argument against the institution of competitive examination was that the Hindus and Muslims being backward the harvest would be reaped by the Bengali Hindus. He further argued that the representative system would prove a bane for the Muslims, as for every Muslim there would be four Hindus. Sir Sayyid appealed to the Muslims to have no truck with Congress. He categorised the Congress as a movement run by the Bengalis for the Bengalis. In his speech in 1883, in the Governor General's Council, he exhorted the government to save the interests of the smaller community. He also played upon the fears of the government that the ignorant Muslim public will hold the government responsible for introducing such an invidious system.

Sir Sayyid badly mauled those Muslim leaders, who showed any inclination to side with the Congress. He joined issue with Badruddin Tyabji, who presided over the

44. Syed Ahmad's speech before the Second Muslim Conference, Lucknow, quoted in Ram Gopal, *Indian Mussalmans*, p. 66. His analysis was: "Our country is not fit for the competitive examinations; there is a marked disparity in the educational attainments of various people - Muslims are educationally backward; the Hindus of this province are backward compared to the Bengalis.

45. Speech at Lucknow, 28 December, 1887. Sayyid Ahmad Khan on the present state of Indian politics (Allahabad 1888), pp. 11-12. "If you accept that the country should groan under the yoke of Bengali rule and its people lick the Bengali shoes, then in the name of God jump into the train, sit down and be off to Madras."

46. Coupland, R., *The Indian Problem*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1944, Part I, p. 156, "and the ignorant public would hold government responsible for introducing measures which might make the differences of race and creed more violent than ever."
intelligence. Undoubtedly Beck and Sir Sayyid supplemented and complemented each other. Some critics have blamed the Congress leaders for not winning over Sir Sayyid by appeasing him with an offer to become the president of the Congress. This charge also holds no ground. K. A. Nizami has produced three letters which testify to the fact that efforts in this direction were made by Congressites. That Sir Sayyid, who was thinking of migrating after 1857, overcome by the deep sense of frustration and grief at the government's reprisal could have joined the government when it was showering favours upon his community, is a thinking which defies all explanation and reason.

One viewpoint is that Sir Sayyid highlighted and projected cultural and religious differences which already existed in the sub-continent. Another is that Muslim separatism really started after the British conceded separate electorates to the Muslims in 1909. Some historians have given credence to the first and rejected partially the second as illogical. They assert that the British did not create the Hindu Muslim differences, but only exploited the differences which already existed. This could be gleaned through two books representing the Hindu and the Muslim ways of thinking and attitudes—Anandmath and Musaddas.

33. Nizami, K. A., Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Delhi, 1966, pp. 142-43. In a letter, dated December 5, 1885, Bunkerji requested Sir Sayyid to attend the national conference at Calcutta in the words, "No assembly of national delegates would be complete without your presence."
34. Anandmath written by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, was translated by Chandra Sen Gupta, Calcutta, n.d., and by Paliwala Mohan Neech, with the title The Abyss of Despair, 1882.
ideology. Even Sayyid Ahmad’s co-religionists who differed from his views on religious, educational and social matters and opposed him violently, followed him in politics and preserved their isolation from the Congress. Many reasons have been assigned for the change, as the cow-protection revivalist movements, Hindi-Urdu controversy, assertion of religious privileges on the occasion of religious festivals and holy days when the Hindu and Muslim festivals fell together, and the influence of Beck. Dr. Tara Chand is of the opinion that the Hindi-Urdu controversy gave a severe blow to Sir Sayyid’s desire for communal unity. The British bureaucracy preferred Hindi to Urdu. Sir Sayyid’s translation society, which at first had some Hindu support split when Shiv Prasad, a champion of Hindi proposed that Devanagari should be used in their translations. The emergence of the Congress was the last straw. The spirit of exclusiveness and isolation created a gulf between the two communities such as had not existed in the past and which even the common knowledge of western thought was unable to bridge.

The other factors, namely, Hindu revivalist movement and cow-protection were not the main issues in changing the attitude of Sir Sayyid, except in widening the cleavage which was already there. Hindu revivalist movement with accent on “back to the Vedas” and the assertion of Hindu superiority, aroused a sense of fear in the Muslim community. This, combined with the educational and the intellectual imbalance which persisted for a long time, was largely responsible for the conflict and the tension that arose between the two communities. Similarly, to charge Beck for a change in Sir Sayyid is to underestimate Sir Sayyid’s

49 Tara Chand, op cit, p 380.
50 Majumdar, A K. Advent of Independence, Bombay, 1963, PP. 41-2, 57, n. 5.
51 Sayed B. Khalid, op. cit., p. 4.
Regional Bias in South Indian History

A.V. Narasimha Murthy

A large number of regional histories have been written in the last two decades, which relate to some aspect or another of the present day states of Tamilnadu, Andhra, Karnataka and Kerala. Ancient Karnataka was larger than what it is today and included parts of present-day Maharashtra up to the river Narmada as testified by inscription written in the Kannada language and script found in that area in hundreds. This is also confirmed by some of the literary works in Kannada which define the boundaries of Karnataka in the ancient period, as a land between the Kaveri and the Narmada rivers.\(^1\) Thus for the present discussion, parts of Maharashtra are also included. Majority of modern writings are dynastic and political histories each confining its attention to a particular dynasty. In a way the authors have tried to project the personality and glory of their native states through these dynastic histories. Intentionally or otherwise they have attempted to glorify the culture of their region at the expense of the neighbouring states. This

---

1. *Karvaṇajamogha*, a work of the eighth century A.D., and attributed to the Rashtrakuta king Nrupatunga, is the first Kannada work to define the boundary in this way.
Satavahanas belonged to Karnataka. Two decades ago Bellary was included in the then Andhra state and did not form a part of Karnataka. But it came to be included in Karnataka, owing to the report of the States Reorganisation Committee. This clearly demonstrates the danger involved in accepting modern political boundaries for the purpose under discussion.

Let us examine the question of the origin of the Sevunas of Devagiri, more popularly known as the Yadavas of Devagiri. R.G. Bhandarkar⁴ and A.S. Altekar⁵ propounded the Maratha origin of Sevunas. According to the latter, the early patrimony of the Sevunas and their later capital Devagiri are situated in present-day Maharashtra. Hence he concluded that they were Marathas. In other words, the locations in present-day Maharashtra, of Chandradityapura, the early capital and Devagiri, the later capital was the most important evidence for Altekar. But recent historians of Karnataka have argued at length to show that the Sevunas were Kannadigas on the basis of the personal names of the kings and the queens of this dynasty, their Kannada titles, their matrimonial relationship with contemporary Karnataka dynasties, their patronage to Kannada literature, the Kannada language, and script of the majority of their inscriptions, and the fact that their kingdom included most parts of ancient and present-day Karnataka.⁶ Thus the evidence is more in favour of Karnataka than Maharashtra. It is not our purpose to examine the arguments of the two schools but to understand how a bias seems to be at work in their theories.

Similar is the approach of the historians of Tamilnada and Karnataka with regard to the origin of the western

---

tendency has assumed significant and alarming proportions in recent years and deserves to be noticed and checked if the history of southern India has to be studied in proper perspective and free of regional bias.

The regional bias can be noticed under different headings. Firstly we may consider the problem of determining the origin of many of the great dynasties that ruled in southern India. This gave ample scope to historians to exhibit their regional bias. In determining the origins of royal dynasties, the theory of the sons of the soil has been carried too far. Unfortunately the origins of ancient and medieval dynasties have been decided on the basis of present-day boundaries. This can be illustrated by concrete examples. As we know, the Satavahanas ruled over a large portion of Andhradesa, parts of Karnataka and Maharashtra. The historians of Andhra region have tried to identify the Satavahanas with the Andhras because during their most glorious days, this dynasty ruled over the entire Andhra, more or less corresponding to the present-day Andhra Pradesh\(^2\). For the Andhras, the glory of the ancient period of their region depends upon this dynasty, as a large number of fine monuments of Satavahana times at Amaravati, Nagarpurnakonda, Bhattiprolu, Sahlundam, etc., are located in Andhra Pradesh. But the historians of Karnataka have claimed the Satavahanas as belonging to their state and region. They have located Satahanikara as the original home of the Satavahanas and have identified it as a place in the Bellary district of present-day Karnataka.\(^3\) Even if it is accepted that this was the original home of the Satavahanas, a serious historian would not claim that the


\(^3\) Dr. S. Srikanta Sastry, *Collected works*, Mysore, 1978.
India is well known, N. Venkataramanayya is one of the champions of the Telugu origin, while P.B. Desai, Srikantaiah and others have argued for Karnataka. In recent years, the problem has been confounded by bringing in the name of Vidyaranya who has been identified as Kriyasakti, a well-known Pasupata saint, associated with the Sringeri matha. This theory, though untenable on the evidence of epigraphy, contemporary literature and strong tradition, has been put forward and argued with religious zeal and enthusiasm by its votaries with the sole intention to deprive the Sringeri matha of the glory of its connection with Shankaracharya and to bring in the Pasupata elements in the picture.

Thus on the question of the origin of the dynasties referred to above one can easily notice the regional bias. It is highly interesting to note that the same scholars have not championed the cause of many lesser known dynasties or of the well known feudatory families of southern India because no glory is attached to their names.

Another aspect of the regional bias is to glorify the achievements of a king of a particular dynasty as against another belonging to a different dynasty. We give a few examples: The Sevunas and the Kakatiyas fought many battles. Their political fortunes fluctuated and neither of them could establish supremacy over the other for any length of time. This fact becomes clear from the inscriptions of both the dynasties. But it is intriguing how the historians of Andhra and Karnataka manage to differ so widely on this issue. Let us examine a specific point in this connection: The Sevuna king Mahadeva (1261-70 A.D.) invaded the Kakatiya kingdom ruled by Rudramadevi. The result of this invasion is not clear from contemporary

14. Tejyavanagura: Origin of the City and the Empire
15. Founders of Tejyavanagara, Bangalore, 1933.
Gangas of Talkad. S.V. Viswanatha and Arokiyawamy have argued that the Gangas belonged to the Kongu country, corresponding to the modern districts of Coimbatore and Salem in Tamilnadu. They have derived support from a very late literary work and also from the fact that one of the early kings of the western Ganges had the name Kongunivarman, perhaps connected with Kongu country. As opposed to this a large number of historians from Karnataka including P.B. Desai, N. Lakshminarayana Rao and R.S. Panchamukhi hold the view that the original home of the western Gangas was Kolar in Karnataka and that they did not belong to Tamilnadu. Thus here too we have two groups of historians one representing the supposed interests of Tamilnadu and the other of Karnataka.

Let us examine the origin of the Hoysalas. N. Subramanian, a historian from Tamilnadu, has argued that the word Hoysala is to be derived from Tamil ‘Poy’ and has extended it further to mean ‘those who shun falsehood.’ Further, the kings of the Hoysala dynasty had names like Ballala which has been derived from vellala and therefore they belonged to the velir community, which is an ancient Tamil tribe. But this is opposed by almost all the historians of Karnataka according to whom the Hoysalas were a Kannada speaking people with their original home at Sceuvur.

The long-drawn controversy over the origin of the Vijayanagara kingdom among the historians of southern

9 P.B. Desai, Jainism in South India, p. 224
10 N. Lakshminarayana Rao and R.S. Panchamukhi, Karnataka arasumanet imagalu, p. 109
11 Ibid.
13 The Hoysala Dynasty, p. 38.
capital. In A.D. 674 he was camping at Uragaspura on the southern bank of Kaveri which indicates that by this time he was successful in overrunning the enemy’s (Pallavas) country. But this is contradicted by Nilakanta Sastri and others who say that Parameswaravarman I put to flight the large army of Vikramaditya in a battle at Perunvalanallur and even captured Badami. According to Periyapuranam, the general Paranjoti Srusottondar brought much booty from Badami. Such contradictions abound in the history of these two kingdoms.

We notice similar instances when reviewing the conflicts between the Chalukyas of Kalyana and the Cholas. But here the modern historian is in a more advantageous position because the inscriptions of the respective dynasties claim victory for themselves. For example, the Chola and the Chalukya records each claim victory for their king in the same battle. This applies, for instance, to the inscriptions which speak of the battle of Koppam in which the Chola Rajadhiraja was killed. But what is noteworthy is that neither the historians of the Cholas nor of the Chalukyas of Kalyana try to verify the truth of the statements made in the inscriptions before accepting them. Thus very conveniently, the historians of both the dynasties throw the blame on the inscriptions and accept whatever is suitable to them.

The entire history of southern India is replete with such bias, which we may define as the regional bias. This can be rectified only when we look upon southern India as a relatively homogeneous entity and not as consisting of four regional groups based on languages. Unless it is done the historians of southern India will not be able to project a correct and proper image of their history and culture. The examples chosen here are at random and such instances can be multiplied indefinitely.

But the historians of Andhra have argued that Rudramadevi defeated Mahadeva who submitted and agreed to pay gold coins as war indemnity. Rudramadevi chased the Sevuna forces up to their capital Devagiri and destroyed three lakh infantry and one lakh cavalry. Strangely enough, not a single inscription of either Rudramadevi or her successors mention this feat. The historians of Andhra have made use of a seventeenth century laudatory chronicle to support their view. They have even characterised the Sevuna gold coins found in Andhra as part of the war indemnity paid by Mahadeva to Rudramadevi, though the hoard of coins in question contains later coins also, thereby proving that the hoard itself was not contemporaneous with but later than the incident referred to. However, the glorification of Rudramadevi seems to be more important. On the other hand, the historians of Karnataka do not accept the above account as historical. They treat the entire incident as a small skirmish between Rudramadevi and Mahadeva, which yielded no tangible result to either of them.

Similar differences are found in the accounts of conflicts between the Chalukyas of Badami and the Pallavas of Kanchi, as narrated by the historians of Karnataka and Tamilnadu. The former claim that Vikramaditya I defeated the Pallava rulers, Narasimhavarman, Mahendravarman II and Parameswaravarman I, and went as far as Maliyur to the west of Kanchi in A.D. 670 in his bid to occupy the

18. The two literary chronicles on which they base their arguments are Pratapacharitraramu and Siddheswarar charitraramu in Telugu. The former was written by Ekambarama who lived in 16th century and the latter by Kase Sarvappa in the latter part of 16th century. Both of them were written to glorify the Kakatiyas and contain many unhistorical events and inconsistent statements. (See A.V. Narasimha Murthy; *Historicity of Siddheswararcharitrarum* in All India Oriental Conference, 1968.
The Mystery of Indian Feudalism

The dialectical method which requires further investigation into the ideological constraints of feudalism. The social consciousness of the people of those times towards economic choice and political interest of the rulers and the ruled respectively are to be identified with the help of Buddhist and Jaina sources which have been deliberately ignored by the feudalists of India with the only exception of late Dr. S. A. Q. Husaini, although his approach suffered from serious limitations. The late Dr. B N Datta, presented a model study on feudalism through his book entitled The Dialectics of Land-Economics in India.

As B N. Datta, states, "the institution of feudalism did not arise in India to bring order out of confusion arising from the breakup of a previous centralised administration. We are not in a position to say that feudalism resulted from the breakup of the centralised rule extending from the Maurya to Satavahana epochs. It is true that the name of the first vassal king is to be traced to Sunga rule. But it was an old Indian institution from the Rigvedic age and which was only overshadowed by Maurya hegemony". Dr. Datta further writes that the subinfeudation can be traced to the age of the Brahmanas and landlordism in the Sutra age when it was advised that the tillers of the soil beloggled for neglect of duty. In this respect one may recollect the remark of R. H. Tawney that "an historian is concerned less to apprise the validity of an idea than to understand its development."


3. op. cit., p. 76

The Mystery of Indian Feudalism

RAJENDRA RAM

THE MYSTERY of Indian feudalism is to be traced not in a telephone directory of land grants and village grants occurring from A.D. 300 to 1200 but in the earliest deepening crisis within the varna system supposed to be a standardised term for Brahmanical production relations, in the transition from slave economy to feudal economy crowned with the emergence of Buddhism and Jainism; in the interlinking of agriculture and handicrafts supported by iron tools; in the collaboration of kingship with tribal chieftainship; in the hardening of the caste system replacing the varna system; in the slow and callous development of production relations without the violent socio-economic upheavals; in the emergence of large monastic establishments with crude and vague ingredients of financing and usury practices; in the cunning conversion of tribal pockets of population from the animistic cults to the Buddhistic and Brahmanical pantheism, and above all in the ideological upsurge of the sixth century B.C.

However, these points connected with the first phase of Indian feudalism may not be substantiated in a single paper. They can be examined only with the help of
Igor Reisner had published in 1932 his famous book entitled *Essays on the Class Struggle in India* in which he presented his concept of Indian feudalism which exerted a tremendous influence on oriental studies in the Soviet Union and, after certain modifications, became a part of the approach followed in most investigations in this field. Igor Reisner pointed out that feudalism; both in India and Europe had essentially similar features and noted the specific characteristics of Indian feudalism; the prominent role of state property, dominance of the rent in kind usually realised as tax, a secluded and stagnant society and a despotic state. Reisner believed that feudal exploitation was based on extra-economic means of subjugation. Proponents of the Asian mode of production denied the existence of private exploiters with the exception of the bureaucractic stratum that personified the state. While criticising this thesis, Igor Reisner noted the numerical strength of different feudatories, both hereditary and non-hereditary.  

However, Igor Reisner failed to take notice of the idiosyncracies of the early Indian social order based on *dasa* labour followed by collective land tenure represented by the *grihapatis* of the later Vedic age. Certainly Igor Reisner could not get the complete image of Indian social structure and relied to a great extent on the researches of early British scholars who also had their colonial biases. One may observe with R. H. Tawney that a large number of theories formed regarding the Indian socio-economic issues of the past, and several fallimations presented by some radical thinkers could become "bad evidence for practice but good evidence for thought." In this train of thought and practice also came the original but prosaic generalisation pregnant with erroneous views on Indian feudalism that besides enormous land grants and village
The study of feudalism is extremely thought-provoking in the case of the western world, China, Japan and southeast Asia. Numerous books and research papers have appeared regarding the origin, development and decay of the system. Soviet scholars have added a new dimension to it through their Marxist interpretations. In the Anglo-German tradition of medieval studies feudalism is merely a name for the legal or customary principles embodied in the term *feudum* as the universal principle of military organisation. This approach concerns itself merely with the contractual ties connected with military services. It does not explore the underlying social relations or social constraints of feudalism and does not provide a key to the fundamentals of medieval society. But the Russian feudalists have laid emphasis on class domination and exploitation of peasants by landlords. In this connection the Marxist description is found to have been packed tight with Marxist ideological constraints—the state as the vehicle of class rule, commodity exchange as a solvent to feudalism, feudal economy as an antecedent to capitalism etc. The true universe of the discourse of an historian of feudalism is social classification. Once social classification becomes the main theme in the history of feudalism, it must inevitably concern itself with the masses of the people below and outside the system of military ties.

Eugene Medvedev is a well-known Soviet Indologist. He studied under the outstanding oriental scholar of the Soviet Union, Igor Reisner (1899-1958). He presented a thought-provoking research paper at the meeting held at the Institute of Oriental Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences and the Institute of Afro-Asian Studies of Moscow State University to honour the memory of Igor Reisner.

6. Ibid
feudalism was not to be found in the peculiarities of Oriental feudalism, but rather in the strength of the feudal institutions themselves. The feudal lords of China, Korea and Japan by isolating their countries from the outside world, strove to reinforce the feudal structure. This reactionary measure, doubtless, was one of the basic factors increasing the backwardness of the feudal countries of the East.\textsuperscript{10} In short, this analogy of social and political situations of the Asian countries in a particular stage of their respective historical perspectives shows a characteristic position of Indian feudalism in which no feudal lords took the initiative for isolating India from the outside world right from the earliest times to the advent of the British colonialists. One tries to trace without success, the example of a guild or corporation of feudal lords, or landlords or some representative characters of the feudal system which may have taken steps to arrest the tendency of contacts with the outside world in any form. On the contrary, the sources of the history of India are replete with the accounts of daring adventures and risky journeys embarked upon by merchants and traders in ancient times.\textsuperscript{11} The actual reasons why the desired changes witnessed in the case of the western world connected with the subject matter of feudalism did not take place in the case of ancient India were the varna system in the first phase of Indian feudalism and the caste-system in its later phase. The semantics of this social system had been subjected to an

\textsuperscript{10} Marc Maness. \textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{11} The researches of G. Coedes, J. G. de Casparis, Katherine Whitaker, J. F. Cady, C. C. Berg, R. O. Winstedt, C. Hooykaas, A. W. Macdonald, E. H. Warmington, Mortimer Wheeler, D. P. Singh, etc. are sufficient to present a suitable bibliography for an understanding of seafaring trade and navigation of ancient Indian merchants. A recent work entitled \textit{The Cattlemen and the Peoples of the East} (selected Articles) published in 1974 under the auspices of USSR Academy of Sciences may inspire feudologists badly in need of a fresh look at the subject.
grants from A.D. 300 to 1200, the period also witnessed the decay of trade, towns and currency system. This is totally wrong in the face of historical accounts of brisk trade and commerce activities of India with southeast Asia, Central Asia and west Asia and as such this type of generalisation is nothing but a specimen of nominalist fallacy. It is sheer transplantation of the characteristics of western feudalism over Indian feudalism. Similarly, the sinister conceptions of a lack of mobility, a secluded and stagnant society, self-sufficient villages despite internal trade and commercial activity and network of highways spread in the period are peculiar to us when feudalism is examined on the basis of its dialectics and social anatomy involved in its historical materialism which Dr. B. N. Datta has traced in Indian society of very early times. The issue of feudalism in Indian is full of multiplicity of historical factors linked with the problems of the ruling class of ancient India and the character of the state.

It is high time to re-read and re-write history and to exonerate it from the academic mill monopolised by the few international conference-mongers and contractors of printers' guilds. The author of a book had claimed that the backwardness of the Orient resulted in part from certain peculiarities of oriental feudalism. The reviewers pointed out that this is incorrect. In the first place it was wrong to create the opposite, the West and the East, because there was no such thing as a single Orient which runs from Gibraltar to Japan. In the second place, those elements which the book claimed were peculiar to oriental feudalism (such as usury) were universal feudal phenomena. The explanation for the backwardness of the Orient under

during the post-Maurya days and that the system grew and
devolved during the period A.D. 300-1200 or so. Long
ago Dr. B. N. Datta had made observations about the
beginnings of feudalism. In fact the system of slavery or
the dasa social system faded around ninth century B.C.
when the early Upanishads were being composed, iron was
being popularised for agricultural purposes, the idea of
non-violence was being propagated for prohibiting or
limiting the massacre of cattle for the expensive yajnas,
fresh land plots were being claimed through jungle clear-
ance, as attested by the Videgha Mathava story. Collective
ownership of land and the strongholds of the grihapatis
were being annihilated. The Buddhist and the Jaina
literary sources are replete with references to the call of
human rights given by the Buddha and Mahavira. Fre-
 lance heretical professors of independent views wandering
in the Gangetic Valley and the eastern Indian regions along
with the Buddha and Mahavira were the brightest
fluence of this historical process. Thus Buddhism
supplied the philosophy which weakened slavery and
strengthened the earliest phase of feudalism in India.\textsuperscript{12}
This historical process of material transformations was
not an isolated phenomenon of Indian society only but the
whole of Asia was going through somewhat a similar
turmoil. Confucianism in China and Zoroastrianism in
Iran experimented with new ideas and agriculture and com-
merce expanded in response to the call of the age. This
weakened the base of warlords whose survival depended
on slave economy. It is at this juncture that a definite
class antagonism is seen showing a change in the modes of
of production and production relations. Traders of slaves
in the case of non-Indian countries and those of dasas in
the case of India started abandoning this business and took

\textsuperscript{12} H C. Ncogh, ‘Origin of Feudalism in Ancient India’, Last
System and Feudalism in Ancient India. Edited by D.C. Sinhaar.
Calcutta University, 1966, pp 96-100.
admirable treatment by Dr. B. N. Datta only. So far as the latter day feudologists are concerned, they lost the route leading to the study of this subject.

As a matter of fact some of these theorists are busy making announcements about the appearance of important elements or tools of production presumed to have played a significant role in Indian production relations. They have to be justified at any cost to comply with the historical changes appearing in later Indian history. In fact the feudal forces and their ties with the social system of India in all periods of history have been retarding the growth and development of desired social change. These forces have always been protected by the varna-system and the caste-system of Indian society. In this connection it may be observed that let alone iron, even the machine, railways and a host of other scientific discoveries could not act as agents of change in society. All activities of Indian society, thus, the institution of property, transaction of trade, prescriptions of legal experts and social reformers, indeed the whole social fabric and the entire field of human operations have not had an independent status of their own; they must prove their relevance at the touchstone of Indian religion and social system. The Buddha and Mahavira are the only social reformers worthy of mention in Indian history, who took steps not only to challenge the slave owning, varna-ridden Vedic Brahmanical society but also to offer a solution to the social disease through their casteless social ideals.

The Buddha's ideals of compassion and liberation and the promotion of agriculture and commerce through his creed brought about the desired results for a limited period on the basis of which the great Maurya emperor, Asoka could build a splendid edifice.

According to a class analysis of the Indian social system it is wrong to hold that the traits of feudalism appeared
vociferous dasas of pre-Buddhist days. Therefore, the call for non-violence was the need of the time for the social security and protection of the dasas. The famous Mahayana text, the Sukhavati Vyuha Sutra gives a captivating account of the maha-prapana of the Buddha, who, however, was impelled to come back to the earth after he heard the mass utterance of suffering which represents, no doubt, the agony of class antagonism between two forces. The vast mass following behind the Buddha was not the result of mere appeal or sermon wizardry, it was the result of the determined organisation and management of the Samgha life standardized by the Buddha. Constant movement and no delayed journeys avoided the chances of confrontation with those members of society, who had grievances against the rebel leaders later converted to Buddhism. Above all, the land grants, chunks of gardens, mango groves, bamboo groves etc., under the possession of the Buddhist monasteries are clear reflections of the beginnings of feudalism. Landed property was an asset of significance which led to a new land policy by the state. Persons attached to the cultivation of the monastic land plots and other auxiliaries of the establishment under the control of the Buddhist Samgha were exempted from several social disabilities and were always given protection by the Samgha in difficulties caused by outside factors. This system is certainly important in connection with the study of feudalism in India. However, there are also some instances of the conversion of princes of bad conduct and anti-social elements to the fold of Buddhism which may be investigated independently of the above discussion.

In the old varna-ridden society daily life was full of rituals, festivities and social gatherings on religious occasions. They were points of diversion injected by the experts of ancient Indian social and legal customs enshrined in the Sutras, Dharmasastras and Smritis in order to curb
up major ventures in the commerce of commodities which were direct consequences of the idea of compassion and liberation linked up with agriculture and trade. Republican coins in hordes excavated during the last few decades in northern India are testimonies to this effect. Trade guilds, seafaring trade, and a network of road links parallel to the system of land tenure present a characteristic mixture of feudalism and trade. In this connection F. Engels in one of his letters to Karl Marx had stated: “it is certain that serfdom and bondage are not a peculiarly medieval-feudal form, we find them everywhere or nearly everywhere where the conquerors have the land cultivated for them by the old inhabitants.”

This was the actual process of historical materialism which was at work in India. After a long period of exploitation changes in the modes of production and production relations were marked by the use and popularisation of iron ploughshares. The emergence of ideas of compassion and liberation, cattle hooked with agriculture, and commerce followed this phase.

Although the Upanishads advocated their ideas through metaphysics and the heretical philosophers, and the Lokayatas used a parallel metaphysics against their common class enemy, the Brahmanical social order based on slave and dasa owning economy, yet the sublime ideas could not be a substitute for daily bread. Society so emerging required protection and security. The social security of the dasas or the lowest social orders constituting the working class was the burning problem. A late text, the Markandeya Purana gives an account of some harrowing forms of punishment in hell meant for the beings who did bad deeds on earth. However, in a social system based on the labour of the dasas these punishments may well be interpreted as methods of torture meant for the rebel and

vestigous dasas of pre-Buddhist days. Therefore, the call for non-violence was the need of the time for the social security and protection of the dasas. The famous Mahayana text, the Sukhavati Vyuha Sutra gives a captivating account of the maha-prayana of the Buddha, who, however, was impelled to come back to the earth after he heard the mass utterance of suffering which represents, no doubt, the agony of class antagonism between two forces. The vast mass following behind the Buddha was not the result of mere appeal or sermon wizardry, it was the result of the determined organisation and management of the Sangha life standardised by the Buddha. Constant movement and no delayed journeys avoided the chances of confrontation with those members of society, who had their grievances against the rebel leaders later converted to Buddhism. Above all, the land grants, chunks of gardens, mango groves, bamboo groves etc. under the possession of the Buddhist monasteries are clear reflections of the beginnings of feudalism. Landed property was an asset of significance which led to a new land policy by the state. Persons attached to the cultivation of the monastic land plots and other auxiliaries of the establishment under the control of the Buddhist Sangha were exempted from several social disabilities and were always given protection by the Sangha in difficulties caused by outside factors. This system is certainly important in connection with the study of feudalism in India. However, there are also some instances of the conversion of princes of bad conduct and anti-social elements to the fold of Buddhism which may be investigated independently of the above discussion.

In the old turna-ridden society daily life was full of rituals, festivities and social gatherings on religious occasions. They were points of diversion injected by the exponents of ancient Indian social and legal customs enshrined in the Sutras, Dharmastras and Samskrit texts.
up major ventures in the commerce of commodities which were direct consequences of the idea of compassion and liberation linked up with agriculture and trade. Republican coins in hordes excavated during the last few decades in northern India are testimonies to this effect. Trade guilds, seafaring trade, and a network of road links parallel to the system of land tenure present a characteristic mixture of feudalism and trade. In this connection F. Engels in one of his letters to Karl Marx had stated: "it is certain that serfdom and bondage are not a peculiarly medieval-feudal form, we find them everywhere or nearly everywhere where the conquerors have the land cultivated for them by the old inhabitants."

This was the actual process of historical materialism which was at work in India. After a long period of exploitation changes in the modes of production and production relations were marked by the use and popularisation of iron ploughshares. The emergence of ideas of compassion and liberation, cattle hooked with agriculture, and commerce followed this phase.

Although the Upanishads advocated their ideas through metaphysics and the heretical philosophers, and the Lokayatas used a parallel metaphysics against their common class enemy, the Brahmanical social order based on slave and dasa owning economy, yet the sublime ideas could not be a substitute for daily bread. Society so emerging required protection and security. The social security of the dasas or the lowest social orders constituting the working class was the burning problem. A late text, the Markandeya Purana gives an account of some harrowing forms of punishment in hell meant for the beings who did bad deeds on earth. However, in a social system based on the labour of the dasas these punishments may well be interpreted as methods of torture meant for the rebel and

THE MEDIEVAL period of Indian history has been a source of propaganda for historians with ideological predilections. The tradition of distorting historical truth began with the imperialist scholars unduly keen to establish the fragmentary character of Indian society in justification of the alien rule. The method was avidly followed later by the nationalist historians to counteract this vile attempt to justify India's slavery. But the tradition of tailoring and embroidering the past for influencing the course of future developments did not die with the departure of the British. The burden of carrying forward this admittedly unscientific historiography has now been enthusiastically assumed by their Marxist prototypes.

Being victims of ideological myopia, the Marxist historians of India have cared to see only that aspect of reality which falls within the range of their narrow vision. Those aspects of reality which fall beyond it have been either left unexplained or treated merely as an extension of that which they have perceived and, therefore, utterly unworthy of their serious attention. The late Professor Mohammad Habib's interpretation of Turkish conquest of India in the
the rebellious temperament of the working class. The influence of religion was so strong that even wooden materials, trees, water, metal etc. were classified on the basis of the varna system. All these aspects have been ignored in the studies of feudalism. Big landed families of the grhapatins controlling a large number of dasas and a few literate priests and non-priest Brahmans clinging to their traditions were the main constituents of rural life. Parallel to it were clusters of urban settlements, towns, headquarters of the republican and oligarchic units and feudalities of different types. They represented privileges, class oppression, exploitation of dasas and sudras. It is the image of a politically weak and unstable India which was exposed to internal divisions and external threats. The breakdown of the Brahmanical social order of the Vedic society was complete and the Buddhist and Jaina ideas were pervasive throughout northern India. The country was under these conditions when the Macedonian invasions took place. These too were the conditions which formed the background of the economic though of the times, and inspired important changes in land tenure, commercial and financial management, price control policy and political reshuffling under the Maurayas. The changes wrought by them in the planning of administration presented a watershed in social, economic and political development. An analysis of Kautilya's Arthasastra and Asoka's edicts would prove that feudalism was entering a new stage of development. It is necessary to undertake a sociological treatment of the origins of feudalism or of landlordism in the milieu of a society guided by varna considerations if we wish to understand the problem and trace its development in Indian society. Seminars which make all kinds of wild generalisations on the basis of land grants are not only wide off the mark but utterly boring.
of success. But only by the substitution of the Ghurian Turks for the Thakur regime could the city workers obtain their rights. The one was impossible without the other.

In brief, Habib’s explanation rests on the following assumptions:

1. The Hindu working classes were kept outside the city wall.
2. They abandoned their ancient faith *en masse* in favour of the new faith because of its democratic values.
3. The Ghurian conquest established a new social order which was the anti-thesis of the caste-ridden Hindu society.
4. Growth of the Turkish empire and survival of the Turkish rule became possible owing to the active co-operation of the oppressed classes.

Before pointing out the utterly erroneous nature of these assumptions, it must be emphasized that his intellectual feat of transforming the subjugator of a people into the liberator of the oppressed classes has been achieved by Habib through the exaggeration of slender evidence provided in Alberuni’s *Tarikh-ul Hind*. For corroboration, he does not scrutinize the contemporary sources, particularly the Hindu, but prefers to fall back on the Law of Manu propounded many centuries earlier. The relevant Hindu texts find no mention in his discussion. The difference between the text and the context which the medieval mind of Alberuni could comprehend without much difficulty, the 20th century scholar even with the aid of “scientific method”, has failed to decipher, much less to appreciate. Or, should we say that it is merely an instance of *suppressio veri and suggestio falsi*?

The passage in the *Tarikh-ul Hind* on which Habib’s entire thesis rests, does not at all suggest the conclusion drawn by him, that is, the industrial workers *en masse* were
12th century A.D. is an illustration of this uni-dimensional view of history.

The primary cause of Turkish success against the Rajput rulers, according to Habib, was not military but social. The India of eleventh century was "a country of fortified cities and towns and fortified villages, and over them, the control of the higher classes was supreme and exclusive. The condition of the workers and producing classes, on the other hand, was tragic." They were forced to live "in the unprotected villages and the settlements outside the city walls". These were the oppressed and alienated classes which extended a helping hand to the invaders to replace the old regime. The "so-called conquest" of Ghuri was, in fact, "a turn-over of public opinion—a sudden turn-over no doubt still one that was long overdue. Face to face with the social and economic provision of the "Shari'at" and the Hindu "Smritis" as practical alternative, the Indian city worker preferred the "Shari'at." (italics sic.). Indian "city-labour, both Hindu and Muslim, helped to establish the new regime, and it also maintained it through all revolutions and revolts, for over five hundred years." 

The invasion of the Ghurian Turks brought about "this great social and economic revolution because the industrial and social forces in the country had been prepared for it for centuries, but their path was barred by the ideology of the caste system and the Thakur military regime. External pressure broke the regime and then with remarkable rapidity, in the course of half a generation, the country settled on new lines. Everyone, except the top most rais and their immediate followers, accepted the new social order. The forces of resistance vanished as if by magic. Viewed in a proper scientific and non-communal perspective in the context of world history and of future Indian history, the Ghurian conquest of India was really a revolution of Indian city labour led by the Ghurian Turks. (italics sic.) We need not be surprised that those who led the revolution reaped the reward
exclusiveness which prevented the emergence of a joint front among the higher castes did not also prevent the emergence of a similar front among the lower castes?

Stray remarks scattered in the medieval Muslim chronicles contradict Habib’s contention that the city-workers were not allowed to live alongside the members of the upper castes. Describing the city of Multan in A.D. 951 Abu Ishak Al Itakhrī states: “The temple of the idol is a strong edifice, situated in the most populous part of the city, in the market of Multan, between the bazar of ivory dealers and shops of coppersmiths.” During his Sind expedition, Mīr Qasīm sent Hindu guides forward to Alor “which was the capital of Hind and the greatest city of all Sind. The inhabitants were chiefly merchants, artisans and agriculturists.” When Dahir’s son abandoned Alor all “the merchants, artisans and tradesmen” sent a petition to Qasim seeking his protection.

Again, contrary to general belief, Vaiśyas and Sudras were not barred from adopting a military career. Soldiers supplied by the guilds formed separate divisions in the army of the Hindu kings. Vastupala, a great warrior under the Chalukya king Lavanprasada, declared with great pride: “Messenger, it is a delusion to think that the Kshatriya alone can fight, and not Vanik. Did not Ambada, a Vanik, kill Mallikarjuna in a battle? I, a Vanik, am as well-known in the shop as in the battlefield.” The Kashmir and Hoysala armies included soldiers drawn from the lower castes.

The description of town-planning given in the later Paurāṇika literature does not decree banishment of the artisan castes. On the contrary, they are very much a part of the city population. This is obvious from the following blueprint of the city given in the Agni Purāṇa. It states: “The gods such as Vishnu, Hara, the sun-god, etc., should be worshipped before founding the city... The goldsmiths and the smithy shops should be established in the south-eastern
kept outside the city wall. After describing the fourfold, division of Hindu society Alberuni comments: "Between the latter two classes (Vaisya and Sudra) there is no very great difference. Much, however, as these classes differ from each other, they live together in the same towns and villages, mixed together in the same houses and lodgings."

After the Sudra follow the people called Anyyaja, who render various kinds of services. There are eight classes of them, who freely inter-marry with each other, except the fuller, shoemaker, and weaver, for, no others would descend to have anything to do with them. These eight guilds are the fuller, shoemaker, juggler, the basket and shield-maker, the sailor, fisherman, the hunter of wild animals and of birds, and the weaver. The four castes do not live together with them in one and the same place. These guilds live near the villages and towns of the four castes, but outside them."

It is amusing to note that Manu whom Habib frequently quotes to highlight the democratic values of Islam, though places them low in the caste hierarchy includes these castes in the category of the Sudra.

Except the shoemaker, the basket-maker and the weaver, none of the other castes can be put in the category of the industrial worker. Furthermore, what does Alberuni's silence regarding the castes like butcher, potter, blacksmith, carpenter, mason, etc. indicate? Where did they live? Did they also belong to the category of those city-workers who welcomed the Turks? Habib's use of "city-worker", "industrial worker" as a blanket-term saves him from uncomfortable questions and from the fallacy of projecting mutually exclusive castes as a homogeneous class imbued with a consciousness that cut across caste-boundaries. Gradation and exclusiveness amongst the Anyyaja castes emphasized by Alberuni have been completely ignored by Habib. What grounds are there to suppose that the caste,
Habib's contention does not find support in the description of a medieval city given by Dr. K.M. Ashraf. Dr. Ashraf writes: "The city was divided into separate quarters for various social groups. In keeping with the social idea of the day some classes of people, for instance, the scavengers, the leather-dressers and the very poorest beggars and wretches, were segregated from the rest of the population and were made to live on the outskirts of the towns...among the common people various trades and castes lived in their own quarters. All these quarters were designed to be as complete and self-sufficient as possible."

Instead of enumerating the number of castes which embraced Islam, the more pertinent question that cries for an answer is: Why did the larger part of the Hindu lower orders reject the path of social liberation opened up by Islam, spurn the temptations offered by the members of the ruling class, and prefer to remain in the condition of servitude under upper caste Hindus? Part of the answer lies in the fact that conversion did not produce any basic change in the material condition of the lower classes. The right of a hajlam to offer prayer with the Nizam did not elevate him to the level of ruling class. In all big cities the services of the slum dwellers sustain the high life style of a microscopic minority even to this day. For the material condition of the slum dwellers it matters little whether the slums are incorporated in the city or excluded from it. That was why even as slaves Hindus preferred to stick to their faith. Except the Hindu slaves from Assam, other Indian slaves did not fetch high price in the market. It was not due to their lack of skill, as pointed out by Amir Khusrau, but due to their strong attachment to their ancient faith and culture.

By reason of their profession certain artisan castes like goldsmiths, masons, producers of fine cloth, etc. had become dependent on the city and to a great extent, on the patronage of the affluent classes. They were a permanent part of
quarter of a city. In the south thereof should be the establish-
ments of those who live by giving lessons in dancing, together
with the houses of courtesans, while actors, potters and fisher-
men should occupy the south-western quarters of the same... 
merchants and dealers in fruits should reside in the south-
eastern division of the latter. The generals and commanders 
of the forces should be quartered in the east, while the 
different regiments, forming military force of the state, 
should be stationed in the south-east... The prime minister, 
together with the weavers (Karuka) and the principal treas-
surer of the state, should be lodged in the western part of 
the city, while judicial and magisterial officers of the crown... 
should have their dwellings in the northern part of a city... 
The Mlecchas and other low castes of the people should have 
their dwellings in quarters situated at angular quarters of a 
city and this rule should be observed even in small 
villages.”

The plan chalked out by Mohammad Bin Tughlaq to 
construct the city of Daulatabad is basically not different 
from the one outlined in the Agni Purana. The Sultan plan-
ned the city in such a way “that separate colonies were to 
be built for different sections of people; a colony was for 
the residence of the army, another for the wazirs and secre-
taries, third for the qazis and ulama, fourth for the Sufis 
and mendicants and fifth for the merchants and artisans.

There were made separate arrangements according to the 
needs of the colonies, such as mosques, minarets for Azan,
bazars, public baths, flour-mills, oven and various types of 
craftsmanships such as goldsmiths, dyers, leather tanners, 
so that people of one colony may not depend on that of other
for exchanging goods. In this way every colony was self-
sufficient.” That people were living in separate sections 
according to their professions, is also mentioned in Salatin.
One day when Aibak was going out to play polo, he “passed 
through the tanner’s street and was nauseated by the bad
smell of the tannery... He gave orders to the tanners 
to vacate from that street and settle in another quarter.”
subjugated all and liberated none. Nor was there any sudden or delayed change-over of public opinion amongst the oppressed sections of the Hindus in favour of the newcomers. No ruling class, whether indigenous or foreign, can ever act as the harbinger of social revolution. To protect their interests, the members of the ruling classes invariably become the protagonists of status quo and opponents of revolutionary changes. The Turks acquired territories through superior military might and retained them by striking compromise with one section of the old ruling elites. Co-operation is more easily available from those who have something to lose and are afraid of losing it. This aspect of medieval reality even Habib has been unable to ignore. The Ghurians had left the existing countryside chiefs in charge. It is a fair assumption that—(a) Rai Pithora, Jai Chand, Lakshman Sena and the other rulers would not have fallen like nine pins if they had the support of the countryside chiefs. These gentlemen had, of course, no conception of the world destiny of India or Hinduism. Nor had they any design of combining against the Turkish government, for the chief object of their hereditary hatred was some of the neighbouring Hindu chiefs.

Alauddin's revenue reforms, which relieved the lower caste Hindus from the higher caste rural intermediary, in Habib's view, was instrumental in bringing the Indian countryside within the orbit of social revolution caused by the Ghurian conquest. His reforms made it sure that "India would never again become a land of the caste privileges it had been for some centuries past." The fact that Alauddin's abolition of the privileges of the Khutis and muqaddams was accompanied by the imposition of additional taxes, that is, house-tax, grazing cess and enhancement of the land revenue up to 50 per cent of the produce, is of little significance so far as the "scientific" approach of Habib is concerned. It is difficult to understand how the economic downgrading of the upper caste rural elites was conducive to social equality.
the city before the advent of Islam and continued to live there even after the establishment of the Turkish rule. Their number increased with the increase in the number of the cities. They had flocked to the cities for the same reason which had attracted Saiyads of correct descent from Arabia, tradesmen from Khorasan, painters from China, Ulama of the Bokhara stock, and devotees from the arid lands of the Middle East.

One fails to understand how another variety of stratified society can be termed as a "new social order". Absence of widespread resistance cannot be interpreted as a sign of positive acquiescence. With meagre resources and limited manpower, the villages of India were no match to the centralised power of the Turkish state. More so when the chiefs had switched their allegiance to the new rulers in their enlightened self-interest.

Inequality based on racial difference was as much a part of the social reality of Muslim society as was the caste system of the Hindus. A few instances of the upward mobility of the Hindu converts cited by Habib are in themselves an eloquent proof of the existence of a contrary situation. Moreover, men like Malik Kafur and Khusrao Shah rose to high positions not as converts but as the personal slaves to the sultans. No low caste convert in his own right could ever become the Wazir or Commander of the empire. "There was no place for the outsiders in this charmed circle of official hierarchy; they could only enter it at the cost of their lives. The resentment in the official circle was particularly bitter against the Indian Muslims, from whom, in particular, a very serious danger could be apprehended."

The triumph of Turks over the Hindu rajas was not the triumph of Islam as a revolutionary ideology over that of monibund Hinduism as Habib has tried hard to make it. The Turkish conquest was a military affair. The invaders


5. Nizami *op. cit.*, p. 73


7. *Ibid*.

8. Elliot, H. M. and Dowson, John, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. 1. p. 28


of the lower caste peasantry. Loss of a few official privileges did not lower the status of a Brahmín in the Hindu community as his primacy in the caste and social structures did not rest on the recognition by the state; it was in fact beyond its reach. Replacement of one set of exploiters by another can never be termed as revolution. Nor can equality in poverty fulfil the aspirations of the oppressed masses.

Shorn of Marxist jargon, the thesis propounded by Habib is very simple—the Turkish conquest of India was a historical necessity, a fortunate event in the history of its people. It was the next stage of the evolution towards a better society. In Habib's version of Marxism, revolutionary changes do not mean basic changes in the means, or relationships of production or the elevation of the oppressed to the level of the oppressors. The revolution conceived by him is a relay race of power played by the members of the ruling classes.

In short, Habib's "historical" explanation is factually incorrect, his understanding of Marxism faulty, and his interpretation of Turkish rule over India a futile effort to eulogize Islam's advent in the sub-continent. He was either innocent of the basic and inexorable law of historical change or deliberately ignored it. The flames of a revolution invariably rise from below, reversal of the process only leads to the extinction of the fire. What is even more pertinent is—there can be no revolution from above through the instrumentality of foreign invaders as it can only lead to political subjugation, economic exploitation and social tyranny.

References and Notes

Turks, Khitais, Persians, Indians and people of certain other countries. Among the Indians, people of two castes, Bhil and Chhatris (Rajputs) are praiseworthy." Elliot and Dowson, Vol I p 121, Futuhu's Salatn, Vol II, p. 336, Masalik al-Absar, op cit., p. 37.


24 Nizami, *op. cit.*, p 94.
18 Futuhu’s Salatin, Vol. II, p. 227; Allauddin employed 70,000 workers for the construction of State buildings. Horses gifted by the Sultans of Delhi were accompanied by saddle and bridle of leather. The scabbards of swords, covers of books and shoes, which were articles of common use among all upper classes, were usually made of leather. State patronage was necessary not only for the elites but also for the artisans.

Multiplication of artisans was not merely due to “free labour, free capital and freedom of contract” as Habib would like us to believe. Contribution to their ranks made by the prisoners-of-war-turned-slaves should not be ignored in this respect. See Ashraf, op. cit., p 101.

19 Dixit, Prabha, Communalism - A Struggle for Power, Delhi, 1974, see, chapter I.

20 Nizami, op cit., p 106

21. Here are a few examples of those who extended support to the Turkish invaders. After Aibak’s capture of Benares, “The Rais and chiefs of Hind came forward to profess their allegiance.” When Aibak conquered Ajmer he “was visited by Rajas and Ranas, and the earth was rubbed by foreheads of the chiefs and celebrated men of Hind.” Elliot and Dowson, Vol II, pp 223, 226. Also, Futuhu’s Salatin, op cit., Vol. II, p. 605.

The Hindus who helped the rulers were drawn from the upper castes as well. The Brahmins and Jats co-operated with the Arabs. Aram Shah (son of Aibak) raised an army from among the Hindu warrior class of Amaraka and adjacent parts......” “Army of Mohammad Bin Tughlaq is composed of
Muslim Population in Medieval India. As I have said in the Preface of the book: "Any study of the population of the pre-census times can be based only on estimates, and estimates by their very nature tend to be tentative" (p.VI) I claim no finality about my assessments of demographic quantification nor, I beg to submit, can Professor Habib. But he does not make any assessment at all; he merely challenges and criticises my conclusions - a very easy task! In my computation, however, sufficient historical evidence has been set forth for any demographic behaviour and on that basis I have arrived at the conclusion that the population of India in A.D. 1000 was about 200 million and in the year 1500 it was 170 million. However, Irfan Habib gives a twist to my observations on the decline of population by saying that "the sultans reduced the population of the country by over a third" (p.2) which would mean that I have stated that the sultans deliberately killed people to reduce the population of India. Such an insinuation is in conformity with Habib's pattern of thinking and writing. He is a patently biased historian. He is all praise for Professor Mohammad Habib who was "so conscious of the negative aspects of the medieval Islamic civilization or so sensitive to the devastation that the wars and campaigns of the sultans wrought on the inhabitants" (page 3), while he attacks Professor Nizami for writing "without that critical view of Islamic society and the destruction accompanying the invasions" (p.5). On the other hand, when I refer to this devastation and destruction resulting in the decline of Indian population, Professor Habib finds it unpalatable. I should have thought that a dispute was out of the question as Habib has used the same sources in computing the number of slaves captured in some campaigns of the sultans as I have for the assessment of demographic decline. This is what Professor Habib has to say about the acquisition of slaves by the sultans: "The evidence for such enslavement is there for all to see. So economically important was it that the success of military campaigns was often judged by the
Twenty-four

Views on the Economic History of the Delhi Sultanate

K. S. Lal

At the 39th Annual Session of the Indian History Congress held at Hyderabad in December, 1978, Professor Irfan Habib presented a forty-page cyclostyled paper entitled "Economic History of the Delhi Sultanate—An Essay in Interpretation".

One half of the paper deals with the topic, the other consists of charges against me, Professor K.A. Nizami, and Professor Lallanji Gopal.

I shall, in this paper, confine myself to a rebuttal of Professor Habib's criticism of my views (pp. 2, 29-40). He starts with: "Professor Lallanji Gopal... has discovered that poverty in India began with the coming of the Muslims", and "...Professor K.S. Lal has made the equally startling discovery that the Sultans reduced the population of the country by over a third". This is followed by a stereotyped attack on Elliot for writing about "the murders and massacres" perpetrated by the "Mohamedans".

Professor Habib betrays a rather unscholarly strain by encompassing in the one sentence quoted above the entire impact of 130 pages of my study (pp. 26 to 156) Growth of
alone 50,000 persons were killed during Aibak's campaign. No wonder that besides earning the honorific of Lakhbaksh (giver of lakhs) he also earned the nickname of killer of lace. Bakhtiyar Khalji marched through Bihar into Bengal and massacred people in both the regions. During his expedition to Gwalior, Iltutmish (1210-36) massacred 700 persons besides those killed in the battle on both sides. His attacks on Malwa (Vidisha and Ujjain) were met with stiff resistance and were accompanied by great loss of life. He is also credited with killing 12,000 Khokhars (Ghakkars) during Aibak's reign. The successors of Iltutmish (Raziyah, Bahram etc.) too fought and killed zealously. During the reigns of Nasiruddin and Balban (1246-83) warfare for consolidation and expansion of Turkish dominions went on apace. Trailokyavarman, who ruled over Southern U.P., Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand, and is called Dalaki va Malaki by Persian chroniclers, was defeated after great slaughter (1248). In 1251, Gwalior, Chanderi, Narwar and Malwa were attacked. The Raja of Malwa had 5,000 cavalry and 200,000 infantry and would have been defeated only after great slaughter. The inhabitants of Kaithal were given such severe punishment (1254) that they "might not forget the lesson for the rest of their lives". In 1256 Ulugh Khan Balban carried on devastating warfare in Sambur, and "so many of the rebellious Hindus were killed that numbers cannot be computed or described". Ranthambhor was attacked in 1259 and many of its valiant fighting men were killed. In the punitive expedition to Mewat (1250) "numberless Hindus perished. In the same year 12,000 men, women and children were put to the sword in Haryana". When Balban became the sultan "large sections of the male population were massacred in Kukhar and, according to Barani, in villages and jungles heaps of human corpses were left rotting. During the expedition to Bengal, "on either side of the principal bazar (of Lakhnauti), in a street two miles in length, a row of stakes was set up and the adherents of Tughril were impaled upon them". 
number of captives (burdas) obtained for enslavement. Qutbuddin Aibak's campaign in Gujarat in 1195 netted him 20,000 slaves, seven years later, a campaign against Kalinjar yielded 50,000. In 1253 Balban obtained countless "horses and slaves" from an expedition in Kalinjar. In the instructions that Alauddin Khalji is said to have issued to Malik Kafur before his campaigns in the Deccan it is assumed that "horses and slaves" would form a large part of the booty. As the Sultanate began to be consolidated, the suppression of mawas or rebellious villages within its limits yielded a continuously rich harvest of slaves. Balban's successful expedition in the Doab made slaves cheap in the capital. How people of the village could be made slaves for non-payment of revenue is described in the 14th century source; and women so enslaved are mentioned in different contexts in two others" (pp. 16-17)

Does not the netting of captives presuppose struggle? Surely people did not come rushing to the invading armies to be made slaves. They were captured and enslaved during invasions only after bitter fighting in which many more were killed. As I have shown in my book, the extent of the loss of population through killings in wars was enormous. But Habib does not only overlook this fact, he also challenges it. The loss of Indian population during Mahmud of Ghaznavi's invasions was about 2 million as studied in some detail in Appendix A of the Growth of Muslim Population in Medieval India (pp 211-17). Thereafter, with the establishment of Turkish rule, India suffered badly so far as its population was concerned. Habib gives some figures of slaves made during the time of Qutbuddin Aibak to Alauddin Khalji. Here are some figures of the loss of lives during the same period.

Qutbuddin Aibak's conquests (c 1200-10) included Gwalior, parts of Bundelkhand, Ajmer, Ranthambhor, Anhilwara as well as parts of U.P. and Malwa. In Naharwala
first decade of the fourteenth century Turkish invaders penetrated into the South, and its population too suffered heavy losses.¹

Add to this the demographic decline occasioned by the recurring Mongol invasions for almost a whole century. The Rapput chiefs who fought against the Turks, also never ceased fighting among themselves. The Turks themselves were not a united people, many sultans waded through blood to the throne; many provincial governors used to rise in revolt and were ruthlessly suppressed. During campaigns and wars, the disorganized flight of the panic-stricken people must have killed large numbers through exposure, starvation and epidemic. Nor should the ravages of famine on population be ignored. Drought, pestilence, and famines in the medieval times find repeated mention in contemporary chronicles.²

And yet Habib states that my “evidence for actual depopulation is nil” (p. 39). Has he passed judgement on pages 26 to 156 of my book without reading them? (Habib p. 2 n2) I do not consider him so naive as not to understand the importance of the influence of demographic decline on the economic activity of a country.³ But apparently he wants to shut his eyes to anything

1. K. S Lal, Growth of Muslim Population in Medieval India (Delhi, 1976), pp 39-42. For copious references to support these figures the book itself may be consulted.
3. As Lawrence Stone has pointed out, “the unfounded hypothesis about the beneficial results of early Spanish colonization of Mexico based on purely literary evidence and supported because of national or personal prejudice, collapsed utterly when it was discovered by the demographic quantifiers that the (American) Indian population fell from about 25 million to about 2 million in less than 50 years after Hernando Cortés had first landed”. Lawrence Stone in C. F. Dolzell (ed.), The Future of History, Nashville, Tennessee, 1977, p 11.
“Alauddin Khalji and Muhammad bin Tughlaq (c. 1295-1350) were great warriors and killers. Alauddin’s conquest of Gujarat (1299) and the massacres by his generals in Anhilwara, Cambay, Asvalli, Vanmanthali etc. earned him, according to the Rasmala, the nickname of Khuni. His contemporary chronicler proclaims that Alauddin shed more blood than the Pharaohs did. He captured Ranthambhor after very heavy casualties. Chittor’s capture was followed by a massacre of 30,000 people, after Jauhar had been performed and the Rajputs had died fighting in large numbers. When Malwa was attacked (1305) its Raja is said to have possessed 40,000 horse and 100,000 foot. After the battle, “so far as human eye could see, the ground was muddy with blood.” Many cities of Malwa like Mandu, Ujjain, Dhara-nagri and Chanderi were captured after great resistance. The capitulation of Sevana and Jalor (1308, 1311) were accompanied by massacres after years of prolonged warfare. In Alauddin’s wars in the South, similar killings took place, especially in Dwarsamudra and Malabar. In the latter campaign Malik Kafur went from place to place, and to some places many times over, and in his rage at not finding the fleeing prince Vira Pandya, he killed the people mercilessly. His successor Mubarak Khalji once again sacked Gujarat and Devagiri.

In short, the Turkish rulers were ruthless in war and merciless towards rebels with the result that their killings were heavy. Hence the extirpating campaigns of Balban and the repeated attacks on regions already devastated but not completely subdued. Bengal was attacked by Bakhtiyar, by Balban, by Alauddin, and by the three Tughlaqs - Ghayas, Muhammad and Firuz. Malwa and Gujarat were repeatedly attacked and sacked. Almost every Muslim ruler invaded Ranthambhor until it was subdued by Alauddin Khalji (1301), again temporarily. Gwahor, Katchar and Avadh regions were also repeatedly attacked. Rajputana, Sindh and Punjab knew no peace. In the
of the spinning wheel in the ancient times. Therefore, it is wrong to conclude that a sizable expansion in the production of cotton clothes took place because of the immigration of artisans and the introduction of new technology from abroad in the 13th and 14th century. Irfan Habib also claims "it (introduction of spinning wheel) may well be responsible for that large scale use of cloth by ordinary people which the comparison of depictions in ancient Indian sculptures and painting and Mughal-period miniatures so markedly bring out" (p. 9). One may ask how much clothing Kabir, an ordinary man, and a weaver, himself put on after this "central innovation quickened immeasurably the process of spinning yarn."

It is not surprising that for some communal historians suffering from extra-territorial chauvinism, the persian wheel, the spinning wheel, the dome and the arch all came from lands outside India and the highly developed ancient Indian civilization was unaware of these. It may be pointed out to such writers that the rudiments of the arch and the dome were both known to Ajantin and Buddhist India and one would do well to read Havell's works in this regard.

The growth of industrial commerce under the sultans was not due to the immigration of a large number of artisans from abroad (for which only the fragile authority of Isami is quoted) and the Indian slave labour, as claimed by Habib. The instances the himself cites are of slaves working as domestic servants (p. 17). Slaves were mainly captured or purchased by rulers for menial services, help in

5. For this Habib quotes Lynn White Jr. from his article in the American Historical Review of April 1960.

6. Probably referred to in the Mrichchhata Katika (The Little Clay Cart) of Sudraka who lived in Gupta times.
disagreeable to his susceptibilities, and seek refuge in all sorts of untenable interpretations and suppositions.

This brings us to the revolutionary researches of Habib about the economic history of the Delhi Sultanate. His first startling discovery is that the spinning wheel (charkha) came to India from Persia and that too in the 13th century. Habib writes that it had “come to Iran in the 12th century”. He does not say what it looked like, how it was made and wherefrom it came to Persia. In India, according to him, “this important mechanical device is referred to first of all, in Isami’s Futuh-us-Salatin (1350), as an instrument to which women should apply themselves. It, therefore, seems practically certain that the spinning wheel came to India from Iran probably in the 13th century, so as to spread rapidly enough for the kind of statement made by Isami” Thus, according to Habib, it was a novel device introduced in India. But charkha or spinning wheel was known in India long before Isami. Amir Khusrau advised his daughter to sit with her back to the door while playing the charkha, and Habib himself confesses that “domestic maid-slaves were made to work at spinning” (p 17), surely not, only after Isami’s time. Good quality cloth was manufactured in India from times immemorial. “The skill of the Indian”, says Professor Weber, “in the production of delicate woven fabrics ... in all manner of technical arts has from very early times enjoyed worldwide celebrity”. It is a well known fact that Egyptian mummies dating back to 2000 B.C. have been found wrapped in Indian muslin. Throughout the ancient times, cotton cloth was produced for domestic use. Obviously, its yarn was produced on the spinning wheel device. And yet, according to Habib, India was unaware

Population) to show what terrible straits Indian economy was reduced to by fire and sword under the Muslim rulers.

We assert that the N.C.E.R.T. books have met their fate because of the studied bias and fantastic theories and interpretations of writers like Habib and his friends, and their communal approach in deliberately glossing over the misdeeds of one section of medieval Indian society and repeatedly hammering on the failings of the other.
hunting and sport, and service in the army." Surely a few thousand out of the 180,000 slaves of Firoz Tughlaq worked in the royal Karkhanas, but there is no evidence to show that the 50,000 slaves of Alauddin Khalji were so engaged. There is no evidence whatsoever of "a process of enslavement of very large numbers of people, so as to provide cheap reserves out of which new craftsmen could be created" (Habib p 15). However, in spite of demographic decline, the spurt in industry and commerce was there because "the loot from temples and treasuries of Hindu kings, in other words, the wealth lying frozen for decades and centuries, was released into the market," for providing items of comfort and luxury for the new rulers while the technical know-how for producing such articles was already known in India.

The coming of some scholars, physicians, hermits, unani doctors and assayers of jewels, artisans (kasiban) and embroiderers cannot be denied. But if good artisans and architects were available in such large numbers in Central Asia so as to migrate to Delhi 'like insects around a lamp', it would not have been necessary for Timur to carry away artisans and architects from India to build his mausoleum at Samarkand.

As Habib somehow manages to bring up the issue of the N.C.E.R.T. sponsored textbooks in his discussion of the economic conditions in medieval India we are constrained to express our opinion on this matter after quoting Habib (p. 34): "The time is surely not distant, when writers wishing to avoid the fate of the N.C.E.R.T. books, would busily exhibit these statistics (in my Growth of Muslim

attention of the middle class and the petty bourgeoisie from the country-wide peasant uprisings against the British imperialists and to establish colonial culture, who are being extolled to the skies in India today, were lackeys of the British opposed to the then raging democratic struggle. Under the veil of "reform" they tried their level best to save their masters from complete uprootment and to ensure that they (the British) could carry on their loot of our beloved motherland.

The second part of the statement is also interesting.

Today's rulers are following in the footsteps of those predecessors of theirs, to serve their foreign masters (the Soviet and U.S. imperialists). That is why they are striving in vain to establish the fake leaders like Raja Rammohun Roy, Ishwar Chandra, Gandhi and the like. But not the real heroes of India's Liberation struggle, the heroes of Wahabi, Santhals and numerous peasant revolts against the feudal lords and British imperialism - Sidhu, Karu, Chand Bhairab, Mangal Pandey etc. They are not concerned about the life and ideology of such immortal revolutionaries like Jatin Das, Khudiram Bose, Surya Sen, Bhagat Singh etc.

In fact, attack on Rammohun in the name of reassessment or evaluation of his role has become a favourite pastime for some historians, Marxist as well as non-Marxist. This gained particular enthusiasm with the publication of R.C. Majumdar's *On Rammohun* - an attempt to emphasize the role of the orthodox and traditional sections of the contemporary society in the abolition of Sati, introduction of English and establishment of the Hindu College. The Marxist scholars soon joined the bandwagon, but with a

2. Ibid.
3. Published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta in 1972, on the occasion of the Raja's birth bicentenary.
Twenty-five

A Study of Marxist Interpretations of Rammohun Roy’s Place in Indian History

SUMANTO NIYOGI

The initial motivation for writing this paper came, interestingly enough, from the recent Calcutta news concerning the “beheading” of statues of some eminent figures of Indian history. It started with the ‘beheading’ of the statue of Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar and ended with the attacks on the statues of Mahatma Gandhi and Subhas Chandra Bose. Fortunately, Raja Rammohun Roy was not subjected to the humiliation of being ‘beheaded’, because there is no statue of Rammohun in Calcutta. But the Red Guards, a militant section of the O.P.I. (Marxist-Leninist) severely attacked Rammohun through a purely political pamphlet. This is in fact the latest Marxist attack on Rammohun. It reads:

The personages of the European Renaissance were the fruits of a bourgeois-democratic revolution— the industrial revolution through which then the progressive bourgeoisie came to power, by overthrowing the feudal classes. Thus many of them were supporters, and indeed determining factors, of the democratic revolution. But the determining personages of the Bengal Renaissance (which was a fake renaissance designed to divert the
In his last article on Rammohun, written in 1972, Sarkar writes that Rammohun stands out in at least three ways:

The quality of his thought reaches an extraordinarily high level; this is revealed by a study of his works at first hand. The versatility of the man is astounding and unparalleled for his times. And his outstanding personality in all its integrity created a deep impression on friend and foe alike so that through six generations it has left its mark on our history.

The recent Marxist studies, notably those of Barun De and Asok Sen, hold that a “mythology” has been created about Rammohun in the writings starting from Sophia Dobbins Coet down to Rabindranath Tagore. According to them, these writings exalted his role in Indian history by felicitating him in terms like “Father of Modern India,” “Inaugurator of Modern Age in India” and “Bharata Patik” (Tagore), “The Universal Man” (Brajendra Nath Seal) and “Yuga Prabartak” (Bipin Chandra Pal). They are of the opinion that most of the biographies of and writings on Rammohun have been eulogistic, thus showing a lack of understanding of the contemporary society and economy.

Barun De described Rammohun as a sort of a “Liberal bourgeois” whose impact was confined only to a self-seeking urban middle class in the 19th & 20th centuries. His ideas, according to De, did not touch the “broad majority of the population in the countryside.” He is of the opinion that Rammohun’s “political and economic ideas merit veneration only by those who worship the history of India’s liberalism.” Both Barun De and Asok Sen hold that Rammohun

completely different objective. However, most of the Marxist writings like the passages quoted above, have been of journalistic type, showing a deplorable lack of analysis and a generous distribution of labels like “feudal” and “bourgeoisie.”

Serious Marxist historical studies on Rammohun began with the writings of Susobhan Chandra Sarkar and Soumendra Nath Tagore. They first analysed the nature of the Bengal Renaissance, and found that it was “a thing of limited, partial and somewhat artificial dimensions” in comparison to the European Renaissance. Sarkar regarded this as a movement confined to the cultured elite of the city, the vast uneducated mass remained untouched by it. This obviously limited the role of Rammohun, who was conventionally described as the “father of the Bengal Renaissance.” However, these Marxist historians were not out and out critics of Rammohun. In fact, they paid high tributes to his various achievements. While Soumendra Nath Tagore described him as the “harbinger of a New Age” in India, Sarkar holds that even the great European Renaissance is not free from blemishes - blind imitation of a vanished past, contempt for non-classical thought and medieval experience - these were real weaknesses. Sarkar further adds that the standards of eighteenth century intellectual and social life in Bengal certainly do not warrant a contemptuous attitude towards our nineteenth century renaissance. He even interpreted Rammohun as a “Westernising” or “modemising” agent struggling against the “traditional” forces.

5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
In spite of these analytical studies, the Marxist historians hardly succeed in undermining the position of Rammohun in Indian history. The important issue which I strive to place before this distinguished gathering of scholars is whether a personality should be judged on the basis of his affiliation to a particular group, however narrow it may be in terms of interpretation, or on the basis of the impact of his accomplishments on subsequent generations. If appraised on the basis of his contribution in the realms of education, scholastic study of comparative religions, ideas of press freedom, and social emancipation of women, he still makes a prominent place for himself in Indian history. The trend of modernization in India, in whatever terms it may be interpreted, certainly began with Rammohun. Even Barun De admitted that Rammohun stood far above his contemporaries Tarkapanchananas or Vidyalankara in sheer intellectual attainment, liberalization of thought and magnitude of personality.12

The second point is if the Bengal renaissance was an elitist movement involving only a limited section of the society, what should we say about the Leftist movement in India, particularly in its early phase? It rarely touched the masses on a broad scale. While the western educated, moneyed Bhadralok sponsored it, its followers were chiefly members of the urban middle class. Paradoxically enough, its leadership and a major section of the following was furnished by the land owning affluent element in several provinces including Bihar.

Let me conclude this paper with a few lines from S.C. Sarkar, himself a Marxist historian, who writes:

Like all great figures in history, Rammohun has not escaped critics. Orthodox Hindu contemporaries fumed against his heresy and social lapses; young radical

12. Ibid., p 147.
believed in “untethered power for enterprising landlord” and with his advocacy of free trade became a champion of the European commercial and business community in Calcutta, thereby remaining unaffected by the economic exploitation that was going on. Sen observes that Rammohun pleaded for conditions of more unencumbered private accumulation, for free trade, for removing the remaining monopolistic privileges of the East India Company, for more unrestricted entry of British capital and for land revenue reforms to help the process of building more wealth and prosperity. The process of coloniziation was changing the economic structure in a way contrary to the needs of industrial accumulation. As a corollary of the process of coloniziation, Sen draws attention to the prevalence of unproductive over productive labour, which, in his view, was the most decisive phenomenon in the circumstances leading to the emergence of the Bengali middle classes, of their newly growing city of Calcutta and of their supposed renaissance pioneered by Rammohun Roy.

While Barun De overemphasizes the Whig impact on Rammohun in order to limit his role in Indian history, Sen oversimplifies the “deindustrialization” of Bengal in order to prove the destruction of the industrial economy of Bengal during the lifetime of Rammohun. Sen then poses the question why in his so many writings there is no reference to the phenomenon of deindustrialization and the causes responsible for this calamity. The calamity was not apparent to Rammohun Roy because he genuinely believed that the country was proceeding on the path of economic development, and while he could not possibly appreciate the limited character of this growth, the term “deindustrialization” is hardly applicable in this case.

11. Ibid. pp 143-45. Also see Asok Sen’s article “The Bengal Economy and Rammohun Roy” in the same book, pp 103-35.
An Unexplored Aspect of Indian Iconography

ARYA RAMCHANDRA G. TIWARI

ICONOGRAPHY seeks to discover those fundamental human instincts, emotions, sentiments and creative urges which find expression in the icons made by the people experiencing them even when those people are separated by space, time and religious persuasions. In the context of the Indian conditions it means the comparison of the icons of different parts of the country which may or may not belong to the same religion. This often leads either to the discovery of the basic socio-spiritual needs which account for the similarity of the icons of different religions or regions; or it may point to the migration of the thought-tradition of one place to another (as evidenced in the near similar representations of Surya in the Vishvanath Temple in Lakundi (Karnataka) and the image of Surya in Dhulikhel (Nepal) because of the migration of some warrior-families from Karnataka to Nepal) for historical reasons.

It is, therefore, quite obvious that the study of iconography covers not only the idols but also the ideas and ideals represented through them. Thus, not only the forms of different deities as represented in the given images are required to be scrutinized by an iconographer along
contemporaries belittled him as going only half the way; modern conservative historians have cast a slur on him; modern leftists tend to stress his limitation. Yet the thought of Rammohan stands firm in all its worth. And one must estimate him in the framework of his time and not demand 'too much' when we have 'enough'.

13. Until the coming of Rabindra Nath Tagore, there was no comparable figure of greatness produced by Bengal, whose life work might be regarded as having the same immediacy of impact in the maturing of the modern age in India.

with the articles and vehicles associated with those deities but their symbolic significance also needs to be made out. This process enables one to disclose the personality of different deities and also reveal their distinguishing features and other attributes which differentiate the representation of one deity from the other. It is also necessary for the proper study of the images to acquaint oneself with the textual injunctions regarding the making of images of different gods and of the same gods to be lodged at different places (for example, the different types of images of Skanda for being installed in different places). It is also not uncommon to find that the texts differ radically on some significant points regarding the articles and or mounts of several deities. For example, either elephant or ram or human being or palanquin is suggested as the vehicle for Kubera in different texts; similarly, bird or deer is recommended for Vayu in different texts. These differences apart, even the artists are found departing from the textual recommendations by adding certain features which they believed to be essential for revealing the personality of any particular deity. They have several times dropped certain article-attributes (for example, several images of Shiva in the Gwalior Museum do not carry cobra in any of their hands; it is placed looking at the face of the deity in the upper corner to the right hand side of the Lord). In some instances they have gone to the extent of substituting one article for another for better representation of the form of the deity, for example, the substitution of hammer for thunderbolt in some images in or around Udaipur). This tendency of adding, dropping or substituting something for the other, suggests that the artist on his part had made some effort to offer a new form of the deity wherein sufficient degrees of old norms and a few elements of new norms are mixed together to reveal the personality of that deity in a better, subtler, and perhaps more comprehensive manner. The presence of some of the traditionally associated features in the representation of a deity does
Varaha with two hands and without Bhudevi (Debari near Udaipur) or Vayu with a bird (named Khanjana) for his vehicle (Udaipur) or rare representations of the Matsya, Kachchha, Varaha and Narasimha on Simhasanas (Gadag: Karnataka) or a zoomorphic form of Narasimha sitting on his haunches (Suchindram) or a rare form of Chamunda (an unlit Buddhist cave in Ellora) or Chamunda like a fat and toothless woman (Udasagar: near Udaipur - and Gujari Mahal Museum, Gwalior) or Narasimha with the article-attributes and form of Vishnu but with the Tripathagamini Ganga overhead (Mandsaur . M.P.), etc.

Not every effort at innovation or improvement was successful. If the spiritual inspiration was weak or the effort was half-hearted, the result was disastrous, e.g., the crude figure of the Rishi with pen and paper in hand for Brahma in the Charbhuj Temple in Javar (near Udaipur). But here, the effort, not the result calls for attention and appreciation.

What does the discovery of an image with an innovation by an inspired artist suggest? Should it be thrown away as an unhealthy product of a sacrilegious mind? Or should an effort be made to discover the root of such a deviation? I believe that such an image is worth its weight in gold. For it offers us a yardstick to measure the degree of spiritual vitality and of moral strength of the community at the time of its creation. It is true that such bold artists are rare but rarer are the phases of spiritual vitality in the history of a community which nurses great artists. If a society is not sufficiently bold, the artist would not obtain the necessary physical support and moral nourishment to sustain himself physically and spiritually.

When such a phase in the life of a society is to be noticed, one can definitely say that it is spiritually alive and expressing its ideals through different media, including the plastic arts. An image, therefore, does not indicate
against Madurai under the generalship of Prince Kumara Kambana, son of Bukka I. The account of this battle is vividly presented in the Madura Vijayam, a Sanskrit ballad by Gangadevi, queen of Kumara Kambana. The work also sheds light on the relations between Andhradesa and the Tamil country in the medieval period. As Madura Vijayam is considered an important primary source we have selected it as a test case to analyze the degree of prejudice in historical researches of the medieval period.

Madura Vijayam expresses its distaste for the Muslim invaders in the following words: Their heads have swinging tufts, they have blood-shot eyes, ferocious beards and furious browed foreheads. They are drunken all the time. The faces of Muslim men and women bear no smile. Even their smile is like the roar of a lion. The Sultan is the embodiment of both anger and drunkenness, his eyes are red with the drink of virapana and his forehead is fearful to look at.

The author, queen Gangadevi describes the Musulma as evil doers who committed atrocities. In powerful language she writes, the waters of the Tamil rivers Tambraparni, Vaigai and Kaveri which used to be white with the sandal paste washed away from the breasts of the beautiful girls who bathed in them have now turned red with the blood of cows slaughtered by the barbarians. As their pastime the Sultans drove the people to distress; as a result tears were their harvest. It is stated that brahmans were arrested.

5 Gangadevi's Madura Vijayam, Canto VIII, p. 63.
6 Ibid.
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid.
Twenty-seven

A Case Study of Madura Vijayam

S Selvin Kumar

The invasion of Malik Kafur on the states of southern India in early fourteenth century paved the way for the rise of the Madurai Sultanate and subsequently of Vijayanagar in A.D. 1334 and A.D. 1336, respectively, as the first phase of Muslim aggression and Hindu response. The first three Sultans of Madurai ruled from A.D. 1334 to 1341 and were comparatively free from the challenges of the Hindu rulers of Hoysala and Vijayanagar kingdoms. Later when Ghiyasuddin Damaghan Shah (1340-42) was the Sultan of Madurai the Hoysalas frequently attacked Madurai. However, the Sultan defeated them soundly and was able to crush their power forever. From then on Vijayanagar made it her noble task to attack Madurai. A campaign was launched

the Asiatic Society and Indian Antiquary state that Sultan Fakhruddin Mubarakshah was the Sultan of Madura, and not Sultan Sikander Shah who was the last Sultan and who had issued coins in his name.

The Madura Vijayam is, moreover, not a reliable source for reconstructing the social history of the period. The above-mentioned historical works that rely on it for that purpose do not give a correct idea of the social conditions of the time.

Altogether a critical evaluation of the Madura Vijayam is required in the light of evidence obtained from other contemporary sources if a reliable history of Tamil Nadu in particular, and of southern India in general is to be written.
and taken prisoners. They, therefore, were "the enemies of the world". They were wedded to nothing but evil, they were like the thorny shrub of the three worlds. Their administration, writes Gangadevi, was like that of Ravana. The Sultans, she says, were the enemies of the Cholas, the Pandyas and the Hoysalas. They were skilled in warfare, and with their arrows like the eye darts of Yama's (death God) sister, defeated their neighbours. Their banner was like Kaliyuga crowned, their symbol a crow. The death of the Sultan in the battlefield is described thus: His head fell, the head that had never known the art of a cajoling servant, the head that had borne the royal burden, the head that had never bowed, not even to the gods.

The lack of a sense of history on the part of the author of the work is apparent from the fact that not even the name of the Sultan of Madura whom Kumara Kamhana fought has been recorded. The account, moreover, is heavily biased against the Muslims and misrepresents even some of the basic concepts of the Quran. Historians continue to argue about the name of the Sultan in question. Without taking into account the numismatic evidence scholars like Caldwell in A Political and General History of the District of Tinnevelly (1881), Krishnaswamy Aiyengar and Robert Sewell in The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India (1932), Nilakanta Sastri in The Pandyan Kingdom (reprinted in 1972), and Foreign Notices of South India (1939), Krishnaswamy Aiyengar in South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders (1921), and in papers that appeared in the Journal of

10 Ibid
14 Op. cit., Canto IX, Slogas 25, p. 68
rightly observes, the standpoints of the two scholars give vent to their biased approach to the history of the Delhi Sultanate. Similarly, Professor Irfan Habib could not shake off his Marxist and personal bias in certain aspects of the present study.

To begin with, his reference to Professor K.A. Nizami's work is entirely uncalled for and, therefore, most unfortunate. It is impossible to understand his charge against Professor Nizami's description of the social order in the Islamic world as well as that of the conditions of India on the eve of the Turkish conquests, in the light of the latter's criticism of the social defects in Muslim society and appreciation of the brighter aspects of Indian civilization. The least that could

4. Irfan Habib, op. cit., p. 2 and Appendix, 29-40
5. K.A. Nizami, Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the 13th Century, Delhi, 1974, 20. He observes that "the Umayyad Empire fell when it had exhausted all possibilities of further exploitation. Racial discriminations, class interests, aristocratic ways and luxurious tastes weakened the moral basis of the Umayyad dynasty which disappeared in the terrible bloodbath of 750 AD." But Professor Irfan Habib conveniently forgets or omits to mention this observation; he confines himself to pages 1-14 for obvious reasons.

It may be pointed out here that social distinctions and the repression of several sections of society (the mawali under the Umayyads and of slaves and peasants) were not as wide-spread and whole as is generally believed by modern scholars who base their studies on secondary sources without reference to original materials.

Summing up his discussion on the conditions of India which facilitated the establishment of Muslim rule here Professor Nizami warns that "This gloomy picture of Indian society in the 11th and 12th centuries should not, however, make one oblivious of the intellectual achievements of Hinduism in the preceding ages. Long before the advent of the Turks, Hindu contributions in the sphere of mathematics, astronomy, toxicology, chemistry, medicine, astrology, parables and politics had attracted the attention of the Arabs and large number of Sanskrit works on these subjects had been translated into Arabic. This glorious intellectual heritage of India was, however, not open to the Indian masses in the 11th and 12th centuries. The Mulsalmans brought with them, besides their own sciences, many of the sciences which they had initially borrowed from the Hindus." op. cit., 74.
Economic History of the Delhi Sultanate: A Critique

Y. M Siddiqi

It is heartening to note that in recent years more and more writers and scholars have been attempting to appraise the socio-economic developments of the Delhi Sultanate, particularly during the first two centuries of its inception. Unfortunately, the studies made by some scholars reflect their obsession with a certain brand of ideology which not only smacks of personal prejudices and predilections but distorts the historical perspective as well. The latest example is Professor Irfan Habib's otherwise scholarly article which is a curious exposition of a stereotype and committed thinking. He himself criticises, borrowing his own words, the startling discoveries made by two eminent scholars, namely, Professors Lallanji Gopal and K.S. Lal that India became poor in her economic and human resources with the advent of the Muslims. Obviously, as he

2 L. Gopal, The Economic Life of Northern India, (AD 790-1200) Delhi, 1965, 257-61
3 K.S. Lal, Growth of Muslim Population in Medieval India, Delhi, 1973, pp. 26-156
their raids on the *mawasat* (rebellious areas). But in the case of the latter it must be borne in mind that these were confined to a particular area, namely, Katihar, where the most notorious people lived, and were conducted only in the early days of Balban's reign. But Professor Irfan Habib has resorted to generalization and gives the impression that the raids on the *mawasat* were extremely widespread and continued in all periods.

Then comes the question of the slaves (*burdas*) thus acquired being used in different kinds of manufacturing enterprises. Did all the Sultani slaves constitute "a large controlled supply of labour"? It is true that 12,000 of 180,000 slaves of Firuz Tughluq worked as artisans (*kasib*) of every kind, but what about the remaining 1,68,000 slaves? Further, no evidence is adduced to show that the multitudes of slaves obtained by Aibak, Iltutmish, Alauddin Khalji, Muhammad bin Tughluq and others were being used as controlled cheap labour simply because there is no evidence. However it may be presumed that these Sultans too must have employed a small percentage of their slaves in their *karkhanas* (workshops). For obvious reasons we are being hoodwinked into believing that the bulk of the slaves acquired by the Sultans and the aristocratic classes were employed in different branches of the administration, thus forming a part of the privileged ruling class of the Delhi Sultanate.

As to the use of slave-labour in craft-production by the aristocratic and mercantile masters, the discovery is yet to be made. Professor Irfan Habib's whole argumentation in this

12 Tabaqat-i Nasiri, 15, 17-18, 26-29, 33, 57-8, 71-72 and 77. Excepting this, no other reference to the raid on the *mawasat* is made.
13 *Asif*, op cit., Irfan Habib, *op cit.*
14 *Asif*, 76-77
15 It may be pointed out here that the social or legal status of the slaves of the Sultanate period did not block their ascent in the official hierarchy, they held important positions in the administration as ministers, *muckas* (governors) and military commanders, and to top it all, several ambitious and capable slaves even rose to the highest pedestal, i.e., kingship like Aibak, Iltutmish and Balban.
be said about Professor Irfan Habib’s remarks is that they are not a piece of careful scholarship for they clearly smack of personal bias.

In Professor Irfan Habib's analysis of the institution of slavery, darker aspects have been highlighted for obvious reasons. He conveniently forgets that it was sanctioned not only by the social customs that prevailed during the time of the Indian Sultanate but all over the medieval world. Further, long before the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate there had been a brisk trade in the slave commodity in India. Therefore, slavery was not a Muslim import, it was a part of the heritage that the Sultans received from their Indian predecessors. This is not to deny or rationalise the fact that several Sultans of Delhi acquired a multitude of slaves in their campaigns as well as in

7. *Op cit.*, 15-18

8 *Op cit.*, 18, fn 2. In this connection his reference to Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya and other mystics who “prayed for the recovery of fugitive slaves by their masters” is uncalled for. His criticism of the attitude of the mystics or, for that matter, of the intelligentsia who explicitly supported and sanctioned the institution of slavery is, in fact, a case of studying facts without their historical perspective.

9 Dev Raj Chandra *Slavery in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1960, L. Gopal, *op cit.*, 71-80

10 L. Gopal, *op cit.*, 71-80, who rightly observes that “. . . in the long run Muslim influence would have been for the betterment of the conditions of slave. Islam with its ideal of universal brotherhood does not attach much stigma to slaves. On the other hand we definitely see that it was a matter of honour to be the slave of an important man.”

11 Asbak acquired 70,000 slaves in his two campaigns only, if the figures are not inflated. See Hasan Nizami, *Tajul Ma’asir*, transcript of Sanjuyah Library MS, 424, 59, Minhaj Siraj, *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, ed. Abdul Hai Habibi, Kabul 1964, 11, 65, says that Balban acquired countless slaves in his campaigns. Awaqind Khaju had 50,000 slaves, whereas Firuz Tuglugh’s slaves numbered 1,80,000. See Adam, *Tankhi Firuz Shah*, ed. Wilayat Husain, Calcutta, 1890, 270, 272. Cf L. Gopal, *op cit.*, 71 makes note of attacks by feudal chiefs on neighbouring areas saying that they “were often motivated by the desire not for territorial gain but for loot, even in the form of slaves.”
their raids on the mawasat (rebellious areas). But in the case of the latter it must be borne in mind that these were confined to a particular area, namely, Katihar, where the most notorious people lived, and were conducted only in the early days of Balban’s reign. But Professor Isfan Habib has resorted to generalization and gives the impression that the raids on the mawasat were extremely widespread and continued in all periods.

Then comes the question of the slaves (burdas) thus acquired being used in different kinds of manufacturing enterprises. Did all the Sultani slaves constitute “a large controlled supply of labour”? It is true that 12,000 of 180,000 slaves of Firuz Tughluq worked as artisans (kasiib) of every kind, but what about the remaining 1,68,000 slaves? Further, no evidence is adduced to show that the multitudes of slaves obtained by Aibak, Iltutmish, Alauddin Khalji, Muhammad bin Tughluq and others were being used as controlled cheap labour. Simply because there is no evidence, however, it may be presumed that these Sultans too must have employed a small percentage of their slaves in their karshanas (workshops). For obvious reasons we are being hoodwinked into believing that the bulk of the slaves acquired by the Sultans and the aristocratic classes were employed in different branches of the administration, thus forming a part of the privileged ruling class of the Delhi Sultanate.

As to the use of slave-labour in craft-production by the aristocratic and mercantile masters, the discovery is yet to be made. Professor Isfan Habib’s whole argumentation in this

---

12 Tabaqat-i Nauri, 11, 17-18, 26-29, 53, 57-8, 71-72 and 77. Excepting this, no other reference to the raid on the mawas is made.
13 Afr. op cit., Isfan Habib, op cit.
14 Afr. 69-73
15 It may be pointed out here that the social or legal status of the slaves of the Sultanate period did not block their ascent in the official hierarchy, they held important positions in the administration as ministers, muqatta (governors) and military commanders, and to top it all, several ambitious and capable slaves even rose to the highest pedestal, i.e., kingship like Aibak, Iltutmish and Balban.
respect is based on presumption and assumption, for there is no evidence on the point so far. In fact, craft-production was predominantly based on the free labour obtainable in the form of both immigrants and native artisans. Interestingly, Professor Irfan Habib himself discusses the role of the immigrant horde of artisans and craftsmen (kasiban, naghshbandans, san'at garan etc.) in every kind of manufacture, and one hopes that they all were of free origin. For work by free native artisans there is extensive evidence in our sources. Alauddin Khalji alone employed 70,000 craftsmen (muhtarifa) in his karkhanaha-i imurat (building departments). They could possibly not have been slaves because the Khalji Sultan is said to have possessed only 50,000 slaves. Shibabuddin al-'Umri refers to the skilled horde of artisans of Indian origin who carried on production on their own accord. Similarly, Mabru in his comparative study of the wages of artisans and craftsmen (muhtarifa) during the reigns of Alauddin Khalji, Muhammad bin Tughluq and Firuz Tughluq clearly refers to their independent status. Barani refers to Muslim servants being employed by Hindu higher classes such as Rais, Ranas, Thakurs, Sahis, Mahata, Pandits, etc. There are other evidences which establish that craft-production was based on free labour, and not on slave labour as claimed by Professor Irfan Habib.

This is not the proper place to discuss the economic basis of the Delhi Sultanate, but a word or two may be said about it. Professor Irfan Habib maintains that the Delhi nobles were continually in debt for large sums of money to the money lenders.

17 Barani, Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi, ed Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Bibliotheca Indica, 1864, 341
18 Mosalsik-al Absar, Eng. tr. by Otto Spies, Aligarh, 11, 14, 16
19 Insha-i Mabru, ed Shaikh Abdul Rashid & M. Bashir Husain, Lahore, 1965, 48, 71. It is interesting to note that the craftsmen not only demanded high charges but also indulged in hording and regranting (shtikar), particularly in Multan.
20 Ibid.
(Multanus wasahan) of Delhi, simply because the economic basis of the Sultanate remained weak. But Barani's account points to the fact that it was not the destitution of nobles, as interpreted by the scholar, but, curiously enough, their bounty and generosity which landed them in their wretched condition on the one hand and enriched the money lenders on the other. It was in fact, a case of extravagance, not that of the economic weakness as the author finds convenient to suggest.

Lastly, a remark on the kharaj collection in the Delhi Sultanate. It is true that 50% demand made by Alauddin Khalji along with two supplementary taxes (ghari and charai) was a very regressive one. Also, it is equally true that the Khalji Sultan was not a liberator of the poor peasant. But his agrarian measures, indeed, struck hard at the intermediary class which exploited the peasantry on the one hand and cheated the royal exchequer on the other. There is much substance in Moreland's view that the Sultan wanted "to break the power of the rural leaders, the chiefs and the headmen of parganas and villages." So far as the increase in taxation in the Doab by Muhammad bin Tughluq is concerned it is still debatable whether it was a further increase to the 50% demand made by Alauddin Khalji or to the lower rates fixed by his successors, notably Ghiyasuddin Tughluq. To presume that the high demand made by Alauddin Khalji continued in all succeeding regimes is contrary to all facts. Most probably the reason for

22. Barani 119-20, says that the khars and mulak (maliks) from the time of Ilutmish to Nasiruddin Mahmud in general, and the nobles of Balban to some extent indulged in a healthy race in bestowing bounty if a noble invited 500 to the feast, another invited 1,000; if one gave 200 tankas in alms (sadapah), another gave 400 tankas, and so on.
rebellion in the *Djah* was the fact that Muhammad bin Tughluq had once again reverted to the collection of the *kharaj* on the basis of assessment, i.e., the *kharaj-i muqasarnah* or proportional land tax, which was replaced by the sharing system of his father. In other words it may be said that Muhammad bin Tughluq had tried to revive the agrarian system introduced by his great Khalji predecessor. As referred to earlier, it was very regressive taxation, but to call it "an agrarian exploitation" is, in fact, an exposition which stems from the notion according to which the State is the biggest exploiting agency.

To sum up, it may be safely said that the craft-production for market consumption was predominantly based on free-labour obtained through the abundant supply of trained, skilled and at the same time, cheap artisans of both foreign and native origin. What the Sultani *karkhanas* turned out was for royal consumption alone and that too was not sufficient for their requirements. It may be contended whether the agrarian changes brought about by the Delhi Sultans improved the lot of the peasantry, but it is certain that the latter were relieved, to a great extent, from the oppressive measures of the intermediary class, and this led to the development of agriculture. The large-scale craft-production by free-labour and systematic and regular collection of the *kharaj* were two factors which mainly contributed to the development of the medieval economy of the Delhi Sultanate.

A Note on the Interpretation of Medieval Historiography

TARIQ AHMAD

Poor Indian History! Even after the departure of the British and the so-called colonial historians it has very seldom received fair treatment at the hands of historians her own historians who take pride in being Indians.

Indian historiography has always been subject to bias and prejudice. One aspect which this paper dwells upon is the Marxist bias which has tried to bring in the class conflict theory even where it can be least applied. The state has always been seen as an exploiting agency, and a conflict between the oppressor and the oppressed seems to be the bedrock of all theorizations. It has been remarked that "the peculiar feature of the State in Mughal India - indeed in Medieval India - was that it served not merely as the protective arm of the exploiting classes, but was itself the principal instrument of exploitation."

Without being an apologist for the Mughal State system we attempt to see things in their correct perspective.

What seems to have prompted Prof Islan Habib to make
this sweeping generalization was probably the working of the jagirdar system. Being carried away by Bernier's remarks about the transfer of jagirdars, Prof. Irfan Habib saw nothing but evil in the jagirdar system. Not that he did not have enough source material which ran contrary to what he wrote but he seems to have had certain pre-conceived notions.

It would be erroneous to suppose that the jagirdar possessed within his jagir an absolute power over its inhabitants. The powers of a jagirdar were subject to a number of checks and balances. The judicial power was a task carried out by the Qazi who was appointed by the State and was completely independent of the jagirdar. He drew his income from the madadma'ash granted by the Emperor. There were also the Qanungos and the Chandhuries in each pargana to help in the field of revenue collection. Their offices were generally hereditary, though they held their position on the basis of a sanad granted by the state. Their appointment was, as a rule, for life and so while jagirdars came and went they stayed on—but the Emperor reserved the right to remove them from their posts. They checked the accounts of collections and saw that no irregular exactions were taken from the peasantry. The faujdar or military commander had the task of maintaining law and order.

Finally there was the Waga-i-Nahas who was an important officer in the provincial government of the Mughal Empire. He gathered information of all kinds through his agents from all quarters and sent a constant stream of communication to the royal court. He generally posted his assistants in the departments of the Nazim, Diwan, Faujdar and Qazi; they despatched reports about the daily proceedings and occurrences to him. The central government exercised absolute and effective control over

2. According to the Mazhar-i-Shah Jahani there was an officer who was appointed over a Satkar and was to send his agents to every pargana to see whether any of the jagirdars or local officials was exacting more than what was sanctioned. The official could inform the court.

Aurangzeb's farmans to Rasikdas and Muhammad Hashim also show the desire of the state to check exploitation.
this department. Moreover, according to the Mirat-i Ahmadî and other sources besides the Waqa-i Nâvis, there was a secret reporter called Sawanâh Nigar posted at places and charged with the responsibility of secretly sending news directly to the Emperor. Above all the inhabitants of a jagîr could also make direct complaints to the court.

We have enough evidence to show that down to the reign of Aurangzeb the State was in control of the situation and the Emperor, whenever the need arose, ordered enquiries into the administration of various jagirdars and, if necessary, took action against them.

There is no doubt that the jagîdar was always tempted to take advantage of the loopholes, if any, to realize more and more, but our sources are clear that the State wanted to check this tendency. It is also clear that at least up to 1707 the jagîdars were very effectively checked and controlled by the centre and it was not possible for them to display any tendency towards defiance of court directives.

One group of historians holds the opinion that it was because of the exploitation by the jagîdars that the peasants lived a miserable life—agriculture was destroyed, villages were deserted and this was the basic cause which shook the Mughal Empire and ultimately led to its disintegration.

---

3 The author of the Mirat-i-Ahmadi writes, “In former reigns Waqa-i-Navis were employed; but owing to the suspicion of their entering into collusion (with the local officers) Sawanâh Nigar—who were also called Khufanâis—were appointed to reside secretly in the Subahs and report the news”. For detailed discussion of the powers and functions of the Bakshi-Waqa-i-Navis and Sawanâh Nigar, see Mirat-i-Ahmadi, Supplement pp. 174-175. Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I, p. 266, Waqa-i-Sarha Afsar, pp. 317, 497, 671.

4 Adab-i Âlamgiri, ft. 18a-19b-20a, 40a-40b. That the administration was equally interested in the welfare of the merchants is also borne out by the sources, see, M.F. Singh, ‘Merchants and the local Administration and Civic Life in Gujarat during the 17th cent.” Medieval India—A Miscellany, Vol. II, esp. p. 225.

5 See for example, Irfan Habib, Agrarian System of Mughal India, pp. 313-351.
Very cogent arguments have been advanced by Prof. Isfan Habib, yet the material at our disposal is so limited that such generalizations cannot be accepted. A note of warning should be sounded lest these arguments become a dogma. It will be historically more sound to trace the quantum of exploitation instead of basing our arguments on the accounts of foreign travellers who could not easily appreciate the socio-economic forces at work here and viewed the situation with biased eyes.
Some New Trends in the Study of Medieval Indian History

ZAHIRUDDIN MALIK

THE MEDIEVAL period of Indian history forms a significant phase in the continuing process of development of civilization and culture of the country. For the study of mainsprings and characteristics of civilization that flourished during this period a number of conceptual as well as factual monographical works have been written in the modern times by historians—both the professional and non-professional, Indians and foreigners. These historians have adopted different approaches and methods to interpret their evidence, derived mainly from the surviving source-material, and, consequently, the conclusions formulated by them are varied and diverse in meaning and effect.

The British historians, for instance, treated the history of the period as a separate and isolated unit of study which had in their opinion no links or continuity with the past. To them “India was a mere geographical expression, a congeries of religious groups, races, and castes which had no organic social coherence, or political unity.” By applying the method of one factor-explanations they analysed and interpreted the history of the entire period in terms of the rise and fall of the dynastic rules, political disintegration and social anarchy. Their sole
Very cogent arguments have been advanced by Prof. Irfan Habib, yet the material at our disposal is so limited that such generalizations cannot be accepted. A note of warning should be sounded lest these arguments become a dogma. It will be historically more sound to trace the quantum of exploitation instead of basing our arguments on the accounts of foreign travellers who could not easily appreciate the socio-economic forces at work here and viewed the situation with biased eyes.
in the words of Dr. R.P. Tripathi:

"As far as possible no preconceived notions or time-honoured opinions have been allowed to interfere with the interpretations of facts. Where any serious disagreement was found between the opinions of other scholars and mine, I have tried to indicate briefly either in an appendix or in a footnote my grounds of arriving at a particular conclusion. The nature of the evidence at times had made differences inevitable but full consideration and weight has been given to the opinions of other scholars before framing my own."

In this connection two important works written on a common subject equally ably by two distinguished historians may be referred to. These are: *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration* by Dr. R.P. Tripathi, published in 1936, and *Administration of Delhi Sultanate*, by Dr. I.H. Qureshi, 1942. Both historians examined exhaustively the administrative institutions, financial and agrarian systems of government, and position and role of the governing classes in proper historical perspective of the medieval period. Dr. Tripathi covered a long period from A.D. 1206 to 1605, while Dr. Qureshi did not extend his account beyond A.D. 1526. The former assessed the working of the administrative institutions in the context of Indian environment and sought to bring synthesis between Muslim conceptions about kingship, taxation and statecraft developed outside India and the local traditions and customs. He showed that these institutions were shaped and reshaped according to the changing circumstances and requirements by rulers who were generally motivated by political considerations rather than religious predilections. Dr. Qureshi, on the other hand, endeavoured to prove that Delhi Sultanate was not a theocracy, but a welfare state, and the Muslim community formed a nation. The Sultanate, according to him, was a part of the greater world of Islam, and its history and institutions should properly be understood in the background of Islamic history and ideals of government. Thus, if the one surveyed the administrative history of the period from the Islamic point of view, the other viewed the whole process in terms of inter-
concern with one particular form of human activity narrowed
down the scope of investigation, and robbed them of the vision,
that could take a comprehensive view of human experience
in the economic, religious and cultural spheres. The picture
of Indian society that emerged out of their studies was of
incessant conflicts and clashes among the nations inhabiting
the country, unbroken by any intellectual or socio-religious
movements for maintaining traditions of unity and peaceful co-
existence in society.

But with the dawn of new historical consciousness among
the Indian intellectuals, historiography of medieval India
underwent fundamental changes in its scope, concept and
methodology. Equipped with an academic critical apparatus
developed in the West, Indian historians, particularly of the
Allahabad School, devoted themselves to the study of the
period with care, restraint and imaginative insight. They un-
earthed original data, and by using the evidence critically and
inductively assessed with sympathetic insight the ideas and
concepts prevailing in the past. In reconstructing medieval
history they highlighted the previously neglected dimensions
of cultural advancement and emphasized the role of the inte-
grating forces which had sustained Indian society in the midst
of political turmoil and tensions. Their historical scholarship
and academic achievements inspired a large number of students
of medieval history to design their research undertakings on
the lines of investigation and analysis suggested by them.
Though most of these historians took prominent part in the
organization and activities of the Indian History Congress and
other periodical conferences, they made no effort either to
impose the truthfulness of their findings, or dominate the
decision-making committees by excluding elements of dissent
on charges of communalism or chauvinism. Historical scholar-
ship was tested on the basis of an intensive and scientific
examination of the original sources of information and critical
analysis of facts by the combined application of the telescopic
and microscopic methods of study. Their approach and
methodology for writing the history of the period may be stated
in the context of change and continuity. The business of the historian is to correlate the complex and diversified elements and in his historical quest find underneath the recurring patterns, the thoughts and feelings of men whose actions caused the events, and demonstrate the direction which a civilization assumed at a particular time in the course of its development. In the selection of facts and their interpretation the subjective element creeps in and the personality of the historian rooted in the present also projects itself; but utmost care should be exercised to control his personal biases and prejudices and an attempt should be made to eliminate their effects from his work, to draw only such conclusions as the evidence seems to warrant. The purpose of a priori philosophy of history is not to search out the truth but to establish the validity and perfectness of systems and institutions which a theorist cherishes most. He tries to exercise influence on contemporary academic life by refuting other historical findings which may impede the diffusion of his theories based on intellectual speculation and hypothetical categories. This palenogenesis approach to the study of history is in conformity with the principles of philosophy of history laid down by the French thinkers of the eighteenth century. For instance Diderot wrote:

It seems more useful and expedient to possess the idea of the just and the unjust before possessing knowledge of the actions and the men to whom we ought to apply it.

But in the words of Sir Lewis Namier the function of the historical research is different:

"On the contrary, the historical approach is intellectually humble; the aim is to comprehend situations, to study trends, to discover how things work; and the crowning attainment of historical study in a historical sense—an intuitive understanding of how things do not happen (how they did happen is a matter of specific knowledge)."

Prof. W. Cantwell Smith had in his learned article, 'Modern
actions and synthesis. But disagreement with historical assumptions, value preferences and individual judgements did not give cause to repudiation of any author's whole scholarship and his major life-work of study and research.

In the post-independence decades the trend to interpret medieval Indian history by one factor explanations and assess its significance by fixed standards has again been revived. If the British historians had restricted the scope of their inquiry to political history of the past, some Marxist historians of India have endeavoured to examine it from the economic standpoint alone. As the British historians wanted to glorify their regime by undermining the importance of Indian cultural heritage, some economic historians have sought in their own peculiar way to condemn the old social order with the aim to project the communist ideology of state and society. Every order established in the ancient period, middle ages or modern times has to be condemned as primitive, barbaric, feudal and capitalist, every link with the past has to be severed to build a better future on the pattern of scientific socialism. These few economic historians, by and large, seize on any thesis relating to the inherent contradictions in the economic structure of the past, and to prove it by selecting facts from the available data. They manipulate interpretations and conclusions which may fit in the general framework of dialectical materialism. They look at the historical record from one single angle of vision, and try to analyse only the economic factors and forces which according to them had determined the course of human activities in all spheres of life. They oppose objectivity, which is an essential feature of historical research, because it does not provide sufficient latitude to formulate patterns and theories for propagating their political persuasions and ideals. Projection of ideologies in history-writing tends to corrode facts and truths, resulting in a coloured account of the medieval times.

The historians should seek to study objectively each time-bound phenomenon in its uniqueness and individuality, and explain the dynamic inter-relation between its diverse elements.
underwent a fundamental transformation. Amir Muawiyah changed the khilafat into monarchy and organized the Umayyads into a governing class. Military force, fear of authority and hereditary succession were the main principles which formed the basis of government and statecraft.

"...Taxes not sanctioned by Islam were imposed upon the people ... The Umayyad aristocracy was now a full-fledged exploiting class. The vast non-Arab population deeply resented this state of affairs ..."

The Umayyad Empire fell when it had exhausted all possibilities of further exploitation. Racial discriminations, class interests, aristocratic ways and luxurious tastes weakened the moral basis of the Umayyad dynasty which disappeared in the terrible blood bath of 750 A.D."

This state of affairs worsened during the Abbasid Caliphate, particularly in the last phase of its existence. "Exploitation and overtaxation became rampant. Heavy taxation drove the merchants out of Baghdad. Discontent grew apace."

5 Op. cit. p. 21. In an article, entitled "Economic History of the Delhi Sultanate—An Essay in Interpretation", presented to the Indian History Congress, Hyderabad Session, Dec 1978, p 5, Prof. Irfan Habib criticised Prof. Nizami for his failure to see any defect or weakness in the social order as actually functioning in the Islamic world, and referred to pages 1-14 of Nizami's Some Aspects of Religion and Politics etc., in support of his statement. But we see that in these pages Nizami has discussed only the theoretical aspects of the social order and shari'at set up by the Holy Prophet, and their comparison with the political, legal, economic and social institutions operating at that time in the Roman world. When he comes to examine the working of the Islamic institutions under the Umayyads, Abbasides and other dynasties he has criticised in clear and frank terms the abuses and evils that crept in the government and society. (pp 19-27) Nizami's assessment of the underlying political and economic causes that gave rise to these abuses is based on a careful examination of both contemporary and non-contemporary sources. This discussion forms part of the introduction which provides a succinct historical background to examine in detail the shape and character which these institutions assumed in the Indian environment.
Muslim Historical writing in English, posed a significant question: "Whether the Muslims of India and their activities constitute a chapter in Islamic history or in Indian history is a question that has split the soul and body of the community; and is still today unsatisfactorily answered." What Cantwell Smith wanted to emphasize was that till 1961, in which year this article was published, no systematic and comprehensive work on medieval Indian history had been produced that could provide a synthesis between the diversified elements of Islamic civilization and Indian culture. Scholarly works were written either to glorify Muslim achievements in art, literature, architecture and science outside India or to eulogize the contributions made by the Indians to the development of culture and civilization during the medieval period. However, the well-known book of Professor K.A. Nizami, Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the 13th Century, published in 1963, may be cited as an excellent example of sincere and honest endeavour to answer the questions put forward by Prof. Smith. About this book Prof Muhammad Habib had remarked.

The best work we have on all aspects (including the political) of Indo-Muslim life in India during the thirteenth century... His attitude is critical and scientific, and he has avoided both polemics and propaganda.

Prof Nizami has critically examined the various stages in the political expansion and ideological integration of Islam, from its rise in Arabia to the Ghurid conquest of Northern India in proper historical perspective. He has dealt with the political, legal, theological and mystic systems built in the Muslim countries, focussing full attention on changes and innovations wrought in them before the foundation of Turkish rule in India. Under the Umayyads the character of political Islam

3 See, Intro. by M. Habib in K.A. Nizami, Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the 13th Century, p. iii.
numerals, the Arabs themselves gratefully remembered it as 'Ilm al-Hindsa. There was hardly any branch of Indian learning with which the Arabs did not become familiar before the Turkish conquest of Northern India'.

The Mussalmans brought this scientific knowledge with them and contributed to its development during the long span of their rule in India in the medieval period. While stressing the need of the study of cultural movements, Nizami has also emphasised that the economic forces should be investigated into their true social and political setting. "Historical facts are meaningless unless co-ordinated with the production system and the social and cultural ideas of the time."
Nizami holds that the Turkish invasions were inspired not by any religious fervour but by territorial ambitions, for Shihab-uddin's first conflict on Indian soil took place not with a Hindu Raja but with a Muslim co-religionist. The Turkish tribes which had led the Muslim armies into India in the 12th and 13th centuries were not the true representatives of the Islam which had been preached by the Holy Prophet and carried into practice in the decades immediately following his death. Islam had traversed a long course, and by the time it reached India it had lost much of its spiritual purity and democratic spirit. The Sultanate established by these Turks had no sanction in religion, and Shari'at was not the basis for the formulation and implementation of their political policies. The basis of this state was a governing and exploiting class: the Muslims formed a very small group in the higher ranks of military and civil services; the remainder portion of the Muslim population had no effective say in the policies of the Government.

Nizami finds continuity in the growth of Indian culture and points out that the cultural heritage of pre-Muslim India also became over the centuries an inseparable part of Muslim cultural life as is reflected in the thinking and attitude of Amir Khusrau. "An endless process of absorption, assimilation and adjustment of diverse elements and tendencies has gone on for centuries giving shape and complexion to the cultural tradition of India." Long before the advent of Turks the Muslim world had borrowed much from the Hindu contributions in the spheres of mathematics, astrology, chemistry, medicine and other sciences.

"Hindu physicians were invited to the Dar ul khilafa where a hospital dispensed Ayurvedic medicine under the supervision of Hindu doctors. The Arabs transmitted some of the Indian sciences, particularly the Indian decimal system to Europe; and while the Europeans called it the Arabic
an ethnic group has been a general trend. In a patently religious state where the state has a religion to support, its activities or decrees will be coloured to that extent. In a colonial state, the imperial, economic or other exploitative interests will necessarily involve a less than fair recognition of elements struggling for emancipation from colonial thraldom. There is, however, a difference wherein an ancient state which is seen pursuing an ethical-moral goal may yet be underplaying, without any bias or parochialism, the forces which represent sectarian or ritualistic potentialities, as in the case of a republican state of the Janapada period. In this republican state there was an almost secular leadership which was not dynastic, or hereditary, or nominated but naturally elected by groups or ganas. Notwithstanding the above, there was often a lead given by the state or rulership to patronise Buddhism rather than Hinduism (also vice versa)—owing to the basically secular, universal humanism prevailing in Buddhist religion. The emperor Asoka, after the Kalinga war, came to be placed under that category. He decreed that no meaningless rituals (*mangalas*) performed by womenfolk should be encouraged; no *samajjas* (sectarian festivals) should be supported; and no spectacular visual shows like the elephant shows, fire shows, temple shows (Vimana dasana, Hathidasana, aggikhandani cha anyani divyani) to attract folks into a religious fold be furthered by the state, but only *Dharma mangalas*. To show that he is following the 'middle path', both philosophically and as a ruler, he advised against extolling one’s own cult and decrying another’s. The term that he used for 'religion or cult' in the above context is 'pashanda'. This Sanskrit term is used from the medieval times (c. 13th century A.D.) to the present day for an atheist or agnostic. But Asoka clearly used this word in the sense it was employed in his own time—as referring to 'sectarian religion', since he uses it for one's own religion as well as another's (Atpa-pashanda puja cha para pashanda garha cha). Hence, he emerges unsullied from any argument pertaining to bias as far as this specific edict is concerned.

Thus, biases created by political, colonial, monarchical, religious, dictatorial, or even moral—ethical rulerships or dominant coteries are not to be condemned out of hand, but to be
Bias in Indian History—Scope and Need for Selective Rationalization

K.V. SOUNDARA RAJAN

Bias, as a term, is perhaps primarily biological, and is part of a tribal instinct in man to like or dislike a thing intensely. Thus it is not so easily overcome and in the essential analysis, is not undesirable either. But when the bias is expressed in parochial terms, it becomes coloured chronicling and hence liable to be taken with reservations. It then requires to be checked with information yielding complementary data of an opposed kind. Even then, the data available has to be balanced with reference to the situation. The forces, in opposition or in suppression; the policy to be pursued—all will be relevant to a consideration of the matter in its varied aspects. For instance, if the dominant elements identified with or affiliated to the ruling power—whether monarchical, colonial or dictatorial—have their own socio-cultural interests, it would be legitimate to a degree to conclude that they will protect them however short-sighted it may be with reference to the fundamental situations, or the aspirations of the other constituent groups of society which is not well-served by such a policy. Thus, in monarchical states, generally, in the distant as well as the near past or even present, state patronage of a religious or
Bias in Indian History—Scope and Selective Rationalisation 263
dian), when they evolved, made common cause with the
Dravidians and tended to show antipathy towards the ‘Aryans’.
We have for some centuries now, only linguistic Aryans and
Dravidians, but no ethnic groups of these. With social refor-
amation, as is already afoot, this disparity as the cause for bias is
also bound to disappear and the historiographic problem would
also recede.

No. x, however, is purely economic and is primarily a
malady in advanced non-traditional, colonial, industrial socie-
ties. The more ancient societies traditionally did not have the
class bias, and a class conflict syndrome is not attributable to
them. Hence, class conflict bias may be applicable only to a
colonial or post-industrial society where traditional conservatisn
disappears, and miscegenation in marriage-kinship breaks all
tradition giving rise to neo-social traditions. A Marxist view of
social evolution would, therefore, seem to fit less persuasively a
traditional pre-medieval society, archaeologically or historically
but gradually becomes more and more pertinent and relevant
to all societies where the social surplus is not fed back into the
pipeline once again. Monarchical traditions, to some extent,
create such conditions but not the old traditional monarchies.
Rather, this situation applies to the West-influenced, post-
colonial monarchies, from about 16th century where the rapport
between the ruler and the ruled is kept artificially tailored,
creating emotional as well as truly economic yearnings of the
subjects for betterment. In India, Western colonialism, was
part-racial, part feudal and part-religious (attracting ii, iii, iv
and vi of the listed biases of the Seminar circular). But with
independence, all these vanished. The ethnic and class conflicts,
however, remain, because, on the one hand, society is losing its
indigenous cultural values, and on the other, industrialisation is
creating the neo-rich who were the underdogs of yesterday and
who are in conflict with the underdogs of today. Absolute
federation in constitution, may help in the disappearance of
these also.

Historians, therefore, if they keep the above limitations of
these biases in mind would help make historical reconstruction
and methodology not more complicated than it really is.
persuasively dealt with, and change of heart, on the basis of fellowship, effected. Only a prejudice, specifically aired in such documented data which a historian comes across should be stoutly opposed and resisted. Racial bias is the only bias that has to be opposed tooth and nail always, wherever, and in whatever form it rears its head in history and its documentation. A counter-attacking position to any biased documentation of history in a manner that is hurtful is certainly not the path that a historian confronting such biases should take. If he indulges in it the prescription becomes more vicious than the disease. On the basis of the above analysis it is my view that of the biases in Indian History listed in the Seminar circular, all except Nos. v, viii, ix, and x do not deserve to be categorized as parochial biases. These are either natural, authoritarian, religious or psychologival biases, not amounting to a deliberate intellectual or rational parochialism. They are, therefore, not to be exaggerated but only taken at their face-value and counter balanced by corresponding trends recorded by other groups. Where only one-sided version is available, it would be fair to note it as just one among the contemporary viewpoints and to use it for historical reconstruction, to the degree suitable. On the other hand, such viewpoints also help in assessing the ruling coterie's or group's or community's viewpoint, and even on that basis will bear comparative study of all such ruling groups or communities under their patronage, as archetypal.

As regards v and x (of the four considered as truly parochial), however, a special comment is called for. The overplaying of the Aryan-Dravidian conflict is not racial or historical, but socio-cultural and economic, and was more a process where the conflict was real as long as it was economic. Later, when the economic conflict had become much watered down, the socio-cultural component lingered. It was also accentuated by linguistic jingoism or chauvinism on both sides. Its roots were ethnic and not really racial. The early Aryans and Dravidians had fused into one hybrid stock in many parts of the north and south already by the pre-Christian centuries, but the tribal or aboriginal or backward classes (other than Dravi-
method is required to document the existence of Western bias in
Indology. For without documentation the historian is as helpless
as the surgeon without his scalpel. Before Western bias in
Indology can be analyzed, before its extent can be determined
and before its strength can be assessed the evidence of its pre-
valence has to be collected.

II

Before one proceeds, however, two questions must be
answered: (1) why must one pick Western bias for special
attention out of all the various kinds of biases listed by the Con-
ference, and (2) what is the rationale for proposing a new
method of data collection?

The answer to the first question is simple and straightfor-
ward. Western scholarship must be focused on not because
it is someone’s pet aversion or favourite whipping boy but
because Indology, as we know it, is the product of Western
scholarship. As K.M. Panikkar frankly states:

All this reconstruction of India’s past and the populariza-
tion of great Indian philosophical and religious classics was the
work almost exclusively of European scholars—English,
German, French, Swedish, Russian, in fact scholars from every
part of Europe. It was only in the last decades of the nine-
teenth century that Indian scholarship began to participate
effectively in this work. The foundation of the Asiatic Society
of Bengal by Sir William Jones, poet, scholar and judge, the
decipherment of the Añokan inscriptions, opening up the vista
of ancient history from records preserved in stone, metals and
coins, the discovery of Ankor Vat in the overgrown jungles of
Cambodia, the exploration of Central Asian caves by Stein,
Pelliot and others, and finally the excavations at Mohenjodaro—
these are but the most sensational events of a truly thrilling
story of the rediscovery of a lost intellectual world through
the disinterested work of foreign scholars. Nor should one
forget to mention the massive achievements of men in the
different Universities of Europe and later of America—Oxford,
The Role of Oral History in Data Collection

ARVIND SHARMA

I

Almost every student of Indian history and culture is aware of the existence of bias in Indology. Yet this statement is more easily made than documented. Several factors account for this:

1. The very extent of bias makes it harder to spot, its very enormity makes it hard to identify. The biased position is often taken to be the correct or even the normative position, just because it is so widespread.

2. Bias is protean in form—as the list of the categories of bias on the brochure announcing this Conference indicates. It is not possible to be equally perceptive about all aspects of it.

3. Most works on Indology follow the lead provided by Western scholarship and therefore a Western bias permeates Indological studies. Spotting bias in such a situation is like trying to see one’s own eyes—it can be done, but only through reflection.

In this paper an effort will be made to show that a new
the journalistic mode Each is successively more removed from the basic datum but may help retrieve it.

III

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL MODE

Case (1)

A Professor now teaching at the University of Washington maintained in the course of a conversation that it is only through Western influence that the countries of Asia could progress, and that British occupation of India was justified in these terms. I pointed out to him that, as a scholar, he should examine the alternative hypothesis—the less the period of foreign domination over an Asian country the easier it is for that country to modernize. Thus Japan, which remained free from foreign domination until the American occupation was the first Asian country to successfully modernize. China, which underwent a phase of quasi-colonialism, seems to be modernizing now and India, which became a classic victim of colonialism is still struggling to find its feet. Thus the longer the period of Western domination the more time the country takes to recover from it.

At this point one need not enter into a consideration of the merits and demerits of the two lines of reasoning but rather observe that the second line of reasoning did not strike the Western scholar at all—because it reflected negatively on the Western domination of Asia of which a Westerner naturally tends to take a positive view.

Case (2)

During the course of a talk given at an Australian university, an anthropologist from Britain maintained that in cultural anthropology it may be possible for the outsider to empathize with the insider but that it is not possible for an insider to detach himself from his own culture sufficiently to look upon it as an outsider. Since few Asians study the West anthropologically and Western anthropologists study Asia in large numbers, the above position seems to be highly biased, for an
love of learning translated, interpreted and published the vast literature which lay buried in Sanskrit and Pali, thereby opening up not only to the West but to the new middle classes in India itself an immense and almost unknown realm of religious thought and artistic achievement.

The need for a new method arises from this very basic fact. If Indology as we know it is basically a Western product then its critique is unlikely to get a hearing in the West itself where any criticism of it is likely to be dismissed as chauvinistic or xenophobic. The Western press dominates the world; the Western academic presses dominate the academic world; therefore written evidence of bias, that is, in print, will be hard to obtain. One will have to rely on oral history. It is by recording this oral evidence that the documentary basis for an analysis of Western bias will have to be created.

There seem to be three points at which these oral sources can be tapped: (1) through the narration of one's own personal experience; the autobiographical mode; (2) through the personal experiences of others; the biographical mode and (3) through reports in the press of the experiences of third parties.


2. Analysis presupposes evidence, and as pointed out earlier, it is precisely this evidence which is difficult to collect. This lack of evidence is neither an alibi for dispensing with evidence nor a carte blanche to work with anecdotal rather than factual material. The point is that facts which normally go unreported should be recorded. Moreover, a profounder statement is involved here. All forms of systematized oppression make it hard to gather evidence against that oppressive system. The feminist movement has discovered this in the West; rape victims often do not testify against rapists and battered wives don't "tell" against their husbands. To take a more extreme case, an oppressive police state may not even register a crime so that no evidence of its commission will be found to exist, except as "hearsay" and in the experience of the victim. Let the present academic equation between the East and the West be regarded as possessing an oppressive element, in that Western scholarship dominates indigenous scholarship. Now it can be seen how, on the analogy of an oppressive system, the situation by its very nature will tend to conceal the evidence of oppression, i.e. bias.
but because they felt they had no other reasonable choice. The French and Dutch acted differently because they did not see their own interests with as much intuitive intelligence. In pointing out the influence of enlightened self-interest on British policy, we do not wish to belittle the fact that the trend toward greater political democracy and a welfare state at home had softened ideological ground for colonialism. But since France and Holland also embraced the ideals of welfare democracy, that factor alone apparently was not strong enough to determine policy.³

The British made a virtue of necessity in relinquishing control over India; but the advisor obviously found an admission of this fact distasteful.

We have here a clear case of bias which could not be countered because, although the student asked to make the correction resented it, it had to be carried out to ensure the smooth passage of the dissertation. The instance of this bias would as well have been lost but for the fact that it is recorded here. And even now one is reluctant to identify the principal characters by name—for one’s supervisor continues to influence one’s career by often acting as a referee in the case of applications for jobs, promotions, etc.

Case (2)

The Deakin University at Geelong near Melbourne in Australia has recently started an off-campus course in religious studies. What this means is that students carry on their studies not by attending classes but by receiving notes, lectures and taped material at regular intervals at home. One such tape contains a statement made by a participant in the taped discussion which quotes an eminent (Western) scholar “who shall remain unnamed” as saying: “What will Buddhists know about Buddhism?” The alleged ignorance of the Buddhists about their tradition and the implied arrogance of the Western scholar in presumably knowing (all?) about it smacks of the worst.

practical terms, it translates as follows: Western anthropologists can study Asian cultures but Asianists cannot study their own culture because they cannot detach themselves sufficiently from their own culture.

IV

THE BIOGRAPHICAL MODE

Case (1)

A doctoral candidate at the University of Syracuse we are told, made the following statement in the draft of the dissertation: ‘India won independence in 1947.’ The advisor corrected the sentence to: ‘India was granted independence in 1947’ (Emphasis added). The significance of this emendation will not be lost upon Indians, indeed it will not even be lost on certain Europeans whose perception of the situation is not distorted by the imperial outlook. Thus Gunnar Myrdal remarks in Asian Drama:

After the Second World War, British military and civilian authorities must have realized that holding on to India—and Burma—would require deploying there a large army and police force, the cost of which could not have been extracted from the colony, and keeping an increasing number of Indian and Burmese patriots in prison. Ceylon was calmer, but even there a liberation movement was likely to arise, particularly if a tide of unrest developed in India. Sooner or later the financial as well as the moral burden of colonial rule would have become overwhelming. It must also have been evident to the British that they would have a better chance to protect their enterprises and capital assets and to expatriate capital if they settled the independence issue amicably. Although, as we have said, there was little open discussion of British interests in rational terms, these considerations were certainly important to the policy choice after the Second World War. The British were cool and rational rather than generous and idealistic in giving up their South Asian colonies. In a sense, too, they did not give them up voluntarily,
but because they felt they had no other reasonable choice. The French and Dutch acted differently because they did not see their own interests with as much intuitive intelligence. In pointing out the influence of enlightened self-interest on British policy, we do not wish to belittle the fact that the trend toward greater political democracy and a welfare state at home had softened ideological ground for colonialism. But since France and Holland also embraced the ideals of welfare democracy, that factor alone apparently was not strong enough to determine policy.

The British made a virtue of necessity in relinquishing control over India but the advisor obviously found an admission of this fact distasteful.

We have here a clear case of bias which could not be countered because, although the student asked to make the correction resented it, it had to be carried out to ensure the smooth passage of the dissertation. The instance of this bias would as well have been lost but for the fact that it is recorded here. And even now one is reluctant to identify the principal characters by name—for one's supervisor continues to influence one's career by often acting as a referee in the case of applications for jobs, promotions, etc.

Case (2)

The Deakin University at Geelong near Melbourne in Australia has recently started an off-campus course in religious studies. What this means is that students carry on their studies not by attending classes but by receiving notes, lectures and taped material at regular intervals at home. One such tape contains a statement made by a participant in the taped discussion which quotes an eminent (Western) scholar “who shall remain unnamed” as saying: “What will Buddhists know about Buddhism?” The alleged ignorance of the Buddhists about their tradition and the implied arrogance of the Western scholar in presumably knowing (all?) about it smacks of the worst.

possible kind of academic hubris. The statement is outrageous in itself, apart from reflecting a Western bias in Buddhist studies. Yet again the evidence is oral in character and one wonders if the scholar involved would be so rash or indiscreet as to make such a statement in writing. It would have been difficult to flush this case of bias out—but for the fact that the statement is on tape. Even then the name of the person who made this statement is not divulged in the tape.

Case (3)

In the course of a conversation with a group of scholars which included an Indian, someone used the word “Asia”. “Very interesting,” Henry Kissinger is believed to have remarked “I never knew such an entity existed.” Has Henry Kissinger expressed such scepticism about Europe?

Case (4)

An eminent Western Indologist once wondered aloud about a leading Indian Vedic scholar “Can he really be a Vedic scholar without knowing Greek?” For generations Homer has been translated into European languages by scholars innocent of Sanskrit and yet such a question mutatis mutandis does not seem to have been asked of them.

V

THE JOURNALISTIC MODE

The cases discussed above belong to the oral category in toto. They were “heard” and are being recorded here for the first time. To a slightly different group belong cases which are essentially oral—but accessible in print. These consist largely
Krishna and went on to remark that they expected some trouble in India when the Aryans discovered that they had been worshipping a non-Aryan god for so long. Apart from indicating how deep-rooted the Aryan and non-Aryan cleavage is in the Western mind, these remarks reveal a curious lack of acquaintance with Hindu lore. The Indus Valley culture is usually placed in the third millennium B.C. and according to traditional Hindu chronology, Krishna died around 3102 B.C. One would have thought that an Indologist would be struck by this coincidence rather than, turned politician, speculate on the effect on the 'Aryans' of discovering they have been worshipping a 'non-Aryan' god.

Case (2)

Recently an overseas edition of an Indian paper quoted Senator D.P. Moynihan as making derogatory statements about India, including the remark that "the only thing India had ever exported was communicable disease." Such a statement from a former U.S. Ambassador to India is shocking notwithstanding his well-known verbal exuberance. For one, he seems to have been himself infected by the highly contagious virus of India—baiting Moreover, his remark is ironical from two points of view: it was partly through the communicable diseases brought by Europeans that the Red Indians were decimated in the U.S.A. itself and it is generally believed that the venereal disease syphilis was brought to India by Westerners. All these facts seem to bring out the warped nature of Senator Moynihan's remark which indicates that Western scholars are not only biased but can also be scurrilous in their attitude towards India.

Serious scholarship tends to ignore such verbal excesses and overlooks journalese but it seems it is in these unguarded moments that one gains an insight into the biases which underlie a scholar's mental outlook—biases which show up like rings around the collar when the starched tie of scholarship has been loosened.

possible kind of academic hubris. The statement is outrageous in itself, apart from reflecting a Western bias in Buddhist studies. Yet again the evidence is oral in character and one wonders if the scholar involved would be so rash or indiscreet as to make such a statement in writing. It would have been difficult to flush this case of bias out—but for the fact that the statement is on tape. Even then the name of the person who made this statement is not divulged in the tape.

Case (3)

In the course of a conversation with a group of scholars which included an Indian, someone used the word “Asia”. “Very interesting,” Henry Kissinger is believed to have remarked “I never knew such an entity existed” Has Henry Kissinger expressed such scepticism about Europe?

Case (4)

An eminent Western Indologist once wondered aloud about a leading Indian Vedic scholar “Can he really be a Vedic scholar without knowing Greek?” For generations Homer has been translated into European languages by scholars innocent of Sanskrit and yet such a question mutatis mutandis does not seem to have been asked of them.

V

THE JOURNALISTIC MODE

The cases discussed above belong to the oral category in toto: they were “heard” and are being recorded here for the first time. To a slightly different group belong cases which are essentially oral—but accessible in print. These consist largely of remarks made by scholars or statement reported in the media—but not actually put in print by the persons concerned. A few examples will serve to illustrate this category.

Case (1)

Several years ago an edition of the Overseas Hindustan Times reported an interview of the two Scandinavian scholars who claimed that they had deciphered the Indus script. They claimed that on one of the Indus seals they had read the word
VI

To conclude: (1) There exists the strong probability that Indology is shot through with Western bias because it is the brain-child of Western scholars and bears their genetic imprint. (2) Whether it is really so can only be determined by examining the evidence on the point. (3) Such evidence has to be basically oral and has to be collected through accounts and interviews based on one's own experience, the experience others share with us, and the experience of third parties as reported in the press. All of such evidence need not be negative, i.e. some Western scholars may have overcome in some cases their Western habitual modes of thought in dealing with India. Such cases also need to be recorded.

These are not the kind of data we as historians have traditionally collected but we must begin to. Those interested in creating such a data bank may write to Arvind Sharma, Studies in Religion, University of Sydney, N S W 2006, Australia.
SOURCES
An Interesting Design Block of Baked Clay of Fine Fabric, Treated with a Grey Slip Has Been Found at Atranjikhera, an Ancient Site in District Etah of Uttar Pradesh, During the Course of Excavation. It Came from an Early Layer of the Middle Level of the Northern Black Polished Ware (NBPW) Deposit Belonging to c. 5th-4th Century B.C.

The block is exquisitely modelled and squarish in shape, each side being 7 cm, having a thickness of 2.5 cm. One side of it has a stylized geometrical design (Plate I) and the other a set of curved parallel lines (Plate II). These designs appear to have been made with the help of stylus. Each edge and every line of the design has been smoothly sharpened. In doing so the undesired clay has been scooped out and deep cavities uniformly formed.

Apparently it appeared a design block for producing impressed decorations over big pots or mud plasters of the house-walls. But our experiment has shown that most probably it was used for printing cloth. Since the specimen is made of well levigated clay and is well burnt and has smooth surface, it produces excellent design-impressions on a cloth-piece with the help of solution of different colours.
or colour in which the printing is desired. Both the designs can turn a plain cloth into a beautiful decorated cloth.

The spindle whorls, iron needle and bone-knitting needles and cloth impressions found over certain pottery sherds of the period clearly show that the cloth industry was in a flourishing stage during the period to which the block under discussion belonged.

The present specimen definitely proves that the tradition of printed clothes goes back to c. 5th century B.C. and that cloth-printing was then a specialised profession. If that be so, this would perhaps be the earliest evidence of its kind at least after the downfall of the Harappan Culture.
Evolution of the Iconography of Siva

K. D. BAJPAI

In the Vedic-Puranic religion Siva occupies a unique position. In the entire range of Indian religious history, no other popular deity reflects such an interesting amalgam of divergent traits as we find in the case of Siva.

The earliest form of Siva can be traced back to the Vedic Rudra, representing an all-powerful god. The word ‘Rudra’ occurs in the early and the late Vedic literature for the element of destruction. Yaska and other early commentators have identified Rudra with Agni: Agnirapi Rudra Uchyate (Nirukta X, 7).

Trayambaka, used for Siva in the later texts, originally stood for Paramatma, the Supreme deity. Goddess Ambika, who is later on recognized as the consort of Siva, is mentioned as the sister of Rudra (cf. Yajurveda III, 57). The later conceptions that Siva has three eyes, that he drank poison (which made him nilagriva), that he wears tiger-skin and garlands of snakes are not mentioned in the Vedic literature. According to some of the early Vedic texts, the clouds (megha, also called giri) were the abodes of a form of Agni (i.e., lightning). This was the basis of making Kailasa mountain the abode of Siva. Similarly, Vrishabha
(meaning cloud in the early texts) came to be associated with Rudra-Siva as his vahana (mount)

In the Satapatha Brahmana (VI, 1, 3, 18) Agni has eight names including the name Rudra. This gave an idea to the Purana writers that Siva has eight heads. The number, however, varied and according to the numbers of the three gunas, four Vedas and five natural elements (earth, water, fire, sky and air) the number of Siva's heads became three, four and five, respectively. Similarly, 7 to 12 Rudras (usually recognised as 11 in number) were also mentioned by the Purana writers.

One of the popular forms of Siva-worship is linga-puja. The flames of the burning fire go up horizontally resembling Sisna or linga. This basic concept gave rise to the cult-image resembling Jyotirlingas. The Aryans originally did not believe in linga-worship. Rather they abhorred the idea, as can be inferred from their spiteful attitude towards the Sisnadevas.

Rudra became Siva in the Puranic pantheon and gradually assumed a place among the three main deities (trimurti or trinity). Enormous literature grew around him in the form of separate Siva Puranas and the agama literature. The earlier forceful form of Rudra was now mellowed down into Siva and Sankara of auspicious nature, bestower of goodness. The benevolent form given to an erstwhile cruel deity was conceived on almost the same lines as we find in the case of the malevolent Yakshas.

It is interesting to note that the later literary accounts and the iconographic prescriptions for Siva tend to retain his Rudra-form in various ways. The ayudhas associated with Siva, such as trisula, damaru, raja, pasa, sarpa, ankusa, mundamala, agni etc. eloquently prove this. His five main forms represent the mingling of the two divergent aspects
Isana and Tatpurusa. Siva, in course of time, became the Aryan deity *par excellence*. All the super-human attributes were then assigned to him and he was regarded by the Saivas as the supreme deity.

The Puranas, the *agamas* and other texts give detailed accounts of the iconography of various forms of Siva. When the idea of the *panchadevas* gained supremacy, various syncretic statues showing Siva conjointly with Vishnu, Surya, Uma, etc., were carved. The images of Hari-hara, Haribara, Hiranyakarbhata, Ardhanarisvara and a few other forms indicate this fusion. Apart from the *Saumya* forms of Siva, numerous statues of the deity representing him in the fierce attitude are known. In the medieval art Siva is shown killing Tripura, Gajasura, Andhaka, etc.

The images of Siva with Uma in various forms, such as alingana, vrishabharohana, kalyansundara, etc., are remarkable for their unusual aesthetic and ornamental excellence.

The earliest representation of Siva is supposed to occur on a seal from Mohenjodaro, in his *Patupati* form surrounded by several animals. Some of the stones in the form of phallicus found in the Indus valley culture are also regarded as symbols of Siva, the lord of procreation.

In the historical period the worship of Siva in the *linga* form became very popular. This form based on philosophical concepts was popularized by the artists also. On some silver punch-marked coins, the *linga* symbol is clearly seen. Some scholars associate the symbols of *trisula*, *parasu* and hill occurring on the punch-marked and tribal coins with lord Siva. The five-headed Siva-lingas from Bhita bears the Brahmi inscription of about 100 B.C. This image can be said to be the earliest representation of *Sadashiva* in art. The early *Ekamukhalingas* are known from Gudmallam, Mathura and a few other sites. In the Gupta period the carving of *Mukhalingas* became more common. The *Ekamukhalingas*
from Bhumara, Khoah and Udaigiri bear excellent workmanship and facial expression. From Nachna, Tumain and Mathura, beautifully carved four-faced lingas have been obtained. Kalidasa has eulogised Siva of eight forms in his dramas Malavikagnimitra and Sakuntala. An important eight-headed Siva-linga was found at Mandsaur and recently another such figure has been acquired from Mundhal for the Nagpur Museum. In the medieval period huge lingas showing one hundred or one thousand phallic symbols were prepared.

The human form of Siva began to appear from about 2nd cent. B.C. On the coins of Ujjayini Siva is found in various forms. On some coins he holds a danda. This may be the earliest indication of the Lakulisha form. A few of the Ujjayini coins represent Siva in the Natesa form or standing with Uma. A few of the coins show him three-faced. On a rare Ujjain coin of king Savita, recently published by me, Siva holds danda and Kamandalu. The coin was found at Ujjain and can be assigned to 2nd cent. B.C.

Siva was also a very popular deity in the ancient janapadas of Kausambi and Kosala. On the tribal coins of these regions the bull of Siva appears in a prominent form. The dynasties of the Nagas, the Maghas, the Hunas, etc., also depicted the bull on their coins. On some silver coins of Skandagupta and on the Balabbi coins, we get the figure of the animal.
I have recently identified the figure of Siva on a rare Naga coin. The name of the king, who issued it, has been read by me as Raviśrī. On the obverse of the coin Siva is standing holding a scarf or a small danda in his right hand.

Siva in the Nataraja form was very popular in Southern India. In the art of the Cholas, the Pallavas, the Rashtrakutas and the Hoyasalas numerous interesting images of Nataraja have been found. In the north, some important images of Natesa are known from Tumain, Sirpur, Udaipur, Badoh and Malhar. Recently some rare images of Natesa in the form of ardhanāriśvara have been discovered in Central India.
Some new Archaeological and Epigraphic Sources from Gujarat

RASESH JAMINDAR

THE PURPOSE of this brief note is to highlight the new source-materials which were discovered from Gujarat during the seventies and have thrown a good deal of fresh light on some of the very basic problems of Indian History.

Rock-shelter Paintings

Of the two groups of rock-shelter paintings, one was discovered in 1973 from Tarasang, an important archaeological site, by V.H. Sonwane of the Department of Archaeology and Ancient History of the M.S. University of Baroda, and the other in September 1978 from Sampawada by the State Department of Archaeology. Tarasang is a small village of Shahera Taluka in Panchmahal District, while Sampawada is a village of Idar Taluka in Sabarkantha District.

Rock-shelter paintings from both these places are unique in the sense that they have been found in Gujarat for the first time. Moreover a large number of microlith-tools have been found near the Rock-shelters. Tarasang paintings have already been discussed by V.H. Sonwane, while paintings from Sampawada are yet in the stage of preliminary exploration.
These three plates establish for the first time, the rule of the Hunas over north-eastern Gujarat around A.D. 500. Later this area came under the sway of the Mañtraka kings of Valabhi.

Two copper-plates of Siladitya VI

Two sets of copper-plates, each one containing 2 plates, were unearthed from the village Asodara of Borada taluka in Kheda district while digging the foundations of a building in 1977. Plates in one set measure 39 x 35 cm., in the other 38 x 36 cm. The first set was read by Professor H.G. Shastri of Ahmedabad. The two plates in this set belong to Siladitya VI of the Mañtraka dynasty of Valabhi, a kingdom of Gujarat. The first plate contains 35 lines, and the second one 40 lines. Dated in Valabhi era 421 (i.e., 796 Vikrama era or A.D. 739) the first set of copper plates mentions that Siladitya VI donated the village Dhottak, on the north bank of river Sarswati in Golang Ahar-Vishaya, to brahmans from Anandpur.

The importance of these copper-plates lies in the following fresh information: (1) so far we have had 2 tamra-sasans of the Valabhi king Siladitya V of Valabhi era 403 and one tamra-sasana of Siladitya VI dated 441 in V.E. With the discovery of the first set of tamra-sasana which gives the upper limit of the reign of Siladitya VI we now know that he was ruling in the year 421. This narrows the gap between him and his predecessor Siladitya V to 18 years. (2) The Golang ahar-vishaya comes to light for the first time. It was so far unknown. This ahar-vishaya (i.e., district) lies in north-western Gujarat.

The above-mentioned second set of plates of the same king was read by Dr. Bharati Shelat of Ahmedabad. Dated probably, 425 V.E. (i.e., Vikrama 890 or A.D. 744) the first plate contains 39 lines, the second one 43 lines. Not in a good state of preservation the second set probably mentions
the donation of a village to Brahmans of Anandpur. This set also helps us decide the chronology of Siladitya VI.

Dakshinamurti Siva

Only two such sculptures have been found in Gujarat so far, of which one was discovered in Gir-Hadamatia area in Junagadh district, and the other in the famous Lakulisha temple on Pavagadh hills. Made from stand-stone, the icon from Pavagadh—originally brought to light by Hermann Goetz a long time ago as the icon of Lakulisha—has now been introduced as Dakshinamurti Siva by Vasant Parekh of the M.S. University of Baroda. The prabhramandala behind the image is very attractive and depicts small forms of Siva in 4 panels. The Lakulisha temple Dakshinamurti Siva can be assigned to 10th-11th century A.D., and the former one from Junagadh district to 7th Century A.D.

Kalari form of Siva

A lesser known bronze icon of Kalari (destroyer) Siva has come to light. It is presently in the Sardar Vallabhbhai Museum, Surat. This icon, lying here unnoticed for a long time, is 100 cm. high. It is remarkable for many reasons: (1) For the first time such icon has been noticed in Gujarat. (2) It is in a good state of preservation (3) Jatamukuta in the form of kiritamukuta is very attractive and richly carved. (4) It has 4 hands of which the upper right holds trisula, the lower right holds battle-axe, the upper left holds nriga (a deer) and the lower left holds, probably, kapala. (5) The direction of trisula in the upper right hand is downward which shows that it is meant to destroy Yama to protect the 10-year old rishi Markandeya. (6) The icon stands on a square platform, upon which there is a square jaladhari having a linga in the middle of it. (7) The image of Lord Siva is represented in such a way that it is meant to keep Yama at a safe distance (8) The depiction of both Yama and Markandeya are absent from this bronze icon.
Step-well inscription from Bhoja

Bhoja is a village in Padara taluka in Vadodara district. On the outskirts of the village there is a step-well made of bricks and stones. On the eastern wall of this wāv there is a stone inscription in Sanskrit of 20 lines, the sixth line containing the date of the construction of the wāv. The date is 1554 Vikrama and 1420 Saka (i.e., 1498). Edited by Professor R N Mehta and S G. Kantawala this step-well inscription throws light on communal and political harmony. The first line of this record reads: We invoke Ganesha who is first worshipped by Brahma in the victorious reign of Padashaha Mohammad. The epigraph thus proves the acceptance of the suzerainty of king Mohammad by the local rulers of the Chauhan dynasty.

References

1. Tarasang is a village at the foot of a hillock named Mahesvari. The rock-shelters are located on this hillock, which is made of granite-stone. It is a part of the Aravalli ranges.


3. This may be the present-day Sanjeli village from where these plates were discovered.

4. Anandpur is an ancient name of present-day Vadnagar, a town in Mehsana district of Gujarat.

Thirty-seven

Unpublished Coins of Agnimitra of Pancala from Oxford and Cambridge Museums

KRISHNA MOHAN SHRIMALI

OUT OF 24 kings of Pancala known to us so far, Agnimitra has left maximum number of coins.¹ We have been able to list as many as 150 of his coins.² It is not merely the quantity, but the multiplicity of the coin-types as well, which make him one of the most conspicuous kings of Pancala. Ten types of his coins are known to us. It may be mentioned in this context that this typological analysis of Pancala coins has been largely done on the basis of various reverse devices on them, for, it is well known that there is a considerable uniformity in the obverse of these coins. In this paper, we are describing fourteen coins of Agnimitra, of which eleven are from the Ashmolean Museum,

1. We have excluded the coins of Acyuta from this enumeration because his coins fall under a different category. Our enumeration is based on the series with the characteristic Pancala symbols on the obverse (see figure 'F')

2. Out of a total of nearly 800 positively identifiable Pancala coins This tabulation is based on published catalogues of Allan, Smith, Cunningham, reports in various journals and unpublished coins from the excavations of Ab cchatra (1940-44), Lucknow Museum, Ashmolean Museum (Oxford) and Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge). There might be a useful collection in Mathura and Allahabad museums as well.
Oxford and the rest are housed in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Broadly, these coins belong to four types listed below:

1. **Figure: A:** Almost 50% of Agnimitra’s hitherto known 150 coins belong to this type. No wonder, the two museums of Britain also have maximum coins of this variety. These coins show a male figure (king) standing to the front on an ornamented platform, having a staff-like object in his right hand and the left arm akimbo. The head of the figure is surmounted by a five-pointed flame in all these specimens. Another noticeable feature is the existence of thistle-topped pillars on either side of the human figure. The only specimen of this type in the Fitzwilliam Museum has a distinctive brassy appearance and deserves a scientific analysis of its metal contents. Such an analysis would give a further proof about these coins NOT being of copper alone as is generally believed. We have already shown elsewhere that the Pancala coins have a very high percentage of tin and, therefore, they ought to be described as high-tin bronze coins.

2. **Figure: B:** There are three coins falling under this category and all are in the Oxford Museum. These coins show a human figure standing erect on lotus. Generally, these coins are of a heavier variety—the specimens under discussion are of 8.355, 6.267 and 3.412 gms. The average weight of such coins is about 6.229 gms.

3. **Figure: C:** This is rather a unique coin and again comes from the Ashmolean Museum. It represents a fire placed on a pedestal having a pillar on either end. The object on the top of the pillar on the left is likely to

---

be a trident. The right pillar has just two bars stretching outwards. This does not seem to be a very popular device. Prof. K.D. Bajpai had brought to light three specimens of this variety and called them trisula - cum-parasu type. But this nomenclature appears to have been based on those elements in the device, which are not very certain, while it overlooks the most conspicuous feature, viz. the fire. One such coin (No. 66/394) was found during 1940-44 excavations as well and is now housed in the Central Antiquities Section, Safdarjung Museum, New Delhi.

An interesting feature of this type of Agnimitra's coins is its legend—generally the legend on Agnimitra's coins is Agimitara|Agimitrasa (see Figure E.i) but here we notice Agnimitrasa clearly (see Figure E.ii). It may also be mentioned that while Dr Bajpai contends that these copper coins have silver plating on them, the specimen in the Ashmolean Museum does not show any such trace.

The coin under discussion is also noticeable from the point of view of the change in the general sequence of characteristic Pancala symbols found on the obverse (see Figure 'F'). The second and third symbols interchange their positions. This is indicative of a different die and would, therefore, have a bearing on the problem of total number of coins in circulation.

4. Figure: D: This hitherto unknown type has various varieties—the type broadly comprises a star, crescent and cross-bars on pillars. The sequence of these elements does not appear to be uniform. Obviously, they have been struck by four different dies. The third and fourth varieties of this type have similarities with reverse devices found on the coins of Rudragupta.

and Dhruvamitra. Agnimitra’s coins of this type are again marked by the legend Agni and not Agi (see Figure E,in). The chronological implications of the language and palaeography of the coins of types C & D have already been discussed by us elsewhere.

One coin of Agnimitra (in the Ashmolean Museum) cannot be classified with any certainty because of its extremely worn out reverse. Out of eleven coins in the Oxford Museum, ten were given as a gift by Mrs Munirhead and the eleventh comes from T.B. Horwood but the locus of Fitzwilliam Museum coins is not known. The Cambridge Museum collection also describe them as coins of the Sungas, which is generally not accepted now. Finally, reading of the name Rudragupta on one of these three coins (perhaps because of the similarities in the reverse) is also wrong. It is clearly Agnimitra.

We give below some other relevant details concerning these fourteen coins:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Museum</th>
<th>Reverse Type</th>
<th>Size in cm</th>
<th>Weight in gms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ashmolean, Oxford</td>
<td>‘A’</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>3.124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>6.043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>4.319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>7.250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Fitzwilliam, Cambridge</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>4.749</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ashmolean, Oxford</th>
<th>Type 'B'</th>
<th>1.9</th>
<th>8.355</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>6.267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>3.412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Type 'C'</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.642</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Type 'D'(i)'</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Type 'D (ii)'</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.094</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Fitzwilliam, Cambridge</td>
<td>Type 'D (iii)'</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Type 'D (iv)'</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Ashmolean, Oxford</td>
<td>Worn out</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>4.718</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FIGURES

A

B

C

D

(i) 

(ii) 

(iii) 

(iv)

E

(i) 

(ii) 

(iii) 

(iv)

F

GENERAL SEQUENCE OF PANÇĀLA SYMBOLS FOUND ON THE OBVERSE.

1st or 2nd
3rd
Fertility Control in Ancient India

J N. SHARMA

The ancient Indians had detailed scientific knowledge about conception and contraception. Many records pertaining to Vedic and post-Vedic period reflect this knowledge.

The physicians of ancient India were acquainted with the anatomy of the reproductive organs, such as testes and spermatic cords in the male and the vagina, uterus and ovaries in the female. Apart from stray references in the Vedic literature, a detailed account of these is available in the Charaka- and the Sushruta Samhitas.

Male Reproductive Organs

Sushruta writes (9.12):

There are two ducts of semen (spermatic cords) which emerge from the epididymis of both the testes.

Female Reproductive Organs

In the distant past the Egyptians had a curious notion concerning the uterus. This reproductive organ was believed to be a separate entity, independent of other organs and subject to frequent fits of wandering in the pelvic cavity.
Hippocrates feared that the uterus sometimes assumed the shape of a tortoise and at other times it became like a crocodile.

But Sushruta described the anatomic details in these words (5.44):

"The genital tract is shaped like a Shankha (conch shell) and has three compartments (viz. vagina, cervix and uterus) the last compartment being the organ of conception."

Sushruta has compared the female genital tract with a conch shell which appears to be justified, since it is possessed of certain phorunices and curvatures like a conch shell. Besides, the uterus itself resembles a conch shell in outward appearance.

Further Sushruta says

"The uterus has a slit like opening which resembles the mouth of 'Rohita' fish." (5.44)

In the next verse, Sushruta describes the anatomical relationship of the uterus with other abdominal organs.

"Uterus, the seat of conception, is situated between the duodenum and the intestines" (5.39)

In the following verse, Sushruta gives an accurate description of the Fallopian tubes, uterus and uterine blood vessels.

"There are two ducts of ovaries (Fallopian tubes) underneath which lie the uterus and uterine blood vessels." (5.12)

These quotations prove that Fallopius, who lived in the 16th century A.D. (1523-62) was not the first person to describe the anatomy of Fallopian tubes.
Physiology of Reproduction

Historical scrutiny suggests that the ancient Egyptians were ignorant of the cause and effect of relationship between sexual intercourse and pregnancy. Hence they regard the father only as the cause of generation. The mother, according to them, provided nourishment to the foetus only. Aristotle, while admitting that both partners share in embryonic development, rejected the Hippocratic doctrine that both sexes control equally the formation of the embryo. He regarded the semen as the most important contribution to the formation of the embryo.¹

“...This fluid (semen) endows the child with the faculty of motion, sensation, and thoughts, and gives form to the very soul of the future person. The female shares in the embryo which arises from the menstrual fluid and she contributes the material part to the person but adds nothing to the spiritual part.”

These fallacious notions prevailed in European countries down to the 16th century A.D. and William Harvey (1578-1657), who has been credited with the discovery of the mechanism of circulation, was baffled by the secrets of generation.

On the other hand, Charaka writes (4.4)²

“The conception arises from the sum of the causative factors emanating from the mother, the father, the spirit, the concordance and the nourishment.”

“The appellation of conception is given to the union of the semen (sperm), ovum and the spirit which takes place in the womb” (4.5)

1. Benjamin Garden Medicine throughout Antiquity, Philadelphia, 1949
"That semen, which acts as a fertilizing agent, having thus been set into motion by the ecstatic self and informed by it, emerging from the man's body, mixes with the secretion of the woman after entering through the proper channel." (4.7)

"Prior to their union, spermatozoa, ovum and the spirit, though existing together do not attain the status of the embryo but acquire it only after their union." (3.8)

Writing more about physiology of conception, Charaka states:

"On getting a favourable season, field and water, a seed has but to grow. In a similar manner, during the fertile period the union of sperm and ovum inside the uterus would result in pregnancy without any doubt." (2.33)

Further, there is evidence to show that the ancient physicians of India wanted to learn about the mechanism of the formation and oozing of the semen from the testicles.

"Acquire the knowledge of the formation and oozing of the semen from the testicles." Yajurveda. (25.1)

**Spermatozoa, the First Form of the Soul**

Charaka recorded (2.48-49) that spermatozoa contained in the semen may be the first form of soul in the universe - a remarkable observation for such remote times.

"As a result of those eight factors (viz. stimulation, desire, fluidity, viscosity, heaviness, automaticity, tendency to flow out and speed of motion) the semen is secreted from the body, which wanders in the genital tract (in the form of a spermatozoan), the later (spermatozoa) being the first form of soul in the universe."

Although the morphology of spermatozoa was worked out by Leeuwenhoek (1632-1723) only in the 18th century A.D.
these quotations are sufficient to indicate the depth of the knowledge of ancient Indian pioneers in the field of the physiology of reproduction.

Menstrual Period

Sushruta (14 6) writes about the menstrual period and age of conception in a woman in these words:

"In women, it is the blood that flows out as the menstrual blood through the genital tract. The menstrual cycle begins at the age of twelve years and lasts up to the age of fifty, when the menopause occurs."

Age for Conception

Writing about the minimum age for conception by a woman, Sushruta (10 54) declares:

"If a woman conceives before the age of sixteen due to a man of younger than twenty five years—the foetus is likely to die in the womb."

This indicates that ancient Indian physicians discouraged the conception in a woman below sixteen.

Safe Period

Sushruta had a fair knowledge of the fertile period in a woman. Although he did not know the physiology of ovulation on the 14th day of the menstrual cycle as we know today, he probably knew that the fertile period continues for 12 days after menstruation had ceased. Thus (3 6):

"The fertile period continues for 12 days after the menstruation has ceased."

"From the thirteenth day onward one should not have intercourse for the sake of conception." (2 30)

Moreover, it was known to those pioneers that sperm cannot reach the uterus when the mouth of the uterus is closed.
It is but natural that by the end of the day the kamala flower (lotus) closes its mouth. In a similar manner, the mouth of the uterus is closed after the fertile period is over." (3.9) (Hence the semen cannot reach the uterus.)

These quotations indicate that Sushruta knew that the fertile period continues for 16 to 17 days of the menstrual cycle, which is a well established scientific fact today. However, he knew definitely that if pregnancy was not desired by the parent intercourse should be had when the mouth of the uterus is closed, that is, what we call today the safe period.

Surgical Sterilization in Man and Woman

Surgical sterilization was known in ancient India and sterility could be induced by surgical means.

(A) Sterilization in Man

A reference in the Atharva Veda suggests that the ancients knew of surgical sterilization which could be induced by severing the spermatic cords:

"I crush both of these ducts (spermatic cords) which were created by God, and emerge from the two testicles and go upward to store the semen (and thus make you sterile)."

In modern clinical practices the surgeon ligates the spermatic cords to render the subject infertile.

Similar information has been recorded in the Sushruta Samhita. Thus:

"There are two ducts of semen (spermatic cords) which emerge from the epididymis of both the testes which, if tied or ligated leads to sterility, impotence and slowing down of semen. The semen may contain blood (just as in tying or surgical ligation)." (Sushruta 9.12)
A medicinal herb is addressed thus in the Atharva Veda:

"O herb! thou art glorious among the medicinal plants. Make this doomed man sterile. O King! Order this man to wear the garments of a woman so that he feels shy for his misdeeds, if he does not detach himself from sexual crimes by these means, make him sterile (by crushing his testicles)"

(B) Sterilization in Woman

In the tubectomy operation the surgeon, these days, cuts the Fallopian tubes on either side of the uterus and then ligates them so that the sperm cannot reach the ovarian follicles. We shall see what the Sushruta Samhita has to say about sterilization of a woman.

"There are two ducts of uterus (Fallopian tubes) under which lie the uterus and the uterine blood vessels (loc cit), whose injury or surgical ligation leads to sterility, diminished flow of the menstrual blood and loss of libido." (Sushruta 9.12)

Probably the first description of the removal of uterus (hysterectomy) occurs in the Atharva Veda:

"O sinful woman! I, the expert in inducing sterility, close the mouth of hundreds of blood vessels (veins) and thousands of arteries situated inside and outside the uterus, which have given you the power of bearing progeny."

"O doomed woman! there lies in the upper part of your genital tract a child-bearing organ, the uterus, I do put it below (remove it), there shall come to thee neither offspring nor birth. I render these sterile and devoid of offspring."

Abortions

The premature expulsion from the uterus of the products of conception is called abortion or miscarriage.
Sushruta (8.10) says:

"If the foetus is expelled from the uterus within first four months of gestation, it is called garbha-srava. If it occurs after four months, it is called garbha-pata or miscarriage, and if it occurs after seven months, it is called prasava."

Probably the first information on surgical removal of foetus from the womb is available in the Ramayana. The following quotation from the Sundarakanda illustrates the mental condition of Seeta imprisoned by Ravana

"If Almighty Rama will not come within the time fixed by Ravana, then this barbarian Rakshasa will cut me into pieces like a surgeon, who with the help of instruments, cuts the foetus into pieces in the womb to protect the life of the mother."

In the Sushruta Samhita (15.13-15) it is said:

"Having thus assured the woman, the surgeon should crush the head of foetus with the help of Mandalagra or Angula Shastra (instruments used for this type of surgery) and remove the bones of the cranium. Now he should apply Shanku (instrument) over buttocks or neck and thus draw the foetus out. Impacted foetus should be removed by cutting its arm" (30).

Caesarian operation

Probably the first description of the caesarian type of operation occurs in the Atharva Veda.

"O woman in child-labour, I separate thy urinary bladder and the ureters (from the uterus). I split open thy uterus (yoni), I separate the mother and child-child along with the placenta. May thy placenta fall down." (34)
A medicinal herb is addressed thus in the Atharva Veda:

"O herb! thou art glorious among the medicinal plants. Make this doomed man sterile. O King! Order this man to wear the garments of a woman so that he feels shy for his misdeeds, if he does not detach himself from sexual crimes by these means, make him sterile (by crushing his testicles)."

(B) Sterilization in Woman

In the tubectomy operation the surgeon, these days, cuts the Fallopian tubes on either side of the uterus and then ligates them so that the sperm cannot reach the ovarian follicles. We shall see what the Sushruta Samhita has to say about sterilization of a woman.

"There are two ducts of uterus (Fallopian tubes) under which lie the uterus and the uterine blood vessels (loc. cit), whose injury or surgical ligation leads to sterility, diminished flow of the menstrual blood and loss of libido." (Sushruta 9.12)

Probably the first description of the removal of uterus (hysterectomy) occurs in the Atharva Veda:

"O sinful woman! I, the expert in inducing sterility, close the mouth of hundreds of blood vessels (veins) and thousands of arteries situated inside and outside the uterus, which have given you the power of bearing progeny."

"O doomed woman! there lies in the upper part of your genital tract a child-bearing organ, the uterus, I do put it below (remove it), there shall come to thee neither offspring nor birth. I render these sterile and devoid of offspring."

Abortions

The premature expulsion from the uterus of the products of conception is called abortion or miscarriage.
Early India in Chinese Records

TAN CHUNG

ONE OF THE reasons why Fa-hsien, Hsuan-tsang and I-tsin have been so much treasured by ancient Indian historiographers is the stronger emphasis on historicity in Chinese culture than in Indian culture, in addition to the Chinese advantage in systematic record-keeping and printing facilities. This comparison can lead to the inevitable but yet-to-come realisation that valuable information and insight for the reconstruction of India’s past can be excavated from the mine of Chinese writing on India.

Such Chinese writings come from three broad categories: (1) official and semi-official records about India, (2) the Buddhist literature, and (3) miscellaneous writings. The aim of this paper is to introduce them to Indian historians.

I

The first category consists of Chinese accounts about India which are either included in or excluded from the twenty-four dynastic annals starting with Ssu-ma Ch’ien’s (145-86 B.C.) Shih-chi, and Fan Ku’s (32-92) Ch’ien-han-shu, and ending with the history of Ming which was compiled by scholar-courtiers of the Manchu empire under imperial orders.
Sushruta describes an emergency Cæsarian operation as follows:

"If there is sudden death of a full term pregnant woman and if the foetus is alive as ascertained by the foetal heart sounds, the surgeon hurriedly should remove the child from the womb by incising the abdomen, otherwise the foetus will also die." (8.14)

The norms of family planning change from age to age, but with this kind of information available in their traditional texts, the Indians need have no inhibitions about family planning. Moreover, they can also make use of the 'natural' method to prevent pregnancy known to them for centuries.
the Sino-Indian relations in a new historical perspective, but also add a significant chapter to Indian historiography.

The fall-out of such intimate state-level contacts between India and China has adorned the India chapters of the Chinese annals with information about India. The compilers of the annals were diligent in including excerpts from private and official reports left by government envoys and such non-government cultural ambassadors as Hsuan-tsang and his other eminent Buddhist colleagues. But Hsuan-tsang's and others' accounts, particularly the four different versions of accounts relating to the sojourn in India of some Chinese officials during the famous Ming naval expeditions in the Pacific and Indian oceans led by Admiral Cheng Ho in the first half of the fifteenth century, stand out as semi-official records on India, independent of the annals. These sources have only been inadequately studied and partially translated and mistranslated by western scholars. Their careful study can certainly yield fresh material for Indian historiography.

Buddhism was passionately embraced by China for the larger part of the first millennium after Christ. The Chinese went all out to collect Sanskrit and Pali literature on Buddhism and greedily transformed the Indian oral and written treasure concerning Buddha's teachings into Chinese literature. Various Chinese governments set up translation bureaus, and the services of many eminent Indian Buddhists, like Kumarajiva (who went to China in 381 and died there in 413 approximately), were enlisted. All this resulted in the creation of a vast Buddhist literature in Chinese. The more scholarly and serious part of this literature was carefully preserved by Chinese imperial governments and is now known as the Chinese Tripitaka—being reprinted by the Taishö edition published in Tokyo. The less scholarly and more colloquial part of this literature was under monastic custody at Tô-ji, Hsing and other places, but most of it has long
between 1679 and 1739. Except the first two annals whose antiquity would not provide Chinese historians with sufficient knowledge about India, all the other annals have separate chapters on India and the ancient Indian states. Yet, even in the first two annals there are some redeeming features such as Su-ma Ch‘ien’s account of Chang Ch‘ien’s discovery of India,¹ and Pan Ku’s inclusion of an account of voyages to India by some anonymous Han government envoys both before and after Christ in his chapter on geography.

Although the Indian chapters in the Chinese annals do not stand out as commendable surveys of a close neighbour if we view them by modern standards they reveal the Chinese historical perspective about India through the ages. Far more significant is the account in these and in the other chapters on the emperors’ reigns of the not-infrequent Sino-Indian contacts at the state level in the last two millennia. The number of goodwill missions sent by Indian governments to the Chinese imperial court can be reckoned after reading the Chinese annals: nine missions in the fifth century, sixty-eight missions in the sixth, fifteen missions in the seventh, twenty-four in the eighth, five in the tenth, nine in the eleventh, one in the fourteenth, and four in the fifteenth century. In return, the Chinese sent to India two missions in the seventh, three in the fourteenth and two in the fifteenth century. Such intimate contacts seem to have been totally erased from the living memories of India and China. If, indeed, the details of these missions could be reconstructed fully or even partially, it would not only place

¹ Chang Ch‘ien (d. 113 B.C.) who was the Chinese envoy to the Central Asian states to conclude alliances against the Hun, discovered in Bactria the fact that Chinese bamboo sticks and silk fabrics had already been co-exported to that country by Indian merchants. His report prompted the Han emperor Wu (140-87 B.C.) to make some abortive attempts to establish direct contacts with India.
stated that a good number of Chinese Buddhist monks travelled to India and back during the Southern Sung regime. Notable among these pilgrims were a group of twenty-five monks who went to India in 422 probably through Central Asia and returned to Canton by sea. Twelve of the group died before entering Kashmir (p. 38, 1924 edition). These two references reinforce each other.

The Gupta government seems to have kept up its contacts with south China in spite of the changed political fortunes in the latter country. A book written as late as the Manchu Dynasty period (1644-1911) by Hu Shih entitled Chen-ku ch’uan (The Boat of Pearls) furnishes information which was based on some reliable source at the author’s disposal. The information is that in the year 510 or so an emissary whose name was something like Chou-Jo from the court of King Gupta of India reached the imperial court of the Liang Dynasty emperor. The Gupta ambassador told his Chinese hosts that crystal-like white salt was deposited under the bed of Ganga. (Hu Shih, Chen-ku ch’uan, Commercial Press, 1936 edition, p. 69) Apparently the Indian visitor’s allusion to rock-salt aroused keen interest in China. A T’ang scholar, Tuan Ch’eng-shih (d. 883) who was famous for his expert knowledge about exotic products stated that rock-salt had a nick-name called “Monarch Salt” (chun-wang yen) (Ibid). Whether this nick-name originates from India we do not know.

Tuan’s famous book, Yu-yang tu-tsu (Miscellaneous Notes), alludes to some interesting anecdotes about a famous Buddhist monk from India, Amoghavajra, who visited China twice: the first time between 724 and 731, and then from 740 till his death in 774. Amoghavajra was a great exponent of Vajrayana mysticism. Tuan Ch’eng-shih, who died less than a century after Amoghavajra, recalled the great respect which the T’ang emperor Hsuan-tsung (712-755) had shown to the Indian mystic master, who, in Tuan’s words “could
become, for the last one hundred years or so, the proud possession of the British Museum and its counterparts in Paris. By comparison, the Buddhist literature in Sanskrit and Pali which is extant is only a small fraction of its Chinese counterpart.

Religious treatise is, of course not historical writing. But religious literature of historical times does reflect the spiritual and material living conditions of the writers and their contemporaries. Since the above-mentioned Chinese Buddhist literature has tapped the Indian fountainhead as exhaustively as the ancient Chinese could manage, and since the rich wealth of Buddhist culture including folklore which at one time flourished in India has considerably faded from India’s living memory, the reconstruction of ancient Indian culture can use with advantage the vast, extant Chinese Buddhist literature.

The third category of Chinese source material useful to Indian historiography springs from historical, semi-historical and geographical accounts, and even writings on economic products. Such writings do provide titbits of information on movements of Indian merchants, transplantation of Indian flora and migration of Indian folklore to China.

II

The three categories of Chinese source materials supplement each other to throw light on Indian history. For instance, the annals of Southern Sung (420-593) reveal that rulers of various places, probably Kapilavastu, Tamralipti, Gandhara and Banaras sent emissaries to the Sung court with presents in 428, 441, 455, 469, and 473, which bears out the intimate contacts between Gupta India and Sung China (with effective control of the country south of the Yangtze). In a Buddhist writing dated 650 by monk Tao-hsuan entitled Shih-chia fang chih (Account of the Sakya Domain), it is
The importance of Chinese source materials for Indian historiography calls upon Indian scholars to learn the Chinese language. Reliance on western translations not only restricts our scope of inquiry, it also involves the risk of picking up Western scholars' mistakes. We take up Thomas Watters' translation of Hsuan-tsang (On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, London, 1905), to illustrate the point.

Like I-tsing, Hsuan-tsang (who was in India for 16 years, between 629 and 645), in his famous account the Hsi-yu chi (Records of Western Countries), also noted the Indian habit of cleanliness. His description of "maintaining cleanliness being a voluntary habit" of the Indian people was translated by Watters into: "They were pure themselves and not from compulsion," (op. cit I, p. 152). Itemizing the practices of the Indian people to maintain cleanliness, Hsuan-tsang said, "They do not touch food and vessels before they finish bathing and washing their mouths." Watters' translation of this sentence reads: "before they have finished ablutions they do not come into contact with each other," (Ibid). In another context Hsuan-tsang wrote: "When people are about to perform religious ceremonies, they must first bathe, and clean the vessels and the places." This sentence occurs in the wake of another describing the king's ablutions. Watters mistook the two sentences as one and translated them into: "When the king goes to his bath there is the music of drums and stringed instruments and songs: worship is performed and there are bathing and washing." (Ibid)

In discussing India's judiciary, Hsuan-tsang wrote: "On trying the offenders, arguments prevail. No flogging nor
employ the services of all gods”. Once there was a drought and the emperor asked Amoghavajra to invoke rain. Amoghavajra pleaded with the emperor to postpone it for a few days lest a heavy rain might fall. The emperor would not listen, and insisted on the monk’s performing the rain-seeking ceremony. This was done and it resulted in an unceasing torrential rain, drowning many people. The emperor, then requested the monk to stop the rain. Amoghavajra complied with the imperial order, and made several mud dragons. First he scolded the dragons in Indian language. After some time, he laughed heartily. The rain immediately came to a stop. (Commercial Press, 1937 edition, p. 32)

We must note that Tuan Ch’eng-shih’s book was neither an official record, nor Buddhist propaganda. It belongs to the third category. The incredible story about Amoghavajra’s calling in and halting the rains must have come from either an official or a Buddhist source. At this point, the three different categories of Chinese source materials converge.

I cite these examples to illustrate the new vistas which open up before Indian historians after an intensive study of Chinese source materials. Such new vistas also help us deepen our understanding of ancient Indian life. For instance, I-tsing, who spent nearly two decades in India during the 680s and 690s, furnished the testimony that the Indians were one of the first peoples, if not the first people, to use tooth-picks in their dental-care. He described this Indian habit in these words:

“They take out thin bamboo and wooden pieces of the thickness of a small finger. One end of them is pointed. People use them to pick the cavity of the teeth, and bend them to scrape the tongue, in order not to injure it”. (Taisho edition, vol. 54, p. 208).1

1 According to present day Indian practice a finger-thick branch, preferably of a tree with medicinal properties (e.g. neem) is chewed to form a brush for cleaning the teeth. The chewing serves to toughen the gums. Before discarding the branch, its
Identification of Cha-Po-Ho-Lo and its Master A-Lo-Na Shun (A.D. 647-48)

YOGENDRA MISHRA

We come across the word Cha-po-ho-lo when we read the Chinese account of the invasion of India or central India (Madhyadesa) by Wang Hsuan-tse, the Chinese ambassador sent to the court of Harshavarmanila Siladitya of Kanyakubja (Kanauj). As Harsha was dead by that time, the Chinese ambassador was confronted by A-lo-na-shun, king of Ti-na-su-ti. A-lo-na-shun has been restored in Sanskrit as Arunasva and Ti-na-su-ti as Tirabhukti. Cha-po-ho-lo was identified with Champaran (Champanagar) or Chapra or even Davaka. In this paper we propose to identify Cha-po-ho-lo and its king A-lo-na-shun or Arunasva.

Sources

The account of the invasion by Wang Hsuan-tse has been given in some Chinese history books that were written between A.D. 612 and A.D. 1254. The English translation of the relevant portions has been given by D. Devahuti in her Harsha: A Political Study (Oxford, 1970). The last Chinese author in the series was Ma Tuan-hu who wrote his book in 1254 which was not published until 1319. The English translation of the relevant portions is available in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1857, pp. 63-70 and Indian
torture is given. The defendants answer what the judges question them on. A judgement is judiciously arrived at, based on the nature of the offence." Watters omitted this part and translated the subsequent narrative which he termed "the four ordeals by which the innocence or guilt of an accused person is determined". These were: (1) throwing the accused into a stream, (2) forcing him to touch red-hot iron, (3) weighing him against a stone, and (4) asking him to taste poisonous meat (op. cit. I p. 172). But Watters failed to convey Hsuan-tsang's observation that these extreme measures were used only as the last resort, when the defendant "denies that he is at fault, and tries to cover up his guilt" and there was no other means to find the truth.

Watters' defective translation urges us to re-translate Hsuan-tsang and take up the translation of all references in Chinese historical literature about India (including the Indians and Indian products) with adequate annotations. Such an undertaking involves serious research, and can be accomplished only if scholars of the two countries work in collaboration. Let us hope this will become a reality soon.
that have been fortunately furnished by Devahuti are very important:

A. If we look towards the Gandaka river from Patna City or Patna, it will become clear how the Gandaka is 'first to the west and then to the north' of the Ganges. Many people may not be knowing that the Gandaka meets the Ganga at Hajipur (headquarters of the newly created Vaishalidistrict), then flows eastwards for a good number of miles independently of the Ganga and finally meets the Ganges several miles east of Mahnar. In this process an island (diara) is created known as the Raghopur Diara. Hence Cha-po-ho-lo should be situated somewhere to the north of Raghopur Diara if the statement of the Chinese commentator is to be proved correct.

B. To-wa of the Chinese accounts cannot be Magadha for which the word Mo-ko-to is used. It stands for the Raghopur Diara most certainly. No other region in Tirabhukti or North Bihar has this geographical situation. This again means that Cha-po-ho-lo is north of the Raghopur Diara.

Having come to know that many antiquities are found at villages like Madhurapur, Bagh Saiyad Khan, Chechar, Bazipur etc. which are north of the Raghopur Diara, I came to the conclusion that this area stood for Cha-po-ho-lo or Tu-po-ho-lo, capital of ancient Tirabhukti. An announcement to this effect was made by me on 22 April, 1976 at the annual meeting of the Historical Society of the Begusarai Ganesh Dutt College.

The matter does not end with the identification of Cha-po-ho-lo with a group of villages in the present-day Vaishali district lying to the north of the Gandaka river between miles 7 and 13 to the east of Hajipur and falling in the Bidupur thana. It was flourishing at a time when the official
Antiquary, 1880, p. 20 (Also see Devahuti, op. cit. p. 207, fn. 3). Devahuti does not furnish Ma-Tuan-lin's account in her work, because it is a literal reproduction of the account preserved in the Hsin T'ang Shu which she supplies.

1 Identification of Cha-Po-Ho-Lo

A close study of the Chinese accounts of Wangtse's Indian invasion gives the following details about Cha-po-ho-lo which is said to be the capital of T-na-su-ti:—

1. Ti-na-su-ti (Tirabhukti) was in central India (Madhyadesa). Hence Cha-po-ho-lo, which is also called Tu-po-ho-lo, was situated in Madhyadesa. (Madhyadesa of ancient Indian literature extends from Haryana to Bihar).

2. Cha-po-ho-lo being the capital of Ti-na-su-ti was naturally situated in that territory. (The boundaries of Tirabhukti are already known to us. It was bounded by the Gandaka, the Ganga, the Kosi and the Himalayan foothills).

3. Cha-po-ho-lo was situated on the river Chien-to-wei which has been identified with the Gandavati or Gandakavati, one of the forms of the Gandaka.

4. The commentator in the Tzu-Chih Tung Chien (Mirror of Universal History) written in A.D. 1084 by Sau-ma Kuang states that the River Chien-to-wei was 'first to the west and then to the north' of the Ganges (Devahuti, op. cit. p. 228; also see p. 216, fn. 2).

5. The Hsin Tung Shu (New History of the T'ang Dynasty) written in A.D. 1061 says that the River Chien-to-wei was north of the country of To-wei (Devahuti, p. 228).

Let me add something to this list:

6. If Cha-po-ho-lo was the capital of Tirabhukti for a considerable period, it must be full of antiquities today.

Out of the points given above nos. 1-3 are general in character and do not take us very far. But points 4 and 5
the Cha-po-ho-lo or Tu-po-ho-lo of the medieval Chinese accounts and the Svetapura (Shi-fei-to-po-lo) of Hsuan-tsang. Also, if we examine it carefully we see that the Sanskrit form of Cha-po-ho-lo or Tu-po-ho-lo is Svetapura, because

(i) Cha stands for S; and Tu stands for ta.

(ii) The Chinese syllables for Veta in Chapoholo and Sve in Tupoholo have been omitted as is usually done in the process of Sinizing Sanskrit words (There are numerous examples of this)

(iii) Po-ho-lo stands for pura. Thus the capital of Tirabhukti had a purana (ending in pura) name. This did not strike the earlier writers who suggested Champaran or Chapra (1836, 1837) or even Davaka (1800).

Let us now turn to the second part of this paper.

II. IDENTIFICATION OF A-LO-NA-SHUN (ARUNASVA)

Who was A-Lo-na-shun?

His name has been restored in Sanskrit as Arunasva which seems to be correct. The form Arjuna, the Sanskrit form of A-lo-na-shun which is also found in some Chinese texts should not be accepted because the shortened form if Sanskritised cannot give the correct original word.

A close study of the Chinese accounts of Wang Hsuan-tse’s Indian invasion gives the following details about A-lo-na-shun (Arunasva) who was the king of Tirabhukti at the time:

1. He was a minister of Harshavardhana Siladitya.
2. He usurped the throne after Harsha’s death
3. He became the king or Tirabhukti after Harsha’s death.
4. His lineage is unknown. The place of origin from where he came is equally unknown except that he
language of the Indian inscriptions was Sanskrit. It must have had a name in Sanskrit. What was that name?

With this end in view I looked into the accounts of Fa-hsien and Hsuan-tsang and the latter's biography written by his disciple and friend Hui-li. By corelating these pieces of evidence the picture emerges that at a distance of "20 miles or so" from the site of the Second Buddhist Council (which is 3 miles to the south of Basarh or the ancient Vaishali city) lies the Buddhist Sangharama of Svetapura, and 6 miles south-east of this is situated a stupa containing the relics of the body of Ananda, the well-known disciple of Gautama Buddha. It may be mentioned here that Hajipur lies at a distance of 20 miles from Basarh or Vaishali. Thus the Svetapura Sangharama Ananda-Chaitya complex should be situated between miles 3 to 9 to the east of Hajipur or further east wherever adequate archaeological remains are available. Such remains are actually to be found between miles 7-13. This justifies the location of Cha-po-ho-lo there. No harm is caused by a discrepancy of 4 miles to the east because both Hsuan-tsang and his biographer are not exact or insistent on the distance (Hsuan-tsang-"16 or 18 miles", Hui-li "20 miles or so"). Being a foreigner Hsuan-tsang may not be expected to be absolutely precise.

Let us approach the problem from a different angle. If we accept without question the location of Svetapura as given by Hsuan-tsang and his biographer, the town extends from mile 3 to mile 9 on the Hajipur-Mahnar Road (east of Hajipur). In our opinion the Cha-po-ho-lo or Tu-po-ho-lo of the medieval Chinese accounts extends from mile 7 to mile 13 on the same road. Thus there is a clear overlapping of a distance of two miles. This strongly suggests that Svetapura and Cha-po-ho-lo (Tu-po-ho-lo) are the same but that there is some little error about its location. It is here that the antiquities play an important part. As they are found abundantly between mile 7 and 13 on the Hajipur-Mahnar Road, we are convinced that it is this area which represents
had probably some connection with Kanyakubja inasmuch as he is said to have been a minister of Harshavardhana during the latter's lifetime.

That is all that we learn about A-lo-na-shun.

Here we wish to offer a suggestion.

Arunasva is generally taken to be a combination of Aruna and Asva (श्वस) But it may be a combination of Aruna and Asva (श्वस) as well. In the second case it means Aruna, the son (or descendant) of Asva (श्वस). I take Asva here as a contraction of Asvapati, the progenitor of the Maukhari according to verse 3 of the Harsha (Barabanki district) stone Inscription dated A.D. 554 of Isanavarman. Thus Asvapati (श्वसपति) and Asva are patronymics of Asvapati shortened into Asva (श्वस) for the sake of convenience, perhaps the complete name of Arunasva was Arunasvapata-Varman (of the last letter n of A-lo-na-shun). It seems to me, therefore, that Arunasva was probably a Maukhari prince, say the grandson of Suryavarman and son of Bhaskara-varman, or the third son of Avantivarman and the younger brother of Graha and Sucha...or Suva... This bestows on him legitimacy which perhaps helped him in taking possession of Tirabhukti whose governor he might have been as a minister of Harsha. That the Maukhari had a hold over Harsha is known to us from the introductory verse of Bana's Kadambari.

1. According to this "The king Asvapati got from Yuvyasvata (Yama) one hundred sons, conspicuous by their virtues, from them were descended the Mukhara princes, who vanquished their enemies and checked the cause of evil."

2. Just as both Bhima and Bhimam, are used for second son of Pandu

3 That Arunasva was a governor of Tirabhukti during Harsha's time has been suggested by many scholars.
In line 17 Dandi Mahadevi has been introduced as the daughter of a Queen named Gauri (tato Dandi-Mahadevi sura stasya mahiyasti). In lines 24-25 Dandi Mahadevi is described as Parama-mahesvari-mata Pitri-pad-anudhyala-paramabhattacharika maharajadhiraaja-paramesvari. Line 41 introduces Kosthaksa patalayepara dhikrita Rajputra Sri Kottabhanja.

2. Copper plate of Narendra Bhanja Deva: This is a single copper plate grant of Narendra Bhanja of the Adi-Bhanja dynasty of Khijjinge-kotta (Khiching). The text begins with an invocation to Bhava Bhavanisha, i.e., Siva. The next verse refers to the birth of Ganadanda Visabhadora out of the egg of a peahen in the great hermitage called Kottasrama. He is described as a king reared by the sage Vasistha (Vasishthamu-patru-nirpati). In this family called Adi-Bhanja (tasya-Adi-Bhanja-vamse) was born Sri Kottabhanja. Lines 10-11 mention Narendra-bhanja-deva who issued the charter under discussion. He is described as a resident of Srimat-kotta (which obviously stands for Khijjinge-kotta) and as a devotee of Hara (srimat-kottadhivasi-Hara-charanaradhana-kshayita-papah). The inscription records the grant of the village Dandapanchaka in Khijjinga mandala.

3. Copper plates of Ranabhanja deva: The charter consists of three copper plates belonging to Ranaka Rana Bhanja of the Khinjali branch of the Bhanja family. We get the following genealogy from the charter under discussion.

Silabhanja

| Satrubhanja |
| Ranaka Ranabhanjadeva |

In lines 19-32 Ranabhanja is described as andaja-ransa-prabhavah-parama-raishnara-matosiptrpad-madhvataha-Bhanja-mala-kula-vilaka-ubhaya-khinjalya-dhipati-samadhigata pun-
Copper Plate Inscriptions from Orissa

K. S. BEHERA

1. COPPER plate of Dandi Mahadevi: The copper plate of queen Dandi Mahadevi of the Bhauma-kara family, discovered from village Arual not far from Jaipur in Cuttack district, registers donation of village in Uttar Tosal. The donee originally hailed from Pundra vardhana. The charter is dated Samvat 187. We get the following genealogy from it which also occurs in the other inscriptions of Dandi Mahadevi:

```
         Unmatta Simha
             | Gayada
             | Lonabhara

---------
Kusumabara   Lalitahara

---------
Santikara   Subhakara
             | Gauri
             | Dandi-Mahadevi
```
A NUMBER of Silpasastras belonging to the pre-Islamic period of Indian history are available to us which deal with various aspects of architecture. These texts hold good as manuals of architectural projects for Hindu princes even during the medieval period. The above type of works are to be consulted for identifying edifices built according to their directions but the actual remains have not been identified. The text that we are going to discuss is a medieval text on architecture but it also gives a list of edifices built in the late 17th and early 18th centuries in Assam. This portion is definitely a later addition to this text on architecture written in the Assamese language.

The text in question is known as the Changrung Phukan nar Buranji (चाङरुङ फुकन बुरंजी) or the chronicle of the Changrung Phukan. Changrung Phukan was the superintendent of architectural construction under the kings of Assam. Buranji is an Ahom word of Tai origin but was assimilated like many others into Indo-Aryan Assamese after the entry of the Ahoms into Assam in the 13th century. Buranji is commonly used to mean a chronicle or a book of knowledge of any kind. In medieval Assamese works of
chamahasobda mahasamanta vandita stambhesvaralobdhah vara-
prasada Ranabhanja, the son and successor of Satrubhanja
is known to us from a number of charters. The present
charter was issued in his 20th regnal year and was engraved
by Sivanaga, son of Pandi. It registers the grant of the
village Tumasinga situated in Sanjamuro Khanda of Haundap-
amandala. The donor was a resident of Gandharapati
which may be identified with Gandharadi near Baud.
Haundapa is probably modern Handapa in the Athmalilek
Sub-Division of Dhenkanal District.

4 Copper plate inscription of Somavamsi Yuvaraja Dharm-
arattha deva. The charter engraved on three copper plates
refers to the fifth regnal year of King Janamejayadeva who
is described as parama mahesvara paramabhattaraka-maha-
rayadhiraja paramesvara Soma-kula-tilaka and Tri-kalunga-
dhipati. He may be identified with the Somavamsi monarch
Janamejaya II Mahasivaraja, son and successor of Uddyo-
takesaran, who is known to us from the Ratnagiri charter
of Karnadeva. The donor of the grant is Yuvaraja Dharma-
rattha-deva who is described as the governor of Paschima
Kalinga (literally, western Kalinga) and a Mahakumaradhiraja.
He belonged to the Soma kula (Somakula kamala-kalika-
vikasa-bhaskara).

The charter shows that Dharmarattha was a semi-indepen-
dent viceroy of Paschima Kalinga under the Somavamsi
king Janamejaya II. It throws light on an interesting social
phenomenon that of immigration of scholarly Brahmana
families into Orissa from Madhyadesa. The charter was
engraved by Heruka Dasa which indicates the influence of
Buddhism on Orissa in 11th century A.D.
6. The royal palace at Rangpur
   started : 1699 A.D.
   finished : 1707 A.D.

7. The grave of Gadadhar Singha
   (Gadadhar Singha was an ancestor of
    Siva Singha but his Maidam was
    constructed later)
    : 1753 A.D.

8. The grave of Rajeswara Singha
    : 1760 A.D.

9. The grave of the dowager mother
   (She is different from the person
    discussed in No. 3)
    : 1774 A.D.

10. The temple at Namti
    : 1775 A.D.

11. The temple of Isanesvara
    : 1773 A.D.

12. The temple of Na—Gosain
    : 1817 A.D.

From the above list of important edifices we find that
periodic additions were made in the form of new entries.
The fondness of the Ahoms for written records is well
known and in the Buranji's recording of dynastic history
periodic entries were made to keep all informations up-to-
date.
history were also known as Buranji. Hence Buranji would signify a body of accumulated knowledge usually ancient knowledge. But our present work can be safely translated as a "Handbook for the Superintendent of Constructions". Apart from methods of construction and the quantities of materials used in the construction of different buildings the Buranji also deals with the rituals connected with the disposal of the dead, embalming of the bodies pending burial and other ceremonies linked with the beginning and end of a construction project. The types of buildings mentioned are the Maidam (ছন্দ) or graves, Dalang (দলং) or bridges, Mathauri (মথাঁরী) or embankments, Dal (দল) an abbreviated form of the Assamese (আসাম) or Devalaya, i.e., a temple), Dhond (ধোঁদ) or aqueducts and Karengs (কারেঞ্চ) or palaces. All construction from the days of king Gadadhar Singha was in bricks and the former practice of building in wood was gradually given up. Stone was sometimes used along with bricks and terracotta tiles and panels. Palaces and important edifices built in the late 17th and early 18th centuries can be seen in their pristine beauty in the illustrated manuscripts produced during the days of king Siva Singha (1714-44 A.D.). Details of materials used in the construction of the following buildings are given in the Changrung Phukaner Buranji. The constructions are as follows: (As given in the text)

1. The grave of Siva Singha : 1744 A.D.
2. The grave of Bar-Raja alias queen Pramathesvari Devi : 1741 A.D.
3. The grave of the dowager mother : 1737 A.D.
4. The Bridge facing the Na'Duar : 1730 A.D.
5. The aqueduct of the capital city (Rangpur)
6. The royal palace at Rangpur
   started : 1699 A.D
   finished : 1707 A.D

7. The grave of Gadadhar Singha
   (Gadadhar Singha was an ancestor of Siva Singha but his Maidam was constructed later)
   : 1753 A.D

8. The grave of Rajeswara Singha
   : 1760 A.D

9. The grave of the dowager mother
   (She is different from the person discussed in No. 3)
   : 1774 A.D

10. The temple at Namti
   : 1775 A.D

11. The temple of Isanesvara
   : 1773 A.D

12. The temple of Na—Gosain
   : 1817 A.D

From the above list of important edifices we find that periodic additions were made in the form of new entries. The fondness of the Aboms for written records is well known and in the Buranjii's recording of dynastic history periodic entries were made to keep all informations up-to-date.

The details regarding the constructions in the above list include minute calculations about materials used; even the number of bricks used is recorded. Along with these the amount of cementing materials in the form of snail lime, gur, jute fibre, etc. are also meticulously recorded. The palaces were usually designed as narrowing upwards in different storeys and were topped by pavilions. The roofs of the pavilions and smaller buildings were of the "Bengali type" which is also met with in Mughal India. These were of two types the Du-Chalia (दु-चलिया) and the Chari-Chalia (चारी चलिया) i.e., with two slopes and four slopes. The
Maidams were the continuation of the Buddhist stupa type. They were hemispheres of huge construction, containing within a two or three-storeyed building (hidden from view) and topped by a small funerary temple in place of the Harmika of a stupa. Many more interesting details are to be found in this text which needs editing and publication. The manuscript in three parts is in a private collection at Sivasagar in Assam. Only the first part was printed in the form of a slim volume about twenty years ago.
Muslim Aggression and Hindu Response in Medieval Southern India

S. SELVIN KUMAR

THE RISE of Islam in the Middle East had a wide impact on the history of the world. Under the Umayyad regime Muhammed bin Kassim invaded Sind in A.D. 712. Notwithstanding some resistance, Islam, on the whole, found a favourable climate in India and managed to establish an empire. Towards the end of thirteenth century, under Khalji rulers, Muslim suzerainty extended up to Vindhyas and Sultan Alauddin Khalji aspired to invade the peninsula. It was at this time that in South India, there flourished four Hindu kingdoms viz., the Yadavas of Devagiri, the Kakatiyas of Warangal, the Hoysalas of Dwarasamudra or Halebid and the Pandyas of Madurai.

Early in fourteenth century Sultan Alauddin Khilji interfered in southern politics. His intention was to plunder the wealth of the cities there and his means purely military. His able general Malik Kafur led his armies. Malik Kafur reached Devagiri in A.D. 1303, Warangal in A.D. 1309, conquered them and then concentrated on the Pandya country in A.D. 1310.

Malik Kafur timed well his advance into the Pandya country. The kingdom had grown very weak because of a
fratricidal war. Sundara Pandya, the son of king Maravarman Kulasekhara after being defeated by his younger brother Vira Pandya, approached the Delhi Sultan for help through Taquiruddin Abdul Rahman, who was an influential horse dealer of Malabar. At this Sultan Alauddin Khilji ordered Malik Kafur to deal with the Pandya country. To the great surprise of Malik Kafur, both the rival brothers made their flight into the hills of the South. Malik Kafur having sacked the country, returned to Delhi with abundant spoils. He left a garrison at Madurai. Between A.D. 1321-25 Muhammad bin Tughlak also invaded Madurai. Having emerged victorious he appointed Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah, a kotwal of Delhi as the governor there. Thus Madurai became the twenty third province of Muhammad bin Tughlak’s empire. As the emperor stayed in Daulatabad in those days he controlled Madurai directly and even started issuing coins which are known as the Southern issue of Muhammad bin Tughlak. He held Madurai until A.D. 1334. He lost control over it when he transferred his capital to Delhi where he faced manifold problems. Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah, the Governor of Madurai declared independence in A.D. 1334. He killed all the loyal nobles of Muhammad bin Tughlak at Madurai and issued coins in his own name with the title ‘Sultan’. All the efforts of Muhammad bin Tughlak to prevent the rise of Madurai were in vain.

1. Krishnaswamy Aiyengar, South India and her Muhammadan Invaders 1921.
2. Isamy’s Futuh us Salatin, ed. and translated by Eliot and Dowsen, 871, History of India as Told by its own Historians, Vol. III, p 53
The formation of the Madurai Sultanate was an event of great significance. It was the first Islamic state in the south to the great surprise of all the Hindu kings in the region. As religion played a vital role in the medieval states, the Madurai Sultanate followed an illiberal policy towards her neighbours. This created tension and provoked resentment among the Hindus.

The Hindu resurgence of the early fourteenth century led to the rise of Vijayanagar in A.D. 1336. The rise of this kingdom was a Hindu reaction against the Turkish rule in the South. However, Vijayanagar was too young to offer resistance to the Madurai Sultanate. This was done by Vira Ballala III, the Hoysala ruler.

Foul play on the part of the Madurai Sultan Ghayasuddin Damagahan Shah in the battle of Kannanurkoppam brought the Hoysala chapter to a close. By then Vijayanagar had become stronger. The Madurai Sultans now felt threatened. Their political activities came to a standstill. They even stopped issuing coins. This is the explanation for the break in the coinage of the Sultans of Madurai.

Contemporaneously there sprouted another Islamic State to the north of Vijayanagar in A.D. 1345. This was the Bahmini Kingdom founded by Hasan Gangu. The aim of the Bahmini Sultan was to cross over with his armies right up to Rameswaram. This goal can be interpreted as the Bahmini ambition to reduce to submission the Hindu empires of the South. Alauddin Bahman Shah fought the Vijayanagar ruler, Bukka I, from A.D. 1347-1358. Firoz Shah

---


fratricidal war. Sundara Pandya, the son of king Maravarman Kulasekhara after being defeated by his younger brother Vira Pandya, approached the Delhi Sultan for help through Taqirduddin Abdul Rahman, who was an influential horse dealer of Malabar. At this Sultan Alaouddin Khilji ordered Malik Kafur to deal with the Pandya country. To the great surprise of Malik Kafur, both the rival brothers made their flight into the hills of the South. Malik Kafur having sacked the country, returned to Delhi with abundant spoils. He left a garrison at Madurai. Between A.D. 1321-25 Muhammad bin Tughlak also invaded Madurai. Having emerged victorious he appointed Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah, a kalbal of Delhi as the governor there. Thus Madurai became the twenty-third province of Muhammed bin Tughlak's empire. As the emperor stayed in Daulatabad in those days he controlled Madurai directly and even started issuing coins which are known as the Southern issues of Muhammed bin Tughlak. He held Madurai until A.D. 1334. He lost control over it when he transferred his capital to Delhi where he faced manifold problems. Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah, the Governor of Madurai declared independence in A.D. 1334. He killed all the loyal nobles of Muhammad bin Tughlak at Madurai and issued coins in his own name with the title 'Sultan'. All the efforts of Muhammad bin Tughlak to prevent the rise of Madurai were in vain.

1. Krishnaswamy Aiyengar, South India and her Muhammadan Invaders 1921.
2. Issamy's Futuh vs Salatin, ed. and translated by Elhot and Dowsen, 571, History of India as Told by its own Historians, Vol. III, p. 53.
Works of Legal Nature in the Reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq

ZAFRUL ISLAM

THE ESTABLISHMENT of Muslim rule in India marked the beginning of great changes not only in the social and political sphere but also in the field of education and learning. The contemporary sources of the Delhi Sultanate tend to show that the Sultans were keenly interested in the promotion of learning. They founded schools and colleges, established libraries in various parts of their Sultanate and liberally patronised learned men. This gave great impetus to the cause of learning in India. The imperial court of Delhi had become a rallying-centre of literary men, poets and scholars and the Sultanate of Delhi rivalled the best contemporary centres of knowledge in all sciences. The academic activities of the learned scholars under the Delhi Sultanate were not confined to imparting knowledge through schools, colleges or individual centres of teaching, but they also contributed valuable works on various

(A.D. 1397-1422) fought two wars against Vijayanagar who then gave his daughter in marriage to the Sultan together with the fort and district of Bankapura as her dowry. He made the Raichur Doab a separate province which became a bone of contention between Vijayanagar and the Bahmini kingdoms and led to the battle of Talikota in A.D. 1565 to extinguish the glory of Vijayanagar.

Hindu restlessness in the closing years of the Bahmini kingdom led to the promotion of the Maratha empire.
Kirmani. The compiler suddenly died leaving the work incomplete and unarranged. Afterwards, the unfinished manuscript of the work was brought to the notice of Firuz Shah. He ordered its revision and enlargement, and under his supervision it was compiled in the present form. The original manuscript of Yaqub Muzaffar was in Arabic and in the process of revision it was rendered mostly into Persian.

The Fatwa i-Firuz Shahi, is a comprehensive work on civil and ecclesiastical law written mainly from the Hanafi point of view. The work gives in detail injunctions from the Holy Quran and Hadis and opinions of the jurists on the legal problems (masail) relating to different matters. Some of the problems dealt with in this compendium have their significance in the sphere of administration as legal sources of revenue, penal laws, treatment towards rebels against the Sultan and procedure for trial of cases in the courts of justice. But their importance would be meaningful only in view of the rules laid down by the Fatwa and the norms followed by the Sultan in practice. It has been assumed by some modern scholars that the importance of the work lay in its practical utility. In their view it was

6 The surname of the compiler has been variously recorded by modern scholars as 'Kirmani', by R.C. Jauhari & Sahabuddin Umar, 'Kiram', by Ethe, and I.H. Qureshi, 'Kiram' by M.B. Ahmad and 'Karam' by K. Ashraf. But the Aligarh manuscript (Univ. collection, Parsa, Nasirud Din 280, f. 25) gives it as 'Kirmani'.

7 Fatwa-i Firuz Shahi, (preface) ff 2a-b. Exactly the same case is being stated in relation to the compilation of Fatwa-i Qara Khan where one Qabul Qara Khan undertook to complete the unfinished work of Yaqub Muzaffar in the reign of Firuz Shah. Only collation of both the works may decide that they are two separate works of different versions of the same original. See, Descriptive Catalogue of Persian MSS in the Collections of Asiatic Society of Bengal W. Iranow, Calcutta, 1924, pp. 493-99, and also Ethe, 2971.

subjects. In the reign of Firuz Shah Tughlaq, who was a highly accomplished man of literary tastes and himself a writer, there appeared a number of learned works on history, theology, literature, law, medicine, astronomy etc. But it seems that Firuz Shah being devout and orthodox Muslim showed great interest in the theological sciences ('Ulum-i dinia) particularly in the science of jurisprudence ('ilmu fiqh). Several works on Islamic jurisprudence were compiled during his reign at his own instance or were dedicated to him. The evaluation of a few of these significant works forms the main theme of this paper. These are as follows:

1. *Fatawa-i Firuz Shah*.
2. *Fawaid-i Firuz Shah*.
3. *Fatawa-i Tatar Khani*.

*Fatawa-i Firuz Shah* - also known as *Fiqh-i Firuz Shahi*, was originally compiled by Sadruddin Ya'qub Muzaffar

---


4. The science of jurisprudence was an important part of the curriculum in all schools established by Firuz Shah in the capital (Barani, pp 464-65, *Sriot* pp. 296-99). Besides, many distinguished scholars flourished during his reign who were well known for their aptitude in the science of jurisprudence such as Maulana Ahmad Thaneswar, Sadruddin Ya'qub, Maulana Khwajagi, *'Alam bin* Ala Hanafi, Abdul Muqitadir, Shurahi, Jalaluddin Rumi Barani, p. 564, Shaikh Abdul Haq, *Akbar-ul Aqyvar*, Delhi, 1332. A.H. pp. 143-45, 150-51, Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as Told by its own Historians*, 1875, pp. 487-88

5. Two manuscripts of the work are preserved in the Maulana Azad Library (A.M.U., Aligarh) under Noa University Collection, *Farasat*, Mazhab No. 260, Supplement *Farasat*, No 5. The India Office Library also has one manuscript under the title of *Fiqh-i Firuz Shahi* (Ethe 2564)
originally compiled in Persian, with the intention, as asserted by the compiler himself, to enable people to comprehend its meaning and purport as the common man was more familiar with Persian than Arabic. It was intended that the people should become acquainted with the sanctions and prohibitions of the Shari'ah. In the preface the author has also eulogised the Sultan and prayed to God Almighty for the prosperity and stability of his Sultanate and government. The subject matter of the work has been supported by the views of learned jurists as stated in their legal compilations. It is divided into chapters and each chapter subdivided into numerous sections. In the arrangement of the chapters, it differs from the Fatawa-i Firuz Shahi as in the very beginning it discusses the definition of knowledge (‘ilm) and its branches.

Fatawa-i Tatar Khan,\textsuperscript{12} compiled by ‘Alim bu ‘Ala’ Hanafi (d. A.D. 1307)\textsuperscript{14} at the instance of Tatar Khan,\textsuperscript{13} is a lengthy and voluminous work on law. Of the numerous authorities quoted by the compiler, the noteworthy are al-Muhit, Fatawa-i Qazi Khan, Fatawa-i Zahiria and Khulasat-ul Fatawa. This legal compilation, which consists of 30 volumes, is considered a monumental work on Islamic jurisprudence.\textsuperscript{15}

It appears from the study of all the above works on Islamic Law that they had been compiled mainly from the Hanafi point of view, though in the course of discussion, sometimes, references are also made to the opinion of other

\textsuperscript{12} Fatawa-i Firuz Shahi (MS Aligarh Jf/69) f 1b.
\textsuperscript{13} MS i ABS. 405 (11).
\textsuperscript{14} “...” usubatul Khawatir.
\textsuperscript{15} “...” one of the chief judges.

was also compiled by a board of scholars under the title of Fatawa-i Tatar Khan. See Badaun, vol. 1 pp. 267, 269, 274.

apparently compiled for the guidance of the judiciary and it provided the basis of the judicial system to the Muslim rulers until replaced by *Fatawa-i Alamgiri*. But this is by no means certain, considering it in the light of contemporary evidence.

The compiler has cited numerous authorities in support of the matters dealt with in the work. Of these the more remarkable are *al-Hadaya*, *Fatawa-i Sirajia*, *Fatawa-i Qazi Khan*, *Fatawa-i Sughra*, *Waqiat-i Zahiriya*, *Waqiat-i Hasamlya*, and *Zakhirat ul Fatawa*.

The work is divided into hundred and four chapters (ubnab), sub-divided into numerous sections (fusul). In arranging the chapters, the compiler has followed the orthodox lines of Islamic law-books. A long preface and a detailed content are also given in the beginning of the work.

*Fawad-i Firuz Shahi*, is another voluminous work on Islamic law, which was compiled by Sharaf bin Muhammed al-Atar and dedicated to Firuz Shah. The work is a legal compendium as well as an informative compilation regarding rulers. It also states norms on social and moral aspects connected with the life of the Muslims. The work was

---


10 For detailed discussion on these sources, see Sayyed Amir Ali, *Introduction to Fatawa-i Bindiya* (Urdu translation of *Fatawa-i Alamgiri*), Delhi, 1932

11 *Jat Hind*, Azamgarh 1970, p 154 has incorrectly recorded the author’s name as ‘Mulla Muhammed Atar’.
Another peculiar feature of the legal works of Firuz Shah’s reign is that they have been written in Persian; most of the legal compilations done before or after his reign are in Arabic. It appears that continuous effort was being made on the part of the Sultan to propagate and promote the science of jurisprudence and to make the people know what is permissible and what is forbidden by law. It was a part of his attempt to bring the administration of the Sultanate in conformity with the edicts of the Shariat. In the revenue administration he issued order for the collection and depositing into the state treasury only the lawful taxes, and for abolition of all illegal exactions. With reference to penal law he prohibited all cruel punishments which had been prevalent with a view to deter the offenders from committing crimes because such punishment had no sanction in the shariat. He further showed his regard for the shariat by obliterating ostentatious display of wealth such as use of gold and silver vessels at the royal tables, painting of pictures and portraits on the walls and doors of the royal palaces. In his puritanical zeal, Firuz Shah also suppressed the sects of mulhids and ibahityan who were preaching heterodox views, creating schism among the people and indulging in illegal practices.

This should not lead one to conclude that the administration of Sultan Firuz was actually based on the guidelines suggested by the shariat as embodied in the Fatawa or other similar works which were compiled under his supervision.

20. This may be supported by the study of nature and scope of Futuhat-i Firuz Shahi. See Introduction to Sh. Andur Rashida edition of Futuhat-i Firuz Shahi, K.A. Nizami, the Futuhat-i Firuz Shahi as a medieval inscription. Proceeding of the seminar on Inscriptions, Aligarh. 1979, pp. 28-35.
21 Futuhat, p 6, Sirat-i Firuz Shahi, p 124.
23 Futuhat, pp. 10-11, 14, Afit, pp 371-72
24 Futuhat, pp. 7-8
schools of jurisprudence (Shafi, Maliki, and Hambali). The prevalence of the Hanafi doctrine in medieval India had been due to the influx of a large number of learned scholars (Ulama) from the cities of Nishapur, Sanaan, Ghazain, Kashan, Balkh, Samistan, Khwarizm and Tabrurz, which were considered to be the strongholds of the Hanafi school of jurisprudence. There had come very few 'Ulama' from the countries where other schools of jurisprudence were dominant as Hijaz, Yaman, Najd and Spain. It is obvious then that the Hanafi scholars had produced a great impact on the academic climate in India. The Hanafi school of jurisprudence was adopted and enforced by the Muslim rulers as the state's law-code, and thus became the foundation of the judicial system operating at the law-courts in India.

The Fatawa-collections, compiled in and outside India in the medieval period, had been devised on the pattern of the textbooks on Islamic law in so far as the arrangement of the chapters and the way of discussion on the legal problems are concerned. The same is the case with the Fatawa-i Firuz Shahi as far as the arrangement of the chapters is concerned, but its mode of discussion is quite distinct. The whole work is arranged in the form of istifta (queries addressed to a legal authority) and the fatwa (decision given on them) on the original mode of the legal compilations under the head of fatawa.

17. Majid Khudduri, Law in the Middle East, Washington, 1955, pp 57-83 (Chapter on "the schools of law and later development of jurisprudence" by J Schacht). Shibl Numani, Sirot-un Numan, Delhi, 1893, pp. 114-20 (It is also evident from the contemporary sources that in the early Tughluq period there were one thousand colleges in Delhi. Of these, only one belonged to the Shafi, the rest to the Hanafi). See Subhul 'Asa, op cit p. 29
19. See for example the well-known Fatawa-collections, Fatawa-Quai Khan, Calcutta, 1835, and Fatawa-i Alamgiri, Cairo, 1311 A.H.
sustained effort on the part of the learned scholars to evolve a consensus on such problems as have baffled secular authorities. The total attitude of the Ulama was the outcome of following a traditional line as enunciated by the principle of Taqlid and they were completely alienated and far-removed from the concept of Ijtihad which would have given the Muslim state and society in India a sense of direction and unity of purpose.\textsuperscript{26}

The fact remains that it was an attempt on the part of the Sultan to establish conformity between the state and the shariat, conduct state affairs with the sanction of the shariat-law and to infuse a moral tone and texture in the functional sphere of the state and society. But it is an irony of fate, that Firuz Shah, like his predecessors, had to follow the zanabiz more closely than the edicts of the shariat in the actual working and the practical side of the administrative system and organisation.

In conclusion, it may be observed that the Fatawa collections and the voluminous literature of legal nature produced in the period failed to provide any great work which could serve as a beneficial guide to the administrative activities of the Sultans or give a solution to the new problems connected with civil, criminal and religious laws as well as family and social problems. These works took no cognizance of the new problems and challenges facing the state and society. The learned theologians of Medieval India either wrote commentaries on law-books or produced their own compilations on Islamic jurisprudence on the basis of earlier works of legal nature which were compiled in other countries. They did not rise to the occasion by providing a workable solution to the political problems on which there was difference of opinion and left these problems to the secular sense and social exigencies of the time.

They attended to irrelevant problems such as legality of Sama, use of saffron-coloured cloth and of garments of silk and gold brocade. They seldom applied their mind to the progressive principle of Ijthad to settle the complex problems of administration, social behaviour and the unique situation in which the Muslims were placed in India among a vast non-Muslim majority and the problems that arose out of the inter-relations. Consequently, we do not find any

---

of local women with Arab settlers in coastal colonies are well-known facts. The Arab geographers’ statements (vide Nainar-Arab geographers’ knowledge etc.), the kufic signatures on Sthanu Ravi’s copper plate grant dated A.D. 819 to Joseph Rabban, the Jewish chieftain and the tombstone at Pantalayani dated 160 AH, are concrete proofs of Muslim colonies. The traditional story of the conversion of Perumal and the introduction of Islam into Malabar mentions the coming of ‘Malik Dinar Missionary group’ which is now placed in 1124 on inscriptions evidence. This clearly shows that missionary groups began to arrive from 12th century onwards.

From 11th century onwards Sufi saints and missionaries were active in South India. The residents of Laccadive islands 200 miles off Kerala attribute their conversion to an Arab missionary named ‘Mumbamudyaka’ around 12th century. The great volume of Mappila pious poetry on 12th century Saints al-Jilani and al-Risai is a definite proof of the activities of the disciples of these saints in Malabar.

Politically favourable conditions existed in Malabar under the Zamorins of Calicut and the Musaka kings of Ezhimala.

---

7. The founding of one of the eleven mosques at Matayi which according to tradition were constructed by Malik Dinar and his disciples. The mosque in question is dated 1124 580 H. Innes. Malabar p. 25.
8. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri. A History of South India, p. 439. “Islam was preached actively in Trichinopoly early in the 11th century by a Sayed prince of Turkey, Nathad Vals who became a missionary, came to India and spent his last years converting people.”
Sufi Saints of Malabar

V Kunhali

A PRE-CONCEIVED notion on the absence of Sufism in South India has prevented the possibilities of study in this field. A few of the still existing Sheikhs, their murids and the innumerable number of Sufi saints propagation of Islam on whose part helped the growth of the Muslim population in Malabar is thus overlooked.

The Kitabs, Mouluds, and Malas as well as field observations, interviews with custodians of 'Jarams', and eminent theologians form the materials of this study.

The introduction of Islam into Malabar through Arab-traders and the origin of the Mappilas owing to inter-marriage

---

1. I.H. Qureshi, The Muslim Community of Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent, 610-1947, p 15. "The extensive Sufi missionary activity known elsewhere in the history of Indian Islam is not evident in southern India".

2. The term is generally used for any book in Arabic on theology.

3. The songs in Arabic composed on the life, piety, and miracles of saints and sung on appointed days at their tombs.

4. Songs with a strong tinge of Arabic written in Arabi Malayalam and recited by devotees after prayers.

5. The Malayalam equivalent of Dargah.
most important text on Islam produced in Malabar. ‘Hidayat al-Adkiya’ of the second Makhdum is an important work on the teachings of the family and the commentary written for this book by the son of the author, ‘Mashalakul Adkiya’ gives a biographical sketch of the family.

According to ‘Mashalak ul adkiya’ the Makhdum’s birth place was Coramondal coast as indicated in their name Masbari. They migrated to Cochin from where the first Makhdum was invited as Qadi of Ponnani. In one place it is mentioned that they belong to the chishti Tarqat and the Sheikh is ‘Ajadhani’ or ‘Ajjadhani’. The reference is either to Sheikh Farid ud-din Ganji Shakar or to some of his disciples in Ajodhan. Makdums had studied under eminent scholars of the day. The first Makhdum was a student of Abdul Rahman Adamul Misri of Egypt, in Calicut and the second and third Makhdums were student of Ibn Hajar al Haytami (1504-67) at Mecca. It is said that when his student wrote the renowned Fathul Moin, Ibn Hajar al Haytami came to Ponnani for the ceremony of releasing the books. Contrary to the concept that the respective Jamaath were under the jurisdiction of a Qadi the Makhdums claimed the headship of the whole Muslim community in Malabar, until the arrival in the 17th century of Mamburam Thangal, another Sufi saint of Sayyed origin. At the usual succession ceremonies the Zamorins used to send the robe of honour to signify their recognition. This aspect seems to be a parallel of the concept of ‘wilayat’ of the chishti saints. Ponnani still maintains many aspects of a medieval Khanqah. Its Jamaat mosque is the centre where ‘Mashalikas’

14. The Arabs knew the eastern coast of southern India as Masbar. The term is also used to denote “one from over the water”. E. Thurston, Castes and Tribes of Southern India, IV, p. 453.
15. The well known Arab scholar Moulavi Mohammad Falaki explained the derivation of certain words connected with a house where Ibn Hajar is believed to have stayed.
16. E. Thurston, Castes and Tribes of Southern India.
Custom duty from the Arabs - the main source of income of the Zamorin - and the trade monopoly of the east, helped the growth of large Muslim colonies with grand Jamaath Masjid dars and public kitchens. The atmosphere of mutual trust and welcome would have attracted many saints and missionaries to Malabar. The Iraqi, Yamanite, Persian, Sirafi and Egyptian saints, scholars and Qazis whom Ibn Battuta met all along the Malabar coast show a continuity of migration. When the Zamorin attracted “all the wealth of the world to his marketplace”, he wanted to build a merchant fleet and a navy for which he entirely depended on Mappilas and encouraged conversion. The siege of the prestigious land of Mamamkan; Tirunavaya was planned and executed by KozhikottuKOYA.

From the middle of 15th century onwards the family histories of some of the Sufi saints are available. The Makhdum Thangal family of Ponnani ranks first among them. Ponnani reached the peak of its fame under the leadership of Sheikh Zain-ud-din Ibn Sheikh Ali (1467-1522) known as the ‘Senior Makhdum’. His grandson Sheikh Ahmad Zain-ud-udin Ibn Sheikh Mohammed al-ghazzali (1498-1581) was the author of the monumental work “Thufat-ul-Mujahideen fi Baazi Akbar al-Burthuqalyyin”. Known as the ‘Junior Makhdum’, he also wrote ‘Fathul Moim’ which is still regarded as the

11 Logan, Malabar I, p. 197. In order to make available men for his navy and sea trade there was a standing order of the Zamorin that one male member of every fisherman’s family should be brought up as a Muslim. Thus originated Poosatans, the Muslim fishermen, a corruption of Pudu-Islam meaning new Muslim.

12 KozhikottuKOYA, the head of Muslims of Calicut had the right to sit by the right side of Zamorin in the Mamamkon festival as a reward, K. V. Krishna Ayyar, The Zamorin of Calicut, pp 44-46.

13 R E Miller, Mappila Muslims of Kerala, p 226 fn “The much acclaimed Fathul Mun of Ahmad Zain-ud-din is a summary of religious laws covering the whole range of behaviour from rules for fasting to the cutting of finger nails.”
upon his followers to repent with a pure heart, to return to Allah and to worship him.\textsuperscript{19}

He constructed a number of mosques, himself laying the foundation stone of many of them. He would also send the foundation stones for the mosques from his place which the devotees would respectfully carry to their respective destinations. He asked his disciples to go and settle in the interior villages of Ennadu to carry on propagation. The descendants of these people could still be seen in the villages with the title thangāla. The Zamorin had appointed Mambram Thangalal to the headship of the Mappilas of Ennadu and Vallavanadu. Sayyid Faisal of this family did not believe in Tariqat or Mursid. During the Mappila outbreaks on the question of land ownership he declared: "It is not a sin but a merit to kill a Jenmi who evicts".\textsuperscript{20} On account of his popularity with the Mappilas and rebels in particular the British government through a series of negotiations persuaded him to go into exile. On 19th March, 1851 he left for Arabia on his forced exile with family and attendants numbering 57 in all. He became a good friend of the Pasha of Egypt and the Sultan of Turkey who interceded for him with the British but to no avail.\textsuperscript{21} He had considerable influence in Mecca where he settled in 1860.\textsuperscript{22} For sometime he served as the governor of Safar and held a titular position in the ministry of the Turkish Sultan; he died in 1901 in Constantinople and was buried there. The attempts to bring the Thangal's family back in 1935, under the leadership of the freedom fighter Mohammed Abdurahman who prepared a mass petition with 100,000 signatures shows the

\textsuperscript{20} E. Thurston, Castes and Tribes of Southern India, IV, p. 476
\textsuperscript{21} K.K.M. A. Karim Sayyid Ali: Thangal. p. 63 69
\textsuperscript{22} R. E. Miller, Mappila Muslims of Kerala, p. 257. Correspondence 1 p. 387, letter of R. Robinson dated November 13, 1886 from Jeddah.
from all over Malabar undergo religious learning and the junior students accept the discipleship of the senior ones. The seniormost and the selected few have the privilege to sit near the Makhdum and the 'Vilakkath Irikkuka' - the seat by the light is highly prized. The chosen among them are then given the title of Musaliyar.  

There is a public kitchen supported by large endowments and even today the new converts are sent there to get instructions in the preliminaries of religion. A large number of theological works were produced in Ponnani and copied down by Musaliyars for their use.

The Sheikhs of Chombal, (Soubal of the Arabs) in Kan-churappalli near Mahi is another important family of saints. The author of the well known Arabic work 'Rihlat al-Muluk,' Umar Suhrawardi belongs to this family. As a specific study has not yet been made, it cannot be said whether the whole family belonged to the Suhrawardi Tariqat or not.

Mamburam thangals are another important family of saints in Malabar. The head of this family, a Meccan mufti migrated from Tarrin, an interior town of Hadramawt of Yemen in the year 1735. The thangals usually accepted the surname of Alavi Thangal. Maulavi Mohammed Falaki who had studied the works of the family asserts that they belong to the Baalavi Tariqet. With his headquarters in Mamburam the thangal with his disciples toured far and wide in the interior of the present Malappuram district. He fasted weekly. He slept very little and spent much time with the Quran and Hadith and dhikr and dua. He called

17 In two copies of Fathul Muin the author’s name is given as Gazzali ‘Musaliyar’ and in another ‘Moudiyar’. The term Musaliyar these days denotes religious classes.
Assaih Abu Wafa Muhammedul Kalikatty was an important saint who lived in Calicut in the 17th century. His Moulud explains that he departed in search of a teacher at the age of 20 and returned after some time with the instruction of his Sheikh to preach and convert. He is said to have guided the Muslims who fought with Europeans on behalf of the Zamorins. The Sheikh took the new converts in procession on horseback around the city. The ‘Nercha’ conducted at his Jaram is known as ‘Appani Nercha’ in Calicut.

The Sheikhs of Irrikur, the Sheikhs of Porathel and the Sheikhs of Chombal are other important families of Sufi saints. A detailed study to reveal their activities and Tariqat has not yet been undertaken.

All along the coastal towns of Malabar there are a large number of tombs of Sufi saints venerated by the devotees. They range from the members of the Malik Dinar group to the “Shahids” in battles with the Portuguese, the French, and the British, and in some cases with local rulers as late as 1921.

Annual ‘Nerchas’ are conducted in honour of these saints. The locality is decorated for days and it becomes the most important local festival when whole families meet together. The fact that the Malik Dinar Urs in Kasarcode is celebrated only once in three years considering the convenience of the organisers and of those residing abroad shows the love and regard of the people to the Nerchas. Devotees come in processions from nearby areas.


27. Nercha literally means ‘oath’. Devotees take oaths to send offerings to the tombs to invoke the blessings of the saints in times of difficulty. The use of this word for the festival is derived from the practice of fulfilling such oaths on the day.
Mappila respect for this family. One of the Thangals wrote in 1921 the famous “Assaiful Bathar”—cutting sword which was a handbook for the preachers. The rebels would visit the Thangal, pray at the grave of his predecessors, kiss his hands and seek his blessings to be martyrs. For the fulfilment of their wishes, people visit the Jaram of Mamburam or swear offerings to. “By the feet of Mamburam Thangal” is a sacred seal for a Mappila contract. People regarded the thangals as imbued with God’s grace. The earth on which he spat or walked was treasured by the devotees of Sayyid Fasal.

The Kondotty Thangals, another family of saints who migrated from Kardan were of Persian origin. They insisted on the prostration of the devotees which led to the issuing of a series of ‘Fatwas’ for and against them by the Ulema and Mamburam Thangals. Muhammed Shah, the founder erected a Takiya in Kondotty where he gave religious instruction to his disciples. In 1773 he constructed his own tomb in Mugal style where he lies buried. He was given the right for tax collection by Tipu Sultan in 1789. His sympathy with Tipu Sultan landed him in trouble with the Mappilas loyal to the Zamorin. The British government exempted him from revenue on the condition that he and his disciples would be loyal to the company. “A promise which they have ever since very faithfully fulfilled.”

23. Mappilas also sought the blessings of Ponnani Makhdums or Musalihars to become martyrs. In 1903 the then president of Mauzath-ul-Islam sabha was quoted as saying “It is he (the Makhdum) that sanctifies the Musalihar and where there is no Musalihar to bless them there is no moplah to die as martyr.” Thurston, IV, p. 481, R.E. Miller Moppila Muslims of Kerala, p. 260


25. Logan wrote in 1881 “I found a letter written by the 7th Thangal Nazruddin in 1921 to the captain of the British garrison in Perur, to send troops to Kondotty to save him from Mappila rebels then advancing to Kondotty.”
Munis-ul-Fuqara—A 15th Century Manual on Mysticism

S. A. LATIF

MUNIS-UL-FUQARA (helper of the mendicants) by Shaikh Nur Qub Alam (ob. A.D. 1416) is the first Chishti

1. The text used for this article, written in good shikast, is available in a private library (Kurub Khan Shah Damariabad) at Khalisabag, in Bhagalpur district of Bihar. The author’s name and title of the book is given in the text on folios 20 and 158. But there is no reference to any date about its preparation. The present text was transcribed in 1132 A.H./A.D. 1720 by one Muhammad Khalil bin Sheik Muhammad Fazil Usman. Another incomplete copy of the same manuscript containing only six sections (15-21) is in the Persian collection, no. 466 of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. Nevertheless the text used in this article is complete with an introduction by the author.

2. He was the son and spiritual successor of Shaikh Ahsul Haq and grandson of Shaikh Akhi Sirajuddin Usman, who introduced and organized the Chishti Silsila in Bengal at the instance of his preceptor Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya (ob. A.D. 1325). Since the death of his father in A.D. 1398, Shaikh Nur Qub Alam led the Chishti movement and strengthened its base in Bengal by popularizing the religious and social values of Islam. The centre of his activities was at Pandeiah (in Malda district of West Bengal) where he died and was buried in A.D. 1415. For his biographical notice, see Alkbar-ul-Akhyar, pp. 153-61, Mirat-ul Abar, fi. 252-94, Guzari Abar A.A. Khan, Memoirs of Guzar and Pandeiah, pp. 106-108. Blochmann, Contribution to the Geography and History of Bengal, ASB, Calcutta, 1968, p. 66.
often approaching the town in a state of frenzy. Now-a-days amusements and decorated elephants are seen in 'Varavu'.

Miracles are attributed to these saints whom people believed to have control over the favourable 'Jinn'. Many possess peculiar medical powers. Offerings to the Appani Sheikh of Calicut will cure eye diseases and the Kondotty thangals have miraculous power in healing bone, throat and thorn problems.

Many of them have been made into local saints invoked by Muslims and non-Muslims alike. In Chavakkadu, Hydross Kutty Moopen is invoked by fishermen of both communities at times of danger in the sea. Men on board in far off sea vow to offer a model of their vessel to the Dargah of Syed Mohammed Sharaful Madani of Ullal at the time of calamities in the sea, in order to invoke the blessings of the saint. Large numbers of such models could be seen in Ullal Dargah.

Due to the spread of education and influence of unorthodox sects veneration of saints and belief in miracles are decreasing. But in some cases, at least, the Nerchas are being celebrated with unprecedented pomp and show made possible by the 'new wealth'.

28. On 30th January, 1978, sixty embellished elephants were paraded in the Nercha of Hydross Kutty Moopen at Chavakkad, a small town in Trichur District.
mystical matters. Apparently written for him, the book was also useful for other students of the mystic path.

The book is written and arranged in a systematic manner. It is divided into twenty-nine sections along with a lengthy introduction in the beginning on the vital points of mystic philosophy such as love, vision of Allah and the self.

The first fourteen sections are devoted to exercises containing valuable information about the obligatory and supplementary prayers from dawn to mid-night, and throw light on a number of appropriate rituals (*waṣaif*). The remaining sections deal with the basic tenets of the sufis, e.g. repentance, initiation, renunciation, recollection, repudiation of the world and the self, poverty and contentment, the nature of the self, the heart and the soul, *ṣama* and *futuh* (unsolicited charity).

The principal motive of the Shaikh, in writing this book, was to inspire a genuine urge for mysticism in the minds of beginners and to put them on the right track so that they could develop in them piety, build a noble character, and be good workers for the welfare of the community. Besides stressing on the observance of obligatory and other modes of prayers to his disciples, the Shaikh exhorts them to cultivate the company of pious people to learn from them the art of reciting the Quran, and of meditation.

It is significant to note that all the instructions given and the rituals recommended by the Shaikh are based on the Quran and the Sunnah (or tradition) of the Prophet. Further, the interesting and important feature of the book lies in the fact that all the mystic tenets have been put in explicit detail by the author. All the mystic terms used in the text are defined in a scholarly manner after a

---

8 *Munis-ul-Fuqara* (MS), f 41a.
manual on mysticism produced in Bengal after the decentralization of the Chishti *silsilah* in the fourteenth century. Hitherto the Chishti saints had to seek inspiration and guidance from the Suhrawardi book *Awarif-ul-Maarif*, and the Chishti works *Fawaid-ul Fuaad*, *Khair-ul Majalis* and *Siyar-ul Auliyaa*. Shaikh Nur Quth Alam’s *Munis-ul Fuqara* was an important attempt of its type to piece together all relevant principles on mysticism available in the religious literature and put them concisely in simple Persian so that the real spirit of the subject should be conveyed to its readers.

The author of the work was a distinguished Chishti saint and scholar from Pandua in Bengal; and had enjoyed the confidence of a large number of disciples and followers. The preparation of the book, under discussion, was undertaken by him at the request of his most learned and favourite *khaliq*, Shaikh Husamuddin Manikpuri who wanted a handbook for his guidance in day-to-day life on religious and

---

3. It is one of the leading works on the origin and development of sufism, and contains valuable information about the principal stages of mystic path. It was compiled in Mecca by the great Suhrawardi saint Shaikh Shhabuddin who died in 612 A.H/A.D 1214. See *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts*, Vol XIII, no 860, pp. 48-51, Bankipur, Patna, 1928.

4. The book is the first text on the Chishti principles and ideologies in India. The compilation of this work is based on the recorded conversations (malfuzat) of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliyaa. It was collected and compiled by Amir Hasan Stji between A.D 1307-A.D 1322. For an idea of this book, see Prof. Habib’s article on *Chishti Mystic Records of the Sultanate Period*, *Medieval India Quarterly*, Vol 1, 1950, No. 1-4, pp 2-3.

5. It is a collection of the conversations (malfuzat) of Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh-i Delhi, by Hamid Qalandar. The work is important for the study of the Chishti mystic principles. See *op. cit.*, pp. 4-6.

6. This book deals with the history and working of the Chishti *silsilah* in India. It is equally important for the study of the socio-political conditions of India during the 14th century. See *op. cit.*, pp. 6-8.


Some other works used by the author in the text are Lataif-i Qusieri, Risalah-i Shaikh Nur Asfarani Baghda内地, Ruk-ul Arwah, Tafsir-i Surar, Tafsir-i Latif, Tafsir-i Umdah and Umdat-ul Ahrar; but they are still to be identified.

18. It is a well-known collection of hadis (Tradition) by Maulana Razuddin Hasan, a reputed scholar of the 13th century. For an account of his life, see Prof. K. A. Nizami, Religion and Politics in India during the 13th Century, pp 152-154.

19. An Arabic work on the Principles of Sufism by Abu Najib Ziauddin Abdul Qadir (op 563 A.H./A.D. 1168), the founder of the Suhrawardi school.

20. A basic work on the vital issues and tenets of mysticism. It was compiled by Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi (op. 632 H A./A.D. 1234) in Mecca.


23. It deals with theology, moral philosophy, ceremonies and outer observances (prayers and invocation). The work is the contribution of Muhammad Mujir, a disciple of Shaikh Nasruddin Chiragh-i Delhi.

24. The work is also known as Khazana-i Jalali. It is the collection of conversations (malfuzat) of the famous Suhrawardi saint Saiyid Jalaluddin Bukhari (707 A.H./A.D. 1307-353 A.H./A.D. 1357) popularly known as Makhdum-i Jahannyan.


27. It deals with Sama (music) and was compiled by Salah-ullah bin Shaikh-ul-Islam. It represents the views of the sufis in favour of and against Sama. M.G. Zubaid Ahmad, The Contribution of India to Arabic Literature, p 239.
thorough probe into their literal and technical meanings. The author's verdict on any point discussed in the book is well considered and supported by reliable evidence from the original sources on the subject.

At the end it may be added that the author's pains-taking effort in preparing the above work is amply evidenced shown by the use, on his part, of large number of books on religion and mysticism. They are as follows:

Quwat-ul-Qulub\textsuperscript{10}, Ihya-ul Ulum-ul-Din\textsuperscript{11}, Kunz-ul Akhbar\textsuperscript{12}, Tamhid-i Abu Shakoor Salimi\textsuperscript{13}, Risalah-i Qushehi\textsuperscript{14}, Masabih\textsuperscript{15}, Sharah-i Masabih\textsuperscript{16}, Risalah-i Ghousiah\textsuperscript{17},

\textsuperscript{10} It is a standard work on the principles, system and observances of the sufis. Abu Talib Muhammad (ob. 386 A.H./A.D. – 996) a leading mystic of Mecca was the author of this book. It was printed in Cairo in 1310 A.H.

\textsuperscript{11} A comprehensive work on the sufis tenets and the general principles of Islam by the great scholar, Abu Hamid Muhammad al Ghazzali (450 AH/1058-505A H./A.D 1113)

\textsuperscript{12} It is also ascribed to al-Ghazzali.

\textsuperscript{13} Al-Tamhid fi-Bayan-al Tawhid is the complete name of the book. It deals with the important points of Suami theology. Abu Shakoor Muhammad al Hanafi, a leading scholar of the 5th century AH/11th century A D was its compiler. Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts. No 494, vol X, p 13, Oriental Public Library, Bankipur, Patna.

\textsuperscript{14} An important work on the doctrines and practices of mysticism by Abul Qasim, Abdul Karim bin Hawazim bin Telha bin Muhammad al Qureshi (376 A.H./A.D. 968-65 A.H./A.D 1047) a distinguished scholar of his time. Ibid, Catalogue No 628, vol XII pp 72-74

\textsuperscript{15} A fine collection of hadis (tradition) relating to jurisprudence, theology, sufism and ethics etc., by Abu Muhammad al Husaini (op. 516 A.H./A.D 1122).

\textsuperscript{16} It is a commentary on Abu Muhammad al-Husaini’s work Al-Masabih

\textsuperscript{17} An important work on mystic principles in Arabic by the founder of the Qadiri sultan, Shaikh Mohuuddin Abdul Qadir Jillani (op. 561 A.H./A.D, 1166). Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts, No 1580, vol XVII, p 69, Oriental Public Library, Patna.
Islam. Incidentally he came across a Sanskrit work ascribed to Vasishtha Muni being a verified account of the conversation between Mahadev and his wife Parbati. This book, according to Abdul Rahman, contained explicit references to the creation of Adam and the appearance of the Prophet of Islam. The author, therefore, rendered it into Persian for the knowledge and benefit of those who had no access to the Sanskrit works.

According to the *Mirat-ul-Makhlufat* the original Sanskrit work of Vasishtha, the world, in the beginning, was inhabited by devas or jinns. When they violated the Divine law and indulged in mischief, their leader Mahadeva warned them of the dire consequences of their unlawful activities. Mahadeva told them that God will create a human race and they would annihilate the jinns. After this, he along with his wife, Parbati, retired to the mountain Kailash.

When asked by his wife Mahadeva explained his prophecy, and foretold her about the creation of the first man and his wife, and related a brief account of their descendants. He then foretold her about the birth of a holy man Mahmat at a holy place who would show the right path to the people and ultimately establish the true faith.

The story is similar to that of the Quran and the holy man Mahmat is identified with Muhammad.

According to the author of *Mirat-ul-Makhlufat* Mahadeva foretold that a matchless daughter of Mahmat (i.e., the Prophet) will give birth to two sons who will be matchless in purity and extremely dear to God. They will be the successors of Mahmat. Their descendants will render great service to Islam but after the death of the Prophet some wretched people (*Haramzadgan*) of his nation will assassinate his grandsons to capture worldly power. They and their followers will deviate from the right path but those who will follow the path of the descendants of Mahmat will be
Forty-seven

Mirat ul Makhlufat of Abdur Rahman Chishti

MOHAMMAD ZAKI

ABDUR RAHMAN Chishti who flourished during the 17th century belonged to a reputed Chishti family of Rudauli (near Bara Banki) and was a remote descendant of Shaikh Ahmad Abdul Haq (d. 1433) of Rudauli, a prominent saint of the Sabiri silsilah.

He was a notable sufi and a scholar, knew Arabic and Persian and seems to have been well-versed in Sanskrit also. He wrote a number of books including Mirat-ul-Haqaiq, Nafas-i Rahman, Aurad-i Chishtiya, Mirat-ul-Asrar, Mirat-i Madari and Mirat-i-Masudi.

In this paper an attempt has been made to bring out the main features and assess the significance of his Mirat-ul-Makhlufat which is a Persian version of a Sanskrit work ascribed to Vasishtha, an ancient sage of India. There are several manuscripts of Mirat-ul-Makhlufat available in the British Museum, Hyderabad and also in the Central Library of Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh.

In his preface to this work the author says that he had studied a number of Sanskrit books but could not find any reference to the creation of Adam nor to the Prophet of
The ‘Sarbangi’ of Rajabdas

SHAHABUDDIN IRAQI

The present article seeks to introduce the Sarbangi of Rajabdas (1567-1639)\(^1\) as a source of information for the religious and cultural history of medieval India. It is an important Dadupanthi work which was compiled in circa V.S. 1730/ A.D. 1673.

Unfortunately, the original manuscript of the Sarbangi (also known as Sarnangayoga)\(^2\) is not available, but a number

---

1 Rajabdas, whose original name was Rajab Ali Khan, was a prominent mystic poet of Rajasthan and belonged to a reputed pathan family of Sanganer (near Amber, Jaipur). He served in the army of Raja Bhagwan Das and his son Raja Man Singh, and was also a devoted disciple and companion of Dadu Dayal (1544-1603). He prepared a standard text of Dadu’s verses under the title Angabandhu, and himself produced a number of works.


2 Sarbangi or Sarbangayoga is a term which means a compilation containing all the onga (chapters or subject matters) prescribed for the expression of sannyasi ideas. Another compilation of the same nature, known as Sarbangi Chintamani of Goralsadas was also produced at about the same time in the Dadupanthi tradition.
the true followers of the right faith. After some time a leader will appear to revive the true path and then shall disappear. After that the world would come to an end and on the day of Resurrection on the request of the daughter of Mahmat and her sons God will allow all the followers of Mahmat to go to Paradise. With this the Kaljug will come to an end.

The author of the *Mirat-ul Makhlufat* has claimed that the ancient scriptures of the Hindus contained the account of the creation of Adam and had foretold the appearance of the Prophet of Islam. But the difficulty is that he has not given the name of the original Sanskrit work ascribed to Vasishta and unless the authenticity of that work is established the account of the *Mirat-ul Makhlufat* cannot be relied upon.

However, the approach of Abdur Rahman to Hindu mythology is significant. A number of Sufi scholars and other writers had studied Hindu scriptures. Alberuni and certain Arab writers had taken interest in Indian science, religion and philosophy. Sufis like Muhammad Chaus Shattari and Abdul Quddus of Gangoh had studied the Yoga and Hindu mysticism. But Abdur Rahman Chishti tried to Islamise Hindu mythology.

This was an attempt to show that ancient Indian scriptures contained truth, and if properly interpreted could bring various communities closer to each other.
of its copies are preserved in several Panchavani collections of the Dadupanthis at Jaipur and Varanasi. For instance, the Dadu Mahavidyalaya at Jaipur contains the work in Basta No. 3, compiled by Charandas, V.S. 1819/A.D. 1762 (ff. 322-500), Basta No. 36, compiled in V.S 1823/A.D. 1768 (ff. 9-201); Basta No. 19, compiled by Mauji Ram, V.S. 1833/A.D. 1776 (ff. 256-488), and Basta No. 8, compiled by Ram Ghandas at Nagaur, V.S. 1841/ A.D 1784 (ff. 253-500). Likewise, the Nagari Pracharani Sabha at Varanasi also preserves the text of the Sarbangi in the manuscripts of Sl. No. 1409, compiled by Ramdas, V.S 1771/A.D. 1714 (ff. 611-790), Sl. No. 1703, compiled by Khusyalidas, V.S. 1836/A.D. 1779 (ff. 229-427), and Sl. No. 1407, compiled by Gyanidas, V.S. 1872/ A.D. 1815.

Among all these the Basta No. 3 of the Jaipur collection is the earliest one containing the Sarbangi of Rajabdas. But there seems to be very little textual variation in the various copies of the Sarbangi found in the aforesaid collections which include the work along with other texts of

3. Like the Sarbangi, Panchavani is also a term which the Dadu panthis use to denote a compilation comprising the Bantis (sayings) of the 'five saints', i.e., Dadu, Kabir, Namdev, Raidas and Haridas. But the work also incorporates sayings of a number of other saints. A detailed study of this literature has been made by nine in a separate paper which is going to be published in Medieval India — I. Miscellany, Vol. V.

4. There are many more Bastas in the collection comprising the complete or incomplete Sarbangis such as Bista No. 22, compiled by Brahmadas, V.S 1846/A.D. 1789 (ff. 128-355); Bista No. 19, compiled by Radidas, V.S. 1847/A.D. 1790 (ff 227-442); Bista No. 6 (ff. 381-402), etc.

5. I have brought the photostat copy of the Sarbangi from this Bista (no. 3) for my departmental library. The work in this Bista contains under 145 angas (chapters), a total of 2791 salhis, 890 palas, 113 stikas and 73 elites. In addition to these, some lablis and aralis are also found here and there.
different saints, as is the characteristic feature of all the Panchavani manuscripts.

However, the Sarbangi of Rajabdas is a very compact and comprehensive compilation which incorporates the sayings of sixty six saints, sufis, yogis and siddhas, such as Dadu, Kabir, Namdev, Raidas, Hardas, Ramananda, Tulsidas, Surdas, Nanak, Amardas, Angad, Shaikh Farid, Qazi Mahmud, Ahmad, Gorakhnath, Prithinath, Tursidas (Niranjani), Khemdas, Trilochan, Beni, Parmananda, Mukund, Narai Mehta, Gharibdas (s/o Dadu), Bakhna, Jangopal, Jagjivandas, Baij (Vajj), Napa, Chitar, Madhodas and Rajabdas himself.

It may be pointed out that these saints, sufis, yogis and siddhas are almost the same as are found in any of the full-fledged Panchavani collections of the Dadupanthis. Apart from this, the Sarbangi collection has also maintained the traditional Panchavani system by giving the maximum representation to the sayings of the 'five saints' (i.e., Dadu, Kabir, Namdev, Raidas and Hardas), which shows that the work fundamentally belongs to the Dadupanthi tradition. Like all other Dadupanthi works, the sayings of different saints in this collection also fall into two broad divisions, i.e., Sakhis (independent verses or couplets) and sabads (lyrical hymns or short poems), while the other poetic forms like kavitt, arill and Persian baut are found occasionally. But the work is still compiled on a pattern different from the popular Panchavani system. It is comparatively a smaller compilation but provides perhaps a more genuine and reliable account than the latter.

The work is, however, divided according to subject matter into 142 (sometimes 145) angas or chapters under which the sakkus are arranged. But in each of the angas the padas are also provided under different ragas (musical notes). It is significant to note that all the angas are serially arranged.
in a way to lead the whole content into a definite direction. The sakhis contained in the work are numbered consecutively throughout, and added up at the end of the major sections to ensure that no mistake has occurred in copying them. Like the Sakhis, the padas are also numbered in each section, but the musical groups under which they are kept are never numbered, though they are also generally presented in an order.

Now, the whole system clearly indicates that the compiler of the work had a very good sense of compactness, cohesion and uniformity in his mind. This is really a very useful method for the convenience of devotional study. It may also be noted that the same method, in a different way, had already been applied in about 1505 by Rajabdas himself to the Angahandhis compilation of Dadu’s verses, in which the entire material is arranged under thirty seven angas. But Rajabdas was not the innovator of this system, examples of it are found in ancient Indian literature 6 His contribution lies in the fact that he applied the pattern in a broader and modified way, which was later followed, in some form or the other, in all the Dadupanthi works.

In conclusion, it may be observed that the Sarhasi collection represents both fullness and variety of the socio-religious outlook of a number of saints of different schools of thought. Its value is not only corroboratory, it also furnishes additional information on the manifold aspects of the religious life and shades of opinion of the saints belonging to different orders. Besides, the work unfolds a panorama of spiritual traditions and vouches for continuity as well as variety of thought coming down from prototypes of yore.

6 In the Dhammapada of the Buddhists, the gathas are classified in vaggas (Skt Yāgas or part) according to the subjects. A similar classification can also be noticed in the Tamil Tirukkural of Tiruvalluvar which is made of three distinct parts, following the ancient trisarzgs or the three ‘aims’ of human life, i.e., dharma, artha, and kama.
The ‘Sarbangi’ of Rajabdas

It is worth noting that the religious beliefs and ideas of the common man as well as the impact of the expositions of different saints, sufis and yogis on the social pattern of medieval period are manifested through the collectanea incorporated in the Sarbangi of Rajabdas.

Of special importance to a student of religion and society is the fact that the material supplied by this work can help in the preparation of standard texts of the verses and sayings of the various saints. The new material contained in it can, moreover, be utilized for exploring new ideas which lie untapped in the mass of information that is treasured in this monumental work.
An Evaluation of Gulzar-I Asrar Al-Sufiyyah

M Z Siddiqi

This paper seeks to introduce and evaluate an important mystic work, the Gulzar-I Asrar al-Sufiyyah preserved in the India Office Library, London and to highlight some significant aspects of sufic ideology and the spiritual life in India during the 18th century.

The work is both an exposition and an historical survey of the Naqshbandi order by the author who simply calls himself Moghul. He was a spiritual descendant of Shah Nizamuddin. The India Office MS 14, perhaps, the only extant copy of the work which provides essential information on the biographical details, discourses, spiritual teachings and miraculous deeds of Shah Nizamuddin and his preceptor, Shaikh Sadi Lahori and his spiritual ascendants up to Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind. Its chief value lies in filling in the lacunae in the account of the first two saints mentioned above.

The work is divided into four parts:

Part I deals with sufic aphorisms on different types of sufic doctrines and mystical and divine love.

1. Ethe, 1901, p 1055, No 1853, composed in 1124/1712.
Part II is an exposition of the secret of Divine love with explanatory notes on technical terms used to portray the intricacies of the mental impulses and the ecstatic state of one overwhelmed by Divine love.

Part III gives an account of the spiritual growth of the former mystics of the classical period with their reflections on the various stages and states connected with the mystic path.²

Part IV contains an account of the Naqshbandi sīsitālah in India, briefly dealing with Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindī, his sons and descendants, both lineal and spiritual, but treating extensively with the main theme of the work, that is, panegyrical biographies of the author's spiritual mentor, Shah Nizamuddin and his Pu, Shaikh Sadi of Lahore together with their maxims, miracles and moral and spiritual precepts, interspersed with numerous quotations. This part embodies the chief contribution of the author to throw light on a significant period of the history of the sīsitālah together with new orientations in its theosophy.

The work provides valuable insight into the attitudes of the apologists as well as critics and detractors of the mystic ideology. The stress on harmony and reactions to political developments are expressed by mystics of note.

It gives mystical interpretation to the concepts of shari‘at to seek a unity purpose between the shari‘at and the ṭarīqat. For instance, the author maintains that those attending to ritual prayers and devotions without esoteric knowledge are devoid of inner felicity and contentment and cannot attain to spiritual perfection, hence they repudiate the Divine knowledge.³ Ḥaddīth without the Ṣaḥifat is meaningless and lacks a firm basis. He compares the detractors of esoteric teachings to the Anti Christ opposing the upholders of Jesus Christ, to the Pharoah confronting the supporters of Moses and to Abu Jahl coming into conflict with the exponents of Prophet Muhammad's ideology.⁴ He accords mystic meaning to the terminology of the Quran.

---

³ Ibid, p. 60a.
⁴ Ibid, p. 80a.
and asserts that the words used in the Quran for the infidel and the enemy, should not be taken in their literal sense but interpreted in terms of mystic meaning. The word Kafir occurring in the Quran signifies the Kufir-i-Haqui or the gnostics, and the word enemy is used in the Quran in the sense of the enemies of transient and ephemeral existence. The author quotes Ibn Arabi with approbation and lends support to the allegorical interpretation placed by him on the Quranic verse to the effect that the infidel and the enemy featuring in the Quran are none else but the eminent sufis.

Of special interest is the reaction displayed by Shaikh Nizamuddin to contemporary political events in the country. While at Kabul he had blessed Shah Alam, predicted his succession to the throne and presented his rosary to that Prince as a mark of favour to indicate that he would be invested with the Indian empire. When Shah Alam won the empire after disposing of the rival princes, Mohd. Azam and Kam Bakhsh, he belied the saint’s hopes. The author accuses him of utter neglect of the state’s affairs due to self-complacency, indulgence and inertia. Shaikh Nizamuddin was much affected by the unrest and violence stemming from the weakness of state authority. The agonising political condition, leading to the massacre of 20 thousand Muslims, as the author puts it, impelled Shah Nizamuddin to urge the emperor, the Khan Khanan and Mahabat Khan to repair the damage done to the stability and prestige of the state, or else, the emperor should quit and return the sacred relic of the rosary to the saint as it professedly symbolized the saint’s protecting care to the emperor. The author remarks that his preceptor could not brook the sight of the disintegrating forces at work and the spectre of gruesome atrocities being perpetrated on innocent people. He used to cry at the wretched plight of the people at large and expressed a longing for instantaneous death.

The grave concern shown by Shaikh Nizamuddin for the stability and sustenance of the empire and his efforts to arouse

---

5 ibid., p. 60
6 ibid., p. 111.
the emperor's consciousness to rise to the occasion to combat the forces of disaster, represented the traditional outlook of the Naqshbandi saints to keep in contact with the secular authorities to gain leverage on state policies in the hope of exercising a moralising influence. Even a saint like Nizamuddin who used to go into prolonged raptures bears out the continuity of the Naqshbandi tradition which is that no section of society should be allowed to remain outside the range of operation of their moral and spiritual activities.

The references to the Malamati and irregular orders, and the constant endeavour of their saints to conceal their spiritual attainments in the garb of insistence on forbidden practices so that the people at large should not interrupt their mystical exercises, as well as the attempts on the part of the Naqshbandi saints to prevent their ostensibly irreligious, observances,7 depict the unending wrangle that vitiated the spiritual atmosphere at that time.

The intellectual controversy in relation to the predominance of the mystic tradition represented by Abu Bakr over that of Ali which was enkindled by Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi finds mention in the work. Murza Janan Mazhar had upheld the contention of Sirhindi but the author of the present work, though a spiritual descendant of the pedigree of saints going back to Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, holds a divergent opinion. He maintains the traditional line that all the mystic orders including the Naqshbandi silsilah had descended from Ali who was the sole repository of the esoteric teaching imparted to him in secrecy by the Prophet. This mysterious knowledge was communicated through the Imams of Ahl-i Bayt. Imam Ali was the Wali-i-Mutlaq or the chief of all saints and imparted that knowledge to Khwaja Kameel and Hasan Basri. Imam Bagher taught it to Ibrahim Agham while Bayazid Bistami learnt it from Imam Jafar Sadiq and Imam Ali Raza gave it to Maruf Karkhi. Through this chain of communication it was partaken of by the later mystics.8

7 Ibid., 112a.
8 Ibid., 111b.
The author claims to hold liberal views unbiased by sectarian polemics and deprecates extremism in religious beliefs. He disapproves of any disparaging remarks about the Shia sect.

The work represents a harmonising trend adopted by the later saints of the Naqshbandi order to find a basic kinship in the spiritual life, and to uphold the primacy of the esoteric interpretation given to the premises and the edicts of the shariat in preference to their exoteric meaning as well as to do away with the old prejudices which seek to delineate, and stress the differences between Zuhd and Irfan symbolising the age-old tangle between the theologians and mystics.
Some Selected Farmans, Nishans, etc., of the Mughal Period

ISHWAR PRAKASH GUPTA

This category of primary source materials is extremely valuable for the study of social, economic and administrative institutions of the medieval period of Indian history. Let us examine some of these sources.

The documents were originally published in Persian, along with their translations in English, and in some cases also in Gujarati, Marathi, Hindi and Urdu. They are available in Persian catalogues, monographs, and journals.

The following works include some of these documents:

Throughout the Mughal period, it was normal practice for Mughal emperors to assign land grants to various sections of the people irrespective of their caste and religion, as rent free tenures. In most cases the farmans and parwanas deal with land grants, confirmation or renewal by succeeding emperors for maintaining religious and charitable institutions, and also for using them as Madad-i-mash, Inam, Wazifa, Khairat and Masarif. The documents reveal that the grants were given to Muslims, Hindus, Jains, Parsees and Christians alike.

The farmans were issued by Mughal emperors, who addressed the officers at different levels viz., Governors, Jagurdars, Mutasaddis, Desais, Karoris etc. in different regions of the empire, giving details of the grantee, nature of grant, measured area of the land grants, its location indicating the names of pargana, sarkar, etc. They further directed the officials not to molest the grantees/or their descendants for taxes like qum-lugha, peshkash, Jaribana, Zabutana, Muhranha, deroghana, Muhasalana, Sad-doo, qanung goi etc.

All these documents, almost invariably are dated, and bear the seal either of the emperor, prince, or some responsible officer or head of the department and as such their authenticity cannot be questioned. These contain extremely valuable information about the social, economic and administrative conditions and policy of the Mughals in different parts of the empire.

For the sake of convenience some socio-economic and administrative aspects on which these documents throw light can broadly be classified into the following categories:

Category I

In the first category of documents, the land grants were assigned to different religious leaders and holy persons and to
their staff for pursuing their religions undisturbed, and for maintaining their religious institutions. They were given to Muslims, Hindus, Jains, Parsees and Christians. It is mentioned that the religious persons should not be molested, as they are holy men and that their religious sentiments should be respected by all. The grants further include some valuable information on the functioning of the religious institutions, and the expenditures incurred on them. In case of disputes amongst the grantees on the income from the proceeds of the land or cash, their share was also defined in these farmans. Grants were also given to needy persons and as inam, to those who rendered great service to the State.

A. Grants to Muslims

(i) Farman of Akbar (A.D. 1561) granting 1431 bighas and 8 biswas of land in qasba Sehna, subah Delhi, along with an allowance of Rs. 100 in cash per annum for the dargah and Rs. 100 per diem for shab-chirag and langarkhana of the shrine of Hazrat Shah Najmul Haq. This farman instructs the officials to hand over the land to the custodians of the shrine.

(ii) Farman of Akbar (A.D. 1560) to the officials of Ajmer intimating them that the office of tauliyat has been conferred upon Shaikh Hasan, sajjada noshin of Khwaja Muin-ud-din Chisti’s shrine. It further states that the said mutawalli will look after the langar, distribute the income assigned to him and Shaikh Hussain, pay 15,000 tanka-t-muradi to his mother, give fixed shares to the mujawwars and divide the balance between himself and Shaikh Hussain, avoiding all conflicts and dispute.

(iii) Farman of Jehangir (A.D. 1618) to officers of Ajmer, about granting several villages as waqf to the shrine of Khwaja Muin-ud-din Chisti, and stating that the proceeds accruing from the said villages had been partitioned into 3 shares, for different purposes.

(iv) Farman of Jehangir (A.D. 1610) to officers of Gujrat ordering them not to cause any obstruction of Shaikh Daud Gujrali and his party which consists of educated and holy persons, and stating that those who defy orders would be punished.
(v) Farman of Akbar to the officials of sarkar of Oudh informing about the grant of 4000 bighas of land in pargana Husainpur, to sarkar Oudh as Maafi, in consideration of his military services of the government

(vi) Nishan of Prince Parwez, to the officials of pargana Haveli Bihar, sarkar Bihar, about the confirmation of the previous grant of madad-i-mash in the name of Shaikh Abdul Latif etc

B. Grants to Hindus

(i) Farmans issued by Akbar, Bagum Humida Banu and Shahjehan to Gosain-Vithal Rat, a resident of Gokul, not to be disturbed in his religious pursuits. His cows were allowed to graze in the khalsa or jagir lands. The land and property purchased should not be disturbed. Shahjehan confirmed all the privileges which were enjoyed under his predecessors. A sanad was also issued from Azam Khan, to the men of Gosain Vithal Rat confirmed the rights of receipt of the perquisites of weighers in the mandvi of qasba Gokul.

(ii) Farman of Jehangir: Confirmation of land grant in mauza Pushkar, Sarkar Ajmer to Hindu religious leaders, who were responsible for looking after the ceremonies of the Hindu pilgrims. On receiving a complaint about the dispute on the income from pilgrims, the grant was cancelled, but was soon restored, when the dispute was settled.

C. Grants to Jains

(i) Farmans of Akbar, to the governors, jagirdars and other officials of the subahs of Agra, Lahore, Multan, Malwa, Bengal and Gujrat, granting the request of Har Vyaya Suri, the Acharya of the Jain Svetambar sect to hand over the control of the kothis, temples, places of pilgrimage of the Jain Svetambar community throughout the empire. In the order it was also prohibited to kill the animals near these territories.

(ii) Farman of Jehangir, confirming the earlier privileges of Akbar’s Farman. He further added that no tax should be
demanded from any pilgrims and slaughter of animals was not allowed near these territories.

(iii) Farman of Jehangir. In response to Jain deputation asking for prohibition of slaughter of animals during the holy days. It is also mentioned that defaulters should be dealt with sternly.

D. Grants to Parsees

In the reign of emperor Akbar, parwansas of Muhammad Qilig Khan, addressed to the amils, mutsaddis, desais, qamingoes of qasba, Navasari informs that Mehr Tabib Parsi, (a physician), who has no means of subsistence, has been granted land as wazifa in qasba, Navasari, as madad-i-mash. By another parwana this grant was renewed. In another parwana 13 dokdar were paid every day as wazifa to Mehr Tabib and his offspring. Further, emperor Jehangir confirmed 50 bighas of land having trees of Khajuri on them, when he attended on the emperor.

E. Grants to Christians

(l) Farman of Akbar addressed to the officer in charge of Cambay city giving permission to the Padris to build a holy Church of Jesus for their prayers. By another farman, Jehangir permitted Firangi Padris to construct a church at Ahmedabad. In another farman Jehangir granted to firangis six bighas of land situated in mauza Agra by way of Inam for the construction of a garden and a cemetery. Officers were further ordered not to molest them for any tax and no obstruction should be caused during offering of their prayers.
(i) Farman of Humayun, addressed to the Bohras of the Islamia community. It grants them permission to trade in India without any obstruction and molestation in consideration of the meritorious services rendered by them to the emperor, when he was under unfavourable circumstances. Emperor Akbar issued a farman to Daud-bin Qub Shaikh of the Jamaat of Bohras, from the capital of Lahore and ordered the officers of Gujrat for removing their complaints.

(ii) Farmans issued by emperors Jehangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb and also nizhans in favour of Shanti Das, the jeweller and resident of Ahmedabad who used to supply jewels and other precious articles to royalty. It was ordered that no one, not even the governor of the suba (Sahib-i-Suba) or Diwan or Bakshi or any other officer of the Crown, were to interfere with his agents etc on the ports. In the same farman it was further ordered that no one should interfere with his property and after his death his property would be inherited by his heirs. In two farmans, one of Murad Baksh and other of Aurangzeb, are given details of the loans of five lakhs of rupees from the family of Shanti Das and the arrangements to be made for its return. In another farman Aurangzeb gives grant of lands for the great help he rendered to the army.

Category III

The third category of documents gives an idea of the administrative and judicial system of the Mughals particularly in relation to disputes, financial transactions, property rights, sale-deeds, transfer or gift of property, mortgages, loans and decrees issued in this connection. Some information is also available about the existing social institutions and how the communities used to solve their problems. Also about the realisation of 'custom duties' on the highways for maintaining law and order therein. These documents throw considerable light on various related problems. Besides the official documents in this connection, a special reference may be made to Gujarati documents of Parsi families which provide very valuable information. These documents are roughly divided into three classes:
(i) Relating to the members of the family of Dastur Meher Ji Rana

(ii) Pertaining to religious matters or disputes.

(iii) Miscellaneous documents connected with the Parsee families of the period

A large number of sale deeds of houses sold, agreements regarding loan, mortgage of houses, the amount paid, the plan of the houses, and the signatures of the witnesses are mentioned in these documents. In another document there is an agreement between the Anjuman of Navsari and the Parsee priests about the income from the religious ceremonies, and also the agreement for undergoing punishment on violation of the terms. In one case the Parsee priest, transferred his anticipated income from marriages, to pay the arrears of revenue to the revenue officials. One of the farmans of Jehangir issued to the officers of Ajmer ordered them not to interfere with, or obstruct in any way, the practices of the Jamat of Jains. The second farman, ordered the Mutasaddis of the subah of Ahmedabad to shift the Englishmen, staying with the Padris in one mohalla by providing them accommodation in another mohalla.

Emperor Shahjahan in one farman, on the complaint of a sect of the Jain community against Shanti Dat, issued orders to decide and settle the matter according to the tenets and practices followed in the religion. In the second farman a temple in Ahmedabad which was converted into a mosque, was ordered to be restored as a temple.

In connection with the realisation of 'duties', emperor Akbar issued a farman for abolition of 'duties' on certain items. Also for illegal taxes not to be imposed and realised in the same farman it is ordered that merchants and artisans should not be molested. There is also a farman of Jehangir, about the security arrangements to be made for travellers on highways. There is a hukum-t-rehdari of Khan-i-Khana Abdur Rahim prohibiting the demand of 'toll', from the officers while on official duty. In a hukum of Nur Jehan to Raja Suraj Singh, he is ordered to pay off the money borrowed from his staff by one of his staff viz. Sultan Singh Rathore.
Sources for Awadh During the 17th Century

MOHAMMAD TAIYAB

Source materials for a study of the subah of Awadh are not only scanty, but they also suffer from scantiness of information in comparison with other subahs. Foreign travellers did not visit it so that we have no such details regarding the commercial and trade activities of Indian and foreign merchants in Awadh as are available in the case of other subahs. This paper attempts to analyse relevant source materials on political, economic, and social aspects of the subah of Awadh.

Political Condition

Abul Fazl, as a court chronicler, seems to have been biased regarding the activities of the Uzbeks in the subah of Awadh. Ali Quli Khan was responsible for the victory of Akbar against Hemu in 1556, as he was in command of the advance guard. He won a conclusive victory against Shadi Khan, the commander of Hemu’s advance forces. It will not be out of place to stress on the bravery, chivalry and loyalty of Ali Quli Khan who endangered his life for the king while Bairam Khan who was in charge of the imperial army stayed at a distance from the battle field. Badaun remarks, “on the morning of Friday the 10th of the sacred month Muharram 964 A.H. fighting and slaughter began between the Amirs of the vanguard and the hosts of Hemu. The Emperor and the Khan Kahanan
on that day were drawn up on three divisions, and kept sending help to one another until news of victory were received. Then Hemu, bringing up all his mountain-like elephants to bear upon one point, charged the centre where the Khan Zaman was stationed. But the soldiers of Islam received him with a shower of arrows. Badauni also informs us about the revolt of Ali Quli and his ultimate death in 1567. He gives the details as following: when Khan Zaman was made captive, he requested the elephant driver, "I am a great leader, take me alive to the king and you will get a great reward." The elephant-driver would not listen but drove on his elephant which crushed him with his trunk and feet, and ground his bones to powder, and made his body like a bagful of chess-pieces." But Abul Fazl, the court chronicler, is quiet on this incident. Another chronicler of this period is Bayazid Bayat, the author of Tarik-i Humayun wa Akbar. Giving the account of provincial and local administrations, he asserts that Khwaja Dost Muhammad was a corrupt officer and took bribe from the raiyat which smeared the reputation of Munim Khan. Bayazid was the commandant of Banaras. A complaint against the said officer was made by the people of Banaras upon the destruction of the temple and construction of a madarsa on its ruins. Other sources of this period are based on the account of either Abul Fazl or Badauni. The chroniclers of the reigns of Jahangir and Shahjahan are silent about the political condition of this subah. As to why the historians of Aurangzeb have not given a fuller account of the political condition of Awadh is yet to be studied. Documents of the later years of Aurangzeb's reign like Insha-i Rohan-Kalam and Akbarat-i darbar-i Mualla which are a collection of letters and daily reports throw light on the local administration of the subah. We are informed through the Akbarat-i darbar-i-Mualla that Zabardast Khan, the subahdar of Awadh, was unable to leave Agra, because...
subahs, gives very scanty information about Awadh. For our information, therefore, we have to depend much on Mughal farmans and documents which were either issued to or dispatched by the governors, faujdars and other officers of the subah. Such farmans and documents have been acquired by and preserved in the History Department of Aligarh and also in the U.P. State Archives, Lucknow. These documents can provide us with adequate materials for an assessment of the actual functioning of the administration and local problems of the subah.

Economic Conditions

Our source materials do not provide us with adequate information on the economic condition of Awadh so that a thorough examination of the fiscal condition is not possible. Thevenot expresses his strong wish to record information about Awadh but he finds none who could provide him with it and he expresses his regret in the following words, “The two provinces of Ayoud and Varat are so little frequented by the Moguls, that they (from whom I asked an account of them), could give me none, though they were pretty well acquainted with the rest of Mogulistan; and, therefore, I cannot say much of them in particular.”

Abul Fazl has, in his Ain, talked about the fertility of twelve dasturs, but it is still a mystery to the historians as to why he has ignored details about the abundant Rabi harvest of six dasturs namely Gorakhpur, Khairebad, Pali, Quam, Bharwarah and Lucknow. It may be suggested that Abul Fazl did not give many details about the subah as adequate information was not available to him. The Ain and the Kaghzat-i Muta-

3 Indian Travels of Thevenot and Caret, ed. by Surendranath Sen, Delhi, 1949, p 87.
of Akbar to the later Mughal period. Farhan-i Kardani of Aurangzeb's period and Cha'iri Gulshan of later Mughal times also record the revenue for different years from this subah. Historians of the modern period unanimously agree that Awadh was entirely under the zabti system. Under the zabti system land was to be measured before the revenue of a particular kind of land could be fixed. But Tarikh-i Gorakhpur of Gulam Hazrat, a 19th century work could be cited as a specific example to show that the sarkar of Gorakhpur was not measured during the Mughal period. Tarikh-i Gorakhpur explicitly mentions that there was no uniform system of revenue assessment as the fixation of revenue depended on the fertility of the soil and the condition of the regions. Dastur-ol Amal-i Shujahani contain an interesting account of the khailisa in the subah of Awadh; in sarkar Lucknow, the jamadani was 10,85,560.25, out of which 62 lakhs of jamadani was put into khailisa. In sarkar Khairabadi the total revenue was 7 karor, 33 lakhs, out of which 48 lakhs was included in khailisa. In sarkar Gorakhpur the jamadani was 2,47,41,250, out of which 48 lakhs was reserved for khailisa. But no information is available regarding the khailisa in sarkar Awadh and Bahraich. Dastur-ol Amal-i Shajahani is the only source which throws light upon the khailisa land in the subah of Awadh.

Accounts of commercial and trade activities of this subah are available only in the Factory Records. It is strange that other sources are completely silent on this subject. This lacuna led modern historians to the conclusion that the subah of Awadh was not of much consequence in Mughal rule. As D. Pant observes “the subah of Awadh was not at all important.”

Social Aspects

Mirzat ul Auzza of Laljee, an 18th century work contains an account of the different castes of zamindars and their

attitude towards the centre. The description is also supported through other Mughal chronicles such as Akbarnamah, Tarikh-i Humayun wa Akbar, Badshahnamah of Mohd. Salah Kambu and Qazwini, Insha-i Roshan-i Kalam of Bhopat Akhbarat-i Darbar-i Moulla, Allahabad documents, Framin-i Salatin etc.

Sources are in abundance on the subah of Awadh in connection with the madad-i ma’ash grants. The History Department, A.M.U., Aligarh has acquired many local documents such as Jus Documents, Khairabad Documents, Bilgram Documents, Farangi Mahal Documents and copy of Allahabad Documents, which throw light on the significance of this institution under the Mughals. Khairabad documents give an account of the rise of a family which was a madad-i ma’ash holder under Akbar; the descendants of the same family claimed zamindari rights in the eighteenth century. The Farangi Mahal document gives an account of the down-fall of Qutbuddin, a madad-i ma’ash grantee in pargana Sahah. When Mulla Qutbuddin, resident of kasb-i Sahah was killed at the hands of Asaad etc., the notorious zamindars of pargana Fatehpur Devi, the sons and relatives of the aforesaid Mulla were exiled and given Havaili Farangi by the Khan-i Saman Khudabanda Khan with his seal on 11th Ramadhan, 1150 A.H. which is preserved with wazarat-i Panah Shaikh Saadullah. Mulla Niaz and Mulla Raza, sons of the martyred Shaikh Qutbuddin claimed the aforesaid Havaili and produced the sanad as a proof before the diwan.

While court historians give poor information about the political, economic and social aspects of the subah of Awadh, we have many local documents which throw light on the subah, sarka and pargana administration. Akbarnamah, Tarikh-i Humayun wa Akbar give the account of the prosperity of the subah under Akbar, the Insha-i Roshan-i Kalam, Akhbarat-i Darbar-i Moulla and other framain and documents inform us about the disturbed conditions and bankruptcy of the subah of Awadh.

---

The Karnataka Problem and Tabrezi’s Golkonda Letters

MASOUD AHMAD KHAN

On account of Karnataka’s productive soil and strategic importance, both Bijapur and Golkonda, were eager to conquer and annex it. Of the contemporary sources, Tabrezi’s letters throw abundant light on the historical, strategic and topographical details of the region, and on the modes of operation of the three powers, Bijapur, Golkonda and the Mughal Empire in Karnataka. This is an unique collection, highlighting an important phase in Golkonda-Bijapur relations. It also throws light on the Mughal attempt to fish in troubled waters and to turn the whole affair into one of advantage for themselves.
Zamindars who were not very powerful. Bijapur and Golkonda formed an alliance to reduce Karnataka to submission and to divide the territory in the proportion of 2/3 and 1/3, respectively.

Abdullah Qutb Shah had entered into a defensive and offensive alliance with the Mughal emperor Shahjahan by virtue of the famous treaty (Ahaunamah) of 1636. Therefore, he was emboldened to cause trouble on the issue of Jinji and Tanjore, subsequent to the progress of the armies of the allies in the Karnataka territory. Thereupon Adil Shah sent Muzafaruddin Khan Mahmud Khan-i-Khanan against Golkonda with a view to creating diversion. Abdullah Qutb Shah appealed to Shahjahan for his help. Shahjahan deputed Hakim Muhammad Husain to Bijapur to try and compose, ostensibly, these disputes. The mission failed and Adil Shah sent Mustafa Khan to Jinji to capture it, but later found his position weak against the wily Mir Jumla. On the other hand, Abdullah Qutb Shah appealed to the Mughal Emperor to intervene and help in drawing the terms of the treaty of 1636. The Emperor failed to honour his pledge because he was interested in keeping the allies in conflict and capitalise on the strife. So the rulers of Bijapur and Golkonda determined to fight jointly and advanced towards Jinji. But, meanwhile, Mustafa Khan has died. The situation was tempting for the greedy Mir Jumla. Malik Raichau was deputed to contest with Mir Jumla. He destroyed part of the region surrounding Jinji fort. Abdullah Qutb Shah again invoked the terms of the treaty of 1636, and complained that Adil Shah wished to covet more than 2/3 of Karnataka. When no response came from Shahjahan, he sent a pathetic letter of appeal to the Emperor to intervene in the Deccan. He further complained that Adil Shah had incited the Hindu Nayaks and Zamindars against

5. Op. cit. - 5 a-b, 7 a-b, 8 a-b, 25 a-b, 153 a-b.
Golkonda Despite this appeal to the Emperor, Bijapur made further gains in Golkonda including the capture of Vellore. On his part, Adil Shah levelled allegations against Golkonda and accused Mir Jumla of conquering Gandikota without the Emperor's permission. He also alleged that Mir Jumla was behaving like a rebel. A letter of Abdullah Qutb Shah rejecting the allegations of Adil Shah, has been found.

This recriminatory correspondence addressed by Golkonda and Bijapur to the Mughal Emperor, in which allegations and counter allegations have been made, exposed their plans, resources, strategy and weaknesses to the Mughal Emperor. Information regarding their forces and activities, was immensely useful to him. Another significant development was the defection of Mir Jumla from Golkonda to the Mughal court, and the confirmation of the Karnataka as a Jagir by the order of the Mughal Emperor. The protest of Qutb Shah to retain Karnataka was turned down by the Emperor, on the plea that since Mir Jumla had entered Mughal service the conquest of Karnataka was to the latter's credit. Therefore, it legitimately belonged to him.

The Tabrezi letters, thus, throw important light on Mughal relations with Bijapur and Golkonda, as well as on the mutual relations between the latter two states. They also expose the policies, plans, strategy and diplomatic and military weaknesses of Bijapur and Golkonda. The Mughal diplomatic moves with regard to the Deccan states, their policies to keep alive tension and conflict in the Deccan and their attempt to seduce the Deccan generals into their service are also made manifest. This information is vital for an appreciation of (1) the Deccan policy of the Mughals, (2) the political and military situation in the Deccan, and (3) the diplomatic overtures of the Deccan states.
Fifty-three

The Adventures of Captain Robert Coverte In Moghul India

ARVIND SHARMA

From towards the end of the sixteenth century onwards, till the firm establishment of British rule in Bengal by the middle of the eighteenth century and even later, several European merchants and travellers passed through India, some of whom have left behind interesting accounts of their experiences in India. The names of Ralph Fitch, William Hawkins, Thomas Roe, Francois Bernier, Jean Baptist Tavernier, Nicolaao Venetian Manucci etc are well known to students of Moghul history. The purpose of this article is to draw attention to a ‘lesser light’ among these travellers.

It appears that an English merchant, Robert Coverte by name, sailed for the East some time in 1608 but that on the “second day of September, about five of the clock at night, our ship broke and began to founder”, so that he found himself shipwrecked near Cambay. From then on followed a series of events which Robert Coverte subsequently recorded for the benefit of posterity in more tranquil moments. These memoirs were published in London in 1612 under the title A True and Almost Incredible Report of an Englishman. The full title of the work indeed tells much more and adds that it is the report of an Englishman, that (being cast away in the
good ship called the Assentience in Cambaya the farthest part of the East Indies) Travellèd by Land through many unknown kingdoms and great Cities, with a particular Description of all those Kingdoms, Cities and People. As also A Relation of their commodities and manner of Traffique, and at what seasons of the yeare they are, most in use. Faithfully related. With a discovery of a great Emperor called the Great Mogoll, a Prince not till now knowne to our English Nation.

The last statement is not true as the great Moghul emperor was already known to the English nation through the accounts of travellers preceding him but even so Captain Robert Coverte's account is not without both cultural and political interest. Robert Coverte returned to England after travelling from Surat to Agra to the court of the Moghul Emperor and thence moving on through Persia back to England. At Surat he was assisted by another Englishman, William Finch, who has left an account of his own stay in India as well. And at Agra he received the audience of the Moghul emperor Jahangir through the good offices of Captain William Hawkins, whose account of his stay in India is also available.

II

While travelling from Surat to Agra, Captain Robert Coverte got a chance to observe some aspects of Indian life. These observations are interesting as what appears commonplace to one belonging to a particular culture often appears striking to and merits notice from a visitor. Thus Robert Coverte tells us of some of the Hindus that they:
kneze her feet and teats, and worship her, that it grieved me to see their fond superstition, and abominable idolatry. And sking why they did it, they answered, that she was the mother of beasts, and brought them milke, butter, cheese, and the ore to till the ground, and lastly, her hide did make leather to make them homes. Moreover, they say, she is blest by the Mother of God, to be honoured above all beasts.

The Captain witnessed not only idol-worship and animal-worship but also testifies to the vegetarianism of some Hindus as rooted in the doctrine of rebirth. He remarks:

The Gentiles will eat nothing that bleedeth, and the sun is their great god, for, should they eat anything that bleedeth, they believe that they may eat the soules of their Father, Mother, Sister, Brother or friends, that are deceased. For, they say, that when anyone dieth, their breath presently goeth into one beast or another, and so in eating that beast, a man may eat the soule of some friend together with the flesh of that beast, such is their great blindenesse and ignorance. Nay more, they doe make every living thing their idols, as the first living they meete in the morning is their god or saint for that day, to worship that.

Of great interest are Robert Covertes observations on Suttee for the prevalence of which he offers an explanation which was much favoured by Western visitors to India in those days. Robert Covertseems to be describing his experiences among a people he calls Pathagoreans which are hard to identify. The geographical reference, however, suggests a place somewhere to the west of Agra.
of silver, some of brasse, and some of ziton on their legs, and rings in their eares, all which are still increased or made bigger as they grow in pieces and bignesse, so that in time they have holes in their eares so great that a man may thrust his hand through. Also they doceive re bracelets of elephants teeth about their armes from the wrist to the elbow.

While in India, however, Robert Covernote also made observations on the economic condition, especially of the urban areas. On his journey to Agra from Surat he seemed to have passed through a city he calls Bramport, probably Burhanport, as Sir Thomas Roe was to do later and remarks:

This citie is farre bigger than London, and great trade of all sorts of merchandise therein. It is one of the most famous heathen cities that ever I came in, and the citizens are very good and kind people, and very many Gallants in the Citie. Also fine rivers, ponds, orchards, gardens, pleasant walkes, and excellent faire prospects as ever I saw. There any gentleman may have pastime to hunt or hawke, and if hee will not goe farre, he may buy a dier in the Burfoor market for a Dollar, being but foure shillings sterling, and hunt him where and when he will.

Among the fauna of the country, the elephant seems to have fascinated him most.

III

Apart from the people of India, however, Robert Covernote's great interest was the Moghul emperor, whom he presented with a gift ("a small whistle of gold, weighing almost an ounce") as was "the custom and manner of the country". He refers to the power and graciousness of the monarch, and also to his policy of religious tolerance and to the reason why he did not become a Christian.

He is also of as great power, wealth and commande, yet
will he urge none of what nation forever to forsake their
religions, but esteemeth any man so much the better, by how
much the more he is firme and constant in his religion, and
of all other he maketh most accompt of Christians, and will
allow them double the meanes that hee giveth to any other
nation, and keepeth continually two Christians friars, to
converse with them in the Christian religion and manners of
Christendome. He hath also the picture of our Lady in the
place of his prayer or religious proceedings, and hath oftest
times said that hee could find in his heart to be a Christian,
if they had not so many Gods: There was at my being
there an Armenian Christian that in hope of gaine and pre-
ferment turned Moze, which being told the king, he saide, if
he thought to save his soule thereby, that was a sufficient
recompence for him, but he would rather have given him
preferment if he had kept himselfe still a Christian.

Robert Covertes account also contains references to other
points of considerable interest. He refers to the fact that
Jahangir was building the Mausoleum of Akbar at Sikandara
near Agra on the authority of a Christian friar.

The king hath there begun a goodly monument for his
father, which hath been already 9 yeares in building, and
will hardly be finished in 5 yeares more, and yet there are
continually 5000 workmen at work thereon.

The substance thereof is very fine marble, curiously
wrought.

It is in forme 9 square, being 2 English miles about and
9 stories in height.

Also, it was credibly reported unto me by a Christian friar
(who solemnly protested he heard the king himselfe speake
it) that hee intended to bestowed a hundred millions of trea-
sure on that monument.

Robert Covertes also refers to the rebellion by Prince
Khusraw (1606 A.D.). He tells of the Moghul emperor that "his eldest son rebelled, and is in prison with his eyes sealed up, and it is noise among the common people that his eyes are put out. But it was told me by a great man, that they were but sealed up". Robert Coverté's information on this point does not seem to have been entirely correct as the Prince was indeed ordered to be blinded but later Jahangir relented and Khusraw regained the sight of one eye under the treatment of a Persian Physician.

IV

Captain Robert Coverté's report of his stay in India, therefore, though brief, is not without interest to students of Indian history. It provides us with yet another personal account of the experiences of a foreigner in the Mughul Empire—another piece, if not the most important, in piecing together a mosaic of Moghul India as seen by outsiders.

REFERENCES


RAM CHANDRA PRASAD, Early English Travellers in India Delhi: Moutal Banarsidass, 1965.

R C MAJUMDAR (ed.), The Moghul Empire Bombay, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1974

The merger of the princely states into the Indian Union marks the end of an era in the history of the country. Some of these states played an important part in the political, economic and cultural development of the particular region to which they belonged. One such state was the Bhopal State. On account of its being situated in the heart of Central India and lying on the highways from north to south and from east to west this state has enjoyed a unique position among the native states of the region. It was natural in the circumstances for this state to attract the attention of the paramount power of the north sooner or later. The British rulers of the East India Company having established their dominion in the east and on the seacoasts of India began to look for friends and supporters in the hinterland. Accordingly, in A.D. 1818 the Anglo-Bhopal treaty of friendship was signed, emphasising the perpetual friendship, alliance and unity of interest between East India Company and the Nawab of Bhopal. The treaty, while giving recognition to the Ruler of Bhopal, stipulated in the stationing of a British Political Agent in Bhopal, and the raising of a contingent of 600 horse and 400 infantry for the service of the British Government. The Political Agent served as the channel of communication between the Rulers of Bhopal and the British
Government The contingent was under direct control of the Political Agent who resided at Sehore, a distinct of Bhopal State, which was also the Headquarters of the contingent. This treaty formed the basis of future Anglo-Bhopal relations which continued right up to A.D. 1947 and ended with the lapse of the paramountcy.

Nawab Hamidullah Khan, the last Ruler of Bhopal State, was also the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes for some time and in that capacity he played a significant part in the deliberations which took place between the British Government, the Indian leaders and the princely order with regard to the Transfer of Power.

The Anglo-Bhopal relations as such form an interesting and informative subject of study for scholars engaged in writing the modern history of the region based on original source material. Among the collection of the Bhopal State records in the custody of the National Archives of India, Regional Office, Bhopal has a series of records belonging to Daftar-i-Iasha, Political Agencies, Daftar-i-Vakalat, Political Department and Chamber of Princes departments. These records contain letters, mainly in Persian, that have passed between the Ruler and other officials of the Bhopal State on the one hand, and the Governors General, the Political Agents, the Residents, and other officials of the British Government, other Indian rulers, nobles, landlords, merchants, bankers, neighbouring potentates and their high functionaries, on the other. The publication of the Descriptive List of these records will throw much light on the history of the region during the last 100 years, and will provide original source material to research scholars who may be interested in the study of the political, economic and cultural history of the region. It is, therefore, proposed to publish volumes of the Descriptive List of these records under the title of Anglo-Bhopal Relations.

In order to be able to understand and appreciate the amount of work yet to be done in the Regional Office of the
National Archives of India at Bhopal, it is necessary to make a brief survey of the collection of records housed in this repository. These records, which are mostly in Persian and Urdu, are as under:

(1) Daftar-i-Insha (Personal Secretariat of the Ruler), (2) Mutiny Papers; (3) Daftar-i-Tarikh (Historical Division), (4) Acts and Rules (of the State); (5) Administrative Reports and Gazettes; (6) Political Department records; (7) Political Agency records, (8) Chamber of Princes records; (9) Revenue Settlement records, (10) Jama-Kharach records, (11) Boundary Disputes records. These records belong to the period 1813 to 1914 generally but some bastas of post-1914 period up to 1947 of the Political Dept have also come in.
Fiftyfive

A Critical Analysis of the ‘Waqai Sarkar-i-Ajmer Wa Ranthambhore’

SYED LIYAQAT HUSSAIN MOINI

In the present paper an attempt has been made to analyse the importance of the *Waqai Sarkar Ajmer-wa-Ranthambhore*, a rare news diary of Aurangzeb’s reign. This is a collection of the copies of the reports of news gathered and despatched to the Mughal court by the *Waqai-Navis* of the *Subah* of Ajmer.

The *Waqai Navis*, at first, was posted at Ranthambhore where he served for a few months. He was then transferred to Ajmer.\(^1\) The period which the diary covers extends to only three regnal years of Aurangzeb’s reign, that is, from 21st to 24th year, corresponding to May 1678 to December 1679 Rabi-us-Sani 1089 A.H.—Ziqa’ad 1091 A.H.\(^2\)

This collection, preserved in the Seminar Library of the History Department, Aligarh Muslim University, was transcribed from a manuscript of Asafia Library, Hyderabad.

---

2. For chronological arrangement of the Hijri and Christian eras, see appendix.
The reports, written in simple Persian, are chronologically arranged, denoting every regnal year and month. The name of Waqai-Navis is not given any where in the pages of text. Contemporary records are also silent on this important matter. However, the author of this collection provides some brief but interesting information about himself. He first served as a Sawanah Nigar of the sarkar of Ranthambhore, and in 21st regnal year of Aurangzeb’s reign became the Bakhshi and Waqai Navis of the Subah of Ajmer.  

When he was going to Ajmer to assume charge of his new office, he halted to pass a night at the village Pidana in the parganah of Tonk. The local zamindar Kishan Singh, sent some watchmen to guard his tent and helped him in the event of an attack by robbers, but these watchmen finding the Mughal officer, and his servants fast asleep entered the tent and took away all his belongings which included the three volumes of the copies of the despatches he had communicated to the court from Ranthambhore. Later, one of the miscreants was caught, but the volumes could not be recovered, and this valuable material was lost for ever. 

The Waqai Navis wrote the first ten pages of the Waqai concerning the affairs of Sarkar Ranthambhore, from memory. Soon after his arrival in Ajmer he paid the customary visit to the governor and having discussed official business with him, assumed the charge of his new office. For his residence he occupied the house recently vacated by the deposed Sawanah Nigar. 

The diary throws considerable light on the functions and duties of the Waqai Navis, Bakhshi. The jurisdiction of Bakhshi Waqai Navis extended to the whole province including the city of Ajmer. He gathered news through his agents.

2. Waqai-Sarkar Ajmer, p. 12.
3. Waqai-Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 202-3
4. Waqai-Sarkar Ajmer, p. 11.
working in the various towns of the Subah and twice a week sent them to the office of Darogha-i Dak-Chowki for onward transmission.  

He tried his utmost to report full and correct facts without distortion, to the imperial court. When he failed to maintain the line of communication with his assistants during the period of Rathor rebellion, he employed beggars to bring the news, and thus managed to keep the court informed with the changes and events in the Subah.

It appears that the Waqai Navis or his agents were not appointed in the princely states; for example, such an officer was sent to Jodhpur only after its annexation. Moreover, to gather the news the Waqai Navis himself attended the courts of governor and the Qazi, and put down the proceedings and incidents in his register. He worked under conditions of stress and strain. He had to supply authentic information to the central government and maintain at the same time harmonious relations with his superior authorities. He once incurred the ill-will of Tabawwar Khan, the governor, for sending complaints against his conduct to the government. He was not satisfied with his emoluments which were meagre in proportion to the difficult and delicate duties he efficiently and faithfully performed. He had often to borrow money from friends and bankers to meet his expenses.

The Waqai Sarkar is a mine of information. It makes a substantial addition to our knowledge of the history of the Subah of Ajmer with special focus on Mughal-Rajput relations. It has added some new facts to our knowledge about the causes of the Rathor rebellion, and has provided us with detailed

7 Waqai-Sarkar Ajmer, pp 173, 195  
8 Waqai-Sarkar Ajmer, pp 287, 486, 553  
9 Waqai-Sarkar Ajmer, pp 172-73.  
10 Waqai-Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 13, 21, 54, 167-9, 297.  
11 Waqai Sarkar Ajmer, pp 364-65  
12 Waqai-Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 671-72
description of the various military expeditions and administrative measures which Aurangzeb undertook to face the challenge of the Rathors and other refractory elements. This information is useful to understand Mughal policy towards the rebel Rathors.

It provides rich data regarding the power and function of the Subedar, Diwan, Qazi, Sadr and other provincial officers and also sheds light on the mode of their handling the official business during such a critical period. It reveals that the royal orders for temple destruction were vigorously carried out throughout the province in order to terrorize the rebels and to show the strength of Mughal arms. But at the same time it has recorded that there were places where the mosques were destroyed by the rebels. There are reports of the Muslims being prevented from holding religious assembly and rites even on Eid days by Rajput rebels; even the call for prayer had been stopped at some places.

It also informs us how Anup Singh had destroyed foodgrains worth forty thousand rupees which formed part of Maharaja Jaswant Singh's property. Though the toll tax had been abolished by the government, yet the local zamindars and jagirdars realised it without any check, and even the government servant had to pay under pressure. We also find a Yaddasht of 21st regnal year July-August 1678 which lists prices of some of the commodities in Ajmer at that time.

Prices of some of the commodities are given here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commodity</th>
<th>24 seers</th>
<th>Per one rupee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barley</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are a number of reports on the deteriorating condition of the law and order situation in the province of Ajmer, specially during the Rathor rebellion. Sometimes it was difficult even to send reports to the court owing to the mischievous activities of the rebels. Moreover, theft was common in that area and we find instances when people were caught by decoits and released on ransom. There are some important and interesting references regarding the financial difficulties which the Mughal generals faced. Once a general borrowed money from a local Bania by mortgaging his elephant. The diary also records a case of strike by the prisoners in jail, when they refused to accept daily ration in kind, and demanded cash payment instead. The Waqai also supplies some information about the two neighbouring provinces of Gujarat and Malwa. Moreover, it gives considerable information regarding the functions and activities of the local and revenue officials. Corruption among government servants was rampant and often charges of embezzlement were made against the revenue officials. All the same there were revenue officers who deposited the surplus money in the government treasury.

This diary of the news writer is full of minute details regarding the predatory activities of the zamindars in the Subah.

19 Waqai-Sarkar Ajmer is full of such reports.
21. Ibid, pp 12, 76.
22. Ibid, pp 219, 249.
They used to commit theft, forcibly seized land revenue, and collected rahdari. During the Rathor rebellion these local zamindars forcibly seized lands through malefactors.

Despite all this valuable information the Waqai, no doubt, suffers from some basic deficiencies. It furnishes no information on the social conditions and cultural developments in the area during the period under discussion. The author has failed to record details pertaining to the daily activities of the Emperor during his stay in Ajmer. Such information would have been very useful to understand the procedure of the daily administrative business, the daily life of the Emperor, and the social relations among the nobles and the government officers.

25. Once Anup Singh the grandson of Rao Amar Singh and a contender for the Jodhpur gaddi after Maharaja Jaswant Singh's death was caught while committing theft in the Mughal camp. *Ibid.*, pp. 89, 90, 391-92, 120, 196.
APPENDIX-A

CHRONOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE WAQA'I

21 Regnal Year-1089 A.H / 1678 A.D

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Islamic Month</th>
<th>Christian Month</th>
<th>Page No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Jamadi-ul Awwal</td>
<td>21 June to 20 July</td>
<td>1 - 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Rajab</td>
<td>19 Aug. - 17 Sept.</td>
<td>20 - 32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22 Regnal Year-1089/90 A.H / 1678-79 A.D

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Islamic Month</th>
<th>Christian Month</th>
<th>Page No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ramzan</td>
<td>17 Oct - 15 Nov.</td>
<td>46 - 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Shawwal</td>
<td>16 Nov. - 14 Dec.</td>
<td>56 - 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Zilqa'ad</td>
<td>15 Dec - 13 Jan 1679</td>
<td>69 - 85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Zil Hij</td>
<td>14 Jan - 11 Feb</td>
<td>85 - 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Moharram 1090</td>
<td>12 Feb. - 13 March</td>
<td>127 - 159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Safar</td>
<td>14 March - 11 April</td>
<td>159 - 178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Rabi-ul Awwal</td>
<td>12 April - 11 May</td>
<td>178 - 204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Rabi-us Saani</td>
<td>12 May - 9 June</td>
<td>204 - 234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 Regnal Year-1090/91 A.H. 1675/80 A.D.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Ramzan                              6 Oct - 4 Nov. 389 - 401</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Shawwal                             5 Nov. - 3 Dec. 401 - 413</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Zilqa'ad                            4 Dec. - 2 Jan. 1680 413 - 427</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Moharram 1091                       2 Feb - 3 March 443 - 454</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Safar                               3 March - 31 March 455 - 474</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Rabi-ul Awwal                       1 April - 30 April 474 - 496</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Rabi-ul Saa'iq                      1 May - 29 May 496 - 530</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Rajab                              28 July - 26 Aug 589 - 615</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Shaaban                            27 Aug - 24 Sept. 615 - 644</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>24 Regnal Year-1091 A.H. - 1680 A.D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. Zilqa'ad                          23 Nov. - 22 Dec. 698 - 705</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Obituary

Mohammad Yasin
1927 - 1979

Born on December 1, 1927 at Ghazipur, U.P., Mohammad Yasin had his schooling in Ghazipur and Varanasi and graduated from the University of Allahabad. He obtained his M.A, LL.B., and Ph.D from the University of Lucknow. After being appointed Asstt. Professor of History there in 1961, he worked as a Research Associate in the Institute of Islamic Studies at McGill University, Montreal, Canada, during 1961-62 for the remainder of his career he served the universities of Jammu and Kashmir having been appointed as Professor of History at Srinagar in 1967.


He contributed several articles to Hindi Encyclopaedia, Nagar Pracharini Sabha, Varanasi, and edited Urdu Encyclopaedia, Abul Kalam Azad Oriental Research Institute, Hyderabad.

Professor Yasin took keen interest in socio-cultural activities and was the president of the All India Jamiat-ur-Rayeen. He was connected in various capacities with the
U.P. Backward Muslims Federation, the Council for Indo-Pak affairs, the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu, and other organisations.

He was also a member of the Indian Historical Records Commission, and the Indian Council for Historical Research.

During his brief association with the Indian History and Culture Society, Professor Yasin served it with great zeal and dedication and endeared himself to all the members with his human qualities. The untimely death of this able scholar and administrator is a grievous loss to the Society.

Devahuti
Obituary

R. C. Majumdar
1888—1980

With the passing away of Ramesh Chandra Majumdar (February 11, 1980) an era ends. The extent of his knowledge in time and space was prodigious. He was a specialist who let his horizons expand, and a generalist who successfully met the challenge of specialization; a researcher whose quest for new materials was matched by the directness of his interpretations; and a veteran who kept younger historians on their toes.

Because of his commitment to facts, Dr. Majumdar had antagonised both his fellow historians and the powers that be, but he did not care for either. He refused to accept the official and chauvinistic characterisation of the Mutiny of 1857 as a war of independence and resigned from the board of editors especially appointed by the Government of India to write a centenary volume on the abortive rebellion. He published his version of the Mutiny in his book entitled, The Sepoy Mutiny and the Revolt of 1857 much to the chagrin of his fellow-historians.

Born on December 4, 1883 in the remote village of Khanda-para in the Faridpur district (now in Bangladesh), Dr. Majumdar descended in the centre of the academic stage
with the publication of his doctoral thesis—*Corporate Life in Ancient India* and won the coveted Griffith Memorial Prize of the Calcutta University. He was then a lecturer in the History Department of that university. He became Professor of History in the Dacca University in 1912. Sixteen years later, he became its vice-chancellor. He retired from that post in 1942.

In 1950, he was appointed principal of the College of Indology at the Banaras Hindu University, and in 1951, he presided over the Indology section of the XXIII International Congress of Orientalists in Istanbul. He joined the Department of Ancient Indian History of the Nagpur University in 1955. He relinquished that charge four years later. During this period, he was also a visiting Professor at the Universities of Chicago and Pennsylvania (U.S.A.).

Dr. Majumdar was an honorary fellow of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta; the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland; the Asiatic Society of Bombay; and honorary member of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune. In 1965, the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, conferred on him the title of *Bharata-tattva-bhaskara*.

Following is an incomplete list of his outstanding works: *Ancient India, Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East* (vol. 1 Champa vols. 2 and 3 Suvarnadwipa), *Inscriptions of Kambujadesa, The Sepoy Mutiny and the Revolt of 1857, History of Freedom Movement in India* (3 vols.), *History of Ancient and Medieval Bengal* (in Bengali), *Study of Sciences in Ancient India* (in Bengali), and (Gen. Ed.) *History and Culture of the Indian people* (11 vols.).

Dr. Majumdar visited a large number of countries including Britain, Holland, Germany, Italy, Egypt, Indonesia, Indochina, Cambodia, Thailand, and Malaya in quest of knowledge.
More than any other historian he contributed to an understanding of the dynamics of early Indian civilization through his writings, on India’s intercourse with the world, although with unhappy titles, with regard to South-east Asia.

No doubt, every generation will produce a host of historians, but it will take decades to produce one of Dr Majumdar’s calibre.

Prabha Dixit
Proposed Programme for

The Third Annual Conference of
The Indian History And
Culture Society

A three day Seminar to be held 9-11 March, 1980
at Ahmedabad

First Day : Inaugural Session
Indian History Writing at the
crossroads.

Second Day : Perspective on State in Indian
History and culture

Third Day : Original sources.
Concluding and Business
sessions.

1. INDIAN HISTORY WRITING AT THE CROSSROADS

An Appraisal of contemporary scene. Some representative historical writings. Examples from other genres, e.g.,
biography, art, literature. Historical institutions and
related bodies. Trends and prospects.

Suggested Topics for Papers

1) The role of ideology in historiography.

2) The use of models in history-writing.

3) The role of self-image of individuals and of peoples
in the making of history.

4) Economic interpretation of history.

5) Religion as a factor in historical interpretation.

6) The role of ideas in the making of history. Social
and political philosophy, ethics, normative assump-
tions, choosing social goals, etc.

7) The creative artist as the instrument of change in
history.
vii) The philosopher as the instrument of change in history.

ix) Indian history and secularism.

x) What is scientific history?

xi) Academic freedom—its parameters.

II PERSPECTIVE ON STATE IN INDIAN HISTORY & CULTURE

Suggested Topics for Papers

Historical

A—i) The Harappan state—a hypothesis based on archaeological remains

ii) The Buddhist state in theory. Buddhist influence on the political system

iii) The Kautilyan state.

iv) Centralisation and regional autonomy. The Gupta state; The Chola state

v) The Confederate state in the north and in the south.

vi) The state, king and ownership of land.

B—i) The state in medieval times.

ii) The Sultanate period, Mughal period. Foreign influences Continuity and change in indigenous tradition

iii) Islam vs. nationhood.

iv) State, religion and society.

C—i) The Indian state in modern times

ii) Western impact.

iii) British rulers' choice from indigenous alternatives.

iv) Indian society's reaction to the new state.

v) How modern was the new state?

vi) Legacies of the new state system and institutions.
Ideational

i) State vs. society with reference to historical situations.

ii) The functions of state.

iii) Social structure and social institutions.

iv) The extent and nature of social checks and influences on the state.

v) The extent and nature of state control or participation in regulating society.

vi) State a tool of society or partner? The dominant partner?

III. ORIGINAL SOURCES

New materials or fresh interpretation of known materials: literature, epigraphy, numismatics, art and architecture, archaeology, maps and others.

G. C. PANDE B. P. SINHA DEVAHUTI

Chairman General President General Secretary
Indian History International

The Indian History and Culture Society, in collaboration with a number of other non-governmental, professional organizations relating to Indian Studies, proposes to hold an international conference in the near future to discuss approaches, sources and trends in Indian History Writing. In order to make an in-depth study of various aspects of Indian history and culture some proposals have been received which are being placed below for your consideration.

The exact dates of the conference will be announced later. It may be held for six days at New Delhi, and should organise its activities along the following lines:

First Day:

Discussion on theoretical problems of approaches and trends in Indian Historiography. Presentation of major papers followed by discussion.

Second Day:

Papers on New source-materials: (a) Archaeology, (b) Epigraphy and Numismatics, (c) Grass-roots history, (d) Art, (e) Performing Arts, (f) Literature and Tradition, (g) Biography and Travel Accounts, (h) Official Histories, (i) Records and Documents. These may be organized by different Societies as part of their Annual Conference.

Third and Fourth Days:

Analytical papers on specific themes:

(a) Archaeological methodologies
(b) India’s contacts with other countries
(c) Religion: Forms of expression and their social uses
(d) Pride and Prejudice in Indian history
(e) Agriculture, land tenure, and rural life
(f) Industry, trade, and urban life
(g) Caste, Class, and other social groups: Their socio-economic role
(h) Women's place and role in Indian society
(i) History of Science and Technology
(j) Nationalist Movements
(k) Modern Constitutional Development
(l) Aspects of Contemporary Social, Cultural and Political History

(m) Law
(n) Polity
(o) Modernization.

Fifth Day


Sixth Day:

Indian History—Tasks ahead: Formation of an International Organization to hold a conference every fifth year in any part of the world.

Any other suggestions regarding the plans for the proposed International Conference would be welcome.