



The Lepchas and The Missionaries of Scot I and in Sikkim

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Historically, from 1642 to 1975, Sikkim was an erstwhile kingdom under the control of the Chogyals belonging to the Namgyal dynasty of Tibet. The Lepcha, a small group of eastern Himalayan tribe are the autochthones of Sikkim and Darjeeling Himalayas.¹ The endoethnym of the Lepcha is *Rong*, also known as ‘Rongpa’² or ‘Raongkup or Rumkup’,³ meaning the beloved children of God. They call their country as *Mayel Lyang*, the “land of hidden paradise or the delightful region or abode.”⁴ The Mayel country of the Lepchas once consisted of present day Sikkim, Darjeeling and some parts of North Bengal and eastern part of Nepal. They call Sikkim as *Renjong*. The Sikkimese Lepcha therefore call themselves as *Renjongmoo*. Likewise, they are known as “*Illamoo* in Illam province in Nepal and *Promoo* in Bhutan.”⁵ They are primarily nature worshippers and worship Mount

¹ A K Banerjee et al, *West Bengal District Gazetteer*, Darjeeling, 1980, p.3.

² H H Rishley, *The Gazetteer of Sikkim*, Low Price Publications, Delhi, 1894, (2001 reprint), p.1.

³ K P Tamsang, *The Lepcha English Encyclopaedic Dictionary*, Mani Printing Press, Kalimpong, 2009, 2nd edition, p.652.

⁴ K P Tamsang, *The Unknown and Untold Realities about the Lepchas*, Mani Printing Press, Kalimpong, 1998, 2nd edition, p.1.

⁵ J R Subba, *History, Culture and Customs of Sikkim*, Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi, 2008, p.249.

Kanchenjunga, the womb of their creation, as their guardian deity. The community is endowed with a rich tradition of oral literature which talk about their ancient history and civilization which can be drawn from old manuscripts and other unwritten sources. Incidentally, many of these oral narratives bear a resemblance to the biblical episodes. The Lepcha shamans, called Mun (priestess) and Boongthing (priest), are regarded as the custodian of their primitive culture and oral heritage.

Missionaries and the Tribes

There are two different views on the missionary expansion in India. Some scholars argue that the European missionaries were able to carry out their work in India due to colonial monetarism and the evangelicals' political activism.⁶ Although many have argued that the intent of the missionaries is to propagate the gospel through means of various social services, yet, there are opinions that the missionary intensions might have been good but it directly or indirectly contributed towards the colonial establishment.⁷

Keeping aside the arguments of historians who see connection between missionaries and imperialist, there are scholars who argue that the missionaries had their own goals and objectives and these were quite different from those of British Administration. It can be said that the missions on one hand took to propagation of Christianity and on the other laid down an extensive network of social services such as education and health care. Christianity, to be more specific, missionaries, are the earliest agency of welfare in the tribal areas of India.⁸ By means of its various services Christianity brought in a new way of life among the tribes. The conversion brought in material gains. Christians were expected to have character, conduct, to abstain from intoxicants. The new faith also advocated end of slavery and encouraged personal hygiene etc. Yet, if one has to critically look into the story it has both, the glossy and the gloomy side. Although they attained material progress the conversion made them poorer in one respect, having little or no connection with their tribal religion [culture].⁹ This remote connection

⁶ J.S. Dharmaraj, *Colonialism and Christian Mission: Post Colonial Reflection*, ISPCK, Delhi 1993 p.7

⁷ Y.K. Vashum, "Colonialism, Missionaries and Indigenous" in *Journal of Tribal Studies*, Vol.xii(2), Jorhat, Assam Eastern Theological College, 2007, pp.14-15

⁸ N. Hasnain, *Tribal India*, Palaka Prakashan, Delhi, 2005, p.330

⁹ Syiemlieh, D.R. 'Christian Missions and Tribes in the Hills of North East India' in T B Subba et al eds. *Between Ethnography and Fiction*, Orient Longman, 2005, pp. 148-151

with their past culture profoundly changed the peripheral aspects of most tribal societies; yet, it is viewed that the core of tribal culture has remained intact.¹⁰

Scottish Mission and the Lepchas

The Start Mission headed by William Start was the first mission to come to Darjeeling in 1841. After 30 years of the coming of the Start Mission William Macfarlane of Church of Scotland Mission came to Darjeeling in June 1870 and started working among the native Lepchas and the Nepalis.¹¹ It took no time for him to realize that the Lepchas are the people to disseminate the gospel to.

In a very short span of time Macfarlane established many schools and the native Lepcha, and also the Bhutia and the Nepali children got opportunity to study for the first time. He was a zealous preacher who determined that a mission in Darjeeling would help him to carry the Light to the kingdoms like Nepal, Sikkim and Bootan[Bhutan].¹² With the establishment of churches in these areas, Sunday school, church service and preaching were accelerated.¹³ Local leaders and catechists were imparted education, through whom works in different places began and carried further. For the missionaries, ministry through education became the most effective means of evangelizing people.¹⁴ In 1873 the Scottish mission in Darjeeling also started two normal schools to train the Lepcha teachers for the district schools. Macfarlane gave importance to education to begin with. In this regard, Dich B. Dewan has said 'Rev. W. Macfarlane, due to whose assiduous labour of disseminating the holy gospel and the western knowledge among the sleepy hill people of Darjeeling made them wake up from their deep slumber, was the pioneer missionary to devise a broad scheme of education for this hill region.'¹⁵ In Darjeeling the churches grew in and around the town and in Kurseong missionaries started several primary schools. The present Turnbull High School and Nepali Girls High School were established in Darjeeling. They also started one mission school in Kurseong, whereas in Kalimpong several activities of the mission like – Scottish Universities Mission Institute (SUMI), Girls High School, Industrial Training Center, Tibetan Mission Center, Chattered Hospital etc. were

¹⁰ Ibid. pp. 152-153.

¹¹ J. Despande, 'Ek Haraeko Kadhi – Darjeeling Pahadma Tehis Barshey Start Mission,' in *Nabikaran*, Vol-12(25)Kalimpong, Ruhel Pakhrin,2006, p.10.

¹² Cindy Perry, *Nepali Around the World*, Katmandu: Ekta Books, 1997, pp.32-33.

¹³ D. G. Manuel, *op.cit.* pp. 11-18.

¹⁴ Y.K. Vashum, 'Colonialism, Missionaries and Indigenous' in *Journal of Tribal Studies*, Vol.xii(2), Jorhat, Assam Eastern Theological College, 2007, p.21.

¹⁵ D.B. Dewan, *Education in Darjeeling Hills*, New Delhi, Indus Publishing Company, 1991, p.101.

started.¹⁶ In 1880 Scottish missionaries, Sutherland and Archibald Turnbull joined the Darjeeling Mission and headed Kalimpong division and Darjeeling division respectively.¹⁷ Macfarlane now started to concentrate on Sikkim.

Sikkim

By the beginning of the 20th century the Church of Scotland's EHM (Eastern Himalayan Mission) was firmly established in Sikkim along with the Scandinavian Alliance Mission (later under the free church of Finland missions).¹⁸ The Scottish missionaries had zeal to work in Sikkim even before the extension of the British administrative control. Macfarlane went to Sikkim in 1872-73 and started modern schools in different parts of Sikkim but during that time missionaries were not allowed to reside in the country of Sikkim. In fact, "Church of Scotland missionaries from Kalimpong made several visits to Sikkim in the 1880s, but were not granted permission to reside in Sikkim. From 1880, Sutherland made annual trips to Tumlong, the then capital/palace, to get permission from the Maharaja of Sikkim for missionaries to settle in his kingdom to preach the Gospel.¹⁹ Permission was finally granted following J.C. White's appointment as the British Political officer in 1889. During the time when the European missionaries were not allowed to stay in Sikkim, MacFarlane used the Lepchas converts from Kalimpong to spread the Gospel among their fellow tribesmen in Sikkim. Sources reveal that by 1886 there were 26 Christians in Sikkim, and by 1888 their numbers doubled."²⁰

Since the Church of Scotland's Eastern Himalayan Mission (EHM) had paved the way, Scandinavian Alliance Mission (SAM) did not have such a long wait to receive similar permission to reside in Sikkim. Once the tracks of these missions were laid, the trains of missionaries ran through the mountainous valleys and Lepcha hamlets across Sikkim. Scottish mission got confined to southern and western Sikkim. The first mission school was started by Sutherland in Daramdin (West) in November 1880 with the help of Gambu Lepcha, a Christian teacher who was the native of the place. In 1885 Gambu was appointed as the official catechist for Western Sikkim by Turnbull and he served for 26 years. After obtaining the official permission J. Macara was the first Scottish missionary to have settled inside Sikkim with the aim of evangelization. He resided in Chidam from 1893 to 1898. W.G. Mackean was the second missionary resided there for four years from 1902-1905. Mackean left for Kalimpong in 1905 but again came to Sikkim in 1910 and built a new mission centre in Temi, South Sikkim. They started weaving

¹⁶ R. Phipon, 2000, *op.cit.* p.21.

¹⁷ Cindy Perry, *op.cit.* p. 48.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 88.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Bulletin of Tibetology*, vol. 40, No.2, *op.cit.*, p.30.

schools and raise poultry which in turn helped the natives to supplement their food and income. Maclean left Sikkim in 1920 after serving ten years in the second term of his stay there.

The mission work in Sikkim was later taken over by the national mission workers. More works related to health services were opened up. During 1890 to 1900 four dispensaries were opened in Sikkim. In 1900, they carried out vaccination campaign in the midst of small pox epidemic. By the end of the decade there were six catechists in Sikkim serving four congregations of over 200 Christians who were predominantly Lepchas. Some of the prominent Lepcha leaders were Gambu Lepcha from Phambong, West Sikkim; Dachek Lepcha of Soreng, West Sikkim; Apun Luksom from Singtam, East Sikkim; Adyat Lepcha from Chidam, South Sikkim; Sonam Tarbo Lepcha in Namchi-Vok Raho Rinchinpong in South – West Sikkim. Adyat Lepcha ‘Elatji Matiyas’ and Sonam Lepcha also served as compounders in Chidam and Vok respectively. During this period most of the mission works were concentrated in south and west Sikkim since the missionaries were not allowed to station in the capital Gangtok in east and a few areas in North Sikkim. It may be noted that Mary Scott, a female ordained Scottish missionary, was the only missionary who resided in Gangtok from 1923 to 1939 since she had good relation with the Maharaja of Sikkim.²¹ She established a girl’s school in Gangtok in 1923, presently known as Paljor Namgyal Girls School (PNGS) with intent to educate and uplift the women, particularly youngsters. This was the only female educational institution in the state for many decades.

In Sikkim more than a dozen schools were opened by the Scottish Mission by 1900. The government report records the following 14 Scottish Mission schools established in different locations of Sikkim by 1901.

School	Location
Temi School	Temi, South Sikkim
Pakyong School	Pakyong, East Sikkim
Rhenock School	Rhenock, East Sikkim
Kamlet School	Kamlet, South Sikkim
Chidam School	Chidam, South Sikkim
Vok School	Vok, South Sikkim
Soreyong School	Soreyong, West Sikkim
Chakhung School	Chakhung, West Sikkim
Chambong School	Chambong, West Sikkim
Dentam School	Dentam, West Sikkim
Lace School of Vok	Vok, South Sikkim
PNG School (Girls)	Gangtok, East Sikkim

²¹ Cindy Perry. *op.cit.* p.89.

Namthang School
Singtham School

Namthang, South Sikkim
Singtham, East Sikkim

(Source: *Administrative Report of the Government of Sikkim, 1901, p. 8.*)

The schools started by the Scottish missionaries later got the support of the state. The administrative report of the Government of Sikkim (1907-1908), indicates that nearly half of the expenditure for these schools was borne by the state.

All these activities carried out by the missionaries in Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Sikkim created employment opportunity among the Lepchas and helped in upgrading their livelihood. Such services still continues in the hills through various Christian organizations as Awasty (2004) rightly pointed out that the “only truly social welfare agency operating in the area is the church.”²² Although the Christian missionaries are operating with the same zeal there were discontentment and resentment among the hill Christian community. The converts were confined to staff the Christian schools and hospitals, which was somehow related to evangelization. They were discouraged from joining other lucrative jobs and business. The long-term result of this has been that, while the Christians are educated, they are the poorest community in the hills and therefore do not hold much influence in local affairs.²³ Having said so one cannot deny the commitment and personal sacrifice for building mission centres, and working among the tribes through various social services. The missionaries were fond of Lepchas as they were the docile, submissive and open to gospels. The Lepchas provided the active Christian leaders in the church. Men like Namthak Rongong Lepcha, C.T. Sitling, Dyongshi Sada, Rup Singh Lepcha ‘Pandit’, Tshering Simik, C T Pazo, P.S. Targain and numerous others worked as Christian leaders.

Sources tell that in 1970, out of 27 pastors in the Eastern Himalayan church, 21 were Lepchas. Even in today’s context in the whole region of Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Sikkim more than 55% of the church leaders are the Lepchas.²⁴

Socio-Cultural Transformation

It is widely accepted that the religion and education are two important variables of social transformation. The missionary’s intervention and impact in the socio-cultural life of the indigenous communities in India has been tremendous. The Lepcha’s encounter with the missionaries led them towards modern western education and an organized religion like Christianity, which made them more skillful and rationale and hence brought about a significant transformation. Some

²² See, Indira Awasty, *Between Sikkim and Bhutan*, B.R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 1978. Second ed. 2004.

²³ J.R Minto, *op.cit.* p.84.

²⁴ J. Karthak, *Dristi*, Prakash Prakashan, Kalimpong, 2000, p.182.

of the major changes observed are broadly discussed in the following sub-headings.

Lepcha is recognized as the primitive tribe by the government of Sikkim. They have their own primitive religious and cultural practices. Prior to their conversion to Buddhism and Christianity they used to follow Boongthingism and Munism. These shamans, Boongthing and Mun used to perform rituals and rites during early days. They used to worship nature-mountains and lakes, hills and dales, streams and rivers etc. Interaction with the Christian missionaries led to their cultural loss. Conversion forced them to slough off their age old practices whether linguistic, religious custom or tradition. Their notion of god and concept of religion and faith changed. As a result their age old cultural and religious belief, customs and ceremonies went into limbo. Although missionaries helped tribes to acquire material progress they are regarded as the vehicle towards the marginalization of tribal culture. The snapping of the converts' link to their traditional knowledge and religion is often characterized as their fall towards poverty.²⁵ The Lepcha converts no more follow boongthingism and Munism. Christian way of worship and prayer has taken hold of their religious mores. In the later stage, the churches grew in number with mixed ethnic groups. This led to the inter-caste marriages. As a result the traditional culture suffered an irreparable loss. Whatever aspect of it survived under the long impact of Buddhism had to be abandoned under the increasing Christian influence.

Christianity is regarded as the vehicle of modernization by the hill communities. Such tendency has resulted in the loss of traditional attire and indigenous knowledge. Their affiliation with the church or denomination seems more important than their ethnic identity. Hence, the process of christening had a negative effect on maintenance of their traditional attire. Striking feature of the attire of Lepcha men called *Dumpra* and women called *Dumhun* are not found common among the converts. Lepcha women's traditional dress and jewellery like paki, Lyak etc have vanished. This has also resulted in the endangerment of their traditional skill works and industries.

Traditional marriage customs and ceremonies have now completely disappeared. The Buddhist Lepchas prefer rituals performed by the lamas whereas the marriages in Christian families are conducted in churches. In contrast to traditional Lepcha marriage ceremony which lasts for months of celebration with wine and all kinds of meat and food the church marriage looks frugal and simple. Hence, church marriage is preferred even if one side of the family is non Christian. The only tradition they follow even today is the clan exogamy while choosing marriage partner.

²⁵ D.R. Syiemlieh, *op.cit.*, pp.148-151.

Lepchas were basically nature worshippers and are known for their knowledge of surrounding hills and land. The European scholars and travellers were fascinated by the knowledge possessed by the Lepchas on wild animals and herbs. They are regarded by many European writers (see, Campbell 1840, Hodgson 1847, Hooker 1969, Risley 1894, Donaldson 1900 and others) as good botanists possessing abundant knowledge of different plants, their values and properties and a clear idea of their location. But due to their connection with other people and faith and disconnection with their past and vast tradition they lost indigenous practices and knowledge preserved in the collective memory of the folks, used to be passed down orally. Displacement of indigenous knowledge and medicine can be regarded as a big loss not only of the Lepcha community but also of the entire humanity. In the process of reaching gospels and converting Lepchas, the missionaries used various means such as hospital services and practice of western allopathic medicine as influential modes. It has been often argued that “European medicines and hospitals were instrumental in saving lives and improving the living qualities of the people. But what is never acknowledged is the displacement of traditional indigenous medicines and medicine persons and the cultural role they played.”²⁶ The Lepchas of this region possess vast knowledge about the various use of wild flora (ethno-medicine) and fauna (for Healing and medicine), which are dying out very fast. Owing to cultural and religious penetration followed by language conflict and invasion, Boongthing and Mun culture is dying out very fast. The concept of Medicine or Medical advancement along with technological development which was initiated by the missionaries in the area has greatly influenced the traditional indigenous medicinal practice among the Lepchas. It is very hard to find youths, resolved to shoulder this traditional knowledge from the Boongthing or Mun, who are masters of ethno-medicine. Not only Christian Lepchas but those professing other religions too regard such practices as superstitious. Moreover, Christianity on its doctrine does not allow such practices.

Education and employment of the Lepchas may be regarded as the main gift of Scottish missionaries. History points out that during the immigration and installation of their sovereignty in the then Sikkim the Bhutias made a few Lepchas as Dzongpens or the ministers. The choice was based on their long term friendship and marital relationship. This led to the emergence of class hierarchy in Lepcha society for the first time. Henceforth the Lepcha society was divided into two distinct classes or strata, the higher and the lower. There were a few aristocrats associated with the palace or the administration of the state whereas, the bulk of

²⁶ Y.K. Vashum, ‘Colonialism, Missionaries and Indigenous’ in *Journal of Tribal Studies*, vol.xii (2), Jorhat, Assam Eastern Theological College, 2007, p. 21.

Lepcha population was poor and confined to remote terrains. But the advent of Scottish Missionaries in particular and initiation of modern formal education, medical or hospital services, craft industries, lace making-weaving and knitting industries for women etc made the Lepchas educated, rational and skilled. This created new avenues of employment for those economically poor Lepchas who basically lived in rural areas which resulted in one of the significant transformations in Lepcha society i.e.the shift in occupation or career. Many Lepcha who were earlier gatherers or poor cultivators now became teachers, pastors, preachers, compounders, nurses, doctors, skilled workers etc which led to the emergence of middle class in Lepcha society. This may be regarded as the most valuable contribution of the missionaries.

Although a classless society, Lepcha had a tradition of chieftain and religious head like Mun and Boongthing. They used to enjoy the respectable or authoritative position in the society. However, after their conversion church became their authority and remained the sole means of social communication. In this way, their network with tradition and social group outside the Church, started to deviate.

Lepcha is a primitive but permissive society. In traditional Lepcha society a sense of equal partners among men and women prevails. However with the dynamics of social change women were restricted within their own locality. Missionary activities and education and training brought about significant change in this attitude. Further, Christian beliefs and moorings provided equal rights to women. Missionaries openly advocated for women education and provided with religious leadership. They were equally involved for preaching the gospel in far off places. Such kind of change in attitude towards women may be viewed as the positive aspects of conversion.

The unique language of the Lepchas, whom they call *rong-arung* or in short *rongring*, also illustrates their primitiveness. Mainwaring, the first person to have studied and written the grammar of it in 1876, has regarded the Lepchas as an ancient tribe and their language ‘unquestionably far anterior to the Hebrew or Sanskrit and is the oldest language extent.’²⁷ It has its own unique usage, naming pattern etc. For example the speech variety or lexical choices made by Lepchas Boongthing or Mun (Lepcha Priest/Priestess) while performing religious ceremonies and rites are different from ordinary language. Due to religious and cultural assimilation practice of traditional religious rituals are vanishing very fast and as a result such rare and unique character of this ancient language has been at the verge of extinction. It is observed that the shift in Language use i.e. from

²⁷ G B Mainwaring, *A Grammar of Lepcha language*, New Delhi: Manjusri Publishing House, 1876, p.xx.

Lepcha to other dominant languages is another aspect influenced greatly by religious affiliation.

Though Bible is translated in Lepcha language, the readily available religious scripture and texts are either in Nepali or in English. It may be noted that in the beginning the Christian missionaries with a view to spread gospel among the Lepchas translated biblical texts into Lepcha language. They were the first agency to publish books in Lepcha language using Lepcha script. Book of Genesis, Exodus, St. Mathew and Mark were published as early as 1845. However, the rise of Nepali language as the lingua-franca of the region slowly hampered the use of Lepcha language. Earlier, Lepcha was the communicating language in the congregation and church services. The Lepchas of all age group possessed Lepcha version Bible. However, in the later period the church congregation consists of people from different ethnic and linguistic background because of which churches started to conduct services and preaching in Nepali language. It may also be noted that the declining rate of language use i.e mother tongue among the Lepcha converts, is because of population intermixture. Racial, ethnic or linguistic affiliation hardly matter or is hardly taken into consideration during the time of marriage among the converts. The only criterion she or he has to fulfil is to be a member of a church or denomination. It is because of this reason a large number of inter-caste marriages is found among the Christian Lepchas which ultimately hamper the use of mother tongue putting the language in endangered pool.

Conclusion

The Lepchas, the autochthones of the Darjeeling and Sikkim, responded to the gospel right from the beginning. They lacked organized religion and strong religious mooring, which made the task of missionaries easier. It is evident that Scottish missionaries played a significant role in bringing transformation in the Lepcha society of these regions. Their conversion resulted in discontinuity in many socio-cultural and religious traditions but at the same time propagation of modern education by the missionaries brought a new consciousness about their identity. The intent of missionaries was to convert the Lepcha and while doing so they made them more progressive. It is worth noting that the pioneering work of imparting modern education by the Scottish mission helped the Lepchas in understanding the significance of their cultural identity in a different way. It is found that the Lepcha converts to Christianity progressed materially compared to the Lepcha following other faiths. They became educated, rational and gained insights for social enhancement. It is found that many traditions were ignored after conversion while deeply rooted values like clan culture and egalitarian structure are still maintained. A nascent quest of identity can be viewed in Lepcha society today. The new generation is in the process of constructing a new community identity integrating both, the pre-conversion and post-conversion values.



Study of Roman Catholic Chapel with its
Cemetery of Sahebgunj bhagal pur
And St. Saviour'S Church of ChAmpAnAgAr,
Bhagal pur (Bihar)

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This article consists of two parts: first one is about the Roman Catholic Chapel and the adjoining cemetery in the Sahebgunj area of Bhagalpur and the second is regarding the dilapidated St. Saviour's Church and the nearby graveyard in the Champanagar locality of the district. The paper reflects the names of some departed souls, along with their feats, whose descriptions have not been recorded yet in the published historical books. Both sub-articles have been illustrated with the colored photographs. During my preceding expedition to Bhagalpur in July 2015 I availed the opportunity to visit the Roman Catholic Chapel and the cemetery in its premises. This church, on the Southern bank of the river *Ganges*, is located in the *Sahebgunj* quarter of Bhagalpur, which is to the North-West of TNB College. The attached graveyard, in comparison to the old *Saheb ka Qabristan*¹, is in a better condition and being protected by the chapel. The Church is presently being headed by Father Varghese Pananghat who took out precious time from his hectic schedule and showed us around the burial ground and gave finer details. A special block, named St. John's Home, built by Father John in the year 1912, also adorns the campus and it was here that I have had an exhaustive discussion with Father Verghese, along with Mr. Syed Wequar Haider and Mr. James Quadros, the last two being my local guides in Bhagalpur.

A stone tablet embracing the entrance of the assembly hall announces that it was rebuilt by Revd. F. John O.C. (Catholic Chaplain of Bhagalpore, A.D. MCMI). It

further adds that the marble and cement works were accomplished by the Italian artisans of Bologna, which is presently one of the most populous cities of Italy. In the absence of local historical records, I am inadequate to pin down the original date of the construction of this cathedral; neither does the abovementioned tablet specify the date of its reconstruction. I am hopeful that the authorities concerned must be possessing complete details of the evolution and development of the minster. There are other inscriptions as well near the entrance that provide concise details about the deceased ones.

The assembly hall is long and rectangular in plan whose roof is supported by numerous ornamental arches, which add glory to the cumulative sight. As we enter the hall we find a spiral staircase leading to a small wooden balcony, overlooking the hall. Stained glass panel above the entrance door and ventilators studded with the ornate Venetian blinds are among the other things of notice.

There are five memorials inside the assembly hall which are dedicated to the departed souls and such an arrangement of memorials is one of its kinds to be seen in any chapel. These memorials throw an ample amount of light on the four priests who helped Christianity rise and spread in the area; and it would be fascinating to cite their names with the biographical data, as gleaned from the memorials, in the following lines.

1. Revd. Father Vincent, O.C., was the Roman Catholic Chaplain of Bhaugulpore and *Jamalpore* (once an important British station in the present *Munger* district and containing much treasure of information on the rise and propagation of Christianity in the area). He was born in Sicily at “Petraglia Sottana” on the 25th September 1826, ordained priest on the 6th October 1850 and died at Jamalpore on the 10th December 1879. He has been described as an exemplary pastor, a father to the poor and a true and sincere friend.
2. Reverend Father David of Cezena, Capuchin, died on August 29th 1851, aged 32 years.
3. Revd. F. Raphael. O.C. of Ceisenhausen in Bavaria died at Jamalpore on the 6th August 1866, aged 45 years.
4. Reverend Father John Baptist of the Isle of Gilio Capucin of the Roman province died at Bhaugulpore on the 1st July 1849, aged 38 years. He has been described as a Zealous Priest and warm friend.
5. Lousia Stephen died at Bhaugulpore on the 31st March 1854, aged 22 years and 10 months. The tablet was placed by her afflicted mother.

As specified earlier we find a handful commemorative stone plaques near the entrance of the assembly hall, and a few of them are addressed to the members of the then flourishing Dequadros family of Bhagalpur, whose descendants still reside in the city and one among them was my local guide to the religious sanctuary.

These inscribed tablets endow us with the information on the souls described hereinafter.

1. Paula Maria De Quadros, who was born on 16th January 1792 and died 12th October 1862; and Peter Manual De Quadros, born 14th August 1814 and died 4th January 1874.
2. Paul Salvadore D' Quadros, born on 14th August 1814 and died 13th March 1878; and John D' Quadros, born 17th February 1816 and died 3rd March 1880. The tablet marks the resting place of the departed souls and it was placed by their brother – Charles John D' Quadros.
3. Felix Sebastian Lopes, a *Zemindar* (a landlord, once considered among the gentry of the society), was born on 14th January 1799 and died 29th December 1869. He has been described as a devoted father, true friend, charitable neighbor, kind and just landlord, and a pious Christian. He was just in all his acts and dealings and his death closed a long and useful life, the tablet adds. It was Felix who had rebuilt the chapel. The stone tablet was placed by his daughters – Rosalie Olevia Morrison and Adelaid Margaret Antonini.
4. Angelina Lopes died on June 15th 1838, aged 23 years 10 months and 2 days. She in all likelihood was the wife of the aforementioned Felix Sebastian Lopes. She has been described with the virtues like – a dutiful daughter, true tender wife, steady friend and tender mother. The same plaque laments the death of her infant daughter – Maria Theresa, who was born on 19th November 1837 and died 8th September 1839. The plaque as a mark of memory and “to perpetuate the virtues of a tender wife” was placed by her husband and the father of the infant daughter.
5. Henry Raymond, who was the infant son of Antonio Adelaide Antonini, was born on 22nd December 1861 and died 6th May 186(?).

There are at least two graves encrusted with the red-tiled platform, adjacent to the southern wall of the assembly hall, which belong to the below persons.

1. Charles John DeQuadros died on 20th October 1891, aged 69 years. His son James Augustine Quadros had placed the tablet on his grave. The gravestone grieves in the Latin language: ‘Requiescat in Pace’.
2. Rev. Father John O. M. C. died on 4th October 1919. He was remembered as a Missionary Apostolic. He for 23 years laboured zealously for his flock, and built the church and house of Bhagalpore and of *Khagaul* (latter being a small town in the present Patna district and holding at least one European memorial park).

The main cemetery sprawls to the East of the Chapel and contains more than thirty intact graves with almost all of them in the perfect condition, although, the overgrowth of weed coupled with the blackened and worn-out inscriptional letters

had made our task of recording the inscriptions a little tougher, nevertheless, we were successful in registering the particulars of almost all the gravestones. The burial ground is situated in an enclosed boundary whose entrance gate is flanked by the statues of two angels on either side. These graves and memorials had been sculpted by the skilled artisans and sculptors of *Chunar* (U.P.), Calcutta, Monghyr (Bihar) and Patna. Apart from the English language there are tombs which have inscriptions in the Latin, Italian and German languages as well, indicating the native countries of the departed souls. An almost inclusive list of those buried here before 1947 AD is being presented below for the future reference. It should be noted here that one doesn't find any reference to the majority of the names, discovered during my exploration, in the published historical books or documents and, hence, the importance of these hitherto unknown inscriptions, along with their contents and biographical data, augments exponentially.

1. Florence Eva Curtis, wife of Francis Horatio Curtis, was born on 12th December 1867 and died 1st August 1938, aged 70 years – 7 months and 19 days. “A devoted wife and mother she was kind and considerate to all”, the plaque states. The same tablet has one more commemorative inscription ascribed to her: ”In fond and ever loving memory of Florence Eva Curtis who left us for heavenly home on the 1st of August 1938. Aged 70 years 7 months and 19 days”. It ends with the remark – “Thy will be done”.
2. Elizabeth Grace Morrison, spinster youngest daughter of Malcolm Brown and Olivia Rosalie Morrison, was born in October 1874 and died on 28th June 1940. The inscription is obliterated and, hence, indecipherable to some degree. (*British Medical Journal*, January 8th, 1916, had published an obituary on C. S. Morrison, who was the second son of the aforesaid couple. The obituary follows: “It is with great regret we have to record the death, on December 17th, 1915, at the age of 55, of Dr. C. S. Morrison, Physician-Superintendent of Hereford County and City asylum. He was the second son of Malcolm Brown and Rosalie Olivia Morrison of Bhagalpur, and was born in India. He was educated at the University Calcutta and the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh. After taking the triple qualification in Scotland, he was for a time family physician to the late Earl of Elgin. Afterwards he was assistant medical officer to the Derby Asylum, and later was selected to fill a similar position at the County and City Asylum, Hereford, where he assisted his chief, Dr. T. A. Chapman. On Dr. Chapman's retirement a few years later, Dr. Morrison was appointed medical superintendent, which post he held until the day of his death. During his twenty years' service as medical superintendent he proved himself to be a skillful physician and a capable administrator, and was considered by the profession generally to be an authority in his speciality. As assistant medical officer he was one of the

first to be selected to be put on the council of the Medico-Psychological Association, and afterwards was placed on the committee appointed to revise the constitution of that association with a view to assistant medical officers taking a more important part in its affairs and to revise the scientific work, which had gradually been allowed to take a secondary place in the affairs of the association. He took part in many debates when alterations were proposed which would give younger and junior members a more leading position than had been previously the case. He addressed himself to the assistant medical officers of that day, and by his vigorous action and forceful arguments he effected his purpose, and the existing constitution of the association, which has expanded its work and prosperity, was largely due to his unflagging efforts. He was Vice-President of the Section of Neurology and Psychological Medicine of the annual meeting of the British Medical Association when it met in Birmingham in 1911, and was recently President of the Worcestershire and Herefordshire branch of the British Medical Association, and had for a considerable time acted as Secretary, when he successfully worked to revive scientific work, which had been flagging for some years. Dr. Morrison was a man of many parts, courteous, sympathetic, and kindly. He enjoyed public respect and the affectionate regard of his afflicted patients, who learned to value him as their trusted and beloved friend. His love for the suffering poor was conspicuous, and his consideration at all times given them, irrespective of caste and creed.”).

3. James Augustine Quadros, the only son of Julia, was born on 1st October 1889 and died in January 1939. He was a devoted son, husband, father and faithful servant of god. The inscription is partly effaced making it difficult to decipher the complete content.
4. Edith May, the beloved child of Joseph and Victoria Dacosta, was born on 17th November 1876 and died 19th November 1877, aged 1 year and 2 days. The dedicatory slab reads: “Dear to her parents, to her God more dear; a little child, does sweetly slumber here: Blest is her state. From sin and danger free, to us she died: She lives O Lord with thee”.
5. Lousia Piron, relict of the late Joachim Piron, Deputy Collector of Monghyr, was born on 25th October 1800 and died 30th November 1875, aged 75 years 1 month and 5 days. The monument “as a last tribute of affection” was raised by her son-in-law Thomas Grant Esquire. A revelation runs through the stone: “The Lord is my strength and my glory. He is my salvation”. (Joachim Piron Esquire, Uncovenanted Deputy Collector, died on 18th May 1857, aged 63 years and 2 months. For further information please refer to *Bengal Past and Present: Journal of the Calcutta Historical Society*, Volume 12, pp. 110, published by the Calcutta Historical Society, 1916. J. Piron had

executed the temporary settlement of 1,23,186 and some odd *Beeghas* of land with *Maharanee* Wujhoonissa, wife of Raja Rahmut Ali Khan of Pergunnah Kurruckpore Havelee (Munger), for twenty years for which the British East India Company was to be paid Rs. 11,128-12-10. For information about the complexity of this appealing but intricate transaction please see the *Judgments of the Privy Council on Appeals from India, from 1831-1867*, pp. 578-591, by David Sutherland (Barrister-at-Law), Calcutta, 1867). A couple of records available at the National Archives of India – (File no. – PP. 900-1, O.C., 27 Feb., No. 51, Year 1800) and (File No. – PP. 170, 171, O.C., 4 March, No. 62, Year 1799) – point towards the proceedings of the boards of the Foreign and Secret departments relating to one Mr. Piron¹ (who, according to Rosie Llewellyn Jones, was possibly the father of Joachim Piron) and distinctly document him as the commander of the French party which was in the service of the Nizam of Hyderabad. Former record refers to one Captain Donaldson too.

6. Justin Ludvic Antonini, Assistant Indigo planter of Colgong (now *Kahalgaon*) factory, was “born at Bhaugulpore on the 29th of August 1863, departed this life on the 4th of August 1888”, aged 24 years 11 months 7 days. “He was cut off in the prime of his youth”, the gravestone laments. His death was “much regretted by those who knew”. A fairly long revelation (stretching up to 9 lines) is inscribed on the other side of the tomb.
7. Victoria Margellina Dacosta, wife of Joseph Dacosta of Bhagalpur, died in August 1881, aged 44 years 3 months and 27 days. The memorial is stamped with the following words of the Psalm XXI: “Thou hast made her most blessed for ever. Thou hast made her exceedingly glad with thy countenance”.
8. Errol Francis Patrick, the only son of Francis and Florence Curtis, died at *Khanjarpur* (now a bustling locality of Bhagalpur) on 6th April 1902, aged 3 years and 19 days. The tomb has a protruded cross bearing the following aphorism of the Jesus Christ: “Suffer little children to come unto me”.
9. Francis Horatio Curtis was born on the 30th November 1870 and died 3rd February 1941, aged 70 years, 2 months and 4 days. He was “an ever loving and devoted husband and father whose kindness and consideration at all times had endeared him to a large circle of friends”.
10. Frederic Daniel Fuller was born on 14th January 1884 and passed away on 24th February 1926. The marble gravestone, which was placed by his wife, is imprinted with the verse: “Death divides but memory lingers”. It is decorated with some rhymed couplets too: “Thy will be done: Sleep on dearest Fred and take thy rest for God hath called whom he loved best. The loss is great that I sustain but hope in heaven to meet again”.

11. Mrs. M. Savi expired on 9th June 1937, aged 60 years. She was survived by her only child – Mona Mary Wood and her son-in-law Richard Wood.
12. Frederick Aimee Savi was born on 11th April 1850 and died at Bhagalpur on the 13th October 1927, aged 77 years 6 months and 2 days. He was the husband of the aforementioned Mrs. M. Savi. The memorial is embedded with the ensuing English quatrain: “Always so true, unselfish and kind; none in this world his equal will find; a beautiful life that came to an end; he died as he lived every one’s friend”. The monument was constructed by his only child Mona Mary and his son-in-law Richard Wood, who “deeply mourned and sadly missed” him.
13. Ada Dorothy Cladys, “the beloved infant daughter of David and Kathreen Sheeran”, was born on November 15th 1934 and died at the age of 4 years. Her tomb is flanked by a beautiful two-winged angel holding a sculpted Cross.
14. Emma Bay French was the wife of Allen Bay French, who was an Indigo planter in the *Raj Banaili* (which was once one of the strongest estates of Bihar) of Bhagalpore. She breathed her last at the age of 66 years. Her grave was built by her son-in-law W. Gay French, who was an engineer with the Anglo Iranian Oil Company, *Abadan*, Iran. (The inscription on the White marble doesn’t appear discernible any longer and is nearly extinct. The Anglo-Persian Oil Company (estd. 1909) was the precursor to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. By 1950, AIOC had built the largest oil refinery in the world at Abadan. Presently, the company is known as British Petroleum).
15. Robert Joseph Belletti, the dearly loved husband and father, met his death at Bhagalpur on the 20th July 1939.
16. Nancy Aileen Quadros nee Gay French was born on 21st July 1901 and met her end on 15th April 1989. Her immediate family members had raised the monument to her memory.
17. Rudolf Maria Koehler was born on 8th June 1866 and passed away on 28th May 1896. The grave is marked with the German inscription: “Geb. In Gau Algesheim D. 8 Juni 1866. Gest. Zu Bhogalpur D. 28 Mai 1896. In Den armen treuer freuende”.
18. James Waller Savi died on 20th February 1924, aged 77 years 1 month and 4 days. The monument was constructed by his brother and niece – F. A. Savi and Mona Savi.
19. Feleciana, wife of A. F. Droza, expired on 29th of March 1818, aged 43 years 9 months and 10 days.
20. Rev^d. Father Constantine Cornell departed his soul at Bhagalpur on 15th September 1925, aged 49 years. The tablet in his memory was raised by Jas A. Quadros.

21. R. Raymundus J. Conway, S. J., was born on 24th June 1891, entered (perhaps service) on 25th July 1913 and died 15th October 1932. He appears to be of the Latin origin as his grave is stamped, besides others, with the three prominent Latin words – Ortus, Ingressus and Obitus. (For some miscellaneous details about Conway, please see the Latin almanac – *Catalogus Provinciae Missourianae*, pp. 21 & 90, Chicago, 1913).
22. Miss Caroline Dsouza died on 24th October 1809 (?). The inscription which is inscribed on the Black granite slab is pretty simple: “Here lies the body of Miss Caroline Dsouza who departed this life on the 24th October Anno Domini 1809 (?), aged 12 years 8 months and 24 days”.
23. Sister Mary M. E. Mc Dermot, C.ST. J., died at Bhagalpur on the 31st May 1917. The monument to her memory was “erected by the Christian community of Bhagalpur as a token of their esteem and love”. She laboured amongst the sick, both rich and poor, and sacrificed her life.
24. Adelaide Margarette Antonini, wife of Antonio Giovanni Battista Antonini and daughter of the late Felix Sebastian Lopez, was born on 19th September 1834 and died 30th (?) May 1910, aged 75 years and 8 months. The monument was set up by her bereaved husband and children.
25. Antonio Giovanni Battista Antonini, a resident of San Marco, Venice, Italy, was born at Venice on 22nd June 1832 and died at Bhagalpur on the 14th August 1923. His tomb, which was fortified by all the rights of the holy Catholic Church, is inscribed with the bilingual inscription in English and Italian, saying he was respected by all who knew him. The forenamed Italian content follows: ”Sacro Alla Memoria Di Antonio Giovanni Battista Antonini Di San Marco Venezia Italia Nato a Venezia il 22 Giugno 1832 Morto a Bhagalpore il 14 Agosto 1923 Fortificato Con Tutti i Riti Della Santa Chiesa Cattolica Fu Marito e Padre Exemplare Rispettato da Tutti Coloro Che lo Conobbero”.
26. Mary Ellenor Antonini, daughter of A. G. B. Antonini, was born on 21st May 1867 and died 26th October 1936, aged 69 years 5 months and 5 days. Her tomb was fortified by her brothers. The grave is marked with the subsequent text – “her uprightness, gentleness and piety won for her the respect and affection of all who knew her”.
27. Francis Earnest Lopes Morrison, fourth son of the late Malcolm Brown and Olivia Rosalie Morrison, was born on 28th July 1868 and died 9th August 1930. The inscription observes him as a “devoted son and loving brother whose uprightness and kindness earned for him the esteem of all”.
28. Mary Isabelle Gauty, third daughter of the late Malcolm Brown and Olivia Rosalie Morrison and relict of the late Patrick Felix Gauty, was born on 8th

March 1863 and passed away on 30th August 1913. She was a devoted wife, a mother and good friend to all, the plaque appends.

29. Olivia Rosalie Morrison, daughter of the late Felix Sebastian Lopes and relict of Malcolm Brown Morrison, was born on 5th September 1831 and died 25th July 1915. The commemorative inscription says that “her gentleness and amiability endeared her to all”.

30. Emma Josephine Savi, fourth daughter of late Malcolm Brown and Olivia Rosalie Morrison and relict of James Waller Savi, was born on 4th April 1866 and died 14th July 1938; and the monument was built by her only child, Stella Marie Anderson.

31. Avieno Beikhman(s) Chwolette was born on 25th or 26th November 1853 and died 16th or 18th June 1917. The contents of the inscription are highly depleted and imperceptible.

While reviewing one of my papers² on a cemetery of Bhagalpur, Dr. Rosie Llewellyn Jones writes: “We sometimes forget that foreigners who lived and worked in India during the colonial period were not only British, but from many other countries too. Over the years BACSA has looked at some of these smaller communities – the Greeks in Bangalore for example, or the Armenians in Calcutta. Tombstones are sometimes the only reminders of the diversity of the subcontinent’s population, with their foreign, that is, non-English inscriptions. Clearly some areas were more ‘British’ than others during the British Raj, just as some places were shunned for postings or leave. Bihar never seemed a popular posting for Raj officials, nor does it figure much in the colonial reminiscences and perhaps for this reason it proved a more sympathetic home to a variety of Europeans”.

She further adds that “the name Dequadros is of Portuguese origin, and there are reports of Dequadros ship captains in Indian waters in the early 17th century. Joachim Piron is possibly the son of Colonel Jean-Pierre Piron, a French soldier of fortune who was working for the Nizam of Hyderabad in 1797. There are other interesting names here too like Justin Ludvic Antonini, an Assistant Indigo planter at the Kahalgaon factory, who died at the early age of twenty-four, ‘cut off in the prime of youth’ as the gravestone mourns. The Antonini family came originally from Venice and one wonders what brought them to this (fairly) obscure corner of Bihar.”

She continues by adding that “this saintly man (Ernst Droese) had arrived in India in 1842, and was ordained by Bishop Daniel Wilson. He set up a number of Missions and was the first person to establish the local language Malto, in written form. Since the tribespeople were largely illiterate there had seemed no need for a written language. The Rev^d. Droese retired to Landour, where he died in 1891. His

wife Johanna, who had ‘shared his labours’ for forty-five years, subsequently returned home to Germany”.

*Kanpur Historiographers*³ had published my paper on the inscriptions of the *Saheb Ka Qabristan*. Recently, my friend Mr. David Blake (who resides in England and is a senior member of BACSA) has sent me some interesting notes (sourced from the archives of the British Library – F370/75) on the aforesaid cemetery and it would be worthwhile to reveal those details hereinafter: some Black & White photographs illustrate that the burial ground was in an excellent condition before 1947. Its status had degraded by 1987 but still it was in a good condition as some of the B&W photographs reflect. The British archive has photographs of the year 1990 too which depict minor flooding and a few dilapidated graves but Blake is clueless about the precise places that these pictures represent. A report dated 2008 states that the said memorial park was then in a sorry state and being used to dump the rubbish; it was overgrown too. Thirteen photographs of the same year show some tombs and obelisks in a good condition apparently. Mr. Blake adds that there are a number of papers and a few photographs relating to the two memorials to Augustus Cleveland, Collector of Bhagalpur and Rajmahal, and ‘Cleveland House’⁴ which in a photograph of 1981 looks very shabby and possibly derelict. One of the memorials⁵ was erected by the local people and was near the *Sandys* compound in front of the Circuit House; the other⁶ erected by the East India Company, was near the aforesaid House. An article of *Bengal Past and Present* states that the Cleveland Monument was in front of what was then called the ‘Mess House’. The inscription on monument which was near the Cleveland House read as thus: “To the memory of Augustus Cleveland, ESQ, late Collector of the districts of Bhagalpur and Rajmahal, who, without bloodshed or terrors of authority, employing only the means of conciliation, confidence and benevolence, attempted and accomplished the entire subjection of the lawless and savage inhabitants of the *Jungle-terry* of Rajmahal, who had long infested the neighbouring lands by their predatory incursions, inspired them with a taste for the arts of civilized life, and attached them to the British Government by a conquest over their minds, the most permanent as the most rational mode of dominion. The Governor-General and Council of Bengal, in honour of his character and for an example to others, have ordered this monument to be erected. He departed this life on the 13th day of January 1784, aged 29 years”. C. R. Wilson annotates that the said monument was at *Rikabganj*⁷, within the *Tilha Kothi*⁸ compound near the public gardens. The monument had a Persian inscription too which could be translated as: “This monument of Mr. Augustus Cleveland, Collector of the districts of Bhagalpur and Rajmahal, who, on Saturday, the 3rd January = 22nd *Pus* = 9th *Safar*, 1191 *Fasli*, departed to the eternal world, was founded by the *Amlas* and *Zamindars*, indebted to his kindness entirely of their own will, in testimony to his high qualities, and in

order to keep him in remembrance and was happily finished in the month of *Phagun* 1193 *Fasli*". The monument was embossed with a Persian quatrain also: "The voice from heaven said – May this monument of Mr. Augustus Cleveland remain for ever. The *Sanbat* year is evident from the opening verse. If thou deduct *Zami* from the *Sanbat* year. The years of the Christian era can also be ascertained". The inscription divulged details about the Government *Amlas* and *Zamindars* who had contributed financially towards the establishment of the memorial. Following is the lowdown on the said contribution – *Amlas*: Dewan Simbhu Nath = Rs. 300; Chait Ram = Rs. 50; Mir Karam Ali = Rs. 100; Abdul Rasul Khan = Rs. 129 – Annas 4; Sarup Chand = Rs. 300; Dwarka Kishen = Rs. 100; Parus Nath Ghose Kanungo = Rs. 400; *Zamindars*: Raja Quadir Ali = Rs. 200; Hardat Singh = Rs. 300; Abdhut Singh = Rs. 100; Raghunath Chaudhri = Rs. 200; Kishen Singh Zamindar = Rs. 200; Kripanath Choudhri = Rs. 200; Nand Ram Gumashta = Rs. 100; and other subscribers = Rs. 1,6,40.

Near the foregoing Cleveland monument (at *Tilha Kothi*) was buried Edward Burton whose tomb had the inscription: "Here lies interred Edward, the second son of James Burton, born the 7th, and died the 13th September 1778".

Mr. Blake further writes to me that there is a revelation of a 'Riverside' burial ground and a 'Military' cemetery in Bhagalpur but he is irresolute if these are different from the *Saheb Ka Qabristan*. The archival file (F307/75) of the British Library sheds light on one Buffs cemetery⁹ in Bhagalpur which was basically a Cholera graveyard for the officers and hundred men of the East Kent Regiment (National Army Museum, London, has plethora of documentary sources related to the Buffs, also called the Royal East Kent Regiment). There was a cross in the middle of the graveyard signifying its status as the final resting place. Charles Robert Wilson states that the Buffs cemetery had one inscription: "Sacred to the memory of the officers and soldiers of Her Majesty's 3rd Regiment, or Buffs who were interred in this cemetery in the year 1828". He articulates that the tombs of the soldiers and officers had been razed to the ground and it was a disused burial ground enclosed by the Bhagalpur race-course, south of the central jail. A recent appraisal by Mr. Wequar Haider reveals that nothing of it remains now except the relics of the two graves which are devoid of inscriptions. It is significant to note here that the place is still known as *Ghor-daur* (race-course) in the local parlance, although, horse racing is now a story of yore in Bhagalpur.

Bhagalpur possesses at least one Jewish graveyard too, near *Khirman-Chak*, which was once managed by the Jewish Burial Board (placed at Magen David Synagogue, 109, Canning Street, Calcutta-1). It has numerous tombs that contain decipherable and distinct Hebrew inscriptions, which have not been documented so far, and a meticulous survey of the place should yield some extraordinary historical information. Mr. Wequar Haider had carried out a perfunctory survey of the

location in the year 2014 and conveyed me the photographs and trivial notes concerning the same. A comprehensive and all-inclusive survey of the location may prove helpful in the Indo-Judaic studies and furnish fillip to some lesser-known facts of the Jewish community in Bhagalpur. Jonathan Goldstein articulates that by the mid-nineteenth century, Baghdadi Jewish merchants were well established in the opium trades of Bhagalpur, Bombay, Calcutta, Dinapur, Ghazipur and Rangoon. Rabbi Musleah's *On the Banks of the Ganges*, pp. 533-535, provides insights into the Baghdadi Jewish Settlement in Bihar, including Bhagalpur, and Bengal.



Fig. 1: Inside View of the Roman Catholic Chapel, Sahebgunj, Bhagalpur



Fig. 2: Façade of the Roman Catholic Chapel, Sahebgunj, Bhagalpur



Fig. 3: Entrance to the Sahebgunj Graveyard, Bhagalpur



Fig. 4: Tomb of Ada Dorothy Cladys



Fig. 5: Tomb of Edith May



Fig. 6: Syed Wequar Haider, James Quadros, Father Varghese Pananghat and Syed Faizan Raza standing outside St. John's Home



Fig. 7: Vestiges of the Buffs Cemetery at Bhagalpur



Fig. 8: Relics of the Buffs Cemetery at Bhagalpur



Fig. 9: Board at the gate of the Jewish cemetery, Bhagalpur



Fig. 10: Hebrew inscriptions on one of the tombs



Fig. 11: Tombs clearly marked with the Hebrew inscriptions



Fig. 12: Array of tombs lining the Jewish cemetery

St. Saviour's Church, Champanagar, Bhagalpur

It was during a sojourn to Bhagalpur in July 2016 that I got the privilege to explore the now abandoned St. Saviour's Church (which is a unit of Patna Diocese and comes under the aegis of the Church of North India), located in the *Champanagar* vicinity of Western Bhagalpur. Since the church is not operational any longer hence it is difficult to locate it, but the nearest landmark, the Police Training Academy (established: 1905) should help anyone to trace it. A vast cemetery is situated a little east of the cathedral. The graveyard is positioned on a high mound and enclosed by the massive boundary walls. As it is a gated burial ground so the graves are protected and intact, and have suffered minimal or no loss. The memorial park, during our visit, was overgrown with the shrubs so it was impossible for us to document the inscriptions; although, the foliage is weeded out every year around the Easter and, therefore, that should be the feasible time to record the contents of the tombstones.

There is a small building block near the chapel which has a metallic bell containing the Urdu inscription with the date. The inscription exclaims: "*Ruh Aur Rast Se Parastish*". It is further inscribed with the details like – Karen 1871.

The house of worship exists in a dilapidated state and requires immediate renovation otherwise this marvel of flamboyant English architecture would cave in permanently. It consists of a large rectangular assembly hall with extremely high

slant ceiling supported by the wooden and metallic bars. The walls of the minster are embedded with the ornamental arches and ventilators which must have once added charm to the spectacle. There are three more small rooms contiguous to the West side of the assembly hall. A few tribal Christian families reside in the neighborhood of the cemetery and they are no less than destitute. They are devoid of the resources to maintain the church; and live under the constant threat of some unknown impending catastrophe. The cathedral contains five inscriptions, four in English and one Hindi (which is completely damaged and now indecipherable). These memorials were designed by the Memorial Stone Co. (Chunar, U. P.), Ajodhya & Co. (Chunar), etc. The inscriptions throw light on the almost-forgotten people, including one Indian couple, who devoted their lives to propagate the faith in one of the most impregnable parts of the country. The inscriptional details are being reproduced below for further records and references.

1. In loving memory of the Revd. Ernst Droese, who laboured for 49 years in the extension of the kingdom of god in this land. He arrived in India (in December 1842, worked for 8 years in Benares and Ghazipur, for 35 years in Bhagalpur, and for 6 years in Mussooree and Annfield. He founded the Bhagalpur, Sonthal, and Pahariya missions of the C.M.S., and reduced the Malto language to writing. He died at Landour, April 19, 1891. Aged 74 years. Also in affectionate remembrance of Johanna, wife of the above, who for 45 years shared his labours on behalf of the people of this land. Born 16th August 1821; died at Dresden, 8th January 1901. (Note – Droese had written the Introduction to the Malto Language, which was published by the Secundra Orphanage Press, Agra, 1884. *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions* by Gerald H. Anderson provides a succinct and abridged account of the life and achievements of Droese. E. A. H. Blunt (I. C. S.) doesn't indicate towards Droese's grave in his Landour cemetery records, encapsulated in *List of Inscriptions on Christian Tombs and Tablets of Historical Interest in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, Allahabad, 1911. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library (Special Collections), has an exclusive archive of documents devoted to the activities of the Church Missionary Society [C. M. S.] in Bhagalpur. Following are the particulars of some important documents: [1]. CMS/ACC329 F1: Album belonging to Alexander Acheson, 1845 – 1895; [2]. CMS/B/OMS/C I1 04/3: Benares CMS conference, 1845 – 1872; [3]. CMS/B/OMS/C I1 079: Cutberth, Rev. George Goring, 1845 – 1861; [4]. CMS/B/OMS/C I1 094: Droese, Rev. Ernest, 1851 – 1880; [5]. CMS/B/OMS/C I1 0279: Storrs, William Townsend, 1856 – 1878; and [6]. CMS/Z 66: *Account of Santalia* by H. M. Holland, Clifton and Dalkey, 1889. The last account chronicles how the Santal people tried to make Rev. E. Droese's young son their king.).

2. In loving memory of Sarah James who died 31st Dec. 1910. Aged 54 years. She was a faithful missionary to the women and girls of Bhagalpur, *Colgong* and the villages round for 27 years.
3. In memory of Elbina Daniel who was born at Benares on the 8th June 1875. Died at Bhagalpur on the 29th July 1909. She was a faithful mission worker for about twenty two years. “With Christ which is far better”.
4. Sacred to the memory of Rev. P. C. Biswas, Minister of this church, died at *Champanagar* (Bhagalpur) on the 9th April 1931. “And I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, write, blessed are the dead which die in the lord from henceforth”. (Rev. 14. 13). And also Sushila Bala, his wife, who passed away at *Jasidih* on 21st July 1931. Be thou faithful unto death. And I will give thee a crown of life”. Rev. 2. 10. (This inscription was erected by their sorrowful children).



Fig. 13: Photograph of St. Saviour's Church, Champanagar, Bhagalpur



Fig. 14: Photograph of St. Saviour's Church, Champanagar, Bhagalpur



Fig. 15: Inside view of St. Saviour's Church, Champanagar, Bhagalpur

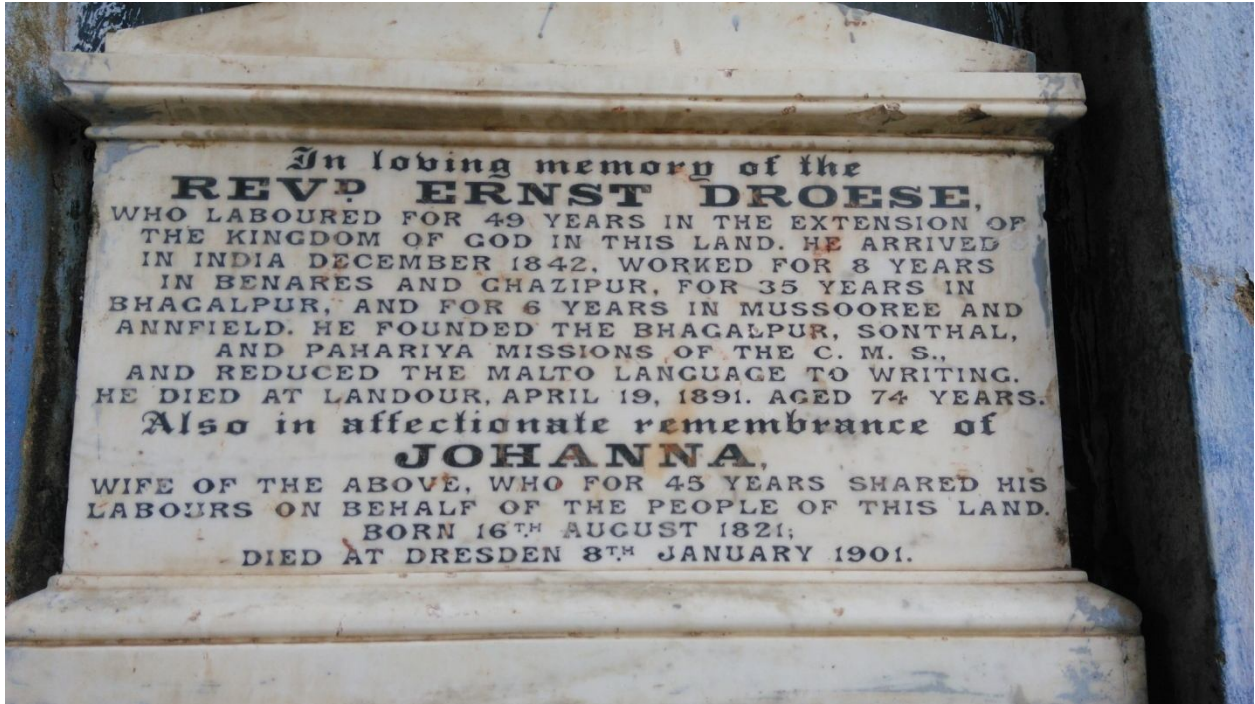


Fig. 16: Memorial embedded in the wall of the church and dedicated to Rev^d. Ernst Droese



Fig. 17: Cleveland House as seen from the house of Dr. Glas, painted by Sir Charles D'Oyly in September 1820, British Library



Fig. 18: Monument erected by the natives of Bhagalpur to the memory of Augustus Cleveland, painted by Sir Charles D'Oyly in September 1820, British Library



Fig. 19: Pyramidal monument erected by the Government of Bengal to the memory of Augustus Cleveland, painted by Sir Charles D'Oyly in September 1820, British Library



Fig. 20: Hooghly College housed in the Perron's House in 1851, gleaned from Fiebig Collection: Views of Calcutta and Surrounding Districts, taken by Frederick Fiebig in 1851, British Library



Fig. 21: Hooghly College housed in the Perron's House in 1851, gleaned from Fiebig Collection: Views of Calcutta and Surrounding Districts, taken by Frederick Fiebig in 1851, British Library

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1. There was one more French, named Pierre-Francois Cuillier Perron, who should not be confused with the other two persons having almost similar surnames mentioned in the previous pages. Doyen of Indian history, Jadunath Sarkar has chronicled Perron's career in details in his monumental work – *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Volume 4, 1789-1803, pp. 205-218, New Delhi, 1992. I am grateful to my senior friend, Mr. Mohammad Sajjad, Associate Professor of History at Aligarh Muslim University, for supplying me the information about Cuillier Perron and the inscription inscribed on his Aligarh house, which is presently known as Sir Shah Sulaiman Hall. It is a bilingual inscription in English and Persian. The English text mentions – “Perron 1802”; while the Persian content on the same slab identifies him as *Nasir-ud-daula Intezam-ul Mulk General Perron*. The Persian inscription gives both – the Gregorian (1802 AD) as well as the Hijri (1217 AH) years. His palatial house (Figures 19-20) in Chinsurah, overlooking the river Hooghly, now houses the Hooghly Mohsin College (estd. 1836). For his life, works and achievements please see – *Le Général Perron, généralissime des armées de Scindia et du Grand Mogol, 1753-1834*, by Alfred Martineau; and *A Particular Account of the European Military Adventurers of Hindustan*, by Herbert Compton, 1892. *The Indian Magazine and Review*, pp. 623-628, had carried out a painstaking review of the Compton's book. The Proceedings of the *Indian Historical Records Commission*, Volume 20, 1943, contain some precious information on Perron, his feats and the family.
2. *Chowkidar*, a biannual journal of the British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia (BACSA), Volume 14 Number 4 Autumn, pp. 90-91, London, 2016.
3. *Kanpur Historiographers*, Volume 3, Issue-1, pp. 46-52, Kanpur, 2016.
4. For Cleveland House please refer figure 17.
5. For the monument erected by the natives of Bhagalpur please refer figure 18.
6. For the monument raised by the Government of Bengal please refer figure 19.
7. Rikabganj – the place is still known by the same name.
8. Tilha Kothi – previously known as the Hill House or Cleveland House – is now called the *Rabindra Bhawan*, for, the Bengali bard, Rabindranath Tagore is said to have stayed here for some time and written a few verses of his Nobel prize-winning magnum opus, *Gitanjali*. He had come to Bhagalpur in 1910 to attend and speak at a literary conference. British Library – London – has a number of watercolor paintings of the Cleveland House (whose descriptions and side notes themselves demand an exclusive

research paper) that provide fascinating anecdotes and trivia about the building and its occupant: Robert Smith (1787-1873) had drawn a portrait of the edifice between 1814 and 1815 and inscribed it as thus – “Mr. Cleveland’s House at Boglipore”. Sir Charles D’Oyly (1781-1845) had also portrayed the House in September 1820 which forms of one of the 28 watercolors that he had drafted between August to October 1820, during an excursion along the *Bhagirathi* and *Ganges* rivers. He had embarked on this journey, perhaps, to take up his new appointment as an Opium Agent at Patna as a letter to Mrs. Jean Macnabb (Mss. Eur. F206/19) shows him established at *Hajipur*, across Patna, by 8th December 1820. The caption corresponding to the aforesaid painting exclaims that the structure was visible from the House of Dr. Glas (b. 1750) who was appointed Assistant Surgeon in 1781 and gave up promotion to remain at Bhagalpur, where he died in August 1822. D’Oyly had occupied a residence in Bhagalpur which was visible from the forenamed Cleveland’s House as a portrait drawn by him depicts. He had illustrated the other monument too which was erected by the natives of Bhaughulpore to the memory of Cleveland. An anonymous artist working in the *Murshidabad* style had painted the said residence somewhere around 1795 and inscribed it in the following fashion: “View of the Resident’s House at Bhaugulpore”. It is a part of the famed Hyde collection, 1790-1800. In 1781, William Hodges (1744-1797), another painter of repute, met Cleveland at Bhagalpur and the latter became his great friend and patron. Hodges had collected his portraits in a book entitled *Select Views in India*. In 1782, he travelled into the Rajmahal Hills on the invitation of Cleveland and painted the hills, known as *Jungleterry* which was then a rich Green area south of Bhagalpur, which he described as “masses of stone piled one on another with large trees growing out of cervices”.

9. Buffs cemetery – please refer to photographs no. 7 & 8.



AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS AND THEIR MANIFESTATIONS IN TRAVANCORE (1900-1956)

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In the Indian rural population, agricultural labourers constitute the largest segment of the society. They were drawn from the social and economically backward classes and constitute the poorest section of the rural hierarchy. Agricultural labourers had been defined to mean a person who works on another person's land for wages in money or kind of share. He or she had no risk in cultivation, but he or she merely works on another person's land for wages. The present area of study Travancore, was once known as the Kingdom of Travancore which comprised of modern day southern Kerala and Kanyakumari district, the southernmost part of Tamilnadu. In the year 1956, Kanyakumari was annexed with the state of Tamilnadu and the remaining part of Travancore still exists in Kerala state. This paper made an attempt to reveal the position of agricultural labourers in Travancore. On the basis of physical features, Travancore was divided into three natural divisions. They were the highland in the east comprising the Western Ghats, the midlands or the central belt consisting of a series of hills and plains and the lowland or the coastal area in the west. The highland contains the reserve forests and the tea, rubber and cardamom plantations. It covers a total area of 4,135 square miles. The midland covering an area of 3361 square miles consists of uplands of varying elevation. Rice is grown in the valleys and tapioca, coconut, pepper and ginger are cultivated on the hill slopes. The lowland with an area of

1,648 square miles consists of sand and alluvium. Rice fields and coconut gardens are abundantly found in this region. The state receives the benefit of monsoons and keeps agriculture the mainstay of Travancore. In Travancore agricultural labourer was in a predicament and slavery continued even after its abolition in the year 1885. Development of new factories and new plantations opened up some new opportunities for agricultural labourers. However, the new opportunities were denied to the untouchable castes. The upland plantation had absorbed the nearby Tamil labourers in large numbers. The agricultural labourers of Travancore consisting of Ezhavas, Chermaras, Pulayas, Parayas and Panas, possessed neither land of his own nor cultivated any with his resources.

Nature of Employment in Agriculture

According to the Agricultural Labour Enquiry in Travancore, an adult male wage earner was employed in agriculture for 215 days in a year and women worker for 147 days. They were employed for 30 days and 14 days respectively as non-agricultural labourers. This report was further favoured by the statistical department of the government of Travancore. But in compared with the neighboring Madras state, during this time and adult male worker was employed in agriculture for wages on an average for 159 days and women for 133 days in a year. This shows an adult male was unemployed for 116 days in a year. This slightly better position of Travancore Cochin in this respect was to the better type of land utilization and the greater availability of non-agricultural work.

There was another one field study conducted by John Connel, of a coastal village, Pallipuram near Trivandrum between 1956 and 1961. This study revealed that the commercialization of the traditional agricultural economy had led to the increase in number of very small cultivators, operating less than one acre. Occupations had become more diversified with a rapid increase in non-agricultural labour employment, especially for coir making. Land values had also increased markedly whilst there had been considerable improvement in per household and per capita income. It reflected in increased non-food consumption expenditure. However, coir making with fewer wage provided non-agricultural for labourers throughout the year. This led to the transition of the agricultural labourers to this industry. Females worked on average 220 days in 1956 and 230 days in 1961. Aleppy emerged as the centre of coir industry absorbing large number of Ezhavas and the Latin Catholics. The export of coir also increased rapidly. The condition of Plantation labourers was somewhat satisfactory in the beginning. Men and women worked nearly nine hours daily and received their wages in cash. On account of the rise in price of food stuffs, the wage had been increased. But the beneficiaries were only the skilled labourers and Kanganies. However, comparatively low wages, unhealthy working conditions and the unjust mode of payment forced the labourer to work in modern industries. The adult men

performed the land works such as bundling and ploughing. In the meantime the women and children attended in weeding transplanting and harvesting. Even the small children had their duties to perform along with their parents. They would run errands or chase cows and other birds from the fields. It seems that when the Harijan children began to attend schools in large numbers in the 1940's and 1980's where they faced the open displeasure of the land lords. Daily wage rates, paddy prices and the paddy equivalent of daily wages in kuttanad, 1944-45 to 1959-60

Year	Daily wage rate per male worker(in Rs)	Farm price of paddy per standard Para(in Rs)	Paddy equivalent daily wage of a male worker(Kg)
1944-45	1.37	1.75	5.7
1949-50	1.50	2.00	5.5
1954-55	1.56	2.00	5.6
1959-60	2.00	2.90	5.00

Sources: Report of the kuttanad Enquiry Commission, p.2

In the above year wise comparison of wage rates, in Kuttanad shows that per day wage of agricultural labourer was considerably increased from the previous year's like the paddy price. Real Wage Rates of Agricultural Labourers in Various States, 1956-1959(in Rs per day)

States	1956-57	1958-59
Andhra Pradesh	1.25	1.49
Karnataka	1.39	1.55
Kerala	1.54	1.58
Tamilnadu	1.35	1.31

Source: Compiled from Agricultural wages in India, Directorate of Statistics, New Delhi.

In the above interstate comparison, in the state the wage rates had improved in real terms it necessarily follows that the real annual income per worker had also increased correspondingly. It further revealed that the real wage rates were higher than the neighboring states.

Poverty and Indebtedness

The condition of the agricultural labourer grew from poverty to pauperism and hence, reduced to an incredibly low standard of living. They could not afford minimum housing which conforms to health standards. They lived in tiny Kacha rooms and in most of the cases animals rest in better shelters. They did not enjoy bare necessities of life, leave alone, comforts and luxuries. A close look at the family budgets agricultural workers would reveal that their diet was poor in both quantity and quality. They lived on cheap cereals. Sugar, milk and ghee were seldom consumed. Meat or fish taken only in ceremonial occasions. In homes they had no furniture and other ordinary amenities and facilities. According to the agricultural Labour Enquires, at the national level, the total debt of the agricultural

labourers was Rs. 80 crores in 1950-51 which rose to to Rs.143 crores in 1956-57. The average amount of debt per family was Rs.105 crores in 1950-51 which rose to Rs.138 crores in 1956-57. The percentage of families in debt was 45 in 1950-51 and 64 in 1956-57. The percentage of families in debt hangs on neck of agricultural labouring class like a milestone. The indebtedness usually lead to self labour or bonded labour. In most of the cases the poor labourer was compelled to surrender his labour or small plot of land or both to the money lending shylocks. Similarly, he was not free to sell his product in the market because he was unable to repay the debt otherwise. He was forced to sell the produce the money lender or middleman who took advantage of the weakness of the cultivator. The practices of exploitation had hampered a satisfactory system of marketing.

Labour Legislation

For improving the living standard of agricultural labourers, the Minimum Wages Act, 1948 was enacted. The act provided for fixation of minimum wages which extended to the whole of India and applied to the employments specified in the Act. But, the Act did not contain any specific prohibitory or regulatory provisions for child workers except fixation and revision of minimum wages. But it was found that any child workers were paid a very low amount in comparison to their adult counter parts. From among the states of India, Andhra Pradesh had number of working children constituting 9.2 percent of the total children and 3.7 percent of total population. The lowest was seen in Kerala where it was only 1.80 percent of the total labour force. In the economic planning conference of AICC which held at New Delhi in April 1950, they adopted the Resolution pertaining to agricultural labourers. Debts of agricultural labourers should be scaled down and wherever formed inequitable wiped out. High priority should be given to provision of house sites for agricultural and to the disabilities attached to the present home sites. The State government took several steps besides for the welfare of the agricultural laboures.

Struggles and Organizations

The communist party organized an agitation of the labourers during the weeding season in Kollencode area demanding increased wages. To counter act the same the landlords also organized themselves and stopped engaging local labours from coming to a clash and a party of Armed Reserve police was stationed at Kollencode. The communist and the communist-led All Travancore Trade Union Congress organized a relatively large uprising in two villages near the industrial-commercial town of Alleppy on the outskirts of Kuttanad paddy region that had become well known for its agricultural labour movement. The peculiar feature of the uprising was that although two villages were the scene of revolt, it was organized by the All Travancore Trade Union Congress, in the particular by the Coir workers Union in Alleppy. They demanded democratic government for the

state in place the raja's autocracy . Although the revolt was rushed by the army, it created a great awakening among the agricultural labourers in Kuttanad. The agricultural labour Union in Kuttanad grew to be the strongest and the most successful of such union anywhere in India. As a result, the agricultural labourers won certain benefits in terms of wage increases, and better working conditions. Besides, several other unions such as Indian National Trade Union Congress, Desiya Karshaka Thozhilali Sangham and Akila Kuttanad Karshaka Sangham etc were emerged.

Conclusion- In Travancore man power got shifted from agriculture to manufacturing and this happened mainly because of technical progress made in the various spheres of the country's economy. Labour could be of some attraction in the subsequent days mainly because of the growth of non-farm employment, relatively higher wages and the year round availability of employment. The social awareness, formation of organization and the educational progress in the areas had a lion's share in changing the living condition of the agricultural labourers. In addition to this replacement of wages in kind in the traditional agricultural system by the money wages in the new industrial set up attracted further the labourers to migrate for off places. In spite of the transformation, the employment conditions and wages of the labourers all over the nation remained far from satisfactory, Travancore could claim satisfactory.

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Cultural Synthesis: A study of the Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur (1394-1484 A.D.)

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Abstract

The closing years of fourteenth century are witnessed emerging provincial sultanates in India, of which Sharqi sultanate of Jaunpur occupied a significant position. Sharqi sultans are renowned for their cultural and artistic contributions. Their bounty patronage brought a cultural combination in all sphere of arts. As far as architecture is concerned we see a great cultural synthesis in the construction of mosques, tombs, palaces and shrines. Mosques such as Atala mosque, Jhanjhari mosque, Lal Darwazah mosque and Jami mosque, tombs and some shrines which have survived show the combination of different architectural features. Jaunpur monuments are much inspired by Tughluq style. The plain square shafts of the pillars and particularly the tapering turrets on the quoins, Tudor arch (four-centred pointed arch) with fringe of spear-heads were directly derived from the Tughluq architecture. Squire pillars, bracket-corbels, flat-ceilings, Amalaka (capital) and Kalasa (pinnacle) are of Hindu style. Hindu motifs as lotus and chakra have been used harmoniously with geometrical designs. Besides the most distinctive feature of Sharqi mosques is pylon with sloping sides which recalling the propylons of some Egyptian temples. Sharqi sultans employed at large local Hindu and Jain artisans who made their own contribution to the architectural synthesis.

This study will try to analyse the various dimensions of the architecture particularly mosques of Sharqis. It will also endeavour to examine the influences of different architectural style of India as well as west and central Asia on the

architecture of Jaunpur vis-a-vis the impact of Jaunpur style on later architectures of medieval India.

In medieval Indian history, the fourteenth century is witnessed emerging of independence provincial sultanates such as Bahmani, Vijaynagar, Malwa, Gujarat, Khandesh etc, which were earlier attached to Delhi Sultanate. In this series a Sultanate added its independent kingdom to Indian History; it is called *Sharqi* Dynasty that was founded by Sultan-ush Sharq Malik Sarwar, *Khwaza-Sara* of Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq (1351-1388), in 796 A. H. / 1394 A. D. in the heart of Delhi Sultanate at Jaunpur.¹ The capital of this dynasty was Jaunpur. This city was founded by Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq, when he was returning from the second invasion of Bengal in 1358-59.² This city came into light because of Sharqi Sultanate. It was lasted from 1394 A. D. to 9001 A. H. / 1495; although Sharqi kingdom lost its independence and was come under the Lodi Sultanate in 1483, Husain Shah Sharqi continued his struggle against Sikandar Lodi for getting his state staying in Bengal. Malik Sarwar (1394-1399), Mubarak Shah (1399-1401), Ibrahim Shah (1401-1440), Mahmud Shah (1440-1457) and Husain Shah Sharqi (1458-1484) ruled over Jaunpur and made by their great efforts this city a hub of cultural activities. Sharqi sultans are famous for their cultural and artistic contributions to medieval India. Their bounty patronage brought a cultural combination in all sphere of arts. Sharqis are especially known for architectures. Since this dynasty came into existence when Tughlaq dynasty's decline had been started, they adopted not only the administrative model of Tughlaqs but also architectural features. Here, it would be pertinent to know architectural features of Tughlaq dynasty which much inspired the Sharqi style. The chief features are tapering turrets, cyclopean walls, sloped bastions, lowered dome because of the use of rubbles.³ In addition to, the depressed arch with its fringe of adornment, design of arch and the sloping side of its supports, fallacious principles of the beam and brackets advocating the arches, these all are illustrated in tomb of Muhammad Shah Tughlaq. In the buildings of Firoz Shah Tughlaq we find the plain square shafts of the pillars which became one of the crucial parts of Jaunpur style.⁴ Stately flights of steps that are demonstrated in *Jami* mosque of Jaunpur is inspired by mosques of Firoz Shah Tughlaq

¹Farishta, *Tarikh-i Farishta*, tr. by J. Briggs, As *History of the rise of Mohammadan Power in India*, Vol. IV, LPP, Delhi, 1990, p. 209.

² Shams Siraj Afif, *Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi*, tr. by Ishrat Husain Ansari and Hamid Afaq Qureshi al-Taimi al-Siddiqi, Rampur Raza Library, Rampur, 2015, p. 99.

³ S. Ali Nadeem Rezavi, *Medieval Indian Architecture: its History and Evolution*, Symposia Paper 29, *Indian History Congress*, 73rd Session, Mumbai, 29 December 2012, p. 13.

⁴ Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Islamic Period)*, Fourth edition, D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. Private Ltd, Bombay, 1964, p. 43.

constructed at Delhi.⁵ The remarkable feature of the Sharqi style is its lofty propylon (pylon), it is said that it is due to the impact of Egyptian style but we find the similar feature in *Beghumpuri* Mosque built by *Khan-i Jahan* Telangani in Delhi.⁶ Besides, Sharqi style is inspired by regional architecture as the transept hall, this is the Bengali style, this feature is found in Adina mosque of Pandua.⁷ So, we can say that Sharqi style is the architectural synthesis of Tughlaq, Egyptian, Hindu and regional style with its indigenous character.

The mosques of Jaunpur have their distinctive characteristics. There are few mosques in Islamic architecture so imposing in their proportion and so arresting in style. Their beauty depends on elegance of design and elaboration of material. It does not depend on the facile glory or marbled and bright enamels. The chief features of Jaunpur mosques are as follows:

1. Solid and massive structure.
2. The great propylon is the distinctive feature of Jaunpur style. It covers the dome of the mosque from the front. The sloping propylon and the massive structure make the Jaunpur style look very much like that of Egyptian temples.
3. Lofty gate entrances of the style of propylon.
4. Panelled cloister walls.
5. Absence of Minarets.
6. Compartments were also made separately for the accommodation of ladies.
7. In spite of the frequent appearance of the arch in the mosques of Jaunpur *Tudor* arch (four centred pointed arch) with fringe of spear-head is also remarkable.
8. Ogee curved arches have been employed; fringe of flowers buds has been used to give the respective arch a cusped form; *Jalies* and Hindu motifs such as lotus, *chakra* and *kalasa* with geometrical patterns, Islamic Talisman have been used for decoration.

The first Sharqi mosque is *Qilah* mosque stands inside of *Shahi Qilah* of Jaunpur. It was the chief mosque till the foundation of the Atala mosque. It was built during the reign of Khwaja Malik Sarwar by prince Ibrahim in 1395. According to A. Fuhrer this mosque was built during the reign of sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq (1351-88) by Ibrahim Naib Barbak in 1377.⁸ But it seems that he has misread the inscription. Khairuddin Muhammad read the main portion of the inscription that is on stone pillars in front of the main building and quotes in '*Jaunpurnamah*' that

⁵ Ibid, p. 44.

⁶ S. A. N. Rezavi, op. cit., p. 13.

⁷ Percy Brown, op. cit., p. 45.

⁸ A. Fuhrer, *The Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur*, first published in 1889, reprint by Indological Book House, Varanasi, 1971, p. 27

the mosque was built by prince Ibrahim in 1395. Further Muhammad Fasihuddin also supported the same date giving the inscription in his book.⁹

It is a three domed building with pillars and flat-ceilings; its forms and sizes are apparently inspired from Hindu temples.¹⁰ Domes are decorated with *kalasa* and lotus leaf. On the both sides of the front door of the mosque are stand *Lat* attached to door respectively; the top portion of *Lat* is decorated with *kalasa* and lotus leaf. The centre room is divided into the three compartments, which are covered by three domes.¹¹ This mosque is 130 feet long and 20 feet broad; a simple arcade with three low domes supported on carved Hindu columns of varied shapes and designs.¹² The most distinguished feature is the *Lat* that is stand in south wing; it is crowned with *kalasa* and *amlaka* and bears the date of mosque construction.¹³

Atala mosque is one of the greatest examples of Jaunpur style. It is stand about a furlong north east of the *Shahi Fort*. According to James Fergusson “Of all the mosques remaining at Jaunpur *Atala* Mosque is the most ornate and most beautiful.”¹⁴ This mosque takes its name from the temple of *Atala* Devi on the site of which it was erected.¹⁵ The foundation of this mosque was laid by sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq who wanted to build it on the site of the temple of Jaychandra of Kanauj. The following inscription that is in Devanagari shows the dates and involvement of Hindu masons in the construction of this mosque:

“*Patuman-sutradharo Veesai hvasutah samvat 1433*”

This inscription is on the East Gate, Meaning the Mason Patuman or Padam son of Visaihva, Samvat 1433 that is 1376 AD. Firoz Shah was violently opposed by the Hindus and after fierce battle it was agreed that Firoz Shah and his successors would not demolish the temples of Hindus in future. When Ibrahim Shah ascended the throne, he did not pay any attention towards this agreement and started the work of construction about in 1403.¹⁶ It was finished in 1408.¹⁷ In the construction of this mosque as it is said some artisans were called from Egypt and Greece; that is why we see the impact of propylon that is the chief feature of Egyptian temple. From Delhi many masons were called among them were – Akarmullah, Shamsuddin, Chiraghan, Qasim Ali, Wahid Khan and Munshibakhsh; of them

⁹ Khan Bahadur Maulvi Muhammad Fasihuddin, *The Sharqi Monuments of Jaunpur*, Allahabad, 1922, pp. 24, 107.

¹⁰ R. Nath, *History of Sultanate Architecture*, Abhinav Publication, New Delhi, 1978, p.97.

¹¹ Cunningham, *Archeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XI, p. 105

¹² Khan Bahadur Maulvi Muhammad Fasihuddin, op. cit., p.23.

¹³ R. Nath, op. cit., p.97.

¹⁴ James Fergusson, *History of Indian and Easter Architecture*, Vol. II, Delhi, 1972, p. 226.

¹⁵ P. Brown, op. cit., p. 44.

¹⁶ Cunningham, op. cit. pp. 107,108.

¹⁷ A. Fuhrer, op. cit., p. 38.

some Hindu Masons were also such as Purnamasi, Ramkabir and Santbakhsh Singh and so on.¹⁸

The mosque is divided into five compartments comprising a central room covered by a dome 300 feet in diameter, a long single storeyed room 62 by 28 feet on either side and two low rooms in two storeys in each corner, cut off from the rest of the buildings by stone screen work of which portion still exists; it is called *Zanana Chapel*.¹⁹ In the building of these storeys double shafts of pillars are employed to make a high ceiling that is backed on beams relying upon bracket corbels which project from the capitals. It reminds us the trabeate system of the Hindus.²⁰ There is a square court yard in the centre of the mosque 177 feet in diameter. This courtyard is surrounded on the three sides by the cloisters and in the fourth side is a sanctuary.²¹ Five aisled and double-storeyed cloisters are made of flat ceilings, bracket corbels and square columns of Hindu origin.²² The cloisters contain a range of cells facing the street which gave accommodation to visitors and merchants. In the Middle of each cloister there is a handsome structure forming a gateway. A lofty propylon rises in the middle of the sanctuary which is the most distinctive feature of Jaunpur style and resembles the propylons of some Egyptian temple.²³ On each side of this grand propylon there are two smaller propylons.²⁴ In the absence of *minar* it seems that the top storey of the propylon was used for the calling of *Azan* by *Muazzin*.²⁵ For the decoration *Quranic* verses, lotus and geometrical elements were used. Indigenous masons reducing the Islamic features such as dome arch and vault produced the characters of their own style. The decorated interior parts of the mosque are resembled to Hindu temple.²⁶

Jhanjhari mosque that was constructed by Ibrahim Shah Sharqi about in 1425 is situated in the *Sipah Muhallah*. It is called *Jhanjhari Masjid* because of the series of the lattices in the screen over the main arch. Only the great propylon of it is intact. The mosque was built on the bank of river Gomati for the convenience of Sufi Sayyid Sadra Jahan Ajmal.²⁷ It is smaller in size but as far as richness and beauty of ornamentation is similar to that of the *Atala* mosque.

¹⁸ Shaikh Muhammad Yusuf Suhrawardi, *Tajalliyat-i Arfin*, Persian Department, National Library, Calcutta, p. 45.

¹⁹ A. Fuhrer, op. cit., p. 38.

²⁰ R. Nath, op. cit., p. 98.

²¹ Percy Brown, op. cit., p. 41.

²² R. Nath, op. cit., p. 97.

²³ Percy Brown, op. cit., p. 41.

²⁴ A. Fuhrer, op. cit., p. 34.

²⁵ George Michel (ed.), *Indian Islamic Architecture*, Brill, Leiden Boston, 2008, p. 151.

²⁶ R. Nath, op. cit., p. 100.

²⁷ A. Fuhrer, op. cit., p. 34.

This place is kept in good order and the screen from which the mosque obtains its name has been restored by Government. This mosque is the finest specimen of Jaunpur style in screen decoration and ornamentation. The *Ayatal Kursi* and *Hadees* are inscribed in beautiful *Tughra* characters around the two sides of the main arch and on the base of the pointed arch respectively.²⁸ This mosque compared with the previous architectural achievements of the Sharqis, seems to be an example of elegance and strength. *Khalis Mukhlis* mosque was also constructed during the reign of sultan Ibrahim Shah Sharqi in 1430 by Malik Khalis and Malik Mukhlis, courtiers of sultan. It is also known by the name of *Chahar Unghali Mosque or Dareeba Mosque*. The reason behind its erection was to impart convenience to Sufi saint named Sayyid Usman Shirazi.²⁹ It lies in *Muhalla Dareeba* along the north bank of river Gomati. The monument's present condition is miserable; only the great propylon stands in front in its original form with a broken arch. The lower portion of the propylon is built of stone but the upper part is made of large bricks. The building consists of the usual great propylon making the dome and a large square enclose some 66 feet in depth with a flat roof supported on the rows of Hindu pillars. The propylon is of stone to a height of 30 feet only and above that of large bricks.³⁰ It differs from the Atala mosque in the entire absence of the elaborate ornamentation which forms so striking a feature in the later building. There is a remarkable simplicity in the style of the building without any decoration and ornamentation.³¹ The mosque is known also by the name of *Char Unghali* on account of the presence of a line on a stone in the south pier which measures four fingers of any size.³² The miraculous power has vanished since the mutiny, but the stone remains an object of veneration to the Hindus as well as Muslims. Ibrahim Shah Sharqi was succeeded by his son Mahmood Shah Sharqi who like his father was much fond of architecture. During his reign Jaunpur was adorned by outstanding monuments; these works were performed by the full support and active role of sultan's erudite queen Bibi Raji under whose supervision *Lal Darwazah* mosque was built in 1447.³³ This mosque is a strange combination of Hindu and Muslim architecture.³⁴ It is constructed on a raised plinth and can be reached by a flight of stairs. In a large scale Hindu material as pillars, lintels, brackets, corbels and flat ceilings have been used in it. There is only one dome that

²⁸ Ibid, p. 41.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Cunningham, Vol. XI, p. 112

³¹ Percy Brown op. cit., p. 42

³² A. Fuhrer, op. cit., p. 41.

³³ Percy Brown, op. cit., p.45

³⁴ James Ferguson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1967, p. 225.

is over the sanctuary but squinch has not been employed; in lieu of diagonal massive beams have been used to convert the square hall into an octagon above on the design of *Jaina mandapa*.³⁵ Lotus and geometrical designs of Hindu motifs are chiefly used for decoration. *Mihrab* and arched niches are adorned with Islamic talisman. Use of ogee curve in arches is remarkable. Without any doubt this mosque is more composed of indigenous elements rather than the others monuments of Jaunpur.³⁶ There is an inscription on a pillar in north-west cloister, from which we found a Hindu mason named Kamau son of Visadru.³⁷ This mosque is smaller in size than other buildings. The courtyard of the mosque is surrounded on three sides by the cloisters and in the middle of each face there is a gateway similar to the propylon. On the forth side rises the lofty propylon in the centre covering the dome from the front. Unlike other mosques there is an entrance hall in front of the dome. The cloisters are only storey high on all sides except to the right and left of the centre room which contains two storeys. The dome is covered by the beautiful ornamentation of screen.³⁸

Jami' Mosque is the last greatest specimen of Sharqi style standing in the *Purani Bazar* and is intact even now. This mosque is also known as *Jami'-ush Sharq or Masjid-i Kalan*. The foundation was laid by sultan Ibrahim Shah Sharqi in 1438 for the convenience of *Chishti* Sufi saint Khwaja Isa Taj, but it was completed during the reign of sultan Husain Shah Sharqi in 1478.³⁹ This mosque is constructed on the pattern of the other Jaunpur mosques, but it is larger than any other. It stands on a high plinth reached by an imposing flight of steps.⁴⁰ In the erection of this mosque bricks have been employed in plenty and from the destroyed Hindu temples pillars, lintels and ceilings were taken.⁴¹ The courtyard is square and surrounded on three sides by the cloisters with one storey high. These cloisters were formerly two storeys high but the second one was destroyed by sultan Sikander Lodi.⁴² Each cloister has a large gateway in the middle. The north and south gateways are very much damaged but their main walls and dome are still standing. Sikandar Lodi destroyed the eastern gate.⁴³ There are five compartments in this mosque. The central room under the dome is called *Gumbaj*. There are two pillar rooms on each side of central room which are called chat or flat roofs. These

³⁵ R. Nath, op. cit., p. 101.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid, p.102.

³⁸ Cunningham, Vol. XI, p. 118.

³⁹ Percy Brown, op. cit., p. 45.

⁴⁰ H. R. Nevill, *Jaunpur Gazetteer*, Vol. XXVIII, Allahabad, 1908, p. 244.

⁴¹ R. Nath, op. cit., p. 104.

⁴² A. Fuhrer, op. cit., p. 53.

⁴³ Ibid.

pillared rooms are connected on each side by two rooms at the end, which are called *chhapra* or the vaults.⁴⁴ The most beautiful portion of the mosque is the central chamber, which is covered by the dome. It is decorated with the ornament of that of Atala mosque.⁴⁵ The dome is covered by a lofty propylon which is the largest of all and shows the usual slope in the walls. There are three entrances in the lower portion of the propylon which lead into the central hall under the great dome.⁴⁶ The rich decoration of the propylon has fallen down. The compartment of each side of the central chamber has two storeys and the upper rooms were built for the use of the ladies of the royal family there are stair cases in the piers of great arch which lead access to these rooms.⁴⁷ Its edifice like that of the Atala mosque has been constructed of ashlar stone and has been neatly tooled with fine joints. Its roofs and coping domes like its exterior are all floated in cement.⁴⁸ Now, we would examine the impact of Sharqi architecture's features to what extent they played as a forerunner role for the Mughal monuments. Mughal emperor Babur was much inspired from the portals of Jaunpur mosques. So we easily finds this influence in mosques built by Babur in *Kabuli Bagh* mosque of Panipat, *Mir Hindu Beg* mosque at Sambhal and destroyed *Mir Baqi's* mosque at Ayodhya.⁴⁹ Further, this feature found its full position in the *Buland Darwazah* of Fatehpur Sikri constructed by Akbar the great. On a large scale *Jami* mosque of Sharqi Sultan is roofed by stone vaults; this style is also followed by the builders of Akbar.⁵⁰ The Sharqi style influenced the regional masons who copied the arched pylon that is in the centre of the facades of the mosques of Jaunpur in the construction of the *Arhai Kanjura* mosque of Varanasi and the *Jami* mosques of Etawah and Qannauj.⁵¹ Thus, among the regional architectural styles of fifteen century, Sharqi style has a noticeable position in medieval Indian architecture. We do not find any other example of Sharqi specimen, albeit in some later monuments its patterns are tried to follow in less. Sharqi sultans adopted many patterns and style of Tughlaq buildings and borrowed pylon style of Egypt mixing them with regional style represented a new style of architecture. The masons employed by sultans were from Egypt, Greece, Delhi and local, so they all synthesized their own architectural

⁴⁴ Cunningham, Vol. XI, p. 115.

⁴⁵ A. Fuhrer, op. cit., p. 54.

⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 55.

⁴⁷ Cunningham, Vo. XI, p. 115.

⁴⁸ A. Fuhrer, op. cit., p.57.

⁴⁹ S. A. N. Rezavi, 'Iranian Influence on Medieval Indian Architecture', in Irfan Habib (ed.), *The Growth of Civilization in India and Iran*, Tulika Books, New Delhi, 2012, p. 135

⁵⁰ John Terry, *The Charm of Islamic Architecture*, London, 1955, p. 13.

⁵¹ Percy Brown, op. cit., p. 46.

design and motifs; that is why a new version of building came into existence that could call Indo-Islamic-Egyptian model.



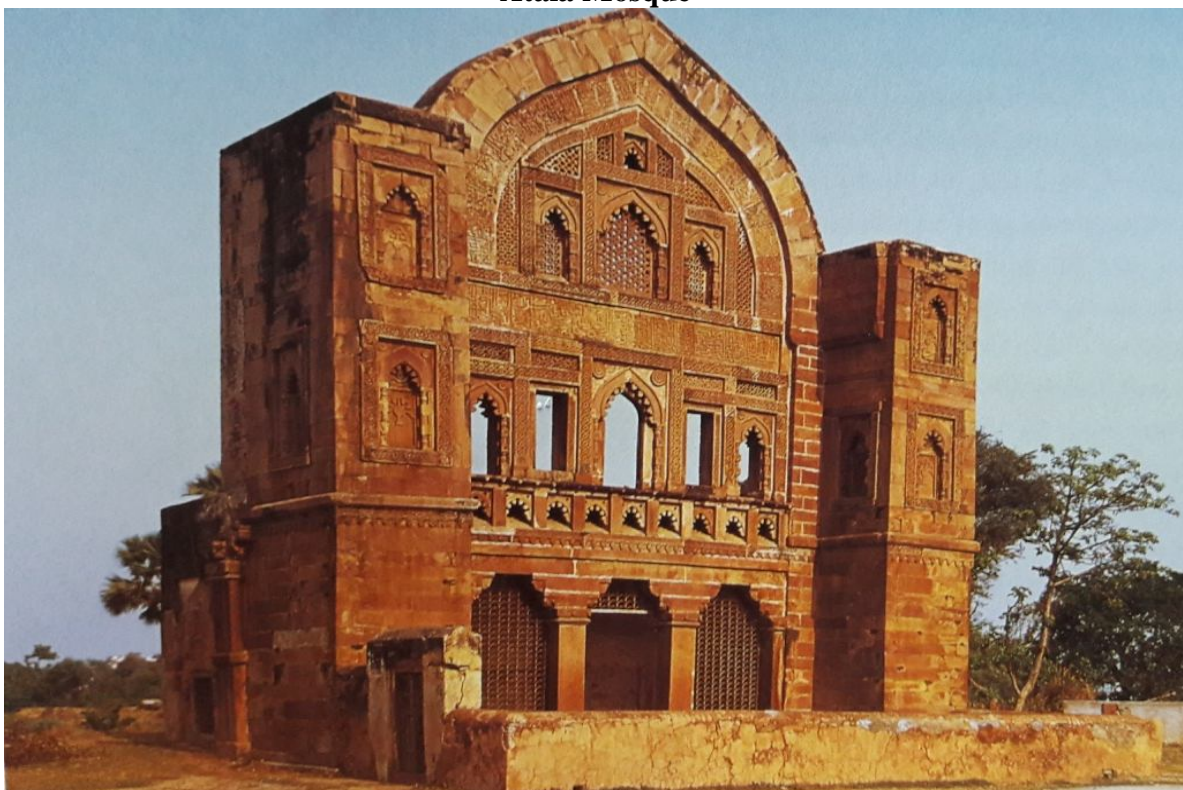
Jami Mosque



Qila Mosque



Atala Mosque



Jhanjhari Mosque



Lal-darwazah Mosque



Rise and Fall of Nuhani Afghans in Bihar

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Rise of the Nuhanis in Bihar :

Musnad-i-'Ali Darya Khan Nuhani whom Sultan Sikandar Lodi appointed as the muqta of Bihar in 1495-96 was the third son of Musnad-i-'Ali Mubarak Khan Nuhani, the *muqta* of Kara and Manikpur territory. The latter is one who joined Sultan Bahlul Lodi at the beginning of his career and acquired top rank prominence after he came to the throne.¹ Study of individual nobles helps us in analysing the aristocratic culture as well as the complex and exacting problems faced by the high government officers in different regions. On Darya Khan's death, his son assumed independence with the title of Sultan Muhammad Shah during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Thus Bihar turned into a base of the Nuhani Afghans, and the latter continued to retain their hold over it with Babur's support till 1530 when it was seized by Sher Khan Sur.

Early Career of Musnad-i-'Ali Darya Khan Nuhani

Among the sons of Musnad-i-'Ali Mubarak Khan Nuhani the medieval writers mention the names of only three who held high positions under the successors of Sultan Bahlul Lodi. The eldest of them was Ibrahim Khan Nuhani to whom Sultan Bahlul entrusted the government of the territory of Etawah, independent of his father, in 1479. The other two sons, Nasir Khan Nuhani and Darya Khan Nuhani appear to have attached themselves to Prince Nizam Khan (later Sultan Sikandar Lodi), the *muqta* of Delhi territory at this time. Hence their close association with Sultan Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517).

Of all his brothers Musnad-i-'Ali Darya Khan Nuhani succeeded in attaining a most important position in the official hierarchy under Sultan Sikandar Lodi. He not only surpassed his own relations in power and grandeur but also far

outshone other fellow nobles. The first important event of his life, which paved the way for his rise, was the battle of Ambala, fought between Prince Nizam Khan and Musnad-i-'Ali Tatar Khan Yusuf Khail, the rebel *muqta* of the Panjab in 1485.² Both the brothers made a display of unprecedented courage on the battlefield and earned fame after the destruction of the rebel. This was not all. In 1490, both fought on the side of Sultan Sikandar Lodi against their own father who had decided to support Prince Barbek Shah for the throne of Bahlul. It is said that as soon as the battle took place between the rival claimants near Qanauj, Nasir Khan and Darya Khan attacked their own father and made him prisoner. The capture of Mubarka Khan Nuhani, the chief supporter of Barbek Shah, caused dismay in the rank and file of his army. Barbek Shah, however, fled to Badaun where he had to surrender later.³

On the death of Mubarak Khan Nuhani (1495-96), which took place in Bihar, the Sultan called Nasir Khan and offered him the charge of the *vilayet* of Bihar. But the latter requested the Sultan to consider him for the charge of Jaunpur *vilayet* which his father had held before his posting in the territory of Kara and Manikpur. The Sultan turned down his request and then appointed his younger brother, Darya Khan, as the *muqta* of Bihar territory.⁴ with certain other nobles to work under him.⁵

Since his posting in Bihar Musnad-i-'Ali Darya Khan lived there permanently and gradually succeeded in consolidating the Afghan rule in that region. Indeed, he performed, deeds of bravery in defending Bihar against the rebels. In the beginning, he found that the Afghan capture of the eastern territories was easier than retaining control over them, for the Sharqi rule had struck its roots deeper; the Muslim *ulama*, zamindars and common people were deeply attached to the Sharqi Sultan for generations. Mushataqi informs us that on the departure of Sultan Sikandar Lodi from the eastern territories twenty two pro-Sharqi nobles and zamindars rose in rebellion and created much confusion in the entire region. Though there were many Afghan nobles holding forts and *iqta's*, yet not one of them showed courage by coming to grips with them, But Khan Azam Jamal Khan Lodi Sarang Khani and Musnad-i-'Ali Darya Khan Nuhani determined to face them and ultimately pacified the whole region. But on the suppression of the rebels, Darya Khan had to face the attack of Sultan Husain Sharqi who had reached Bihar with the military help of the Sultan of Bengal. At this time also Darya Khan rose equal to the situation. He engaged the enemy in an open field, passed the night there and retreated to the fort of Bihar town on the following day. Thereupon Sultan Husain Sharqi hastened to besiege the fort. In an attempt to weaken the strength of the enemy gradually Darya Khan broke the wall of the fort where Sultan Husain Sharqi assaulted it and re-entered after repulsing the enemy. He continued to sally out at different times and thus inflicted severe losses on the

besieging army. Sultan Husain Sharqi was, however, disappointed and paid compliments to the besieged in these words :

"What type of man is Darya Khan? We devise all kinds of means to pull out a single brick from the wall while he himself breaks the wall of the fort and comes out, although his king is 500 Krohs⁶ away from him."

At last the reinforcement came from Delhi and then Sultan Husain Sharqi was forced to retire to Bengal.⁷

Thereafter Darya Khan seems to have taken important measures for establishing his authority in the *Vilayet* of Bihar. As the Muslim *ulama*, saints and the Hindu zamindars constituted an important element in Indian polity, he adopted a definite policy towards them. He either destroyed the powerful zamindars or reconciled them to the Afghan rule. As regards the *ulama* and saints he won them over by making large land grants as well as establishing matrimonial relations with them.⁸ The contemporary inscription found in the *dargah* of Shah Fadlullah Gosain in the town of Bihar Sharif sheds light on the fact that the Musnad-i-'Ali not only befriended the saints and *ulama* of Bihar but also evinced interest in maintaining their tombs and *dargahs* (hospices). This inscription also informs us of the date of the conquest of Bihar and the title of Wazir held by Darya Khan :

1. "The Emperor who adorns the Standard (of Kingship), the King of the Horizons (and) the Protector of Faith, superior in lineage and distinguished in achievements, the possessor of the world is Sikandar.

It was sixth of the month, (al)-Asamm (i.e. Rajab), nine hundred and one (years) from the migration (of the Prophet) (6 Rajab 901/21 March 1496), when the province of Bihar came into his hand by God's grace at auspicious moment.

2. After that, on the last day (of the same month), by the exalted orders of the Minister of the Kingdom the Adorner of Faith, Darya Khan, who possesses the dignity of Faridun:

Haji Khan has laid the foundation of the eastern gate (of the wall)? Now God! May Nuhani be the pivot of the sphere of the country and the nation."⁹

Rizq Ullah Mushtaqi also mentions Darya Khan as *Wazir-i mumalik* in his account of the last years of Sultan Sikandar Lodi's reign. This shows that he held the department of *Wizarat* before his positing in Bihar, and then it was transferred to *Musnad-i-'Ali* Khawwas Khan, the father of Main Bhu'a.¹⁰ On Khawwas Khan's death Main Bhu'a succeeded to his post and position as *Wazir-i-Muldaq*.¹¹ Therefore, it is probable that Sultan Sikandar Lodi continued to call him *wazir* in order to distinguish him from other high nobles and thus *wazir* remained his title.¹²

It was, however, to the credit of Darya Khan that he not only destroyed the influence of Sultan Husain Sharqi in Bihar but also endeared himself

to people by his just rule. He became so popular among local people that no zamindar of Bihar helped Sultan Husain Sharqi when he again attacked Bihar after the death of Sultan Sikandar Lodi. Sultan Husain Sharqi got military help from the ruler of Bengal and also persuaded the Raja of Orissa to help him in wresting Bihar from the Afghans. The latter joined him at the head of his army. But this time the invaders could not lay siege to the fort and turned away from the way because the local zamindars were not willing to cooperate with them. Moreover, Darya Khan was also powerful enough to face them.¹³

In 1519 Darya Khan Nuhani was ordered by Sultan Ibrahim Lodi to help the royal army against the rebels who had gathered considerable strength under the leadership of Islam Khan Sarwani in the *vilayet* of Kara and Manikpur.¹² Darya Khan proceeded to Kara against the rebels, although the rebel leader, Islam Khan Sarwani, was his son-in-law. In the battle that took place between the royal army and the rebels Islam Khan Sarwani was killed by Darya Khan's men.¹⁴ Despite this, Darya Khan could not maintain good relations with Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. His elder brother, Nasir Khan, the *muqta* of Ghazipur *Sarkar*, rebelled against the Sultan some time in 1524 and then dragged him also into the conflict with the centre. Nasir Khan was driven away to Bihar.

At this time Musnad-i-'Ali Darya Khan had 30,000 *sawars* under him because the nobles posted by the Sultan in different parts of Bihar were subordinate to him. To get rid of the Musnad-i-'Ali easily, Sultan Ibrahim Lodi won over a few nobles of Bihar and asked them to kill him. But the Musnad-i-'Ali got an inkling of the matter and, therefore, the pro-Sultan nobles, Kamal Khan Kambo and Husain Khan Sur who held the rank of 6,000 *sawars* had to run away to Agra. Soon afterwards the Musnad-i-'Ali also passed away, leaving his son Bahar Khan, as his successor.¹⁵

Bahar Khan, entitled Sultan Muhammad Shah :

On the death of Musnad-i-'ali Darya Khan, his son, Bahar Khan, declared himself as Sultan Muhammad Shah on the advice of his supporters, so that he might attract people dissatisfied with the Lodi Sultan. Shortly afterwards many *muqta's*, holding territories in the eastern region seem to have got refuge in Bihar. However, the rebel nobles who escaped from Sultan Ibrahim Lodi took refuge in Bihar. Having been assured of their help as well as the co-operation of local elite, both *zamindars* and *ulama*, Sultan Muhammad Nuhani began to have the *Khutbah* read in his own name. His *wazir*, Main budan of Maner was one of the most respected scholars of Bihar. On the death of Sultan Muhammad Nuhani, the *wazir* remained attached to his descendant and thus incurred the displeasure of Sher Khan Sur.¹⁶

The political developments in Bihar led Sultan Ibrahim Lodi to send a large military expedition under the command of Musnad i-'Ali Mustafa Farmali,

the son-in-law and successor of Mian Muhammad Farmuli Kalapahar, the Muqta of Awadh and Bahraich. Khan-i Azam Lad Khan Lodi Sarang Khani, the *muqta* of Jaunpur, was also ordered to furnish the army of Awadh with a strong military contingent. The latter complied with the royal *farman* by deputing his uncle, Firoz Khan Sarang Khani, to accompany Mian Mustafa Farmali.¹⁷

The nobles loyal to the Sultan succeeded in freeing from the rebels all the territories from the sarkars of Qanauj and Kara to that of Ghazipur. They posted their own men to look after their administration and then prepared to enter Bihar for the destruction of Sultan Muhammad Nuhani.¹⁸ But on entering Bihar Mian Mustafa Farmali fell ill and died on the bank of the Son River. His younger brother, Bayazid Farmali, assumed the command of the army, but he could not succeed against the rebels. He retreated along with his followers towards Kanpur where Nasir Khan Nuhani and Fath Khan Sarwani had reached to take him in the rear. Though Bayazid inflicted a smashing defeat on Fath Khan Sarwani, his comrade Firoz Khan Sarang Khani was badly routed by Nasir Khan Nuhani. The flight of Firoz Khan demoralised Bayazid and he also retreated to Bhojpur. On his arrival in Bhojpur (Farrukhabad district), Bayzaid got the news of the defeat of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi in the battle of Panipat (1526).¹⁹

The fall of the Lodi Sultan provided Sultan Muhammad Nuhani with an opportunity to build up his power in the eastern region of the Lodi Empire. If Babar's account of Muhammad Nuhani is studied along with *Waqi'at-i Mushtaqi*, it will be clear that Sultan Muhammad Nuhani had succeeded in creating from the rump of Sultan Ibrahim's army, which was badly mauled at Panipat, a large but disorderly formation. That is the reason why he could detach 40,000 to 50,000 men to occupy the eastern region upto Qanauj through his supporters, while he himself remained in Bihar.²⁰ But it is also true that his occupation of the eastern territories was only partial, for the impregnable forts like those of Chunar, Jaunpur and Awadh were still in the hands of the nobles who were never willing to cooperate with him. Without getting hold of these forts, the supporters of Muhammad Nuhani were not in a position to hold out against the Mughals out-side Bihar for long. Hence their failure in checking the Mughal expansion eastward. Upon Humayun's appearance in the eastern territories (1527), his allies were seized with panic and evacuated every place without giving battle to the Mughals.²¹

Upon the Mughal occupation of the eastern territories, the Nuhani rule was confined to the territory of Bihar and a few *parganas* forming the eastern boundary of the *vilayet* of Jaunpur under the petty Afghan nobles, thus adjacent to Bihar. Here mention may be made of the *iqta's* of Mian Muhammad Sur and Mian Farid Sur, who were hostile to each other. The latter joined the service of Sultan Muhammad Nuhani, while the former refused. Sultan Muhammad Nuhani deputed Farid Sur against Muhammad Sur who was *Wajhdar* of Chaund. Mian Farid Sur

defeated and forced him into submission. For his victory Farid got the title of Sher Khan from the Nuhani ruler.²²

The subjugation of Muhammad Sur seems to have been the last event of Sultan Muhammad Nuhani's life as he does not appear to have survived after 1527,²³ and he is never heard of in the account of later events. His passing away created a political vacuum in Bihar to be filled soon by some one else.

On Sultan Muhammad Nuhani's death, his widow and son Jalal Khan, were deserted by most of his allies. The important Afghan nobles who had aligned themselves with him, joined Prince Mahmud Lodi, son of Sultan Sikandar, who appeared in Bihar after the battle of Khanwa. It is said that every Afghan who did not belong to the Nuhani tribe was overjoyed at the arrival of Prince Mahmud Lodi in Bihar.²⁴ They accepted him as their Sultan for their sense of loyalty to the son of their master was roused. Besides, the Afghan and Farmali nobles who had already paid allegiance to Babur also felt constrained to join him.

On the appearance of Sultan Mahmud Lodi in Bihar, Jalal Khan(son of Sultan Muhammad Nuhani) who happened to be a mere boy, was taken away by his mother, Dudu and the faithful followers to Bengal. They returned from Bengal in 1529 when Sultan Mahmud Lodi and his followers were driven away by Babur. Soon later, Dudu negotiated with Babur for peace. Babur agreed to restore Bihar to Jalal Khan on condition that he would rule as his vassal and pay one crore *tankas* as annual tribute. She accepted Babur's condition and, therefore, Bihar was left with he son, Jalal Khan. But the Nuhanis who had seven or eight thousand horsemen at this time could not hold Bihar against the allies of Sultan Mahmud Lodi.²⁵

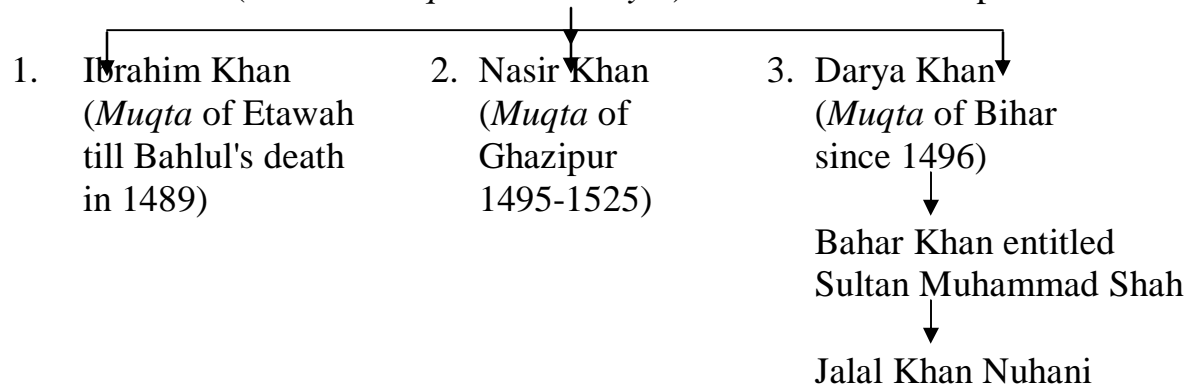
The presence of a large number of Afghan refugees from the western territories must have created some problems for the Nuhani Afghans because they were deeply attached to the Lodi house. The Nuhanis appear not to have amassed treasures to build up a strong army nor had they the will to unite themselves for keeping the hostile Afghans under check. Their leaders were certainly divided. Mahmud Khan Nuhani, son of Nasir Khan, had entered Babur's service in 1527 even against his father.²⁶ Yahya Khan Nuhani, who returned from Bengal along with Jalal Khan, also entered Babur's service independent of the former.²⁷ In view of the adverse conditions, Dudu asked Sher Khan Sur to run the Government of Bihar as the deputy of her son.²⁸ But Sher Khan Sur was still a supporter of Sultan Mahmud Lodi. Sher Khan's appointment was soon followed by the sudden death of Dudu, as Mushtaqi says.²⁹ Her death paved the way for Sher Khan's supremacy in Bihar, and he was now free to carry on the administration as he liked. But his dictatorial postures displeased the Nuhani Afghans who were denied all interference in the government affairs. They instigated Prince Jalal Khan to destroy Sher Khan with the help of the Mughals. They latter sought military help from

Muhammad Zaman Mirza, the Mughal governor of Jaunpur, and then turned away Sher Khan from the towan of Bihar.³⁰ Thereupon Sher Khan informed Bayazid Farmali, who was staying in Hajipur, about the political developments in Bihar. Bayazid and Baban Lodi sent military help to Sher Khan, and asked him to destroy they Mughal protege in Bihar with their help. Sher Khan was thus able to lay siege to the fort of Bihar.³¹ Being pressed, the Nuhani fled away to Bengal as the possibility of Mughal help was done away with by the death of Babur and the rebellious attitude of Muhammad Zaman Mirza towards Humayun. Thus Bihar was evacuated by the Nuhani in 1530.

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE NUHANI

Musnad-i-'Ali Mubarak Khan Nuhani

(Bahlul's *muqta* of the *vilayet*) of Kara and Manikpur.



Notes and References :

1. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, pp. 316-17; Badaoni, I, p. 314. It is note-worthy that the sons of Mubarak Khan Nuhani started to acquire large *iqta's* and positions independent of their father during the reign of Sultan Bahlul Lodi, *Waqi' at-i Mushtaqi*, ff. 9b-10a, for the association of Nasir Khan Nuhani and Darya Khan Nuhani with Prince Nizam Khan.
2. Rizqullah Mushtaqi, *Waqi'at-i Mushtaqi*, ff. 9b-10; Also *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism in India*, pp 2-3.
3. Shaikh Kabir, *Afsana-i-Shahan*, ff. 24a-b.

After his capiture Musnad-i-'Ali Mubarak Khan Nuhani was won over by Sultan Sikandar Lodi to his side. The Sultan called him his uncle and thus showed respect to him. cf. *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism in India*, pp. 30-31.

4. *Afsana-i-Shahan* f. 28b. Later on, Nasir Khan was given the charge of the territory of Ghazipur.
5. For example, Azam-i Humayun Lodi, son of Khan-i- Jahan Lodi, was assigned the *pargana* of Tughluqpur in 1495-6. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, p. 319; *Tarikh-i Khan-i Jahani*, I, p. 84.

6. *A Kroh* is generally considered equal to two English miles.
7. *Waqi'at-i Mushtaqi*, ff. 41b-42a; also cf. *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism in India*, pp. 131-32.
8. Shaikh Buddhan, the famous scholar of Bihar was deeply attached to the house of Darya Khan Nuhani. For this reason he displeased Sher Shah, but the latter did not resume his land grant as it might have been impolitic. As regards Darya Khan Nuhani's relations with Makhdum Saiyid Hasan Danishmand of Maner, Shah Fakhr Alam, his descendant and the *Sajjada nashin* of his *dargh*, says on the basis of his family tradition that Darya Khan gave his niece to him in marriage. In fact, Makhdum Saiyid Hasan was a leading saint of Bihar as the *farmans* issued by the later rulers regarding the renewal of land-grants to his descendants show. These documents are still available in the *dargah*.
9. *Epigraphia Indica*, Arabic and Persian Supplement, 1966, Delhi, pp. 26-27.
10. *Waqi'at-i Mushtaqi*, f. 33a.
11. *Ibid* ff. 33a-b.
Tabaqat-i Akbari, I, p. 137; also cf. I.H. Siddiqi, '*Musnad-i-'ali Mian Bhua: A scholarly Statesman, Indo-Iranica*, no. 3, Calcutta, Sept. 1967, p. 33-41.
12. *Waqi'at-i Mushtaqi*, f. 42a.
13. *Tabaqat-i- Akbari*, I, p. 350; Badaoni, I, p. 329; *Tarikh-i-Khan-i-Jahani*, I, pp. 249-50.
14. *Afsana-i-Shahan*, ff. 46a-b.
15. *Waqi'at-i Mushtaqi*, 42b.
16. *Afsanah -i- Shahan*, f. 111b.
17. *Waqiat-i- Mushtaqi*, f. 43a; *Tarikh-i- Sher Shahi*, p. 81.
18. cf. *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism in India*, p. 50.
19. *Waqi 'at-i- Mushtaqi*, ff. 43a-b.
20. *Baburnama*, II, p. 530.
21. *Ibid*, II, p. 533.

The details contained in the *Waqi'at-i- Mushtaqi* shed light on the demoralization of the Afghan nobles. A false rumour about the advance of the Mughals in any direction could frighten them. They ran away from certain places, in spite of their numerical superiority. *Waqi'at-i Mushtaqi*, f. 44a.

22. Abbas's statement that Farid got the title of Sher Khan from Sultan Muhammad Nuhani by killing a tiger does not seem to be correct, because Mushtaqi states that once Farid agreed to lead a military expedition against Muhammad Sur, the *muqta* of Chaund, while other nobles of Muhammad Nuhani were reluctant to it, and as he returned victorious, the Nuhani Sultan conferred the title of Sher Khan upon him. Shaikh Kabir corroborates Mushtaqi while discussing this grant of title to Farid. As regards 'Abdullah, he

copies Mushtaqi verbatim. However, the title of Sher Khan was common during the Sultanate period, and it was not necessary for a noble to kill a tiger before he could get it. *Waqi'at-i Mushtaqi*, f. 48b; *Afsanah-i Shahan*, ff. 50b-51a.

23. Dattu Sarwani's eye-witness account, contained in the *Lataif-i Quddusi*, confirms our surmise that the Nuhani ruler of Bihar was no more beyond the year, 1527. Dattu Sarwani himself reached Bihar in the company of Musnad-i-'Ali Isa Khan Sarwani in 1527, and soon after them Sultan Mahmud Lodi appeared there. *Lataif-i Quddusi*, pp. 73-74. Babar's account of 1529 also shows that the Nuhani ruler was dead at the time of Mahmud Lodi's arrival in Bihar. *Baburnama*, II, pp. 663-4.
24. *Lataif-i-Quddusi*, p. 73..
25. *Baburnama*, II, P. 676.
26. *Ibid*, II, p. 577.
27. *Ibid*, II, pp. 683-84.
28. *Tarikh-i Sher Shahi*, p. 81.
29. *Waqi'at-i Mushtaqi*, f. 48a-b.
30. *Afsanah-i- Shahan*, f. 59a-b.
31. *Ibid*, f. 65a-b.

Here I have preferred *Afsanah-i Shahan* to *Tarikh-i-Sahi* as a source of information because the latter is not only wanting in details about the Nuhanis but also fails to describe the events in a chronological order.



PuthuPanam Fort: the resistance hub of Kunjali Marakkar

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The sixteenth century constitutes a significant transitional stage in the history of Kerala. It witnessed the beginning of the naval warfare with Kunjali Marakkar and Portuguese. The history of Kunjali Marakkar from a heroic legacy of mariners, whose fought for their country defending it against foreign powers.

The present study discussed situation of Kunjali's naval warfare against the Portuguese domination. Did the geographical peculiarity of Puthupanam attract Kunjali to there? Several studies have been conducted on the naval activities of these so called admirals of Calicut. They have focused on the courageous activities of Kunjali's who did counter the Portuguese on slots. But there of these studies have looked into the question why Kunjali did select Puthupanam as the center of their resistance; it has been divided into two parts. The first part deals with geographical setting of Puthupanam. Puthupanam is not only a part but also a trading center and it was also the headquarters of Kunjali Marakkar, built by Kunjali Marakkar III. The second parts discuss the rise of Kunjali and naval activities in the sea coasts.

Geographical settings of Puthupanam-Malabar formed a single and ethical unit as at old, and on the close of the 15th century it was divided politically in to a number of petty principalities each under the rajas or a chief who possessed unfettered independence

¹. Many rajas and chief possessed full sovereign right at the close of the

15th century. None

of these rajas was able to make supreme and Malabar became a collection of dependent states so small that though two steps might be made in one territory, third must inevitably cross the boundaries². K V Krisnayyar, 'the rise of Calicut' cause and consequence of the Zamorin ascending in Kerala. Its trade filled his coffers and enabled him to extend his authority and the expansion of these empire in turn increased its commerce³. In course of time Calicut became the greatest and most famous part of India. Nicoloconti, a Venetian, who visited Kerala in the early part of 15th century write Calicut, is a maritime city eight miles in circumference, a noble emporium for all India, abounding in pepper, ginger, a large kind of cinnamon, etc⁴. Ma-huan, the Chinese traveller noted in his description "much pepper is grown in hills. Coconut trees are extensively cultivated, many farmers owning a thousand trees.

In the medieval period many trade markets existed in Northern part of Malabar. Many Arab travellers give a general description about the Market centers. The Important Market centers are Fandarina [panthalayani Kollam], Jurbattan, Dahfattan, Badfattan [Dharmadam, Putuppanam]. Fandarina is a town at the mouth of a river that comes from Manibar⁵. The Arabian travellers Idirisi and Dimishqi both mention Fandarina. Jurbattan is a populous town on a small gulf. It is identified as Srikandapuram, ten miles due East of Taliparamb. Dahfattan is Dharmadam, the place of charity an island formed by the junction of the Thalicheri and Anjarakkandi rivers just North of Tallichery town⁶.

Puthuppanam is a town, situated in the northern part of Malabar. On the eve of the arrival of the Portuguese the Zamorin's authority extended from the Calicut to 28th miles Northward Puthuppanam⁷. Their description can be seen in the early Arab travellers' account about Puthuppanam. At that time, Puthuppanam was a strategically important trade centre. Ibn Battuta called this place Badfuttan. Ibn Battuta visited Jurbattan, Dahfattan and Budfattan. The sultan of this town is called Kuwayl, one of the most powerful of Malabar. He mentioned that most of the population of the

¹PKS Raja, 'Medieval Kerala'; Annamalai university; 1953; page no:60

²C A Innes; 'Malabar Gazetteer'; Thiruvananthapuram, 1997; page no:41

³HAR Gibb; 'Ibn Battuta travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354'; [translated], 1990; page No:234-37

⁴R H Major; [ed], 'India in the Fifteenth Century'; London 1857; page No:20

⁵SMuhammad Husain Nainar; 'Arab geographers Knowledge of Southern India'; Madras University, 1941; page No:41

⁶SMH Nainar; page no:32

⁷PKS Raja; op.cit, page No:66

Budfattan was Brahmins who were venerated by the infidel and who hated the Muslim. Due to these reason there were no Muslim living among them⁸.

Thus during the Portuguese period Puthupanam was the most important place in Malabar. This place witnessed many naval exercises under the Kunjali's and Portuguese. It was became the Geography importance of Puthupanam that Marakkar's headquarters were established at the Irringalcherri, nearby Puthupanam market. Irringal region was a sub bland in structure. There were three Inlets [Turuthu] nearby. In the survey Map [1901] are known as KottaTuruthu. Irringal rock here was well known at that time. This rock overlook at a great distance, so Kunjali's men could observe the enemy's presence.

The river and back water system of Puthupanam was of special nature. The Kottariver is commanding the entrance of the sea⁹. It would seem as if the Kotta river had at one time found us way to the sea by this outlet instead at by the channel now in use, and in deeded even now water level in the Kotta river sometimes rises so high as to threaten to breach through the narrow isthmus separating it from the Agalapuzha ,the water level of which rises of course much less rapidly in floods.

The Agalapuzha, means literally broad river. The broad river or back water receives no stream of any importance indeed nearly all from the Ghats at this point is intercepted by the main stream and tributary of the Kottariver¹⁰. This back water runs in a course parallel to the sea until it meet EllatturRiver close to mouth of that stream. The importance of these natural water communications can hardly be overrated

All these geographical settings are strategically used by kunjaliMarakkar. The Kunjali Marakkar's fort was constructed in this place. It was situated at the northern extremity of the spit of sand extending from the south across the Kottariver mouth, and completely commanded the bar of the river and the shipping which lay inside. The position was one of the great strength against ancient artillery as it was protected in two side [North and East] by water, in the third side [the west] by a swampy salt marsh through which the river. On the south of the areanarrow protected by a rampart.

Rise of Kunjali Marakkar-During the 100 years of war with Portuguese, the Marakkar family had produced a succession on the throne of Calicut¹¹. In initiative courage, Navigation skill and persistence they bear comparison with the great

⁸HAR Gibb;op.cit,page no:234

⁹Willian Logan; 'Malabar Manual Vol I';Madras,1951;page no:11

¹⁰William Logan;page no:12

¹¹K V Krishna Iyer;'The Zamorins of Calicut';Norman press, Calicut,1938;page no:47

figures of Naval Warfare¹². There is a lot of obscurity about the origin of Marakkar. The local source of the early history of the Marakkar comes from Cochin indicates, in the same year, [1524] some of the faqihis of Koshi [Cochin], like Ahmad Marakkar, brother Kunjali Marakkar and other dependents felt their desire to wage war against Portuguese. They left Koshi [Cochin] for Kalikuth [Calicut]¹³. Suddenly, the Portuguese had attacked Ponnani and destroyed the shipping and fortification there. So the Marakkar moved to Puthupanam. In short, the available evidence shows that the Marakkar lived in Coromandal coast and they gradually moved to the port of Cochin for the trade activities. On the coming of Portuguese in Cochin and signing the treaty with Cochin Raja, the Marakkar moved to Ponnani, the stronghold of Zamorin. In 1524, when the Portuguese attacked Ponnani, Marakkar again moved to the southern part of Zamorin territory, Irrigalcheri [Zamorin's controlled land] the strategic resistance area against the Portuguese.

Kunjali Marakkars, the four hereditary admirals of Zamorin, Haqeeq Ahmad Marakkar [Kunjali Marakkar I], Kutti Ali [Muhammad Kunjali Marakkar or Kunjali Marakkar II], Pattu Marakkar [Kunjali Marakkar III], Muhammad Kunjali Marakkar [Kunjali Marakkar IV], played a conspicuous role in the classic fight against the Portuguese who attempt to conquer Malabar. The strategic fighting of Kunjali Marakkar against Portuguese started by Kunjali I at Ponnani.

One of the valiant captains of the Zamorin, Kutti Ali, began to harass Portuguese shipping and defy the blockade. First time Kutti Ali was one of the officers of the Zamorin's fleet and served Muhammad Kunjali Marakkar, the admiral of Calicut. He was a realist. He realized that Calicut ship had no chance of victory in pitched naval battles. The sea-guerilla was now put to use by Kunjali. He constructed war parolees-fast boats rowed by thirty or forty armed men who could be navigated even in shallow waters¹⁴. He had hundreds of such boats stationed in every river mouth and creek. He was an experienced and brilliant strategist in the art of hit and run tactics¹⁵.

Another important leader of the naval guerilla was Pattu Marakkar or Kunjali Marakkar III. For the great service rendered by Pattu Marakkar in the reduction of the Portuguese fortress at Chaliyam, the Zamorin granted him permission to erect a fort and dockyards at Puthupattanam at the mouth of Akalappuzha, the

¹²K M Panikkar; 'India and the Indian Ocean'; Bombay, 1971; page no:45

¹³Sheikh Zeinuddin; 'Tuhfat-ul-Mujahidin' [trsltd E Hamza]; page no:73

¹⁴O K Nambiar; 'The Kunjalis: Admirals of Calicut'; Bombay, 1963; page no:76

¹⁵KKN Kurup and K M Mathew; 'Native Resistance Against the Portuguese- The saga of Kunjali Marakkar'; Calicut, 1997; page no:60

headquarters of the Marakkars¹⁶. Within two years a strong fort rose up at Puthupanam, the title of Kunjali was confirmed upon Pattu Marakkar and he became famous in history as Kunjali III and a terror to the Portuguese captains¹⁷. The Zamorin conferred on him many powers and privileges equal to the great Nair chieftains of the country.

The fort at Kotta was strong on the land side was deep ditch a double wall about seven feet thick flanked at regular distances with towers mounted with cannons. Between the two creeks he built a strong wall with two towers to secure the town and lined the sea shore with palisades, flanked by bastions, one of which higher than the other was mounted with heavy cannon to defend the entrance of the harbor which further secured by a boom of masts strongly chained together¹⁸.

Two years after the building of the fort, Pattu Marakkar died with a heavy heart filled with a foreboding of the end of all the great work his illustrious dynasty had done for the king and the country. His nephew, Muhammad Kunjali Marakkar IV succeeded Pattu Marakkar to the chieftaincy of Kotta¹⁹. Soon he became a great threat and danger to the Portuguese navigators. He fortified the Kottakal fort by land and sea and made it more impregnable by installing the latest cannons. The site of the fort was a square peninsula with circumferences of two miles. The fort could defend itself with small men power²⁰.

The study shows that the Zamorin was interesting this powerful merchant family of Kunjali Marakkar and they were being encouraged to build up a navy and built a fort at strategic place Puthupanam. It also shows that the geographical settings of Puthupanam strategically utilized by Marakkar family for their victory against Portuguese power.

¹⁶AP Ibrahim Kunju; 'Mappila Muslims of Kerala, Their history and culture'; Thiruvananthapuram; 1997; page no:55

¹⁷AP Ibrahim Kunju; page no:55

¹⁸O K Nambiar; 'Our Seafaring in the :The Indian Ocean'; Bangalore, 1975; page no:64

¹⁹O K Nambiar; 'The Kunalis Admirals of Calicut'; Bombay, 1963; page no:113

²⁰.KKN Kurup and KM Mathew; Op.cit; page no:76



Colonialism and Kernels of Changes : Christianity in Tirunelveli

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Introduction

Contemporaneous or change is a constant practice sustaining with a cluster of principles, attitudes and rehearsals which would materialize on a period of time and really would impact on the social characteristics of the cultural institutions of organic-intellectualism, economics and politics. The insight of modernity is, which naturally looks like and made as to believe, that human existence and their adopted culture would help them to make gradually a better being. It is presumed that, the European description of contemporaneous had commenced more than five centuries ago, all through the period of decay of feudalism in Western Europe while an expansion of trade and commerce, and then which has developed into an intensely well-established as the dominant style of the West.

During the initial phase of commercial expeditions Europeans were exposed to an enormous amount of strange people whom were immensely different from them, while the assessment what they had with the strangers, which revealed to the Europeans their own cultural accomplishment and uniqueness.² Then the European East India Companies took the task to disseminate the idea of European modernity among the peoples of the world for which their brain child colonialism had been

¹ Susan E. Keefe, "Theorizing Modernity In Appalachia," *Journal of Appalachian Studies*, Vol. 14, Spring 2008, p. 160.

² Ibid., p. 161.

adopted as a tool.³ Dutch had gained fame in the advancement of the colonial capitalist economy and the commercial modernity of the seventeenth century world and in the eighteenth to nineteenth century mechanized manufacturing world was subjugated by Britain and the best industrial user America obsessed the twentieth century world.⁴

The arrival of Portuguese, Dutch, British, Danish and French had exposed multiple cultural transformations of the socio-economic life of Tamils in the Madras Presidency. Predominantly the works of missionaries revolutionized the cultural habits of Tamils increasingly, which had influenced their social life enormously and who were also liable for the introduction of European education, medicinal science and modern court system in Tamilnadu and which too laid the foundation for the emergence of European style of various institutions and modern administrations.

Portuguese and Dutch held the authority of the region for a few decades, while the British had ruled this land for over two centuries. Indian Christianity consists of three principle branches: Syrian (or Thomas) Christian, Roman Catholic and Protestant. Each branch contains many subdivisions and carries a unique history of interaction with local culture within the district. The objective of the paper is to trace the earlier milieu of the missionaries in Tirunelveli. To studying subject lucidly which has been classified into three sections. The first section introduces the general conditions of the district Tirunelveli and about the works of St. Xavier and the religious policies of Portuguese and Dutch has consulted in the second. The last part of the article explains the conjecture combination of missionary activities in Tranquebar and Tirunelveli.

I

Colonialism and Emergence of Modernity in Tirunelveli

The Manual of the Tinnevelly refers the Geography of Tirunelveli as:

“The District of Tinnevelly occupies the eastern half of the extreme southern end of the Indian peninsula. It lies between 8° 5’ and 9° 45’ North Latitude, and 77° 20’ and 78° 20’ East Longitude. In shape it is roughly triangular, having the ‘Western Ghats’ as its western, and the sea for its eastern and southern boundary. On the north it adjoins the Madura (Madurai) District, from which it is divided by no natural boundary, but roughly by a parallel drawn east and west through the large town and railway station of Virudupati

³ D.V. Kumar, “Engaging with Modernity: Need for a Critical Negotiation,” *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. 57, May-August 2008, pp. 240-241.

⁴ Susan E. Keefe, “Theorizing Modernity In Appalachia,” p. 162.

(Viruthunagar)... Within this area is comprised a great variety of soils and of natural features, including black cotton plains, sandy tracts along the coast, and undulating and broken country at the foot of the mountains, chiefly red gravel and sand. Gravelly ridges or abrupt masses of rock are scattered about over the district, which is backed by the lofty range of the Western Ghats.

Tinnevelly may be considered as an epitome, or facsimile on a miniature scale, of the whole Madras Presidency, almost every feature of which is repeated on a smaller scale within this little area. In the last century the plains of Tinnevelly are represented as covered with woods and jungle; these have disappeared with the advance of agriculture to so great an extent, that beyond avenues on the main roads, thorn jungles in tank beds or on channel banks, and scattered topes, chiefly fruit trees, but little now remains, except the so-called Palmyra forest.”⁵

Tirunelveli, Madurai, Thanjavur and a part of Tiruchirappalli came into the control of the British in between of the years 1799 and 1801. The administration of the Madras Presidency had done by a Governor, with a Council of three Members and other Members of the Covenanted Civil Service. The Commander-in-Chief had occupied the position of Second in Council. The Ordinary Members of the Council were appointed by the Queen.⁶

Christianity principally for the ways it divulges the relations between colonialism and the emergence of modernity in Tamilnadu. Colonial rule brought about enormous changes in Tamil society, particularly in Tirunelveli. British intervention into all matters of governance, from the collection of revenue to the maintenance of law and order, made it difficult for traditionally dominant groups to police the boundaries of the social order as they once had. The development of print media, increased communication by railroad and trunk roads and the incorporation of India into new global networks of trade created the conditions for novel ways of imagining communities and selves.⁷

⁵ A.J. Stuart, *The Manual of The Tinnevelly District in the Presidency of Madras*, pp. 1-13.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-10.

⁷ H.R. Pate, *Madras District Gazeeters: Tinnevelly*, Vol. 1 (Madras: The Government Press, 1917), p.88.

R. Caldwell, *Lectures of the Tinnevelly Missions: Descriptive of the Field, the Work and the Results* had given an introduction to the geographical features of Tirunelveli, which had contained 1,824 villages, of which 1,094 were Government, 570 were Zemindari, and 160 were Inam, as: “Tinnevelly is one of those ‘Collectorates,’ ‘Zillalis,’ or provinces, each comprising about a tenth of the area of England, into which British India is divided, and is the most southerly province on the eastern side of India...It contains an area of 5,482 square miles, and a population of 1,269,216 souls; consequently, the population amounts to 233 in the square mile, which is exactly equal to the average population of the midland counties in England.”⁸

In 1797 the movement of conversion towards Christianity amongst the Nadars in Tirunelveli had initiated, which has directly and indirectly bestowed enormously to the improvement of the district. Such conversions had stood as a precursor to the numerous similar movements in different parts of the country. Protestant missions made their initial inroads into Tirunelveli through the work of the Danish Tranquebar mission. The German mission actually was founded by Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Plutschau. The Protestant ‘mass conversions’ began in 1818 when 3,000 Nadars who were baptized in Tirunelveli and South Travancore.⁹

The European Christian missionaries essentially focused their dissemination in Tamilnadu, particularly in Tirunelveli, against to what they had considered as ‘Hindu Cruelties.’ The missionaries had believed that cruel Hindu customs were irrational, barbaric and inhumane. They had also advocated fundamental changes in the socio-economic system of Madras and Bengal Presidencies.¹⁰

The immense augmentation of the missionary presence in the district from 1820s onwards caused a remarkable disturbances to the existed societal order of the caste based Tirunelveli’s society. Consequently brutal clashes with the upper caste Hindus and Muslim communities had confirmed with the oppressed class people. They were alarmed by the conversion of large groups of Nadars, including whole families and villages, into the folds of the missionaries, seeing the conversions as a menace to the age old social habits of the Caste Hindus based hierarch of the society.¹¹

⁸ Rev. R. Caldwell, *Lectures on the Tinnevelly Missions: Descriptive of the Field, the Work and the Results* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1857), p. 27.

⁹ Rev. M.A. Sherring, *The History of Protestant Missions in India* (London: Trubner & co, 1875), P.342-345.

¹⁰ Bulmer, “Demon-Worship in Southern India,” *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 7, April 1894, pp. 156-157.

¹¹ H.R. Pate, *Madras District Gazeeters: Tinnevelly*, Vol. 1, p. 89.

In essence, the conversions were not, as the missionaries thought, an effect of their own agency, but part of the already ongoing emancipative movement of the Nadars in order to escape from social and religious oppression by the socially influenced. Especially in the first half of the nineteenth century, the conversions in Tirunelveli were fuelled by local conflicts between landowners and peasants. For many subaltern groups in South Indian society, the Christian mission provided an opportunity to flee from oppression and to benefit from the mission, which provided protection and education.¹²

Susan Bayly argues that “the only really novel feature of late 19th-century status disputes was the involvement of lower castes previously unconcerned with such matters.” She notes that “conversion to Christianity was not seen by protagonists as a radical rejection of caste-based status hierarchy; rather, it was a novel strategy for achieving a long established object that of furthering the converts’ own position within that hierarchy. From this perspective, Kalugumalai Nadars had provided “a classic example of a tactical” conversion ‘to Christianity’.”¹³

It is amongst the Nadars Christianity had made most progress in Tamilnadu. From Tirunelveli the movement had gained its momentum amongst Nadars and touched some other castes of higher and lower in the social strata. Almost all the missionary results for which Tirunelveli was famous had accomplished amongst the Nadars. With the support of the Church Mission Society (CMS) and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), many oppressed communities of Tirunelveli and Thanjavur had also converted. The first Christian settlement in Tirunelveli was Mudalur during that time which had a population of twenty eight. Other Christian settlements soon followed, such as Bethelam and Nazareth and by 1803 more than 5,000 Nadars in South-Eastern Tirunelveli had also been converted to Christianity.¹⁴

In 1841, when the Bishop of Madras, George Trevor Spencer visited the south of his diocese, he also came to Mudalur. On this occasion, he wrote in his diary: ‘I want words to express my astonishment at all I see in this land of promise. The word of the Lord is covering it.. I unhesitatingly declare to all who are interested in the progress of the Gospel in India, that this is a land of

¹² Anthony Good, “The Car and the Palanquin: Rival Accounts of the 1895 Riot in Kalugumalai, South India,” *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 33, February 1999, pp. 27-28.

¹³ Susan Bayly, *Saints, Goddesses and Kings: Muslims and Christians in South Indian Society, 1700-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 445.

¹⁴ Rev. R. Caldwell, *Lectures on the Tinnevelly Missions*, p. 25.

promise...Here we have Christian villages-villages entirely Christian. It is a glorious sight.’¹⁵

In 1845, when Bishop Spencer had his next tour through South India, while he received a petition from the Caste Hindus of Srivaikuntam in which they accused the missionaries as: “...make congregations of wicked Shannars and thievish Maravars, and the Pullers and Pariahs, who have always been our slaves and shoemakers, basket makers and other low-caste persons and teach them the Gospel, the Ten Commandments and the other things.” Ashill Rectory, who had belonged to the English Church, worked for the conversion of people in South India wrote a letter where he claimed that the people of the region were filled with superstitious beliefs but not much influenced by the Brahmanical system. The European Christian missionaries whom had worked among the rural populaces of Tirunelveli had certain views about their primordial style of worshipping.¹⁶

Conflicts over conversion and the general allegiance of Christians and privileges of converts had not been avoided while of the debates which were evolved in the colonial era. While reading the evolution of history of Christianity in Tamilnadu we could realize how the modern Christians have comprehended their existing growth. The Madras Presidency possessed the highest numbers and varieties of Christians within British India in which the studying subject have afforded a fabulous objective for conducting a research on how a Christian identity had bestowed a likelihood for the socially browbeaten group of people to emancipate their cultural attachments of their previous landlords and accept the societal changes under British rule in Tirunelveli District.¹⁷

II

After the meddling of the Portuguese in the problem the Muslim traders were subdued and the fisher folk of the Tuticorin with their family embraced Christianity. In the same year it was established that “Christianity of the Fishery Coast” went into the hands of Portuguese of Goa.¹⁸ On the Spring of 1543, Francis Xavier wrote a long letter to Reverend Father Ignatius, the General of the Society of Rome, where he narrated his experiences, extract:

“ I set out with several native students from the Seminary at Goa, who have been under instruction, ever since their

¹⁵ Ulrike Schroder, “No religion, but ritual? Robert Caldwell and The Tinnevelly Shanars,” in Michael Bergunder, Heiko Frese and Ulrike Schroder (eds.), *Ritual, Caste, and Religion in Colonial South India* (Delhi: Primus Books, 2011), p. 131.

¹⁶ H.R. Pate, *Madras District Gazeeters: Tinnevelly*, Vol. 1, p. 90.

¹⁷ Chandra Mallampalli, *Christians and public Life in Colonial South India, 1863-1937* (New York: Routledge, 2004), p.6.

¹⁸ H.R. Pate, *Madras District Gazeeters: Tinnevelly*, Vol. 1, p. 88.

early youth, in the ceremonies of the Church, and are now in minor orders. We went through all the villages of the converts who were made Christians a few years ago. This country is too barren and poor for the Portuguese to live in, and the Christian inhabitants here have had no priests; they just know that they are Christians and nothing more. There is no one to say mass for them; no one to teach them the Creed, the Pater, the Ave Maria, and the Ten Commandments of God. So I have been incessantly occupied ever since I came here. I went diligently through the villages one after another, and baptized all the children who had not yet be baptized. In this way I have christened a multitude of children who, as the saying is, did not know their right hand from their left... I have found very great intelligence among them: and if they had any one to instruct them in religion, I doubt not they would turn out excellent Christians...

One day I turned out of my road into a village of heathens (*An adherent of a religion who does not belong to Christianity*), where no one was willing to become Christian, though all the neighbouring villages had been converted, because they said that the lord of their territory, a heathen, had forbidden his people to do so. There was there a woman with child, who had been three days in labour with so much difficulty, that many despaired of her life. Their prayers for her were not heard, for the prayer of the wicked is an abomination in the eyes of God, because the gods of the heathen are all devils.

I went, with one of my companions, to the sick woman's house, and began with confidence to call upon the Name of the Lord, forgetting that I was in a strange land. I thought of that text, 'The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof, the compass of the world and all that dwell therein.'

So I began, through an interpreter, to explain to her the articles of our religion; and by the mercy of the God, this

woman believed what we taught her. At last I asked her whether she wished to be a Christian. She replied that she would, and gladly. Then I recited a Gospel over her- it was the first time, I suppose, that such words had been heard in those countries. I duly gave her Baptism. Not to make a long story, immediately after Baptism this good soul, who had put her hop in Christ, and believed, was delivered of her child; and I afterwards baptized her husband, his children, the infant (on the day of its birth), and all the family. The whole village was soon full of the news of the miracle... After this work done, we went straight to Tuticorin. The people there received us very kindly, and we have begun to hope that we shall reap an abundant harvest of souls in these parts...

The Governor is wonderfully fond of and kind to these converts, and not long ago gave them help against the Mussulmans who were annoying them. Most of them are fishermen living on the coast, and supporting themselves and their families by the fishery, chiefly of pearls. The Mussulmans had lately carried off the barks which they use in this fishery. When the Governor heard this, he attacked the Mussulmans with a strong squadron, defeated them with great slaughter, and took away all their ships. He gave the richer converts their own barks back again, and made the poorer presents of the Mussulmans' boats, thus crowning his victory by a signal act of generosity...

The Mussulmans are quite cast down, and in a state of prostration. Not a man amongst them dares raise his eyes. Every one of their Chiefs has been slain, and indeed everyone else among them who seemed to be at all powerful. On account of all this the converts love the Governor as a father, and he on his side looks on them as his children. I can hardly tell you how earnestly he commended this newly planted vineyard of our Lord to my care...¹⁹

¹⁹ Henry James Coleridge, *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, pp. 146-150.

Nearly 20,000 people who inhabited in the 13 villages of the coast were his prime target for the conversion. In 1542, after a sojourn at Goa, St. Francis Xavier, member of the Society of Jesus, started to work among the coastal population of the district.²⁰ With hard work during his two years of stay taught him the practical lessons of the society. To reach the people he learned himself Tamil, after that he translated the gospel texts in vernacular, particularly the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ave Maria. By bearing a bell in hand, he travelled from village to village to spread the ideas of Jesus Christ and attract the inhabitants, whenever he had choice to explain the ideas of Christianity he had done it and baptized many. The letters written by him to his Society in Rome from Tuticorin, Manappad, Vaippar, Virapandyapatnam, Alanthalai, Punnaikayal, Tiruchendur and from other places of Tirunelveli district have provided a most interesting account of his activities. After conversion the fisher folk of the villages started to claim themselves as the children of Francis Xavier.²¹

Within the short span of ten years of time of his residence in the coast, Francis Xavier, had spread the Gospel in the radius of nine thousand miles and converted countless people into Christianity. On 1595 Dutch kick-started their mission India and within few years of time their first ship reached Ceylon in 1602. Then the Portuguese and Dutch were involved in continuous war to control the Indian market while the Dutch won the war in 1655. After capturing Ceylon the Dutch took time to stabilize their position in the Island country. On 22 February 1658, under the command of Ryclooff van Goens the Dutch fleets were led to invade India and captured Tuticorin on that day. Many of the Portuguese prisoners of war were taken to Nagapatnam. After that the Dutch established several trading posts in interior village-towns of Tirunelveli district.²²

Initially the legal administration of the expeditions of Dutch not met any problem while handling the legal issues of their ships, because neither the Dutch kingdom nor the Dutch settlers ever controlled any of the foreign territory, in which the legal management of the ship was maintained by the 'Letters of Articles (Artikelbrief).' Nevertheless, the condition was altered slightly after 1619. In 1602, the Republic United Netherlands declared, a 21 years valid, charter for the Dutch East India Company. The charter empowered the Company to right to engage war and conclude treaties with any foreign powers in the name of the States General of

²⁰ *Report on The Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, 1885, Vol. II, p. 131.*

²¹ H.R. Pate, *Madras District Gazetteers: Tinnevely*, Vol. 1, p. 89.

²² S.G. Perera, *The Jesuits in Ceylon* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 2004), p. 137.

United Netherlands. Simultaneously the charter had allowed the Company to appoint their own officers and allowed them to administer their legality. But the charter did not require the Company authority to follow any strictly proposed legal codes. In practice, the High Council of the Indies adopted specific decrees from Batavia. Because there was such a multitude of ad hoc Ordinance (*Plakkaten*) were implemented. In 1640, while of the governor-generalship of Maetsuycker, certain ad hoc Ordinances were declared as valid and the High Council of Netherlands ratified it in 1642 which was called as the 'Statues of Batavia' (Tasman Code (or) Van Dieman Code (o)r Bativian Code (or) Statutes of Batavia).²³ The same Van Dieman Code was realized in the coasts of Nagapatinam and Tuticorin. According to the Statues of Batavian code fifteen fisher men of Tuticorin were punished owing to their continuous abetment for the Portuguese and Catholic belief for which whom were Dutch auction in public as slaves. Within few months of time Roman Catholic performances were declared as illegal, the churches were occupied, curfew were implemented for Catholic meetings and baptisms, the Catholic Priests were debarred from their services and finally Dutch reformation of churches took place.²⁴

III

Initial Dissemination of Missionaries: Tranquebar to Tirunelveli

The Board of the Directors of the Dutch East India Company had received orders of regulations to proliferate the ideas of Christian religion on the coasts of India. In 1642, the statues of Van Dieman was implemented for the administration of the Dutch East India Company in India, the order reads that no other religion should not be practiced on the land where Dutch government exists and directed the Company authorities to defuse the beliefs of Reformed Christian religion in the coast as it is taught in the churches of the Netherlands. The lawbreakers of the regulations were ordered to apprehend with chain and banished from the territory. Offenders were met with serious punishments of severing limb or capital punishment.²⁵

²³ Nigel Worden and Gerald Groenewald (ed.), *Trials of Slavery: Selected Documents Concerning Slaves from the Criminal Records of the Council of Justice at the Cape of Good Hope 1705-1794* (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 2005), pp. 19-20.

²⁴ S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Caste, Catholic Christianity and the language of Conversion: Social Change and Cultural Taslation in Tamil Country, 1519-1774* (Delhi: Kalpaz Publications,2008),p.350.

²⁵ R. Caldwell, *A Political and General History of the District of Tinnevelly in the Presidency of Madras* (Madras: The Government Press, 1881),p, 78.

To prove the rigid religious policies of the Dutch Statutes of Batavia, William Brown quote that: “Baldaus, who was a number of years one of the Ministers in this Island soon after it fell into the hands of the Dutch, informs us, in his ‘Description of the Coasts of Malabar, Coromandel, and Ceylon,’ a work published at Amsterdam in 1672, that in the province of Jaffnapatam, there were thirty-four churches, besides those of the Dutch and the Portuguese...These churches, or at least most of them, were originally built by Portuguese, some of them were noble buildings...The Dutch Government, and also the Ministers and the Consistories, appear to have been at all times ready to exercise coercion in matters of religion. Severe measures were adopted, from the very first, against the Roman Catholic priests: the object appears to have been nothing less than the extinction of the Romish religion. Measures of a similar kind were resorted to for the suppression of Budhism. In compliance with the wishes of the Consistory, the Government issued an edict, imposing penalties on devil-dances and other heathenish ceremonies. When the king of Kandy, in 1688, sought permission to erect a temple to Budha in the Dutch territories, his request was refused...”²⁶

From 1660-1662, Philip Baldeaus served as the head of the Protestant Missionary at Tuticorin. Next to him the missionary work was passed on to John Kruyf and then to Nathenaiel de Pape. On in his writing Baldaus had narrated the existence of churches in the coasts of Tamilnadu and further stated that, in 1582, a Church was built on the coast of Tuticorin, which was also dedicated in memory of *Nossa Senhora da Piedade*, and while of the first mass 600 persons were converted and baptized to Christianity. In 1660, Philip Baladaus proceeded from Ceylon to Nagapatinam with an intention to defuse the ideas of Reformed Religion. At Nagapatinam and Tuticorin he preached the gospel in Dutch and Portuguese. His successor, Nathaniel de Pape, had also contributed significantly for the progress of the conversion. He used the languages Portuguese and Tamil to spread gospel in the villages of the district for his work gained support from the Governor Cornelius Speelman.²⁷ H.R. Pate quoted a bit of history from the writings of Caldwell, extract:

“...there were in the year 1600 twenty two congregations scattered over the district of Tinnevelly and Madura, no less than sixteen of which were on the coast. The work was in charge of seventeen fathers and three brothers, the chief residence of whom was the college already established at Tuticorin. In 1606 the Mission of Madura was established by

²⁶ William Brown, *The History of the Christian Missions*, Vol. I (London: Thomas Baker, 1864), p.30.

²⁷ Ibid.

Father Robert de Nobili; and, though formally it continued to be under the jurisdiction of the “Malabar province,” the new society had from the first its own methods and sphere of action and managed its own finances. It took under its nominal control the inland parishes of the Tinnevelly district, the missionary in charge being stationed far away, at Mullipadi, now in the Trichinopoly district. The Fishery Coast still remained an integral part of the “Malabar province,” under the authority of Goa. In its early years the Madura Mission was too much occupied with its work in Trichinopoly, Tanjore and Madura to pay much attention to Tinnevelly. In 1638 Father Emmanuel Martin, a member of the Madura Society, toured through the district. “The results of the mission,” he writes from Kurukkalapatti (near Andipatti, Tenkasi taluk), “are in proportion to the excursions we make, after the manner of The hunters. My time is spent in running all over the district.” Christians, 1,666 the mission had got seriously to work and congregations are found existing all over the district, at places as far apart as Tenkasi, Marandai, Palamcotta, Pannikulam, Kayattar, Perunkulam, Punnavanam and Kamanayakkanpatti. It was a period however of great political commotions, and in 1676 were added the horrors of a famine. How can religion, writes Father Britto in 1683, become securely established in a land whose population is unstable as the waves of the sea, shifting like the sands of the desert, in a country where it wants only a war, an epidemic, a famine, a political change, a foreign invasion, to destroy one-half of its inhabitants and ' to change almost its whole population ?

In 1683 Father John de Britto succeeded to the charge of the Madura Mission and in the following year, after visiting almost every part of the Tinnevelly district, ordered the establishment of a permanent residence at Kamanayakkanpatti instead of Mullipadi. It was during this visit that the first steps were taken in that important movement by which Christianity ultimately spread so widely amongst the Shanans.

Father de Britto who had penetrated as far south as Vadakkankulam (Nanguneri taluk) was called back unexpectedly to Kumbakonam. A congregation, however, of

Shanans appears definitely to have been formed by 1685 at Vadakkankulam; and, under Father Borghese, the first resident missionary of Kamanayakkanpatti, the work of conversion amongst that caste, whose members now constitute nearly one-half of the Roman Catholic population of the district, progressed rapidly in the south of the taluk of Nanguneri and in south Travancore. 'By its numbers and its wealth,' wrote Father Calini in 1716, stationed at Vadakkankulam, which had two years previously become a residence, 'the Shanans caste is in comparison with all other castes admirably adapted to Christianity.' In fact the Shanans could easily observe the Christian practices. The nature of their life, the necessity of climbing palmyras, preserves them from laziness, the fountain of all disorders. Besides, they are gifted with an excellent disposition, most inclined to religious matters..."²⁸

Bishop Robert Caldwell could not relate much details of the Roman Catholic Mission and their work in the district until 1640. On 1st June 1700, Father Martin wrote a letter from Kamanayakapatty (Camienaikin-Patty) from Tirunelveli where he provided intriguing details related to the conversion of the district, extract: "The inhabitants of the Empire of the Mogal, the Kingdom of Bengal, the Isle of Ceilan and the great Peninsula of Indies are divided into Castes. They call a Caste the Assembly of several families of the same Rank or Profession. There are four Chief Castes, that of the Bramins, that of the Rajas, that of Choutres and that of the Parias. This last is reckoned infamous, be not on the same foot, yet there are some trades which debase those that follow them, e.g. Every man that works on leather and in some places Fishers and those that keep Flocks, pass for Parias. Two things made the labours of the first missionaries almost useless among the people, viz. the European manners they retained and their conversation with the Parias. St. Francis Xavier did not show greater Miracles any where than in the great Peninsula of the Indies, and yet he did not convert any considerable caste there. Those people are ready enough to hearken to the truth... but think it would be a shame for them to submit to it, whilst it is preached to them with a thousand mean ridiculous and abominable customs. The obstinacy obliged the missionaries at last to renounce the customs of the Europeans, and to embrace those of the Indians in every thing that was not opposite to Faith or good manners. Father Rober de Nobilibus, a near relation to pope Marcellus II and Nephew to Cardinal Bellarmine, was the first who in the beginning of the late Century made use of this expedient... The

²⁸ Ibid., p. 90-91.

prodigious number of Gentiles, who have since that time embraced and do still daily embrace the Christian Religion in the Kingdom of Madura, Tanjaour and Maissour, plainly show that Heaven raised up this admirable Missionary, not only to procure by himself and Brethren, that imitate him, the Conversion of those Western Countries of the Indies, but also to convince all the other Missionaries, that would devote themselves to the Salvation of Souls in the Empire of the Mogul, that there was no other way left to gain those innumerable people in the Indies to Jesus Christ...” and the letter continues with a account of Tuticorin, “...The Dutch have settled themselves on this Coast at Tutucurin (Tuticorin), and have a great trade there. They get a very considerable profit from the Peal-Fishery, and that of Xanxus. These Xanxus are great shells like those we paint the Tritons with. The Dutch Company buy them for almost nothing, and send them into the Kingdom of Bengal, where they sell them again at a very dear rate. The saw those shells, according to their bigness, and make Bracelets of them, which have as much luster as the most shining Ivory... On the day it begins, it is opened early in the morning by firing a Cannon. At that moment all the boats set out and advance into the Sea, being preceded by two great Dutch Sloops, who anchor one on the right, and the other on the left to mark the bound of the fishing place and immediately the divers of the ach boat plunge themselves in three, four or five fathom deep. One boat has several divers, who go into the water by turns. They are fastened to a rope, the end of which is fixed to the stern of a little vessel, but is so ordered that by means of a pully (pull) can easily let him go, or draw him in as he thinks fit. The divers has a great stone fastened to his foot that he may sink the sooner, and a fort of a sack round his middle to put the Oysters in that he gets. As soon as he is at the bottom of the sea, he immediately gathers up what he finds under his hand, and puts it into his sack. When he would come up into the air, he tugs hard at another cord than that which holds his body, and seaman who is in the boat, and holds the other end of the same cord, immediately gives the signal to others, and at that moment they draw the diver up, who, that he may rise the quicker, cuts off the stone from his foot it possible. There are such strong and terrible *requiems* (Catholic Prayer) in the Seas, that sometimes they carry away both the diver and his oysters, for as he never heard of more. What some talk of an oil that the divers put in their mouths, and of a Glass Bell in which they shut themselves up when they dive, are idle stories.”²⁹

²⁹ *Report on The History of the Works of the Learned or An Impartial Account of Books, July 1705*, Vol. VII, (London: H. Rhodes, 1705), pp. 387-389; *Letters Edifiantes ecrites des Missions Etrangeres, par quelques, Missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jesus*, (Paris: Society of Jesus, 1705).

In 1700, Joseph Constantine Besche (Veeramamunivar) a Jesuit Missionary, arrived at Goa and had a long travel in which he reached Tiruchirappalli where he learned Tamil, Telugu, Sanskrit, Persian and Hindustani. Even after learning many languages he gained his fame for the scholarly works of Tamil. After 1710, he initiated missionary works from Tirunelveli. After spending thirty six years in the region he died in 1746 at Manapadu.³⁰

On December 1874, Robert Charles Caldwell wrote an article which titled “A Valuable Manuscript,” was published in a London journal *The Athenaeum*, where he recounted a fascinated story of his unearthing of Beschi’s manuscript ‘Tembavani,’ from India Office London, extract “The Library of the India Office contain a book of immense interest and value to Orientalists. It is the ‘Tembavani,’ of Beschi, in his own handwriting. It was not long ago that Sir Water Elliot presented the manuscript to the Library; and by the courtesy of Dr. Rost and Prof. Childers, I have had the opportunity of minutely examining it. Constantine Joseph Beschi, it will be remembered, was a learned and renowned Jesuit missionary, who landed at Goa, on the Malabar coast of India, in the year 1700 A.D. and died in a town on the Coromandel coast in the year 1742. As a linguist, he must be regarded as incomparably the greatest European who has ever made India his adopted country... I have been careful to ascertain the genuineness of Besschi’s manuscript volume in the India Office Library...After Beschi’s death the manuscript appears to have passed into the hands of Bangaru Naik, one of Beschi’s disciples. It next passed into the hands of Luz Naik, son of Bangaru. In 1822, Muttuswami Pillei, then Tamil translator to the Government of Madras, undertook to collect materials for a life of Beschi, and visited the country adjacent to the towns of Madura and Trichinopoly, for the purpose of gathering, on the sport of Beschi’s labours, trustworthy accounts of the great Italian’s work and writings. At Avoor, twenty miles south of Trichinopoly... Muttuswami Pillei met Luz Naik, with his precious manuscript. Luz Naik was prevailed upon to bring the volume to Madras, to the well-known Tamil scholar, Mr. Ellis, the translator of the ‘Kural.’ Luz Naik was then induced to part with his treasure for the sum of 300 rupees...After Mr. Ellis had taken a careful copy of the work, he presented the original to Muttuswami Pillei... This book bears, on a fly-leaf, the following memorandum by Sir Walter Elliot: ‘This copy of the ‘Tembavani,’ was obtained in the Madura district by the late Muttuswami Pillei for Mr. F.W. Ellis, as whose death it passed into the hands of Muttuswai Pillei, from whom I obtained it...The first and last three leaves have been added by another hand...Fifteen years after Sir Water Elliot added a

³⁰ S. Muthiah, *A Madras Miscellany: A Decade of People, Places and Potpourri* (Chennai: East West Books, 2011), p. 24; see also A.J. Stuart, *The Manual of The Tinnevelly District in the Presidency of Madras*, pp. 61-62.

memorandum... 'By a singular chance the remaining sheets of Beschi's MS. have come into my hands. A native Christian of Tanjore having some business with the Revenue Board, in which I was able to be of use to him, and to who I showed this volume, told me he thought he knew where some leaves in the handwriting of Vira Mamuni were preserved by a family in the Tanjore district as a memorial of the poet. On his return home, he sent me the accompanying leaves, which prove to be exactly the missing portion of the manuscript – Madras, March, 1858, Water Elliot.' Sir Walter Elliot's gift to the India Office in his honoured age, fourteen years after the above was written, is one of simply priceless value to the Dravidian Scholar..."³¹

Within in the article Caldwell had unfolded the physical characteristics of Joseph Constantine Besche, extract: "Upon Beschi's arrival in the country, he discarded, as much as he could, all European habits and customs, and lived as a Brahmin of the Brahmins, eating only vegetable food, and assuming the attire and pomp of great "Guru." With sandals on his feet, a bright orange robe round his shoulders and loins and a white turban for his head-dress, he moved among the people as the great "Viramamuni" or "Heroic Devotee," as his admirers entitled him. He wore pearly and ruby ear-rings, sat on a tiger skin, rode in an ivory palanquin and wherever he proceeded, had young Brahmin boys to fan him with peacock feathers. Whilst pursuing this extraordinary course in public, he devoted himself in private, not only to a strictly ascetic mode of life...I may mention briefly, in conclusion, that there is a very rough etching extant, representing Beschi in his robes as a Guru. He appears as a tall, venerable man, with severe features and flowing beard. In his right hand he grasps a book and a crucifix; in his left he holds a staff; and his feet are shod with thick wooden sandals. Behind him rise bleak mountains, one of which is crowned by a church. The policy of the Roman Catholic Church is clearly exemplified in it having sent to a semi-barbarous country, such as Southern India..."³²

Conclusion

During the early sixteenth century, both the Portuguese crown and the papacy extended official patronage to Portuguese missionaries within the coastal regions of Malabar and Goa. The Danish colony of Tranquebar was one of the earliest quarters of Protestant Christianity in India. The Danish king Frederick IV (1671-1730) assigned the task to find appropriate people to the noble mission of India to his minister Pietist Franz Julius Lutkens. But he was not able to recognize

³¹ Robert Charles Caldwell, "A Valuable Manuscript," in *The Athenaeum*, London, 5 December 1874, pp. 750-752.

³² Ibid.

anyone as suitable to Danish mission. Then Franz Julius Lutkens had assigned the task to his friend, an assistant pastor of the New Church, Joachim Lange in Berlin. Franz Julius Lutkens requested his friend to propose missionaries for the mission in India. Joachim Lange forwarded the message to his students Bartolomaus Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Plutschau in Halle. On 7 October 1705, after a lull Bartolomaus Ziegenbalg accepted the voyage with Heinrich Plutschau. On 11th November 1705, the King of Denmark passed, a three year valid, royal order in which Bartolomaus Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Plutschau were designated to spread the ideas of Christianity in and around the places of Tranquebar.³³

On July 9 1706, after seven months of long voyage, the missionaries reached Tranquebar. To provide knowledge to the public Ziegenbalg established printing presses and schools in line of advanced ideas and methods of modern education imparted at Halle in the region, which strengthened the ideas of Christianity in the middle of the converts and to improve the speed of conversion Ziegenbalg appointed trained local Tamil followers of Christianity as pastor-teachers.³⁴

During the last part of the 18th Century the Danish Missionaries used Tirunelveli as an out-station of Tranquebar. Infrequently the Danish missionaries were reached Tirunelveli and preached the Christian gospel among the public. But till 1771, the Danish missionaries did not have their permanent residence in the district. After him Reverend Christian Frederic Schwartz reached the district with an intention to improve the numerical count of conversion in the district.³⁵ The exact date of Father Swartz's first visit to Tirunelveli did not determine by any of the availing sources, but the *Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal, 1853-1854* claimed that it should be prior to 1781, extract: "At Palamcottah, a fort and one of the chief towns of Tinnevely... there resides a Christian of our congregation, Savarimootoo, who having been instructed, reads the word of God to the resident Romish and heathens; and an English serjeant, whose wife is a member of our congregation, has in a manner taken up the cause. He was once here (at Trichinopoly), listened to all that was represented from the word of God in silence and promised to place himself under further instruction. The serjeant made him learn the five principal articles of the Catechism, and then baptized him..."

³³ Douglass H. Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism: Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), p. 28.

³⁴ Robert Eric Frykenberg, "The Legacy of Christian Friderich Schwartz," <http://www.internationalbulletin.org/issues/1999-03/1999-03-130-frykenberg.pdf>, p. 130.

³⁵ M.A. Sherring, *The History of Protestant Missions in India: From Their Commencement in 1706 to 1871* (London: Trubner & Co, 1875), pp.334-338.

Swartz's first visit to Palamcottah and its neighbourhood, was not only the first visit of a Protestant minister professedly devoted to the work of evangelizing the heathen, but was the first missionary effort which bore fruit, and whose fruit remains...³⁶

The first Christian settlement in Tirunelvely was Mudalur which had a population of twenty eight. Other Christian settlements soon followed, such as Bethelam and Nazareth and by 1803 more than 5000 Nadars in South_Eastern Tinnevelly had been converted to Christianity. When the Bishop of Madras, George Trevor Spencer visited the south of his diocese in 1841, he also came to Mudalur, a Christian village in Tirunelveli. On this occasion, he wrote in his diary: 'I want words to express my astonishment at all I see in this land of promise. The word of the Lord is covering it... I unhesitatingly declare to all who are interested in the progress of the Gospel in India, that this is a land of promise...Here we have Christian villages-villages entirely Christian. It is a glorious sight.'

In essence, the conversions were not, as the missionaries thought, an effect of their own agency, but part of the already ongoing emancipative movement of the Nadars in order to escape from social and religious oppression by the dominant elites. Especially in the first half of the nineteenth century, the conversions in Tirunelveli were fuelled by local conflicts between landowners and peasants. For many subaltern groups in South Indian society, the Christian mission provided an opportunity to flee from oppression and to benefit from the mission, which provided protection and education.

T. Sadasiva Iyer, the District Judge at Tinnevelly report cited the mixed motives that often lay behind conversions and how material aid offered by missionaries had obviated relief through the Act of 1850: "Most of the converts to Christianity come from the lower castes who have very little property at their conversion, and most of whom are not actuated solely by conviction, but are influenced in part by the prospects of help from missionary funds in pending criminal litigation or in the difficulties of preserving soul and body at a time of distress."

³⁶ *Report on the Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal*, 1853-1854, Vol. VII (London: Rivingtons, 1854), pp. 173-174.



Gendered discourses of state and security in International relations and Feminist Quest for an alternative World order

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Abstract

Realism is the paradigm that provides norms of state behavior and structure of interstate relations in anarchic situations and considers power politics as a mechanism to resolve conflict, inherent in world order. Feminist perspective entered in discourses of International Relations along with other epistemological standpoints collectively known as “critical theory”/ Post-Positivism. These voices of dissent deconstructed the hegemonic theorizing revolving around the prior belief of Realist Paradigm. Though, Feminism were the part of ensemble of other post positivist theories, i.e. Post-Modernism, Post-Structuralism, Post-Colonialism, but unlike the other “post” theories, its priorities provided for a new dawn in International Relations. Feminism is not only a critical prism to deconstruct and cast reflection on International Relations discourses in theory and practice, but gives provisions of alternative view to reconstruct a more humane egalitarian world. Jill Steans is of the view that taking gender as an empirical category and surgical apparatus, Feminists challenged the “crude patriarchal discourses” of state and security in “Manly States”. It challenged the patriarchal

base of International Relations as discipline and as practice. The Feminist School of thought that itself is not a coherent paradigm deconstructs the discourses on State, War, Peace, and Security. Starting from the work of J. A. Ticknor, who reformulated Hans J Morgenthau, Six Principles (considered to be the Newtonian Laws of Motion for statecraft and interstate relations); to Cynthia Enloe question “where women are”? to Jane Par part query ‘Are men going to be tomorrow’s “second Sex”; Feminists have covered a long distance, from “conditions of existence”, to “conditions of Possibilities”, for a world free from oppression, discrimination and prejudice. Feminist International Relations is not only the voice of “women”, but all those who are trivialized, marginalized and silenced. “Women”, is a signifier of weak, vulnerable and dispossessed; felling prey to structures of oppression working through power. The paradigm revisits the inequality that is the defining trait of the hierarchzed, Eurocentric international world order and broadens the conception about security beyond the state-centric discourses. The paper will employ gender as a prism to cast reflection on patriarchal rhetoric of state, war, peace and economy by reviewing the works of leading International Relations Feminist researchers, i.e. Cynthia Enloe, Charlotte Hooper, R.W. Connell and J. A. Tickner.

(Key Words:Feminist International Relations, Gender, Masculinity, State, War, Security)

“It is not in giving life but in risking life that man is raised above the animal: that is why superiority has been accorded to the sex that brings forth but to the one that kills” (Simon de Beauvoir: *The Second Sex*)

Introduction

International Relations as academic discipline is the “War Baby”, created from the ashes of First World War in 1919. Its features were crafted by the most powerful “Man” of the most eminent state; the Professor of History turned U.S President, Mr. Woodrow Wilson. Wilson himself was the believer of Enlightenment, having conviction in Enlightenment ideals of humanism and historicism. Employing Hegelian analogy, he was the representative of a nation that contributed in unfolding of history to the next stage on a linear deterministic path¹. Discipline emerged from War that is essentially a historicist activity, as it stages the dialectics between opposite forces and contributes to progression of history

¹ U.S was not a direct participant of 1st world War, but its economic assistance helped Great Britain to save its empire from the clutches of a revisionist force Germany. Paris Peace Conference ended the War, and President Wilson Fourteen points laid the foundations of a New World in 1919, based on the principles of collective Security, democracy and nation’s right of self-determination. Great Britain emerged as victorious but it was not possible without US assistance. After War the First Woodrow Wilson Chair was created at University of Aberystwyth to study the causes of war. (Chris Brown & Kristen Ainley, 2005)

according to Hegelian notion of dialectics. But taking humans as fodder of War, can war be attributed as a humane activity too? According to Postmodernist explanations war is the flipside of humanist face of modernity, and the outcome of rational enlightened “Man” urge to dominate and subjugate. It is an expression of power, a masculine activity that creates the clear binary between powerful and weak, assigning the powerful the duty to construct a “regime of truth” with corresponding norms, rules and structure of right and wrong.

The academic discipline of International Relations, coming out of war remnants was also not free from the will to power and domination. It had to construct a regime of domination and create consent for power concealed in a humane mask, i.e. liberalism; hence the discourse, dialogue and debate remained crucial to the development of IR as subject. It is the only discipline that evolved as a result of discipline defining debates². The central question of discipline defining debates remained the why questions about war i.e. Why War remained a central and recurring phenomenon of human history? Is war inevitable? Is it the human instincts and nature to subjugate others that takes the form of war? These crucial question were subject to multiple explanations and “International Relations remained a contested domain. (Lapid, Vol 33, No 3 Sep 1989)

First debate established the hegemonic position of Realist Power politics and Self-help principle over Wilsonian ideals of interdependence and collective security. The second debate consolidated this rigidity further in name of science and universalism. (Steans, 2006, p. 21)The range and boundary of discipline, methodology and models like “Rational Actor”, “Game Theory Model”, reinforced and sustained the hegemonic position of grand narratives like Realism and

² The first debate emerged in 1939, when Liberal principles assuming humans to be a cooperative economic beings inclined to peace, serving as the bases of infant academic discourse of International Relations proved inadequate not only to explain the causes of war, but also its conviction in the doctrine of collective security to prevent any future war turned into a recipe of disaster. As war was knocking the doors of humanity in 1939, the age old believers and practitioners of statecraft placed the liberal doctrine under severe criticism. Perhaps they were the first deconstructionist who questioned each and every assumption of liberal doctrine, declaring it a utopian ideal not to be chased. The Second debate was about methodology that considered scientific method essential to overcome the deficiencies of human science. The science vs normativity debate of 1960’s transformed the methodology of IR and various modules like, Billiard Ball model; Cobweb models were framed to understand the international politics of Cold War era. The third debate of 1970’s, between Realist, Liberals and Marxist explained three dimensional International order, each explaining one dimension, i.e. the ever present conflict manifested in War, omnipresent cooperation between states in field of political economy, and exploitative nature of international order working in benefit of powerful states. The fourth debate emerged in 1980, challenging and broadening the agenda of International Relations. (for details see (Steans, 2006) (Chris Brown & Kristen Ainley, 2005)

Liberalism; trivializing, marginalizing, silencing and sometime sending to exile the voices of dissent³. These acts of silencing, marginalization and trivialization (Enloe, 2013) were aimed to limit the horizons of thought and squeeze the thinking space as a “deliberate political practice”. (Grayson, 2010,36)

The act has therefore been integral motivator for the spectrum of “critical” literature within International studies”. (Grayson, 2010,36)The fourth debate opened a “thinking space’, a space expanding the terrains of thought exploited by a variety of dissident voices (Jim George & David Campbell, Vol 34, No. 3 Sep 1990) (Steans, 2006, p. 22)recording the protest against the hegemonic rhetoric and linguistic construction of reality and their legitimation through meta narratives. (Lyotard, 1984) “Voices of Dissent mirror the illusionary unities of Positivism and Realism”. These voices of dissent questioned the enlightenment concepts of history, humanism, rationality and truth; tried to explore a relation between power and knowledge, deconstructed the “regimes of truth”, created through knowledge claims, and became a motivation for the emancipatory action politics. (Jim George & David Campbell, Vol 34, No. 3 Sep 1990)

One amongst many voices of dissent that was previously exiled or existed on the margins of the subject was Feminism. Initially started as movement for women rights in 1970 (the second wave Feminism), it joined the orchestra of “dissident voices”, “celebrating difference” in 1980’s (Jim George & David Campbell, Vol 34, No. 3 Sep 1990). The Feminists challenged the orthodoxy of mainstream International Relations structured around the Realist Paradigm, with the aim to record the exclusion of women in IR political narratives. Though Feminism were the part of orchestra of many Post-Positivist theories , i.e. Post-Modernism, Post-structuralism, Post-Colonialism, but unlike the “post” theories, its suppositions were a new beginning for an alternative International Relations (Steans, 2006, p. 135). Like other Post-Positivists, it not only provided a critical prism to deconstruct International Relations theories but also constructed the alternative modules to reconstruct a more humane egalitarian world. (Weber, 2005, p. 89; Connell, Vol. 19, No. 5 (Oct, 1990))

The Feminism according to Jill Steans is a perspective that challenged the “crude patriarchal discourses” taking “gender” as tool of analysis (Steans, 2006, p. 1; Enloe, 2004, p. 11). It challenged the masculine base of discipline of International Relations that not only limited the thought patterns on War, Peace, Security and Political Economy, but also limited the research to upper echelons of formal

³ The Marxist paradigm was declared incommensurable and too radical to be reconciled and incorporated in mainstream theorizing of International Relation. The third discipline defining debate ended in a tacit consensus between Liberals and Realists making conflict, war and economy the range of discipline of International Relations. (Lapid, Vol 33, No 3 Sep 1989)

politics of interstate relations (Hooper, 2001). The prime presupposition of Feminist epistemology is the notion “personal is Political”; it not only broadens the research field of International Relations but also provide for a deep vertical analyses of practices concealed in everyday practices of masculinity. Starting from the question, “where women are” (Enloe, 2014) to setting agenda for the future i.e. “Are men really going to be tomorrow’s second sex” (Parpart, 1998, p. 200), the feminists has reflected on all the angles of International relations not to change the world order but also transform it in accord to a humanist vision.

The paper is divided in three sections.

First segment will provide an overview of the Feminist Epistemology in International Relations in relation to Realist beliefs.

The second part will be based on Feminist arguments on State, War and Masculinity.

The Third section will be a critique on the critical doctrine of feminism and examine the limitations of Feminist International Relations.

I. Feminist Epistemology and Gendered Division of Human Subject Creation of State and Gendered Division of Subjects

State, interstate relations and related discourses of statecraft, diplomacy, and war sciences are the products of European age of Enlightenment, started with the end of Holy Roman Empire and treaty of Westphalia in 1648. (Foucault, 2007, p. 285). Treaty ended the “Thirty Year War”, and ended two mega structures, i.e. The Holy Roman Church and Roman Empire., created a number of sovereign states. Humans were subjected to “rule of sovereign”. “Social Contract”, theories was a rupture on theorizing about state. Considering state as a result of social covenant, and “(hu)man” institution, it was a reassurance in human reason, rationality and rights. It placed restrictions on sovereign authority in name of rights and made “Leviathan” responsible to guarantee rights to subjects, based on enlightenment view. The Connell believes the social contract was implicitly a men only agreement, considering the heads of family to be the “in charge of wives and children” (Connell, Vol. 19, No. 5 (Oct, 1990))

Feminist Critique on Enlightenment Ideal of (Hu)man

The Feminists theorists believe that gendered division of human subject was inherent in enlightenment conception of “human”. Charlotte Hooper considers the enlightenment idea of the autonomous, rational individual, as starting point of political action, a gendered ideal. Whereas “Man”, was assumed to be the “mind”, “Women” is constructed as “body”, the exact opposite to man. (Hooper, 2001, p. 80) Men were the mover of history, whereas women have to still find the consciousness about its self and existence under the subjection of “Man”. At the time when the European man were creating a Eurocentric world order, dominating

the entire globe (Amin, 1989), the social contract theorists were placing women under men subjugation.

Interstate Politics and Gendered Division of Roles

The classical theories of state were silent about gender division but the interstate politics was guided by the age old principles of power politics, essentially a male domain. The explanation given by Cynthia Enloe clears the picture to some extent. She believes that masculinity is deep rooted and “patriarchy is the system of rewards that benefited and sustained the privileges of masculinity, and presupposed women naturally lacking autonomy. The system according to Enloe, “weighed all things deemed to be feminist of lesser value” (Enloe, 2013, p. 11).

Realism and Unequal Division of Power between Genders and States

Realism as the theory of state craft believes in unequal distribution of power amongst the states. The practices of interstate relations in terms of state craft (diplomacy) and war further perpetuate the unequal division of power amongst states and amongst different classes of state. Cynthia Weber is of the view Realist doctrine maintains gender hierarchy in modern state system along with hierarchies of states and classes. She add a “gender class” comprising of women folk in classical socialist binary division of classes; the class that has nothing to do with distribution of wealth; marginalized and silenced by the haves as well as have not in equal manner. (Weber, 2005, p. 87) Although the discourses of IR are crafted in a gender neutral language, the masculine/feminine binary is silently at play in IR narratives. Cynthia Enloe, goes further deconstructing the agenda of International Relations that tells the story of “War Lords”, “Child Soldiers”, “Peace Activists”, “Aid Workers”, “Rape Survivors”, “Factory Managers”, etc. that appears to be neutral in terms of gender but serves to hide the working of masculinity/femininity. She asks the crucial questions that become the basis of feminist epistemology, “where women are and where men are”; “Who put women there and men here”?; and last but not least “who benefits from women being there and not at someplace else”? She believes that patriarchy is hidden in smog in IR narratives. (Enloe, 2004, p. 4)

Feminist Epistemology

Personal is Political

Cynthia Enloe also criticizes the acclaimed “timeless wisdom” of realist paradigm as she sees the words like “natural”, “tradition”, “always”, are “used to imbue legitimacy”. Any power arrangement that claims to be a timeless legitimate tradition tries to fortify itself from critique. (Enloe, 2013, p. 3) Taking the principle “personal is political”, Feminist epistemology is grounded in women’s experiences. It seeks equality not only for women but all the under privileged, under represented and marginalized classes living on the bottom rungs of power pyramid. (Weber, 2005, p. 85; Enloe, 2004)

Male Ego as Source of Conflict

Keeping in view the Feminist principles of varied personal experiences, diverse and contrasting interests at play within state competing for resources, and all the more important contesting the claims of universality, the J. Ann. Tickner reformulated the six principles of Hans J Morgenthau taken as guide for state behavior. As Morgenthau believes that “politics is governed by the objective laws”, Tickner is of the view that claim of objectivity is based on masculine aspect of human nature. Hence, she differentiates between male and female nature and contest the view about a universal human subject. As Morgenthau believes that “national interests are defined in terms of power” and “power is control of Man over Man”, Tickner takes a humanist and reformist view not presuming power politics as a zero sum game”. As a thorough pacifist she is of the opinion that “power can possibly be used not to control and subjugate but for the purpose of collective empowerment”. (Tickner, 1988, Vol.17. No 3) Hence, the Feminist epistemology is a perspective to reconstruct a more humane, peaceful world free from oppression.

But how the feminist ideal for peace can be achieved? For the purpose Feminists try to understand the working of masculinity in International relations.

II. State, War and Masculinity

The base assumption of feminist epistemology, the “personal is Political”, implicitly acknowledge the fact that ‘we do not “experience” or “know”, the world as abstract “humans”, but as embodied gendered being’ (Weber, 2005, p. 89). Our observation and experience of world is shaped by our subjective experience. Cynthia Enloe takes the division between men and women as starting point to explain the hierarchical interstate relations dominated by sovereign self, “Man”.

She believes that women subordination was essential to construct the world as it is, i.e. unequal state relations between powerful and weak states embedded in a system of subordination and exploitation. She believes that control and subjection of women has twofold implications. The practices that were legitimized on private and seemingly non-significant cite of household are replicated as legitimate on national and interstate levels. “State elites and economic allies were convinced that sovereignty could not be guaranteed without men’s control over women sexuality and labor”. On the other hand the decision makers believed that interstate militarized rivalries cannot be effectively managed without a particular group of citizens becomes personally interested in distinct and complementary modes of manliness and exercise of power. (Enloe, 2013, pp. 40-41) She believes that patriarchy is not only hierarchical and gendered; it is a kind of reward system that creates consent for manliness not only in men but also in women making women overlook their subordinate status and adopt a complacent behavior. (Enloe, 2004, p. 4)

The Decision Makers of Manly States

The feminists like Enloe, Hooper and Connell all are agreed that states of modern period are “manly states”, working in accord to male egocentric nature. The Rational Actor model, and Game theoretic model designed by the grand narratives of the International Relations are based on male reason. Masculinity works below the political surface. One point of tension for the feminist theorists is construction of masculine images of male decision makers responsible for the vital decision related to present as well as future, war and peace, economy and society. The drivers of state are signified in media iconography as “Prime Minister’s wavy hair”, the dictators in Khakis as fatigued man charged with the responsibility, President enjoying holidays after hectic days of activity in “Cowboy belt buckles” etc. Enloe believes that militarization of US presidency and construction of US President role as “commander in Chief” generates dangerous consequences. It not only informs ordinary US citizens about their weakness but also generate a jingoistic drive in common populace. (Enloe, 2004, p. 154)

The Consequences of (In)Security Narratives for Women

The Feminist challenge the reality claim of Realist notion of (in)security, and state as a savior from the threats emanating from the outside.

Military Security Paradigm and its impacts on Security of women as group

Standpoint Feminists believe that security prioritization of state in terms of military and armament has stark implications for women. Steans discusses the interrelation of women insecurities and “military security” paradigm from three angles.

- Her first concern is that “higher the level of military expenditure worldwide, the less resources would be spent on food and welfare”, undermining the Feminist objective to improve the status, health, welfare and security of women as a group”.
- The second reason to contest the security prioritization is that “arms race and military research”, has gender repercussions. “The amount of resources devoted to the research and development of weaponry, all in name of national security, strongly affect the overall patterns of scientific research”. She argues that women insecurities in domain of health can be effectively reduced if more research funds are endowed to medical research meant to improve health security.
- Her third criticism is related to women insecurities as victims of war and war crimes. She discusses that in case of War and accompanied problems of displacement women and children being the most vulnerable segment of populace become prone to war atrocities. (Steans, 2006, pp. 70-72)

Another agenda of concern for the Feminist research is “insecurity dilemma” faced by the women and children in household of military personnel responsible to protect the state.

(In)Security Narratives and Household of Military Personnel

During course of training the soldiers are told that “Soldiers”, “the Warriors” are charged with the responsibility to protect those “who cannot protect themselves”, i.e. the women and children. Craig Murphey (Murphey, 1998, p. 97) study is revealing about the experiences of women and children of soldiers. Recording the experiences of children of military households, the Murphey was told by a teenage boy that ‘my mother explained that my loneliness was an act of patriotism. She knew how the constant moving bothered me but she convinced me that my country is safer because my formidable blue eyed father practices his art at an air station in South, and he has to do the job of a military son, “to mirror the warrior”’ (Murphey, 1998, p. 96). Murphy is of the view that experience of military wives; the psychological trauma to part from their partners; and raise children as single parent are telling that military that exists to protect the women and children is also responsible for the traumas of depression, loneliness, and displacement at the household of personnel.

Women as Victims of War Crime and Military Prostitutes

Enloe takes the security questions one step further and sets the agenda for future research. She believes that throughout history women has remained the “warrior’s booty” as war spoil. Although the rape, and militarized violence against women as aftermath of War, have been declared as a “crime against humanity”, due to efforts of Korean and Bosnian War crime victims and feminist activists, by international community; it is the starting point of another division between “respectable women”, and professional “sex workers⁴”. She believes that ‘an officially condoned industry serves as “fast food” for natural drives of military personnel’, supposedly the “saviors” of “respectable women”, bonded in gendered relations of mothers, sisters and daughters. Cynthia Enloe analyses the contents of policy regarding US soldier’s deputed offshores and in war zones. The policy that considers the rape as a punishable crime, allows military prostitution as a legitimate way for the expression of manliness”. (Enloe, 2004, p. 54)

War, Making of Masculinity, and Masculine Hierarchies of Gender and Race

As War has remained a central feature of interstate relations, Charles Tilly builds the proposition that “state makes war and war makes state” (Tilly, 1985, p. 170). The manly activity of war remained central to manly states. Hooper believes that masculinity is central to state making and war making. She believes that masculinity is not a domestic, cultural trait, but result of man’s participation in international relations. (Hooper, 2001, p. 80) Hooper is of the view that men decide about and participate in war, and war makes men. “Engaging in War is often

⁴ Issue of Human Trafficking and sex slavery are also related with issues that result from making the sex industry legitimate for the services of army personnel.

deemed to be the clearest expression of men's enduring natural aggression, as well as the manly urge to save their country and protect their families". (Hooper, 2001, p. 81)

Military is need of interstate relations in an anarchic world. Military service essentially is a masculine activity, whereas feminist qualities like softness and appeals to peace are considered as symbol of one's weakness.

Feminists view the problem from another angle, that is patriarchal states and their patriarchal militaries require "weak" to bind it in a relation of domination and subordination. It starts from household level where, the feminized military wives as symbol of domesticity and military prostitutes as symbol of feminine beauty make the masculinized men in uniform believe them to be "most wise, intellectual, rational, tough minded and hard headed". (Enloe, 2004, p. 6)

Recruitment policies also help to create hierarchies between hegemonic and subordinate masculinities and internal strife between different religious and ethnic groups. The concept of "martial races" to be incorporated in militaries creates division between hegemonic and subordinate masculinities declaring some "men", more manly and fit for the services of manly states. (Hooper, 2001, p. 84)

III. Evaluation of Feminist Critical Reflections on International Relations Discourses

"Where women are?" was the first question raised by the Gender theorists of IR. The agenda of this action research was to "make visible" the under representation of women in International Relations narratives, to secure women interests. The seminal works of Feminist thinkers like Cynthia, Enloe, Charlotte Hooper and A. Jane Tickner provided a feminist sense of international relations/International Relations⁵. The tradition provided critical reflections on the existing academic discourses as well as the practices. Cynthia Weber is of the view that "Feminism is both a deconstructive and reconstructive paradigm" (Weber, 2005, p. 89) Critics has evaluated the Critical prism of International Relations, based on assumptions and presuppositions either ignoring the reality or taking a utopian view having a far off relation with reality.

Manly Manners adopted by Female Decision Makers

Questioning the first question of under representation of women in economic and political arenas the critics discard the truth claims of Feminist thinking. Critics are of the view that "women are flooding in the public realm" in a way that "men are going to be tomorrow's second sex". (Parpart, 1998, p. 199) The critics persist on

⁵ "International relations" is the practical aspect of involvement of interstate relations in field of politics, economic and society, while the Capital lettered International Relations is the academic field of competing theories and paradigms that provide explanation of interstate relations with a perspective.

the traditional notion that threatening the order of family and established gender relation will have disrupting consequences for social harmony at state level. In response to Feminist critique that “women has already been there as help mates, girl Fridays, and comfort women”, rarely achieving the positions of power, they critics respond that women who entered the echelons of power also acted in manly manners, and were those who “know how to act like “Men”. (Parpart, 1998, pp. 200-201)

Objection on Women/Peace Nexus

This leads to second Critique of Feminist paradigm that establishes a “women/Peace nexus” (Steans, 2006, p. 58). Tickner reformulates Morgenthau Principles of Power politics and reflect the homogenous conception of “human nature”, and believes that Human Nature is gendered concept and establishes the nexus between women and peace. (Tickner, 1988, Vol.17. No 3) Feminist believes that motherhood is explicit and main component of women nature. Taking Simon de Beauvoir dictum, the Feminists trust that Women cannot risk the lives of humans for sake of competition and ego. But usages of international politics are evident that women who “enters the stratumsof power are well versed in manly manner and very well known “how to use power”. The foreign policy and War decisions of female decision makers like Mrs. Margret Thatcher, Golda Mayor and US female Secretary of States as Madeleine Albright, Condoleezza Rice, and Hillary Clinton are evident of ruthless use of force and egoistic wars.

Women Solidarity and Issue of Nationalism in Case of War

Tickner reformulation of World Order on basis Women natural inclination towards peace assumes that power can be for sake of collective empowerment instead of egoistic zero sum games of international politics, is a utopia contrary to real world according to critics. Critics falsify the beliefs that human solidarity, and collective empowerment are the notions belonging to “what ought to be”, while the real world operate in a different manner. The critics of Feminism provide evidences from history. The women International League for Peace and Freedom, was a pacifist organization, bringing together women of all races nationalities and social classes. The League was created during Women Peace Congress held at Hague in 1915. Its aim was to work for disarmament and “abolition of violence as a means to resolve disputes”, and bring about non-violent social transformations, and socio-economic and political equality for all people. (Steans, 2006, p. 59)

Goldstein study of women support roles for the nationalist cause reveals the reality of truth claims and compromising the lofty ideal for peace for national, class and gendered interests. As the Women League of Peace and Freedom were comprised of women from all the nationalities, outbreak of war proved to be a crack in consensus of women and human solidarity. ‘Within months after the outbreak of War, all the belligerents had given up to a new pledge’ and turned into ‘avid

patriots and nationalists. Goldstein research reveals that the change and transformation from humanist and pacifist to patriot and nationalist was the result of a compromise to protect a gender interest. The Feminists believed that as reward of their support for war efforts the prospects to attain the women rights to suffrage will be increased. (Goldstein, 2003)

The criticism on Feminist ideals reveal that interests are the basis of politics and power has its own dynamics independent of gender and “Who is exercising it”.

Conclusion

The ideal of a humane world free from violence, force and oppression is expressed since the beginning of human history. In present era, the Liberal doctrine was the first to provide mechanisms like collective security and economic interdependence to save world from the evils of War. But the debates and discourses of International Relations were always ‘presented as un-gendered analysis of “real life”’ (Parpart, 1998, p. 200) The Feminists probed the issue of War and ideal of Humane world from the perspective of gender, and considered patriarchy and masculinity as root cause of problem. They deconstructed the logic of patriarchy and masculinity to reveal the causes of problem. The Feminist also provided an alternative vision of International Relation. (Tickner, 1988, Vol.17. No 3) To them if “superiority has been accorded to the sex that brings forth life, and not to the one that kills”(Simon de Beauvoir quoted in (Murphey, 1998, p. 200)), the ideal of humane world can be achieved.

The worth of Feminist scholarship must be acknowledged and taken seriously, as a critical paradigm, as Feminists has tried hard to untangle the “web of relations”; They travelled from the “center to margins”; traversed along a vertical path to understand the unequal relations, not only at “top of political pyramid”, but also at most micro level working at base; that silenced, marginalized and trivialized some groups. (Enloe, 2004, p. 19) Feminists recorded the personal experiences, traumas and sufferings experienced as a result of exercise of power and conception of secure world full of arms and involved in a competitive arms race and broadened the agenda of International Relations

However Feminist paradigm is flawed in a sense that while reconstructing the alternative International order it becomes utopian associating everything Positive like Peace, Benevolence, collective Empowerment, Human Security with “second sex”, women. While reformulating the Peaceful World Order it repudiates from its Prime belief, that, Gender is not a biological differences between male and female sexes. It is a Social construction Masculinity and patriarchy as reward system with male as beneficiary. (Enloe, 2013, p. 11; Steans, 2006, pp. 7-11) Gender is not a synonym for women but a relation of power that shaped “social institutions, privileges, expectations and experiences”. (Wilson, 2007) International World Order based on the exercise of power, and relations of power, exploitation and

hierarchical inequality will continue to work in same manner irrespective of “Who is going to be the First Sex” in future.

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Governor of a Province defined in Government of India act 1935

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Indians had increasingly been demanding a greater role in the government of their country since the late 19th century. The Indian contribution to the British war effort during the First World War meant that even the more conservative elements in the British political establishment felt the necessity of constitutional change, resulting in the Government of India Act, 1919. That Act introduced a novel system of government known as provincial diarchy, i.e., certain areas of government (such as education) were placed in the hands of ministers responsible to the provincial even for those areas over which they had gained nominal control, the purse strings were still in the hands of British officialdom. The intention had been that a review of India's constitutional arrangements and those princely states that were willing to accede to it. However, division between Congress and Muslim representatives proved to be a major factor in preventing agreement as to much of the important detail of how federation would work in practice. Against this practice, the new Conservative-dominated National Government in London decided to go ahead with drafting its own proposals. A joint parliamentary select committee, chaired by Lord Linlithgow, reviewed the white paper proposals at great length. On the basis of this white paper, the Government of India Bill was framed. At the committee stage and later, to appease the diehards, the "safeguards" were strengthened, and indirect elections were reinstated for the Central Legislative Assembly. The bill duly passed into law in August 1935. As a result of this process, although the Government of India Act, 1935 was intended to go some way towards meeting Indian demands, both the detail of the bill and the lack of Indian involvement in drafting its contents meant that the Act met with a lukewarm

response at best in India, while still proving too radical for a significant element in Britain. The article deals with points from 48 to 66 which are related to provincial Governors as well as provincial executives originally given in act of 1935.

Articles 48 and 49 mentions as given under-

The Governor of a Province is appointed by His Majesty by a Commission under the Royal Sign. The provisions of the Third Schedule to this Act shall have effect with respect to the salary and allowances of the Governor and the provision to be made for enabling him to discharge conveniently and with dignity the duties of his office. The executive authority of a Province shall be exercised on behalf of His Majesty by the Governor, either directly or through officers subordinate to him, but nothing in this section shall prevent the Federal or the Provincial Legislature from conferring functions upon subordinate authorities, or be deemed to transfer to the Governor any functions conferred by any existing Indian law on any court, judge, or officer or any local or other authority. Subject to the provisions of this Act, the executive authority of each Province extends to the matters with respect to which the Legislature of the Province has power to make laws.

Articles 50 to 55 includes the following lines given as under-

There shall be a council of ministers to aid Council of and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions, ministers. except in so far as he is by or under this Act required to exercise his functions or any of them in his discretion : Provided that nothing in this subsection shall be construed as preventing the Governor from exercising his individual judgment in any case where by or under this Act he is required so to do. The Governor in his discretion may preside at meetings of the council of ministers. If any question arises whether any matter is or is not a matter as respects which the Governor is by or under this Act required to act in his discretion or to exercise his individual judgment, the decision of the Governor in his discretion shall be final, and the validity of anything done by the Governor shall not be called in question on the ground that he ought or ought not to have acted in his discretion, or ought or ought not to have exercised his individual judgment. The Governor's ministers shall be chosen and summoned by him, shall be sworn as members of the council, and shall hold office during his pleasure. A minister who for any period of six consecutive months is not a member of the Provincial Legislature shall at the expiration of that period cease to be a minister. The salaries of ministers shall be such as the Provincial Legislature may from time to time by Act determine, and, until the Provincial Legislature so determine, shall be determined by the Governor. Provided that the salary of a minister shall not be varied during his term of office. The question whether any, and if so what, advice was tendered by ministers to the Governor shall not be inquired into in any court.

The functions of the Governor under this section with respect to the choosing and summoning and the dismissal of ministers, and with respect to the determination of their salaries, shall be exercised by him in his discretion. In the exercise of his functions the Governor shall have the following special responsibilities, that is to say the prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of the Province or any part thereof ; the safeguarding of the legitimate interests of minorities ; the securing to, and to the dependants of, persons who are or have been members of the public services of any rights provided or preserved for them by or under this Act, and the safeguarding of their legitimate interests ; the securing in the sphere of executive action of the purposes which the provisions of chapter of Part fifth of this Act are designed to secure in relation to legislation ; the securing of the peace and good government of areas which by or under the provisions of this Part of this Act are declared to be partially excluded areas ; the protection of the rights of any Indian State and the rights and dignity of the Ruler thereof ; and the securing of the execution of orders or directions lawfully issued to him under Part sixth of this Act by the Governor-General in his discretion. The Governor of the Central Provinces and Berar shall also have the special responsibility of securing that a reasonable share of the revenues of the Province is expended in or for the benefit of Berar, the Governor of any Province which includes an excluded area shall also have the special responsibility of securing that the due discharge of his functions in respect of excluded areas is not prejudiced or impeded by any course of action taken with respect to any other matter, any Governor who is discharging any functions as agent for the Governor-General shall also have the special responsibility of securing that the due discharge of those functions is not prejudiced or impeded by any course of action taken with respect to any other matter, and the Governor of Sind shall also have the special responsibility of securing the proper administration of the Lloyd Barrage and Canals Scheme. If and in so far as any special responsibility of the Governor is involved, he shall, in the exercise of his functions, exercise his individual judgment as to the action to be taken. The Secretary of State shall lay before Parliament the draft of any Instructions (including any Instructions amending or revoking Instructions previously issued) which it is proposed to recommend His Majesty to issue to the Governor of a Province, and no further proceedings shall be taken in relation thereto except in pursuance of an address presented to His Majesty by both Houses of Parliament praying that the Instructions may be issued. The validity of anything done by the Governor of a Province shall not be called in question on the ground that it was done otherwise than in accordance with any Instrument of Instructions issued to him. In so far as the Governor of a Province is by or under this Act required to act in his discretion or to exercise his individual judgment, he shall be under the general control of, and comply with such particular directions, if any, as may from time to time be given

to him by, the Governor-General in his discretion, but the validity of anything done by a Governor shall not be called in question on the ground that it was done otherwise than in accordance with the provisions of this section. Before giving any directions under this section, the Governor-General shall satisfy himself that nothing in the directions requires the Governor to act in any manner inconsistent with any Instrument of Instructions issued to the Governor by His Majesty. The Governor of each Province shall appoint a person, being a person qualified to be appointed a judge of a High Court, to be Advocate-General for the Province. It shall be the duty of the Advocate-General to give advice to the Provincial Government upon such legal matters, and to perform such other duties of a legal character, as may from time to time be referred or assigned to him by the Governor. The Advocate-General shall hold office during the pleasure of the Governor, and shall receive such remuneration as the Governor may determine. In exercising his powers with respect to the appointment and dismissal of the Advocate-General and with respect to the determination of his remuneration, the Governor shall exercise his individual judgment.

Articles 56 to 66 shows the power of Governor in colonial rule in several sectors as given under-

Where it is proposed that the Governor of a Province should by virtue of any powers vested in him make or amend, or approve the making or amendment of, any rules, regulations or orders relating to any police force, whether civil or military, he shall exercise his individual judgment with respect to the proposal, unless it appears to him that the proposal does not relate to or affect the organisation or discipline of that force. While any such direction is in force, the Governor may authorise an official to speak in and otherwise take part in the proceedings of the Legislature, and any official so authorised may speak and take part accordingly in the proceedings of the Chamber or Chambers of the Legislature, any joint sitting of the Chambers, and any committee of the Legislature of which he may be named a member by the Governor, but shall not be entitled to vote. The functions of the Governor under this section shall be exercised by him in his discretion. Nothing in this section affects the special responsibility of the Governor for the prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of the Province or any part thereof. The Governor in his discretion shall make rules for securing that no records or information relating to the sources from which information has been or may be obtained with respect to the operations of persons committing, or conspiring, preparing, or attempting to commit, such crimes as are mentioned in the last preceding section, shall be disclosed or given by any member of any police force in the Province to another member of that force except in accordance with directions of the Inspector-General of Police or Commissioner of Police, as the case may be, or to any other person except in accordance with

directions of the Governor in his discretion ; or by any other person in the service of the Crown in the Province to any person except in accordance with directions of the Governor in his discretion. All executive action of the Government of a Province shall be expressed to be taken in the name of the Governor. Orders and other instruments made and executed in the name of the Governor shall be authenticated in such manner as may be specified in rules to be made by the Governor, and the validity of an order or instrument which is so authenticated shall not be called in question on the ground that it is not an order or instrument made or executed by the Governor. The Governor shall make rules for the more convenient transaction of the business of the Provincial Government, and for the allocation among ministers of the said business in so far as it is not business with respect to which the Governor is by or under this Act. The rules shall include provisions requiring ministers and secretaries to Government to transmit to the Governor all such information with respect to the business of the Provincial Government as may be specified in the rules, or as the Governor may otherwise require to be so transmitted, and in particular requiring a minister to bring to the notice of the Governor, and the appropriate secretary to bring to the notice of the minister concerned and of the Governor, any matter under consideration by him which involves, or appears to him likely to involve, any special responsibility of the Governor. In the discharge of his functions of this section the Governor shall act in his discretion after consultation with his ministers.

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Descriptions of certain towns of Bengal in 'Riyaz-us-salatin' written by Ghulam Hussain Salim

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Riyaz-us-Salatin is an important document of history of Bengal which was written by Ghulam Husain Salim in Persian. Later the text was translated by Maulavi Abdus Salim and published under the banner of Asiatic Society of Bengal. Section third of the text relates to a descriptions of the certain cities of Bengal. Section fourth of text relates to a brief sketch of the rule of the Raian of Hindustan . Chapter first of section third relates to a descriptions of the rule of the Muslim rulers who as viceroys held delegated authority over his area from the emperors of Delhi. Chapter second of same section relates to a chronicle of the Muslim kings who mounting the throne of the Bengal had the khutbah of sovereignty recited after their own names. Author of the text had taken the evidences to indicate that besides consulting standard historical works such as Tabaqat i Nasiri by Minhaj us Siraj , Tarikh I Firuz Shahi by Ziauddin Barni and by Siraj Afif ,which contain references to the history of Bengal only for the period between 1198 to 1338 and Tabaqat I Akbari by Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmad ,which contains an account of Bengal for the period under Akbar and other similar standard historical works on India such as the Tuzuk the Iqbalnamah the Padshahnamah the Alamgirnamah and the Maasir I Alamgiri. Salim had recourse also to other less known historical treatises relating to Bengal which are not perhaps to extant. Author now and then have seen in a little book and he also cites a historical compilation by one Haji Muhammad of Qhandhar , of which no copy seems now to exist. The author appears also to have taken considerable pains in deciphering old inscriptions on

Monuments mosque and shrines in Gaur and Pandhuah old Muslim capitals of Bengal . this features considerably enhance the value of his history and gives it a superiority over other similar works and places our author in the forefront of Bengal antiquarians and researchers. Indeed Ghulam Husain is pre eminently the historian of Muhammadan bengal because periods other Muhammadan historian before or after him dealt only certain periods of Bengal history , whilst our author narrative comprise the history of Bengal from the earliest mythological period to dawn of British rule with a more detailed account of Muhammadan rules of Bengal . Stewart's history of Bengal is to great extent based on the Riyaz though Stewart very often has preferred the less accurate account of the Dakhin historians Firishta who flourished in the 17th century. The great oriental scholar and antiquarian, professor Blochmann in his contributions to the history and geography of Bengal says the Riyaz is much prized as being the fullest account in Persian of the Muhammadan history of Bengal professors. Blochmann further observes for the early portions Ghulam Husain Salim has used books which are unknown at present yet he gives valuable dates which are often confirmed by collateral evidence Salim has also made a fair use of the antiquities of the Gaur District. Subah of Bengal is, in the second climate From Islamabad, otherwise known as Chittagong, to Teliagadhi, that is, from east to west. The name of Subah of Bengal originated from the time of Emperor Akbar, who designated the fiscal areas as follows from the time of the ten years settlement. A Subah was an aggregate of Sarkars, or Division was an aggregate of Dasturs, a Dastur ,which Sir Henry Elliot in his Glossary explains as an abbreviation of Dasturu-ul-Amal, corresponding to a district under a Sarkar,was an aggregate of Parganas or Mahals (used as equivalent expressions), and a Pargana or Mahal meant a fiscal division, the fiscal unit, coinciding with the dominions of a native chief under the Mughal dynasty. The words used before Akbar's time to denote fiscal divisions or tracts of Bengal larger than the Pargana, were Shaq, Khattah, Arsiih, Diyar, Vilayet, Iqta, Bilad and Mamlakat. Thus in the earlier Muslim histories before the end of the fourteenth century, we come across Shaq-i-Sama, Khattah-i-Oudh, Arsah-i-Gorakpui; Diyiir-i or Vilayet-i-Lakhnauti, Vilayet-i-Mean Doab, Iqta'-i-Kara, Bilad Bang, Mamlakt; Lakhnanti., and Ain I Akbari Vol. II, p. 115, and Tabaqat-i-Nasiri pp. 148 , 262. The Muslim astronomers and geographers divided the world into seven parts, to each of which they gave the name of climate, seen in Ain-i- Akbari Jarrett's Translation, Vol. III, p. 43. Islamabad or Chittagong district was first conquered by the Independent Muslim Kings of Bengal. In 1350 which year Ibn Batutah was in Chittagong, it belonged to King Fakhruddin of Sunargaon. It was re-conquered in 1665 by the Mughals under Umid Khan who changed the name of the place to Islamabad during the rule of Nawab Shaista Khan, Viceroy of Bengal

¹. Teliagadhi on Teliagarhi is a pass lying between Rajmahal on the south, and the Ganges on the north ; formerly of strategic importance, as commanding the approaches to Bengal Proper. The ruins of a large stone fort still exist, through which the E.I. Railway passes².

Sarkar Madaran, which is the southern limit of this Siibak, and since in the period of Jalal-uddin Muhammad Akbar Padshah Ghazi, the Subah of Orissa was conquered by Kalapahar and annexed to the Empire of the Sovereigns of Delhi, and made a part of the Subah of Bengal, the extent of the latter Subah became extended by 43 karoh in length and by 20 karoh in breadth. In the southern limits of this Subah is the sea, and towards its north and east, are high mountains, and on the west, it adjoins the Subah of Bihar. Sarkar Madaran extended in a semi-circle from Nagor in western Birbhum over Raniganj along the Damudar to above Bardwan, and from there over Khandghosh, Jahanabad, Chandrakoua (western Hughli district) to Mandalghat, at the mouth of the Rupnarayan river, and consisted of 16 mahals with a revenue of Rs. 235,085. (Blochmann's Contributions to the History and Geography of Bengal and the Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 141). Kalapahar is the famous general of the Afghan King of Bengal, Sulaiman Kararani, and the renowned conqueror of the temple of Jagannath in Puri in south Orissa. Kalapahar was killed by a gun-shot in one of the fights between Masiim and Qutlu of Orissa and 'Aziz Kokah, which in 990 A.H., took place between Colgong and Sadhi. A detailed description of Kahipahar's conquest of Orissa is given in the Makhzan-l-Afghani³. During the rule of Emperor Akbar, Isa Khan Afghan conquering the eastern provinces struck com and recited Khutba in the name of Akbar, and annexed it to the Subah of Bengal. Isa Khan Afghan flourished in ' Bhati ' in the reign of Daud, the last Afghan King of Bengal, and continued as ' over-lord ' or ' Marzban-i-Bhati,' as Abul Fazl in the Ain styles him, with twelve great Zemindars or princelings (known in those days as Bara Bhuiyas) under him, after annexation of Bengal by Emperor Akbar to the Mughal Empire. Isa's gadi was known as Masnad-i-Ali, the existing Divvan families of Haibatnagar and Jangalbari in Mymensingh district claim descent from Isa. 'Bhati' according to Abul Fazl extended 400 Eos from east to west, and 300 Eos from north to the ocean to the south ; it thus included the Sundarban and the tracts along the Megna. Grant defines 'Bhati' as including the Sundarban and all the neighbouring lowlands over flooded by the tides. The Muslim historians never use the term Sundarban, but give the sea-board from Hijely to the Megna one name of

¹ Blochmann's contributions to History and Geography of Bengal and the Alamgir-Namah, p. 940, and the Ain, Vol. II, p. 125.

² Hunt. Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. XIII, p. 236 and Ain I Akbari, Vol. II, p. 116

³ Ain, Vol. I, p. 370 and Vol. II, p. 128

Bhati,' which signifies lowlands over flooded by tides⁴. In the Ain, the Subah of Bengal is stated to have consisted of 24 Sarkars including 787 mahals, and the revenue is stated to have been 59 Crores 84 lakhs 59 thousand and 19 dams. Its standing army, according to the Ain, consisted of 23,330 cavalry, 801,150 Sarkars with eighty-seven mahals in this Subah. In past times, the fixed revenue of this Subah. was fifty-nine Cror eighty-four lakh, fifty-nine thousand and three hundred, and nineteen dams. Twenty-three thousand three hundred and thirty cavalry, eight lakh infantry, 1,170 elephants, 4,260 gns, 4,400 boats. Remembering that the army was not generally paid in coin, but by bestowal of fiefs or military jagirs, , even at this distance of time, it is not difficult to imagine how Bengal was Over run by colonies of Muslim feudal barons⁵. The text as well as the Akbarnamah and the Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri state that Bengal was bounded on the south by the sea, on the north by hills (that is, those south of Nepaul, Sikkim, and Bhutan), on the east by hills (that is, those of Chittagong and Arakan), on the west by the Subah of Bihar. During the reigns, however, of the Independent Muslim Kings (such as Iliyas Shah, and Alauddin Husain Shah in 1502 and his son and successor Nasrat Shah), the Muslim Kingdom of Bengal was more extensive than its geographical limits, and included northern portions of Orissa or Jajnagar, Kuch Bihar, Kamrup or Western Assam with portions of Eastern Assam, and the whole of Upper Bihar, a Governor to represent the Bengal Muslim King being posted at Hajipur opposite to Patna), and the eastern portions of South Bihar including Sarkar of Mungher⁶ The whole of Orissa was conquered, and annexed to the Bengal Muslim Kingdom in the reign of Sulaiuun Kararai, the last but one independent Muslim Afghan King in Bengal. When Bakhtiyar Khilji conquered Bengal, he ruled ostensibly as Viceroy of the Turk Emperor of Delhi, Kutbuddin Aibak over, portions of Dinajpur, Maldah, Rangpur, Nadiah, Birbhum, and Bardwan comprising what was then called Diyar-i-Lakhnauti, and also he held Bihar⁷. This state of things continued during the rule of his two immediate successors, when we find Husamuddin Iwaz ,a contemporary of Sultan Shamsuddin Altamsh extending the frontier eastward to the Brahmaputra and southward to the sea-board, and reigning as an independent king under the title of Sultan Ghiasuddin⁸. The Tarikh Firuz Shahi, p. 87 mentions that Emperor Balban in his pursuit of Mughisuddin Tughral, had to go so far eastward as Sunargaon, which would appear to have been within

⁴ Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 342, and J.A.S. No. 3, 1874, and No. 2, 1875 and Ain, Vol. II, p. 117

⁵ Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 129 and Vol. I, p. 370

⁶ J.A.S. No. 3, 1873, pp. 221-222

⁷ Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 156

⁸ Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 163

the limits also of Tughral's Bengal Kingdom. Again, in 1350 when Ibn-i-Batutah was in Chittagong, we find this important seaport was in the hands of King Fakhruddin of Sunargaon. As discussions on old coins of Bengal Muslim Kings, it would seem that so early as the twelfth century there was free commercial intercourse between the south-eastern sea-board of Bengal and the Arab seaports. Adjoining to the northern limits of Chittagong, is 'the tract of country ruled by the Rajah of Tipperah. It is an extensive area. The rulers of that area enjoy the title of Manik, for instance Naya Manik. The nobles have the title of Narain. The Rajah of, that place had one thousand elephants and two lakhs of infantry in his service. Comfort of its inhabitants, is superior to all the eastern tracts of Hindustan. Large oranges thrive here, and other fruits also grow in abundance. The tree of, pepper grows there, its root is thin, and its branches creep over ponds. Its ear, like the ear of grape, hangs down from the branches. Its inhabitants belong to two tribes, namely, Makh and Kij. its Rajah is of the first tribe. They mint gold coins, and the coins are called Naraini. Notable Rajahs have ruled there. One lakh and one thousand infantry are always in the service of the Rajah. And the country of Kamrup which is also called Karurup or Kamtah is subject to those Rajahs. The inhabitants of Kamrup are good-looking, and in magic raise the standard of mastery ; and many incredible stories are related regarding them. In respect of the flora of that place, it is said that the scent of the flowers continues as fresh as before, some months after their being plucked, and that with these necklaces are made, and that by cutting trees a sweet liquid is obtained, and that the mango-tree trails like a climbing vine over ponds, and produces mango-fruit ; and other similar stories are related. And the mountain of Bhutan, which is the abode of the Bhutiahs, lies to south of Kuch Bihar. Tangan horses and Bhiit and Barl horses and the musk-deer are found in this mountain. Riding horses are not available. Between the north and the west of Bengal, pointing more towards the north, is the province of Kuch Bihar. Its length from east to west, from the beginning of Parganah Bhitardaud, which is included in 'the conquered provinces, to Patagaon, which is the limit of the tract of the Murang, is 55 kos, and its breadth north, that is, from Parganah Najhat, which is included in the conquered raea, to Pushakarpur, which adjoins Khontaghaac, is fifty kos. This tract of area, in point of the sweetness of its water, and mildness and celebrity of its air, and of Baghdad and Basarah ; and it would seem it was this commercial Muslim activity combined with superior martial and moral qualities that paved the way for Muslim domination throughout Bengal. Subsequently in the reign of Ghiasuddin Tuglak Shah, we find the Bengal Muslim Kingdom has grown so extensive and unwieldy, that we find him separating Bihar from Bengal, and placing it under an independent Governor, whilst Bengal itself for purposes of convenient administration was divided into three different sections, as (1) Diyar-i-Sunargaon, comprising Eastern Bengal, (2)

Diyar-i-Satgaon, comprising Western Bengal, and (3) Diyar-i-Lakhnauti, comprising Northern and Central Bengal. A Governor was appointed to each of the above three administrative Sections or Divisions, the Governor of Lakhnauti being the Supreme Governor or Viceroy, whilst the two other Governors were placed generally in subordination to him⁹. But this state of things did not last long ; for in the reign of Muhammad Shah Tughlak¹⁰ Bengal again rose as an Independent Muslim Kingdom, and as has been mentioned above, the whole of Upper Bihar with eastern portions of Southern Bihar was again annexed to the Bengal Kingdom, whilst Orissa also was subsequently added to it. This state of things continued until Akbar came to the throne, when Bengal, with Bihar and Orissa, was annexed to the Mughal Empire of Delhi¹¹. Assam together with the Bengal Districts of Rangpur, Rangmati (now in Goalpara District) and Sylhet. It was first conquered by Muslims in the reign of Hussamuddin Iwaz alias Sultan Ghiasuddin, an immediate successor of Bakhtiyar Khilji, in the early part of the thirteenth century¹². At the close of the fifteenth century, its Rajah Nelambhar was overthrown by Husain Shah, King of Bengal. In ancient days, Kamrup was noted for its sorcery and the beauty of its women. Rangpur is stated to have been founded by Bakhtiyar Khilji, during his expedition into Tibet.¹³

⁹ Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, p. 451

¹⁰ Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, p. 480

¹¹ Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, and Mr. Thomas's "Initial Coinage of Bengal," J.A.S.B., No. 1, 1867 and No. IV, 1873 pp. 221-222 and 343. The same in Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. 2, p. 117. For identification of these places see J.A.S., 1872, p. 49.

¹² Tabaqat-i- Nasiri, p. 163

¹³ J.A.S. for 1872, p. 49; Alamgirnamah, p.p. 678 and 730



CHARACTERISTICS OF MAURYAN JUDICIAL SYSTEM

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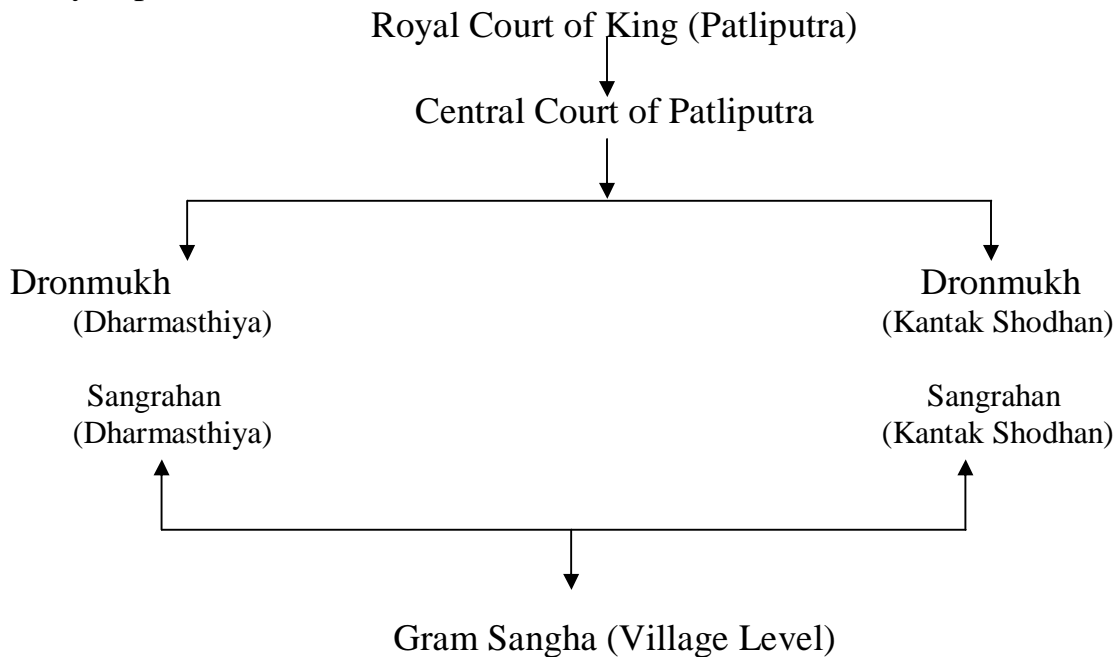
Introduction :

Mauryan Empire was the first central empire of India founded by Chandra Gupta Maurya with the help of his political advisor Chanakya or Kautilya in 321 B.C. The given year mentions a battle fought between Chandra Gupta and Seleuchus 'Niketar', the Greek invader. Before this battle Chandra Gupta ended the great monarchy of Nanda dynasty defeating Ghanananda. Due to lack of sources it is difficult to determine the exact date of above two.¹ Chandra Gupta was succeeded by his son Bindusar and Bindusar was succeeded by Ashoka the Great (269 BC.). The pedigree of Mauryan dynasty shows that the first three monarchs were powerful while successors of Ashoka were insignificant in history. Mauryan Empire was declined after Ashoka and his Dhamma Policy.² This paper deals with characteristics of Mauryan judicial system through the light of contemporary primary sources. There are two primary sources to determine the reign of Chandra Gupta. The first one is Arthashastra, the book on state craft compiled in the fourth century B.C. by Kautilya,³ the prime minister of Chandra Gupta Maurya, While another is a traveler account written by Magasthenese named as 'Indica'. Indica is not available in its original form now a days, but this book was quoted by many traveler scholars from Greece likewise Justin, Plutarch etc.⁴ On the basis of above two, further research on Chandra Gupta Maurya was done by Radha Kumud Mukherjee⁵ and Romila Thapar, Few literary sources mostly Buddhist are available to explore the reign of Bindusar, but there is a wide range of rock – edicts and pillar – edicts to search out the reign of Ashoka. These edicts and inscriptions were deciphered by James Prinsep in 1837 A.D. to establish

the facts of Ashoka. These edicts throw light over social justice of Mauryan era as well as religious policy.⁶

JUDICIAL SYSTEM :

There were multilateral pattern of courts for justice in Mauryan Empire. Gram – Sangh or village administrative assembly was smallest unit of justice because it had few judicial powers. Gramik or Village head man was able impose fine over victim with help of few senior countrymen.⁷ Appeal to Gramik were accepted by ‘Sangrahan and ‘Dronmukh’ successively which were higher court. Appeal against the Dronmukh could be done at the central court of Patliputra. The supreme authority of justice was king which often does his job with help of senior judicial officers. All court except Gram Sangha and king’s court were of two types named ‘Dharmasthiya’ and ‘Kantak Shodhan’. The judges of ‘Dharmasthiya’ and ‘Kantak – Shodhana’ were known as Vyavharika and ‘Pradesta’ respectively there were three judges in each court mentioned above. In modern times above two courts can be compared to civil court and criminal Court respectively.⁸ The following diagram shows the multilateral pattern of judiciary in Mauryan period.



Now we discuss about the two types of courts as under.

1. Dharamasthiya Court :

Dharmasthiya courts were related to following type of trails.

A Pleading Establishment : Trails created due to interaction between two persons or two groups of persons were classified under pleading establishment. According to Kautilya, pleading with hidden and immoral

objectives was illegal. All pleadings with hidden objectives were prohibited. According to Kautilya legislature was to protect illegal pleading.

B Property Rights of Women : Trails related to property rights of women were fall under Dharmasthiya courts. There were two types of property rights of women. Real property and cash equivalent to two thousand 'Panas' was known as 'Vrati' while property in form of gems and jewelery was known as 'Abadhya'.⁹ A women was free to hold property immediately after the death her spouse only if she was determine to refuse the remarriage. The delay in transfer of property might cause interest on wealth imposed on relatives of woman. All conflicts related to property rights of women were under jurisdiction of Dharmasthiya court.

C Succession of Property : There was no property rights over paternal property if the parents of plaintiff were living. The question of division of property could rise only if parents were dead.

D. Trails Related To Kinship And Marriage:

All cases related to marriage, remarriage, divorce, dowry and trails related husband and wife were came under jurisdiction of Dharmasthiya courts.¹⁰

E Matter of Vastu

Griha (home), Kchetra (Plough field) Aram (Garden) , Tatak (Tank) and Bandh (Dam) were commonly known as Vastu in mauryan period. All conflicts related to vastu were compulsively decided on the basis of sakshhi (witness) statement. There were two types of pleadings of different nature. One was related to stracture of vastu (like home) and another was related to owner – tenant deed. Twelve panas amount of penalty was imposed to tenant due to failure to leave the house in due course of time. Owner of house with improper drainage pattern was liable to punish by 54 panas. These all disputes were decided by Dharmasthiya courts.

Despite of above mentioned topics, trails related to conflicts of trade and commerce, import and export money Lander and labourer, owner and slave were decided by Dharmasthiya courts.

2. Kantik – Shodhana Courts :

The judge of Kantik – Shodhana Courts were known as Pradeshta. This type of court was to cover following pleadings classified as under –

A There were special arrangements to control over rough use of weight and measurement scale. It a businessmen or merchant was cough red handed using rough weight and measurement scale a sure penalty was due for accused. This penalty was due for accused by Kantik – Shodhana courts.

B There were several legal arrangement to preserve the rights of craftsmen in Mauryan era, also there were legal provisions two correct the code of conduct of a craftsman.

- C** Eight types of natural calamities are classified in Kautilya's text. These were fire, water, rats, Lion, Snake, famine, fatal disease and giant. There was law to protect these calamities. A person disobeying the above law was accused by the Pradeshta.
- D** A citizen engaged in illegal jobs able to discard from the limits of empire as per law. The report of criminal investigator appointed by the state was important regarding such type of cases.
- E** Criminals were arrested by internal force after the positive report from investigation committee.
- F** There were legal provisions of post mortem to throw lights over reason of dead body to protect the decay till the body test. It is matter of note worthy that Kautilya have given certain indicators like external cut signs, colour of eyes and measurement of body to search out the reason of death.
- G** There were provisions of different types of questionnaire to prove the guilt. In addition to above, Criminal procedure such as burn the joints of fingers, forcibly drinking of hot oil, lay down on green grass in winter cold and use of hunter etc. was available for criminals. This physical torture was suitable only for serious accused not for minors.
- H** Provision of tough punishment floated in two particular pleadings first was bribe charges over state servant and second was rape to girl. Rape accused was punished by cutting the middle figure of right hand in addition to a fine of 200 panas. There was also a provision to compensation for father of raped girl.
- I** Kantak – Shodhana courts also had right to punish that people who have crossed the social barrier as well as moral limits.

Eligibility for Judgeship:

In Mauryan period, those 'Amatyas' were able to work with capacity of 'Pradeshta' or 'Vyavaharika' i.e. judges, who have passed the wealth test, suddenly conducted by state administration. Those who have proven their self to be pure character were able to become a judge.

A judge who was taking improper or late decision; or he was involved in supporting plaintiff or defendant, was also punished by state. There were certain provisions conducted by the Royal court of Mauryan King in this regard.

Kautilya's writing throws light over Mauryan law. According to Kautilya, Law had four organisms – Dharma (Conduct), Vyavhar (Behavior), Charitra (Character), Raj – Shashan (Royal Orders).¹³ Kautilya had also defined all four terms. Truth was the basis of conduct. Behavior was based on witness. Traditional natural law was character and order of royal court were royal orders. There was written documentation of a suit filed. According to Kautilya, the following terminology was used in documentation of a suit.¹⁴

1	Date	-	Correct Mention of year, month, Day
2	Causation	-	Nature of suit
3	Place	-	Incidental place
4	Loan	-	If pleading is related to loan
5	Plaintiff	-	Name, Gotra (Clan), Village etc.
6	Defendant	-	As of plaintiff

Old Reference : New context

While discussing Mauryan judicial pattern which is 2300 years old, we get some nice features of judicial system. Few of them are most relevant in modern scenario. There is no doubt that Mauryan judicial system was well organised and well established. According to Megasthenese, the central committee of justice at Mauryan capital Pataliputra (Patna nowadays) functioned as supreme court as well as advisory body to king. Kautilya does not define the existence of lawyers at that time, therefore we can't definitely say that there was the existence of legal experts often to help the people. Mauryan judicial system was basis of many historical judicial patterns not only in India but also in abroad. It is relevant today in many aspects, but our law is sourced from British and still continuing.

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BOOK REVIEW

Religion, State and Society in Medieval India
:Collected works of Saiyid Nurul Hasan

EDITOR- PROF. SATISH CHANDRA
PUBLISHED BY OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS,
NEW DELHI, 2005, PAGES-335,
ISBN-10: 0-19-566765-4

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Saiyid Nurul Hasan(1921-1993) played an important role in giving a new direction to History writing in India immediately before and after independence .The book entitled “Religion, State and Society in medieval India: collected works of S. Nurul Hasan” brings together essays spanning a distinguished career of a leading academician. Saiyid Nurul Hasan was a rare combination of academic abilities and intellectual dedication. Under his guidance for the first time U.G.C. set up a advance study centre at Aligarh Muslim University. He was responsible for building up a good History library. When Saiyid Nurul Hasan became Education Minister, he recognized education on rational and professional lines. He established the Indian Council of Historical Research and several other institutions. He became Professor of History at Lucknow University, Aligarh Muslim University and Delhi University successively with first nominated then elected member of Rajya Sabha, Education Minister in 1971, and Ambassador to U.S.S.R., Governor of Bengal and Orissa. Nurul Hasan considered History to be powerful means of National Integration and of building a society free of religious or sectarian violence and bitterness. He always fought for a holistic view of History. Nurul Hasan always acknowledged his debt to the Marxist school of Historiography, but he did not consider it to be a rigid dogma. For Nurul Hasan,

the essence of History was Change, and the task of historian was to analyse the process of change, establishing relationship between social, economic, political, religious, cultural and intellectual factors. He rejected not only the Two-Nation Theory and Hindu 'fundamentalism' favouring a unicultural approach to Indian History, but also the notion that the amorphous body of Hindus or of the Muslim formed some kind of a corporate body. In 1947, two historians of Aligarh Muslim University S.M. Ikram and S.A. Rashid went to Pakistan and opposed the political ideas of Nurul Hasan. Ideas regarding *MAHZAR* of Akbar published in 1943, he sited to show that according to orthodox opinion, the position of *Imam* was higher than a *Mujtahid* and that the decree gave freedom to the Akbar, in case there was difference in opinion among the mujtahids, to choose any one of them "for the welfare of mankind and proper functioning of the administrative affairs of the world". Nurul Hasan may be considered as best example of Indian culture in which the tradition and modernity are combined. He obtained his D.Phil. degree from Oxford under the supervision of H.A.R. Gibb on "Chishti and Suharawardi *silsilahs* in north India during 13th -14th centuries". The book on collected works of S. Nurul Hasan is edited by famous scholar Professor Satish Chandra is best Obituary to Professor Nurul Hasan.

The book is characterized in a manner that this includes four parts on 'the historian's task', 'state, religion and the ruling class', 'rural economy and towns' and 'traces from the past'. The all parts of the book contain total twenty five essays of S. Nurul Hasan which were delivered on different occasions of Indian History congress Sessions, other seminars at different universities with some other published papers. The first part which is basically related to Historiography of medieval Indian History, have five essays, of them second essay on "Medieval Indian History: Danger of communal interpretation and the need for reconsidering priorities" is an important document which throws light for next generation historiographers of India. In this essay he deals with medieval historiography. This essay was Presidential Address in medieval history section of Indian history Congress, Delhi session in 1961. This essay includes only three references but strong ideas of Nurul Hasan. He declared in his essay as follows-

"While recognizing the importance of the study of religious factors and regional groupings, a balance understanding demands the study of Indian society as a whole, giving due weight to the interplay of all the various factors; political, economic, social, technological, geographical, ethnic, cultural as well as religious."(p.28)

The first part of the book also deals with initial demand for study of regional History and urban History. The second part of the book is largest part of the book. It contains ten essays regarding state, religion and society in Medieval India. Four essays in this part are related to *Zamindari* in mughal India but the two papers on

Mughal politics are important in many regards. The essay on “sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi and Mughal politics” deals with Akbar’s ideology while another on “the *Mahzar* of Akbar’s reign” deals with Akbar’s policy of *Sulah-i-kul*. In the later essay Nurul Hasan clearly points out the preamble of *Mahzar* as under-

“whereas Hindustan has become the centre of security and peace and the land of *adl* and beneficence, a large number of people especially learned *ulama* and great lawyers who are the guides of salvation and the leaders of the path of knowledge, having left the countries of Arab and Ajam have turned towards this land and accepted it as their home...” (p.81)

Nurul Hasan declared that according to the legal practice of Sunni Muslims, Akbar’s title to caliphate may be considered as valid.

Professor Nurul Hasan’s essays on rural economy are the initial figures clearing the path for next generation. His essay on “revenue administration of Sasaram by Farid (Shershah)” is a finest example. In this essay he deciphers the Persian terminology like *muqaddam*, *muzarian*, *reza-i ra’iyat*, *amil*, *hakim*, *zamidaran-i ra’iyati*, *zor-talab*, *ghalla-bakshi*, *muqtai*, *masahat*, *sal bas al jarib*, *arz-i wajibi-i diyuni*, *shiqqdar*, *wilayat* etc based on the primary sources like *Tarikh-i daudi*, *Waqiyat-i Mushtaqi*, *Ain-i Akbari* etc. His essay on “the pattern of agricultural production in territories of Amber (c.1650-1750)” deals with revenue records of having five tables showing percentage of revenue derived from different crops of kharif and Rabi. The fourth and last part of the book deals with few primary sources as *Latif-i-Quddusi*, *Akbarnama* and *Nigar Nama-i-Munshi* with Du Jardin papers. This segment of the book is also has a great importance because it shows the initial interest on the primary sources. *Latif-i-Quddusi* is a contemporary Afghan source for the study of Afghan Mughal conflict. *Nigarnama-i-Munshi* is a valuable collection of documents during the reign of Aurangzeb Alamgir. The interesting thing in last segment is last essay entitled “Du Jardin papers: A valuable source for the economic history of Northern India, 1778-1787”, which is based on French sources. This essay throws light over Daniel Du Jardin, who came to India and lived in this country. Jardin became the commander of Mahadaji Sindhia’s army. This essay deals with data of economic history including wages and salaries of contemporary times. Jardin papers deciphers the name and occupation of several people which are unknown in Indian sources. Essay also comprises the salaries of Personal staff of Jardin like *bavarchi*, *khansama*, *nanpaz*, *khidmatgar*, *palangbaz*, *huqqabardar*, *mashalchi*, *farrash*, *khakral*, *sais* and *kahars of palki* etc. with their respective names.

Importance of essays of S. Nurul Hasan especially on historiography, discussing the manner in which Indian History has been distorted, both in the past by British historians and in more current times by Indian communal historians, is presenting up to date. He also raised the problem of

nationalities in medieval India. He discussed crucial role of zamindars and theory of Nurjahan Junta on the other hand. This book is collated by another eminent historian Professor Satish Chandra. Due to this, the book is capable to fill a serious gap in understanding of medieval Indian History and open fresh avenues to later research. Satish Chandra's introduction gives wonderful insights into the personal and professional world of the legendary historian. The editor discusses at length Nurul Hasan's personality, achievements and contribution to Indian History writing.

The only negative aspect of the book is its high price (Rs. 650/-). This book is too costly for ordinary student. Therefore the publisher should issue a paperback edition of the book in future.



BOOK REVIEW

Kohinoor : the story of the world's infamous diamond

Authors – William Dalrymple & Anita Anand

Publisher- Juggernaut, price –Rs. 499/-

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William Dalrymple is an acclaimed historian and the bestselling and award winning author whose books include *City of Djinns*, *White Mughals*, *The last Mughal*, *Nine lives and return of a king*. Anita Anand has been radio and tv journalist in Britain over a long time. The riveting story of the Kohinoor unearths fascinating new information in form of movement of diamond. If Mughal emperor Muhammad Shah was an aesthete, Persian warlord Nadir Shah was a ruthless and efficient warrior. There could only be one outcome to a war between them. In January 1739, the Mughal Empire was still the wealthiest state in Asia. Almost all of modern India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Afghanistan was ruled from the Peacock Throne — with the Koh-i-Noor still glittering from one of the peacocks on its roof. Although it had been in decline for half a century, and often wracked in internal conflict, the Mughal Empire still ruled most of the rich and fertile lands from Kabul to the Carnatic. Moreover, its decadent and sophisticated capital, Delhi, with two million inhabitants, larger than London and Paris combined, was still the most prosperous and magnificent city between Ottoman Istanbul and Imperial Edo (Tokyo). Ruling this vast empire was the effete Emperor Muhammad Shah — called Rangila, or Colourful, the Merry-Maker. He was an aesthete, much given to wearing ladies' peshwaz (long outer garment) and shoes embroidered with pearls; he was also a discerning patron of music and painting. It was Muhammad Shah who brought the sitar and the tabla out of the folk milieu and into his court. He also revived the Mughal miniature atelier and employed

master artists such as Nidha Mal and Chitarman, whose greatest works show bucolic scenes of Mughal court life... In reaction to the harsh Islamic puritanism of Aurangzeb's era, under Muhammad Shah (1702–48) Delhi saw an explosion of unrestrainedly sensual art, dance, music and literary experimentation... This was the age of the great courtesans, whose beauty and notorious coquettishness were celebrated across South Asia. Ad Begum would turn up stark naked at parties, but so cleverly painted that no one would notice: "she decorates her legs with beautiful drawings in the style of pyjamas instead of actually wearing them; in place of the cuffs she draws flowers and petals in ink exactly as is found in the finest cloth of Rum". Her great rival, Nur Bai, was so popular that every night the elephants of the great Mughal omrahs completely blocked the narrow lanes outside her house, yet even the most senior nobles had "to send a large sum of money to have her admit them...". Muhammad Shah 'Rangila' was certainly no warrior on the battlefield. He survived in power by the simple ruse of giving up any pretence of ruling: in the morning, he watched partridge and elephant fights; in the afternoon, he was entertained by jugglers, mime artists and conjurers. Politics he wisely left to his advisers and regents... It was Muhammad Shah's ill fate to have as his immediate western neighbour the aggressive Afshar Turkman Persian-speaking warlord Nader Shah. Nader was the son of a humble shepherd who had risen rapidly in the army thanks to his remarkable military talents. He was as tough, humourless, ruthless and efficient a figure as Muhammad Shah was lighthearted, artistic, chaotic yet refined... Unlike Muhammad Shah, Nader was clearly no great lover of the arts. He did, however, have a keen eye for jewels, and was determined to invade India with a view to replenishing his treasury's stock of Indian gemstones — something with which he knew that Mughal Delhi was overflowing... On 10 May 1738, Nader Shah began his march into northern Afghanistan... Less than three months later, at Kurnal, one hundred miles north of Delhi, he defeated three merged Mughal armies — one from Delhi, a second from Avadh and a third from the Deccan — in all, around one million men, with a force of only 1,50,000 musketeers. From the beginning, it was clear that the Mughal army, though huge, was little more than an undisciplined rabble. The Dutch East India Company representative in Delhi reported the massive force gathering six miles outside the city, a sea of people "two miles wide by 15 miles long. If this army were trained after the European model," he noted, "it could conquer the whole world. However, there is no order; each commander does as he pleases"... A week later, as supplies began to run out in the encircled Mughal camp, Nader invited Muhammad Shah to pay a visit under a flag of truce. The emperor accepted, and foolishly crossed the battle lines with only a handful of attendants and bodyguards. Invited for negotiations, and magnificently entertained, Muhammad Shah Rangila then found that Nader simply refused to let him leave.

His bodyguards were disarmed, and Nader placed his own troops to stand guard over the Great Mughal. The next day, Nader's troops went to the Mughal camp, and brought over Muhammad Shah's harem, his personal servants and his tents. Once they had gone over, the Persians escorted the leading Mughal nobles across the battlefield to join their emperor. By evening, they had begun removing the Mughal artillery as well. The next day, the remaining Mughal troops, now starving and leaderless, were told they could go home...A week later, surrounded by elite Persian Qizilbash troops in their distinctive red headdresses, the two rulers marched towards Delhi side by side, and entered the city together. They made the journey seated on elephant back, in an elevated howdah. Muhammad Shah entered the citadel of Shahjahanabad in pin-drop silence on 20 March; the conqueror, mounted on a grey charger, followed on the 21st, the day of Nau Roz, with great fanfare. Nader Shah took over Shah Jahan's personal apartments, leaving the emperor to move into the women's quarters...The following day was one of the most tragic in the history of the Mughal capital. With over 40,000 of Nader's soldiers now billeted in the city, many of them in people's homes, grain prices shot up. When Nader Shah's soldiers went to negotiate with the grain merchants at Paharganj, near the present-day railway station, the merchants refused to budge and a scuffle broke out. Shortly thereafter, a rumour spread that Nader Shah had been killed by a female palace guard. Suddenly, the mob began to attack Persian soldiers wherever they found them; by midday, 900 Persians had been killed. Nader Shah responded by ordering a massacre of the civilian population. He left the Red Fort at sunrise the next day to supervise this in person. Dressed in full battle armour, he rode out to the golden mosque of Roshan ud-Daula, half a mile down the Chandni Chowk from the Red Fort, to oversee the retribution from the vantage point of its elevated terrace. The slaughter began promptly at 9 am; the worst killings took place around the Red Fort in the Chandni Chowk, the Dariba and the Jama Masjid, where all the richest shops and the jewellers' quarters were located. "The soldiers commenced killing, moving from house to house, slaughtering and plundering the people's property, and carrying away their wives and daughters," remembered the historian Ghulam Hussain Khan... In all, some 30,000 citizens of Delhi were slaughtered: "The Persians laid violent hands on everything and everybody; cloth, jewels, dishes of gold and silver were acceptable spoil".....Nizam ul-Mulk [ruler of the Deccan] appealed to Sa'adat Khan to ask Nader to put an end to the violence. Sa'adat Khan [the Nawab of Avadh] ordered him out. That evening, Sa'adat Khan committed suicide by taking poison, horrified at the disaster he had helped unleash. The Nizam then went bareheaded, with his hands tied with his turban, and begged Nader on his knees to spare the inhabitants, and instead to take revenge on him. Nader Shah sheathed his sword and ordered his troops to stop the killing;... He did so, however, on the

condition that the Nizam would give him 100 crore rupees before he left Delhi... In the days that followed, the Nizam found himself in the unhappy position of having to loot his own capital city to pay the promised indemnity. Delhi was divided into five blocks and vast sums demanded of each: "Now commenced the work of spoliation," wrote [the Delhi poet and historian] Anand Ram Mukhlis, "watered by the tears of the people... Not only was their money taken, but whole families were ruined. Many swallowed poison, and others ended their days with the stab of a knife... In short, the accumulated wealth of 348 years changed masters in a moment." The Persians could not believe the riches that were offered to them over the next few days. They had simply never seen anything like it. Nader's court historian, Mirza Mahdi Astarabadi, was wide-eyed: "Within a very few days, the officials entrusted with sequestration of the royal treasuries and workshops finished their appointed tasks," he wrote. "There appeared oceans of pearls & coral, and mines full of gems, gold and silver vessels, cups and other items encrusted with precious jewels and and other luxurious objects in such vast quantities that accountants and scribes even in their wildest dreams would be unable to encompass them in their accounts and records." Astarabadi wrote: "Among the sequestered objects was the Peacock Throne whose imperial jewels were unrivalled even by the treasures of ancient kings: in the time of earlier Emperors of India, two crores worth of jewels were used as encrustation to inlay this throne: the rarest spinels and rubies, the most brilliant diamonds, without parallel in any of the treasure of past or present kings, were transferred to Nader Shah's government treasury." On 16 May, after fifty-seven catastrophic days in Delhi, Nader Shah finally left the city, carrying with him the accumulated wealth of eight generations of imperial Mughal conquest. The greatest of all his winnings was the Peacock Throne, in which was still embedded both the Koh-i-Noor and the Timur ruby.



EVENT

First National Conference on Emerging Trends and Challenges in Social Sciences

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Department of Sociology, Bahauddin Zakariya University Multan, Pakistan organized the 1st National Conference on Emerging Trends and Challenges in Social Sciences on 15th-16th November, 2016. About 199 papers were presented orally into 16 sessions and 65 were posters presentations. Conference started with the recitation of Holy Quran & Naat-e-Rasool. Prof. Prof. Dr. Azra Asghar Ali, Dean Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences, Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan Welcomed the special guests, i.e. Prof. Dr. Muhammad Nizamuddin, Chairperson, Punjab Higher Education Commission Pakistan who was the Keynote Speaker and Chief Guest Prof. Dr. Tahir Amin, the Vice Chancellor Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan. Other Honorable guests who chaired different session were Prof. Dr. Johar Ali, Vice Chancellor of Malakand University, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Prof. Dr. Shahida Hasnain, Vice Chancellor of The Women University Multan, Prof Dr. Mansoor Akbar Kundi, Professor of Political Sciences, International Islamic University, Islamabad, Prof. Dr. Anwar Alam, University of Peshawar, Prof. Dr. Mian Ghulam Yasin, Dean Faculty of Social & Behavioral Sciences, University of Sargodha, Prof. Dr. Syed Abdul Siraj, Dean Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, AIOU, Islamabad, Prof. Dr. Hafeez-ur-Rehman, Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad address the conference participants. Mr. Imtaiz Ahmad Warraich Assistant Professor/Teacher Incharge Department of Sociology Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan thanked the honorable guests speakers, esteemed presenters, scholars, and devoted students. The basic aim of

this conference was to provide a platform to the researchers and academia to share their research experiences. Prof. Dr. Tahir Amin set the agenda of conference by saying that he wants the forum to be a bridge to gather Pakistani as well as International Social Scientists, to make research beneficial for society. He added that conference will yield great benefits in form of vibrant discourse and diverse discussions with quality research findings and recommendations. In the end he congratulated Prof. Dr. Azra Asghar Ali, Dean Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, and Mr. Imtiaz Ahmad Warraich, Teacher Incharge, Department of Sociology, Bahauddin Zakariya University Multan, organizing team to organize valuable conference. Conference Continued for two days. First Evening of Conference was Sufi Night, a cultural musical program that ended in presentation of traditional Blue Ajrak (Shawls) for honourable guests. The final ceremony of conference a resolution was passed, to adopt interdisciplinary approaches in social sciences and setting the agenda of research that can counter the problems of terrorism in Pakistan.



