



Role of Media in national integration

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INTRODUCTION:

It is a well said proverb “united we stand but divided we fall”. National integration means the unity of nation. National integration is a combination of cultural, historical, legal and political relationship between different people within a country. As India is a diverse country where people with different cultures, customs, social setups, languages, caste’s etc. live together for centuries media has been and will remain a powerful source in integrating such a vast diversity of people.

The word media is plural of medium. The word medium comes from the Latin word medias meaning middle. Media is such a powerful tool today that it can bring different cultures, regions, religions and different castes together within a Nation State or it can split the Nation within different parts by propagating hatred and intolerance among citizens of the country. Therefore, it can play both constructive and destructive roles. Sovereignty of a country may be at risk, if media plays destructive role. Freedom of speech is guaranteed in our constitution as a fundamental right but at the same time freedom of speech needs to be kept under check and balance. The media affects what people think about themselves and how they perceive people as well. Media may be in the form print media like newspapers, magazines and electronic media in the form of T.V, Radio, internet etc. In the last century a revolution in telecommunications has greatly altered

communication by providing new media for long distance communication. Modern communication media now allow for intense long distance exchanges between larger number of people via email, Internet forums, social websites etc. Electronic media is becoming more and more famous with every passing day and its impact on our lives and mind is tremendous.

Media whether print or electronic plays a vital role in our social, regional and national thinking. Media has power to bring revolutions and world has seen its power in bringing revolutions in whole Arab world from Tunisia, Egypt to Libya. Face book and Twitter were so powerful in carrying people's message that whole Arab world got encouraged, activated and united with one voice, the power of these social sites brought democracy in Whole Arab world, which was like a dream and thought to be a herculean task only a year ago. It is because of media that powerful regimes like that of Hosni Mubarak and Kaddafi buckled down like house of cards.

HURDLES IN THE WAY OF NATIONAL INTEGRATION AND ROLE OF MEDIA

Today communalism, regionalism, terrorism, corruption, Casteism are seemed to be rule the country.

Hurdles and role of Media in Terrorism and human rights violations:

Conservatism, lack of education, unemployment, social injustice, economic disparity and human rights violations are main causes of terrorism. An uneducated jobless youth can be easily brain washed and recruited in the ranks of terrorist organisations. Moreover, terrorism associated with a particular religion can have dangerous consequences for the integrity of nation. Here media has its role to distinguish between terrorism and religion, as terrorism has no religion, it is strictly prohibited in every religion to kill innocent people by any means. Media can highlight religious teachings and can propagate the real message of every religion, which is based on the love. Lack of education is one of the reasons for terrorism. Instead of telecasting all the time stories about Bolly-wood and Hollywood, media can propagate education. Media has power to impact human brain more seriously than any other way, media can highlight the negligence's made by central or state governments towards education sector and it must be the duty of every person related to media to make government accountable in this regard. On the other hand various measures taken by Government like SSA (Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan), RAMSA , RUSA etc. similarly in the field of higher education the funds provided by UGC and Department of Science and Technology for the children of downtrodden society need to be propagated and highlighted regularly, so that they can take the benefits of these schemes.

Our country is facing many threats to its integration like Kashmir problem, Assam problem, Naxalite hit areas and problems in other north eastern states. The

complexity of these problems can be to some extent attributed to human rights violations in these areas from both sides. The collateral damage has spread and ingrained hatred among common masses living in these states. Powers like AFSPA (Armed Force Special Powers Act) given to police and security forces is proving counterproductive for the integration of country, it is alienating people who want to be a part and parcel of Nation. There is no reason to give such powers to the armed forces, which use them in an arbitrary manner. Such laws have no place in a democratic and civilized society. Media's role is to highlight the perpetrators /violators of human rights belonging to any side. Media's role must be to provide justice to the people affected by human rights violations by pleading and highlighting their cases e.g. mass graves found in Kashmir (The Hindu, 2011). Media can enforce government to punish those persons who have committed human right violations in the name of terrorism i.e. labelling innocent people as terrorists for getting promotions and medals. Curbing human rights violations can pave a way to bring people of these regions in national frame work.

Communalism:

Communal riots cause great loss to the development, progress and economy of the nation. Religious intolerance is the main cause of communalism. We need to ingrain and inculcate in our children tolerance i.e. to respect all religions, we need to tell them that all religions teach love and humanity. Media has its role to propagate religious harmony in the society by highlighting the positive aspects of every religion. On the one hand if media can be used to spread democracy and education, on the other hand, violence loving people can effectively and efficiently use internet for spreading hatred among different religions. In this regard government should take necessary steps to ensure that such web sites are blocked. It is said that violence brings more violence, sometimes media highlights violence to that extent that it becomes a difficult job for government to stop. Newspaper, television and internet can play a useful role in developing the feeling of oneness among the people

Caste:

India is a land of diverse castes, our constitution is written by a person who belonged to a lower caste this shows that our country is based on social justice and democratic values. Our constitution ensures that all people of India belong to this great nation and ensures equal opportunity for all, irrespective of Caste and Creed. Almighty has created Brahman and Shudra with same organs, physical structure, natural abilities and capabilities. Media need to propagate the message of equality irrespective of caste and creed, media should encourage discussions and debates between people belonging to different castes so that they can understand they are all humans and equal before law.

Social Injustice, Economic Disparity:

Social justice and economic disparity has potential to disintegrate country. Social injustice is a term related to the unfairness or injustice of a society in its divisions of rewards and burdens and other incidental inequalities. Social injustice arises when equals are treated unequally and unequals are treated equally. Economic disparity means disparity in the distribution of economic assets and income. Economic inequality exists in almost every society; media's role is to discuss its nature, causes and remedies. Media can propagate social justice through films, documentaries and its awareness through social sites like face book, twitter and through other tools of internet. A country's economic structure or system, and differences in individual's abilities to create wealth are all involved in the creation of economic inequality. Media can help in pointing out of new economic sectors with equal opportunities for all sections of the society.

Corruption:

Corruption is the abuse of public power, office, or resources by elected government officials, by bureaucrats or by police officers for personal gain, e.g. by extortion, by misconduct, soliciting or offering bribes. One common form of police corruption is soliciting or accepting bribe in exchange for not reporting illegal activities. Media has played a great role recently in the movement launched by Anna Hazare, this type of role is important to generate public support against such a dangerous practice, which can cause social injustice, economic disparity and wasteful use of national assets and resources.

Conclusion:

Media has played a great role in the freedom struggle of India; the contribution of magazines and newspapers in freedom struggle is still remembered and well recognized. This time our country even though is becoming a global power but at the same time faces the problems mentioned above in detail. The problems like terrorism, regionalism, human rights violations, economic disparity, social injustice etc. poses a potential threat to the integrity of our nation. Media has power to change the society, to bring the revolution. Nobody should be allowed to compromise on the unity of the Nation. For media, agenda may be any but India comes first. The fragmentation and association of media with influential corporate sectors has become so serious that there are very few visible options left to conclude that a particular media house, newspaper or television channel is serious to highlight the issues related to National Integrity. If media can be utilized constructively it can not only integrate nation, it can play a pivotal role in global integration, which after national integration is the most challenging task this time. World is facing common enemy like that of terrorism, global warming and AIDS etc. A single country cannot fight alone against such problems; a collective effort is needed to curb this menace. Media can change the mindset nationally for the

integration of India and globally for the integration of whole world. Commitment towards the society, commitment towards the nation and finally commitment towards the National integration is the need of the hour.

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“Utkalmani” Gopabandhu Das – the maker of modern odisha

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Introduction :

Gopabandhu Dash (1877–1928) known as Utkalamani (Gem of Odisha) was a social worker who excelled in the field of politics as well as literature. Born on 9 October 1877 to Swarnamayee Devi and Shree Daitari Dash in Suando Village, near Puri, Odisha, Gopabandhu was a legend in the Indian culture. He served his people even at the cost of his family. At the age of twelve, he married Aпти, but continued his education. After completion of primary education, he joined Puri Zilla School in 1893, where he met his teacher Mukhtiar Ramachandra Dash, who was not only a genius but also a nationalist. It was at this school and with this teacher that Gopabandhu learned many nationalistic values. The inadequate response of authorities for the victims of cholera prompted him to start a voluntary corps Puri Seva Samiti. This movement later led to establishment of a separate hospital for cholera patients at Puri, and made Gopabandhu's name in society.¹

Social Movements

As a student Gopabandhu's literary fervor was excellent. During those days the Odia literary world was divided between the ancient, *The Indradhanu* and the modernists, *The Bijuli*. Gopabandhu realized that a nation as well as its literature lives by their tradition. He believed that a national superstructure of the present can endure only if it is based upon the solid foundations of the national heritage. His

satirical poem in *The Indradhanu* led to an ugly incident and punishment meted out by the Inspector of schools. Gopabandhu refused to apologize for such writing in lieu of punishment. He attended Ravenshaw College, Cuttack despite his father's recent death. During this period, he started *Kartavya Bodhini Samiti* (Duty Awakening Society) to encourage his friends to do their duty as citizens and take on social, economic and political problems. He was leading a team to aid flood victims, when he heard of his son's serious illness but remained to serve the locals rather than return home to his son. His social services as a young man prevented this brilliant student from completing his undergraduate degree, although he later earned his BL, LLB with distinction at Calcutta University. In Kolkata, he started a labor union and set up night schools for Odia laborers and cooks. He came in contact with the *Vande Mataram* group which infused him with the Swadeshi spirit. His new mission was to reform society through improving the educational system. His wife died when he was only twenty-eight, and his three sons had already died. He left his daughters with his elder brother, and gave his brother his share of the family property in the village to support them.

Educational Reforms

After coming back from Kolkata, he worked as a government lawyer in Mayurbhanj court. Law did not interest him, so he gave up his practice and worked for the welfare of the people. He believed that only education can improve and develop society so in August 1909, he established a school in *Satyabadi Bana Vidyalay*, near Puri. The objective of the institution was to spread idealism, patriotism, nationalism and intellectual pursuits among its students in a Gurukul environment. This experiment was opposed by orthodox Brahmins, who did not wish their children consorting with children of other castes, but the school remained. Gopabandhu Dash was instrumental in developing the education and society of Odisha. In 1921 this school was renamed *National School*. Several other individuals started similar institutions. His initiative in inviting public saw a remarkable transformation in Ravenshaw College, which was under financial crisis. Because of his affection for Indian culture, he established a Sanskrit college at the holy city of Puri. Gopabandhu was a great nationalist and considered education to be the potential instrument of national development. He wanted to prepare the youths of our country as citizens of tomorrow with sterling qualities of head, heart and hand. These young citizenry should be self-dependent, self-willed, self-sacrificing and self-conscious of their country's problems and potentialities. He fully well realized that the rest while system of English education would not serve these purpose at all as its objectives were narrow and limited to produce "servants" of an alien Government. Gopabandhu, therefore, desired to impart a kind of education with broader aims and lofty principles to build "good life" and bring about national revival. His main objective was to inculcate nationalism and

patriotism in young people through education. He felt that youths could not improve the society without a deep sense of pride and love for the country. Education of his desire must be congenial and conducive to the creating of these desired qualities. The second aim of his education was to eradicate social evils and inertia. Gopabandhu was aware of the then social maladies like casteism, superstitions, untouchability and lethargy. He strongly felt to remove these for making the society progressive and humanitarian. The third aim of Gopabandhu's education was to develop vocational efficiency and promote dignity of labour in the young generation. The English system of education was preparing them only for white-collar jobs in the Government. There was hatred for manual labour and love for easy life. Consequently, technical education was discouraged and general education was lop-sided. Gopabandhu wanted to inspire the educated youths with importance of physical labour and love for work as well as initiative which would enable them to face the world with self-dependence and confidence. Fourthly, according to Gopabandhu education should aim at developing a deep love for Indian civilization in general and Odishan culture in particular. British system of education was developing a sense of hatred and aversion towards national life and culture on the one hand and a strong attraction for alien life and civilization. The national leaders like Gopabandhu realized that this tendency among the educated youths would be extremely harmful for the development of the country in all directions. Therefore, they tried to revive Indian culture and develop love for the motherland and for her cultural values through education. Fifthly, as a corollary to above, Gopabandhu made an attempt to provide education in an open-air and natural surrounding without much physical luxury and comforts. He was a supporter of the ancient Gurukul system of education with modern features of citizenship training, self-government and other curricular activities. He believed that only expensive equipment, buildings and teaching aids would not ensure good "quality" education. Gopabandhu, therefore, was in favour of an education system which is congenial to the ideal of "Plain living and high thinking".²

Professional career

Pandit Gopabandhu Das arrived at his first job as a teacher in Nilagiri but afterward he left the assignment to become a lawyer. Graduating in law from Calcutta University, he set up his practice at his home district of Puri. Later he moved to the High court in Cuttack. During this period he was also appointed as a Government lawyer in Mayurbhanj court. After had a consummate legal practice Pundit Gopabandhu Das decided to quit the profession for social work and mass education. He strongly believed that education had a huge role to play for the upliftment of the society. In his mission to work for a better society and welfare of the common masses he established a school at a place called Satyabadi in 1909. This effort of Pundit Gopabandhu Das played a key role to

improve the education and social welfare of Odisha. Hugely motivated by the positive response he received from the people of Odisha the school was converted into a high school the following year. The school secured affiliation from the Calcutta University and for the first time matriculation exam was held in the year of 1914. The school further secured an affiliation from Patna University in 1917. Due to soaring success the school was converted to a National school in the year 1921. Unfortunately the school was closed in 1927. Though the school was restarted a few years after it failed to emulate its hoary past. Pundit Gopabandhu Das was a member of Utkal Samilani from 1903 to 1921 for which he was elected President in the year of 1919. Pundit Gopabandhu Das was truly versatile personality. He was an eminent writer and poet. Some of his poems like "Ma Ra Kabita ", "Dharmapada", "Bandi Ra Atma Katha" are testimony of his evident skills of a great poet. Pundit Gopabandhu Das had a miserable family life. He lost both of his parents in his childhood days. Pundit Gopabandhu Das who completed his education as an orphan went on to lose his wife son and younger brother when he was a young man. Even after so many personal setbacks we have to salute the spirit of this great man to work with complete dedication to ensure that poor people of Odisha lead a better life. He was certainly shining gem for state of Odisha and a great son of the state.

Political career

Gopabandhu's political exposure began with Utkala Sammilani in 1903, but he persuaded others to merge this with the National Congress to make the Odia movement a part of the Indian National Movement. Thus he became the founder president of Congress in Odisha. He was imprisoned several times for participating in the freedom movement. He quit Congress, disillusioned by the infighting among the leaders in their search for power and returned to serving the people directly. Then he became the national vice president of *Lok Sevak Mandal* till his death. He was an active sentinel of Odia Movement, freedom fighter and a great social reformer. As an educationist he was responsible for establishment of Satyabadi School at Satyabadi in the Puri District. Imbued with patriotic fervour the students of Satyabadi School were known as indefatigable fighters against British Imperialism. Gopabandhu regarded politics as an instrument of service to the people. In the words of Mahatma Gandhi, Gopabandhu was one of the Noblest Sons of Odisha. His spirit of service and sacrifice finds an apt echo in his following lines. "Let my body mingle in the dust of my motherland and let my countrymen walk across it; and let my flesh and bones fill in the potholes of my country's self-independence "

Influence on Gandhiji

Gopabandhu's simple living style often influenced others and made the people come closer to him. He used to wear a dhoti only. Once after completion of a state

level meeting of Congress workers Gandhiji & Gopabandhu were sitting together for lunch along with other workers. Special arrangements were made for both of them to sit on a table as per congress tradition. But Gopabandhu opted to sit with others on the ground. When different items were served, Gandhiji wanted special items made only for him to be shared with Gopabandhu also. But in return Gopabandhu replied, he can take only those items that are prepared for all. He then advised Gandhiji to take steps to make Congress a party of upper & middle class people to a party of mass including the poor. After which Gandhiji started wearing dhoti so as to come closer to the poor. Gopabandhu's heart was always eager to listen to the poor. One day after visiting a flood hit area he was taking food along with others, when a poor hungry man was crying outside the house for food. All were tired. So were joking among each other to avoid pain. It was he who could listen the cry amidst so much disturbances. He hurriedly went to the poor man, called him inside and shared his food.³

Contribution to Journalism

He was instrumental in making Odia journalism suitable for the common man. He published a monthly magazine called Satyabadi in 1914. Later on 4 October 1919, the auspicious day of *Vijayadsahami* he started the weekly newspaper *The Samaj*, which became the most popular daily news paper of Odisha. He served as editor “Samaj” continuously until his death. Later he donated *The Samaja* to *Lok Sevak Mandal* after his death. Handed over to the Lok SevakMandal, New Delhi through the will of Pandit Gopabandhu Das, the Samaja is today managed

by Servants of the People Society. About 80 percent of the net profit of The Samaja is spent for the welfare activities of the people of Odisha by way of extending stipend to students in need, aiding patients and victims of natural calamities and through miscellaneous charities and donations. A large sum goes to the Gopabandhu Institute of Medical Science and Research at Athgarh, Odisha. Gopabandhu was a nationalistic warrior by heart. He wrote many poems & novels encouraging the younger generation to serve for national integration. He once said, “*Pachha ghuncha nahin veerara jatake, na mare se kebe parana atanke*”, meaning a yodha never flees, nor fears death. While in Hazaribagh Jail from 1922–1924, he wrote a heart touching novel called “*Bandira Atmakatha*” (The Biography of a Prisoner) expressing his love for

people of Odisha.⁴ There he has written “*Misu mora deha e desha matire, desabasi chali jaantu pethire | desara swarajya pathe jete gada, misu tahin padi mora mansa hada*” (“Let my body mingle in the dust of my motherland and let my countrymen walk across it; and let my flesh and bones fill in the potholes of my country's self-independence) whose meaning is, let my body merge in the soil of the nation and help my countrymen walk on me, let each hole in the path of development of the nation be filled with my flesh & bone.

conclusion

Gopabandhu fell ill while attending a fund raiser ceremony in Lahore for the flood victims of Odisha, of which he never recovered. He died of prolonged illness on 17 June 1928. But his sacrifice still ignites many hearts to dedicate their soul & body for the nation.

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Irrigation development In tamil nadu: anclent patronage and Modern trends

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Water is the elixir of life, a precious gift of nature to mankind and millions of other species living on the earth. Irrigation is as old as Civilization in India. The history of irrigation development in India can be traced back to prehistoric times. Irrigation is a fundamental feature of Tamil history. In Tamil Nadu much importance was given to irrigation because majority of the people depended on agriculture for their livelihood. The state is located in the south-eastern part of Peninsular India, with a geographical area of 13 million ha (mha), and the eleventh largest state in India. In the total area of the state, 59.2 percentage is under cultivation.¹ Rice and various pulses are extensively cultivated here .The annual food grains production exceeds 10 million tonnes, with rice alone contributing average 8 million tonnes. In most of the districts of Tamilnadu the intensity of rainfall is very low and therefore, irrigation is considered in the stability and growth agriculture. This study made an attempt to explore the importance of irrigation in the ancient past and the evolutionary growth up to the modern Tamilnadu.²

Unlike most literary evidences, inscriptions in Tamilnadu generally provide chronological information very authentically. Most inscriptions are contemporary and free from textual corruption.³ This paper is divided into two sections. The first section discusses the patronage of irrigation in the ancient period with inscriptional evidences and the second part analyse the irrigation policy of the government in modern period covering pre and post independence.

I

The civilization of Tamilnadu is considered to be one of the oldest civilizations of the world. It is note that certain variety of irrigated cultivation can be traced back as early as the Sangam period (300BC-AD300). Sangam literature mentions paddy cultivation both interims of river and tank irrigation (bandopadhayay)⁴ During the Sangam period a town has been variously referred as 'Sholavandan' which belongs to Pandya kingdom. Between Chola and Pandya enmity the Chola king invaded and captured the particular town only because of its intensive agriculture and scenic beauty of the village land, irrigation by the Vaigai River. During the first to the fourth century, the early Cholas ruled the lands of Tamil Nadu. The first and most important king of this dynasty was king Karikala. The dam named kallanai over found the village and its flourishing agriculture cultivation, even more agriculturally prosperous than the historically famous Tanjore village and called this town as 'Chinna Tanjai' the river Cauvery was constructed with the strong initiative of king Karikalan. The inscription from Tirupazhanam from Thanjavur dated 31th regional year of Parantaka I, which described the land donation to the construction of the above said dam.⁵

The tank irrigation have been known to south India for several years old, the historical evidence proved that tank construction was sponsored by kings, chiefs and land lords (Uma Shankari, 1991). It is considered as the most important minor irrigation source of irrigation. Every village has a temple, it has a temple tank. The tanks were constructed to harvest water. These tanks were known as kovilkulam in Tamil Nadu like that of kulam in kerala and kalyani in Karnataka. The main purpose of these tanks was mainly for the ritual bath of the deity (abhishekam) and for the bathing of the devotees. In ancient days, temple tanks were constructed to the east of every village as well as multipurpose tank in the west.⁶

The Pallavas were the pioneers especially in the construction of Tanks. They had given much importance to agriculture. Some of the Irrigation tanks constructed by Pallava rulers were the Chitramega Tataka at Mamandur, the Parameswara Tataka, the Vaira megha Tataka, Mahendra Tatakam, Kanakavalli Tatakam and the Tank at Kaverippakkam etc.⁷ So the Pallavas were popularly called as 'Kaduvettikal'(wood cutters) because of their interest and involvement in the construction of lakes and tanks in place of forest lands. Chola inscriptions mention

various types of irrigation works such as tanks, canals, wells and sluices. Some Chola kings are credited with irrigating tank and canal construction. During this time the renovation and reclamation of pools and lakes were maintained by the local administration and also concentrated special attention over it. For this purpose they established separate Variyams or Boards to maintain irrigation facilities. The members were called as 'Variya Perumakkal'.⁸ It can be seen from the Uttiramerur inscription of Parantaka Chola, dated 920 A.D is an outstanding document in the history of India. Thiruvandarkoil inscription reveals about 'Kokkizhandai Pereri' (Big lake), which was named after Kokkizhanadi, the queen of Parantaka Chola. This can be confirmed by the evidence of the Udayarkudi inscription and Upendram Copper Plates. It also mentioned about the above said queen Kookkizhanadi, was the daughter of a Chera king. In those days there was a culture that using the name of king or queen as the prefix of any lakes or dams.⁹

Thiruvuvanam inscription describes about 'Perari Madurantaka'. It was named after the royal title of Rajendra Chola called as 'Madurantakan'. Besides another one inscription found in the same place which was about 13th century A.D provided that the efforts taken to the development of irrigation by the king Koperum Singam. Many irrigation tanks had silted up and as a result their storage capacity had been increased.¹⁰ During this time a technological proposal was undertaken to deepen the tank beds by removing silt to the extent possible without affecting the command ability of the ayacut and to deposit the excavated silt in the foreshore lands.

A copper plate found in 'Thiruvalamkadu' refers to the position of Rajendra Chola and his mass victory. Rajendra Chola constructed 'Chola Gangam' in Gangai-konda-cholapuram. This was highlighted as 'Waterised Victory Tower', in memory of his victory over Ganga rulers. This can be seen from the same copper plate. Later the people respectively called this lake as 'Ponneri'.¹¹ The inscriptions in the Sankaranathar temple belong to the same Chola period. In which an officer by name Madhurantaka Pallavarayan donated 428 Sri Lankan coins as loan to the Sirukulathur sabiyar, in return, the villagers had to desalt and maintain the irrigation tank of the village every year. Moreover, James Heitzmen has analysed references in Chola inscription from five taluks in Central Tamilnadu. The places by James were Kumbakonam, Truchirappalli, Tirukoyilur, Tiruttaraipundi and Pudukottai.¹² He identified the distribution system and changes in irrigation technology during the Chola period.

The major part of the Pandya region depended in rain fed reservoirs for irrigation. A reservoir is a depression with embankments at the required points often covering an area of one or two or more kilometres. The modern district of Madurai and Ramanathapuram, the major dry zone area of the Pandya country, are fully ancient reservoirs.¹³ The earliest known epigraphic evidence attesting to

irrigation works in the Pandya region is the Vaigai bed inscription of ‘Centan Arikesari’. Both water diversion and storage techniques were used to control the Tambraparni, as well as the Vaigai in Madurai by medieval Pandya kings. During the Vijayanagar–Nayak period (c1300-1750AD), particularly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the steps were taken to the maintenance of irrigation works. This period was witnessed that the control of agrarian productive organisation within the villages by the amaranayaks and the poligars is an important pointer; they even appointed irrigation supervisors. Moreover, there was the local organisation of irrigation finance. Investment came from petty local chiefs, landowning elites and temples. There was also kudimaramat or community labour as a definitely popular form of irrigation maintenance.¹⁴

II British Period

There was no Public Works Department prior to the late 1840s but the whole problem of irrigation was looked after by Civil Engineering Department under the Board of Revenue.¹⁵ However, the number of wells increased remarkably in the later half of the nineteenth century. Between 1852 and 1890, areas irrigated by private wells increased by 138 percent in the Madras Presidency (Haruka Yanagisawa, 1997).

Irrigated area in Tamil districts (thousand acres)

Irrigational Sources	1891-92	1902-03	1912-13	1922-23
Government Canals	1,349	1,389	1,442	1,436
Private Canals	4	7	27	23
Tanks	1,358	1,407	1,970	2,063
Wells	785	796	989	1,206
Other Sources	74	93	149	139
Total	3,570	3,690	4,577	4,867

Source: Season and Crop Reports, Tamilnadu

The increase in number of wells, Tanks and the improvement of Canal irrigation resulted in the gross area of irrigated land. Similarly the increase in the irrigated area which led to the rapid expansion of paddy cultivation in the state.

The fundamental trait of the British Indian Government's irrigation policy during the period was an expansion in the irrigational services. Yet the major investment in channel works and tank irrigation was negligible in comparison with the state revenue earned from the wet areas. Taking the entire period, the aims and ends for the British policies are as under¹⁶

The British Government appears to have drawn inspiration for the construction of irrigation works from the preceding rulers who sought to glorify their reign by undertaking them. Many irrigation works administered by the Public Works Department were funded an old native projects.

An extension in the irrigated area increases agricultural production and improves the material being of the peasantry.¹⁷

A general increase in the wealth of the country is brought about through irrigation works raises the taxpaying capacity of its inhabitants.

Irrigation works are a good safeguard against famines and droughts. Moreover, they could be constructed as a measure to relieve distress caused by them.

The British cotton textile manufacturers partly depended as the supply of raw cotton from India to meet their requirements¹⁸

During the 150 years of British rule irrigation was neglected in the first 50 years. Though subsequently in the context of periodical outbreak of famines, some initiatives were taken, a planned development of irrigation potential was undertaken only after independence.¹⁹

The country gained independence in 1947, but a planned economy was introduced only from 1952. The Congress gave utmost priority to agriculture as in Tamil Nadu 70% of the population depended on agriculture for their livelihood. The infrastructure for development of agriculture was sought to be provided by the Government both at the centre and the state during this period. Irrigation, the most important requisite for agricultural development received the immediate attention of the rulers. This was because without proper irrigational facilities thousands of acres of land had been left either fallow or laid waste during the colonial period.²⁰ The Congress government introduced a planned economy from 1952 and since then the Congress as a ruling party both at the centre and the state had chalked out and implemented a number of irrigation schemes during the first three Five-year Plans until 1967. In Tamil Nadu, during the first Five Year Plan 2,458 minor works were completed throughout the state with Rs382.60 lakhs benefiting 4,30,000 acres of land. The major irrigation

projects like Lower Bhawani, Amaravathi, Manimuthar, Vaigai and Sathanur are the significant irrigation projects launched by the Congress government. In the second Five Year Plan, the agricultural programme had been formulated with a view to producing adequate food to support the increased population. With the formation of Andhra State, the share of water resources of the composite state of Madras went over that area .²¹

The residuary state of Madras was left with only one major river, viz the Cauvery, and the other minor rivers. New schemes such as Kattalai High Level Scheme, Parambikulam Aliyar Project, Neyyar Second Stage Project, Parambikulam Project and Medium irrigation Projects in Kanyakumari District that envisaged remodelling of four channels taking off from Kodayar Dam, besides renovation and desilting of major tanks in Tovala, Agasteeswaram and Kalkulam Taluks were undertaken during the third Plan period.²²

Major and Medium irrigation in States

Third Five Year Plan

State	Ultimate Potential	Potential (Third Plan)	Utilisation (Third Plan)
Andhra Pradesh	4,017	967	706
Assam	180	-	-
Bihar	7,260	1,565	1,273
Gujarat	3,472	1,166	427
Haryana	2,860	2,135	2,022
Jammu & Kashmir	63	40	33
Kerala	1,172	387	387
Madras	951	673	646
Maharashtra	2,722	615	314
Mysore	2,580	903	680
Orissa	2,599	1,218	1,075
Punjab	3,307	1,681	1,618
Rajasthan	3,086	1,169	1,000
Uttar Pradesh	4,797	2,366	1,948
West Bengal	2,519	1,508	1,311
Total	43,790	16,990	13,582

Source: Third Five Year Plan, Planning Commission, India

The above table indicates Kerala which is utilising its irrigation potential fully, almost all other states have not tapped the irrigational potential. Under-utilisation of the irrigation potential results in low productivity and low production varies from region to region. It reflects on the agricultural income.

In the Madras Legislative Assembly, several members criticized the irrigation policy of the then government. The main opposition party, the Draivida Munnetra Kazhagam (D.M.K), was critical of the agrarian policy of the Congress government along with the communist party of India. In 1967 Congress was swept out of power and the D.M.K was voted to power. Even after Draivida governments assuming power, irrigation policy is not satisfactory in the opinion of the peasants.²³

Future Scenarios

There should be separate agency to look after the land and water resources at Block/Taluka/District levels. This agency should also be responsible for the development and use of water in their given area just like water conservation district.

Many advanced methods of irrigation like sprinkler and drip methods have to be introduced at appropriate locations. Further, to arrest the seepage loss, prefabricated channels and underground pipelines need to be introduced.

Waste water reclamation is an alternative major potential supplement to surface water development. This must take up in systematic manner.

Water is a national asset and to distribute to the maximum advantage of the country, it should be placed in the Central list.

Water must be used with utmost economy, whether it is for agricultural, industrial or domestic purposes. It may also be protected against pollution.²⁴

Conclusion

Water is one of the resources, once considered to be in abundance is becoming scarcer and scarcer due to increased demand for agricultural, industrial and water supply for human and livestock consumption. In Tamil Nadu the ancient rulers gave much priority to the development of irrigation. But the subsequent governments failed its objects and to protect the interest of the peasants due to the inadequacy of expenditure on irrigation. During the later part of British period, the policy of commercialization of agriculture and understanding the necessity of large dams as a good safeguard against famines and droughts, special care was given to built major irrigation projects in India. In the state since independence there were several major schemes introduced. However, proper attention was not given to the dry zone areas of the state and allocation of funds in this sector was not satisfactory.

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PRINCELY STATE COINS IN BUNDELKHAND REGION : A NUMISMATICAL STUDY

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Brief Political Background

It is a fact that Princely states were arose gradually as Mughal Power declined and Marathas with the regional powers came into prominence, similarly regional power of Bundelas headed by *Maharaja Chhatrasal Bundela* came into prominence in Bundelkhand , the region named after Bundela Warriors . *Maharaja Chhatrasal* faced a strong rival named *Muhammad Khan Bangash* ,a Mughal mansabdar of 7000 Jat and having the Royal Title of ‘*Gajnafar Jung*’(The Lion of war).¹ In 1729, *Muhammad Khan Bangash* have made a successful effort to seize the eastern Bundelkhand with heavy artillery and challenged the *Chhatrasal Bundela* .At that time, *Chhatrasal* was actively co-operated by troops of Maratha Peshwa *Baji Rao* first.² Chhatrasal who was too conscious of his advancing old age and well aware about the incompetence of his sons to preserve the fabric of principality , deemed it wise to secure the support of rising Maratha power under the peshwa. Therefore he declared *Baji Rao* to be his adopted son and promised him one third of his kingdom. It was most probably he, who presented *Mastani*, the famous dancing girl to Peshwa.³ The areas of Jhansi, Kalpi, Sironj, Guna and Sagar were given to Peshwa by *Chhatrsal*.⁴ Accordingly Marathas became ruler in western and southern Bundelkhand . The cordial relations established by Chhatrasal were maintained by his successors Hirde Shah and Jagat Raj who proved valuable allies to Marathas in Bundelkhand .

In 1791, Peshwa *Nana Fadanvis* who was keen to sustain Maratha supremacy over Bundelkhand sent a force headed by *Ali Bahadur*, grand son of couple Mastani and Baji rao. The areas of Banda, Ajaigarh, Panna etc. in eastern Bundelkhand were captured by *Ali Bahadur*.⁵ He was declared *Nawab Of Banda* as well as his successors too. *Ali Bahadur* was supported by *Gusain* power led by *Himmat Bahadur*. Meanwhile the Bundelas broke out from all sides, the British supremacy started to knock the doors of Bundelkhand.⁶ British force under Colonel Martindell defeated *Kaimji Chaube*, the Bundela Qiladar of Kalinzer to win the fort on Jan 18, 1812.⁷ In 1857 the famous mutiny broke out the British. This famous struggle was fought under the captaincy of the fiery queen of Jhansi, *Rani Laxmi Bai*, Mardan Singh of Banpur, *Ali Bahadur* second of Banda, *Tatya Tope* etc. After end of struggle British Government declared Princely states in categories of saluted and non-saluted. Orchha, Datia, Samthar, Vijawar, Chhatarpur, Ajaigarh, Bawani, Baraudha became the major saluted states while Alipura, Beri, Behut, Vizna, Gaurihar, Jigni, Pahra, Paldeo, Sareela, Todi-Fatehpur, Lugasi, Naigawan-Ribai were the major non-saluted states of Bundelkhand.⁸ Most of the above mentioned states were related to Bundela clan because Bundelas were at first lukewarm in their attitude towards the British from the beginning of the struggle.

Analysis of Patterns of Coins

The Princely states assumed the right of striking coins for themselves; but for economic, political and other reasons, they issued coins in prevailing Imperial Mughal type, retaining the Emperor's name. They only added to them a characteristic ornament or monogram, which distinguished them from Mughal issues. It is difficult today to precisely attribute the coins of their issuers. These coins were neglected in the past by numismatists and coin-collectors, when information about them could have been gathered easily. Few literary sources are able to throw light over coinage patterns of princely states in Bundelkhand. '*Bundelkhand ka Itihas*' by *Diwan Pratipal Singh* throws mild light over the coins of Bundela states.⁹ The study can be classified as under –

- 1.- Coins struck before 1857
- 2.- Coins struck after 1857.

Coins struck before 1857

Different type of coins were issued by princely states in Bundelkhand region. The metrology of Bundelkhand coins is somewhat complicated. While discussing the Bundelkhand coins before struggle of 1857, first we have to discuss gold coins. The Mughal *Muhar* issued by Akbar, Shahjahan, Aurangzeb, square gold coins of Shahjahan, Hiran and Kundadar gold coins of Nadirshah, *Machhlidar* gold coins of

Lucknow Nawabs were major prevailing gold coins which were used in trade and commerce as well as popular among coin-collectors and Sarrafs.¹⁰ Except above, gold coins issued by Jaipur state, Sindhia state of Gwalior (Gohad) and Mohur/Two Mohur coins of East India Company were commonly popular among people. There were only two native states in Bundelkhand who issued gold coins. The Maratha state of Jhansi and Bundela state of Orchha (Tikamgarh) struck their respective gold coins. The Maratha gold coin was known as Naroshankari as well as Bundela gold coin was known as Gajashahi which was issued in 1233 hizri. Both coins were struck in Persian script of Mughal pattern from their respective mints of Balwantnagar (Jhansi) and Tehri (Orchha).

Amongst all silver coins of states of Bundelkhand Gajashahi coin of Orchha state was finest and best by virtue of manufacturing and market value. This coin was introduced in the name of Mughal Emperor Muhammadshah. Gajashahi rupee was struck from Tehri mint commonly known as tikamgarh nowadays.¹¹ Gajashahi rupee was equivalent to 14 annas, hence was less by two annas to British East India Company rupee. Gajashahi silver was oftenly used not only by Orchha state but also by neighbouring government districts and other princely states. Rajashahi, Rajshahi, Kishorshahi, Ratanshahi, Rajashahi, Alipuri, Gajashahi, Shrinagari, Balashahi, Nanashahi, Gopalshahi and Gauharshahi were other major silver coins struck by Datia, Chhatarpur and Panna, Panna, Vijavar, Chhatarpur, Garrauli, Shrinagar (Jalaun), Sagar, Jhansi, Panna and Banda states respectively.¹² Rajashahi silver coin of Datia state was introduced in year 1727. Datia mint was closed down in year 1826. Rajshahi coin of Chhatarpur and Panna was almost equivalent to Rajashahi coin of Datia. Kishorshahi rupee of Panna state was first struck in reign of Raja Kishor Singh in year 1834. Ratanshahi coin of Vijavar state was introduced during the reign of Mughal Akbar second and in weight it was equivalent to Rajshahi of Chhatarpur state. Alipuri rupee was introduced by Diwan Pratap Singh, jagirdar of Alipura. Alipuri coin was struck from Sarsed mint of Alipura. Gajashahi coin of Garrauli state was introduced in year 1857. Shrinagari rupee was the important Maratha silver coin struck from Shrinagar mint of district Jalaun. It was first issued in 1794, regnal year 39 of Mughal Shah Alam. In manufacturing it was quite equivalent to Charkhari rupee. Another silver coin of higher weight was issued from Shrinagar mint in year 1809, which bears "55 Julusi" on obverse. Balashahi was another Maratha silver coin issued from Sagar, which was first introduced by Subedar of Sagar Balaji Baba in year 1779. Land revenue of pargana Nadigoan in Datia district was collected in Balashahi rupees.¹³ Nanashahi rupee of Jhansi was first introduced by Naro Shankar, Subedar of Jhansi in year 1743. Striking of Nanashahi rupee was continued during the reign of Raghunath Hari Nevalkar, Shivram Bhau and Ram Chandra Rao.¹⁴ The

Balwntnagar mint was closed down in year 1826 . The silver coins of Raghunath Hari Nevalkar were struck in the names of successive Mughals Alamgir second (1754-1759) and Shah Alam second (1759-1806).¹⁵ Another Maratha silver coin was issued from Tarauhan mint by Amrit Rao for a short period. It is also noticeable fact that this coin almost weighted 16 annas which was more weighted than other contemporary coins had. Gopalshahi was issued by Raja Hindupat Bundela of Panna State with permission of Mughal emperor Shah Alam. It was issued in third regnal year of Mughal empor. Gauharshahi rupee was introduced by Banda Nawabs in 12 regnal year of Shah Alam from Muhammadnagar mint of Banda. Gauharshahi coin bears 1185 hizri on reverse. There were several types of silver coins issued by Kalpi, Imliya, Maudaha, Charkhari and Narwar states.¹⁶

Almost 90% mints of Maratha states in Bundelkhand region became bound to close down under British pressure in year 1826. Kalpi, Balwantnagar, Tarauhan, Srinagar, Jalaun were major Maratha mints to be closed down in year 1826 as well as production of silver coins was also stopped. Mint of Bundela state of charkhari was also closed down in year 1834 .

Among copper coins of Bundelkhand region Trishuli, Tegashahi , Rajashahi , Balashahi , Subedarshahi , were prevailing coins successively issued by Charkhari, Datia , Orchha , Sagar and Jhansi states.¹⁷ These copper coins were not exactly circular in shape . They were almost thick coins of short size as compared to Mughal *Daam* . Except above , copper paisa of Banda mint Having no marks and script was also in circulation.

Coins struck after 1857

The English had become the supreme authority in India much before 1867 , the year of Indian struggle . They were not only masters of vast territories, but also wielded a powerful influence in all almost all the princely states. After the struggle of 1857, the last Mughal Bahadur Shah was deported to Rangoon and the whole situation changed . There after the retention of the name of the Mughal ruler on the coins of the states had no meaning. Some of the princely states were anxious to express their loyalty to English administration , there fore the chiefs and princes gradually removed the Mughal superinscriptions from their coins ,but not all the states imprinted the name of English Queen on their coins . After 1857, the prime Bundela states of Orchha , Charkhari , Panna ,Ajaigarh ,Datia have to continue striking their respective coins. The Maratha coins struck before 1857 were in circulation including Nagpuri and Bajrang-garhi silver coins.¹⁸ All Bundela silver coins were weighted between 12 to 14 annas and they all fell in to fight with English rupee of 16 annas (12.561 grams) . A new coin was struck from Balwantnagar mint of Jhansi by Jiwaji Rao Sindhia of Gwalior because Jhansi city

and fort were given to Sindhia by British for tenure 1861-1886.¹⁹ This silver coin bears “*Hamiduddin Alam Badshah 1189 hizri*” on obverse and “*maimnat manus julus sanah 16 Balwantnagar*” on reverse . The coin bears the monogram ‘Ji’ of Jiwaji Rao Sindhia in *Karati* language . During this period , a half rupee Gajashahi coin was introduced by Bundela state of Orchha. The coin was issued by Maharaja Pratap Singh of Orchha state .

In 1876, The British Government offered to let these states strike their coins free of charge , if they agreed to close down their own mints and to send the metal for coining to the English mints so as to make them uniform with the British Indian coins. This offer was accepted by only a few . In 1893, the offer of free coinage was withdrawn. It is said that the withdrawal of this privilege brought such depreciation in the value of coins of the states that most of them agreed to surrender their right of coinage if the British Government purchased their coins at the market value .²⁰ Consequently the right of coinage was retained only by Orchha state in Bundelkhand region in silver and copper . The neighboring Sindhia state of Gwalior has retained the right of coinage only in copper. Therefore there was circulation of single type of silver Gajashahi coin and two types of copper coins from Orchha and Gwalior in Bundelkhand region in addition to British rupee and copper annas . The famous numismatist Dr. P.L.Gupta had doubt about circulation of Gajashahi rupee after 1893, ²¹ but this doubt is baseless . Gajashahi rupee was in circulation till 1947. In 1924, Maharaja Pratap Singh of Orchha state celebrated the golden jubilee of tenure on completing fifty years of rule by remitting taxes and introducing Gajashahi rupee.²² Diwan Pratipal Singh clearly pointed out that except Gajashahi silver and copper coins only few silver coins were in circulation , but there was only ¼ Anna copper coin of Gwalior state in circulation except Gajashahi copper and British copper coin .²³ Copper coin of Gwalior state bears the name of “ *Jiwaji Rao Shinde Alijah Bahadur*” and was styled in British pattern.



Silver rupee of king William 4th , 1835



One anna copper coin of East India Company



Gajashahi silver coin of orchha



type of Tegashahi silver coin



One Pai copper coin of East India Company

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Vajrayana Buddhism in Odisha: a critical study of Some art and epigraphic evidence

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Odisha is one region which had had the earliest and longest uninterrupted association with Buddhism in India. Tapassu and Bhallika, two merchants from Ukkala (Utkala, Odisha) were “the first in the world to become lay-disciples of the Buddha” (*Mahāvāgga*, 1st *Khandaka*). The Ceylonese chronicle, *Mahāvamsa* and the 13th Major rock edict of Asoka reveal that the Kalinga War (one of the ancient names of part of Odisha) in 261 BC was a major event in the history of Buddhism as the Mauryan king Asoka played a key role in the propagation of Buddhism in India and beyond after the great war. Odisha also preserves the evidence of the longest survival of Buddhism in India. Lama Tāranāth, the Buddhist pilgrim from Tibet who wrote *History of Buddhism in India* in 1608 AD refers to donation to and repair of some *vihāras* by Mukundadeva (d 1568 AD), which was more than three centuries later than the attack and destruction of Nālandā and Odantapuri in 1199-1201 by Bakhtiyar Khalji, the general of Mohammad of Ghor. More important is to note the Census of 1911 records as many as 1833 persons in Odisha professing their faith to be Buddhism (Saroo 2006). There are at least 120 archaeological Buddhist sites in Odisha, some of which, such as Lalitgiri and Udayagiri and Langudi, continued uninterruptedly for more than a millennium. These sites contain temples, *vihāras*, *caityas*, votive stupas, *mantras*, *dhāraṇīs* and most importantly, gods, goddesses, Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, so rich and varied that have few parallel in any other region of India.

Literary and archaeological data point out that Odisha was one of the earliest centres of Vajrayāna Buddhism from which the Buddhist *maṇḍalas*, *maṇḍala* art and architecture spread to Tibet, Java, China and Japan. There is much evidence to make the claim that the earliest archaeological evidence of Tibetan and Shingon Buddhism is found from Odisha.

However, Odisha hardly figures in the standard books on Buddhist India. These books either refer to Bodh Gayā, Sārnath, Sānci, Nālandā and other sites associated with Buddha's life or refer to early excavated sites of Amarāvati, Nāgarjunakoṇḍā and Kanheri, Karle, Bhaja in Western Deccan. Or else these books highlight sites such as Nalanda, Odantapuri, Vikramaśilā and Somapura mahāvihāra of the Vajrayāna times. Debala Mitra's Buddhist monument only contains description about Ratnagiri (Mitra 1980).

Major tropes in Buddhist historiography

The negligence of Odisha has to do with the way the history of Buddhism has been studied and developed. Alexander Cunningham initiated the Buddhist archaeology in India by undertaking explorations and excavations of Buddhist sites of India based on Yuan Chwang's account of India. Our understanding of Indian Buddhism was further shaped by the Buddhist Pāli canon, which was finally redacted in the Anuradhapura during the time of Dutthagāmini in 2nd century-1st century BC. This overreliance on the textual account, especially on Pali Canon, led to glossing over the large amount of epigraphic, sculptural, architectural evidence from the archaeological context. The archaeological material – epigraphic, sculptural, and iconographic, etc. have many advantages over literary sources. For example, much of the epigraphical materials from Sānci, Sārnāth predates by several centuries our earliest actually datable literary sources. As Schopen points out “it tells us what a fairly large number of Indian Buddhists actually did, as opposed to what according to our literary sources-they might or should have done. But in addition to these two advantages there is a third: this material, in a considerable number of cases, tells us what the individuals themselves-whether laymen or monks-hoped to accomplish by those religious acts which they chose to record” (Schopen 1984: 110–126). The third source which shaped our understanding of Buddhism is the way the history of Buddhism has been explained by the Pali text society. In this account of the history of Buddhism, the religion is seen as a protestant religion against the Vedic orthodoxy in the Buddha's period which underwent modification in the Mahāyāna period due to influence of Bhakti ideology and which finally declined because of the degeneration in the *sangha* in the Vajrayāna period. Such characterisation of Vajrayāna Buddhism also largely fails to take into account the laity oriented nature of Vajrayāna Buddhism which innovated *dharanis*, mantras, gods, goddesses and temples and rituals. Stotras, etc associated with the worship of these

deities by the laities (Mishra 2009). Vajrayāna located itself as an integral part of Buddhism. The *Tattvaratnāvalī* section of *Adhavayavajrasaṅgraha*, a Buddhist text of 10th century AD, considered Buddhism as one religion (*Eka Yāna*) which was further divided into various *yānas* (vehicle) in its long historical evolution (Shastri 1927).

Early beginning

One common assumption is that by the end of the reign of Asoka in the middle of third century BC, Buddhist monks and nuns were established in monasteries throughout the Indian subcontinent and that these monasteries, located near cities relied on state support (Lopez, 1995: 4). However, there are many inscriptions which point out to donations by monks and traders, and Asoka merely used the Buddhist ethics and Buddhist sites to reinforce royal power and gained legitimacy (Ray 2012). Pre-Asokan archaeological evidence of Buddhism has not been found

so far in Odisha even though the Buddhist canonical work Mahāvāgga Vinayapitaka and Anguttara Nikāya to Tappassu and Bhallika, two merchants of Ukkala (Utkala) as the lay disciples of Buddha. They offered honey cake to Buddha just after Buddha’s enlightenment, took refuge in his teachings and the Buddha in return gave them hair, which they took away to their land and contained this *śārīrika cetiyas* (physical relic) in a stupa (Mahāvāgga; ist Khandaka). There are two brāhmī inscriptions of Aśokan character which are found inscribed on a ruined Buddhist hillock sites of Tārāpur called Tārāpur. One inscription refers to *keśa-thupa* and the other refers to *bhekhu tapussa dānam*. There are many scholars who questions the authenticity of the inscriptions. The absence of partination in them raises strong doubt about the genuineness of the inscription.



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Other archaeological materials from Odisha however point out to presence of Buddhism in 3rd-2nd century BC. However the first archaeological evidence of the presence of Buddhism in Odisha is the elephant of Dhauli belonging to the Asokan period. Asoka was credited with the construction of 84000 *stupas* in different parts of India, and Yuan-chwang says that one of them was in the capital of

Figure 1: Keśathupa in Asokan Brāhmī inscribed on the rock of Tarapur, a ruined Buddhist site of Jajpur district



Fig. 2. Relic casket in Chinese box style in steatite and gold

Wu tu (Watters 1905:193). Dhauli, which contains the elephant and the *Major Rock Edicts* of Aśoka, seems to contain an ancient *stupa* near the edict, which existed as late as 19th century. In the last century, several scholars noticed the remains of a *stupa* (Mitra 1881: 69; ASIAR XIII: 96). However, the remains of a *stupa* relic as well *yakṣha* figure dated to 1st century AD indicate the existence of another Buddhist *stupa* in Bhubaneswar (Sahu 1958: 32). Around 2nd-1st century BC, four other Buddhist sites in the Mahanadi delta came up, notably Lalitgiri, Udayagiri, Langudi and Kaima. Lalitgiri *mahacaitya* was built in 2nd century BC. This is known from the post- Mauryan-brahmi inscription which was found near the damaged stone pavements of the *stupa* area and the relic casket found from the *stupa* area of Lalitgiri. The Buddhist site of Udayagiri in the diamond triangle of Udayagiri-Ratnagiri-Lalitgiri in Jajpur district was also founded in 3rd-2nd century BC. The caityagrhya of Udayagiri near the Simhaprasata Mahavihara was constructed in 2nd century BC which underwent considerable modification after 7th century AD (Trivedi).



Figure 3: Apsidal Caityagrhya of Udayagiri, 2nd century BC

Langudi, a recently excavated site has yielded rock cut reliefs of *yakṣha* figure of Sunga period, rock-cut stupas, figures of Buddhas, Tārā and other goddesses. On the other hand, Kaima near Langudi preserves an elephant on its southern side, which has remarkable resemblance with the Dhauli elephant. Unlike the Dhauli elephant, it is a rounded one with its tusk broken. But the treatment of the trunk exhibits close similarity with Dhauli. It also contains a cell *brahmi* inscription of 2nd century AD character, which states three names, *Sri Sri Buddha, Purugaditya and Goggularaba*. A Prākṛit inscription from



Figure 4: Conch Shell brahmi inscription from Kaima, Jajpur, 2nd century AD



Nāgārjunakoṇḍā of śri Virapuri Sadata records that Tosali, Palur and Puspagiri of Odisha were great Buddhist centres of Mahāsaṃghikas in 3rd century AD (*Epigraphia Indica, hence EI, XX: 21*) 23). Around the same time, the Bhadrakali Inscription of Gana records donation to goddess Parṇadevati and certain *Ārya saṃgha* (*EI 29: 169–172*). The Jayarāmpur plate of Mahārājā Gopacandra of 5-6th century AD refers to donation of village Svetālaka by Mahāsāmanta, Mahārājā Acyuta, a feudatory of the Mahārājādhirāja śri Gopacandra to the Buddhist monks residing in a vihāra at Bodhipadraka (Rajaguru, 1962: 206-29). From 5th century onwards two important developments took place in Buddhism. First, the Buddhist settlements expanded to inland Odisha. This is known from the Asanpat inscription of Satrubhanja of Keonjhar district, which records donation to Buddhist establishment (Das 1965: 13). Second, around the same time Ratnagiri monastery was built. The Tibetan pilgrim Tārānath refers to the construction of Ratnagiri monastery in the reign of Buddhapaksa. From 6th century AD onwards, Ratnagiri monastery saw massive expansion with the construction of monastery I in 7th century AD, temples and stupas. The fact that Ratnagiri emerged as important Buddhist centre in the post-6-7th century AD in Vajrayāna phase of Buddhism is borne out not only from the number of votive stupas but also from numerous Chinese and Tibetan texts. Another Buddhist establishment which has been referred to in Yuan Chwang’s account but not satisfactorily identified is Puspagiri monastery. From the Si-yu-ki of Hiuen Tsang, who visited Odisha in about A.D. 639, the pilgrim writes, “There were more than ten Asoka topes at places where the Buddha had preached. In the south-west of the country was the Pu-sie-p’o-k’i-li (restored by Julien as “Pushpagiri”) monastery in a mountain; the stone tope of this monastery exhibited supernatural lights and other miracles.”(Watters)

Odisha: Cradle of Vajrayāna Buddhism Numerous literary texts refer to the central role of Nalanda as an important Buddhist establishment in the spread of Buddhism. However, the literary texts tell very little about the role and importance of the Buddhist sites of Odisha. Ratnagiri mahavihara is referred to in many texts as an important centre of tantric Buddhism, especially Klacakrayana (which will be referred to) but there are hardly any literary reference to other Buddhist establishments such as Lalitagiri, (Candraditya mahavihara from the



monastic seals found from excavation) or Udayagiri (known as Madhavapura and Simhaprasta mahaviharas from the monastic seals) However epigraphic and sculptural and architectural evidence from these sites reveal that the Lalitgiri and Udayagiri were early centres of tantric Buddhism. The Abhisambodhi Vairocana image of Lalitgiri is inscribed with a *mantra* on the back slab which reads “*namah samantabuddhanam a vira hum kham.*” This mantra appears in chapter six of the *Mahavairocanabhisambodhi*, an important text in Chinese, Javanese, Tibetan and Japanese Buddhism. (Wayman & Tajima 1992:13). The inscription is paleographically dated early 7th century AD.

According to the introduction of the text in the Chinese and Japanese, one ruler of Odra (one of the ancient names of Odisha), Śubhakarasiṃha (660–758) introduced Tantrayāna Buddhism in China at the beginning of the 8th century. He arrived at the Chinese capital at the invitation of Tang Hsuan-tsung. Śubhakarasiṃha was a central Indian prince who studied at Nalanda and Ratnagiri. He visited to many countries including Sri Lanka in a merchant ship. In time, he proceeded to Gandhāra from where he travelled to China (Yi-liang 1945). Included among the texts which he brought to China were the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi*, which he translated into Chinese in 725 AD, and an iconographic copybook in his own hand of the *maṇḍala* (*maṇḍala* is a concentric circle in which deities are assigned particular position and direction.) deities of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṃgraha*, the latter surviving in early Japanese copies and known as the *Gobushinkan* (Yamamoto 1990(tr) *Mahavairocana sutra*). He also made an iconographic copybook in his own hand of the *maṇḍala* deities of the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṃgraha* (*Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṃgraha* 1981). Both *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṃgraha* and the *Gobushinkan* emphasises the importance of Mahāvairocana and the interrelated *Mahākaruṇāgarbhodbhava- and Vajradhātu-maṇḍala*. These two *maṇḍalas* form the basis of Japanese Shingon Buddhism and, according to Japanese legends, were transmitted by Mahāvairocana to Vajrasattva who kept them for several hundred years within an iron *stupa* in South India until they were recovered by Nāgārjuna (Snodgrass 1988 I: 111-19).

Another figure associated with the spread of Vajrayana Buddhism to China is Amoghavajra and his preceptor Vajrabodhi. Vajrabodhi, before reaching China, stopped over at Srivijaya in 718 AD and according to one Chinese source, Amoghavajra met Vajrabodhi in Java and became his disciple.. The old Javanese esoteric Buddhist Texts, *Sang Hyang Kamahayanikan* (SHK) *Sang Hyang Kamahayanan Mantrayana* (SHKM) were written in 10th century AD and are based on the *Tattvasaṃgraha* and *Mahavairocanasutra*.

It is important to note that the grand edifice of Borobour which was constructed in 8th century AD is based on *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* of the *tattvasammgraha* and

Mahavairocanasutra. In fact Odisha preserves (Except Ellora) the earliest elaborate form of *maṇḍalas* in the Buddhist art and architecture. The Udayagiri stupa was a garbhodbhava *maṇḍala* stupa. There are numerous examples of *maṇḍala* sculptures in Odisha which has been treated with great scholarship by Donaldson (Donaldson 2001). It is important to highlight the fact that the occurrence of the mantra of *Mahāvairocanasūtra*, Udayagiri as *maṇḍala* stupa, evidence of numerous *maṇḍala* sculptures in Odisha reveal the importance of Odisha as an important early centre of Tantric Buddhism. Odisha is one important source which inspired tantric Buddhism and its art, architecture and religion in Japan and Tibet and most likely the architectural ideology of Borobodur and Candi Mendut in Java in 8th century AD.

Odisha was one of the important centres of Vajrayāna Buddhism is also reflected in numerous Tibetan texts of different times. In the Tibetan work (written towards the end of the fourteenth century A.D.) by mKhas-Grub Thams-chad mKhyen-Pa dGe-Legs-dPal-bZang-Po it is stated that the great preceptor Chilu Paṇḍita (Cheluka), born in Or-bi-sar (Odisha), studied the complete Tripiṭaka in Ratnagiri-vihara, Vikramsila and Nalanda. (Mitra 1981: 23). The Tibetan text Blue Annals (15th century) states that ācārya Cheluka, in search of the *Kālacakra-tantra*, read it at the Ratnagiri-mahāvihāra, which was left undamaged by the invasion of the *turskas* (Roerich 1949, 1953, II: 755).

However the Tibetan texts differ about the name of the Buddhist acarya who brought *Kālacakra-tantra* to India from the mythical land of Sambhala. While the Blue Annals credits it to Cheluka, the *Pag Sam Jon Zang* (completed in A.D. 1747) by Sum-Pa mKhan-Po Ye-Shes-dPal-aByor (Suma Khan-po Yese Pal Jor), it was Ācārya Bitoba who obtained the *Kālacakra-tantra* from Sambhala. At the last moment of the king (Mahipāla) Ācārya Bitobā came and Vajrapāṇi instructed him to go through magic to Sambhala where *Kālacakra* would be found. He went there and brought it to Ratnagiri and explained the doctrine to Bhikshu Abadhutipā, Bodhiśrī and Naropā. An older contemporary of the illustrious Atiśa Dipānkara (circa A.D. 980-1053), Naropā (variously known as Naro, Naropā, Nadapada and Naropāda) was an eminent Tantric sage immortalized in the Tibetan works. He succeeded Jetāri in the prized chair of Pandita at the northern gate of the Vikramsila monastery and afterward became the high priest of Vajrāsana (i.e. Bodh-Gaya). He was equally well-known for his writings. One of his works is the *Sekoddesa-ṭikā*, a commentary on the *Sekoddesa* section of the *Kalacakra-tantra*.

That Odisha was indeed the cradle of *maṇḍalas* and *Tantrayāna* is further known from the Tibetan texts, *Pag Sam Zang* and the *Blue Annals*, which refer to Sarah, also known as Rahulabhdra as introducing *Guhyasāmaja-tantra* to Nāgārjuna (Roerich 1949 I: 359-360). The Avalokiteśvara Padmapāni image Inscription Khadipadā records that the image was a pious dedication of the

mahāmaṇḍalācārya paramaguru Rahularuci during the reign of Śubhakaradeva. The title suggests that Rahularuci was well versed in *maṇḍala*. (*EI*, XXVI: 247-248).

Further, Rinpoche Padmasabhava, who took Buddhism to Tibet from India in 8th century AD, belonged to Odiyana, which has been identified by many scholars with Odisha (Mohanty 2012). One inscription containing *dhāraṇīs* on the back slab of the Avalokiteśvara image of Udayagiri also invokes Padmasambhava (Sahu 1958: 146). The inscription is palaeographically dated to 8th century AD. It states that *tathāgatādhīsthita dhātugarbha stupa* was set up on the very spot.

Buddhist deities from Odisha

The epigraphic and literary data presented above are not the only evidence of Odisha as an important centre of Buddhism, the sculptural evidence from Odisha reveals great variety of Vajrayāna deities from different sites of Odisha. In terms of diversity of Vajrayāna deities Odisha contains the widest variety of Buddhist sculptures. Some of these Vajrayāna deities which were found from Odisha are as follows:

The most important Bodhisattva in Buddhism as well in Odishan Buddhism was Avalokiteśvara. At least 14 forms of Avalokiteśvara have been found from Odisha. They were as follows: 1. Cintamānicakra Avalokiteśvara (Ajodhya in Baleswar District, Ratnagiri and Siddhesvar temple in Jajpur) 2. Cintamani Lokeśvara (Bhubaneswar Odisha State Museum), 3. Khasarpana Lokeśvara (Ratnagiri, Achutārājapur, Banewaranasi, etc), 4. Lokanatha (Udayagiri, Lalitagiri, Jajpur, Rameswar temple in Boudh, 5. Harihara (?) Lokeśvara/ Avalokita in Dharmacakramudrā, 6. Vajradharma/ Rakta Lokeśvara (Ratnagiri, Achutārājapur, Haripur-Aragarh and Siddhesvara temple in Jajpur) 7. Sadaksari 8. Jaṭāmukuta, Lokeśvara (from many places) 9. Śankhanātha Lokeśvara (Boudh, Udayagiri, now in San Francisco Museum) and Mudgala 10. Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara (Solampur, Ratnagiri, Udayagiri and other places) 11. Sugatisandarsana Lokeśvara (Udayagiri, Solapura Maa temple, Cutack, Dharmasala in Odisha State Museum) 12. Halahala Lokeśvara (Achutārājapur, Meghesvara temple in Bhubaneswar) 13. Standing/ seating Avalokiteśvaras in varada mudrā in many places 14. Viṣṇu Lokeśvara (Siddhesvara temple, Jajpur) 15. Simhanada Avalokiteśvara from Banewaranasi. In total approximately 150 images of Avalokiteśvara have been documented by me from different sites.

Similarly, Tārā cult was very popular in Odisha. Tārā is found in the niches of 99 monolithic stupas of Ratnagiri. Though the *Sādhanamālā* describes many forms of Tārā, the classical Tārā *mantra Tāre Tuttāre Ture svāhā* is only reserved for 11

forms. In Odisha all these forms are found except Mrtyuvacana Tārā and Vasyadhikara Tārā. Some of the forms of Tārā which are found from different sites are 1. Tārā in *lalitāsana*, *varada mudrā* 2 Standing Tārā, 3 Aṣṭamahābhaya Tārā, 4. Simhanāda Tārā 5. Khadiravani Tārā, 6. Mahāttari Tārā, 7. Mahāsri Tārā, 8. Dhanada Tārā, 9. Four-armed Sita Tārā, 10. Four-armed Durgottārini Tārā, 11. Vajra Tārā 12. Cintāmaṇi Tārā.

Mañjuśrī is the Buddhist god of wisdom and knowledge, and hence is represented in sculpture holding a sword and *Prajñāpāramita* book. The sword, called *prajñākhaḍga* in some *sādhana*s, invariably in his right hand, is intended to cut asunder all ignorance, while the book, in his left hand, is the means of attaining transcendental wisdom. Nine forms of Mañjuśrī have been found from Buddhist sites of Odisha. Some of the forms of Mañjuśrī which are found in the Buddhist sites of Odisha are as follows: 1 Siddhaikavira Mañjuśrī 2. Dharmasankha-samādhi Mañjuśrī 3. Dharmadhatuvagiśvara Mañjuśrī 4. Arapacana Mañjuśrī 5. Manjuvajra 6. Manjuvar, 7. Manjughosa, 8. Mahārājalila Mañjuśrī, 9. Vajrarāga, 10. Two-armed with book on utpala and varada mudrā (non-textual) – both standing and seating.

The cult of *aṣṭabodhisattva* (eight bodhisattvas) was quite popular in Odisha. They appear in free standing or as part of sculptural *maṇḍalas* surrounding a central Buddhas in the backslab and pedestal. The *aṣṭabodhisattvas* were Sāmantabhadra, Maitreya, Lokeśvara, Kṣitigarbha, Vajrapāṇi, Ākaśagarbha, Mañjuśrī and Sarvanivāraṇaviṣkambhin. Besides, these eight Bodhisttava, Bodhisattva Candraprabhā has been found in Odisha.

As the entire Buddhist pantheon has been conceptualised as emanating from the five dhyānī Buddhas, gods and goddesses, as also Bodhisattvas, belong to one of the kulas (families) of the dhyānī Buddhas. The following gods and goddesses of Aksobhya family have been found from Odisha: Candrosana (Ratnagiri), Heruḱa (Achutarājpur, Chowdwar, Ratnagiri), Hayagrīva (Lalitgiri, as an attendant of Avalokiteśvara, he is found in many Buddhist sites), Krsnayamari Ersama, Ratnagiri, Jambhala (numerous places), Trailokyavijayā (Achutārājapur, Ratnagiri), Sambara (Ratnagiri). Goddesses belonging to Aksobhya family have been found from Odisha: Janguli (Haripur, Kuruma), Parṇasabarī (Ratnagiri), Vasudhārā (Udayagiri, Ratnagiri) and Nairatmā (Trivenisvara temple, Tiruna).

Other gods and goddesses of Amoghasiddhi, Vairocana, Amitābha and Ratnasāmbhava family have been found from various other places. Suffice to conclude that the diversity of Buddhist pantheon in Buddhist sites of Odisha is richest in India and show the popularity of various deities in Odisha.

Sculptural maṇḍalas from Odisha: Building of a large pantheon structure
Maṇḍalas (concentric circle) forms an integral part of Vajrayāna religion. A *maṇḍala* is an arrangement of deities conceived of in sets laid out along the axes of cardinal points around a centre (Gellner 1996:190). A *maṇḍala* is divided into five sections, while on the four sides of a central image or symbols are disposed, at each of the cardinal points, four other images or symbols are placed (Tucci 1970). The Buddhist *maṇḍala* consists of a series of concentric magical circles, containing figures of Buddhist divinities. In the formation of *maṇḍala* in the *Guhyasāmāja-tantra* (6th century AD), each Tathāgata was given a direction, a *mantra*, a colour, a *prajñā* and a guardian of the gate (Bhattacharyya 1968: 45). From the Buddhist sites of Odisha five types of *maṇḍalas* are found – 1.the *stupa maṇḍala* with four Dhyānī Buddhas flanked by two Bodhisattva each as in the Udayagiri stupa; 2. Sculptural *maṇḍalas* of eight *Bodhisattvas* around a Buddha on a single stone slab; 3. Four × four *Bodhisattvas* surrounding four Dhyānī Buddhas with the fifth one at the centre; 4. free-standing *Bodhisattvas* forming a *maṇḍala* and the last type being the *maṇḍala* diagram on the back of image. The last category– *maṇḍala* diagram– is incised on the back of Jambhala image at Ratnagiri which consists of two concentric circles along with the Buddhist creed, a *mantra* and letters and numerous inscriptions representing Jambhala, Vasudhārā, dance deities, deified paraphernalia and musical instruments (Mitra 1981 I: 230–232).

Dhāraṇīs: Departure from monastic path

The other shift that Vajrayāna Buddhism brought about was by the introduction of *dhāraṇīs*. A distinct interpretation of the monastic path is presented in the *dhāraṇī* scripture. When one wishes to renounce the householder's life he must ask his parents for permission, saying that he wishes to practice *dhāraṇī* (folio no 615 c15-16 of *Dhāraṇī* scripture, Defangdeng, dated 413 AD). If his parents do not grant permission and reject his request three times, the young man can recite the spells in his own residence. Women may arrive at the place where he is reciting and even touch his clothing but it will not matter (Shinohara 2010, 243 – 275).

Thus the *dhāraṇī* recital removes the householder from the fetters of monastic Buddhism and one can aspire to achieve *nirvana* by remaining a householder. From 5th century AD onwards, independent *sutras* of Vajrayāna were composed and they were credited with powers, which can lead to salvation. In addition, the *dhāraṇīs* (*dhārayati anaya iti*– by which something is sustained) were also used as protective spells in this period. Numerous *dhāraṇīs* in clay seals are found from Ratnagiri. Vāsubandhu in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* categorised four kinds of *dhāraṇīs* – *dharma dhāraṇī*, *arthadhāraṇī*, *mantra dhāraṇī* and the *Bodhisattvakshāntilabdha dhāraṇī* (Winternitz 1983, 380–87). In many *stupas* of Odisha, one finds *dhāraṇīs* being inserted inside a *stupa*. An inscription, now in

the Odisha State Museum, Bhubaneswar (OSM) states that the construction of a single *caitya* (*stupa*) with a deposit of a *dhāraṇī* inside it confers on the donor the merit of one *lakh* of *Tathāgata caityas* (*Epigraphia Indica* XXVI 1941: 171–174). In the consecration of stupas or images, *dhāraṇīs* are inscribed in the images or inserted in tablet forms inside the stupas. In the *dhāraṇī* literature five *dhāraṇīs* are described as to be inscribed in the consecration of stupas – *Uṣṇisavijayā-dhāraṇī*, *vimaloṣṇiṣa-dhāraṇī*, *Pratyutasamutpāda dhāraṇī*, *Bodhigarbhālankāralakṣya dhāraṇī* and *Guhyadhātu dhāraṇī*.

As part of my exploration of the Buddhist sites of Odisha, numerous *dhāraṇīs* have been found. In Odisha *dhāraṇīs* are found inscribed on the images as well as found inside the Stupas. *Pratityasamutpāda sutras* are found inside the stupas in the form of tablet from 5th century AD in Ratnagiri while the same sutra is also incised on the base of the votive stupas in Lalitgiri from the same period. Further, *pratityasamutpāda* as a *dhāraṇī* is also inscribed in sculptures from 8th century onwards in Lalitgiri, Udayagiri and Ratnagiri, and elsewhere in Odisha. To the northeast corner of stupa area of Ratnagiri is the Temple 7 where a seated Jatamukuta Lokeśvara image was found at the southwestern corner of the southern wall. On the backslab of the image is *pratityasamutpāda* formula and a *dhāraṇī*. It reads *Om straiyadhve sarva-tathāgata-hridaya-garbhe jvālā dharmadhātu-garbhe saṁvara ayuṁ saṁsodhaya pāpaṁ sarva-tathāgata-samantoṣṇiṣa vimala-visuddhe svahā.* This *dhāraṇī*, identified as *vimaloṣṇiṣa-dhāraṇī* is extracted from the *Sarvaprajñāntapāramitā-siddhacaitya-nāma-dhāraṇī* (Donaldson 2001, 59; Mitra 1981 I, 104).

In the Museum shed of the Jajpur district Collectorate is a stone slab containing a 12-line *dhāraṇī*. It starts with *Pratityasamutpāda sutra-dhāraṇī*. The last two lines of the *dhāraṇīs* read thus:

Line 11: *sarva-tathāgata hridaya cakrāṇi/ saṁvara saṁvara/sarva-tathāgata guhyaka dhāraṇī Cundā/ Buddhe subuddhe sarvata—*
 Line 12: *thāgatadhīstite suddhe svahā---āgata pratisthite svāhā.*

Table 1: Various Dhāraṇīs and their Functions

<i>Dhāraṇīs</i>	Function
The sutra on the <i>dhāraṇīs</i> for protecting children (i) <i>Mahapratīśara dhāraṇīs</i> ii. <i>Maha-pratyangira- dhāraṇī</i> iii. <i>Vasundharā dhāraṇīdhāraṇī</i>	1.For the protection of children 2.Invoked for longevity

<p><i>Mahā Pratyāngira-dhāraṇī</i> <i>Maniratna sutra dhāraṇī</i> <i>Pancaraksā (five Protective spell) dhāraṇī</i> <i>Mahāpratisāra</i> <i>Mahāsahasra Pramardini</i> <i>Mahāmayūri</i> <i>Mahāsitavati</i> <u><i>Mahāraksā-mantranusarini</i></u> <i>Usnisavijayā dhāraṇī</i></p> <p><i>Vajravidarananama-ddhāraṇī</i> 8. <i>Piśaci Parnasavarināma-dhāraṇī</i></p>	<p>3. Invoked to ward off evil and endow with all powers to do good to the devotees 4. Recited to dispel diseases and disaster 5. For protection against sin. Disease and other evils 6. Efficacious in curing diseases and prolonging life 7. To ensure robust health 8. to ward off disease.</p>
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Conclusion

The paper tried to argue that there are much epigraphic and archaeological data in Odisha which suggest that Buddhism became an important religion in Odisha in historical period. Laities thronged to various Buddhist centres, donated votive stupas and took away with them terracotta plaques, amulets and sealings of Buddhas, bodhisattvas, monks and monasteries. These objects transformed the spiritual energies of the Buddhas, sacred centres to the household. These innovations took place between 5th to 12th century AD at a time when the brahmanical religions made temples, provided land grants to brahmanas, popularised tithes and wrote *sthalapurāṇas* to make various *tīrthas*. Once historians accept a poly religious rather than predominantly Puranic Hinduism landscape of early medieval Odisha, as the above historical evidence suggests, they need to change the angle of historical inquiry and address the question of poly-religious landscape, religious equations in a poly religious contexts and dynamics of religions and society and religions in this vibrant and dynamic period of the Indian history.

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SOCIAL STATUS OF WOMAN AMONG DIFFERENT COMMUNITIES : A CASE STUDY OF KANPUR DURING THE 19TH & 20TH CENTURIES

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INTRODUCTION

Kanpur situated in latitude between the 24⁰ and 25⁰degrees of north latitude and the 79⁰ and 81⁰ of East longitude¹ was an important location during the last phase of ancient Indian history due to its nearer location to Kannauj, but it was never a Urban settlement during the ancient times². The zone gained importance during the reign of Sher Shah Suri, the leader of second Afgan Empire in India³. Sher Shah ordered to construct a melted road from Peshawar to Songar goan which was known as Sadak-i-Azam or grand trunk Road in modern times⁴. Kanpur at the bank of river Ganges became a part of grand trunk road and therefore became aligned with merchants and Armies⁵. During the reign of Akbar, Kanpur becomes administrative division of Mughal Empire and remains unchanged till the death of Aurangzeb in 1707⁶. After 1711, Kanpur became centre of desires among Jahandar Shah, the Padshah; Saiyid brothers of Baraha and Surbuland Khan; Subedar of Kara⁷.

In 1735, Maratha troops headed by Baji Rao first raided Derapur, Sikandara and southern part of Kanpur. Kanpur came under possession of Anuir Khan, Umadt-Ul-Mulk, Subedar of Allahabad but soon this zone was covered by the Sadder-Jang, Subedar Vizir of Awadh. After 1743, Kanpur became centre of

power between the two, Awadh and Rohilkhand⁸. Kanpur came under British annexation in 1803, when Kanpur declared a revenue district. Kanpur played an important role in years of 1857-58. Several writings through light over importance of Kanpur during these years⁹. After the events of 1858, Kanpur gradually developed in the density of nationalist feelings. Many people oversaw at Kanpur joined congress party before 1900¹⁰. Kanpur city was pioneer in Hindi – Urdu press and media in first half of 20th Century but it is better to say that Kanpur became hub of cotton cloths in northern India during the 20th Century.

In 1778 when the company's troops first moved to Kanpur, They were granted twelve villages stretching along the riverfront from old Kanpur on the west to Jajmau on the East¹¹. There was in accordance with the treaty of Faizabad signed after the Rohilla wars in 1773, by which the company agreed to provide a brigade for the protection of Awadh. The troops were paid for by the Nawab and were initially stationed at Bilgram from where they were transferred to Kanpur in 1778.

The statement of old Kanpur, to which the city's origins are traced in local folklore, was overshadowed by the sheer physical spread of the cantonment territory. It was referred to as Kanpur Kana (Kanpur Corner) – differentiating it from Campoo (Camp) Kanpur or cantonment. The changing profile of the riverfront and the shifting boundaries of the cantonment expressed larger conflicts over space¹².

The trade in European goods next touched local village markets. Reports from the Nineteenth century refer to the extensive sale of English Cloth in Akbarpur, Shahpur, Bithur, at the bi-weekly village markets of Baripal were sold cloth and other goods from England¹³.

Among them was the Marwari banking family of Baijnath Ramnath which, like many such families settled in Chataimohal in Kanpur, traded in Cotton, grain and flour, apart from being bankers and general Merchants.

Other Indigenous banking families of Kanpur. Tulsi, Ram Jialal, Nihal Chand, Baldeo Sahi, Janki Das, Jaganath combined grain trade with the banking business¹⁴.

District courts and civil offices were located within the cantonment premises. Growing disputes between civil and military authorities led to their relocation in Bithur in 1811, and then at Nawabganj in 1819.

Awadh became virtually Independent of Delhi in the reign of Unmud Shah A.D. 1747. When it fell into the hands of Sufdurjung. The district of "Cawnpoor" formed a portion of the out territory known as the dominions of the Nawab Vizier, and Previous to the cession, was rented by Ulmas Ally Khan, and exposed to all the evils and abuses which existed that province. Three Civil servants of the

company composed the commission, and the Hon'able Henry Wellesley' was nominated lieutenant Governor of the new territory and president of the Borad¹⁵.

Kanpur, an insignificant village of the early 18th Century, came into Prominence in 1778 when the cantonment of the East India Company was shifted from Bilgram to Jajmau in Kanpur. Economic and Political factors were the two basic considerations that determined the choice. Also, from Kanpur, the Company could keep an eye over the activities of the court of Oudh and eventually manipulate a situation for its annexation¹⁶.

The establishment of the cantonment traders and entrepreneurs seeking the opportunity to produce good and services to meet the needs of soldiers, the Inter mingling of Indo-European cultures brought about a change that influenced the one hand and socio-political life on the other. Kanpur was raised to the status of a distraction 1801¹⁷. By the turn of 19th Century Kanpur had become an Important centre of lather lanning, footwear, cotton textile, woolen, sugar, Jute, Oil pressing and chemical Industries. It is notable that the initiative taken by the British entrepreneurs could bear fruits primarily due to the backing of Indian bankers and moneylenders with the opening of East India Railways in 1864, Kanpur became a recues of operations¹⁸.

Although the external boundaries of the district have remained in fact since the separation of Fathepur in 1828, the extensive internal changes that have taken place in the matter of the tahsil arrangement especially in 1860 and 1894, render it impossible of establish a satisfactory comparison of the results obtained at successive enumerations in the various tracts¹⁹.

The first outoritaive census was taken by Mr. Robit Montgomery in 1847, and this gave after revision a total population of 993.031 persons in the whole district, the density averaging nearly 417 per square mile of the present area. The people were classified as "Hindus and Others" the farmer aggregating 917,287 and as "agriculturist of other wise employed" the persons directly dependent on cultivation being 583,460 beside cawnpore itself the town possessing more than 5000 Inhabitants were bithur, Akbarpur, Sachendi, Bipasi, Bilhaur Rasdhan and Jeora, Nawabganj²⁰. According to the census Return.

Population of Cawnpore city	Year	Population
	1881	1,55369
	1891	1,94,048
	1901	2,02,797
	1911	1,57,040
	1921	1,95,085
	1931	2,19,189
	30-6-1938 Estimated	2,32,362

Population of Cawnpore

By the early year of the twentieth century, factory, chimneys dominated the city and the political of sanitation shaped a landscape in which squalor and working class bastis become Synonymous. The city's population grew by 140 percent between 1901 and 1941, from 202, 971 to 487, 324. There was a continuous inflow from the country side of people in search of jobs in the mills and elsewhere. To migrants from the villages around, Kanpur was a city that could change their lives and open up a new world²².

The period under discussion is 1847-1939 the year 1847 is of utmost significance for British India observed the establishment of the first Engineering College at Roorkee. Later become popular as Thomson College of Engineering this break – through in technical education game a start for the establishment of other Institutions.

It was expected that government establish technical and Industrial Schools but not in the higher form of the technical and scientific education. Curzon emphatically asserted that “Technical education” did not include that more advanced form of educational activity known as ‘Scientific Research’ and Which Involves the application of the most highly trained faculties for scientific experiment²³. Similarly Sir James La Touche, the Lieutenant Governor of U.P. wrote “we hardly want any development of the higher branches of engineering²⁴.”

Thus the National conference recommended among other things, two Industrial schools, and experimental weaving station, a Carpentry School and the introduction of practical work in general education. In 1909, the government of Bengal at Serampur opened a working institute. A school of dyeing and printing was started in Kanpur, a wood working. Institute at Bareilly, a carpentry school in Allahabad and leather trade Institutions at Madras and Kanpur were established by the local governments²⁵.

The first missionary at Cawnpore was Henry Martyn, of Truro and S.John's College, Cambridge, a Chaplain of the Honourable East India Company whose memories written by the Rev. John Sargent produced a great impression upon the members of the church of England²⁶. (The writer's edition is numbered the thirteenth, and is dated 1837).

Dr. George Smith to published in 1892, through the Religious Tract Society, a life of Martyn which gives further details, he entitles it “Henry Martyn, Saint and Scholar first Modern missionary to the Mohammedans, 1781-1812.”

While stationed at Dinapore (The cantonment of Patana) Martyn had translated the news testament into Urdu or Hindustani, and had begin version in Persian and Arabic. He was also the first – translator into Urdu of the Book of common Prayer.

Henry Martyn arrived at Cawnpore in April, 1809 and was received into the house of Mrs. Sherwood; wife of Colonel Sherwood, whose children's Story- book Henry and his Bearer has a great Vogue²⁷.

There are few if any, mission in the whole of India where are to be seen so many variations of mission work – Medical, Educational and evangelistic. A part from the undying Interest which will ever attach to Cawnpore in consequence of the tragedy which was enacted here in 1857, the city claims the attention of all interested in the future development of India as being the Chief manufacturing city in North India.

Man is distinguished from the rest of animal creation by the possession of mental and spiritual facilities nobler than those which he shares with other animals. This is a truth conveyed to Christians the Phrase "In the image of God"²⁸. In the Classroom and in private conversation educational missionaries have opportunities of rendering such help to the education classes.

So much for the general principles that underly this important branch of mission works. There are in the city many primary Schools conducted by private individuals or under the control of the municipal Board²⁹. A report on the state of education in this district was called for by Government last year a copy of which will be found in the Chart.

Description of School	No. of School	Teacher	No. of Scholar				Amount of Teachers Income	
			Mohamm edans	Hindu	Chris t-ian	Total	Rs.	P.
Persian	180	180	421	618	0	1,039	1,02394	
Arabic	16	16	42	0	0	42	75.94	
Hindu	283	283	82	2,772	49	2,903	1,043156	
Sanskrit	58	58	0	409	0	409	281111	
English	3	7	46	103	77	226	35100	
Total	540	544	591	3,902	126	4,619	2,522,137	

There were four municipal schools with 190 pupils at Cawnpore, six girls schools with 118, on the rolls and two Persian school at Akbarpur and Derapur with 88 scholars, further, there were 64 Primary schools aided by the district board with an attendance of 1,653,288 Indigenous schools with 3,785 pupils, Including two girls schools seven schools with 275 pupils supported by the municipality and 16 aided by the same body, these comprising the mission and other schools, with a total of 1,079 on the rolls³¹.

At Cawnpore we have in the course of many year had only three baptisms that can be directly traced to work of this kind. He was baptised in Christ Church in November, 1889 on the same day that the brother Westcott joined the mission staff³².

The college at Cawnpore has not as yet been affiliated upto the B.Sc. standard on financial and other grounds, and we generally recommend students to select (1) English, (2) Philosophy or history and (3) a Classical Language (Sanskrit or Persian or Mathematics) as their subjects for the B.A. examination³³. It was to meet the wishes of such parents that we rented a large native house in 1896 in which Mr. Crosthwaite and ten students took up their abode, long before the desirability of such provision for outside students had been generally recognised³⁴.

The University of Allahabad, which was founded in 1887, has under the Universities Act General Control over higher education in the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and Central India. Affiliated to it up to the M.A. or B.A. standards are four missionary college in the United Provinces, St. John's College, Agra (C.M.S.); Christ Church College, Cawnpore (S.P.G.); Reid Christian College, Lucknow (Am. Meth. Ep.) and Christia College, Allahabad (Am. Presb.)³⁵.

He has always remained true to the doctrines of the Church and has in many ways helped member of the Brotherhood, and more especially in translation work for which he is well qualified by his knowledge of Sanskrit³⁶.

Education in Cawnpore has made great progress during he last fifteen years. Our own institutions have slightly decreased in number but have increased in efficiency. The buildings of the Higher School for boys, the Epiphany School for Girls, and Christ Church College have all been enlarged and greatly improved, and the number of students in each has increased³⁷.

Christ Church High School for Boys, founded in 1833, still holds its own, although six other high Schools have been established recently by Theosophist, Hindus, Mohammedans and other communities. Its keenest rival is the Government high School, which has now an entire new block palatial buildings³⁸.

Christ Church College, affiliated to the Allahabad University up to the M.A. standard, was till recently the only college of Cawnpore and four adjacent districts. A district is about the size of an English country. Two new Hindu Colleges, and Orthodox and the other Arya Samaj, have lately been founded in Cawnpore.

The influenced of the collage in Cawnpore accumulates year by year. Many of the city's leading professional men have been educated in Christ Church³⁹.

New Primary schools have been opened in the city by the Municipality. The principal of Christ Church is a member of the local Educational Committee. The education of girls in Cawnpore is making slow but sure progress. It appears probable that compulsory primary education will be established in large towns in the near future. Many Indian leaders demand it. Only five percent of the people of

India can read and write. The education of the masses, of whom eighty percent. Are villagers, is still very much in its infancy⁴⁰.

The national movement has assumed amazing proportions by the early 20th century. The Vigour of the congress organization was only one factor the British officials agreed on in order to explain their repeated success.

The woman of Cawnpore

A notable feature of the socio-cultural life of Kanpur during the classing decades of the 19th century was the spurt in socio-cultural and socio-academic activities in the city it became an Important center for the activities of the reform movements, like Arya Samaj and the theosophical society—there are the Mohammedans, with yet another language, Urdu which is a mixtures of Arabic and Persian with some Hindi words Included.

Some of the high-Cast Hindu and well-born Mohammedan women are very fair, with beautiful large brown eyes and long eye lashes and black hair, through occasionally you may come across Mohammedans with blue eyes and light hair; but I believe those I am thinking of came from Persia. I remember on day a small boy was put into my arms with the words, “Your Honour’s Child” because he possessed blue eyes light – brown hair⁴¹.

The women are not as tall as the average English woman, but they are lithe and erect.

They live in the Zenana, i.e. The part of the house where the women spend their lives in seclusion. “Zan. being Persian for women and ‘ana’ for a house – hence the women’s apartments. Just as Mardana (Mard= a man, ana= a house) is the room at the form of the house which is sacred to the men-folk during the day; the place where they live and receive their friends⁴².

What most impresses an English women on getting to know the non-Christians is, that there is no ‘Girl-hood’ for the Indian female, She is either child or women.

A women’s only share in Hindu religious worship is in connection with her husband and children. I again quote from Mr. Wilkins Book : “A girls religious exercises are confined to those which have as their object the securing of a husband, and that he may live long- all here prayers are expressive of the desire for a husband and for those virtues which will enable a wife to retain his affections⁴³.

But although women hold so subordinate a position as to appear to be in little better case than slaves of their husband they exert great influence over husbands and children. They are naturally religious and therefore most unwilling to let go any of the religious ceremonies that take place in the home life. Both Hindu and Mohammedan women are usually faithful to their husbands and are themselves averse to re-marriage because they regard it as a sign of unfaithfulness to the husband who has died. Among some low-caste Hindus re-marriage is practiced.

Amongst Mohammedans living in seclusion is more rigorously practiced than amongst Hindus. Indeed it is a Mohammedan custom which has been adopted by the Hindus, and is regarded as a sign of respectability, and as giving a certain prestige to those who observe it⁴⁴. When women are inclined to say that they are content to leave the East to its own religious, let them think of the position of women in non-Christian countries and compare it with that enjoyed by themselves.

Among high-caste Hindus and re-spectacle Mohammedans no man, except a very near relative, can enter the Zenana; even among low - castes it is highly improper for a women to be seen speaking to a man in the street, with the Christians it would be considered unwise for an unmarried native pastor to visit the women members of his congregation⁴⁵.

The Christian women of Cawnpore have practically all been educated in mission schools. A certain number of those capable to teaching are kept on the mission staff for Zenana are schools work after marriage, as the small amount of house work in an Indian home leaves the young wife a large amount of leisure⁴⁶.

Members of the mission staff (Indian and English) visit the Christian women in their homes, and conduct Bible classes and Sunday schools in various quarters. One of the difficulties of the pastoral work is that group of Christian Families are scattered in all direction over the very wide area to which Cawnpore now extends.

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The Colonial Way of Constructing criminality in Malabar

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The ideological base of colonialism in Afro-Asian countries was footed firmly upon the concept of civilizing mission implying the inherent notion that the cultured west would always carry with them, an irresistible but painstaking urge for civilizing the barbaric east. The dictum, discovered as a plausible excuse for legitimizing colonial expansion owes its origin in the dichotomy of a civilized west and an uncultured east. In Indian context, the mission has got its varied manifestations ranging from the enactment of a few civil laws aiming some sort of socio-religious reforms introduced with the enthusiastic support of certain socio-religious reformers, to a host of criminal laws enacted from time to time under the pretext of curbing violence and ensuring peace and security. Obviously, the colonial authorities resorted to justify all such criminal laws as a matter of expediency intended to tackle the disturbances and protests raised by various tribes and communities in different parts of the empire. The colonialist measures aimed at policing the Thugs constitutes an oft quoted and much discussed example of this civilizing mission having a pan Indian character. However, there were also certain regional versions expressing this colonial mindset like those targeting the *Yerukulas* and the *Mappilas* of Madras presidency. The

Moplah Outrages Act passed originally in 1854 (Act No. XXIII of 1854), modified and extended twice in 1856 and 1859 respectively, stands out as a perfect example for this genre of legislative exercises targeting a particular community as criminals. This meticulous Act had its declared objective of quelling the menace of the *Mappila* outbreaks that had posed grave law and order concerns in the southern Taluks of Malabar district of the Madras presidency throughout the 19th century. This paper tries to analyse the discriminatory provisions of this antagonistic act which only exemplifies the racial arrogance of the colonial regime. This has been attempted, quite necessarily in the backdrop of the grave circumstances which provoked its enactment and execution so as to emphasize the colonial trajectory of constructing a criminal community.

Any discussion on this ferociously discriminating Act would be incomplete and meaningless without examining the nature and course of those violent outbursts of antagonism of the *Mappila* peasants of south Malabar branded maliciously as *Mopla outrages* by the colonialist regime. This particular term is deliberately seen used in the colonial correspondence to describe the series of spasmodic acts of violent assaults inflicted by the *Mappila* peasants targeting the lives and property of the caste Hindu *jennmis* and also the persons identified as their accessories in persecuting the *Mappila* peasants. In the thoroughly stratified agrarian social structure of south Malabar, aggravated further by colonial intervention, this distinct section of Hindu land owning class possessed all the possibilities of becoming the first and the easily visible target of fury of the servile peasantry of the *Mappilas* than their colonial masters stationed at a distant location. The privileged class of landlords on the other hand, quite unsurprisingly found a constant source of solace in the pro landlord policies of the colonial authorities and was eager to accept them as their natural allies in the wake of the threat posed by the *Mappila* tenants.

Such instances of sporadic acts of violence had become a regular affair since 1836, although there were rare occurrences of similar outbreaks even earlier. The British authorities intentionally used the term ‘outrage’ to highlight the intensity of violence involved in these incidents as can be measured from the description that these were “not mere riots or affrays, but murderous outrages, such as have no parallel in any other part of her majesty’s dominions”. By the word ‘have no parallel’, the colonial spokesman here most probably was pointing towards the drastically devotional element attributed to these incidents so as to suite ideally, the colonial constructions of criminality and fanaticism of the *Mappilas*. Though there were occasional variations, all these outrages maintained a similar pattern as regards to its perpetrators and their *modes operandi* which was always characterized by an irresistible devotion to death or in other words, a relentless urge for becoming *shahid*. Roland E Miller observed that “reckless bravery and the conviction that death for the faith brought a blessed end remained constant in

all the incidents". Miller also mentions a short lived but vigorous religious movement existed in some parts of south Malabar called *hal ilakkam* which, if judged by its known characteristics, functioned almost like a radical trade unionist outfit with an easily observable religious clout. Most probably, these two vital aspects emanating out of the religious identity of the rebels may have prompted the colonialists to frame their own perception of the dissent with an exclusive assertion on religious motives. Moreover, it quite conveniently provided the government, an ideal opportunity to ignore the real cause of the unrest rooted in agrarian discontent so as to evade from the responsibility of redressing the genuine demands of the peasant folk, for its compliance, they feared would be nothing short of inviting the wrath of the land owning class, their natural allies in this alien land.

The outbreaks had reached its peak during the period between 1836-53. At this point, there registered as many as 22 outbreaks throughout Malabar with a dominating concentration in remote villages of *Eranadu* and *Valluvanadu* Taluks in south Malabar. All these outbreaks took a total toll of nearly 50 casualties, comprising *namboothiri* and *nair* landlords and their stewards and servants belonging to some subordinate castes. Out of the total number of 183 *Mappila* peasants who had participated in these outbreaks, altogether 156 were killed in action. These figures amply reflect the exact gravity and intensity of these volatile outbreaks caused almost exclusively due to peasant unrest. By this time, the outbreaks, as observed by Conrad Wood, had attained the proportions of "a never ending source of horrified fascination for British officials in the Madras Presidency".

Greatly alarmed by the magnitude of the situation, the government in 1852 had assigned T.L. Strange, the first Malabar Special Commissioner, the task of ascertaining the cause of the outbreaks. Well before the commencement of the investigating mission and without any form of hesitation, the government had put it plain and open that the grand objective of Strange's mission was "to secure to the Nair and Brahmin population the most ample protection and safety possible against the effect of Moplah fanaticism". Outfitted with such an emphatically prejudiced instruction, Strange quite unsurprisingly came out with the conclusion that the outbreaks were not due to agrarian grievances but because of the most decided fanaticism of the Moplas. He even went further and advocated that the "pride and intolerance fostered by the Mohammedan faith, coupled with the grasping and treacherous, and vindictive character of the Moplahs in these districts drawn out to its worst extent have fermented the evil and it may be said to lie at the root thereof". While putting a reiterated emphasis upon the 'pride' of the Moplahs, Strange was apparently echoing that notorious European prejudice against the Moors which was rooted in a bitter feeling of hostility inculcated right from the days of crusades.

Of course, there was a minor group of officials like J.F Thomas, the Govt. Secretary who had raised some serious reservations and cautioned the govt. against any stringent measures without differentiating the ‘innocent from the guilty as it would militate against a just neutrality and toleration of all sects or creeds, and which would ally the government with the Hindu community and uphold it to the prejudice of the Mohammedan’. The government however, ultimately decided to move in line with the stringent measures recommended by Strange Committee and introduced two separate Acts targeting the *Mappilas*. The first one (Act No.XXII of 1854) known as the Mopla Outrages Act was intended to arm the government with a set of unrestricted powers while dealing with the *Mappila* assaulters. It was followed by the arms act (Act No.XXIV of 1854) designed to disarm the *Mappilas* though without mentioning the term Moplas directly in its provisions as did in the case of the former, possibly to avert being accused of discrimination. Though the latter enactment prohibited the possession of certain offensive weapons like the ‘*Ayudha Cutty*’ throughout the district of Malabar as applicable to every citizen irrespective of religion or caste, it was the Mopla peasants of the southern Taluks of Malabar who practically became its specific target since bearing a small knife was customary to them, especially while at work.

The provisions incorporated in the outrages act would illustrate not only the real gravity of the turbulence erupted out in this ‘danger zone’ during the period in question, but also the deliberate and calculated efforts aiming the colonial construction of *Mappila* criminality. From the preamble of the Act itself, one could easily read out the colonial portrayal of the *Mappilas* as a group of deadly and dangerous fanatics. It goes like this:

“Where as in the District of Malabar in the Presidency of Fort St. George, murderous outrages have been frequently committed by persons of the class called Moplas against inhabitants of those Districts belonging to other classes, the offenders in such outrages intending therein to sacrifice their own lives;

This opening sentence itself is sufficient enough to comprehend the colonial perception of these episodes of violence that is characterized by a false conviction to identify the *Mappilas* as a criminal community. Apart from assigning a brand of criminality upon the *Mappila* community as a whole, without giving any regard for the basic fact that the number of persons actually involved in these acts of violence were very small and negligible as against the consistently increasing population of the *Mappilas* in the region, the deeply prejudiced preamble also tries to attach an element of mystery to these outbreaks. This has been done by giving a rather imbalanced but calculated emphasis upon the ‘death motive’ of the assaulters. The added emphasis given to the inclination of the rebels to sacrifice their lives in the course of their mission was common in all the colonial correspondence dealing with the outbreaks. The report by I.L Platel, a colonial

official, on the November 1841 outbreak at *Koduvayur* in *Eranadu* Taluk, stands out as an ideal example for this sort of colonial depiction of death motive. Platel, as per his report was totally surprised by the attitude of the assaulters who never tried to escape from police action though there were greater chances for escaping from the scene. What Platel wanted to highlight here is, presumably, the *Mappila* aversion for escaping for they were determined to sacrifice their lives in their mission. In colonial perception, this only indicates the excessive amount of irrationality and illogicality in their deeds which by all means, seems indigestible to a civilized mind. This sort of narrations could definitely be viewed as a calculated colonial tactic invented to equate the uprisings with abnormality, madness, and fanaticism which would go in tune with the purposeful othering of the *Mappilas* as a community of untamable criminals.

In fact, in the appalling context of colonial Malabar which was constructed exclusively upon military might, the revolting peasants could easily guess their fate on the eve of their surrender or subjugation. Further, the preference given to death over the humiliation caused by surrendering before the enemy is not a novel idea in this part of the land which is known in history for the prideful practicing of *vadakkirikkaland* also for the suicide squads associated with *Mamankam*, who literally threw away their lives for a cause which, at least in their perception, was just and noble. This particular psyche preferring death over defeat is also seen manifested, in a period more nearer to the outbreaks, in the heroic but tragic end met with the life of Veluthampi. All the colonial spokespersons ranging from the comparatively liberal Logan to highly unsympathetic Strange completely ignored these historical precedents in the region, and quite unhesitatingly resorted to the calculated task of explaining all the outbreaks in terms of *Mappila* enthusiasm for being killed by the authorities. The *Mappila* readiness to sacrifice their lives could be viewed not as a product of their madness, but essentially as the end result of their foresight and a realistic apprehension about the possible outcome of an imminent defeat. *Athan Gurikkal*, who spearheaded one of the early resistance against the colonial regime in South Malabar during 1800-02 puts it categorically that “nobody will throw away their life, unless forced to it by unendurable grievances and dishonour”. These words would provide an ideal clue for unraveling the exact mindset of those ‘primitive rebels’ who, being the ‘wretched of the earth’ had been left virtually, with no other option but to fight on to their last. In the awfully pathetic scenario of 19th century Malabar, this fight in turn could inevitably have attained some of the characteristics of ‘social banditry’ conceptualized by E.J. Hobsbawm in a totally different context.

The repeated occurrences of the term Mopla, and the general line of description of the nature of atrocities involved makes the second section of the Act problematic. The exceptionally vindictive measures recommended in this Section,

targeting not only the perpetrators of the outbreaks but also those who seem to have assisted and sympathized with them, that too, regardless of the fact that whether they were died in action or captured alive, all are pointing towards the intensely prejudiced colonial cornering of the ‘*Mappila* criminality’. The following passages from this Section would hold good to illustrate the exact nature of this colonial construct of criminality and the real extent of its discriminatory provisions.

“Any Mopla, who murders or attempts to murder any person belonging to any other class, or who takes part in any outrage directed by Moplas against persons of any other class, wherein murder is committed or is attempted to be committed or is likely to be committed;; shall on conviction thereof, be liable not only to the punishment provided by the existing law for the offence.....but also to the forfeiture of all his property of whatever kind,.....;and whenever any person shall be killed in the act of committing any such offenceor being wounded and taken prisonershall afterwards die of his wounds, it shall be competent to the court.....to adjudge that the whole of his property shall be forfeited to the Government”.

Even though, all the provisions of the Act were equally biased and vindictive in nature, the most troublesome was the provision for mass fine or collective compensation enshrined in Section VII and VIII. It empowered the authorities to levy and collect compensation or fine “from all the Moplas within the *amshom* [village].....to which the perpetrator or perpetrators or any one of such perpetrators of such outrages shall be found to belong or wherein any such perpetrator shall have been resident at the time of the commission of the outrage.....”.What puts this particular proviso at the peak of the colonial trajectory of constructing criminality and branding a whole community as criminals is the fact that it makes the entire *Mappila* community responsible and answerable for the offences committed by a handful of assaulters. The simple rationale behind such a nasty measure is that these poor and innocent villagers share a common religious affinity with the culprits.

There were also certain other provisions of the Act which went further to the extent of denying the basic and natural right to get a decent burial to those “offending Moplas sentenced to death, or killed....”. This proviso which suggested either the burial or burning of the bodies of killed assaulters pays no or little heed for the performance of post mortem rites, an act very fundamental to the psyche of an average Muslim. This, when judged in relation to the basic standards and norms honouring the deceased, common in all societies and cultures, perpetuates the deeply biased colonial mindset which necessitated such brutal acts of discrimination. Here, we can also locate the paradox of the plaintiff being reduced to the position of the accused as this Section amply exemplifies the bigotry

of the Europeans carried out in the pretext of contesting fanaticism of the *Mappilas*.

Even a casual reading of the provisions enshrined in this Act would testify the crucial fact that this particular piece of legislative exercise was designed and introduced not only to meet the expediency of curbing the menace of the outbreaks but also aims at the colonial construction of criminality echoing the motto of civilizing mission destined to Europeans. This mindset was not a new invention in the context of colonial Malabar as all the official correspondence of the period helps to create an excessively embarrassing picture of the Mopla peasants- the troublesome, the fanatic, the rabid animal and so on. Unsurprisingly, all the works of history dealing with this particularly controversial topic in the history of Malabar invariably reflects nothing more than this deeply prejudiced colonial version as almost all of them were, almost exclusively based on the colonial correspondence archived in and outside Kerala. It was particularly true in the case of European scholars like Hitchcock and Tottenham who dealt with the outbreaks after 1920 which were much more organized and wide spread than the one we had discussed here. The later European historians, starting from Conrad Wood to Stephen F Dale and Rolland E Miller were also seen entangled by this basic lacuna while approaching the subject. However, K.N Panikker tries somewhat effectively, to trespass this difficulty by attempting an equally important treatment of rather scanty indigenous sources and also by endeavoring a severely critical analysis of the official accounts. Another notable exception in this direction was M.T Ansari, who, in his attempt to espouse the real nature of the outbreaks, is offering an antidote to both the colonialist as well as the nationalist representations of the incidents. By attempting a counter narrative of the events through his interpretation of a *varola* issued by the *Mappila* rebels, Ansari emphatically demolishes the colonial configuration of the *Mappila*, the fanatic. The apparent discrepancies of the narratives dealing with these outbreaks and the resultant representation of the *Mappila* fanaticism is obviously, the product of historians' near total dependence on official records. This in turn, adds some weight to the post-modernist dictum of 'silences in archives' pointing towards the fact that, however objective, detailed and also easily available, the official records should always provide only a one sided account of the historical anecdotes.

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Origin And Evolution Of Nagara Sikhara Temple Architecture with Special reference to the Salt Range temples

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The Salt Range temples, marked by essential characteristics of the distinctive *Nagara* style of the northern subcontinent, exhibit the influence of Gandhara architectural tradition developed in this region (Punjab, Pakistan) from the sixth to the eleventh century (Pl. I). They display a continuous stylistic evolution, finally resulting in a distinctive curvilinear form, referred to as the *Nagara* style of temple architecture. But unfortunately, no satisfactory chronology for these temples has been established so far. Most prominent scholars (Cunningham 1882; Brown 1959; Harle 1986) in the past bracketed these monuments between eighth and tenth centuries A.D. and associated them with the Hindu Shahi rulers. But this was at the most, a learned guess. Dr. Meister (2000: 1322-39) however, for the first time briefly reviewed the chronology of these temples on the basis of the similarities of the architectural and decorative features. But as a matter of fact we still await a proper chronological analysis of these temples. It is also unfortunate that no epigraphic evidence has yet been found to help solve this elusive problem. Similarly, nothing much is available in the form of historical or numismatic data to suggest a time scale. Moreover these temples, regrettably, remained neglected for a very long time both by scholars and by custodian of antiquities. As a result, most of the potentially diagnostic chronological features have already disappeared.

Under these circumstances it is difficult to suggest a precise chronology of these temples. Nevertheless, the style and architectural development of these temples yield important clues that can be used in attempting to establish a provisional chronological frame work.

NOMENCLATURE

The word *nagara* means pertaining to a city or town (Kramrisch 1946: 287). This is the generally accepted meaning also found in *vastusastra*. *Nagara* may also be derived from *Naga*, lit., immovable or rock, implying permanence and strength with reference to stone walls (Acharya 1995: 247). The *Vastupurusa* has the shape of a *Naga* and the *Vastunaga* who is *Sesa* or *Ananta*, encircles every site (Kramrisch 1946: 287, note 95). Another meaning of *nagara* is Universe (*Visva*). The temple, the universe in a likeness, is *Nagara* for it rests on the *Naga*, the *Vastupurusa*, who supports the universe and is *Sesa*, the remainder (Ibid. 288). By the term Indo-Aryan, it could be perceived that this style might be practiced by the group of people generally known as Aryan residing in India. Another possibility why the term Aryan should be applied to the style is that the country where it prevailed, is and always has been called *Aryavarta*, the land of the pure, and just meaning thereby the Sanskrit speaking people. The term Indo-Aryan is used as the most convenient to describe and define the limits of the northern style in a sense that the style arose in a country which was once occupied by the Aryans (Ferguson 1910: 82-89).

Origin of *Nagara Sikhara* Temple

It has already been established that the northern curvilinear *sikhara* begins to appear for the first time during the Gupta regime. The best extant specimens are temples at Deogarh (Stone) and brick temples at Bhitargaon, Kharod, and Sirpur. About the seventh century it appears in a somewhat undeveloped form at Pattadakal, side by side with *Dravidian* temples. The most typical and elaborate examples of the *Nagara sikhara* occur in the famous group of shrines at Bhavaneswar, Konark and Puri in Orissa. But before the full fledged *Nagara sikhara* temples evolved at the sites referred to above, it must have had an early history, and its archaic form may be traced in some of the ancient antiquities.

The origin of *Nagara sikhara* temple is still a matter of controversy. Scholars like Longhurst tried to derive the shape of the tower from *stupa*. According to him the temple tower is nothing but an elongation of the shape of the *stupa* (Sundaram 1974: 84). Professor A. A. Macdonell (Gangoly 1946: 37) is also of the opinion that the *sikhara* is derived from the *stupa* or the *chaitya*. According to Simpson (1861: 165-78) the form is derived from the dome or conical hut of archaic type still used by the Todas of southern India or copied from the old bamboo processional car. Another solution to the riddle has been suggested by Rai

Bahadur Rama Prasad Chanda. He opines that the curvilinear *sikhara* is the descendant of the archaic *kutagara* frequently represented on the base reliefs from Bharhut (Gangoly 1946: 37-39).

O.C. Gangoly, (Ibid) believes that the *sikhara* temple in its archaic form is perhaps represented in the Mahabodhi temple at Gaya, with a central conical tower, flanked by four minor towers at the corners, of which a replica has been sought to be identified in a very old terra cotta plaque, dug up at an old site at Kurkihara (Bihar), evidently a Buddhist votive *stupa*. E.B. Havel (1915: 95) states

that Indian *sikhara* is of greater antiquity than the sixth or seventh century, the date which Furguson erroneously gave to the great Buddhist shrine of Bodhgaya. He proposes that both *Nagara* and *Dravida* forms had existed side by side in one of the base reliefs of Nineveh discovered by Layard, and he cites the famous Naram – sin-stele in the British Museum in support of his contention.

What may be regarded as a prototype of the early towers in which the reduplication of the main structure is still quite apparent, may be studied in Kushana railing pillar, J.24, in the Mathura Museum (Vogel 1910: Pl. III; Coomaraswamy 1927: Fig. 69) and still better in the Bodhgaya plaque (Ibid: Fig. 62)

Sundhakar Nath Mishra (1992: 124-25) claims that *Nagara* and *Dravida* superstructures were evolved in stages as represented in the examples from Bharut, Sanchi, Mathura, Ghatasala and Jaggoyyapela. He says that the concept of the *Nagara sikhara* can be traced to at least the period between the first and the fourth centuries A.D. The period between the second and the first centuries B.C. and the first and the fourth centuries A.D. was the time when various formative stages regarding the evolution of the *Nagara sikhara* are to be found.

According to a number of other scholars, the shape of the tower of the temple is derived from the shapes of the chariots (*rathas*) which had been in vogue since a Vedic period (Sundharam 1974: 84). The term *Vimana*, a technical term applied to the temple, is first used with reference to chariots in the Vedic and Epic literature. K. Sundaram (Ibid) writes that on this basis, it may be surmised that the shapes of the temples were perhaps derived from the pre-existing wooden *rathas*.

In spite of the different views referred to above regarding the sources of the *Nagara* curvilinear spire I believe that a precise answer to the question as to from what original form the curvilinear square tower could have risen from, still remains to be ascertained. However, I consider Coomaraswamy's (Ibid: 83) opinion the most appropriate and quote his words as a summary of the above discussions.

Much discussion has been devoted to the question of the origin of the *Nagara* curvilinear spire which has variously been derived from the *stupa*, the simple domed cell, and the bamboo processional car. For the most part these theories represent deductions drawn from appearance represented by the fully developed form, not taking into account what may be called the primitives of the type. The original views propounded by Ferguson, I believe to be the correct one. This is that the *Nagara* spire, however elaborately developed, really represents a piling up of many superimposed storeys or roof much compressed. The key to this origin is the *amalaka*, properly the crowing element of a tower, its appearance at the angles of the successive courses shows that each of these corresponds in nature to a roof.

***Nagara Sikhara* Temple-Some Characteristics**

A number of experiments with architectural forms for sheltering the divinity contributed to the final curvilinear temple tower typical of northern India. The arche type of the *Nagara* temple form already attained its recognizable form in the sixth century at Deogarh (Bihar stage) which has a small stunted *sikhara* and the sanctuary. The style fully emerged in the eighth century and attained the zenith of perfection in the tenth century.

A typical Hindu temple of *Nagara* tradition, on plan consists of a small square sanctuary, housing the main image, preceded by one or more adjoining pillared *mandapas* (halls), which are connected to the sanctum by an open or closed vestibule aligned along a horizontal axis. The sanctum may or may not have an ambulatory, but it is invariably dark, the only opening being the entrance door. The entrance doorway of the sanctum is usually rich decorated with band of figural, floral and geometrical ornament and with river goddesses groups at the base. The temple is raised on a high platform called *jagati* and acquires the *panchayatana* character by the provision of a shrine at each corner. The wall called *kati*, have a niche, *khattaka*, in the offsets, *bhadra*. The niches are topped by an *udgama*, pediment.

The *sikhara* on plan will have a *venukosa*, the lateral offset, a *madhyalata*, the central offset and the *suratara*, a recessed chase in between. The division of the *sikhara* into storeys is marked by the provision of an *amalaka* in the *venukosa* part. Each *bhumi*, the storey, is further divided into *khandas* layers, often decorate with *udgamas* or *candrasalas*.

***Nagara Sikhara* Temple-Varieties**

The *sikhara* is the most distinctive part of the north Indian temple and provides the bases for the most useful and instructive classification. The two basic types of *Nagara sikhara* are the (1) curvilinear *Latina* and (2) the rectilinear *Phamsana*. The former has further two sub-varieties, the *Sekhari* and the *Bhumija*.

Latina

The *sikhara* in the beginning was a single spired tower, *ekandaka*, that is compared to the single “egg of creation”. It is known in the *Vastusastra* as *Lati* or more frequently *Latina*.

These curvilinear bands tied together the outer walls of the temple and upper “altar” (*uttaravedi*) that took the same dimensions as the inner sanctum. Curvilinear in outline, the *Latina* is composed of a series of superimposed horizontal roof slabs and has offsets called *latas*. The edges of the *sikhara* are interrupted at intervals with grooved discs, *amalaka*, each one demarcating a storey. The *sikhara* is truncated at the top and capped by a shoulder course. (*skandha*) above which is a circular necking (*griva*), carrying a large grooved disc called *amalaraka*. On it rests pot and a crowing final (*kalasa*).

Sekhari

From the tenth century onward, the *Sekhari* type of the spires, an elaboration of the *Latina* type, became increasingly popular. In its developed form it consists of a central *Latina* spire (*mulasringa*) with one or more rows of half spires added on the sides (*urahsringa*) and base string with miniature spires (*srnga*). The corners too, are sometimes filled with quarter spires. This elaboration increasingly gave the temple the appearance of a central mountain among many foot hills, an indexical reference with its own potent sign value (Meister 1976: 223-41). The multiplicity could be produced in several ways. Initially, temples with internal paths for circumambulation of the sanctum placed additional *Latina* models above the corner piers of their ambulatory walls (Meister 1974: 76-91). Gradually, an additional layer of four models was added over the ambulatory (*navandaka* or nine egged). Ultimately these distinct levels of sub-shrines were compacted into one form. Each row of miniature replicas in the tower were set above an equilateral offset in the temples plan. This evolution and multiplication of architectural elements led to a multi-spire formula known as *Sekhari*.

Bhumija

The *Bhumija* form is one of the rich and pleasing varieties of *Latina Sikhara*. The form, if not originated, at least developed in the Malwa region in the late tenth century and remained as popular vogue in western India and northern Deccan. This form is not referred to in the *Kamikagama*, the *Vastu* texts of *Dravida* traditions (Rajendra 1980: 80). It however, has been mentioned in the *Aparajitaprecha* (Dhakay 1977: 1820) northern text. The style is expressed in detail in the *Samaran-ganasutradhara* (Krishna 1975: 94-97) leaving no doubt about its identification. Accordingly, the *Bhumija* temples are of *nirandhara* class and follow either *caturasra*, orthogonal, *vrtta*, circular and *astasala* with eight offsets. The *sikhara* is the exclusive diagnostic element of the style. There is no *venukosa*

of the *Nagara* form but the *madhyalata* receives a strong central emphasis. It is decorated with a large *chaitya* window called *surasenaka* at the roof of the central offset, called *mala* and the front one possesses the *sukanasa*. The string of miniature *sikhara* called *srnga* comes in between the central offsets. They are either in three or five rows vertically and five to nine rows horizontally. Each storey in this part is decorated with member is the *amalasaraka* of a peculiar non-*Nagara* kind, where its serration follows the plan of the *sikhara*. The *candirka* (mooncap) which tops the *amalasaraka* and comes under the *kalasa* finial in *Latina* and *Sikhari* temples is here replaced by *padmacchatra*, a sort of schematized triple umbrella. This typology, as in the famous *Udayesvara* temple at *Udayapur* in central India, was given the name *Bhumija*, in part, perhaps after the many levels of earthly and cosmic reality (*bhumi*) it was intended to evoke.

Phamsana

Unlike the *Latina*, the *Phamsana sikhara* is rectilinear rather than curvilinear in outline and lower in height. Its cognizance is the tiered pyramidal roof for the pillared hall in front (Meister 1976: 167-88). The *Phamsana sikhara* is composed of horizontal slabs, like the *Latina sikhara*, but is capped by a bell shaped member called *ghanta* (The new Encyclopaedia Britanica, vol.27: 763) The surface of this type of *sikhara* may have projection, like the *Latina sikhara* and be adorned with a variety of architectural ornament (Ibid: 763). Each *bhumi* is composed of a tall section crowned by a cornice moulding which is either straight edged or cyma recta form decorated with *chaitya* dormers. It is, either crowned by an *amalaka* or square *sikhara*. The *sukanasa* is an optional member (Rajendra Ibid: 81).

Evolution of *Nagara Sikhara* in the Salt Range – A discussion

In spite of the fact that a comprehensive chronology of these temples is yet to be worked out yet there are sufficient evidences that help us to understand the continuous stylistic evolution of these temples resulting in a distinctive curvilinear temple form, here referred to as the Gandhara *Nagara* style of temple architecture. On the bases of their style and architectural features, these extant temples can be classified into following two categories designated as A and B.

Category A: Pre-Hindu Shahis

Comprises group I and II (Table 1)

Group I: (Initial Stage) circa A.D. 600 – A.D. 700

Group II: (Period of development) circa A.D. 700– A.D. 800

Category B: Hindu Shahi Temples

Includes group III and IV (Table 1)

Group III: (Early Maturity) circa A.D. 800– A.D. 900

Group IV: (Mature Style) circa A.D. 900– A.D. 1000

Group I. Architectural features of temples in this group support further classification into two sub-groups: IA and IB.

Group IA: Pre- Nagara Sikhara

This group includes all those cubical temples with simple *vedibandha* mouldings consisting of *khumba*, *kalasa* and *bifaceted*. The walls of the *jangha* are slightly battered with cantoning sloping corner pilasters. A tiny niche on each wall also shows a slight batter. The superstructure is composed of tiers and gradually diminishes in height, giving the over all affect of a pyramidal tower. In to this sub-group fall temples A (Pl. II) and B (Pl. III) at the famous pilgrimage site of *Katas* (Masih)and temple B (Pl. IV) in thegreat fortress called North Kafir Kot (Masih 2000- 2001: 101-122) These can be dated from the sixth to seventh century A.D.

Group I B: Proto-Nagara Sikhara

This sub-group exhibits all the architectural features of sub-group I A. But, in addition to the corner pilasters, two more pilasters with pseudo-Corinthian capitals are seen in the middle of each wall, which creates the effect of a *bhadra* projection. Another conspicuous feature that not only differentiates this sub-group but also marks a significant development over sub-group IA is the introduction of a prominent row of ribbed *amalaka* stones marking different storeys of the superstructure. This *amalaka* is not carved out of one stone block but is composed of separately fabricated parts put together at the time of fixing it into position. It is most distinctive stylistic feature and represents a stage that may certainly be termed as proto-Nagara Gandhara Sikhara. In this group falls temple A (Pl. V) of the fortress at North Kafir Kot (Ibid). It can be dated to the early part of seventh century.

Group II

While the temples of this group share some common architectural features with each other, they also have their own distinctive characteristics. They can therefore, be further classified into the following sub-groups; IIA, IIB, and IIC.

Groups II A

In this group is included only one monuments, temple D (Pl. VI) at South Kafir Kot. This temple shows some of the features of sub-group IA, such as battered and unprotected walls and corner and central paired pilasters cantoned in the *jangha* of the walls. But in temple D the central paired pilasters frame a shrine model, which reflects early experiments with the proto-Nagara form. The *vedibandha* mouldings also show a developmental stage. In addition to the mouldings of group I, temple D incorporates dentils and *kapota* mouldings. The superstructures do not mark any

projection but the central vertical band gives the impression of a central projection –the *madhyalata*. On the bases of its stylistic affinity with monuments built at the site of Banasara in Saurashtra and a votive *stupa* at Nalanda in eastern India, which also shows models in a similar way, this monument can be placed in the seventh century.

Group II B

The mouldings at the base of the walls of temples of this group are similar in design and arrangement to those of temple D of group IIA. But this group shows an evolved scheme of niche frame and pilaster decoration. Temple C (Pl. VII) at North Kafir Kot had begun to experiment with the vase-and-foilage form of pilaster common in the northern sub- continent, replacing the pseudo- Corinthian pilasters of Gandhara as seen in its outer corners. The missing temple usually referred to as *Kanjari Kothi* (Pl. VIII) is perhaps the best example forming a bridge between temple of Groups I and II. The string of *amalakas* in the superstructure, on the one hand, links it with the temple A of North Kafir Kot and, on the other the fettered niches in its corner faces and the saw-toothed fringe at the top of the wall connect it with temple A (Pl. IX) of Bilot Kafir Kot and temple C of North Kafir Kot. The ornamentation of *varandika* of temple A at South Kafir Kot, consisting of small rosettes divided by miniature pilasters much like those on sub-shrines of Katas, marks the continuity in the stylistic features. A notable feature is the batter of the walls, which, in these temples, is less pronounced than that of Group I, indicating developing perspective of these temples.

A new temple, designated as temple E (Pl. X), was brought to light through excavations at North Kafir Kot in 1998. The sanctum and *antarala* of this temple have unfortunately disappeared except for traces found upon an elevated *jagati* showing projecting steps flanked by niches of Gandharan antecedence. The *prakara* wall enclosing this *jagati* has been partially exposed and is characterized by pillar bases with mortise holes set on top of the walls. Similar features were also exposed on the *prakara* wall of temple C at North Kafir Kot. This, together with the new steps over the older ones and the expansion of the platform on both sides of the steps, suggests a series of constructional phases. These additions witnessed in temple E and C at North Kafir Kot were made sometimes after the construction of these temples when the imposing *mandapa* was added in front of temple C at North Kafir Kot. In this group are included temple C and E and the *Kanjari Kothi* at North Kafir Kot and temple A at South Kafir Kot. In view of this style and architectural features, a date between the seventh and eighth centuries is suggested for these monuments. It also appears that, when additions were made to temple E and C at North Kafir Kot, the sub-shrines E, F(Pl. XI) and G were added to

complex D at South Kafir Kot. These sub-shrines can also be placed around the same date on the basis of ornamental and architecture features.

Group II C

This sub-group represents the developed stage of the Gandhara *Nagara* School of temple architecture and consists of temples A (Pl. XII) and B (Pl. XIII) at Mari Indus. These *dvi-anga* temples are the most striking examples of the continuation of the local idiom developed over the previous centuries. The peculiarity of these temples is that they reflect almost negligible influence from western and northern Indian temples. The pseudo-Corinthian pilasters, thin brackets with voluted ends, saw-tooth fringe and T-shaped niche with sloping sides and crown by Gandhara *Nagara* shrine model, are all typical local features. The *vedibandha* mouldings are similar to sub-group II A and II B, except the *padmapatra* band which appears for the first time in temple B. The curvilinear *Nagara sikhara* is ornamented with half as well as whole *candrasalas* woven together into an interlocking mesh in a distinctive local variety slightly more intricate than on earlier temples. It suggests an eighth century date for this sub-group.

Group III

In the middle of the ninth century, Lakaturman, the last Turk *Shahi* ruler was overthrown by his Brahman minister named Kallar who laid the foundations of a new dynasty called Hindu *Shahi*. The Hindu *Shahis* established their capital at Udabhandapura, modern Hund in the Gandhara region. It was perhaps under the patronage of the fledgling Hindu *Shahi* kingdom that the temples in the Salt Range adopted a new trend which exhibits close contact with the temples of northern India. Among the surviving temples the brick temple at Kallar (Pl. XIV) appears to be the first monument built during the Hindu *Shahi* period. This temple for the first time adopted the *trianga* form in the Salt Range and thus marks a step forward in the temple building tradition. Besides the usual Gandharan features such as pseudo-Corinthian pilasters, niches with sloping sides, thin brackets and typical local ornamentation of *sikhara* consisting of half of whole *candrasala*, the Kallar temple also has pilasters with vase and foliage capitals, a feature of northern Indian tradition, and details of mouldings and ornamentation that resemble those of temples belonging to the second half of the eighth century in western India. It is because of its resemblance to the eighth century temples of northern and western India and because of a single coin of Spalapati Deva (Kallar), the first of the Hindu *Shahi* kings, found close to this temple during the course of clearance work, that a date falling in the last quarter of the ninth century is suggested for this monument.

The other two temples of this group are temple D (Pl. XV) and the small temple (Pl. XVI) in the forts of North Kafir Kot and Amb respectively. The former shows a plain *jangha* but the superstructure is so vigorous and impressive as to suggest a stage when Gandhara *Nagara sikhara* was fully understood. It has a *madhyalata*, *pratilata* and corner *lata* with recess chase in between, a feature of developed temples. The *jala* of the *sikhara* on the one hand represents the pediment shape of ornamentation in the *venukosa* resembling the earlier temples and on the other hand an intricate mesh of *jala* in the *madhyalata* similar to the *jala* of matured temples. This features places this temple after Group II indicating a date earlier than that of the mature phase. Circa A.D. 900 therefore would not be an improper date for this temple.

The small temple at Amb being *dvi-anga* in form resembles the temples of seventh/eighth centuries. It too bears all the typical local Gandharan features. But the remarkable cinquefoiled arch of its *antarala* and the *jala* pattern of the *dvi-anga sikhara* obtained by arranging side flanges instead of half and whole *candrasalas*, resembles the *jala* of mature period temples. Hence, a date of circa A.D. 900 is suggested for this edifice as well.

Group IV

This group represents the final phase of the Hindu *Shahi* temple architecture and can be further classified into two sub-groups: IV A and IV B.

Group IV A

In this sub-group are placed the main temple at Amb (Pl. XVII), paired temples B (Pl. XVIII) & C (Pl. XIX) at South Kafir Kot and temple C (Pl. XX) at Mari. It is for the first time in the main temple at Amb that the *jangha* walls adopted the form of a double storey. A most conspicuous feature is the two upper chambers over the *garbhagriha* constructed within the mass of curvilinear superstructure which marks the beginning of the final phase of the Hindu *Shahi* temple architecture. The cinquefoil niches, the profusion of *ghatapallava* capitals, the use of the *ardhapadma* motif and the *amalaka* serving as a cushion below the capital also suggest a later date.

The paired temples B and C at South Kafir Kot are undoubtedly the best examples of the final phase of Hindu *Shahi* architecture. Like the main temple of Amb fort these have an upper chamber accessible through steps built within thickness of wall. The *jangha* also represents double register. The details of pilasters with *ghatapallava* capitals and shafts showing exquisite wavy designs, profuse ornamentation of spaces between wall pilasters, cinquefoil arches with triangular pediment, details of *vedibandha*, recess chase in between the *angas*, ornamentation of *sikhara* with flanges instead of half and whole *candrasalas*, and platform with a double cross shape all suggest a date not earlier than the tenth century.

Temple C at Mari is the only monument with an enclosed ambulatory around its square sanctum, a feature of the tenth to eleventh centuries. Although the temple is in a stage of extreme decay, the *srangas* around the superstructure suggest the beginning of the multi-spire *Sekhari* form of *Nagara* architecture. The tre-foiled niches framed by a Spilt pent-roof pediment strongly indicating Kashmiri influence are sufficiently diagnostic features to suggest a tenth century date.

Group IV B

This group includes the Malot (Pl. XXI) and the Nandana (Pl. XXII) temples. The former is a typical specimen of the Kashmir school of temple architecture, but the shrine models gracefully placed on the walls of this distinctive pent-roofed temple are perhaps the most interesting diagnostic feature representing typical Gandhara *Nagara sikhara* as seen at Bilot (Paired temples B & C) Amb (main temple) and Nandana. This amalgamation of Gandhara *Nagara sikhara* and Kashmiri traditions may be a result of political alliances formed between Kashmir and the Hindu *Shahis*. Therefore this temple can safely be placed in the tenth/eleventh century.

The last episode of the Hind *Shahi* rule is represented by a ruined temple in the Nandana for picturesquely located in the midst of strategically important hills. This temple incorporating an upper chamber above the sanctum and an ambulatory corridor within the body of the curvilinear *sikhara* represents the final phase of Hindu *Shahi* architecture. Most conspicuous is the impression of a *sranga* like element embedded in each corner, a feature introduced in the tenth-eleventh century. The precise date of this temple is no where recorded, but there is some historical data that can be so interpreted as to suggest a fairly correct date.

Anandapala I, the son of Jayapala, is known to have served as the governor of the Punjab under his father from some time before A.D. 900, when he led his first invasion of Lahore. It is difficult to determine the *Shahi* capital of the Punjab during the time of his governorship. The cities of Jehlum, Takesher (Taxila) and Nandana are known to have existed at that time, but which of them was the seat of the government is not known. The fact, however, that the intelligence of Bharat's invasion of Jehlum and Takesher was supplied to Jayapala by the chiefs of these places implies Anandapala's absence from them and thus rules out the possibility of any of them being the provincial capital. It seems therefore that Anandapala ruled the *Shahi* possessions in the Punjab from Nandana, which became the national capital at the beginning of his reign.

The shifting of the *Shahi* capital to Nandana immediately after Anandapala took charge of the throne in March-April, A.D. 1002, is evident from his predilection for the site in question. Thus it may safely be assumed that it was the seat of his government even during his governorship of the Punjab.

In the spring of the year A.D. 1006 (March-April), the Ghaznavid Sultan, Mahmud, on his way to punish Daud, the ruler of Multan, asked the permission of Anandapala to pass through his territory, which was refused. Infuriated at the refusal of the *Shahi*, Mahmud decided to stretch out upon him the hand of slaughter, imprisonment, pillage, depopulation and fire, and accordingly hunted him from ambush to ambush, into which he was followed by his subjects. Anandapala suffered a sever defeat and, deserting his capital (i.e. Udabhandapura) took to flight. He was pursued as far as Sodra, a small town to the east of Wazirabad, where he eluded the Sultan by escaping into the hills of Kashmir. This historical account provides us with the two ends of the chronological bracket for the construction of the temple. Thus we must necessarily place the date of the construction between A.D. 990 and A.D. 1006. Another factor that can help in determining the date of construction is the auspicious character of this edifice. Being the house of a god or a goddess, it must have been given priority and built before the construction of secular buildings. It is not unlikely therefore that the temple was originally built during the governorship of Anandapala *Shahi*. Therefore the most precise date for the construction of the temple under discussion may be circa A.D. 990.

W.S. Talbot (Talbot 1903: 335-37) discovered a coin of a Hindu *Shahi* King during the course of clearance work at Kallar temple. Alexandar Cunningham (1894) identified it as a coin of Venka Deva. Y. Mishra (1972: 19) however, goes a step further and point out that the title Spalapati, Venka or Vakha, and Samanta all denote different aspects of the authority of Kallar the founder of the Hindu *Shahi* dynasty. On the basis of the style of the temple and the single coin picked up by Mr. Talbot a date in the late quarter of the ninth century is suggested for the brick temple at Kallar.

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Pl. I



North Kafir Kot: A General view

Pl. II



Katas: Temple A

Pl. III



Katas: Temple B. A front view showing cinquefoiled entrance to *antarala* and a compartment over the sanctum

PI. IV



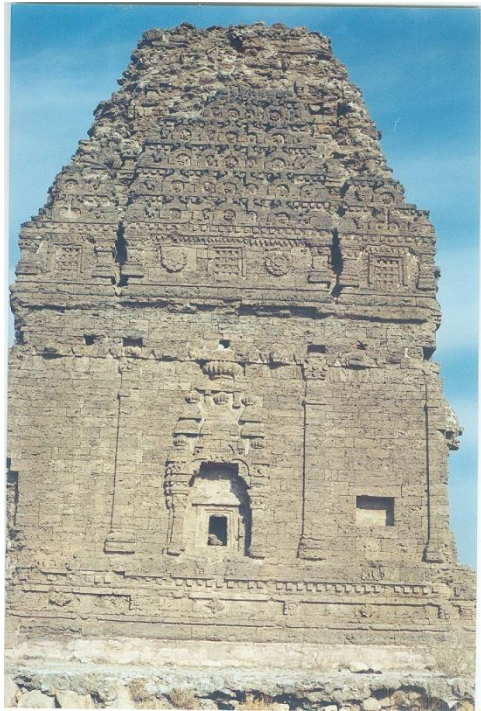
North Kafir Kot: Temple B. view from South

PI. V



North Kafir Kot: Temple A. View from South

Pl. VI



South Kafir Kot: Temple D. Shrine model, *varndika* and curvilinear superstructure. View from south

Pl. VII



North Kafir Kot: Temple C. Details of the western wall

PI. VIII



KANJRI KOTHI (After Stein 1905)

Pl. IX



North Kafir Kot: Temple A.

Pl. X



North Kafir Kot: Temple E. Trefoiled niches with square and round pillarets

Pl. XI



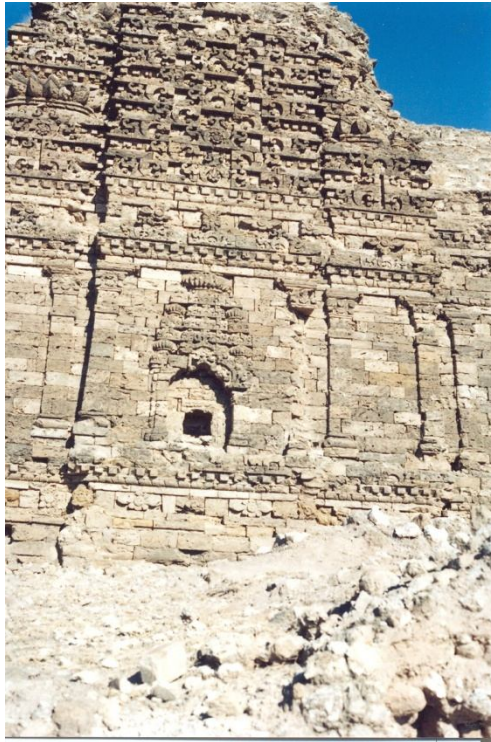
South Kafir Kot: Temple F & G

Pl. XII



Mari Indus: Temple A

PI. XIII



Mari Indus: Temple B. From South

PI. XIV



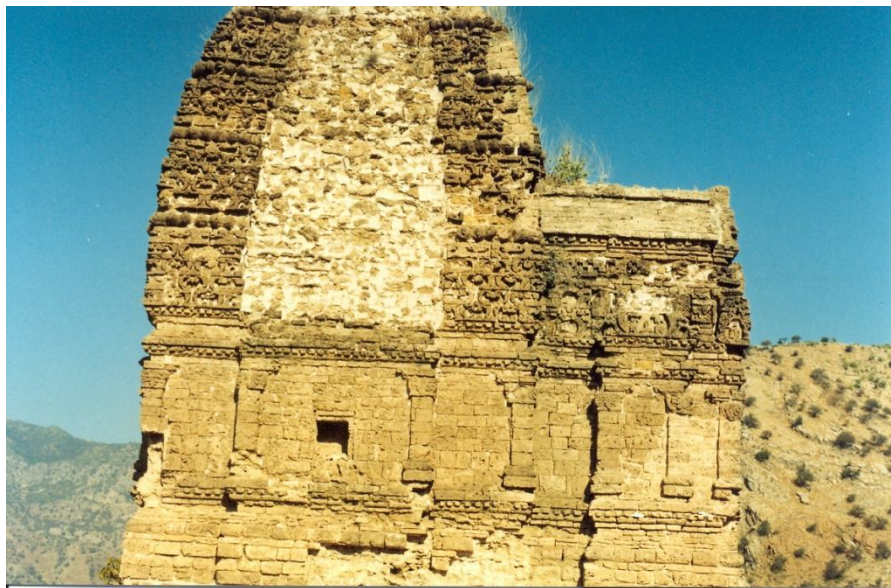
Kallar: A brick temple

PI. XV



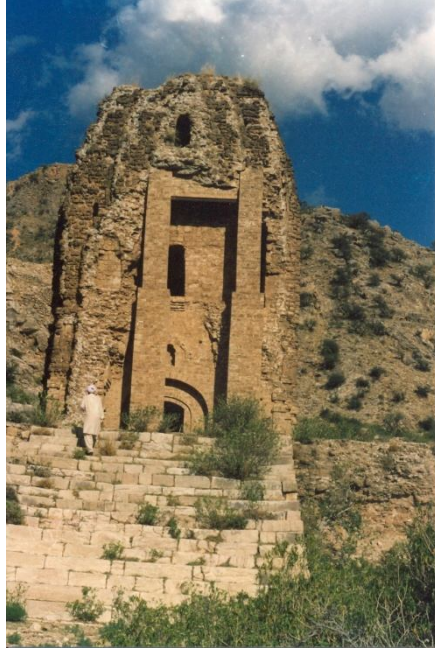
North Kafir Kot: Temple D

Pl. XVI



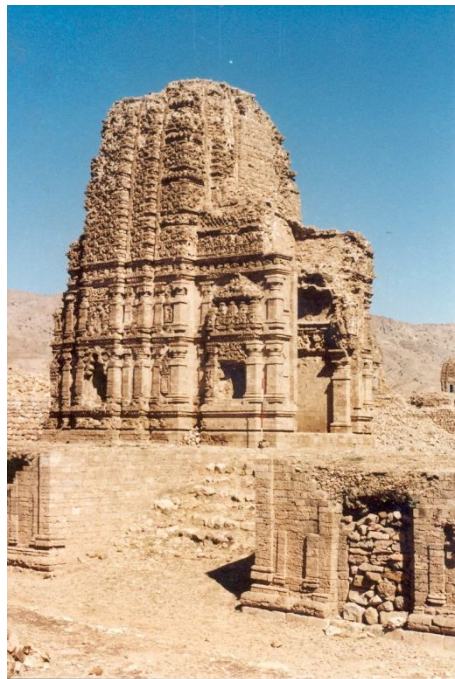
Amb: Small temple. A general view from South

Pl. XVII



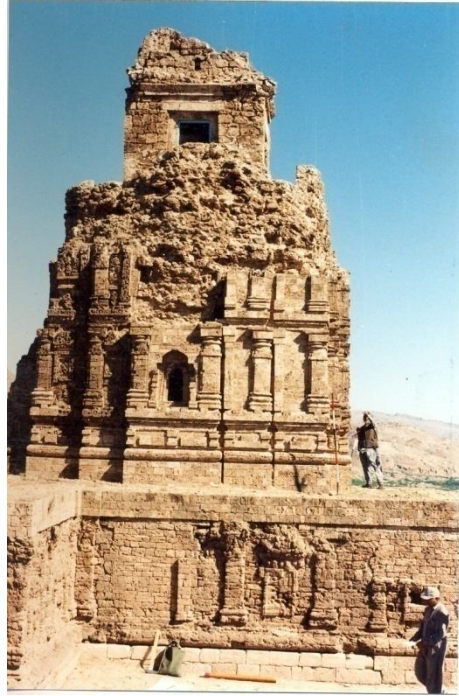
Amb: Main temple

PI. XIX



South Kafir Kot: Temple C

PI. XVIII



South Kafir Kot: Temple B

Pl. XX



Mari Indus: Temple C. God *Surya* inside the trefoil

PI. XXI



Malot: Temple and gateway

PI. XXII



Nandana fort: A Hindu temple and a mosque in the front

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Educational MoveMent of Badshah Khan in nWfP'

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Khan Abdul Gafar Khan (1890-1988) was one of the prominent Indian freedom fighters in India. Gafar Khan, the Pashtu nationalist, who initiated non violent, democratic and peaceful politics in frontier province. The canvass of his work is wide but this paper will focus on only his educational movement which he thought as the pre-requisite of his movement. It's really not important that how many schools he has started, how many pupils could complete elementary education from his schools but one should realize the multi folded challenges before him and in which scenario he began his work and supported by masses in all possible ways.

Objective:

To understand 'the least educated' (31-2) Pathans before Khan Abdul Gafar Khan

Sincere efforts made by Gafar Khan and response of British Government to it

Sustainability of the educational movement

Importance of his movement in totality

¹ Method of citing references:

References are indicated by two numbers in bracket separated by a hyphen. The first number refers to the serial number of the book in the 'List of Reference Book' and second number refers to the page number in that book.

Gafar Khan writes in his autobiography *'My Life and Struggle'*, "The British had opened many schools in Punjab but in our country no steps had been taken to educate our children (11)". There were very few schools only in large towns but no Pathan teacher was recruited any of these schools. Pyarelal writes, "More money went in bribes and punitive expeditions for construction of every ten miles of railway or road than would have sufficed to establish schools, post offices, hospitals and dispensaries and such amenities, which the trans border people lacked and which they would gratefully accepted as a friendly gesture"(2-26), he gave account of the road and rail construction. Pyarelal wrote that during 1911 to 1924 Pathan faced total 2851 raids in this area (8-26) thousands of Pathans lost their lives in these expeditions. It reveals that government's priority was different and education was even not tertiary priority of the Raj. It was not only neglected

but forbidden task for general Pathan children.

Education was not easy task for Pathan children. Pathan children were discouraged from within and without. They were neither supported by parents, nor teachers and nor government. Each effort from authorities was for keeping Pathans uneducated and illiterate. Mullahs were damn against local dialect of Pathan children i.e. Pashtu and instead of it Urdu was chosen for instruction which was alien language for them (1-12).

Mullahs, were already bribed (26-46) for this task and various clans of the area were provided allowances for their good behavior (29-55) and both were against any kind of secular education. Mullahs were preaching that there will be 'no place in heaven for any pupil of (such) schools, they will be thrown into hell' (1-11), consequently Pathans were 'cursed with illiteracy' (27-30).

Gafar Khan has gone in the roots of the issue. Gafar Khan analyzes, why pathans didn't give importance to education and comes. He observes that due to caste system in Hindu society before arrival of Islam in the frontier area education was the privilege of Brahmins and still Pathans are adhere to this concept. Teachers are not Pathans and so they don't have any emotional attachment and social commitment. Apart from this they were generally untrained and beating children mercilessly which was resulted in high drop out of pathan children.



According to Gafar Khan British govt. has created a false image of the gentle, gallant Pathans (1-123), they are living from ages in darkness, poverty and hunger is prevailing everywhere in the land and it has resulted in inferiority complex of pathans and he wanted to promote Pathans from all these issues. He wanted to unite, to educate, to free Pathans from family feuds. He thinks that education is the only effective tool, which will help in this liberation movement.

Gafar Khan was subscribing Moulana Abul Kalam Azad's 'Al-Hilal', Moulana Zafar Ali Khan's 'Zamindar' and 'Medina' and understanding the national polity. Consequently he was interrogating himself about how to free our people from foreign slavery. He met great scholars Mohmmmed-ul-Hasan and Moulavi Ubeidullah Sindhi in Deoband and others in Aligarh. He sharpened his thoughts by continuous interaction with other scholars. He desired that patriotic youth should be produced from academic institutions. He expresses, "Just Think! If the educated youth of the country became so money minded, if in their greed and avarice they can sink so low that they are willing to betray their country and their faith for a few copper coins, how can ever hope to instill in their hearts the passionate love for their country and a burning desire for service" (1-31).

Gafar Khan was the keen observer of all happenings in NWFP. After completing primary education he was enrolled in a Mission School and there he was impressed with the dedication of Rev. Wigram. He admired Mr. Wigram for his extraordinary services he rendered for Pathans who were not of his religion and country. He denied for joining a Guides Corp in British Force and even he chose to be in his motherland instead of going to London for his further education like his elder brother Khan Sahib.

He was observing that how the elites, landlords and Mullahs could be bribed, allured for money and taking British side and Pathans were became absolutely voiceless and desperate. Colonial Govt. had introduced Frontier Crimes Regulation Act 1904, which was the most brutal and savage Act. Anybody could be thrown behind bars with the help of this Act and literally hundreds of pathans were suffering from this Act. But Gafar Khan observed that Pathans were neither united nor literate and they have no sense of nationalism.

Ghani Khan writes about his father, "He (Gafar Khan) had found a new love- his people. Pathans must be united, educated, reformed and organized. He started to talk to them, to draw their attention towards the misery and darkness of their lives. He tried to make the Pathan think" (26-51). He had various non violent democratic weapons like Gandhi but he selected education as the first and most effective one for social reform of his community. At the age of 20 he assisted in opening of Dar-ul-Ilm (1-24) by Hazi of Turangzai. Hazi of Turangzai was the pioneer of education in NWFP (2-63).

Gafar Khan started his own schools for social reforms and Moulavi Taz Mohammed the Principal, Moulavi Fazl Mohammed, Moh. Rabi and Moh. Makhfi as in charge of the school. He took active participation in establishing national schools for Pathan children (2-12) and other places in the vicinity of his village. Except Hazi of Turangzai all teachers were learned in Dar-ul-Ulum Deoband and were ready to dedicate their time and knowledge for their brothers. They left Deoband and joined this mission and lived with less or no remuneration in these schools. But these schools were demolished by Michail O'Dwyer in 1915 (2-63).

In the same year Gafar started a new National Islamic school in Utmanzai, his native place and Moh. Abdul Aziz became the in charge of the school (1-37).

After Khilafat Movement and Nagpur Congress in 1920 Gafar Khan engaged himself in constructive program like national education. He was continuously travelling, meeting people, convincing them for education of their wards. A new wave of educational movement began by him. His meeting with villagers was objected. Commissioner Sir John Maffey tried to persuade Baheram Khan, father of Gafar Khan to close his all schools and stop all efforts and live like other Pathans were living. But even father of Gafar Khan couldn't stop him. He took education as his mission and religious duty and key to beginning of all reforms (2-25). He was sent to jail for three years from 1921-24. During this imprisonment Chief Commissioner himself sent a mediator Khan Bahadur Abdul Rahim Khan to Gafar Khan. Sir John promised to release Gafar Khan if stops touring in the province for educating people. Gafar Khan rejected the offer and completed his jail tenure (2-27). Colonial authorities were well versed with the strategies in this area whoever were rising their voice were bribed or barred.

Earlier larger numbers of students were enrolled and parents were approaching from surrounding villages and requesting for schools at their places. But British were not interested in educating Pathans. They targeted Hazi of Turangzai and closed all national schools in the province and arrested all teachers and thrown them in Habithal jail in Dera Ismail Khan. All active & passive supports were threatened and bullied in the area.

Dhir was one of the princely states in NWFP, here Gafar Khan opened a school for Pathan children and Moulavi Faz'l Mohammed Sahib Makhfi appointed as in-charge of the school and people around the village were pleased and they sent their wards in the school. But British Political Agent Mr. Cab forced Nawab to demolish the school and he did (1-53). This example discloses that educating Pathans was a herculean task. Not only British but Pathan themselves were also great hurdles in this mission.

Gafar Khan was frequently visiting to Deoband and Aligarh and trying to hunt the Pathan talent in these institutions. He convinced them for their dedication. After

Khilafat Movement when all national leaders were opening National Schools in the country, Gafar Khan founded an organization named *Anjuman –Ul- Afghania* and opened an Azad High School in Utmanzai, his native place. Qazi Sahib Ataullah, Moul, Ahmed Shah, Hazi Abdul Gafar Khan, Hazi Moh. Azam Khan, Abdullah Akbar Khan, Taz Moh. Khan, Abdullah Shah, Khadim Moh, Akbar Khan (1-54) were founder teachers of this school. All were studying in Aligarh but left for educating their brothers. After the arrest of Gafar Khan immediately schools were closed by British govt. It is interesting to understand how Britishers were treating to these teachers. Firstly they were frightened, threatened, harassed sometimes they were sent to jail (1-55). British also tried to allure educated youth to attract by better paid jobs so that these people should not be engaged in nationalist schools. But some teachers were committed and after all types of atrocities imposed by govt. they continued schools.

In 1920s Gafar Khan became the voice of Pathans. He advocated for ‘Pashtu’ as their national language. Till date it was spoken dialect of Pathans but no written material was produced by them. Gafar Khan thought that it was not fault of the language but purposely it was propagated that Pashtu is spoken in hell by Mullahs (1-89). Gafar Khan was a visionary person. He started ‘Pakhtun’ periodical and it was circulated widely among all Pashtu speaking people across the world. Shortly it was identified as the mouth piece of Pathans. Various writers got space and even pathan women could publish their grieves. Gafar Khan was of the view that nation is known by its language and we have it. When he got opportunity after 1937, when his brother became the chief minister of NWFP and one of his colleagues Qazi Ataullah Khan became the Education Minister Pashtu was announced as the state language and Pashtu made compulsory medium of instruction in all schools in the province (1-157).

How one can evaluate the contribution of Gafar Khan regarding education? I think education was most important tool for enlightenment of the society. Before and after Gafar Khan all renowned political leaders and social revolutionaries like Jyotirao Phule, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, D. K. Karve, Rajarshi Shahu, Ramaswami Periyar, Mahatma Gandhi, G. K. Gokhale, B. G. Tilak were directly or indirectly connected with educational movement in India. Rashid Ahemd Gangohi and Moulana Nanavatvi had founded Darul Ulum Deoband for education of Musalmans. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan started Aligarh Educational Movement for religious and non religious education for Muslims in India. But it is interesting finding that except NWFP British govt. had encouraged educational activities, provided grants, educationist were felicitated, budgetary provision was made for educational activities in British India. Educational system was set in British India. But because of the strategic location, all time threat from Russian, French or other attacks education and political reforms both were denied here till 1937. The worst

part of this government policy was teachers were inhumanly treated, threatened, harassed and kept behind bars, supporters were discouraged and school buildings were demolished. No civilized government will do such barbaric acts.

Gafar Khan was the first person who envisaged school education in NWFP. He spoke proudly Pashtu language. He published 'Pakhtun' and infused a new life in this language. Plays, poems, news and essays were written in Pashtu. Women were writing and expressing their woes through this periodical. It became the most important platform for Pathans across the globe.

His dream of separate Pakhtunistan was buried forever in 1947. He fought against his own people in Pakistan but he was continually sent to jail for this or that reason. He must be the first freedom fighter who had spent 30 years of his life behind bars. He is all time inspirer for all, who stands for the protection of universal values, for humanity and human rights.

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Embodying the 'self' and the construction of womanhood : A perspective from contemporary India

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*'She was fairer than the champak flower
Sweet innocence there was in every line
Her winsome ways did reason o're power
Her sidelong glances charged with wrath divine'¹*

When beauty takes on a sensual tone, accentuating the sensual aspects of embodiment, enhancement of beauty and fulfillment of bodily sensations according to the senses largely depends on external resources to make it perfect and complete. Even if beauty lies within, its manifestation becomes necessary for the modern 'self' because at both the physical and sociological level, the body appears to be crucial for the cultivation and experience of the gendered identity.² Not making much points to the notion that women speaks through her body, it must be acknowledged that the embodied experience of womanhood could be articulated best by the interactions between bodily senses and the conditions addressing the elements of everyday experiences. Infact the body appears to be a means of commutation through which multiple identities of the subject are realized as parts of selfhood. Here the elements of speech, imagination, memory, cultural

traits equally play their respective roles in constructing the embodied self like that of male and female gaze.³ This question of gazing as well as the question of being looked at very often comes into a form of power culture where the rubric of controlling the 'self' primarily lays within the structure of practical and material aspects of gendered embodiment because here the body remains neither as subject nor object rather as 'the vehicle of being in the world.' Therefore body evolves as a site for introducing and shaping up worldly experiences in a context of different identities like caste, class, ethnicity and others.⁴ However, it is class which provides the primary impetus of situating the female body into the modern world structured according to the languages of an embodied self in a multicultural milieu.⁵ Keeping in mind the feminist critic on the naturalistic explanations of sex and sexuality, it can safely be said that one may not born but rather becomes a woman not simply by bodily experience but by a set of socio political experiences making way into the world of bodily senses.⁶ The process is not a simple one .As soon as the so-called distinction between the 'female' and the 'women' becomes visible on the ground of cultural interpretations assigned to the body, femininity emerges as that a way of being which imparts its self definitions according to the embodied styles of presentation depending her position in the society.⁷ Now the body turns to be a machine with parts to be changed, renovated and even modified and it is done only to conform the criteria of femininity approved by the embodied self in a world claims to be modern. This project not only denies agency to womanhood as master of her own historical situations but also makes her tool of experiments best fitted with the requirements of modernity sanctioned by the market and the society to a greater extent. This paper seeks to make an understanding of how the female body goes into extreme vulnerability when put into the context of cultural politics addressed by the languages of gender, class and beauty. It is a question to be asked and resolved to take up the challenges put before modernity as a whole from a last few decades. In this paper some selected issues of the Indian beauty industry have been taken into consideration just to open up the debates for further explorations. In the way of discussion the fashion magazines, fashion shows, beauty contests, cosmetic markets, life style products and related issues have been emphasized to interrogate the notions of 'danger' and 'crisis' into the world of beauty appropriating femininity as an embodied subject.

In the understanding of the social and cultural changes in India, the concepts like subjectivity, modernity and nativity have been used widely by the post modernist scholars while negating the meta-narratives of larger historical and institutional forces. But the colonial past and related historical experiences does not provide India an easy access into the world of modernism because the term 'modern' as 'progressive' and native as 'backward' could not be defined by the binary concepts

of developed and underdeveloped in post colonial India. The relations of power might have gone through a complex process of change after independence but India could hardly make any escape from the dilemmas of getting into traditional at a time talking about modernism at large. The entire debate on beauty and women embodiment falls into certain norms of structural consequences because in India modernism seems to have been a vague term used differently for different sections of the society. It is not a mere concern but an alarmist issue to define beauty and style of Indian womanhood conforming modernism in a globalised world. The matter is not of 'what' and 'when' but of 'why' and 'how'. The religious rules ascribing the norms of beauty and fashion for women in ancient documents prioritized the caste, class and marital status of a women, however, in post colonial times beauty and fashion statements of any Indian women often creates confusion on her class, age and ethnic identity and the social adaptability of that woman largely depends on the ambiguous impressions drawn by her viewers of different class, age and ethnic backgrounds. For instance woman taking interest on western style of attires and making regular visits to the beauty salons are considered to be less 'traditional' and less 'Indian' in comparison to those adhered to Indian style of attires and beauty statements.⁸ Indian women are forging a kind of physiological as well as sociological fight to look 'progressive' and 'modern' at a same time meeting contradictory demands. No one can deny the fact that women are empowered through their bodies to a greater extent and their class position in the society bears a close relation with their every day bodily experiences. Bodily experiences are being expressed better by self reflecting tropes than any other things but female body in India is being viewed always by the modes of national or community identities—an object of purity and sacredness.⁹ Therefore a modern Indian woman carries the twin responsibilities of fitting her bodily experiences well into the domain of national pride as well as to take the challenges of the world around her. In this world the gendered selves are seen to be in an adjustment with her class and caste context which might have ensured some sort of recognition for the woman in the society. A trend of upward mobility for more recognition could be traced in different caste and class contexts where identities were not made but 'transformed' for status and privileges in the society.¹⁰ The booming beauty product markets in India indicates that within a next few decades India would become the largest cosmetic consuming country in the world.. In spite of the global economic recession, the growing fashion consciousness and rising beauty concern of the Indian women, the cosmetic industry registered sales Rs 356.6 Billion in 2009 and the number is increasing rapidly.¹¹ A huge number of international and local beauty brands are opening outlets in the metro cities and huge range of beauty care products are entering into the Indian market every day.¹²

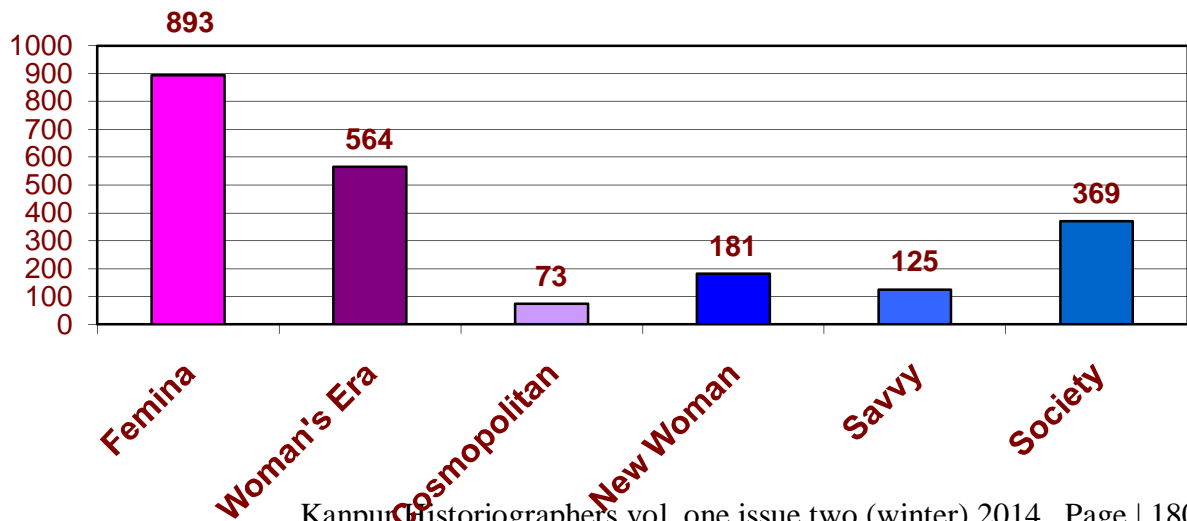
India's integration with the global beauty industry opened up other channels of interrogation of how the female body is getting being endangered apart from the glittering persona entrusted upon her by the so called beauty standards of the market. Marketing the beauty and making beauty marketable is the two parts of the same story. Beauty pageants in India are the best examples shown in this category. In India, *Femina*—the fashion magazine conducts Miss India pageants every year and this contest gives young Indian women a direct chance to step forward into the glamour industry in near future. The whole training programme prior to the event puts the maximum possible effort to create a future Miss India or Miss World by employing the best expert trainers from Indian film, fashion and beauty industry. By simply positioning the women body as not beautiful enough, the training programme makes the contestants objects of experiments and transformation.¹³ Its fundamental attention was on a strict diet regime and a fairer skin. Both of these issues made the bodily experiences an important part of the cultural discourse produced by colonialism into the domain of what it called the 'third world'. In this domain of culture the non western women particularly those from the post colonial countries were placed on a homogeneous category of 'they', different from the white skinned women of the west—referred as 'we' in western feminist discourses. The stereotypes of a slim body and fair skin have been used as the mark of a strategic power relation where the western women appeared as the dictators and others simply as recipients or followers. This process should not be taken as a modified version of westernization or colonization rather it must be viewed as a component of the same cultural politics where power comes either in a form of social mobilization or in a form of psychological perversion.¹⁴ The cultural tropes of slim body and fair skin, if not universally, sprang from the similar hegemonic relation of power in India. Interestingly that group of women, who shared a natural ability to connect themselves with this process, became the chief signatories of modernity in India. They proved themselves able to read the languages of power far more quickly than their other counterparts. The English medium trained girls from an upper class or upper middle class background responded easily to this new culture of modernity, defined and exploited in the languages of domination and control. One may argue in this regard that this process did not have the same impact on women of different class, caste or habitation; however, the drop-outs were not left untouched forever. The beauty pageants, knowingly or unknowingly became the prime markers of social change in India. The social prejudices on fair skin or slim body was taken to a height by these contests while the market forces appeared here as the main beneficiaries of change. But numerous cosmetic products used for conforming the standards of international beauty somehow spoiled the vision and mission of Indian beauty—a state of purity emanates from within and comes to get manifested fully either by proper cultivation or

nourishment. This nourishment had little to do with a diet control slim body or a technical regime of enhancing fairness by external chemicals. Skin bleaching materials, lesser treatment equipments has flooded the market already and the beauticians are not hesitant in prescribing them in the name of making the girls more and more confident. The beauty pageant contestants and the glamour world women are appearing here as the role models for the common Indian women although the doctors and dermatologists are equally paying their concern on the use of chemicals on female body. V.K Sharma, Head of the dermatology department at the All India institute of Medical Sciences said that if anybody applies anything on the skin, there will be side effects obviously,¹⁵ but the advertisements have completely washed up the minds of the people and its now not a concern for Indian society only. Dr. Eliot F. Battle Jr., a dermatologist in Washington echoed that the skin lightening creams “not only contains corticosteroids, but mercury,” a poison that can damage the nervous system also.¹⁶ In India where skin lightening is related with social standards and higher social adaptability, the side effects are rarely been observed or even acknowledged. The steroids used in the products may lead to high blood sugar, hypertension and other fatal diseases like skin cancer. In this regard it may be pointed out that growing incidents of skin cancer have been traced in India from a last few decades. It was proved in medical research that dark skin people are less affected by skin related diseases in comparison to the white skinned people because of the level of melanin present in their skin, protects it from Ultra Violet induced damages and acts as a natural barrier to the penetration of Ultra Violet rays into the skin¹⁷ Dark skin containing more melanin than the fair skin is better protected against Ultra Violet related diseases. The regular use of different fairness creams reduces the level of melanin pigments from our body and the skin lacks its natural resistant against sun burn and other skin related diseases. Side by side continuous use of fairness creams makes our skin photosensitive and a sudden withdraw of those creams cause skin problems. The common concern is that in most of the cases these fairness creams do not mention the amount of bleaching agents on the pack and the consumers use it without any scientific safeguards. Unfortunately there is no law in India which could make the consumers sure about the ingredients used in a fairness cream because the manufacturers are not bound to mention it on the pack and due to lack of chemical knowledge the common consumers do not even understand the meaning of the ingredients. Such a condition does not indicate a healthy picture of medical consciousness in India and the female body has ever remained to be the chief victim of the situation. the first fairness cream, *Fair & Lovely*, was launched by the *Hindustan Liver*, in 1976 . It assured to make skin fairer and beautiful, however, in the era of globalization a host of skin lightening products like the *Fairever*, *Fairglow*, Emami’s *Gold Turmeric and Naturally Fair*, and Revlon’s

Fair & Glow entering the market. It has been noted that there was a 25 percent increase in the gross domestic sales of cosmetics and personal care products from 1996 to 2000 with the Indian cosmetic market in 2000 estimated at about \$160 million (p. 11) In 2003, the fairness products scored 40 percent of the profits of the Indian cosmetic industry with a rapidly increasing market.¹⁸

The Indian women’s understanding of their embodied self was influenced by the international beauty standards to an extent that the beauty contests were seen to transforming the classical notions of beauty in India. Femina, the women’s magazine as well as the organizer of Miss India contest very year, is performing the same job of transforming Indian beauty standards in the print media.¹⁹ The image of an Indian beauty with voluptuous body and an overexposed aura of sexuality have been replaced by the western standards of beauty because Femina believes that India women are now exposed to the same stresses and workloads like her western counterparts. As a result the entire vision of beauty must go for a change and the female body should be the focus of these changes. Now the female body, as the Femina interprets is being viewed more than a machine of reproduction rather a mirror of the self which could be the right choice for ‘All the Women You Are’.²⁰ Echoing Parmeswaran, it can be said that the women of this society redefine themselves and they employ the pages of a magazine to alter the terrain of society and produce multiple identities for themselves, making sure that representations of femininity, race and nation become alloyed with global culture. However, the Femina has proved be the highest rating magazine in India while the beauty contests holding by Femina already went to a point of imagery from where the Indian women could hardly make any return.²¹

.The following figure by the National Readership Survey 2006 on Comparative Readership of Women’s Magazine shows the popularity of Femina in a national context.



(The National Readership Survey was conducted by A.C Nielsen, covering population 12 years and above, all India urban and rural areas and a sample size over 200.000).²²

Apart from the stereotype of a fair skin, body weight seems to take the next important place in reconstructing womanhood in contemporary India. An obsession with the body weight affected more or less all the young Indian women including the aspirants of different beauty titles. The urgency of leaving perfect impression on the viewers not only indicates the points of social insecurity of the women but also creates an illusion of getting higher social acceptance on virtue of a slim body. Interestingly the medical benefits of a slim body are widely recognised to get rid of obesity and other diseases, the Indian women's craze for a perfect body shape mainly centred round the very parameters of fashion and beauty. The body is simply appropriated here by the media culture which has evolved as the single tool of constructing multiple identities for Indian women to meet up the western standards. the ideal of an ultra thin female body has widened up the markets of fitness and beauty industry in India. But the worst effect of this weight obsession is being felt in eating habit disorders resulting in a chain of disease.²³

India is a fast-developing country that has been exposed for more than a decade to Western culture in the form of Western media. With an increase in globalization of the Indian economy and greater emphasis on meeting international standards in every sphere, girls and women in India are increasingly exposed to Western media images.²⁴ However, India is not an exception here. The other Asian countries are also thriving with the same problems of weight obsession among young women population. For an instance in Japan it has been observed that Plumpness has been well accepted in many non-Western cultures as a sign of prestige and affluence. Consequently, many researchers felt eating disorders and the desire for thinness would be rare in Asian countries .Therefore, the recent phenomenon of a desire for thinness in Japan is quite surprising.²⁵ In Africa where body weight and eating ideals had never been an issue but the Black and mix races are now 'in a socio-cultural flux between traditional cultural values and the values installed by the modern western society.'²⁶ If this is rising as a global concern, in the societies like India weight obsession is changing the outlooks of women on their clothing and hairstyle also. In a society where wearing western dresses is getting acceptance as a sign of looking progressive and 'modern', thinness has become a necessity to fit

the body into those western attires. As a result both the western clothing and fitness industry is rising day by day in a country like India.²⁷ Side by side the advertising and modeling industry is also making profit out of the trends. Indian females wearing traditional Indian dresses are not considered to be modern or even 'sexy' in comparison to those exposed to these values. However, this trend did not go unparallel. The idioms and aesthetics of multiculturalism is giving way to a similar trend of 'indigeniousim' which has authenticated a new standard of looking 'modern' and 'ethnic' at a same time. But such an impression has mostly been carried by a section of the upper class urban women than the common masses. Infact the determination of an authentic Indian look and beauty has not yet been defined and whose defination would prevail—is a question coming within the beauty industry itself. The sheer anxiety of overlapping the term modernism with westernism has been reduced to a third arena of interrogation where looking sexy and accessible interacted with the ideas of modernity and sensuality on the same tune. This feature particularly posed a threat to the pattern of iconicization of the figure of the women as symbol of the national society. A great deal of writing has already devoted on the way by which the figure of the women has supplied the idiom of nationalism during colonial struggle and in the articulation of post colonial modernity. However, the most influential thinking on the power of 'gazing' comes from the writings of Michel Foucault who has talked about the relationship of knowledge and power in area of practices.²⁸ His theory on the controlling power of the 'gaze' might be seen on the ground of gender discourse where the controlling power of the 'male gaze' has been overemphasized. The clothing style, the beauty fashion statements are the sites of control where the female figure has been projected according to the male gaze fantasy and it is this pleasure of looking which depicted women 'in a quite different way from men—not because the feminine is different from the masculine—but because the ideal spectator is always assumed to be male'.²⁹ However, the question of female gazing has never been taken into priority because it is believed that female gaze has less to do with eroticism and the women have hardly any control over the politics of business prevalent in beauty industry and media culture. Female gaze is obsessed with the imageries of one's self and a dominant part of this gazing is influenced by the judgment that whether these imageries would be able to satisfy other's expectations or not.³⁰ The definition of this 'other' may change time to time according to the growing priorities of a women in the society the gendered identity of this 'other' could hardly have any change .Mass mediated images of beauty is completely dominated by the male world and its capitalist profit. Fair skin, ultra thin body as well as the tricks to look more 'sexy' are related with a chain of beauty related businesses and the entire beauty industry profits of off female body to the maximum extent.

Viewing the body as a social object means a continuous process of making and unmaking. Therefore, the concept of an embodied or gendered self centers around producing and experiencing and transforming the body into one of a subject body. The body and the self are related with each other so closely and both of them interact with the society in the same mode of communication. In this process of communicating with the society, the public body appears to be different from the private body. The public body remains too much vulnerable to the challenges and threats of a modern world more, but that vulnerability could be transmitted easily into the private body and sense of beauty might have been used here as a tool for negotiating with the languages of vulnerability. In India, the female body as a colonial as well as a post colonial construct is easily accessible and open for subjectification by different external forces. In the name of globalization the western standards of beauty are simply stepping into the most vulnerable versions of a female body which has already been perceived as a site of struggle in post colonial India. The growing obsession for fair skin and slim body has brought some new areas of concern into focus. In a poor country like India how the question of eating disorder among the women affects the social condition and economic condition of the people or how the women from lower middle or lower classes are tackling these issues of beauty in opposition to their long standing cultural beliefs and attitudes. What happens when the spread of western body ideal creates different notions of modernity within the same society, the idea of modernity itself becomes a site of contestation between multiple identities assigned to the female body at certain historical points? These are not mere questions rather these issues must be treated as human rights issues in a country like India. When the Indian women will be empowered enough to act as agents of active social change, the situation may go for a change. Wide scale media literacy and useful policies of the state could help to reconstruct a new image of womanhood in India because it is the woman herself who is the real master of her destiny at last. Making women confident about their power of changing the society, the mental fixity for fairness and slim body could be diminished and only then the real modernity could be achieved by the women. This modernity will not treat her as a body rather an individual self, embodied not as a gendered subject but as the mark of eternal aesthetic beauty.

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4. The body and bodily experiences lay at the heart of the society and our sense of the self. How the body is related with the society and how the body is getting being exposed to worldly experiences is a matter of sociological concern. Anthony Synnott described,

' The body social is many things, the prime symbol of the self , but also of the society, it is something we have, yet also what we are, it is both subject and object at the same time, it is individual and personal, as unique as a finger point or odourplume,yet it is also common to all humanity. The body is both an individual creation, physically and phenomenological and a cultural product, it is personal and also state property.' Synnott Anthony, *The Body Social: Symbolism, Self and Society*, New York, 1993.

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Naval Battles, INdian Ocean aNd the POrtuguese in Sixteenth Century

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The discovery of the direct sea-route connecting the Indian Ocean regions with the Atlantic ports by Vasco da Gama, the undaunted admiral of the Indian Ocean, and the subsequent establishment of Portuguese factories and fortresses on the coastal regions of the subcontinent of India are considered important milestones in world history. The sixteenth century witnessed a significant encounter between the West and the East in the socio-economic realm. The Westerners observed with great interest whatever they came across in the East and reduced to writing most of the interesting aspects of life in the East to which probably an Indian observer paid only scant attention. The rich corpus of information available in the Portuguese archives and libraries throws considerable light on the naval activities of Indians and especially the Indian encounters with the Portuguese. The present study is an attempt to highlight some of the aspects of the Indo-Portuguese naval battles during the early decades of the sixteenth century. Contemporary European as well as native sources are made use of in the preparation of this study. This period is chosen chiefly for the sake of brevity and also because of the fact that the Portuguese during this point of time had confrontations with the Indians on the Eastern as well as on the Western coasts of

India and by this time they had established a sort of naval supremacy in the Indian Ocean regions.

Indian ships were found in the far-flung regions of the Indian Ocean before the arrival of the indefatigable mariners of Portugal. When Vasco da Gama reached the East African coast, there were Indian merchants in Moçambique, presumably Gujaratis, selling cloths, cloves, pepper, ginger, pearls, silver rings and rubies, most of which was taken to the East African coast by vessels from India. Huge vessels sewn with coir and propelled with the help of veils made of palm trees, owned by Indian merchants used to leave for Soffala.² The Gujarati merchants in large number lived in Mombasa and Melinde in the last decade of the fifteenth century.

Apart from the Gujarati merchants, Indian Christians, probably those from Cranganore were found engaged in trade in Melinde on the East African coast when the first successful voyage of Vasco da Gama reached this port. Christians from India presumably those of St. Thomas were found trading in Mombasa. They purchased gold, amber and ivory against copper, quick silver and cotton cloths. On being asked about the place from where these merchants came to Melinde, they told Vasco da Gama that they were from Cranganore and followers of St. Thomas. In fact it was a Gujarati pilot living on the East African coast who led Vasco da Gama to Calicut.³ Gujarati merchants had very long standing trade relations with the Persian Gulf and Red Sea regions. Aden, Ormuz and Mocha were frequently visited by them. They took gold, quicksilver, vermillion, copper, rosewater, camels, scarlet-in-grain, coloured woolen cloth, glass beads and weapons which were brought by the merchants from Cairo to Aden. The above mentioned items were collected by merchants from Italy, Greece and Damascus. Horses from various parts of Arabia and Persia especially from Ormuz were brought by the Gujarati merchants to India.⁴

The merchants from Gujarat held Malacca as their chief centre of sea-borne trade. Over one thousand merchants were found settled there in the fifteenth century. Moreover, about four to five thousand Gujarati merchants visited Malacca every year for the sake of trade. It was reported by a Portuguese observer of the first quarter of the sixteenth century that the interdependence of Malacca and the

² Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, *Historia do Descobrimento & Conquista da India pelos Portugueses*, Livro I, Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 1924, 17-31

³ *Ibid*, pp. 31-33

⁴ Tomé Pires, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires*, New Delhi (reprint), Asian Education Service, 1990, vol. I, pp.41-44, Duarte Barbosa, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, vol I, Nendeln/Liechtenstein, Kraus Reprints, 1967 (reprint), pp. 128-31

kingdom of Gujarat was such that the former could not survive without the latter and vice-versa. The Gujarati ships visited places like Bengal, Pegu, Siam, Pedir, Pase, Kedha, Java, Sunda and Grisee. They had great pilots and did a lot of navigation. Moreover, they kept a number of men-at-arms to defend their ships. As they were known as good navigators, merchants from Ormuz, Kilwa, Malindi (Melinde), Mogadishu, Mombasa, Cairo, Mocha, Aden, Abyssinia, Persia, Turkey, Armenia, Khorasan and Shiraj accompanied them to Malacca. They were compared to the Venetians and Genoese on account of their skill in navigation and maritime trade. Similarly, merchants from Chaul, Dabul, Goa, Malabar, Bengal, Coromandel especially Pulicat, Nagore, Kayal, Tranquebar, Tirmel-wassel, Kalapet and Pondicherry frequented Malacca in connection with trade and commerce.⁵ Malacca was reckoned as the most important emporium of the East West axis of the international maritime trade connecting the Orient with Venice through Cairo and Alexandria during the fifteenth century.⁶

Portuguese writers while emphasizing the importance of navigation and sea-borne trade conducted by the Gujaratis spoke of their trade network with the West as well as the East. It is reported by Tomé Pires: “Cambay [kingdom of Cambay] chiefly stretches out two arms, with her right arm she reaches out towards Aden and with the other towards Malacca....”⁷

The international maritime trade conducted with the port towns on the East African coast, the important centers of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea regions as well as the most important oriental emporium of Malacca by the Indian merchants in the century prior to the opening of the direct sea-route connecting the Indian Ocean regions with the ports of the Atlantic regions speaks aloud for the Indian navigation. Similarly, the fact that the Indian navigators were not highly impressed by the navigational equipments shown to them by the Portuguese Admiral substantiates the view that the Indians had a well-developed technique of navigation before the dawn of the sixteenth century. This makes one conclude that the Indian navigators found in the various important regions of the Indian Ocean were not lagging behind the Europeans.

The naval confrontations of the Indians with the Portuguese right from the inception of the mutual contacts provide a picture slightly different from what is seen in the case of peaceful navigation and trade. We shall address ourselves to discuss the details of these confrontations taking into account that the Indian ships

⁵Tomé Pires, *op.cit*, vol. I, pp. 45-46, *ibid*, vol. II, pp. 268-73

⁶K.N.Chauhuri, *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean*, Delhi, Cambridge University Press, 1985, pp. 110 ff, K.N. Chaudhuri, *Asia before Europe: Economy and Civilization of the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990, p. 367

⁷ Tomé Pires, *op.cit*, vol I, p.42

were not always armed with guns, while the non-Indian ships were armed with guns made of iron.

One of the earliest naval encounters between the Portuguese and the Indians under the leadership of the Zamorin of Calicut took place in September 1498. Since the first meeting between Vasco da Gama and the Zamorin of Calicut could not end on a happy note, about seventy vessels equipped with arms followed the Portuguese fleet, south of Calicut. They attacked the three ships under Vasco da Gama. The Portuguese fleet proceeded in the direction of Angediva. Eight of the ships sent by the Zamorin confronted the caravel *Bérrio* of the fleet of Vasco da Gama. The Portuguese ship, because of its being a caravel, had the advantage of sailing to windward and facing the Indian ships. Moreover, it had guns and cannons made of bronze which were quite powerful to cause harm to the Indian ships which were put to flight by a single caravel. The Portuguese took over one of the abandoned ships (*Nau*)⁸ where in the personnel of *Bérrio* found a number of bows, arrows, swords, lances, javelins, and other instruments of battle. There was no trace of any gun. It was ascertained that these ships were sent by the Zamorin with a view to capturing the Portuguese and not permitting them to leave for Portugal with the claim that they discovered the direct sea-route connecting India and Portugal. Another day, seven vessels (*Pinnace*,⁹ and *fusta*¹⁰) belonging to the famous pirate Timoja confronted the Portuguese ships *S. Gabriel* and *S. Rafael* and opened fire. As they could not do any harm, and *Bérrio* started chasing them, finally the Indian ships left the sea for safety.¹¹

We find that a single vessel belonging to the Portuguese was able to defeat a fleet of eight Indian ships. Similarly, the seven ships of Timoja too were faced by a single Portuguese vessel and were put to flight. It is to be noted that the Portuguese ship was equipped with bronze cannons and guns while the Indian ships were devoid of any artillery. Moreover, it is worth noting that the Portuguese vessel with which the Indians were confronted was a caravel which by its nature

⁸*Nauhada* tonnage of 100 to 120 in the early phase of the Portuguese contacts with India. It had two decks, the first one extending from the rear to the front containing the cargo hold, store-room for water and provisions, cables, cloths and gunpowder etc. The second deck in the rear had captain's quarters. It had three masts. Ref. K.M. Mathew, *History of the Portuguese Navigation in India*, New Delhi, Mittal Publications, 1988, pp. 288-92

⁹**Pinnace** was a narrow and light vessel with oar and sails and with three masts and a square stern. It was used for reconnaissance and disembarkation of people on land, K.M. Mathew, *op.cit*, p.292

¹⁰*Fusta* was a long and flat ship propelled by means of lateen type sails and oars and with one or two masts. It has a capacity of 300 tons. It was used in the East for warfare. It had ten to twenty oars on the two boards and the mast in the middle with lateen sails.

¹¹Gaspar Correa, *Lendas da India*, tomo I, part I, Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 1922, pp. 123-29

had certain advantages. Another technical aspect should be underlined is that the Portuguese ships were manufactured with the use of iron nails while the Indian ships were sewn with coir.

Another important naval encounter between the Indians and the Portuguese took place in 1500. The Portuguese fleet consisting of thirteen ships with 15,000 persons on board left Lisbon on 6 March 1500 under Pedro Álvares Cabral for India. Only six of them reached the western coast of the subcontinent. After peaceful negotiations, a factory was established at Calicut for conducting trade in spices. Since the initial relations were friendly, the Zamorin asked Pedro Álvares Cabral a favour. The former was interested in one of the seven elephants carried in a ship belonging to a merchant from Cochin which was passing by Calicut. As a token of friendship, Álvares Cabral was requested to capture the ship and get the elephant on which the Zamorin's eyes were fixed. Though Cabral did not want to run the risk of offending the king of Cochin, he had to come forward to show a good gesture to the Zamorin. He put two noble men and sixty soldiers in charge of a ship (*nau*) and ordered them to capture the elephants along with the ship of the Cochin merchant. Pêro de Ataíde was put in command of the Portuguese vessel which was supposed to overpower the ship of the above mentioned merchant well armed with three hundred fighters on board. Pêro de Ataíde confronted the Indian ship in the vicinity of Cannanore. The Indian ship sent a host of arrows and shots of cannons from its guns towards the Portuguese ship which responded promptly with all her artillery. As desired by the Zamorin, the coveted elephants were delivered to him by Pêro de Ataíde after capturing the ship. This boosted the military prestige of the Portuguese. Serious damage was inflicted on the Indian ship equipped with armaments. There is no doubt that the Indian ship was quite large having the capacity of transporting seven elephants and 300 soldiers.¹²

Besides, Pero de Ataíde managed to destroy four ships of the Muslims near Cannanore and a few *paraus*.¹³ Another day five ships were put to flight by Pêro de Ataíde. As the prestige of the Naval power of the Portuguese went on increasing day by day, the Zamorin himself began to fear that the Portuguese might destroy the kingdom of Calicut. This conviction was confirmed by the report given by his own men. As a result, the Zamorin permitted the Muslims to attack the Portuguese factory at Calicut who killed Aires Correa and fifty Portuguese men in the factory. In fact Pedro Álvares Cabral expected the Zamorin to apologise for the casualties. Since this was not forthcoming, Cabral attacked ten ships in the port of Calicut and

¹²Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, *op.cit*, I, pp. 83-84; João de Barros, *Da Asia, Decada I*, Lisboa, Livraria Sam Carlos, 1778, p. 425

¹³*Parau* was a small warship. It was used also to carry merchandise. This was compared by the European writers with *fusta* and *galeotas*. Ref. Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado, *Glossario Luso-Asiatico*, vol. 2, Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 1921, pp. 170-71

killed 600 men in the ships. Subsequently, the cargoes of the ships were appropriated by the Portuguese. Cabral bombarded the city from dawn to dusk. The naval superiority of the Portuguese spread like a wild fire and the kings of Cannanore, Cochin and Quilon invited Pedro Álvares Cabral to their ports. Cabral took required cargo from the port of Cochin and was about to proceed to Lisbon when he got the information that a fleet of the Zamorin consisting of twenty five vessels and *paraus* with 15,000 men was approaching the Portuguese ships for a naval confrontation . On account of the fear of the Portuguese artillery instilled in the hearts of the Indian soldiers, they did not dare face the Portuguese. So the Portuguese squadron returned to Lisbon safely. On his way, Pedro Álvares Cabral captured a ship of the kingdom of Gujarat laden with valuable merchandise. After taking over the cargo, he permitted the ship to go in peace.¹⁴

As Dom Manuel I, the king of Portugal was convinced that trade and commerce had to be established not by force of arms but by peaceful means, he sent four ships in 1501, out of which three belonged to private persons, to India. Of the 350 persons in the fleet, only eight were soldiers under João da Nova. On the way back, he had to face near Cannanore, a fleet organised by the Zamorin of Calicut which consisted of forty ships and approximately 180 *paraus* and *zambuks*¹⁵ with over 7,000 men. Though the king of Cannanore counseled restraint and requested João da Nova not to proceed towards the high seas, the latter however, decided to face the enemy on the high seas only as that is where he could show the superiority of his artillery and better quality of the ships. The naval engagement took place on 31 December 1501 and lasted till 2 January 1502. The artillery courted appreciable victory over the fleet of the Zamorin. About 400 Indian soldiers were put to death and a host of them were seriously injured. João da Nova captured two other ships coming from Mocha. The naval battle took place between Mount Deli and the Bay of Cannanore. The naval superiority of the Portuguese based on artillery and probably also on better technique of shipbuilding was clearly manifested in this encounter.

A naval confrontation between the Portuguese and the forces of Cairo as well as those of Indians took place in the Arabian Sea in 1502. Thirsting to take revenge on the Zamorin for the damage caused to the Portuguese establishment in Calicut in 1500, Vasco da Gama was once again sent to Calicut. A fleet consisting

¹⁴Gaspar Correa, *op.cit*, p. 226

¹⁵*Zambuk, Sambook, Sanbuk, Sanbuka* was a kind of a small vessel formerly used in western India and still in use on the Arabian coast . It was smaller than the *bagala* and was chiefly used to communicate between roadstead and the shore or to go inside the reefs. Ref. Henry Yule and A.C. Burnell, *Hobson Jobson: A glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases and of kindred term , Etymological and Historical , Geographical and Discursive*, Delhi, 1968, 2nd edition. P. 788

of fifteen big ships which were supposed to return to Portugal with cargo after the naval operation against the Zamorin and five other smaller ships to give protection to the Portuguese on the western coast of India were sent in 1502 under the command of Vasco da Gama. One of them was lost on the way and the remaining nineteen ships came together near the Island of Angediva and proceeded down south.

A ship *Meri*, by name, belonging to the Sultan of Cairo, carrying many rich Muslims from Calicut with their families bound for Mocha came face to face with the Portuguese fleet near Mount Deli. She had about 260 soldiers and mariners and was laden with a very valuable cargo. A few vessels in the fleet under Vasco da Gama fired at the ship *Meri* which was equipped with iron cannons. The Portuguese ships equipped with bronze cannons defeated *Meri* and captured the ship and took over the valuable cargo.¹⁶

Proceeding further south, Vasco da Gama with the fleet reached Calicut and tried to negotiate. After three days of fruitless labour to get compensation for the damages caused to the Portuguese in 1500, Vasco da Gama decided to take up arms against the ships of the Zamorin. Being afraid of the possible destruction of the city of Calicut, the Zamorin once again tried to start negotiations with Vasco da Gama. But the latter, not having any trust in the Zamorin, remained firm in his decision. The Zamorin ordered twenty nine ships of the Moors berthed in Calicut to attack the fleet of Vasco da Gama. In the ensuing encounter 300 Moors were killed by the Portuguese. The Portuguese fleet consisting of thirteen ships laden with spices left for Lisbon.¹⁷

After the departure of Vasco da Gama for Portugal, the Zamorin of Calicut concentrated his attention on Ponnani and prepared an army of 50,000 men to chastise the king of Cochin, his own vassal for having given asylum to the Portuguese. Being aware of the attempts on the part of the Zamorin, the Portuguese factor at Cochin insisted upon Vicente Sodré to remain in India with the fleet of five ships and a caravel and not to go away from Cochin. But unmindful of the request and assuming that the Zamorin would not take any step against the Portuguese during the monsoon season, Vicente Sodré went to the Red Sea area for chasing the ships from Mocha. In the meantime, by the close of the monsoon season a fleet under Francisco de Albuquerque reached the Western coast of India giving confidence to the Portuguese factor at Cochin. The Zamorin had already invaded the kingdom of Cochin as soon as Vicente Sodré had left for the Red Sea area. The king of Cochin took refuge in neighbouring island along with the Portuguese officials of the factory. It was at this juncture that Francisco de

¹⁶João de Barros, *Da Asia, Decada I*, Part 2, Lisboa, 1777, pp. 29-38

¹⁷*Ibid*, pp.55-76

Albuquerque reached Cochin to the great jubilation of the Portuguese as well as that of the people of Cochin. The forces of the Zamorin left Cochin and Francisco de Albuquerque reinstated the local king with the assistance of the military power of the place. The Portuguese made use of their vessels equipped with artillery and large shields. With the arrival of Afonso de Albuquerque, the construction of the Portuguese fortress at Cochin begun by Francisco de Albuquerque was speeded up. The defence put up by Duarte Pacheco Pereira with the assistance of four Portuguese vessels and the *paraus* of Cochin, in which approximately 150 Portuguese and 500 men from Malabar coast took part, forms an integral part of the saga of the Portuguese in the East. He withstood the attack of the soldiers of the Zamorin.

During the Portuguese encounter with the forces of the Zamorin, two Italians who came to India from Venice in the Portuguese ships passed to the side of the Zamorin with the intention of teaching the men of Malabar how to produce artillery. They opted to work with the Zamorin against the Portuguese. On the other side, the Turks had supplied a large quantity of cannons and guns to the Zamorin. Therefore by 1504 the Zamorin was well-equipped to fight against the Portuguese and the kingdom of Cochin. Moreover, Francisco de Albuquerque had also left for Lisbon. The encounter took place in April 1504 near Cumbalam. The army of the Zamorin consisted of more than 84,000 men and the fleet had about 100 *paraus*- each of which was equipped with two short cannons for throwing stones, and five guns- besides 100 other small vessels (*tonees*)¹⁸ with small cannon each. Duarte Pacheco who had to face such a formidable force of the Zamorin had only one ship with a captain and twenty four men, two caravels with twenty five men each and two *bateis*¹⁹ each of which had twenty soldiers. Duarte Pacheco tried to give confidence to the king of Cochin who was disheartened at the sight of the formidable force of the Zamorin. It is calculated that over 1,300 men of the Zamorin lost their lives in the first confrontation at Cumbalam. The Zamorin put up a fight again and attacked the Portuguese ships and began to bombard the city. Duarte Pacheco ordered his men not to react till the forces of the Zamorin came closer. The strategy followed by him was quite successful and on being attacked by the Portuguese on close quarters, the forces of the Zamorin fled away.

As the Zamorin failed miserably three times, in the battles near Cumbalam, in inflicting any serious defeat on the Portuguese, he decided not to attempt any more attacks. But his subjects as well as his vassals prompted him to take further offensive in order to retrieve his lost prestige as it would be shameful to retreat with the formidable fleet in front of the Portuguese squadron consisting of just four

¹⁸*Tonee* was small vessel used in rivers with single mast and oars.

¹⁹*Batel* was a sort of boat used in western India, Sind and Bengal

vessels. So, the Zamorin made the preparations to attack Cochin by crossing the shallow portion of the sea. Being informed of this new strategy, Duarte Pacheco deployed two of his caravels at the Palluruthy pass to obstruct the movement of the forces of Calicut. The Zamorin started the attack on Cochin from the sea and land on 1 May 1503 with the help of 250 vessels. The Portuguese from their position at Palluruthy went on firing at the vessels of the Zamorin incessantly. A lot of people were put to death. The battle was resumed on 7 May 1504 after a short interval. But there ensued a large number of casualties on the side of the Zamorin, who had decided to have recourse to strategies other than face to face naval combat. The Zamorin took steps to attack the town of Cochin, poison the wells and victuals sold in the town and thus persuade Pacheco to abandon the watch over the Palluruthy pass and go over to the town for its defence. This snare laid by the Zamorin could not meet with any success since Pacheco was fully aware of the purport of the new move on the side of the Zamorin. The attack started by the Zamorin in May-June 1504 was vigorously resisted by the Portuguese with large deployment of artillery. A few vessels belonging to the Zamorin and some small guns were captured by Pacheco. This victory was celebrated with great jubilation in the town of Cochin. The conflicts between the Zamorin and Duarte Pacheco ended on 3 July 1504 after seven successive victories for Pacheco and assassination of five local rulers supporting the Zamorin.

The fleet that reached India in September 1504, under LopoSoares de Albergaria, had to face the five ships and eighty *paraus* of the Zamorin near Palliport in the vicinity of Cranganore. The Portuguese bombardment put to flight the forces of the Zamorin. At the request of the ruler of Tanur who was at loggerheads with the Zamorin, LopoSoares de Albergaria sent a caravel with one hundred soldiers to Tanur to extend help in the fight against the Zamorin. The king of Tanur courted victory and became a vassal of the Portuguese king. Similarly, at Pantalayani the Portuguese ships laden with spices and proceeding to Lisbon fought against sixteen ships from Mocha that were loading commodities for the Red Sea regions. These were bombarded by the Portuguese and overpowered. The role played by the Portuguese artillery in the naval confrontations was highly appreciated by the writers of the sixteenth century. In fact, large number of Indian vessels that confronted the small number of Portuguese vessels could not bring about any substantial advantage for the Zamorin.²⁰

The confrontation of the Indian and Arab ships with the Portuguese fleet under Francisco de Almeida at Honavar in October 1505 evinced the weakness of the Indian navy. The ruler of the region of Honavar made preparations to attack the Portuguese ships that were anchored off Angediva where a fortress was being

²⁰Gaspar Correa, *op.cit*, pp. 424ff.

constructed under the orders given by the Portuguese king. There were fourteen ships from Mocha that were anchored off Honavar besides a large number of ships belonging to the pirate Timoja and those of the local ruler that attacked the Portuguese ships. The Arab ships were set fire and the rest of them were destroyed. Finally Timoja apologized for the mistakes on his part and those of the local ruler.²¹

Further fear was instilled in the minds of the Indians with the defeat of twenty seven ships at Quilon by eleven *naus* and two caravels of the Portuguese in November 1505.²² Similarly the confrontation of the fleet of the Zamorin of Calicut with the Portuguese near Cannanore in March 1506 exposed the weakness of the Indian naval power. It was learnt by the Portuguese through the Italian who spent some time in Calicut disguised as a Muslim, Ludovico di Varthema that the Zamorin got 200 vessels constructed all ready to put up stiff fight against the Portuguese. The Zamorin was helped by the two Italians who taught the men of Calicut how to manufacture better quality of artillery. The three Portuguese *naus* and a caravel bombarded the sixty *naus* and hundreds of *paraugas* well as *zambuges* of the Zamorin. The Portuguese artillery played an important role with the help of the big gun installed on the wall of the fortress at Cannanore and killed more than 3000 men of the Zamorin in this naval battle. This was a decisive victory of the Portuguese over the Zamorin and brought great prestige to them. The entire operation was executed by Lourenço de Almeida, the son of Francisco de Almeida who was put in charge of the naval surveillance in the area between Cambay and Cape Comorin.²³

Three Portuguese *naus* under Pêro de Anaia which were found at Angediva were destroyed by Sabaio of Goa who besieged the Portuguese fortress at Angediva in 1506 in the post-monsoon season. Subsequently, orders were issued by Francisco de Almeida to dismantle the fortress since it did not serve any important purpose. Lourenço de Almeida after having demolished it proceeded towards Dabul where a number of vessels from Cochin and Cannanore were found, having been chased by the vessels of the Zamorin. Despite the earnest request made by the people of the ships from Cochin and Cannanore the Portuguese did not dare attack the ships of the Zamorin and subsequently Zamorin's men ransacked and destroyed these ships. This incident upset Francisco de Almeida who reprimanded his son and the other Portuguese officials. This was considered a great blow to the prestige of the Portuguese naval power since they did not dare confront the forces of the Zamorin at Dabul.

²¹Gaspar Correa, *op.cit* pp. 233-39

²²Gaspar Correa, *op.cit*, pp. 489-92; Castanheda, *op.cit*, pp. 253-55

²³Castanheda, *op.cit*, pp. 263-70

Taking advantage of the low profile of the Portuguese evinced in the demolition of the fortress at Angediva and the failure to confront the naval forces of the Indians at Dabul, the Zamorin decided to encounter them once again on the Malabar coast. The fact that no fleet from Portugal reached Indian waters in 1506 emboldened the Zamorin to take this step. He convinced the ruler of Cannanore of the possible victory of the proposed attack on the Portuguese during the monsoon of 1507. By the close of the rainy season, the fleet that had left Lisbon in 1506 under Tristão da Cunha reached the Malabar coast by the close of the monsoon of 1507 after spending the winter in Moçambique. Therefore, the Portuguese with the arrival of the new fleet at Cannanore, succeeded in defeating the combined forces of the Zamorin and of the king of Cannanore who had besieged the Portuguese fortress at Cannanore. The Portuguese viceroy, Dom Francisco de Almeida being informed of the fact that a large number of vessels had taken cargo from the port of Ponnani in the kingdom of Calicut and were about to leave for the Red Sea areas, decided to attack them with a view to retrieving the prestige lost on account of the two incidents of Angediva and Dabul. He assumed the command of the fleet consisting of twelve vessels, namely four *naus*, six caravels²⁴ and two *gales*²⁵ and proceeded to Ponnani.

The port town of Ponnani was defended by a strong battery of artillery and a number of well-armed ships under the famous captain of the Zamorin Kuttiali with 7,000 men who had taken the oath to die if needed for the defence of the city. The Portuguese fleet had about 500 soldiers in the vessels Pero Barreto, Diogo Pires, Lourenço de Almeida, Nuno da Cunha, son of Tristão da Cunha and Francisco de Almeida were some of the important noblemen who participated in this confrontation. The thirteen ships laden with spices from Ponnani were burnt and forces of the Zamorin were totally defeated in November 1507 to the great jubilation of the Portuguese.²⁶

The confrontation between the combined forces of the Indians and the Turks assisted by the Venetians on one side and the Portuguese on the other

²⁴*Caravel*. The word is alleged not to be oriental, but celtic and was connected in its origin with the old British *Coracle*. The Portuguese caravel is described by Bluteau as a round vessel that was not long and sharp like galley with lateen sails ordinarily of 200 tons burthen. It had triangular type sails and could sail with beam-wind even when it was coming from off the bow and thus was able to face the natural calamities of the sea. There were two types of *caravels*, namely, lateen *caravels* and round *caravels*. The lateen *caravel* had lateen mast and the main mast of the round *caravel* was round. Ref. *Hobson Jobson. op.cit*, p. 162

²⁵*Gale* was a warship of small tonnage with triangular lateen sails. Twenty five to thirty oars on each side were used in *gale*. It had twenty five to thirty benches with five to six rowers on each bench. A *gale* usually was about twenty five palms long and thirty palms wide having two masts and two lateen sails.

²⁶Barros, *op.cit*, *Decada II*, part I, pp.51-81

which took place in March 1508 in Chaul and the defeat as well as the subsequent murder of Dom Lourenço de Almeida, the son of Francisco de Almeida is considered a landmark in the history of naval confrontations in the Indian Ocean region. The Turks had made use of the same technology as the Portuguese. They too used artillery with bronze cannons and employed several European renegades. The Venetians provided the required carpenters and experts for artillery for the fleet that was prepared by the Sultan of Cairo to oust the Portuguese from the Indian Ocean regions. Encouraged by the request made by the Zamorin of Calicut and the Sultan of Gujarat, the Turks made the preparation for the naval confrontation. According to the contemporary Portuguese historian, Castanheda and other writers of the sixteenth century, the Venetians took part in the battle waged in Chaul and later in Diu. Two of the warships were of the Venetians.²⁷

The Turkish fleet consisting of 2000 men under Amir Hussain proceeded from the Red Sea with the destination of Diu to join forces with the men of Malik Ayaz of Diu and of the other rulers of the Indian coast. There were twelve ships well-equipped with bronze cannons and experienced soldiers including European renegades. Maymame, the envoy of the Zamorin to the Sultan of Cairo was also in the fleet under Amir Hussain. On the Indian side, Malik Ayaz led the fleet composed of the men of Gujarat, Bijapur, Ahmednagar and Calicut. The combined forces proceeded to Chaul where the Portuguese fleet under Lourenço de Almeida was found. Malik Ayaz sent thirty four *fustas* from Diu to Chaul on seeing that the combined forces were making headway to confront the Portuguese who had only three *naus*, one round caravel, two caravels with lateen sails, and two *gales* with 500 men. Twenty ships from Cochin laden with cargo were in the creek of Chaul which were to be saved by the Portuguese. The chief of the artillery was a German.²⁸ The Zamorin had sent about forty vessels to the North to take part in the battle.²⁹ The Portuguese lost one *nau* and 150 men including the son of Francisco de Almeida. Twenty persons were taken as captives by Malik Ayaz. The twenty ships from Cochin were however set free by the Portuguese. When the news of the victory of the combined forces over those of the Portuguese reached the Venetians, their joy knew no bounds.³⁰

²⁷*Cronica do Descobrimento e Conquista da India pelos Portugueses, Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 1974, pp.170-71; Castanheda, op.cit, p. 384*

²⁸Barros, *op.cit, Decada II, part I, p...* 181

²⁹Shaykh Zaynud Din, *Tuhfat-al Mujahidin*, Translated by David Lopes as *História dos Portugueses no Malabar*, Lisboa, Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa, 1898, p. 40

³⁰RinaldoFulin, ed., "I Portoghesinell India e I Veneziani in Egitto" dai *Diarii di GirolamoPriuli* in *Archivio Veneto*, vol.XXII part I, Venice pp.205 ff, For a detailed study of the battle ref.

K.S.Mathew, "The Mercantile Battle in the Indian Ocean : The Afro-Asian front against the

The Portuguese Viceroy, Dom Francisco de Almeida did not leave the combined forces unavenged for the death of his son. Though Affonso de Albuquerque, the new governor appointed, showed willingness to take revenge upon the victorious fleet of Amir Hussain and Malik Ayaz, Almeida himself took up the challenge and proceeded to the North from Cannanore on 12 December 1508 with nineteen vessels and 1200 men among whom were 400 men from Malabar.³¹ The Zamorin in the meantime had sent necessary communication to Amir Hussain in Diu regarding the preparations going on in Cannanore and Cochin against the combined contingent of Egypt and Gujarat. About 6,000 soldiers of the united front fought against the Portuguese in this battle.

The Portuguese Viceroy after having avenged Dabul and Chaul for the help extended to Amir Hussain and Malik Ayaz in March 1508, proceeded to Diu and reached the destination on 2 February 1509.³² The contingent under Amir Hussain consisting of Egyptians, Venetians and others in co-operation with the Indian fleet composed of the soldiers of Malik Ayaz and of the Zamorin faced the Portuguese fleet in Diu and fought desperately. The Zamorin had sent 100 *parausto* Diu in spite of the vigilant blockade of the Portuguese.³³ The Portuguese fleet routed the combined forces mercilessly in the confrontation at Diu and consequently Malik Ayaz sought for peace through the mediation of Cidy Ali and the terms of peace were agreed upon on 3 February 1509.³⁴ About 1,500 soldiers of the combined forces were murdered in this confrontation. When this came to be known to the Venetians, they accused the Muslims for their inability to use the armaments and to adjust themselves to the Italian way of fighting.³⁵ The Portuguese writers consider this victory the greatest in the history of the Portuguese maritime encounters and compare it with the battle of Lepanto (1571), Trafalgar (1805) or that of Tsuchima (1905). This in fact marked the beginning of the Portuguese ascendancy in the Indian Ocean region.³⁶

Adil Shah of Bijapur took the help of the Turks and made ready about twenty *Naus* and several *paraus* at Goa to confront the Portuguese. As the Sultan

Portuguese (1508-1509" in *II Seminario Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa-Actas*, Lisboa, International Seminar on Indo-Portuguese History 1985, pp. 79-65

³¹Barros, *op.cit*, Decada II, part I, pp. 231,256;Castanheda, *op.cit*, p. 424, Damião de Gois, *Cronica de Felicissimo Rei D. Manuel*, Part II, Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 1953, p. 128

³²Barros, *op.cit*, Decada II, Part I, p. 2990; *Cronica*, *op.cit*, refer no. 26 above, p. 183

³³Antonio Brasio, *Uma Carta inedita de Valentim Fernandes*, Coimbra, 1959, p.20

³⁴Shaykh Zaynud- Din, *op.cit*, p. 41, Castanheda, *op.cit*, pp. 439 ff.

³⁵RinaldoFulin, *op.cit*, pp. 206-07

³⁶Saturnino Monteiro, *Batalhas e Combates da Mrinha Portuguesa, vol. I, 1139-1521*, Lisboa, LivrariaSá Costa,1989, p. 192

was on fighting terms with the ruler of Vijayanagar, the Portuguese captured Goa in February 1510, without any serious resistance from Adil Shah. But after a period of three months, the Sultan came to terms with the ruler of Vijayanagar and took steps to get Goa back from the hands of the Portuguese. He organised about 40,000 soldiers, a good number of whom were Turks, and confronted the Portuguese. A Turkish leader Sufolarim by name led the *paraus* of Adil Shah. The subsequent battle waged in Mondovi during the monsoon season was won over by the Portuguese under Afonso de Albuquerque. Later, on 25 November 1510, with the assistance of 1,200 men in thirty vessels Afonso de Albuquerque captured Goa and started naval installations for the repair and manufacture of ships.

Caravels were used always by the Portuguese as warships in the early years of the Portuguese confrontations with the Indians. They realized the importance of *gales* in the naval encounters in the Indian Ocean regions especially on the western coast of India and so Afonso de Albuquerque briefed the Portuguese king regarding the necessity of manufacturing chiefly *gales* for the Indian waters. Since the time of Albuquerque, *gales*, *galeotas*³⁷ and *fustas* were preferred for naval battles. *Gales* and *fustas* had certain advantages over vessels of other types. First, they could be more easily constructed with local materials during the time of monsoons or when they were not needed. They could be easily hauled aground without any damage or expenses for maintenance. Secondly, not being painted thickly, they could easily ply in rivers. They were propelled both by oars and sails. Therefore, they could sail even when there was no wind or the wind was in the opposite direction. The advantages of the caravels over the vessels propelled by oars were: ability to use guns of greater caliber, better speed with fresh wind; greater autonomy; ability to withstand the storm and above all, the crew requirement of small size.

Fifteen *fustas* of Diu encountered the Portuguese fleet under João de Monroi in the vicinity of Chaul in 1517 and there ensued a fight of artillery. Probably on account of the better quality of artillery, the Portuguese defeated the ships sent from Diu at the request of the ruler of Mahim against them. Similarly, another fleet of fourteen *fustas* put up a fight against the fleet of Monroi near Dabul in the same year. The Portuguese fleet consisting of seven *fustas* defeated the squadron of fourteen *fustas* with the help of artillery.

The Portuguese faced the Indian ships near Chittagong, one of the important ports of Bengal in the sixteenth century. The ships of that region did not have cannons. They fought only with bows and arrows against the Portuguese in the naval encounter in 1518 during the term of office of Lopo Soares de Albergaria.

³⁷*Galeota* was a warship having fifteen to twenty benches on each side with one man at each oar. Its dimension was less than that of *gale*.

The vessels from Chittagong were defeated with the help of artillery carried by the Portuguese on their ships.³⁸ The *fustas* of Dabul destroyed a Portuguese ship laden with cargo in 1518 on her way to Cambay from Cannanore. The people of Dabul made use of artillery and so they were successful in their confrontation with the Portuguese *nau*. Later in 1521, the *fustas* of Diu led by Aga Muhammad put up a stiff fight against the Portuguese ships. As the *fustas* were well-equipped with artillery in the same way as those of the Portuguese, they did a lot of harm to the Portuguese vessels and so Aga Muhammad did not want to face the Portuguese attack. Subsequently he left the scene.³⁹

On account of the importance of Chaul in the trade in horses and the necessity of having a well-fortified centre from where they could fight against the ruler of Diu, the Portuguese began the construction of a fortress in Chaul with the consent of Nizam Shah of Ahmednagar. Malik Issack of Diu had his fears about the Portuguese establishment in Chaul. So he asked Aga Mohammed to proceed to Chaul with forty *fustas* to obstruct the Portuguese activities there. Diogo Lopes de Sequeira organized a fleet of three *galeões*⁴⁰, a caraval and three *gales* under the command of Dom Aleixo de Meneses to confront the fifty *fustas* from Diu. Each of the *fustas* was equipped with cannon that could be charged in the breech and could be moved in any direction. These artillery pieces were of small caliber sending shots of stone to short ranges while the Portuguese guns were charged through the mouth and the shots were heavier than those of the Indian guns. This confrontation took place in November 1521. After a long-drawn combat of artillery, the fleet of Aga Muhammad retreated in disgrace.

The fact that Indian merchant marines were found in various ports of the Indian Ocean regions proves that they were used to peaceful commerce and they maintained simple instruments of common pirates. Of course, they possessed necessary technology for navigating freely in the Indian Ocean regions and were never behind the Europeans in the matters of techniques of navigation. This shows the high achievements of India navigation.

The weakness of the Indian vessels in their confrontation with the Portuguese consists chiefly in the fact that they were not as well-equipped as the Portuguese vessels. For example, the ships captured by the Portuguese in 1498 did not contain any cannons. The traditional bows and arrows and a few items of warfare were the only items of equipment that were stored in the ships. Same was

³⁸Castanheda, *op.cit*, Livor 4, Coimbra, 1928, pp. 439-47

³⁹Gaspar Correa, *op.cit*, tom ii, Coimbra, 1923, pp. 609-25

⁴⁰ It was basically a warship, lighter and more heavily equipped with guns. The tonnage varied from 100 to 1,000. A few other vessels used in the naval confrontations of this period were : a) *almadia*. The *almadia* is introduced into Portuguese from Moorish *al-m-diya*. It indicates a raft. But is generally used by the writers for a canoe or the like small native

the case with the ships that confronted the Portuguese ships near Chittagong. But the vessels manufactured in India did not have sufficient strength to withstand the shock administered by the Portuguese cannons. Even those vessels of the Arabs and those of the Indian equipped with guns and cannons were not capable of resisting the aftermath of a bombardment especially the ones from the European ships equipped with bronze cannons. The sewing with coir did not give the strength to withstand the shock. Moreover, the ships of the Indian Ocean regions were in a much more disadvantageous situation compared to the European ships which were manufactured using iron nails, giving more strength to body of vessel.

Some of the Portuguese writers do argue that they did not come to establish trade and commerce by force of arms. The use of force by the Portuguese according to these writers was chiefly because of the attitude taken by the Zamorin. They adduce the instance of Pedro Álvares Cabral leaving Gujarati ship in peace after taking out all the cargo in 1501 as an example. Similarly, the sending of four ships under João de Nova in 1501 with only eighty men-at-arms on board is also shown as case substantiating their view.

The superiority of European artillery in naval battles against the backdrop of Indian confrontations becomes clear from the outcome of the battle of Chaul fought in 1508. Lourenço de Almeida, the valiant son of Francisco de Almeida was put to death and a number of Portuguese vessels were destroyed by the combined forces of the Zamorin of Calicut, Sultan of Gujarat, under Malik Ayaz and Admiral Amir Hussain representing the Sultan of Cairo. The victory for the combined forces was made possible chiefly because the arms and ammunitions sent by the Venetians, another European power, were “properly” used by the soldiers. This would mean that either qualitatively or quantitatively, the Venetian artillery was superior to that of the Portuguese. As we have seen above, the well-armed ship belonging to the Sultan of Cairo, *Meri* by name was easily defeated by the Portuguese because the arms and ammunitions used in *Meri* were not a match for those of the Portuguese. Finally it may be concluded that the naval battles waged in the Indian Ocean by the Indians and the Europeans in the period before 1870 were won by those who had better artillery. Indian ships were not usually equipped with arms and ammunitions. Even those equipped with native arms could not withstand the heavy artillery with which the European ships were furnished. The technique of shipbuilding also had a lot of impact on the victory or defeat in the naval battles. Use of iron nails in the construction of European ships had an edge over the use of coir in sewing planks for shipbuilding in Indian waters. Therefore such ships made in India could not withstand the impact of bombardment from a European ship. Similarly the Europeans used ships with special architectural styles suited to fight on high waters easily damaged the Indian ships.

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NoN ParticiPation of Musl iM iN NationaL MoveMent in the Post Revol t Mal abar (1921-1937)

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Malabar is an exceedingly interesting district with its distinct culture, beautiful antiquity, enchanting scenery and delightful simplicity of life. Malabar is an ancient name for the entire Malayalam territory, stretching from the northern land mark of Mt. D'eli to Cape Comorin.¹

The Muslims of Kerala , who were generally known as the Mappilas, are “the oldest Islamic community in the South Asian subcontinent.”

⁴¹ As a distinct religious and cultural entity, Mappilas originated with the spread of Islam in Kerala through Arab Traders. There is no record of any conflict between different communities before the arrival of the Portuguese.⁴² Today, the Mappilas consists both of the descendents of the Arabs through local women and converts among the local people.

A working class emerged in India by the capitalist investment and the development of industry during 19th century. But it was not formed in Kerala during that time and continued the medieval systems and mode of production. On the other hand there emerged a new 'appointed' *janmi*, *adhikari*, *menon* classes in the new colonial milieu. Along with it, there can be seen the emergence of a new 'middle class' grown by taking advantage from modern education and official jobs under the colonial rule⁴³. This new 'professional middle class' became one among the early leaders of the national movement in Malabar.

The political activities, which were developed during a short period, made a big effect on the Mappila community. They were more, in one hand, politicized but sensitized by religion on the other. They didn't have a practice of non-violence as it was unfamiliar to the Mappila community. Economically, culturally and psychologically they were destroyed as they were subjected to the threat of the alien rule as well as the landed aristocracy. In a sense we can say that the Mappila community was looking for safety valves to express their irritation and annoyance. It was what the Malabar witnessed in 1921 as a mass rebellion.

It is argued that the Congress Khilafat leaders never realized the problem as they intermingled the issues like Khilafat, a religion and emotional issues. They also neglected the distinct character of Mappila Muslims of Malabar. M.P. Narayana Menon realized the dangers involved. He met Gandhi after the meeting at Calicut beach. He tried to convince Gandhi about the dangers of involving the Mappilas to Khilafat issue before teaching and making them practice the principles of non-violence. Muhammad Abdurahman supported him. But the majority of Congress leaders opposed it, and believed that the Mappilas must obey the order of leaders.

When the rebellion started these nationalist leaders opposed them. The Rebellion, according to Gandhi, indicated that the Mappilas knew something about the Khilafat movement, but nothing about non-violence, in addition, he said, what Mappilas were doing was not Islamic. He called Hindus not to blame Muslims as

⁴¹ Stephen Federic Dale, *The Mappilas of Malabar 1498-1922 Islamic Society on the South Asian Frontier*, Caarendon Press, Oxford, 1980. p 1

⁴² K M Bahaudhin, *Kerala Muslims -the long struggle*, Thiruvananthapuram, 1992. p 26

⁴³ O. Chandu Menon; *indulekha*, C.V. Raman pilla; *Raja rama bahadoor* and *Marthada varma*. For a detailed study, see K.N. Panikkar, *Culture, Ideology, Hegemony, Intellectual and Social Conciusness in Colonial India*, Tulika, New Delhi, 1995

a whole and to continue to stand for *ahimsa*. M.P.S Menon has pointed out that the Congress leaders like C. Rajagopalachari criticized the Mappilas and asked the police to suppress the Rebellion. He further quoted from Gandhi that “the Hindus should have power to protect their religion... each person should gain power for self protection ... it is better to attack and be killed than ran away from the Mappila madness”⁴⁴.

The rebellion had a strong effect on the Mappilas themselves. The major one was that the Mappilas had reached the end of the road. They became hapless. Much of the leadership was gone and a vacuum was made. The second implication was the confirmation of the characterization of the Mappilas as an uncivilized person and a “*pukka brute*”. It also led to the deepening of the gulf between the Mappila and the Hindu⁴⁵.

The major effect by the rebellion as K N Panikkar points out was almost complete loss of credibility and influence of the Congress. The Mappilas felt they were betrayed and that the congress leaders had turned away from them at the time of their distress; they were left to fend for themselves when the police unleashed a reign of terror. Even for those who had been indiscriminately arrested and prosecuted, no legal or material assistance was preferred. Instead, the congress leaders were eager to dissociate themselves from the Mappilas and thus to absolve themselves of any responsibility for violence⁴⁶.

Another cause for the alienation was the propaganda of the anti-nationalist, pro British ventures. A colonial discourse was created in which the whole Mappila region was represented as a fanatic area. It affected even Congress attitude towards them. They objected to start the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930-1932. At the same time the pro-British group started to propagate that “it is the result of obeying congress and Gandhi”⁴⁷

The Congress leaders played a negative role when the rebellion started. KPCC Secretary of that time, K Madhavan Nair escaped from Manjeri and met Thomas and gave an oath to the government authority that he will not visit Ernad, Valuvanad during this time period. He kept away from political activities. However, he was’nt arrested by the British. K P Keshava Menon too did not visit the rebel area. He went to Madras and lived as a barrister, later he had gone to Malaya in 1927, and returned in 1948, after the independence of India.

⁴⁴ M. K. Gandhi, *Meaning of Mappila Uprising*, Young India, 20-10-1921, cited in M. P. S. Menon, *Malabar Samaram-M.P Narayan Menonum Sahapravarthakarum*. IPH, Calicut, 1994,Op.Cit., p 133

⁴⁵ Roland E. Miller, Op.Cit , pp 151-2

⁴⁶ K. N. Panikkar, Op.Cit, p 188

⁴⁷ E. M. S. Namboothirippad, Keralam Malayalikalude Mathrubhoomi, Grandha Shala Sahakarana Sangam, Tiruvanandapuram, 1987. p 322

Mass arrests by the police increased the absence of the leaders. K. M. Moulavi Sahib, Kattilassery Muhammed Musliyar was the prominent Muslim leaders who expatriated from Malabar. On the other hand leaders like U. Gopala Menon and Manjeri Ramayyar taken the rebellion as a Mappila problem and taken off the responsibility of the Congress.⁴⁸ A. K. Pillai, the official historian of Congress, also criticized the irresponsibility of the leaders.⁴⁹

As a result of these, Mappilas came to identify the Congress with the Hindus. For creating this impression, the Congress leaders and workers must take some blame. Their critique of the rebellion and Mappila fanaticism had a distinct religious connotation, which emphasized their own identity. This was not only implicit in the perspective of local leaders, national leaders even Gandhi was not accepted. According to him the whole Muslims were responsible to the violence of the Mappilas because they all belong to the same religion⁵⁰.

During the post rebellion period the Congress did not evolve in a serious agenda to bridge the gulf between Hindus and Muslims or to attract the Mappilas to the party fold. On the other hand, some of the Congress leaders created a misunderstanding among the Mappilas. This was due to their attitude towards the victims of the rebellion. It was alleged that the Congress workers seemed to 'particularize their relief activities towards the Hindus alone'. No efforts were made by the Congress leaders to dispel the fears of the nationalist Muslims⁵¹.

The end of the rebellion which resulted in the annihilation of the region gave a blissful consolation for the people of Malabar, both Mappilas and Hindus. There were two major scenarios that became obvious in South Malabar just after the rebellion. One was the Mappilas in the rebel area who were severely subjected to the rebellion both from the rebels and from the government authorities and the second one was the refugees from the rebel area fearing the Mappila action.

The most effected community of the rebellion was the Mappilas who were compelled to live in the region. It is true that a considerable number of Mappilas did not participate in the rebellion. But the catastrophe and responsibility of the rebellion was, almost, same to all.

The whole incident was in a way a huge blow to the people of Malabar. Apart from an economical and physical shock, these events mentally and psychologically affected the Mappila community. They started to show a tendency of non-participation in the politics and alienation from the public life. The already

⁴⁸M P S Menon, Op.Cit, p 123

⁴⁹ A. K. Pillai, *Congressum keralavum*, DC books, kottayam, 1986. p 311

⁵⁰ K. N. Panikkar, Op.Cit., p 189

⁵¹ K. Gopalankutty, *Mobilisation Against The State and not Against The Landlords: The Civil Disobedience Movement in Malabar*, in the Indian Economic and Social History Review, Vol 26, 1989. p 473

pauperized, destroyed, and ill-treated people at the rebel area were affected by a flood in 1924 which culminated their grievances. A large number of people died and extensive cultivation was destroyed. Employment opportunities became scarce and they heavily suffered from famine and poverty. As S K Pottakkadu writes, "Agriculture was ruined, employment was stagnated, the number of refugees was increased, and famine and starvations became all pervasive. Women were the more effected group. They were faced more brutalities from the army than the Hindus faced from the Mappila rebels."⁵²

Unfortunately the Congress men on their part were not free from religious bias and they appeared to be more concerned with the welfare of the Hindus than the people as a whole. National Muslims like Muhammed Abdurahman were not happy with the work of the Congress. He wrote that the congress workers seem to particularize their relief activities to Hindus alone.⁵³ The activities of Khilafat committee was also not in a secular term but became a counterpart to the Congress.

The relief works conducted by Congress could not rise to the expectation of the people. The congress failure to reach to the expectation of the people and the communal turn of the relief works conducted by several agencies including Congress and Khilafat Committee added to the bitterness of the people who had already lost everything and started to flee from the mainstream politics and national movement.

The formation of the Kerala Muslims Aikya Sangam in 1922 was the first organized effort of the Kerala Muslims for the realization of their social resurgence. The annual conferences of the organization held at various Mappila centers from 1922 to 1934 created a Kerala wide stir and gave impetus to the revivalist movements of Mappilas⁵⁴.

While the Aikya Sangam remained as a non-political Organization, it never absolutely abstained from the political developments of the age. Its activities and resolutions helped to raise the political consciousness of the Mappilas. Later in 1930 Muslim Majlis was started in Malabar and involved in politics. The 'pro-politics' group got predominance in the Majlis while the 'socio-religious reformers' in the Aikya Sangam. Both organizations worked unitely and held conferences in one trellis⁵⁵.

During the post rebellion period, especially in the 1930s we can see a conflict within the KPCC. It was actually begun with the starting of *Mathrubhoomi* and *Al*

⁵² S. K. Pottakkadu, Op.Cit., p 117

⁵³ Public Department (confidential), G.O No 327, 2 November, 1921, cited in K. N. Panikkar, Op.Cit., p 189

⁵⁴ M. Abdul Samad, *Islam in Kerala, Groups and Movements in the twentieth century*, Lural Publications, Kottayam, 1998. pp 97-9

⁵⁵ P. A. Said Muhammed, *Kerala Muslim Charitram*, Current Books, Trichur, 1967, p 246

Ameen. There emerged two fractions, ie, The official “chalapuram Gang” and Muhammed Abdurahman’s “Ameen Lodge”.⁵⁶ Apart from these quarrels, communal tendency of Muslim leaders, Nair dominancy in the Chalappuram Gang, according to EMS, the basic cause of the conflict in 1924-37 was the socio-economic and cultural difference between Muslims and Hindus. The nationalist leaders were failed to solve there differences and unite them under one movement.⁵⁷

When the Salt Satyagraha was launched, nationalist Muslims did not participate however leaders like E Miodu Maulavi overcame such “personal differences” later and participated in the agitation. He stated that he has fate in the Indian National Congress but had differences with the Congress in Kerala⁵⁸ Some of the Muslims who had retired from government service engaged people to hoot at Congress leaders.⁵⁹ The ‘lack of enthusiasm’ shown by the Muslims was also due to the British effort of divide and rule.

Some of the repressive laws enacted during the rebellion period were repealed only in 1937. This inhibited nationalist activity in the Muslim dominated’ rebellion affected’ areas. So when the salt Satyagraha was launched it was decided to avoid these regions in south Malabar⁶⁰.

From all this we can see that there existed and developed a political consciousness among the Mappilas but were alienated from the mainstream politics. There can be also seen a separatist tendency has been growing among them since the rebellion, as P A Said Muhammed pointed out, “the bitter experience of the Mappilas in 1921 provided the inspiration for the later activities of Muslim League”⁶¹. It was the educated middle class who took initiative in organizing the Muslim League in Malabar. Putting an end to all connection with Congress, many League minded Congress came out to work for the League. They organized branches of All India Muslim League in various parts of Malabar.

⁵⁶ E. M. S. Nambudiripad, Op.Cit., p 365

⁵⁷ E. M. S. Nambothirippad, Op.Cit. , p 366

⁵⁸ Matrubhoomi, 29 April 1930, Cited in K Gopalnkutty, Op.Cit., p 474

⁵⁹ Matrubhoomi , 23 july 1931, ibid

⁶⁰ Matrubhoomi, 6 april 1930, ibid

⁶¹ P. A. Said Muhammed, Op.Cit., p 246



AppArent trAits of slAve system of lAbour in High Land of MaLabar, KeraLa

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The agricultural production of Kerala was very much indebted to the slave system of labour from immemorial. The slaves were an integral part the social structure based on caste system in the past society of not only Kerala but also all over India(Chanana, 1990 ;Gurukkal, 2006). A simple definition of a slave is any human being who is under the absolute control of a master and is considered by the later as his property (Chanana, 1990, 1). This unfortunate section of people had no right over the land and they were even denied of their basic natural rights by their masters. In Travancore and Kochi of south Kerala Parayas and Pulayas were the slave agricultural labourers, but in Malabar of north Kerala the indigenous tribal people were the main sections of slave labourers. In many places, they were permanently attached to the soil and considered like a marketable commodity, which could be bought or sold along with the land. This paper seeks to review some of the features of slave system of labour that had existed in the highlands of Malabar especially in Wayanad taluk. Unlike other parts of Kerala the bounded labourers of Wayanad were tribal people. (Logan, 2000: 147).⁶²This slave system

of labour existed in this region since the tenth century A.D. and continued up to the early second half of the twentieth century.

Wayanad, which constitutes a major portion of the highland of Malabar was chiefly inhabited by the aborigines. All most all other sections of the people lives in Wayanad are considered as the migrants from the plains of Malabar and other neighboring areas of Tamil and Kannada speaking people over many centuries.(Nair, 2000: 49-113). At least from the eighth century onwards Wayanad was under the political sway of the rulers of the Kottayam dynasty in North Malabar. During the colonial period it was a taluk surrounded by the Kottayam and Kurumbranad taluks of Malabar in the north western part and the native state of Coorg, Mysore and Gudallur taluk of Madras presidency in south eastern part. It is believed that the word 'Wayanad', originated from the words *Vayal-Nadu*, means land of paddy fields. Extensive paddy field was the peculiarity of Wayanad, so paddy cultivation was the chief occupation of the people of Wayanad. This cultivable wet land in the taluk was owned by the high caste Nair, Gowda (Jain agriculturists) and Chetti landowners, who cultivated traditional varieties of paddy in Wayanad by using tribal bonded labourers. The other areas of land were mostly uncultivated and remained as thick forests and sparsely inhabited by primitive tribal groups. The Paniyas, Adiyas, Mullukurumas, Kattunaikas, Uralikurumas and Kurichiyas were the chief sections of the tribal inhabited of this geographical unit (Luiz, 1962:).

Among the tribal groups Paniyas and Adiyas were the main sections of bonded labourers used for agricultural work by the *Janmies*. According to L. A. Krishna Iyar the Paniyas of Malabar belonged to Negritoid race (Gopalakrishnan,1994: 6). Paniyas were traditionally agricultural labourers and they constituted the highest number of tribal people in Wayanad. Adiyas were also agricultural labourers of the northern part of Wayanad and Paniyas concentrated in the southern part of the Taluk. The word Paniya may have been originated from the Malayalam words *Pani* means 'work' and *yar* means 'people'. Thus the word Paniya literally means labourers. It is believed that since the settlement of landlords, the Paniyas were the workers under the landlords. They lived by meager wage for their work received from their masters in the form of paddy. The tribal workers lived in a very pathetic situation under the landlords and they were forced to work in this situation because of the economic compulsions.

The Paniya workers under the landlords lived as bonded labourers and their masters had the right to exchange the workers along with the sale and purchase of

⁶² In the plains of Malabar the bonded labourers were not the tribal groups but a particular caste group viz. Cherumars. In Travancore the main agricultural labourers were Pulayas and Parayas.

the land. They lived as agricultural slaves of the soil and they were attached to the landlords or *Taravads* (a joint family unit with vast area of land) in Wayanad. In the local parlance the bonded labour system of Wayanad was known as *Andu Kettu* or *Kundal Pani* or *Vallipani* or *Valliyurkavu* system of labour. According to a Revenue Officer in Wayanad “ it has always been a practice even before Wayanad was ceded to the English to purchase a caste of people called the Paniyas at a rate of varying 30 to 100 per head according to his or her wealth, by the rights of *Janmam*, *Kanam*, mortgage and so forth, for the purpose of issuing them for the labour to the field” (*Calicut Regional Archives*, 1834, p. 11).

Valliyurkavu System of Labour

The procurement of tribal labourers for permanent agricultural work in the fields of landlords and their working under the landlords were generally known as Valliyurkavu System. This system ensured the smooth supply of labour to the landlords of Wayanad. According to this arrangement, the landlords used to buy the service of tribal workers for one year during the annual festival of Valliyurkavu temple near Mananthavady in north Wayanad in the month of March.⁶³ The landlord had to give an advance amount of Rs. 5 to 10 known as *Nippupanam* (money for stay and work under a landlord) to the tribal workers against the verbal agreement of work for one year. An Adiya or a Paniya who received *Nippupanam* were not allowed to change his master or escape from him under any circumstances. It was the practice of the landlord to create a divine sanctity to the verbal agreement of the tribal worker by making the contract in front of the deity of the temple. This created fear in the minds of the tribal workers that it would attract the wreath of Valliyuramma (goddess of the shrine of Valliyurkavu) if he violated the agreement. By imposing this notion in the minds of the tribal people the landlords ensured fixity of the term of the worker. Furthermore, the landlords availed the service of the *Mooppan* (headman of the tribe) to facilitate the distribution of tribal workers to the landlords at the time of festival. In return to this help the landlords used to give money and other complements to the *Mooppan*. The tribal people always considered the direction of his *Mooppan* as final and this involvement of *Mooppan* also made the procurement of the tribal worker very easy.

Generally the entire family of a worker was purchased and employed in the agricultural lands of the big landlords. The daily wage of the slave worker was only a very small amount of paddy called *Valli*, so this type of work was also called *Vallipani*. For a day's work a male Adiya or Paniya will get three *Manams*

⁶³ One of the ancient temples of Wayanad dedicated to Goddess Bhagavati. This annual temple festival lasts for 15 days. This festival was also a period of an annual trade fair in Wayanad, from where people buy goods for next one year.

of paddy while a female Adiya's share was two *Manams* of paddy. (*Manam* was the local measurement in Wayanad. One *Manam* is half *Seer*. One seer = 933.10 grms.). They were given a part of their wage in advance when there was no work and it was known as *Elappuvalli*. The rate of *Elappuvalli* was half of the wage of a day's work. The daily allowance of paddy in Malabar for slave workers and free workers was different. A tribal worker and his family had to cultivate 3.5 acres of land in a year generally. He must start his work in the early morning 6 a.m., by 12 p.m. they were given paddy for their food and they had to prepare lunch by this paddy before the beginning of the afternoon session of the work. They had to satisfy their hunger with this small quantity of paddy. Again he starts his work at 3 p.m. and ends his work at 6' O clock in the evening. They will get balance wage of paddy only after 6' O clock in the evening.

The permanent worker of a landlord also had other rights and benefits also. On the occasion of *Vishu* festival (April-May) the workers were given food and rice. The male worker was given a piece of cloth (Dhoti) and one *para* paddy (12.5 seer) and the female worker's share was 3 seers of paddy. The ceremony of *Vithudil* (planting of paddy seed in the field) was on the occasion of *Vishu* festival and it was performed by the tribal chief. On the day the tribal chief was given coconut, banana, rice and oil. The female worker was given a piece of cloth called *Karikkan* on the day of *Uchhal* (end of harvest). On the occasion of *Onam*(August-September) festival also they were given food with *Payasam*(sweet) and 3 seers of paddy. The male and female workers were given cloth on this occasion. At the time of *Kundal* (after harvesting and thrashing of paddy) 5 *Pothies* (One *Poti* = 30 seers) of paddy was given to the worker. Some landlords, instead of giving paddy allowed the workers to take the grains of one small piece of land of paddy(*Kanadam*). The workers were permitted to reap this paddy field only after finishing the harvesting and thrashing work of the landlords.

Hobli wise Distribution of Slave Transaction in Wayanad: 1822*

<i>Hobli</i>	Caste	Descrip tion	Amount of lease	Tenure of Mortgage	Amount of Mortgage	Value of Sale
Mooloonad	Paniya	Man	3 <i>Pothi</i> Paddy	<i>Otti</i>	Rs. 32	Rs. 40
				<i>Kanam</i>	Rs.20	
		Boy	1 <i>Pothi</i> Paddy	<i>Panayam</i>	Rs. 15	Rs. 12
		Girl	1 <i>Pothi</i> Paddy	<i>Panayam</i>		Rs. 3

Other Hoblies	Paniya and Adiya	Man	3 <i>Pothi</i> Paddy	<i>Otti</i>	Rs.27	Rs. 35	
				<i>Kanam</i>	Rs. 15		
		Boy	1 <i>Pothi</i> Paddy				Rs. 12
	Girl	1 <i>Pothi</i> Paddy				Rs. 3	
	Moopa n and Naikan	Man			<i>Otti</i>	52 Silver <i>Fanams</i>	64 Silver <i>Fanams</i>
					<i>Kanam</i>	30 Silver <i>Fanams</i>	
Poleya r	Man		4 Silver <i>Fanams</i>	<i>Otti</i>	Rs. 8	Rs. 12	
				<i>Kanam</i>			

* Revenue administrative division of a taluk under the British; *Kanam*- A customary land tenure based on mortgage or lease; *Fanam* - Gold or silver coins of differing value

Source: Graeme, H. S., (2010), *Report on the Revenue Administration of Malabar 1822*, P. 68

The landlords also utilized the service of tribal agricultural workers for clearing forests and expanding agriculture. The landlords usually provided land to the agricultural workers in the unclear forest areas in their land. For making small sheds and living the workers will clear the land voluntarily. After a particular period of time the landlord will shift the workers to another area, there also the workers will repeat the same process in the new land. By this method the landlords could clear the forest for cultivation without any additional expense.

One significant feature of the slave system of labour in Wayanad was that Paniyas were mortgaged and leased by the landlords like a marketable commodity. For instance, if a cultivator requires workers for agricultural activities he would approach the owners of the Paniya and hire them for work.⁶⁴ The amount paid to the owner of the Paniya as rent for the work of the Paniya was known as *Talappattam*. The amount of *Pattam*(rent) was vary according to age and ability of

⁶⁴Information given by P.C. Madhavan Nair, who had noticed *Mulamkaranam*(inscription on Bamboo) containing the details of the lease of Paniya in an ancient *Taravad* at Pozhuthana village in South Wayanad.

the Paniya. The agreement between the owner of the Paniya and receiver of Paniya was usually written in a split of Bamboo giving details of the Paniya, amount, tenure and other particulars. This agreement prepared in bamboo was known as *Mulamkaranam*

One of such sale deed of 1902 was reproduced by A. Aiyappan (Aiyappan, 1992:38-39).⁶⁵ Two landlords of Wayanadan Chetti community, Raman and Chundan of Muppainad *Amsam* (administrative unit the *Taluk*), in Wayanad had purchased 13 families of *Janmam* slaves from the former royal family of Kurumbranad with all rights after receiving their cost at current prices (Aiyappan, 1992:38-39). Another instance of slave system of labour in Wayanad was that when one of the early agrarian migrants from Travancore purchased land, he received 60 healthy Paniyas attached to that land in 1930. Actually, he had purchased 400 acres of land for Rs. 5000 and along with this land he got 60 cattle, 60 Paniyas, 10 Pothi seeds and agricultural implements without paying extra amount (Joseph,1991:377).⁶⁶ Furthermore, the pledging of Paniya and Adiya as

⁶⁵ The ethnographic collections in the Madras Government Museum contain five bamboo documents (No. 21/37 to 25/37).

⁶⁶ When K.P.Mathew, Kudakkachira (a Syrian Christian migrant from Kottayam division of Travancore) purchased land from P. V. Moidu (a Muslim trader from Tellicherry) at Payyampilly near Mananthavady, he had received Paniyas along with land free of cost.

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collateral security for monetary transactions was a usual practice in Wayanad. As mentioned earlier the tribal people were brought, sold and even pawned. The following is a case brought before the Munsiff of the sub-court of Wayanad in 1834. In this case a Paniya slave called Kaippadan was pawned for Rs. 8 to Ayyaswami Pattar by the owner of the slave, Kannan (Baby,2002:198).

Petition before the Sub-Court of Wayanad Munsiff Court indicating the mortgage of Paniya

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File no. 92/1834

Malayalam District

Petition before the Sub-Court of Wayanad Munsiff Court

Plaintiff: Ayyaswami Pattar of Paigattiri Village

Defendant: (1) Edachana Achu of Kammom

(2) Kannan, the Brother of Edchana Achu

On *Meenam* 8th, 1007, the defendant borrowed Rs. 18/- from self, the plaintiff. For Rs. 8/- of the debt the defendant leased as *Kanam*, his *Janmam* property the Paniyan Kaippadan. For the amount of Rs. 10/- and its interest a bond was written. Accordingly the aforesaid Paniyan was brought my *Kalam* (field) and kept for there about 15 days. The defendant reclaimed the Paniyan he had leased to me. Whenever I demand of him either to return the Paniyan or to pay the due amount with interest, the defendant put me off by promising to pay the amount but does not. So, I filed a petition on 14th *Mithunam* 1009 (14 June 1834) requesting the court to verify the facts and procure from the defendant the aforesaid amount and its due interest amounting Rs. 86 and 44 ps. along with interest up to the judgment.

Signature

Source: Baby, K. J., *Maveli Mandram*, p. 198.

The tribal people generally addressed their master and his wife as *Pappan* and *Pappathi* (honorific titles). Apart from Valliyurkavu system for securing labourers, the assistants of the landlords used to bring tribal workers from the tribal settlements for the works in the field of landlords by giving an amount of around Rs. 25 as a onetime advance amount and five seers of paddy. Their remuneration was equal to the workers in the Valliyurkavu system of labour. Under severe exploitation and harassment from the hands of landlords the tribal agricultural workers used to desert their masters secretly. In Paniya language this act of leaving the master was known as *Kudippokku* (leaving of a settlement). It was done very secretly otherwise they will be punished by their owners very cruelly. Before the desertion they used to find out another master for work. On the day of the desertion at night, they will make fire as usual near to their hut to create a feeling that they are staying there. But by the midnight the entire family with their belongings will escape to the field of another master, who had promised more wage or facilities. The dress of the tribal people were very primitive. The landlords never allowed the tribal workers to wear dress below the knees both men and women. They were scolded and punished by the *Janmies* (landlords) if they violated the dress code. If anybody arrived late for work he would not be permitted to work on that day and will be punished.

Since Wayanad was a land locked territory these tribal slaves had no chance to interact with other people. Though the colonial government abolished slavery in India in 1843, the British did not take any measures to implement this act in Malabar and save the bonded labourers from the exploitation of money lenders. They were forced to suffer under the landlords till the advent agrarian migrants from Travancore in the second half of the twentieth century (Mathew, 2011, 231). With the coming of agrarian migrants the bonded labourers got better opportunities for their livelihood and slave system of labour came to an end gradually.



Caste Politics and Judiciary's ban on Caste rallies

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The most developed form of the caste system occurs in India. Traditionally, it consists of relatively closed status groups, each being a commensal unity, the members of which may eat together, and each possessing a distinct name. These units are locally called '*Jatis*'. Each *Jati* or sub caste is endogamous and has a traditional occupation associated with it. There are many '*Jatis*' in any cultural region. *Jatis* are to be distinguished from the varna. While *Jatis* have most of the characteristics of groups, *varnas* are essentially categories.

The caste system in India has been described in different ways by many scholars. Hutton wrote: "While a caste is a social unit in a quasi-organic system or society and throughout India is consistent enough to be immediately identifiable, the nature of the unit is variable enough to make a concise definition difficult." Recent sociological works on caste pay considerable attention to inter-and intra-caste relationships.⁶⁷ Some sociologists maintain that the caste system is peculiar to Indian civilization. Dumont writes that the caste system is "an organic system with each particular caste and sub-caste filling a distinctive functional role. It is a system of labour division from which the element of competition among workers has been largely excluded. British rule mirrored with its new tools and technology, ideas and institutions concepts like freedom, equality, secularism and

⁶⁷ Hutton, J. H, *Caste in India*, Cambridge University press, 1946, p.50.

democracy were new to the tradition-bound people of India. However, imparting these ideas to the people was not top priority of the colonial rulers. Hence, the British rule could not accelerate the tempo of social change in India properly.

Indian social life is largely articulated through caste, any group or organization that is formed to promote social interests, whether these are in the economic, educational, and political or any other sphere tends to be affected by it. In fact, castes organize themselves in order to further the interests of their members. Since Independence inter-and intra-caste competition for wealth and power has greatly intensified. Writing about the significance of these changes, Leach maintains that when castes compete they violate the traditional norms of caste reciprocity. He writes: "Everywhere in India and Ceylon today whole caste groups are tending to emerge as political factions but it is misleading to think of such behaviour as characteristics of caste as such. If a whole caste group plays the role of a political faction by competing with other such fractions for some common economic or political goal it thereby acts in defiance of caste tradition." He concludes that whenever caste groups are seen to be acting as corporation in competition against like groups of different caste, then they are acting in defiance of caste principles."⁶⁸ Gough's viewpoint is similar. Srinivas disagrees with Dr. Leach when he says that competition between caste groups is in defiance of caste principles. It is true that the caste wise division of labour facilitates the interdependence of castes and this is strikingly seen in the *jajmani* system. But interdependence is not the whole story. Castes do compete between each other for acquiring political and economic power and high ritual position."

The discussion on caste begins in during the colonial period and gets completely attenuated by the time it reaches the contemporary phase. If at all the discourses tries to connect with the present reality, it uses the spectacles that mislead it to see caste as only a relic of the past. Castes are seen in terms of untouchability and its various manifestations. The discourse refuses to see that the extant castes are not merely a relic of the past but it's reduce, deformed by the changes in political economy that it may not be understood in its classical frame. As a matter of fact castes have operated as a self-organising, self-regulating system and have adapted themselves to any kind of pull and pressure of circumstances, keeping their macro-structure intact. Castes have thus survived the myriad political changes that befell the Indian subcontinent through external invasions. The system comfortably absorbed many alien races and not only with stood the onslaught of other religious ideologies but also stained them with its own colour. The first major blow the castes faced was from capitalism that entered

⁶⁸ Rajni Kothari, *Caste in Indian Politics* (Ed.) Orient Longman Ltd., New Delhi. 1970, p.33-34

India under the cover of colonialism. While capitalism skillfully used the caste system to its advantage, as divisive force for the working class, it tended to bring the upper (*dwija*) castes together on the basis of their new interests in the capitalist economy. The impact of this process has been the division of the caste continuum into two primordial segments, castes and non-castes within its sphere of influence.

When the Constitution of postcolonial India was written, it immediately outlawed untouchability, the favourite whipping horse of all the upper-caste reformers, including M.K. Gandhi, but left castes untouched on the plea that it needed to extend special privileges to the erstwhile untouchables, which actually came about in colonial times, and also to the tribes, for which a separate schedule was prepared. By this single innocuous and noble sounding decision, castes received constitutional validity. The untouchables had faced a unique kind of social exclusion for centuries and hence did not revoke much concern. But the constitution proffered a secular justification of "educational and social backwardness" and made a case for affirmative provisions to guide the state. Thus "Other Backward Classes" too became eligible for similar consideration. The constitution thus made way for the creation of a can of caste worms to be used as a deadly weapon of the ruling class for its strategic purposes. The device made it possible for any caste to seek positional change by claiming backwardness or opposing other castes that might make such claims. The changes in political economy brought about by capitalism had greatly weakened the basis of castes. But the constitution gave castes a new lease of life. What we confront today is castes that are sourced today are castes that are sourced more from the constitution than from the Hindu *dharmashastras*.

Reservations have become the constitutional correlate of castes. Historically, they flow from the Poona Pact between Gandhi and Ambedkar, in lieu of Ambedkar giving up separate electorates for the scheduled castes which he had won in opposition to Gandhi. This pact was pure blackmail and Ambedkar was never happy with it. While he was in the viceroy's executive council, he was instrumental in transforming the existing preferment policy in favour of the scheduled castes into a quota system. The constitution, drafted under his chairmanship, later carried it. The basic purpose with which Ambedkar went to the constituent Assembly was to secure special safeguards for the scheduled castes in the constitution. It is clearly seen in his "States and Minorities", document prepared as a memorandum to the constituent Assembly when he was not yet a member. But having attained membership of the constituent Assembly and upon heading its most important drafting committee, he had an opportunity to plead for outlawing castes as also for instituting state socialism. But it appears his pragmatic reading of the constituent Assembly led him to be content with the safe guards for the SCs/STs. What he did and did not do in the constituent Assembly needs to be

understood in the context of his later statements disowning the credit for chairing the drafting committee in the writing of the constitution. He made the accusation that he was used as a hack and engaged in an outright condemnation, claiming that the whole exercise was of no good.⁶⁹

The constitution, in the ultimate analysis, had to reflect the dominant opinion of the constituent Assembly, which in turn represented ruling class interests. The ruling classes would never let go of the golden goose of caste. The opportunity came handy to enshrine caste in the constitution with the alibi of helping the SCs/STs and potentially all "socially and educationally backward classes or castes". Castes had enormous potential for keeping the lower strata of people divided which is an imperative need for any ruling class.⁷⁰ Initially the Congress did not face competition, but later with its own creation of a class of rich farmers out of the populous farming castes in rural areas for the sake of capitalist development, and with the help of calibrated land reforms and the capitalist strategy of green revolution, politics became increasingly competitive by the mid 1960s, leading to the increasing importance of caste in elections. Mandal opened the lid of the proverbial can of worms. Every caste, including the uppermost, became a contender for backwardness, primarily to mobilise people. Unashamed caste mobilisation took off all over the country. Such mobilisation might bring forth a bitter taste in the mouth, but they were perfectly constitutional. Insofar as the constitution takes cognizance of caste for its special provisions, caste-based mobilisation may not possibly be stopped.

Without indulging in legalese, it can be said that for banning caste-based rallies, castes must first be outlawed. Paradoxically, the worst victims of the caste system would themselves be up in arms against such a proposition. They could easily ignore the fondest hope of their "saviour" Babasaheb Ambedkar, of a casteless-socialist India. Reservations have always been a contentious issue that evokes extreme reactions. Assuming them to be an intrinsically democratising force, barring the rank reactionaries, reservations became a norm for all to extend them their support in order to exhibit their progressiveness. While the benefits of reservations are always taken for granted, there is not a slightest suspicion whispered from any corner about their cost being borne by dalits. But for the uplift of a small section of people from among dalits, the benefit of which could be questionable from the perspective of the community as a whole, there is a huge psychological, social and political cost that the dalit community has been unknowingly paying. In any case, when after two decades of implementation of neo-liberal policy the size of the public sector has diminished to the extent that

⁶⁹ Inderjeet Singh, *Mainstream*, Vol LI No. 34, August 10, 2013.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

there has been a net loss of over a million jobs, there is hardly any meaning left in reservations. It may be the apt time for dalits to wake up and review their stand. Although, reservations have gone beyond them, they are still identified as their sole upholders. The side effects of reservations that, Dalits are already splintered into their many sub castes.⁷¹

Politics in India highly depended on patron-client ties along the caste lines during the Congress dominating period. The caste that one belongs to serves as a strong determinant of his or her voting pattern. In India, different political parties represent the interests of different caste groups. The upper and merchant castes such as Brahmin, Rajput and Kayasth and the rich Muslim groups tend to express their interests through the Congress Party. The agrarian middle class such as the Jats tend to vote for the competing parties. Numerically minor parties, represented by the Jan Shangh, receives votes almost exclusively from the upper and trading castes . However, caste does not solely determine voting behaviors. Discrepancies occur especially for the upper caste groups. This means that not everyone from the same caste would vote for only one particular party. The upper caste people have more freedom to vote by political beliefs. The Mandal Commission covered more than 3000 Other Backward Castes. It is thus not clear which parties are associated with each castes.⁷²

Loyal groups of voters usually back a certain candidate or party during elections with the expectation of receiving benefits once their candidate is in office. This practice, called "vote bank", is prolific throughout most regions of the country. Many political parties in India have openly indulged in caste-based vote banks politics. The Congress party used vote banks to maintain power; the competing parties constructed vote banks to challenge the Congress dominance of politics.

Besides voting, the role of caste in the different aspects of politics is an important factor, influencing the selection of candidates in elections, appointment of ministers, transfer and posting of public officials etc. the policy of reservation has given further impetus to the role of caste in politics, particularly in the last few years. Caste has influenced the policy-making of the government, for example the policy of reservation in favour of certain castes. The programmes, policies and declarations of political parties are made, keeping in view the caste factor. Even different positions within a political party are distributed in terms of caste configurations.

⁷¹ Anand Teltumbde, *Can Caste based Rallies be Banned*, economic and Political weekly Vol. 32, August10,2013, p.11.

⁷² Inderjeet Singh,*Mainstream*, Vol LI No. 34, August 10,2013.

Caste plays a very important role in elections and voting. Political parties select their candidates on the basis of caste composition in the constituency. The voting in elections and mobilisation of political support from top to bottom moves on the caste lines. The caste factor also influences the formation of the council of ministers and making appointments to various political positions in the government. Caste also functions, as a pressure group in politics. Political bargaining is also done on the caste lines. Caste organisations have emerged to organised caste members for collective bargaining with each other.

The administration has not escaped the influence of the caste in India. The postings, transfers and appointments of public officials are influenced by caste considerations. Even the behaviour of public officials in carrying out administrative duties gets influenced by caste considerations. The political leadership in many political parties emerges and survives in politics on the basis of the support of certain caste groups. There are many political experts who consider the increasing influence of caste in politics as a negative tendency, not helpful in the development of democracy. Experts like D.R. Gadgil and famous sociologist M.N. Srinivas hold this view. However, there are commentators and thinkers who hold that the role of caste is essential to give momentum to the political process. American political experts I. Rudolf and S.H. Rudolf in their book, 'Modernity and Tradition' hold the view that caste politics in India has reduced the distinction among castes and has brought about political equality among the members of different castes.⁷³

*“It is not politics that gets caste ridden; it is caste that gets politicized. Dialectical as it may sound, it is precisely because the operation of competitive politics has drawn caste out of its apolitical context and given it a new status and identity that the 'Caste System' as either to known has begun to disintegrate”.*⁷⁴

On 11th July 2013, the Lucknow bench of the Allahabad High Court, comprising justices Uma Nath Singh and Mahendra Dayal, issued an interim order on a public interest litigation filed by a local lawyer, Motilal Yadav, banning caste-based rallies throughout Uttar Pradesh (UP) with immediate effect and issued notices to the central and state governments, the Election Commission and four major political parties.⁷⁵ The petitioner demanded a ban on such rallies were against the spirit of the constitution which clearly states that all caste and communities were equal before the law and upheld that there would no discrimination based on caste and religious lines. The order created a wave of

⁷³ Beteille.A., *Society and Politics in India: Essay in a Comparative Perspective*. Athlone Press, London, pp.Introduction

⁷⁴ Kothari, Rajni, *Politics in India*; Boston: Little Brown, 1970, Introduction.

⁷⁵ *The Hindu*, p.1, *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, p.1

approval and a sense of satisfaction among people who are totally frustrated by the blatant promotion of caste by the political parties. All the national political parties came out with customary statements welcoming the decision except the only party. That justified it by arguing that the rallies organised by her party were aimed at uniting people of all sections of the society and not for any narrow political gain. It was interesting that the order had come on the back of defending party on rally 7 July in the state capital of UP⁷⁶.

In Indian politics, it is used according to the creatively devised strategy which has been the trendsetter in the caste-based politics. The caste-based rallies being just one component, there is no party that has not abused caste in its electoral strategy. Other parties might not have organised caste based rallies as the some parties do in UP, but they too use caste calculus to the hilt in elections. However the party ruling in centre at that time, whose spokesperson in UP hastily welcomed the high court order, had barely a week before it sought a break up of various castes in all the 543 Lok Sabha constituencies from its state units in preparation for the upcoming general elections.⁷⁷ As such, one would rather wish that the abuse of caste should altogether be outlawed. This order may thus be regarded as a welcome step in that direction and hence be commended. But on the other hand the question arises on constitutional provisions regarding caste. The legal luminaries doubted on given the legitimating of castes in the Indian constitution, whether such an order would be tenable and more importantly, actionable.⁷⁸

The caste rallies are dividing the society on the caste lines as the political parties using the names of castes likes *Brahmins*, *Kshatriyas*, *Vaishyas* etc. These kinds of caste politics causing immense damage to social unity and harmony. Turn in any direction and the ruling classes in India have systematically fortified their position in every possible way and correspondingly weakened the vast masses of people. Demands for reservations by all and sundry could be taken as a proxy for the pervasive hopelessness of peopale, which is exploited by their so called leaders. The state of the people is such that no amount of reservations or any alms from the state are going to alleviate their woes. The situation would logically want a revolution but revolutions do not happen just by happen just by hoping for them. The solution lies in the basic empowerment of all people, in terms of securing the means of livelihood, ensuring healthcare, and providing quality education through neighborhood schools etc. It is time to address basic problems of Indian masses;

⁷⁶ *The Tribune*, 17 July 2013 ,P.1,*The Times of India*, 17 July 2013, P.1

⁷⁷ Anand Teltumbde, *Can Caste based Rallies be Banned*, economic and Political weekly Vol. 32, August10,2013, p.10.

⁷⁸ J Markandeya Katju's , "*The need for judicial Restraint*", *The Indian Express*, 17 July 2013

there may not remain any need for palliatives such as reservations, free byes, so-called social securities.

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19th Century British Colonialism: Pull and Push Factors For tamil Diaspora (1834-1922)

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Introduction

The British were the forerunners of publicizing indentured labour system in the globe. At first the structure was tentatively observed in their American Colony Jamestown. Initially, the whites had also comprised with the indentured labourers category. After the black population arrived in 1619, who had subdued by the indentured labour system were mercilessly hounded by their white masters. Slavery, thus, replaced indentured system in the New World. In Mauritius, such an exigency had arisen when slavery was abolished in 1834. The exploitative experiences of their past urged them to take to the system of indentured labour to ensure prompt supply of labour for their plantation work. The slaves emancipated in the wake of slavery abolition in 1834 were in no mood to opt for plantation work. Therefore the white planters in Mauritius had to look to India for their alternative source of labour supply. While commencing the study period have restricted from 1834 to 1922. 1834 was the year in which slavery was abolished in Mauritius. 1922 was the year in which a comprehensive Act streamlining the old process of immigration was adopted by the Indian legislature. The paper has been classified into four parts. The first, second and third parts of the paper are very comprehensively discussing about the negative effects of the British colonialism, degradation of the economic state and the ground reality of the 19th century Tamil society. The concluding part of the paper has made an attempt to give an outline about the 19th century colonial Tamil Diaspora of the world.

I

Deterioration of Agriculture

The Indian National Congress intently condemned the attitudes of the colonial rulers of India when whom had arbitrarily fixed and collected the land-levies from the peasant farmers which were highly somber in nature and leaving very paltry profit to the cultivators. The scarcity of the nation was ever-mounting and that recurrent modifications in the land-duties had also affected the progress of agriculture. Then the large disbursements of incidental to the English administration were also attributed to the grounds of Indian poverty. Instantaneously none other countries of our world were paid the officials as highly as the English officials in India.

Prior to the occupancy of British the villages of Madras Presidency survived within a closed fiscal system. The requirements of the villages were met by its inhabitants and infrequently did they have to dependent on hired labour from outside. They had their own blacksmith, weavers, agriculturists and traders. In the middle of the 18th century, South Indian Industries became the typical examples of rural

economy with spinning, weaving, dyeing, processing, agricultural commodities like sugar, vegetables, oil, making of utensils and simple agricultural implements and furniture.⁷⁹ However, the conditions distorted subsequent to the British Colonialism. In the course of this generation the agricultural labourers led a hand to mouth subsistence. His residence was virtually a hut of sludge parapet and thatched roofs, slighter and highly ramshackle while comparing the better-off classes and in addition to that lacked of anything that can be barely recognize as furniture. The status of this group of populace was dejected and desolate.⁸⁰

The position of weavers was added to further shoddier. In Madras alone 5,000 weavers had no means to take more than one meal of rice a day. Payment for labour was largely in kind and occasionally supplemented by cash. The casual labourers had the most inadequate livelihood, especially in the slack season, while the yearly labourer received the smallest possible wage. If he received cash it varied from Rs. 12 to 20 per annum.⁸¹

In history, cultivators of the country were losing their land in all periods, via falling into debt or bearing infirmity or further family agony. These individuals became themselves as landless labourers. Some of them relinquished to obtain new land, while many decided to inhabit in the villages. They were needed landowners of the bigger estates would give them work at harvest time.⁸²

With the advent of the British, the ryotwari system of collecting land revenue from individual cultivators was introduced by Thomas Munroe. As against the expectation, the introduction of ryotwari system did not relieve the ryots from pain or distress, as it continued uninterrupted as usual even after a quarter of century of the British rule. As a personal narrative of Arun Mukherjee's article on 'Scarcity and Crime: A Study of 19th Century Bengal,' points out that, '...many houses were remained unroofed and Bones of man and animals were scattered every where.'⁸³

Thanks to such privation and misfortune barely a tiny percentage of populace in India owned possessions value on 1000 Sterling. People who have had assets worth about 5,000 pagodas were very uncommon and might simply be calculated. As Subramanian sums up that: '...“Pox Britannica” with all its administrative and

End Notes

⁷⁹ R. John Kennady, "Emigration from Madras Presidency to British Burma, 1875-85," (Unpublished M. Phil Diss., Bharathiya University, 1991), p. 4.

⁸⁰ P. Subramanian, *Social History of Tamils* (New Delhi: D.K. Print World, 1996), p. 194.

⁸¹ David Ludden, *Peasant History in South India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), pp.130-131.

⁸² Gyan Prakash, *Bonded Histories: Genealogies of Lab or Servitude in Colonial India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 82-83.

⁸³ Arun Mukherjee, "Scarcity and Crime: A Study of 19th Century Bengal," *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 28, February 1993, pp. 237-242.

economic policies did not bring relief to the poor to whom a square meal was a luxury even after a quarter of a century of British rule.’ The self centered policy of the government, frequent famines, adverse seasons, and lack of patronage and support to indigenous industries and agriculture were responsible for such anguish and agony.”⁸⁴

The colonial Indian government’s policies on land revenue and it’s collections were the most vital questions very directly affected the general population whom lived in India. The ryotwari system obliterated the peasant society in a way which earlier existed with the graciousness and nobles whom patronized the native skill and industries including cultivation. Over-assessment owing to ryotwari tenure, oppression of the revenue officials, apathy of the government and disintegration of the village communities absolutely led to the bankrupt of the peasantry which received nothing but kicks and curse. Goaded to hopelessness, the aggrieved emigrated to other British Crown Colonies in search of labour and life.⁸⁵ In 1854, a few years before the Great Rebellion, Indian peasants submitted a petition in which clearly portrayed their pathetic plight of life and pleaded for the abolition of a number of onerous taxes which were imposed on them. The people were forced to pay water tax, house-tax, income tax, road-tax, irrigation cess, village service cess, toll upon carts, municipal tax and etc. In expediency these lavish taxes, without any hesitation we could say that obviously were tyrannical and exhausting.⁸⁶

Concomitantly instances of torture employed by Revenue Officers for the purpose of collecting government dues had also reported. A report left by a committee for the investigation of alleged cases of torture in the Madras Presidency reveals the plight of the tax payers and land holders. Though they made use of the torture generally towards the land holders, who made delay or refused to pay *kist* (tax), the common poor people were being victimized for several other reasons. The personal violence was employed arbitrarily for the purpose of exacting revenues. A few quotes from the Report: ‘The Reverend C.F. Muzy, a Missionary of Madurai has seen a case, which he has reported to the Collector. He has also seen an instrument

⁸⁴ P. Subramanian, *Social History of Tamils*, p. 192.

⁸⁵ Abhijit Banerjee and Lakshmi Iyer, “History, Institutions, and Economic Performance: The Legacy of Colonial Land Tenure Systems in India,” *The American Economic Review*, Vol. 95, September 2005, pp. 1192-1193.

⁸⁶ D. Subramanyam Reddy, “The Ryotwari Land Revenue Settlements and Peasant Resistance in the Northern Division of Arcot of the Madras Presidency during Early British Rule,” *Social Scientist*, vol. 16, July 1988, pp. 37-38. and see also P. Subramanian, *Social History of Tamils*, p. 203.

of torture in the hands of Revenue Peons; this instrument was composed of four or five thongs of leather, three or four feet long, and used as a whip.’⁸⁷

The Reverend H. A. Kawndiya, a Missionary of Mangalore, presents the details from his personal knowledge: “I lived formerly in the neighborhood of Police Office and saw daily that prisoners were beaten, flogged and ill-treated. I know also for certain that for the purpose of extorting confession from women, a disgusting application of red-pepper (chilly powder) is sometimes employed.” The Reverend L. Vedier of Tirunelveli narrate his experience as follows: “...Flogging is used in many places, once I have myself heard it from inside my house at Callivolam (Kallikulam) in the taluk of Vulleyoure (Valliyur) and it was too severe (that) I could hardly take my dinner on account of the sensation it caused me.”⁸⁸

Reddy Row, a landed proprietor and retired public servant, called by the Sub-Collector of Thanjavur for his opinion revealed that he had both heard and seen many instances in which several *Tahsildars* and other officers in that district made use of torture generally towards the land holders, who made delay or refused to pay the *kist*.⁸⁹ The statement of Subraya Pillay, an inhabitant of the village Manmady in the Taluk of the Tiruthurai Poondi in the district of Kumbakonam is revealing in this context:

“I cultivated land paying annually 240 Rupees to Government. In last December, I owed to pay them some bribe, for this reason they insisted on my paying the balance; as the crops has been very poor I wanted to be left off. They had me placed in the sun, my head tied down in a stooping-posture; had me beaten with a whip and stones put in and pinched my thighs. I sold my ploughing bullocks and paid the money. I did not complain as it is not usual for such complaint to be listened into. The witnesses are Curejy Padachy (Kurinji Padyachi) the village Taliari, and Arochala Pillay (Arunachala Pillai) of Covilputoor (Kovil Patter).”⁹⁰

A weaver’s untold misery had also been narrated and quoted by the Torture Commission Report itself, extract:

“I am a weaver, I have got 10 looms, and the assessment on them 40 rupees. In the month of Audi (July) last, the Brahmin Zilladar came to my house to demand the ‘*Motarpha*’ -tax on the looms amount to 40 rupees for last Fasly. I said I would pay on the following day but he pulled me into the street and struck me with cane, he then spit at my face and took me to the bazaar, where he made me stand alone with about 50 other weavers in a row and detained me the whole day... after giving

⁸⁷ *Report on the Commission for the Investigation of Alleged Cases of Torture in the Madras Presidency*, 1855, p. 18.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

security that I would pay on the following day I was released. About 20 days ago the same Brahmin *Zilladar* came to my house again and gave me notice that I should pay the whole tax at once this year and not in installments as last year. He used threat in this way - every year.”⁹¹

The Torture Commission Report concluded that out of 496 cases of abuse, which reached the Commission (thousand people would not have reported out of fear), 314 were considered important in which torture was being used.⁹² The *Indian Patriot* revealed the condition of peasants in Madras Presidency in the following word: “It was given out in the Madras Legislative Council that the poor agriculturist did not live on land alone and that they had other source of income; what are they? Is it cottage industries? We know that a large majority of those dependent upon agriculture do not earn enough to eat, be clean, keep a decent house and hold their head higher enough to be hopeful and ambitions. They are poor, and they are incapable of realizing that they can even be wealthy by working hard. They are so deeply immense in poverty that they never hope or care to be better. Poverty, starvation and despair become part of their nature. And yet the steam-roller of resettlement and enhanced assessment descend upon these worms. The Government must need to collect their due to make up its thirty-two crores of land revenue. No statesman has risen up among us to take up this land revenue problem; no Loyal George has come to India to see that agriculture affords a living to the people. How are these millions to be uplifted? The government must face that question and solve it. These millions work hard, work incessantly, yet they live in miserable huts, have no lights at night, no full meals any day. How can we claim to be an advanced people under an advanced government, with our poor in such plight?” This portrayal speaks of the point of socio-economic conditions created by British Colonialism which paved the way for many a people moving out of their native soil to eke out a living in British overseas colonies.⁹³

II

Ruin of Indigenous Industries

Thirthankar Roy writes over the issues of ruin of Indian handloom industries as, extracts: ‘...Handloom weaving occupies a key place in debates about Indian industrialization. In the standard narrative, Indian industrialization tends to be identified with the rise of mechanized factories. Artisans have a marginal role in this narrative. In one view, artisans, particularly handloom weavers, even

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 24.

⁹² C. Joseph Baranabas, “From Madras to Mauritius 1800-1856: Studies in Emigration and Assimilation,” (Unpublished Ph.D. Diss., University of Madras, 1991), p. 24.

⁹³ *Report on Native News Papers*, August 20, 1915, vol. II, p. 1465.

represent a 'de-industrialization.' Decline and transformation in the artisanate was a worldwide phenomenon in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The process tends to be seen as a counterpart of the increasing use of capital-intensive technology, conventionally the chief characteristic of western industrialization and of industrialization as such. The adverse impact on Indian handlooms of competition with British power-loom cloth, aided by superior productivity and possibly by colonial policies, seems to illustrate that the gains and losses were unequally distributed. Industrialization in one part of the world imposed large uncompensated costs upon another.⁹⁴

Place, the Collector of Jaghire (Chengalpatu), who had close association with weaving industry of India let know the misery of the weavers to the practice of accepting advance from the dealer. Once the weavers received advance from the dealers, which means they became slaves to them and were not permitted to sell their goods to any others than the dealers from who they had received advance. As they were indebted to the dealers and bound to work exclusively for them. Owing to their poverty could not clear their debts, which converted them as perpetual slaves of the company and its dealers.⁹⁵

The weavers in almost all Tamil districts were affected by the closure of English factories in 1824, which inflicted a fearful blow on them. Abbe Dubosi, who was an eye witness to it said, "...misery and dissolution prevailed every where and thousands of weavers died of hunger in different parts of the country. Many of them, out of despair, and disappointment migrated to Ceylon, Burma and Mauritius."⁹⁶

In 1840 the Collector of Godavari confirmed that most of the weavers were emigrating from the district to Burma. In the year 1863 the Vizagapatnam Collector stated a parallel view and inveterate that the weaving community kicked off their emigration from these districts to other parts of the country.⁹⁷ Very identical tale was recounted by various Collectors which illuminating the dejected position of the weavers in every parts of the presidency.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Thirthankar Roy, "Acceptance of Innovations in Early Twentieth-Century Indian Weaving," *The Economic History Review*, vol. 55, August 2002, p. 507.

⁹⁵ Bipan Chandra, Amles Tripathi and Barun De, *Freedom Struggle* (New Delhi: National Book Trust, 2004), pp. 3-5.

⁹⁶ P. Subramanian, *Social History of Tamils*, p. 223.

⁹⁷ Adapa Sathyanarayana, " 'Birds of Passage': Migration of South Indian Labour Communities to South-East Asia; 19-20th Centuries, A.D.," *Clara Working Paper*, No. 11, 2001, p. 9; and see also Adapa Sathyanarayana, "Birds of Passage," *Asian Studies*, vol. __, __ 2002, p. 109

⁹⁸ Sugata Bose, *Agrarian Engal: Economy, Social Structure and Politics, 1919-1947* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 5.

With the great decay of cottage industries and growing population, there was poverty and unemployment in the rural areas, the villagers offered to work as labourers wherever employment could be found. This resulted in the indentured labour system. Workers under this system went to several countries such as South and East Asia, Malaya, Burma, Ceylon, Fiji Island, West Indies and Mauritius.⁹⁹

III

Recurring famines

On account of the weak fiscal conditions prevailed in the Madras Presidency throughout the 18th and the 19th centuries led to the periodical outbreak of famines. From 1770 to 1878 more than twenty times inhabitants of India was pretentious by famines and droughts. The famine of 1770 in lower Bengal and Bihar was extremely severe and formally calculated that a one-third of the populace (or say 10-million) had putrid. In Madras, 1781 and 1782, were the days of relentless scarceness, triggered chiefly by the destruction of the war with Hyder Ali, but partly also owing to drought.¹⁰⁰ In 1791 a severe drought affected the northern districts of Bombay and in 1792 the famine there was so intense. Consequently more than 1,200 Indians died in Vizagapatnam region.¹⁰¹ In 1802 the famine was acute in Bombay Presidency because there was a failure of rain. In the same year a similar failure occurred in the North Western provinces, which led to very serious and widely extended famine in 1804.¹⁰² It's effects were much brutal in Ganjam, from where many of the inhabitants had emigrated.¹⁰³

In 1806 there was a rampant failure of rain in Madras Presidency. The succeeding drought was very brutal. Consequently large crowds of people flocked to the town of Madras.¹⁰⁴ On in this year 15,000 people had to be fed for one month at Madras alone, besides large numbers of them left to lurch in other districts. Thanks to the effects of starvation 20,334 lives corroded in Madras alone. In 1807 once again the presidency was badly knocked down by famine and the distress was more prevalent than before.¹⁰⁵

The paucity was ruthlessly felt by the districts of Nellore, North and South Arcot, Madurai and Dindugal, Chengalpatu, Thanjavur and Tiruchirappalli. No sub-

⁹⁹ G. Ramannujam, *Indian Labour Movement* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1986), pp. 90-91.

¹⁰⁰ *Reports of the Indian Famine Commission*, 1880, Part I, p. 9.

¹⁰¹ Saradaraju, *Economic Conditions of Madras Presidency 1800-50* (Madras: University of Madras 1941), p. 291.

¹⁰² *Famine Commission Report*, 1880, Part I, p. 10.

¹⁰³ Saradaraju, *Economic Conditions of Madras Presidency*, p. 284.

¹⁰⁴ *Famine Commission Report*, 1880, Part I, p. 10.

¹⁰⁵ B. S. Chandra Babu, "A Study of the Factors that Led to the Outbreak of Famines in Chingleput District of Tamilnadu During the Nineteenth Century," *Social Scientist*, vol. 16, July 1998, pp.3-4.

regional accounts are accessible on the extent of mortality, but in Madras alone, which was calculated that more than 17,000 lost their life. Besides the heavy loss of the farm animals were also added into their wretchedness. Innumerable cases of casualties from starvation and people selling their children into slavery, were reported. The poor looted the shops and houses and incinerated the grain.¹⁰⁶

During 1812-13 and 1824 there were relentless outbreaks of famines in Guntur. However, the great famine of 1833 caused severe casualties. In Guntur district the mortality was so terrible in which this was called as the Guntur famine. Roughly five millions, contained by the vicinity of about 38,000 square miles were critically affected. The ruthlessness of the catastrophe was not suitably acknowledged by the colonial government of India till it was late. It was estimated that 20,000 person deceased in Guntur further than a inhabitants size of 5,00,000.¹⁰⁷ Concurrently the famine was sensed by all the northern districts. Masulipatanam had also affected by the horrifying dearth. The fatality of domestic animals was extremely enormous and the agriculturists were left destitute to find a means of living. Such hard pecuniary conditions facilitated emigration and Saradaraju jot down that: "...in Nellore, the roads were filled with corpses though 10,000 were being fed in the town. Large number swarmed into Madras in such an exhausted condition that people were dying in the streets every day. As for Guntoor, the sufferings of the poor were intense. The loss of population in the district was estimated by the Collector at 1/2 to 1/2 of the total and of the cattle, nearly 2/3. The state of country at the end of the famine was deplorable and a man in perfect health was hardly to be seen anywhere." Twenty years later, the Public Works Commission accepted that Guntur had not yet recovered from the effects famine and denoted that the overall loss was likely to be more than two crores of rupees.¹⁰⁸

In 1838, 1839 and 1840 a similar calamity affected the population of the districts of Bellary. The district population was 6,95,016 in 1830; but it decreased to 533,835 in 1842. The diminution had occurred because of death due to starvation and migration in other parts of the Presidency and to other British Colonies. The 1876-78 famine was most terrible in magnitude, intensity and duration. The calamity was the result of a drought extending over three successive years and

¹⁰⁶ *Famine Commission Report*, 1880, Part I, p. 10; see also Kathleen Gough, "Agrarian Relations in Southeast India, 1750-1976," *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)*, Vol. 2, Summer 1978, pp.29-30.

¹⁰⁷ *Famine Commission Report*, 1880, Part I, p. 10; see also G. N. Rao, "Transition from Subsistence to Commercialised Agriculture: A Study of Krishna District of Andhra, C 1850-1900," *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 20, Jun 1985, pp.60-63.

¹⁰⁸ Saradaraju, *Economic Conditions of Madras Presidency*, p. 39; see also Leela Sami, "Gender differentials in Famine Mortality: Madras (1876-78 and Punjab (1896-97)," *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 37, June 2002, p. 2594.

affecting a tract of 2,00,000 square miles and the population of 36 millions.¹⁰⁹ The distress reached its extreme intensity in the earliest months of 1877, about which Nicholson, the Acting Collector of Madurai reported to the Board of Revenue as that, extracts:

“...several hamlets and villages are almost deserted. Hundreds of people have nothing to eat. It was a distressing sight to see many of these people scorching the field for a few of these wretched roots, so many are digging these roots, that these roots are hard to find. The local name for the root is the Indian turnip. It is very poisonous and the juice will blister one’s hand. The root is crushed and washed three or four times, the processing lasting usually two days. It is a very hard and tedious process. If it were not for these roots, the people have had absolutely nothing to eat...”¹¹⁰

Allied to this issue Lord Lytton, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India made a speech at the Financial Council Members of the Governor-General meet as, extract:

“... now, of the countless suggestions made from time to time, and more especially during the present year, for rendering less bitterly ironical than it still seems, when read by the sinister light of recent events, that famous inscription on the huge granary built at Patna for “the perpetual prevention of famine in these provinces” there are only three which merit serious consideration. These are, firstly, EMIGRATION; secondly, Railways; and, thirdly, Irrigation Works. Unfortunately for India, however, the first of these three material factors in the practical solution of problems similar to those we are now dealing with, is inapplicable, or only very imperfectly applicable, to the actual conditions of this country. The first condition requisite to render emigration available as a precaution against famine, is a normal excess of the population as compared with the food-produce of the country; the second condition is sufficient energy on the part of the surplus population to induce it to seek a higher standard of material comfort than that to which it is accustomed; and the third condition is a foreign field of labour in which this higher standard may be reached. Now, none of these conditions is sufficiently developed in India to justify reliance upon emigration as an efficient auxiliary in our struggles with famine. Of our whole population, only a small portion as yet exceeds its food-producing power. The possible increase of this proportion of the population will undoubtedly augment our future difficulties, if, in the meanwhile, no adequate

¹⁰⁹ C. Joseph Baranabas, “From Madras to Mauritius 1800-1856: Studies in Emigration and Assimilation,” p. 39.

¹¹⁰ Quoted in P. Subramanian, *Social History of Tamils*, p. 200; see also S. Ambirajan, “Malthusian Population Theory and Indian Famine Policy in the Nineteenth Century,” *Population Studies*, vol. 30, March 1976, pp. 6-7.

correctives be applied to them. But in those parts of India which, during the last two years, have most suffered from scarcity, the population only averages 250 inhabitants to every square mile; and, since those districts comprise large areas of uncultivated land, this average cannot be regarded as at all excessive. In the next place, there is no contesting the fact that, in spite of the inducements offered to emigration by this Government, in spite of the widespread organisation for the recruitment of it established by Colonial Governments, and in spite of the encouraging example furnished by that small number who, having tried the experiment of temporary emigration, return, after a few years' absence, in possession of savings which they could not otherwise have stored by the labour of a lifetime, —in spite of all these things, the people of India will not emigrate. The uncomplaining patience of the Indian ryot has a profoundly pathetic claim upon our compassionate admiration. In no country of the western world could a national calamity so severe and prolonged as that which has now for more than twenty-four months afflicted one-half of this Empire, have lasted so long without provoking from the sufferings of an ignorant and starving population agrarian and social disturbances of the most formidable character...”¹¹¹

A.J. Stuart, the Acting Collector of Tirunelveli, W.S. Whiteside, the collector of North Arcot uttered resembling viewpoint in their Report to the Board of Revenue. Salem, Coimbatore and Madurai had also affected by the similar condition. Where 30 to 50 percent of the livestock died which very directly affected the agricultural activities of these districts cruelly. H.E. Mequhae, the collector of Madurai in his report to the Board recorded that: “The streams of the people are pouring into Ceylon from South India, and especially from the Ramanad district. It is estimated that 1/3rd of the able bodied have migrated from South-West Ramanad. In some cases, one member of family left leaving the women, children, in other cases the houses are shut up, and all are gone.”¹¹² As the relief measures were not effective, the agriculture masses continued to consume leaves and roots at the cost of their health.¹¹³

¹¹¹ *Report on the Speeches of Legislative Council of the Governor-General at Calcutta: The Indian Famine of 1877: Being a Statement of the Measures Proposed by the Government of India For the Prevention and Relief of Famines in the Future* (London: C. Kegan Paul and Co., 1878) pp. 73-74.

¹¹² P. Subramanian, *Social History of Tamils*, p. 200; and Leela Sami, “Gender differentials in Famine Mortality: Madras (1876-78 and Punjab (1896-97),” *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 37, June 2002, p. 2594; and P. Subramanian, *Social History of Tamils*, p. 200.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 202 and see also David Arnold, “Looting, Grain Riots and Government Policy in South India 1918,” *Past and Present Society*, vol. 84, August 1979, p. 114.

The *Karnataka Prakasika* on the 21st February 1893 commented that: ‘...from the published report of the evidence given before the so-called Famine Commission which is now sitting in Madras, it is evident that this Commission is more or less a waste of public money. It has examined a number of official witnesses who have had direct personal experiences of the administration of relief during the recent famine, but after carefully finding their evidence one fails to find much that would be of use when the commission to suggest improvement in the present Famine code.’¹¹⁴ While the *Kistna Patrika* cautioned that one should not overlook the reality of numerous deaths of famine, plague, fever and other diseases. In the course of the period the death rate in this country revealed the true tale of misery and widespread of poverty.¹¹⁵

Conclusion: Abolition of Slavery and Emigration from Madras

The primordial caste system of India, which had built on conventional vocation of the populace, left the downtrodden masses to lurch economically and in public infinitely by relying on the Caste Hindus because who actually controlled the land. These proletarian classes economized on a livelihood by means of farming, however, who had no right in the land. So, the condition of the lodgers was aggravated in consequence of the tyranny of the land lords or because of the heavy rent, demanded by the state.¹¹⁶ When the British land revenue system insisted cash payment of rent from the cultivators, just then their condition became wretched. The decline of manufacturing firms in India subsequent to import of British products flustered the complete basis of her village affluence.¹¹⁷ Consequently hundreds of weavers, spinners and other artisans were thrown out of their profession. The probabilities for peasant families to adjunct their skimpy earnings from land by spinning or akin to were promptly bunged.¹¹⁸ Thus the Indian peasants or village artisans barely left to the vocation of agricultural pursuits. These proletarians who engorged to the position over the years shaped a prepared meadow for colonial emigration.¹¹⁹

Previous to the British era, historically emigration of the Tamils from south India took place to the Strait Settlements. Such folks were engaged in abroad as

¹¹⁴ *Karnataka Prakasika, Report on Native News Papers*, February 21, 1898, vol. II, p. 13.

¹¹⁵ *Kistna Patrika, Report on Native News Papers*, February 21, 1898, vol. II, p. 13.

¹¹⁶ B. M. Bhatia, “Famine and Agricultural Labour in India: A Historical Perspective,” *Indian Journal of Industrial Relations*, vol. 10, April 1975, p.577.

¹¹⁷ K. Nambi Aroon, *Indians in South-Africa: With Special Reference to the Tamils* (Thanjavur: Tamil University, 1985), p. 22-23.

¹¹⁸ Dharma Kumar, *Land and Caste in South India: Agricultural Labour in the Madras Presidency During the Nineteenth Century* (London: Cambridge University, 1965), pp. 128-129.

¹¹⁹ *Report on the Speeches of Legislative Council of the Governor-General at Calcutta: The Indian Famine of 1877*, pp. 73-74.

domestic servants and agricultural workers. Early in the nineteenth century the colonial Government of India initially failed in its endeavors to hearten Indians to migrate to Ceylon. In 1815, the Collector of Thanjavur, when asked by the Government of Madras to make use of all the means in his power to drive coolies and cattle to Ceylon, wrote that "...the Government of Ceylon would have to send agents and offer special inducements," because the labourers of his districts were reluctant to migration from their homeland of inexpensive living.¹²⁰ Obviously the Government of Ceylon established private concerns in South India for the recruitment of cheap labor force of their plantations and consider them as more efficient than official agencies. In 1818 the Assistant Commissioner-General in Ceylon, wrote to the Collector that "...the Government had entered directly into contract with *maistries* (labor contractors) who had agreed to find 600 labourers from South India." In 1828, as a forerunner to the implementation of indentured labour system in Ceylon, the Governor brought labourers from South India to work on his plantation, but in short span of time nearly all of the imported labourers were desolated the plantation and presumably came back to India, within a year.¹²¹ Meanwhile, in 1833, Britain put an end to the slavery system from her kingdom, which had created a void in British plantations in the tropical and sub-tropical colonies. Adequate regional labour force was not accessible for enhancement of the plantations and subsequently an immense need occurred for a regular supply of blue-collar labourers. As an outcome the sugar plantations of Natal, Mauritius, Fiji, West Indies and British Guiana were badly affected. While the plantation owners as a survival tactic began to pursue the potentialities of trade in labor from rest of the world.¹²²

The planters of crown colonies anticipated to unravel their labour crisis by initially importing 'Chinese' labourers from Java. But the test was unproductive to generate any suitable result because the Chinese labourer commanded high pay. Besides, a Chinese labourer, it is supposed that, sought to earn devoid of entailing hard toil and simultaneously looked for a life of opulence. Consequently the planters put an

¹²⁰ Dharma Kumar, *Land and Caste in South India*, p. 199; see also C. M. Turnbull, "Internal Security in the Straits Settlements, 1826-1867," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, vol. 1, March 1970, pp. 37-38.

¹²¹ Christophe Z. Guilmoto, "The Tamil Migration Cycle, 1830-1950," *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 28, January 1993, p. 111; and Dharma Kumar, *Land and Caste in South India*, p. 199; see also Kathleen Gough, "Modes of Production in Southern India," *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 15, February 1980, p. 343.

¹²² *Report on Outlines of A Plan: Submitted to Her Majesty's Government for The Purpose of Establishing An Authorized Committee To Regulate And Carry on the Introduction of Indian Laborers At Mauritius: The Colony From The Distressing Embarrassment which It Now Suffers, From The Want of Means To Cultivate The Land* (London: Nichols, 1840), p.13.

end to the recruitment of Chinese labourers. Then the plantocracy made an effort to fetch the Portuguese labourers from Madrid and the Creoles from the Reunion Island for service on sugar-cane plantations had also met an unforeseen collapse. The Europeans who settled in Cape Colony and Natal did not like to do blue-collar job and favored to become merchants and planters and thus wished to be employers themselves.¹²³ Therefore the planters eventually turned their eye on India as the home of a cheap but efficient labour force. Even before the abolition of slavery, it was found that the indigenous population was unsuited for the successful working of the tropical plantations. Subsequent to the elimination of slavery the native Africans illustrated intense disinclination to employ in agricultural pursuits and receded into the milieu to resume their itinerant habits.¹²⁴

A systematic passage to Malaya and Straits Settlements for work on the plantation initiated since 1833. Recruited indentured labourers were kept in a depot which was upheld by the Government of the Straits Settlement at Nagapatinam.¹²⁵ All together the development of coffee plantations in Ceylon had enhanced the sustained demand for labour. Systematic recruitment to Ceylon started in 1839 when 2,432 indentured labourers were brought in and two years later an ordinance was passed which facilitated planters to take criminal action against the labour who broke his contract and deserted. However, contrary to that desertion became a rampant affair was convoluted to foil when the homeland was much closer.¹²⁶

In 1840 just then the colonial government of India appointed an enquiry committee to enquire when the initial upshots of planned emigration to overseas be felt, which reported as, extract: ‘...we believe that a general impression exists in England in Parliament and out of it, that there is a super abundance of labour in British India. As far as this (Bengal) presidency is concerned (of which alone we can speak with any knowledge) we are by no means convinced that such supposed superabundance exists, but are rather persuaded that the contrary is the fact, and would soon become apparent if any decided stimulus were given to agricultural production, such as the late rise of prices of sugar has temporarily created, and if

¹²³ Richard B. Allen, “Licentious and Unbridled Proceedings: The Illegal Slave Trade to Mauritius and the Seychelles during the Early Nineteenth Century,” *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 42, ____ 2001, p. 99; and *Report on The Export of Coolies from India to Mauritius* (London: British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 1842), p. 4; see also William A. Green, “Emancipation to Indenture: A Question of Imperial Morality,” *The Journal of British Studies*, vol. 22, Spring 1983, pp.90-91.

¹²⁴ Lanka Sundaram, “The International Aspects of Indian Emigration,” *Asiatic Review*, vol. __, January 1931, p. 745.

¹²⁵ Dharma Kumar, *Land and Caste in South India*, p. 131.

¹²⁶ E. Valentine Daniel, “Violent Measures in the Discursive Practices of Sri Lanka's Estate Tamils,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 35, July 1993, p. 570; and Dharma Kumar, *Land and Caste in South India*, p. 129.

such stimulus were continued for sufficiently long period to make it extensively felt.¹²⁷

The same year (1840) both the collector of Godawari and the Commissioner, Tenasseriam reported a large movement of labour from the north Coramandel Coast. They went to Burma mostly as domestic servants or a miscellaneous labor.¹²⁸ In 1857, Thanjavur, Tiruchirapalli, South Arcot, Vizagapatnam, Rajamundry and Ganjamm were said to be the main areas of emigration, whereas in 1860-61 and 1861-62 the main centers of emigration to Ceylon were Madurai and Tirunelveli.¹²⁹ Following a petition from the planters of Nattal in 1859, emigration from India to South Africa began in 1860.¹³⁰ During the first phase of immigration 5,448 Indians had arrived to Natal. By 1911 a total number of 1,42,670 had been recruited, of which two-thirds were Tamil and Telugu speaking Hindus from the Madras Presidency.¹³¹ After the seizure of Pegu in 1862 the Government of India took actions to encourage emigration to Burma and these became more and more active after the commencement of the Suez Canal.¹³²

It was probable that from the date of European colonization the island of Ceylon attracted labour from the south of India. The emigration was on a large scale than that of Burma or Straits. Labour that was required on the coffee estates in the islands was supplied from southern India. At certain season of the year, when labour was in demand, the labouring classes of the southern districts traveled across to Ceylon and on saving some money, they returned to their native villages. From the wages offered by the planters enabled few people to save and ultimately to take the position of small farms in their own villages, while the planters in Ceylon could always obtain as much labour as they wanted by offering sufficient inducement. About 70,000 persons went over to Ceylon every year from the southern districts and of these it was estimated about 54,000 returned to India. The others settled more or less permanently in the island.¹³³ The following table IV: 1 gives the detail of emigration from Tirunelveli District to Ceylon, for the years

¹²⁷ Quoted in Lanka Sundaram, "The International Aspects of Indian Emigration," pp. 742-743.

¹²⁸ Adapa Sathyanarayana, " 'Birds of Passage': Migration of South Indian Labour Communities to South-East Asia; 19-20th Centuries, A.D.," p. 109.

¹²⁹ Dharma Kumar, *Land and Caste in South India*, p. 129-130.

¹³⁰ Peter Richardson, "The Natal Sugar Industry, 1849-1905: An Interpretative Essay," *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 23, ____ 1982, p. 517; see also K. Nambi Aroon, *Indians in South-Africa*, p. 28.

¹³¹ K. Nambi Aroon, *Indians in South-Africa*, p. 28; see also Peter Richardso, "The Natal Sugar Industry, 1849-1905: An Interpretative Essay," p.517.

¹³² Dharma Kumar, *Land and Caste in South India*, pp. 129-130.

¹³³ C.D. Maclean, *Manual of the Madras Presidency* (Madras: The Government Press, 1885), pp.502-503.

1866 to 1876, recorded by the British Government officers. The real numbers would have been probably higher.¹³⁴

The increase of inhabitants of this period in Madras was virtually nine times as high as the verified statistics of gross emigration to Ceylon, Mauritius and the West Indies. Between 1871 and 1881, the yearly net emigration amounted to 22,624, for the nine years from 1875-6, to 1883-4, gross emigration amounted to 21,873, which was not significant increase over 1861 to 1871, on the other hand the population declined by 0.1 per cent year between 1871 and 1881.¹³⁵

Table V:2 Emigration from Tirunelveli District to Ceylon, 1866 to 1876

Year	Number of Emigrants
1865-66	21,256
1866-67	16,941
1867-68	9,911
1868-69	9,501
1869-70	11,793
1870-71	12,905
1871-72	14,627
1872-73	16,486
1873-74	17,876
1874-75	23,887
1875-76	21,374

Source : C.D. Maclean, *Manual of the Madras Presidency* pp.502-503.

Abolition of the much cursed indentured system became one of the demands of the Indian National Congress. The beginning of the twentieth Century witnessed the depletion of total arrival in Mauritius. Organizations were founded to fight coolie emigration. These included the Indian Coolie Protection Society and the Anti-indentured Emigration League of Bengal. Gandhi had made emigration the substance of his first big political campaign in India. He attacked indentured system of labour emigration in his many journalistic writings. Many of the Indian journals too made a sustained campaign against the indentured system. The voice of the media spread and awakened the Indians against the hated indentured system.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Roland Lardinoi, "Famine, Epidemics and Mortality in South India: A Reappraisal of the Demographic Crisis of 1876-1878," *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 20, March 1985, pp. 458-459; see also D. Kumar, "Caste and Landlessness in South India," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 4, April 1962, p. 363; and Dharma Kumar, *Land and Caste in South India*, pp. 133-136.

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Contemporary India and South Africa : legacies, identities, dilemmas

Author : (Ed.) Sujata Patel & Tina Uys

Publisher : Routledge , 912 , Tolastoy House C. P. New Delhi , 2012

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No. Of Pages- 266 , Rs. 795/-

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This edited book has eight articles including editor's article entitled as that of book. Other contributors are Ashwini Desai & Gulam Vahed, Marium Seedat Khan, v. Geetha , Rehana Vally, Brij maharaj, Lubna Nadvi, Ravindra Kumar Jain. This book deals with the legacies of the Indian experiences of migration and diaspora in South Africa. It highlights the social imaginaries of the migrants and citizens as they negotiate between a reconstructed notion of 'India' and their real present and future in the country of citizenship. Both South Africa and India have had a long history of group-based identity movements against exploitation around caste and race, intersecting with class, gender, language, religion and region. The combined history has allowed them to participate in novel ways in the global arena as regional powers. The book suggests that the question of identity concerns itself with exploitation and oppression of excluded groups in both countries. The authors are particularly attentive to the manner in which the two democratic states have confronted the challenges of history together with contemporary demands of

inclusion and discuss the dilemmas involved in resolving them. The volume also raises questions regarding future roles, especially in the fields of education and the environment. It will be of interest to those in the fields of sociology, political science, international relations, history, migration and diaspora studies, as well as to the general reading. Taking into account post-colonial societies within an agenda of comparative research on diversity seems to be both challenging and promising. Challenging because, as guest editors Gurharpal Singh and John Rex argue in their thematic introduction, it requires the integration of two rather separate fields of research. Studies on 'multiculturalism', on the one hand, have mainly been concerned with public policies aimed at the inclusion of migrant populations into a culturally more or less homogeneous nation-state. Research on post-colonial societies has, on the other hand, predominantly addressed the conditions of social integration or cohesion in profoundly heterogeneous societies; it focused, in other words, on state-formation and nation-building in 'plural societies'. In such contexts, contemporary discourses of multiculturalism have a rather different – and more ambiguous – meaning, as Steve Fenton demonstrates in his case study on ethnic difference in Malaysia. Harihar Bhattacharyya's and Mohammad Waseem's articles on constitutional politics in India and Pakistan, respectively, show that post-colonial identity politics cannot be reduced to politics of recognition but are closely linked with struggles over access to power and economic resources in postcolonial societies. Integrating these different strands of literature seems, at the same time, to be highly promising in terms of theoretical development and empirical analysis. Thus, Simon Bekker and Anne Leildé, in their analysis of the South African case, highlight the limitations of otherwise successful public policies of multiculturalism in overcoming class cleavages. Analysis of post-colonial

settings, to follow Fenton's argument, sheds some light on the limited applicability of Western discourses of 'multiculturalism' and on alternative modes of dealing with ethnic difference. The strongest argument in favour of cross-fertilisation between the literatures on multiculturalism and plural societies is provided by Darshan S. Tatla's article on Sikhs in Canada, India, the United Kingdom and the United States. His analysis clearly demonstrates that contemporary migration.

Struggle for education is discussed in several articles, also an attempt to infuse education with a new radical and political purpose and meanings that contested dominant meanings and carved out alternative ideologies. India and Africa enjoy a long standing historical relationship. Contacts and trade between the two sides have been noted in history to extend beyond British colonialism. But it was during the Cold War that relations moved towards one of deepening political solidarity. Following

independence India saw its role in the international system as championing the struggles of anti-colonialism and anti-racism. Like China, India played a critical role in the Bandung Conference that led to the emergence of the non-aligned movement. Moreover, India used this opportunity to cement ties with African countries, which was also about strengthening Asian African solidarity. With India pushing for the independence of African states from colonial domination, India and Africa seemed likely to become strategic allies in the Cold War. Yet, India's role in the continent remained marginal. In part this was due to the border dispute in 1962 with China and the pending implications this had for Delhi as well as the regional dynamics of the Cold War in its neighbourhood, which pushed India to become more circumspect in its foreign policy. While China suffered from its own Cold War polemic with Moscow vis-à-vis Africa, India appeared to be more muted, which led to selective engagements with the continent during the 1970s and 1980s. In principle, however, India's international stance was geared towards promoting greater South-South co-operation and a greater voice for itself. But with the end of the Cold War, India's foreign policy also had to be revisited and shaped to take into account the new impulses in the global arena. For much of the Cold War India's own regional and domestic pressures made it inward looking. However, with economic liberalisation in the 1990s, India's mandarins realised the importance of a foreign policy that resonated with its economic ambitions. Opening up to overseas investment also meant strengthening external relations that could help to realise its political and economic potential. Like China, India's post-cold war foreign policy has been aligned to the principles of Non-alignment and South-South co-operation. Linked to the unilateral character of the post-cold war international order, India has pushed for a multilateral world order. And just as in the past, relations with Africa and the South are now based on shared mutual interests to fight against the inequities of the global order. This time directed against underdevelopment and poverty as a result of an unbalanced global economic system. Using the historical platform as a way to consolidate contemporary relations with Africa India's current foreign policy relations toward the continent is about reinventing and rejuvenating the old relationship.

Finally we can say that the book "Contemporary India and South Africa : legacies, identities, dilemmas" is a fine discourse on indo south Africa relations. The book is affordable by students because price is less.

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Women in Modern Indian History

Author :Sugam Anand

**Publisher : Anamika Publishers and Distributors,
New Delhi.2010,pp 231.Rs 200.**

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Many Women in Modern Indian History delineates the story of womanhood after the renaissance of nineteenth century .The author's curiosity and sincere efforts to study on this title clearly shows from the recent book Bhartiya Itihas Mein Nari, published by him won a prestigious award from Uttar Pradesh Hindi Sansthan, Luucknow. Further the works like, History of Empress Nurjahan Begum, authored by him and the translation of his mother's work Social Transformation of U.P Women, boosted him to enlarge the panorama of Indian feminism and socio-economic status of women in Modern India. His ambition to highlight the story of women's regeneration and their participation in the task of nation building has

been specifically taken up in the present work. He traces the position of women in the society from the Vedic period. During Vedic period women attained equal status in all fields and also they enjoyed dignity and freedom in the society. The radiant rays of renaissance disturbed the dead equilibrium of the traditional life. Women were exposed to totally new concepts of themselves as transformed individuals, who in the long journey of life remained as 'socially useful and nationally needed.' Anand tells us about the changes in attitude and aptitude of urban women. The awakening of modern Indian women was not amazing but also satisfying as the men reformers attempted to ameliorate their socio-economic lot.

Rammohan Roy began the crusade against the practice of Sati. Followed by him, Devendra Nath Tagore, Ishwar Chandra Vidhya Sagar, Swami Dayanand Saraswathi, Keshab Chandra Sen, M.G. Ranade, Behramji Malabari, Maharshi Karne, Ravidra Nath Tagore, Swami Vivekananda, Panthalu, Venkataratnam Naidu, Gopalakrishna Gokalae, mahandas Karamchand Gandhi, were the socio-religious reformers, recommended female education and legal rights for them chalked out a positive and constructive programme of eradicating the social evils affecting the women. They established diverse institutions to bring about their socio-economic upliftment and progress. In 1829 the British enacted the Sati Abolition Act. Many others took up the women's issues and helped the British to pass the legal enactments for the socially crippled women of India. The women leaders effortlessly turned to India's glorious past. The first among them was Pandita Ramabai, who started Mahila Samaj at Poona in order to eliminate the evil practices of child marriage and to the promotion of women education. Her book *Stree Dharma* was meant for guiding the women to live a life of enlightenment instead of being blind slaves to tradition.

In the twentieth century, the horizon of women's movement in India began to expand rapidly. The women, who acquired the novel force of western liberalism, attempted to fulfill an inner urge for freedom and self development. They were keen for social and political service of motherland. In this regard the contribution of Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur, Mrs. Besant, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mrs. Serabai Tata, Mrs. Rustomji Faridoonji, S. Muthulakshmi Reddy, Durgabai Deshmukh, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Kamala Devi Chattopadhyaya, Begum Sharifa Hamid Ali, Lady Sadasiva Iyewr, Cornelia Sorabjee are well defined. In continuation of this remarkable achievement, many of the educated and enlightened women established local and national organizations to speed up the feminist movement. They realized that they must come forward to complete the task of their own individual freedom and identity. They formed their own organizations like All India Womens' Conference, Women's Indian Association, University Council of Women, Sharada Sadan, Zorastrian Mandal, Seva Sadan, The Hindu Women's Rescue Home Society, The Parsee Mahila

Sang, Dayalbagh Mahila Association and The Kasturba Trust etc. They put forward their demand for total emancipation and equality. Educated women joined different respectable professions and became self-reliant. They joined the national movement with patriotic fervor and emotive sentiments.

The author specifically says some outstanding women administrators and rulers in medieval as well as British period. Rani Rudradama of Warangal, Razia Sultana, Rani Durgavati of Gondwana, Chandbibi of Ahmadnagar, Nurjahan, Tarabai and Ahalya Bai Holkar were in medieval period where as Rani of Jhansi, Rani Taca Bai, Begum Hazrat Mahal, Lalita Bakhshi, Jhalkari, Sunder, Kashi Bai, Moti Bai, Rani of Ramgarh and Rani of Tulsipur were, indeed, gallant fighters of freedom. Women's participation in Indian National Congress was much recorded in this work. The women adopted the programme of Swaraj, Swadeshi, and Shiksha. The author again critically highlights the women's active participation in politics. The first two women to contest the elections to the Legislative Council were Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya and Mrs. Hannah Angelo-the Secretary of the Nurses Association. Madras.

Women's role in education and career in India was limited to a microscopic minority. His account on education is in several stages of development. Under the Charter Act of 1813 only the East India Company accepted the responsibility for the education of Indians. Followed by it, the Wood's Despatch of 1854, Indian Education Commission, Hartog Committee were recommended to give priority for girls education. However the awareness to obtain education and pursue careers, the women got an opportunity after 1942. In spite of these measures, considering women education in modern perspective, a limited study has been recorded. There were several legal enactments passed during the pre and post independence India. Widow Remarriage Act, 1856, Ban on Female Infanticide (1795-1870), Native Marriage Act (1872), Age of Consent Bill (1891), Marriage Women's Property Act (1854), Abolition of Devadasi System, 1929, Hindu Law of Inheritance Act (1929-1937), Law of Adoption Act, Panchayat Raj Bill are clearly mentioned. Women took up journalism and became very successful in the field. *Bambodhi Patrika*, *Nari Manorama*, *Sarita*, *Femina*, *Eve's Weekly* were the few magazines edited by the women scholars of the time.

Anand, concludes that women in modern India aspired to revive the glorious position of Rig-Veda India. Majority did not ape the western style and aspirations. He critically examines the efforts of women stalwarts who gave direction to the rural and urban women. In every walk of life, Indian women excelled in extraordinary manner and set an example of service. They have broken the barriers and glass-ceilings and came out victorious in almost all arenas.

However, the author's interest to focus on specific areas of this study would be created a matter of criticism.

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“Communism in India; The politics Of Fragmentations”

Author : T R Sharma

publisher : Sterling Publishers Private Limited Delhi, 1984

ISBN-10 : 0861867939

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The year 1964 was an important turning point in the political history of India for two reasons. Firstly, this year was characterised by the end of Nehruvian era,

besides this, the communist politics in India took a new turn with the split of the undivided communist party of India into two. This split gave a severe blow to the Communist Movement in India at least for a decade. The issues which led to the split of the CPI also led to the split of the new created CPI(M) into two. This split was the result of the configuration of various political international and ideological factors. In this context it is useful to discuss a little bit about T R Sharma's work on this issues, named "**Communism in India ;The politics of Fragmentation.**"

Besides introduction and conclusion, the book is divided in to four chapters. The first chapter deals with the ideological and strategic debate from 1948-56. In the second chapter the author tries to analyse the factionalism from the Palghat party congress to the split. The third chapter completely dedicated to the personal and power equations with the party. The fourth chapter is an attempt to link the Sino – Soviet split with the split of undivided CPI.

This work can't be judged by the mere words of "yes or no", but need a critical assessment. In this work Mr. Sharma attributed the split of the Communist party to the interplay between ideology, strategy, power, Sino - Soviet split and Indo - China war. But was unable to explain how these factors interacted and created the splits.

He starts this book by stating that, both Lenin and Mao distorted the basic ideas of Marx and Engels. In fact they adopted Marxism in relation to the particular historical circumstances, which prevailed in their respected countries. The word fragmentation is not adequate to explain the ideological differences which existed in the undivided communist party.

In this work, the author was able to trace the history of split from 1947 itself in a chronological order. He explained the various arguments over Indian independents and revolution. But the author did not discuss how the USSR persuaded the Indian leaders to adopt an Indian path of revolution in 1950. This book was silent on a question, how the Government of India used the inner party struggle to weaken the communist influence in the country. The first communist ministry in Kerala was dismissed within two years after assuming the power by a prime minister, who is always boasted for his socialist credentials. This action was done under the pressure from various caste and community groups.

This work gives an undue importance to the personal grudge between various communist leaders, even though we can't completely reject these factors. As stated by Robin Jeffry, this work was unable to explain how EMS Nampoothirippad and Bhupesh Gupta, whom the author attributes as centrists joined the leftists and the rightist parties respectively after the split. This work was able to throw light upon the debates over non capitalist path of development, which had a major role in the split.

The Sino –Indian war was not addressed seriously by the author, though he mentioned it vaguely. The author’s attempt to characterise the Sino-Soviet split as an ego between Mao and Krushev unacceptable. In this works Mr. Sharma states Mao was afraid by De-Stalinisation because, he feared this process may affect his position within the Chinese Communist Party. But the Chinese opposition to USSR was mainly against revisionism and its compromise with the imperialist bloc. This work was successful in explaining the various ideological and strategic factors, which led to the split. At the same time we have to enquire whether the attitude towards USSR and China were any connection with the debate over the nature of Indian ruling class. We should also study why did the issues which led to the split were not took up seriously after 1969. We should also explore the regional aspects of these splits in different parts of the county. This work failed to address impact of the split in the left movement in India.

Even though its weaknesses, this work vividly explained the various strategic and ideological factors, which divided the communist party in to two. The author was able to consult important sources regarding the communist party. But the alternative CPI (M) notion was not been adequately consult.

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“A Short History of Aurangazeb”

Author :Sir Jadunath Sarkar

publisher : Orient Blackswan Pvt Ltd,Hyderabad ,2009

ISBN : 978-81-250-3690-6

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The period AD 1658 to 1707 marked a significant phase in the history of Mughal India with half a century long reign of a single ruler, Aurangzeb the sixth Mughal Emperor. His reign lasted for 49 years from 1658 until his death in 1707 in the age of 89. During his reign the Mughal Empire reached its greatest extent. He was among the wealthiest of the Mughal rulers, and during his lifetime, victories in the south expanded the Empire to more than 3.2 million square kilometers and he ruled over a population estimated in the range of 100–150 million subjects.

However, his reign and reforms during this period have been subjected to heated arguments and counter arguments among historians. Sir Jadunath Sarkar was among the ones who initiated controversial debates on the person and rule of Aurangzeb. The book '**A Short History of Aurengazeb**' by Sir Jadunath Sarkar is an extraction from his voluminous work 'History of Aurangazeb'. One cannot disregard the deep scholarship and reputation of Jadunath Sarkar as a historian who has authored many books on the history of Mughal India. But the perspective he implemented in analysing the reign of Aurangzeb in his work under review appears to be somewhat predisposed. His studies are grounded on the 19th century positivist understanding of history, which emphasize upon the arrangement of facts in a chronological order.

In the beginning of the book, Jadunath Sarkar depicts the personality of Aurangzeb as one among the greatest Asian rulers of the era in terms of intelligence, character and enterprise. But he tends to maintain an opinionated approach in the narration and contradictorily ends up in concluding that it was the actions of 'this intelligent king' which led to the collapse of the Empire. It is very indicative that Sir Jadunath Sarkar drew his conclusion from the sources which interpret the history in a colonial perception.

The author tends to interpret the period within a binary frame of Hindu - Muslim interests, which was not established during 17th century. As a result, he takes up the war of succession as a war between religious liberalism and Islamic orthodoxy, and based on this he praises Dara Shukoh and denigrates Aurangzeb. He fails to appreciate the fact that, in the 17th century Indian context, religious divisions to liberalism and orthodoxy did not exist to a visibly significant extent. Even though there were sort of ideological differences between Dara and Aurangzeb, it was not the motive behind the war of succession; rather it was mere political. Historians Barbara D. Metcalf and Thomas R. Metcalf say, "To focus on divergent philosophies neglects the fact that Dara was a poor general and leader. It also ignores the fact that factional lines in the succession dispute were not, by and large, shaped by ideology." (*A Concise History of Modern India* (Second edition 2006, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 20–21. [ISBN 978-0-521-86362-9](#)).

Muslims and Hindus did not divide along religious lines in their support for one pretender or the other, according to Satish Chandra, nor is there much evidence to support the belief that Jahanara and other members of the royal family were split in their support. Jahanara, certainly, interceded at various times on behalf of all of the princes and was well-regarded by Aurangzeb even though she shared the religious outlook of Dara. (*Medieval India: From Sultanate to the Mughals*, Har-Anand Publications, 2005 pp. 270–271. ISBN 9788124110669. Retrieved 29 September 2012).

Jadunath Sarkar's assessment of Aurangzeb's religious policy is also predisposed wherein he interpreted historical facts in a way, which legitimize the communalistic historiography. Sarkar tried to portrait Aurangzeb as anti-Hindu. His interpretation of Islamic law is by and large derived from the stereo-typical notions created by the biased colonial scholarship. The latest studies especially of Late Athar Ali shows that, during the period of Aurangzeb about one third of Mughal nobility belonged to the Hindu community. If the war of succession was a struggle between religious liberalism and Islamic orthodoxy, the notable Rajput nobles like Jai Singh and Jaswanth Singh (who earlier supported Dara) might not have joined Aurangzeb after his victory. And one should also take into account that, besides the near royal family members, no officials or nobles were revenged by Aurangzeb despite their support to Dara. He even spared Jahanara, the sister of both, who supported Dara Shukov. This shows that, the Mughal decorum was by and large maintained by Aurangzeb.

Another point highlighted by Jadunath Sarkar is the question of re-imposition of Jizya which was earlier invalidated by Akbar. Here raises the question, why didn't he re-impose Jizya in until 1679 between 1658-79? It was in late 1670's he started his Deccan expedition. The re-imposition of Jizya might be a tool to legitimize this action. Sarkar states a large section of the Hindu public was exempted from Jizya. At the same time he says it was oppression. This is a contradictory statement. Sarkar misinterpreted the Quranic versus on Jizya, to substantiate his arguments against Aurangzeb. It was not at all a tax to oppress but a tax imposed on Non-Muslims instead of compulsory military service and in return ensured security to their life and property. To Sarkar the Quran itself stands for the suppression of the Non-believers in Islam and Aurangzeb followed this policy. But Sarkar misquoted Quran. The 190th version of its second chapter clearly stipulates the condition for fight and it strictly forbidden the transgression.

Some of his interpretations are marked by utter communalist feelings. His statement gives the impression that, the medieval period was characterized by the clash between two distinct religious communities. He looks even a minor political event through the prism of community. He even uses the 20th century terminologies like 'Citizen, majority and minority' to explain the 17th century developments.

His assessment of the 17th century uprising is also problematic. He characterized the rebellion of Marathas, Sikhs, Jats and Satnamies as the Hindu reaction, thus, can we consider the Pathan uprising as the Muslim reaction..? The latest study shows this kind of uprisings were by and large agrarian and as stated by Irfan Habib, the 17th century peasants did not possess a perfect class consciousness and they were reflected in other forms. The author ignored the other socio-economic factors like Jagirdari crisis and the Mughal inability to match with Europeans...Etc, which were responsible for the downfall of the Empire. Sarkar was unable to explain the complexities of a historical event instead he merely rhetorical statement. Even we are not able to credit this work as historical in the present day standards.

Sarkar didn't give any attention to the flourishing internal and external trade during the Mughal time, instead he said, the dominant community was unable to progress due to the religious policy of Aurangzeb. During this period, the groups like Gujarati Baniyas were in dominant position in the field of trade and commerce. Sarkar also ignored the progress made by West-Asia in various fields of science in early medieval period. He blindly stated that, the Muslims lack initiative and spirit of inventions. His characterization of Mughal state as theocratic state was completely absurd. In a society like India it was not able to enforce Islamic laws. The rulers were well aware of this fact. Even from the period of Delhi Sultanate, they were hesitant to enforce 'Shariya' as demanded by the Ulemas. The latest studies shows, Aurangzeb was well aware that, the enforcement of 'Shariya' alone is not fit for ruling India, therefore he followed zawabits (Secular Laws), which supplemented and modified Shariya. Though he appointed 'Muhtasibs' (Moral Police) he gave strict instructions to them to not interfere in the private life of subjects. Aurangzeb was not a fool, but was an intelligent as mentioned by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, to alienate the large section of Hindus. Even though he was an orthodox and a follower of Hanafi School in his personal life, he didn't forbid even his sons from visiting Sufi Shrines.

Even though these draw backs, we can't completely disregard this book. Its literary style is amazing, various metamorphous used here shows the linguistic and literary proficiency of the author. And his capabilities in Persian language can't be disregarded. Whether we like it or not, this work is hegemonic even today among the average student of history in different parts of India. Our academic community should work more close with the masses in order to overthrow this kind of hegemonic notions, particularly during the current political situation.

Book Review

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**A Historical Appraisal and Present Significance of
Chandela's Tanks of Bundelkhand**

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Publisher : Vidya Prakashan Kanpur
ISBN : 978-93-81555-65-1

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Bundelkhand located in heart place of India is well known for its ancient geological structure , mixed relief pattern, semi-arid climate and rough stoney soils on one hand and on other to its remarkable historical background, culture and language. At present the extension of area is **contradicted but generally seven districts of U.P. (Jhansi, Jalaun, Lalitpur, Hamirpur, Mahoba, Banda, Chhatrapati Shahuji nagar) are clearly part of it with six districts of M.P.(Datia ,Tikamgarh, Chhatarpur, Panna, Damoh, Chhatarpur). In this way the location of Bundelkhand is in between 23°08' to 26°30' N lattitude and 78°01' to 81°30' E longitude with 71618 square kms. total geographical area. Bundelkhand which was known as Chedi in Mahajanpada age was rulled by Chedi rulers earlier and afterwards Guptas, kalchuris, Chandelas, Sultans, Mughals, Bundelas, Marathas and British Rulers; But only Chandelas and Bundelas were the founder of the particular culture of this land paying their devotion to the local population. The Chandela rulers of Bundelkhand constructed the great temples of Khajuraho on one hand as well as huge tanks for public welfare on another. Though these tanks were constructed for water supply only but it was not imagined at that time that these tanks will be great factor in future for ecological balance in the area. These huge tanks are the certificate of historical contribution of rulers of Bundelkhand in field of ecological balance in India.**

Bundelkhand was facing scarcity of rain's water (75 mm in NW to 125 mm NE) which is not only insufficient but also unreliable. These circumstances encouraged the nature of water collection according to availability of favourable sites for tank construction. The middle transitional belt (see map) between the northern plain and southern highlands, which is roughly in between 24⁰33'to 25⁰30'N latitude, presented the ideal conditions for the tank construction. Therefore 15 tehsils of 6 districts in Jhansi (tehsils Jhansi, Mauranipur), Mahoba (Mahoba, Charkhari), Tikamgarh (Tikamgarh, Jatara), Chhatarpur (Laundi, Chhatarpur, Vijawar Tehsils) and Panna (Panna, Ajai Garh Tehsils) are in the particular zone. The presence of hard rocks like gneiss, granite sand stone and lime stone surrounded by patches of agricultural lands are the favourable geographical condition for water collection. The large heartedness of Chandela rulers converted the dream in to truth of the people of this thirsty land. These were Chandelas who have taken keen interest in tank construction. Names of many tanks constructed by chandelas have suffix Sagar (Sea) e.g., Keerat Sagar, Madan Sagar, Rahil Sagar, Barua Sagar in U.P. part of Bundelkhand with Radha Sagar, Gwal Sagar in M.P. part as they are huge and cover large area. The number of these historical tanks scattered in 15 tehsils of Bundelkhand is about 100. History of construction of many tanks is not available now but it is very clear that tough granite base, surroundings of hills, presence of water supply source and residence of rulers were important factors for selection of construction site. Madan Verman, Keerat Verman, Rahil, Parmardi Deva, Dhanga (950 – 1008 A.D.), Ganda, Vidhyadhar was the prominent rulers taking interest in tank construction. Most of these tanks are constructed along the human settlements, which is remarkable point. At present the historical tanks are surrounded by natural scenes, picnic spots, religious locations as well as many of them are symbol of ancient cultural activities and festivals. If these historical tanks may be maintained properly, they have capacity to change scenario of water ecology in Bundelkhand. It is strongly needed that there must be a multilateral planning for multipurpose use of the tanks. Small scale and regional planning are more useful than broad scale planning. Only this view is fruitful in water conservation and government should also accept it. If tanks are used for irrigation in limited areas then these historical tanks become more useful. Hence government do not prefer expend money over infrastructure of these tanks but important factor is forgotten that role of these tanks in environmental protection is of high level. Birds of different breeds migrate towards these tanks in various seasons. The list of these birds is lengthy. Many hydro plants (e.g.- trapa, kaseru, lotus etc.) which are preserved in these tanks are struggling for their existence. Various regional breeds of fishes (e.g. - rohu, nain, kalkodha, mahasher, tinger, lonchie, kissa, dega, bhokhara, gangie, suja, malote, billa, qatala, moya, papta etc.) are found in water of only these tanks. Among

birds parrots, pigeons, swans, snakes, etc. are permanent residents of these tanks. It is proper to say that bio-sphere residents at these historical tanks is the identity of Bundelkhand, therefore study and preservation of these tanks is strongly needed. Except these ecological factors many indirect aspects like recharge of underground water and soil conservation are waiting for further research. These historical tanks can be changed in tourism destinations by proper management. Many huge tanks can be used in water sporting and boating. By minor change and planning, these tanks will become destinations for domestic and regional tourism. These huge tanks are waiting for promotion of water sports at minimized cost in central India. Mahoba district administration has got a good position in this regard. It is a well established fact that present condition of these tanks is very poor due to government negligence as well as public unawareness. These tanks are misused by local population. The tanks who were the symbol of aristocracy and source of water supply for most of the population, now are centres of illegal jobs and polluted water. Silt setting and illegal capturing are main problems of the tanks, therefore water carrying capacity of almost all the tanks is decreased to less than half of its actual. Banks of dams are weak and most of the water of tanks is captured by fungus, grasses etc.

The water of these tanks is useless for purpose of drinking because polluted water of human settlements is drained into these tanks. Neighbouring land of tanks is under unauthorized possession and construction. Illegal use is another problem except illegal possession and construction. People feel success in doing illegal jobs. The study is most significant in many ways nowadays because the study area is facing drought situation. Apex leaders of all political parties are trying to be highlighted by this issue. It is a matter of historical fact that these tanks were constructed for public welfare since thousands of years ago. We have to maintain these tanks so that the drinking and irrigational water is obtained maximum. Besides the above aspects the students of geology and geography can do further research on recharge of underground water and soil conservation. These historical tanks are identity of Bundelkhand, therefore study and preservation of these tanks is strongly needed. Project carried out was a study related to drinking water problem of the people of study area as well as to least agro – production due to lack of irrigational water. Due to mis-use and illegal jobs, the historical tanks of Bundelkhand are losing its original size and importance. In few areas there is new trend of high level boring to explore the ground water. This tendency is harmful for people because they are continuously decreasing the level of underground water. The protection and conservation of historical tanks in study area is only way of safe guard. The study is quite related to present day problem of water collection. A specific environment was developed due to historical tanks of Chandelas. These tanks are also responsible for development of specific Bundeli culture. For

example, Madan Sagar tank of Mahoba become destination for thousands of people at the time of local fair of ‘Kajalia’. This fair is based on the historical tradition of brave warriors named Allha and Udal. Therefore their tanks are creator of cultural traits in the area. The study is contributing to knowledge of historical tank construction technique as well as the wider importance of historical tanks.

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RESTORATION OF HISTORICAL MONUMENTS: A REVIEW ON ARAB-KI-SERAI

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Abstract: Architecture life cycle will never be excused from the existence of defects and deterioration. They are common problems in architecture, existed in newly or in aged. Even though the construction made with strong materials like sand stone and fine quality mortar, the lack of preservation may get serious defects and these damages will reduce value to the heritage. In restoration works, it is important to identify the causes and restoration techniques that best suits with the originality. Lack of attention and care will result to lose the originality and unique features of the architecture may lead the 'reconstruction to destruction'. This paper reviews; the conservation and restoration works of Arab-ki-Sera, which is located inside Humayun's tomb complex, comprise the briefings of Indo-Persian architecture, Mughal architecture with special reference to Humayun's tomb. As in conservation practice, architecture can be conserved by using various restoration and conservation techniques like fully and partial replacement, mechanical

reinforcement, consolidation by impregnation and reinforcement, removing paint...Etc. Whatever it may be, the utmost care must be given to preserve the original features.

Key Words: Restoration, Indo-Persian Architecture, Humayun Tomb, Arab-ki-Serai, Haji Begum.

Introduction

From the early days India has possessed its own architectural tradition. Various temples and Monasteries, which constructed during the Gupta and Post-Gupta period testifies this fact. The early medieval period saw the rapid expansion of the temple construction in the different parts of the sub-continent. This had possessed its own style and many unique characteristics. The Rock cut construction at Ajanta and Ellora posses its own uniqueness. It indicates its rich heritage in this area. After the 12th Century a new element was introduced into the field of Indian architecture. The Turko-Persian architectural style was mixed with the indigenous architectural tradition and created a new form of architecture called the Indo-Islamic architecture.

As a religion Islam does not possess any kind of peculiar architecture. But when Islam reached Persia, the Persian art and architecture was gradually Islamized. The Persian architecture was not entirely Persian; even it received many features like arch and dome from other parts of world including Rome through Byzantine.¹³⁶ The Indo-Persian architecture is the mixture of both Indian and Persian elements. Though the Arch was familiar to Indians, the use of it was not in large scale and was unscientific in nature. Instead in the Indo-Persian architecture they used arch and dome in a large scale and in a scientific manner. They introduced slab and beam into Indian architecture. These arches were decorated with geometrical and floral designs. They did not use animal and human pictures as it is prohibited by Islam. They used inscriptions from Quran for decoration, which is characterized as Arabesque. Large number of pillars and use of fine quality light mortar of a superior kind were also its features.¹³⁷ This style of architecture got a new dimension with the establishment of Mughal Empire in the first half of the 16th century.

The Mughals came originally from outside of India, so-no matter though these emperors employed thousands of artists and craftsmen.¹³⁸ Mughal architecture

NOTES AND REFERENCES

¹³⁶ Satish Chandra, History of Medieval India, Delhi, 2009, P.183

¹³⁷ ibid, PP.183-84

¹³⁸ W E Gladstone Solomon, Essays on Mughal Art, Indian Art and Modern Criticism,London,1932,P.81

means the architectural style developed by the Mughals in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries throughout the extent of their empire in the Indian Sub-continent. It was an amalgam of Turko-Persian and Indian architecture.¹³⁹ The Mughal emperors gave a new direction and impetus to architecture. Examples of the style can be found in present day India, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Bangladesh. During the short reign of Babur, he took considerable interest in erecting buildings. His grandson Akbar built widely, and the style developed vigorously during his reign. The Mughals built forts, palaces, gates, public buildings, mosques, water tanks..Etc. They also laid out many formal gardens with running water. In fact use of running water even in their palaces and pleasure resorts was a special feature of the Mughals.¹⁴⁰ During the reign of Akbar we find two traditions of architecture working simultaneously. One was the Persian tradition with which Humayun became familiar during his stay at the court of Shah Tahmasp. The Persian tradition is reflected in the mausoleum of Humayun, started by his widow Haji Begum perhaps in 1564 and completed in eight years time.¹⁴¹

Mirak Mirza Giyathi, a Persian architect, who led the construction of this tomb. It was the first garden tomb, and first structure to use red sand stone at such a scale on the Indian Sub-continent. It represented a leap in Mughal architecture, and together with its accomplished Charbagh garden, typical of Persian gardens, but never seen before in India. It set a precedent for subsequent Mughal architecture. In 1993, the Humayun tomb was included in the world heritage site of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). It was included in its 17th session, since then it undergone many restoration works. According to some Historians, these works are destructing the originality and unique features of the Indo-Persian blend.¹⁴²

Besides the main tomb enclosure of Humayun, several smaller monuments, with unique features dot the pathway leading up to it, from the main entrance in the west, including the tomb of Isa Khan Niyazi, a noble in Sher Shah's court. It predates the main tomb itself, by twenty years. Bu-Halima gateway, Arab-ki-Serai gateway, Afsal wala tomb and mosque complex are the other monuments here. These small monuments are losing its uniqueness due to the ongoing 'Constructive

¹³⁹ Satish Chandra,op.cit,P.317

¹⁴⁰ ibid

¹⁴¹ Satish Chandra, Medieval India from sultanate to Mughals Part II Mughal Empire(1526-1748) P.434

¹⁴² Interview with Irfan Habib, 25-09-2014, ASC, JNU, New Delhi

Destruction'.¹⁴³ Recently a news was appeared in an English daily regarding the 'reconstruction' of Arab-ki-Serai.¹⁴⁴

There are two versions regarding the foundation of Arab-ki-Serai, the first version is that, it is built in 1560-61 to house around 300 Arab priests who were brought from Makah by Haji Begum to pray for the soul of Humayun. Another version is that, it housed the Persian workers and craftsmen, who were brought here to construct Humayun tomb. To R V Smith, Haji Begum, returned from a pilgrimage to Makah, accompanied by hundreds of scholars and masons. Under the supervision of Akbar's officials from Agra, the masons constructed the mausoleum. Some of them brought all the way to Hindustan to pray for Humayun's soul. We can undoubtedly state that the nomenclature Arab-ki Serai was derived as it was a barrack built for a mix of Arab and Persian Islamic scholars and Masons. Any way this Serai was allotted to the main architects, who built Humayun Tomb.¹⁴⁵ Those who are interested in the history of Delhi should certainly see this huge gate built by the widow of Humayun on such a grand scale just to house the main artists.¹⁴⁶ It certainly speaks for the esteem, those artists were held in. And, those not interested in history should actually turn around to look at this huge gate, just for the sake of its beauty and in honour of those artists, who constructed the Humayun Tomb. Today most of the visitors of Humayun tomb complex simply ignore this gate and prefer to walk straight to the main mausoleum.

Located inside the Humayun tomb complex, the Arab-ki-Serai gate is one fine example of Mughal era craftsmanship. The 14 meter high gate was built by widow of Humayun as an entrance to an enclosed garden, where the main artists from Persia, who were brought to work on building Humayun's tomb, housed. The word Serai itself means an inn or resting place.¹⁴⁷ The enclosure is large enough to accommodate to around 300 craftsmen and further leads to the Afsal wala tomb and mosque complex.

The gate was built by using red sand stone with white marble inlay work and looks strikingly beautiful and well kept. It has certainly withstood the ravages of time since most of the inlay work is still intact and looks mesmerizing. Even the projecting Jharokhas (small balcony windows) display remnants of blue and yellow glazed tiles. However the wooden gates of the structure lie broken along the walls. The gate is simply gigantic, an elephant could pass under, and we would

¹⁴³ Interview with Najaf Haider, 09-10-2014, ASC, JNU, New Delhi

¹⁴⁴ The Hindu, 07-05-2014

¹⁴⁵ Telephonic conversation with Dr KK Mohammed, Former Director ASI, 07-10-2014

¹⁴⁶ *ibid*

¹⁴⁷ *ibid*

wonder how they opened it. Provided within the wooden gate is a small gate for human entry. A staircase leads to the upper floors from where one can get an uninhibited view of the Afsarwala tomb and Mosque complex. Interestingly enough Arab-ki-Serai was occupied till as late as 1925 by a community so large that it merited its own post office. In 1925, the residents of Arab-ki-Serai were ordered to vacate the area.

In 2012, when the Sher Shah gate opposite the Purana Qila collapsed, conservationists in the capital were apprehensive that the two feet tilt in the ornamental façade of the Arab-ki-Serai would meet a similar fate. In the 20th century, the entrance chamber's dome had collapsed and since then much of the structure was in various stages of disintegration. Most of the structure was held up by patches of cement plaster. As a result, Arab-ki-Serai became a dilapidated gateway.

Architecture conservation has long been of concern, in India its popular application with much care started in 20th century.¹⁴⁸ The field of conservation and restoration achieved a place among Non Governmental Organizations and reached popularity among nation in 21st century. In a country like India, which has rich heritage and cultural past, the heritage sites are regarded as highly valuable due to their historical values and tourism potential. It is necessary to preserve these sites by giving continuous care and protecting them from being destroyed so as to prolong their life span and beauty. It is quite natural that, as buildings aged, they will be exposed to serious building defects and deterioration. Every historical sites, whether it is Ancient, Medieval or Modern, requires care and protection to limit deterioration. For this buildings, efficient maintenance management approaches are essential in extending the life span and avoiding the need for potentially expensive and disruptive repair works, which may damage the buildings heritage value.¹⁴⁹

Now this huge gateway- with grand vaulted rooms on either side of the principal arched entrance- is in the process of becoming a land mark structure worth visiting. To ensure that the Mughal era Arab-ki-Serai is restored to its original glory, the Agha Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC) has done some restoration works, which completed in May 2014. It worked in association with the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI).¹⁵⁰ The scarcity of fund and procedural complexities persuaded ASI to handover the renovation works to the Agha Khan Trust, a Non Governmental Organization.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ *ibid*

¹⁴⁹ Irfan Habib, *op.cit*

¹⁵⁰ Interview with Nikul Kumar, Engineer, Agha Khan Trust for Culture, Humayun Tomb, New Delhi, 28-09-2014

¹⁵¹ Dr KK Muhammed *op.cit*

The Trust achieved its objective by putting in 5000 man days of work, by workers brought mainly from Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Delhi..Etc. The tail work on the canopies restored by the youth of the Hazrath Nizamudin Basti. These youth were trained in this craft during the conservation of Humayun's tomb. The restoration work was started in September 2013 and finished in may 2014. The AKTC removed all the cement plasters used by the ASI as its part of conservation in 20th century, which distorted the originality, and used fine mortar in their restoration process. During restoration work AKTC used by and large Indian materials and Malaysian wood.¹⁵² Contrary to the original work the conservationists are Indian workers, especially from Rajasthan. Though they were experienced but not trained professionally in Persian architecture.

The restoration stands for a process of bringing an object back to its original state, so the excuses should not compromise with its meaning. When we undertake the conservation and restoration of a historical monument, we should consider the fact that this work should not destroy the originality and individuality of the site.¹⁵³ The restoration effort in Arab-ki-Serai destroys its originality in different ways. During the 16th century the red sand stone was extensively used by the Mughals to built architectural sites. But today at the time of restoration, the availability of red sand stone is severely restricted due to the shortage of quarries. So the conservationists are forced to compromise red sand stone with quartz.¹⁵⁴ Besides this, unlike 16th century, the workers, who are employed to renovate this site, are not professionally trained in this architectural style. The gigantic door of Arab-ki-Serai was renovated with the use of Malaysian Sal wood,¹⁵⁵ which destroyed its beauty and originality. The life cycle of a historical building like Arab-ki-Serai justifies its values. Thus, intervention is required to be at minimal and controlled as it would lead to the loss of its original values and beauty.¹⁵⁶ In the process of restoration we should consider some factors like, retaining of cultural heritage, maximum use of traditional techniques and materials, use of experienced and skilled workers, give utmost care to do only what is necessary.

Besides the above mentioned factors, an important thing also needs to be taken into consideration. A large number of historical monuments of India still facing deterioration and many of them were occupied by either Governmental agencies or by the various groups of people. It is a herculean task to evict the encroachments for renovation of these sites.

¹⁵² Nikul Kumar op.cit

¹⁵³ Najaf Haider op.cit

¹⁵⁴ Dr KK Muhammed op.cit

¹⁵⁵ Nikul Kumar op.cit

¹⁵⁶ Irfan Habib op.cit

Conclusion: Applying the appropriate techniques in conservation of a cultural heritage is the best way to protect its original features. The reconstruction efforts should not lead to the distortion of the original qualities of a particular site. Proper understandings of the defects and the causes of deterioration can avoid the damages to original features during restoration. We can't totally reject the role played by Non-Governmental agencies in restoration of historical monuments, but there should be a proper mechanism to evaluate the function of these agencies, to ensure the 'Real Restoration'.

Picture: 1

Arab-ki-Serai under Restoration Process by AKTC (Restoration Period September 2013-May 2014)



Picture: 2
Arab-ki-Serai under Restoration Process by AKTC
(Restoration Period September 2013-May 2014)





Picture: 3 & 4
Wooden Doors of Arab-ki-Serai before and after Restoration.
(Restoration completed in May 2014)

Picture: 5
Restoration works in Progress Arab-ki-Serai outside fortification wall inside
Humayun Tomb Coplex.



Picture: 6
Rear view of Arab-ki-Serai in dilapidated condition.





Picture: 7

Renovated Arab-ki-Serai (In 16th century the Arab-ki-Serai was constructed by using Red Sand Stones, thanks to the scarcity and non-availability of Red Sand Stones, the AKTC has compromised with the available stones of Quartz for the restoration).

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