



The Tradition of Bengal Paintings: Review of the Background

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Abstract: The history of paintings in Bengal is very ancient. Paintings are the medium for expressing the development of human civilization. The manuscripts of 'Pal' era are one of the precedents of the paintings of ancient Bengal. Analyzing the tradition and background of Bengal paintings, it is found that it has its own traditional flow and characteristics which have influenced the modern paintings later. The pre-liberation geological and natural characteristics of Bangladesh have brought distinctiveness in our paintings.

Introduction

Paintings have an immense contribution to the empire of culture, which people have created after worshipping for a long period of time. Actually, the history of paintings is well ancient and prehistoric. Those paintings are bearing clear expressions of fear, wonder, happiness, curiosity and self-preservation of the ancient prehistoric people.¹ Though era wise layer, distinction, and characteristics of artistic beauty are seen in arts, it is distinctive by country and time through discussion and analysis. The art of paintings has been evaluated from the very ancient period. Paintings of a variety of traditions are seen in those ages. The history of sculpture, architecture, literature, politics, society and economy have close involvement with the arts of paintings. Moreover, the emergence of different patrons and their choices, beliefs and demands have led to the creation of

1. Bishawnath Mukharjee, *Pashchyatto Chitroshilper Kahini* (A Mukharjee & co. pvt. Ltd. Kolkata, 1395) P:10

different arts of different characteristics. So, this tendency of the characteristics of arts has been influenced directly under the shadow of the ruler society. The ups and downs of the rulers have always influenced the ups and downs of traditional arts under the shadow of the Buddhists Monastery, after that in the Muslim era and at last in the British regime.²

The successive description which is found in Bengal for instance in the Indian subcontinent is mainly the belief of mass people who play the role of local artists and the familiar legends of rural people. The canvass is another medium of folk art. In Sanskrit, 'Patta' (canvass) means cloth.³ In an ancient age, a group of artists used to draw the stories of Hindu Purana on those clothes and earn their livelihood by singing those stories. Locally those artists were called 'Patikar', 'Patidar', 'Patua', 'Peto artists' etc. The name of the most ancient 'Patikar' can be found in 600 B.C. Goshal-Mongoliputta was a child of a 'Patidar Monk' of Nalanda village who was the founder of 'Ajibok' community in that time. Rural and royal, these two types of artists were found in Ashtaddhayi of Panini in 40 B.C. According to the 'Mahabhassya' of Patanjali, folk artists were seen to display 'Kangsabadh' (mythological tale) drama by using canvass. Patta- Patuas are called 'Shouvik' or 'Shouvonik' according to the Buddhists or Jain literature.⁴ This long-cherished 'Patua' tradition had gradually got its position in the 'Gouriyo' (ancient Bengal) locality in course of time. There were two types of canvasses in Bengal: one is rectangular and another is cursive. Patua artists from Medinipur, Hawera and Hugli villages sold those canvasses to the pilgrims by 1-2 paisa. Those canvasses were rectangular in size. In most cases, the substances of those canvasses were scenarios from 'Ramayana' and 'Krishna Lila'. The cursive canvasses are long and slender in size, on which successive pictures can be drawn. This canvasses can be rolled around. At times thin cloths can be hooked by using glue. The 'Patuas' tone up the stories of the pictures and recite them in several villages. For doing so, they had to combine several pictures in a long paper. Through these papers, they could assert those stories. Sometimes those papers were 30-40 feet long. Two wooden sticks were used to roll up those canvasses. The performers were used to tone up with the stories gradually in front of the spectators. Regarding the painting methods, all the canvasses were the same. Because those artists had been practicing this art for ages.⁵

2. Foyezul Azim, *Bangladesh er Shilpokolar Adi Porbo o Oiponesik Provab* (Dhaka: Bangla Academy, 1992) P:3

3. Nihar Ranjan Roy, *Bangalir Itihash, Adi Parba* (Kolkata: Dej Publishing,) P: 352

4. Shampa, Priti Kumar Mitra *Institute of Bangladesh Studies Journal*, vol: 8 (Institute of Studies: University of Rajshahi, 2001) P: 91

5. Saifuddin Chowdhury, *Early Terracotta Figurines of Bangladesh* (Dhaka; Bangla Academy: 2000) p.26

Manuscripts of 'Pal' era

It seems that the manuscript art of 'Pal' era is one of the ideographs of ancient Bengal. Those pictures were drawn for ornamenting the 'Puthis' (small size of books). Most of these manuscripts were found in Nepal. Rest of them were found both in and outside of Bengal.⁶ We know that the second and third kings of 'Pal' clan Dharmapala and his son Devpal had created a great empire which consisted of the entire Gangaya valley with Bihar and Bangladesh. With the patronization of 'Pal' kings, several Buddha Bihar and temples were established, which are situated in Paharpur and Moynamoti (Bangladesh). It has been assumed that those manuscripts were written and presented between 10th to 12th centuries. Actually, these manuscripts bear the testimony of this anticipation. It is sight worthy that two artists from 'Barandra' (Bangladesh) Dhiman and his son Beetpal had evolved a new tradition of art. Later, it got familiarity as the East Indian traditional art.⁷ This tradition was established on the strong base of the 'Marg' art tradition of 'Gupta' regime. According to the Tibetan historian Lama Taranath, the art tradition of East India was imitated in the paintings of Nepal. It is statable that that ancient vindication of paintings was obtained between 750 A.D and 1162 A.D. Those paintings were drawn on palm leaves and they imitated the Buddhist art tradition of Bengal and Bihar. The images of Buddha and several Divinities were painted through different stances on these miniature paintings for disseminating the dictums of Buddha. Those paintings were the greatest vindications of Indian classical artistry, regarding the painting style. Those paintings are related with the fresco of 'Ajanta' which is situated in the southern part of India.⁸ In the 'Pal' regime, distinctive characteristics and styles are noticeable both in the sculptures and art painting of Bengal. For example, the sculptures were created in terracotta and the art paintings were on palm leaves, wooden block, clothes, and papers. It is noticeable that, after the termination of 'Pal' regime in 1150, the art painting tradition of the Buddha Bihars get spread in a scattered way through the victory of the Muslims in Bengal in 1203.⁹ The white color from the chalk dust of yellow orpiment, passionate blue, black color from the shish of the burner, the red color of minium and green color by mixing yellow and blue were used in painting the 'Pothe' (book of small size). Those colors were mixed in glue and water color before using them in paintings. There is a similarity between the art tradition of

6. Tofayel Ahmed, *Loko Oitijjer Das Diganta* (Dhaka: Bangla Academy, 1999) P: 67

7. Jatindranath Mukharjee, *Lokoshilpa Banam Ucchya Margiyo Shilpa* (Kolkata: Lokosanskriti and Adibashi Kendra, 1999) P: 13

8. Nazimuddin Ahmed, *Mahasthan, Moynamati, Paharpur* (Dhaka: Prontototto Adhidaptar Bangladesh Sarkari Mudraloy, 1966) P: 18

9. Khagesh Kiran Talukdar, *Bangaladesher Lokayoto Shilpakala* (Dhaka: Bangla Academy, 1987) P: 258

sculpture and art paintings regarding their painting styles. The tradition of both of these art styles is the same. Except 1-2 Puthipalachitra, the rest of them only expressed the life stories of God Buddha and the images of Divinities from the scripture of Buddhism. Moreover, considering the qualitative factor of these Puthipalachitra, their main characteristics was linearity in characters, which has got familiarity as the art painting tradition of Bengal. These major in linearity paintings are seen in the rural art paintings.

Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen mentioned in his book 'Brihotbongo' that in the pre-Buddha period, there were a group of painters with the title of 'Maskari'. They earned their livelihood by displaying paintings.¹⁰ Derision was the main subject matter of these paintings. 'Jampata', a mythological storyline was created to show the castigation of the sinners and the images of the ambassadors of 'Jamraja' (mythological character). Actually, those paintings were used to mongering religion. These 'Maskaris' or 'Padidars' were mostly Sanatana minded and they had names following Sanatana culture. The subject matter of those paintings was mythological in most cases. The Buddhist monks used to go far for disseminating the religion and they used those paintings as their language. The birth tale of Buddha was the subject matter of those paintings. In most cases, they used those paintings and gestures for communicating with the foreign listeners. The 'Padidars' used to draw the anecdote of Buddha's birth on the mountain slopes and walls. The 'Maskaris' painted paintings both on clothes and papers and used them for preaching religion. In 1st and 2nd A.D., some paintings painted on papyrus paper were found in the Vatican City of Rome. The rural painters of Bengal have been maintaining this traditional flow for generations. Kalirghater Pattachitra, Gazirpatta in Bangladesh, Patta of Satyanarayana etc as the medium of religious paintings have been bearing the testimony of this traditional artwork.¹¹

It is assumed that Gazirpatta emerged in the 15th century. The 'Peerbaad' (Muslim tradition) became influential in that time. Ismail Gazi was an employer and valiant fighter of Sultan Barbakshah. Following the orders of Sultan, he conquered both Odisha and Kamrupa. Based on the spirit and heroism of Ismail Gazi, Sheikh Faizullah wrote 'Gazi Bijoy' (Victory of Gazi) in the last part of 16th century. This legend of Ismail Gazi was known as 'Koilesha Gazi'.¹²

Terracottas are one of the ancient symbols of the art work found in the valley of Bengal. Those terracottas were made by using clay which originated from the

10. Mohammad Abdul Odud Bhuyian, *Bangladesher Rajnaitik Unnayan* (Dhaka: Royal Library, 1989) P: 203

11. Mohammad Inam Ul Haque, *Banglar Itihash: Bharote Engrej Rajotter Suchona Parba*, Bangla Academy, Dhaka, 1999, P: 13

12. Kamal Ahmed, *Shilpakalar Itihash* (Dhaka: Bangla Academy, 1994) P: 113

riverine. The artistry of terracotta has been bearing this vivacious tradition since last two thousand years. The terracotta of *Mahasthangar* was founded in the 4th century B.C. But this artistry was manifested in the Gupta and Pal regime.¹³ Though the sculptures from the Pal artistry tradition are mostly found here, *Mahasthangar* was the ameliorator of the terracotta artistry of Bengal. On the other hand, *Maynamati* too was the center of creating metal sculpture, terracotta, and stone-work from the ancient age. But the art works of Maynamati are most significant among the Buddha Bihars which were found from 8th century to 13th century. The artists reflected their society in their terracottas which were made at a great amount for ornamenting the walls of Buddha Bihars. Actually terracotta is one of the most illustrative of the folk arts of the rural society of Bengal which can be compared with the terracotta flake of Paharpur. Actually, these Buddha Bihars were amplified in the 8th century though its existence was found in the 5th century. The external walls of the temples of Paharpur were ornamented with terracotta as like as Maynamati and Mahasthangar. Besides Buddha and Hindu divinities, Ramayana and Krishna tale, different attributes from the people of the society were the subject matter of those terracotta flakes.¹⁴

Though different societies, religions, and geography have created different individual art characteristics in different places of the comprehensive Indian subcontinent, they are still consensus. It was stated that there is similarity between the eastern Indian and classical Indian painting in the Pal regime regarding their tradition. In effect, it has been unanimously approved that the tradition of these miniatures is the mixture of the Ajanta and Tibetan painting tradition. This tradition arrived at Bengal after afflicting Ajanta, South India, Gujarat, and Odisha. And the Tibetan tradition got blended in the painting tradition of Bengal after afflicting Nepal, Nalanda, and North Bengal.¹⁵

Two types of paintings are seen in the manuscripts of Pal regime. The first one is the paintings used in the middle part of the manuscripts with description, the other one is the paintings painted on the wood as the cover of Pothi (Small books). Actually, there is little difference between the rule and style. The characteristics of Pal Puthichitra are mainly linear and ornamental. It is notable that linear and ornamental style got importance in the medieval Indian paintings.¹⁶ On the other hand, the main objective of using linear was to create modeling, though those linears were used in classical Indian artistry. There was little conversion in the miniature painting of Pal regime from 11th century to 12th century. Those

13. Jahangir Khan, Borhan Uddin, *Chitrashilpa* (Dhaka: Bangla Academy, 1974) P: 232

14. Khagesh Kiran Talukder, *Bangladesher Lokayoto Shilpakala*

15. Foyezul Azim, *Charukalar Bhumika*

16. Shampa, Priti Kumar Mitra *Institute of Bangladesh Studies Journal*, vol: 8

paintings have shown partiality to the weightiness and three dimensionality though there were apparently two dimensional characteristics in the overall ambiance of this art painting. Miniature paintings are generally seen in South India, China, Iran and Europe. There are some fundamental differences between these miniature paintings and those of Pal regime.¹⁷ Actually, the characteristics of large wall paintings were more apparent than the characteristics of miniature paintings in these miniature paintings. These miniature paintings are easily convertible into wall paintings. These can be called miniature wall paintings. The artists of these miniatures of Pal regime were more foresighted in creating mural or wall paintings. Many art connoisseurs have stated that the Pal art paintings are influenced by the artistry of Ajanta. Actually, the art painting of Bengal has got the characteristics of miniature paintings as the primary medium of painting, palm leaves were small in size.¹⁸

Medieval Era

The artistry of Pal regime got devaluated after the arrival of the Muslim Sultans in Bengal in 12th century. But many historians have different opinions and debate regarding this concept. Because the rise of Murshidabad as the center of practicing art painting has made this concept baseless. In the initial part of 18th century, the Murshidabad region which is situated in the bank of Bhagirathi in Eastern India became affluent and developed as the center of political and economic activities. The Mughal art tradition which is mainly influenced by the Persian art tradition is the next notable symbol of Pal art tradition in Bengal. This is familiar as the art tradition of Murshidabad. But in the Sultani regime, solitary art tradition which is influenced by Persian tradition was seen in Bengal from 13th to 16th century.¹⁹

Bengal was included in the Mughal emperor of Empire Akbar in 1576. The Persian influence was still there in the solitary art tradition of this region. Murshidabad became the center point of socio-economy and culture of Eastern India when the capital of Bengal was replaced by Murshidabad from Dhaka in 1704. Murshidabad had created an art culture of individual characteristics in the regime of Nawab Alibardi Khan. On the other hand, the Mughal art was the successor of the Persian arts. But the Mughal art tradition had created its individual artistic style by assimilating both Indian traditional art style and contemporary European art style. The primary character of Mughal miniature paintings was influenced by the characteristics of 'Safavid' of Persia. Those paintings were ornamental and two-

17. Sree Dinesh Chandra Sen, *Brihotbanga*, Part: 1 (Kolkata: University of Kolkata, 1934) P: 439

18. Sharashi Kumar Saraswati, *Palyuger Chittrakala* (Kolkata: Ananda Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1978) P: 129

19. Syed Mahamudul Hasan, *Muslim Chittrakala* (Dhaka: Chatrabandhu Publications, 1994) P:

dimensional. It is noticeable that the Indian artists had learnt purifying the linear and the balanced use of recreative calligraphy from the Persian art.²⁰ Though the European paintings had influenced the Mughal art painting, the Mughal art painting had started achieving their individual characteristics in the 17th century by leaving the influence of Persian artistry that time. It seems that the name of the artists from the ancient and medieval era remained unknown. But the artists of Mughal regime enjoyed a different scenario. The painters got special position by controlling the special lobbies of the Emperor. For this reason, some of the names of the artists can be heard from the contemporary history and description. But the number of artists is as much as the number of paintings under the Mughal art painting. Nevertheless, their life story was not preserved like that of the Italian artists from the renaissance era.²¹ The Mughal art paintings were mostly album paintings which mainly consisted of events and description of stories. These were familiar as Mughal miniature paintings. Paintings were painted aesthetically in the Persian studios. After sitting on the throne, Empire Aurangzeb closed down those studios. For that reason, those artists left elsewhere for earning their livelihood. Murshidabad was ruled by Nababs. Though those Nababs were under the authority of the Mughal Empire, they had half independent sovereignty. In most cases, those Nababs enjoyed the lifestyles rituals of the Mughal Empires. The rulers of Bengal were used to make the artists paint their portraits and hunting scenery like that of the Mughal Empires. These paintings and portraits are preserved in the Victoria museum of Kolkata and Albert museum of London.²²

The expelled artists by the Mughal Empire started working in Patna. Patna became the center of Mughal regional art painting gradually. The kayastha painters of Mughal emperor had gathered in Murshidabad in 1730 before Nabab Alibardi Kha. In that time there was a painter called Dip Chand. Under the patronization of Nabab Alibardi Kha, a new art tradition was evolved where hunting as a subject matter got importance with the tradition of lobby paintings. The color of that painting was cold and soft. Moonlight was expressed in the paintings due to the white and grey colors. The color and composition of those paintings were influenced by the characteristics of European paintings.²³ The British colonial rule started through the victory of Palashi in 1757. There was chaos during the regime of Nabab Siraj ud Dowla and Mir Zafar. After the victory of Palashi, the British East India Company gradually diminished Murshidabad. Several paintings can be seen in the last period of Murshidabad. In 1773, the

20. Ibid

21. R.C Majumder, *History of Bengal Calcutta*. p. 553

22. Percy Brown, *Indian painting under the Mughals*(New Delhi). p.175

23. Foyezul Azim, *Charukalar Bhumika*. Ibid

artists left Murshidabad and Patna, and they came to Kolkata to earn their livelihood.²⁴

British Era

The British activated the 'Regulating Act' in 1773 and as a result, Kolkata became the capital of British India. A new culture was formed due to the mixture of the British culture and the culture of this country. This new culture partly represented both East and West. There was no individual artist of Kolkata. A group of painters came to Kolkata for trying their luck from Patna, Murshidabad, and Pratapgarh of Udayapur. They were the embryonic painters of Kolkata. Mrs. Merry who was the wife of justice Empay was the first patronizer of painting in Kolkata. Mrs. Merry came to India with her husband in 1774. She built a zoo in this country for enjoying her leisure. She recruited efficient artists for drawing the images of the animals at the zoo. Among them, Jainuddin, Ram Das, and Bhabani Das were noteworthy. Those painters mainly painted the paintings of the animal who were mammals and lived on plants. Those paintings were actually 'Natural History Paintings'.²⁵ The European artists were very expensive in that erstwhile background. That's why Mrs. Merry found the local artists very cheap to make them paint in exchange of money. These works are now preserved in the museums of England. So, the amount of history paintings was more in Kolkata than the rest of India in the 18th century. As there was no camera in that era, handmade paintings were the only medium for the foreigners to know India. Local scenario, people, rituals, costumes and animals were the subject matter of the European painter. They published those paintings in both etching and litho.²⁶

Botanical Garden was established in the Garden Beach of Kolkata in 1793. Though natural painting was started from the lobby of Empire Jahangir in the initial part of 17th century, the director of Botanical Garden Mr. William Brooksbury recruited painters of Kolkata to paint the portrait of the plants of Botanical Garden. Sheikh Mohammad Aamir was one of the most expert painters among all the painters who did natural paintings in the initial part of 19th century. Actually, the Indian painters used both tempera and water color in painting the Mughal Rajputana painting tradition. The finishing style of those paintings was established by the Mughal traditional paintings of this country. This tradition is currently taught at the fine arts institutes of our country as oriental art tradition, though the British had brought a style of water color painting in India as 'British Academic' in the British era. This method is followed in both the Government art colleges of Kolkata and in the Fine arts institutions of Bangladesh. The British artists had learnt this method of water

24. Ibid, P:8

25. Ibid, P: 3

26. Ibid, P: 18

color due to the commercial demand. The use of dark shade is often seen in the water color method introduced by the British Academy. Painter can finish their painting quickly by using this water color method. On the other hand, the Indian painting style is linear. Sketches by using lines get more priority in this criteria. These are differences between the uses of these two water color.²⁷

Pakistan Two new connected nations East and West Pakistan were evolved through the separation of the Indian sub-continent on 14th August 1947. There was an art school in Lahore of West Pakistan in the British colonial period before the separation of India. Under the Government's patronization, East Pakistan College of Arts and Crafts was established in Dhaka which was the erstwhile capital of Pakistan. Actually, the formal practice of fine arts erupted in Dhaka through the establishment of that institution. The practice of fine arts erupted academically and socially in Kolkata through the establishment of Calcutta School of Art in the middle part of 19th century. That school was established under the direct patronization of the British Government. Though Dhaka was more ancient than Kolkata, there was no platform for practicing fine arts.²⁸ Though there was no such environment in Dhaka to support fine arts, there was practice of fine arts in a scattered way in the surrounding area of Dhaka. An artist called Alam Musabbir painted 39 water color paintings of Eid and Moharram most probably in the initial stage of 19th century. These paintings are preserved in the National Museum of Bangladesh. Those paintings were painted under the patronization of the Nayeb and Nazims of Nimtali palace of Dhaka, who were the organizer of this possession. The paintings of Alam Musabbir are included in the art history of Dhaka. But those art paintings could not create any art tradition in Dhaka. As the artistic style of Kalighat was formed by the influence of its indigenous tradition, so the artists of Battala started their journey by taking the books of Battala as their illustrator which was the market of cheap books of Kolkata. The Ketabpatti of Chakbazar in Dhaka is like the Bat tala Shovabazar which is situated in South Kolkata. The tradition of Muslim Puthi literature was based on Ketabpatti of Chakbazar²⁹ Joynuol Abedin, Shafiuddin Ahmed, Anwarul Haque and Kamrul Hasan were associated in establishing Art College in Dhaka. Joynul Abedin was a teacher of Kolkata Art School. He achieved all Indian fame as an artist. Safiuddin Ahmed too was a famous artist. Those Muslim artists were the students of Kolkata Art School in the 1930s. They had brought the art tradition of colonial India with them when they inaugurated the modern fine art in Bangladesh after arriving in East Bengal. In

27. Foyezul Azim, *Charukalar Bhumika*. Ibid

28. Shampa, Priti Kumar Mitra *Institute of Bangladesh Studies Journal*, vol: 8

29. Ibid, P: 67

spite of having a different environment, the curriculum activities of Dhaka Art Institute were indirectly influenced by the Kolkata Art School.³⁰

Conclusion

Very few precedents of art painting were found in the ancient artistry of Bengal. The weather and climate of Bengal and the atrophy of this art were the main reasons behind this. Mainly because of the fragility of mediums, paintings painted on palm leaves, clothes or wood can't be found before 10th century. The subject matter of the wood paintings and pattachitrapala in the later part of Bengal was mocking the culture of Kolkata, though religious stories were the subject matter in the initial stages. Those satiric criticisms were established as moral lessons. The history of the contemporary society was drawn through linear on wood and patta of Kalighat. It is a storable fact that the paintings of British period resemble the lobby paintings of Mughal period. And the wood paintings of Bat tala and Pattachitra of Kalighat resemble the mixture of terracotta art of temples, kantha, alpona which are the precedents of rural Bengal. The influence of pattachitrakala and rural artistry is seen among the modern painters of Bengal in the movement of creating new concepts in 1940s. Though the artists of Bengal got the opportunity to learn painting of British tradition through the art schools which were established in India in the British colonial period, they could not introduce themselves with greatest artistic resources of Europe.

Illustrations



(1) Buddhist Gooess, Pancharaksha

30. Ibid,P:8



(2) Birth of Buddha, Ashtasahasrika- prajnaparamita



(3) Patachitra



(4) Gazir Pot



(5) Paharpur Terracotta



(6) Paharpur Terracott



(7) Mughal Miniature



(8) Mughal Miniature



9) *Rebel cow*, a painting by Zainul Abedin



(10) *Famine Sketch*, 1943



Health according to Ayurveda: Modern Perspective

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Today the importance of *Ayurveda* is moving towards a new direction with increased popularity as a global medical system that includes the best developments from all lands. *Ayurveda* – the ‘Science of life’ is a noteworthy contribution on India to mankind. Dr. N.V.P. Unithiri observes that “*Ayurveda* is the only discipline in ancient India which is secular and having all the potentials of science in modern sense”.¹ *Ayurveda* is a fully developed branch of medical science which was perfected through observations and experiments. “No other branch of our culture is subject to such an acute competition as *Ayurveda* is with modern medicine with its world wide appeal and encouragement, with the aura of the modern science behind trying to make it absolute”.²

Medical science in India achieved the perfection, which no one could dream of elsewhere. It is proved even by the present status of *Ayurveda* that when so many old systems of medicine in other countries perished *Ayurveda* is not only existing but flourishing day by day. *Ayurveda* teaches that man is a microcosm, a universe within himself. He is a child of the cosmic forces of the external environment, the macrocosm. His individual existence is indivisible from the total

¹ *Scientific Heritage of India (Ayurveda)*, Edited by K.G.Paulose, (Govt. Sanskrit College Committee, Tripunithara, 1992). P.29

² *Technical Literature in Sanskrit*, Edited by S.Venkitasubramonia Iyer (Department of Sanskrit, University of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1978). P.61.

cosmic manifestation. *Ayurveda* views health and disease in its holistic terms, taking into consideration the inherent relationship between individual and cosmic spirit, individual and cosmic consciousness, energy and matter.

Equilibrium of psycho – somatic elements is health and dis– equilibrium is diseases. Health is also termed as ‘*svasthya*’ which denotes the state of staying is ‘*sva*’ (self normalcy). Here ‘*sva*’ covers a wide range of psychosomatic well – being of the person. Susruta has included ‘*atman*’ also in the definition of health; thus according to him the concept of health is three dimensional in a comprehensive way,³ while for practical purposes it is two dimensional, e.g.-Psycho –Somatic.

“Health is a state of complete physical, mental, and social well –being and not merely absence of diseases and infirmity”.⁴ Human being possesses a lot of potentialities like thinking, reasoning, acting etc., which differ him from other animals. Man is always curious about his surroundings to make his life better. The ultimate desire of each human being is to lead a happy life. For this ‘health’ (Arogyam) is the first necessity. The literary meaning of the word ‘health’ is “condition of mind and body” or “physical and mental well being”.⁵

“To be healthy, means to be in synchrony with oneself – physically and mentally and also with the surrounding world”.⁶ Health, then is an experience of well being resulting from a dynamic balance that involves the physical and psychological aspects of organism; as well as its interactions with its natural and social environment. Spiritual tradition of India also recognises the fact that the only two factors which cause disease are mental and physical. So it is clear that for good health good condition of mind and body are necessary. According to Ayurveda health is not merely considered to be a state of freedom from ailments or disease, but rather a state of enjoying uninterrupted Physical, mental and spiritual happiness and fulfillment. The concept of true balance does not only imply correct functioning of our systems and organs. Psyche and spirit, but also a balanced and creative relationship with our fellow creatures and nature as a whole. In *Susrutasamhita*, one of the basic texts of Ayurveda *Susrutacarya* gives a clear picture of a healthy individual by using the term ‘*Svasthah*’.

***Samdoshah Samaginasch Samdhatumlankriyah /
Prasannatmendriyamanh swasthah itya vidhiyate//⁷***

³ Sus’ruta – Su’sruta Samhita Sutrasthana ; 15.41

⁴ Physician, march 1983

⁵ Collins Standard Dictionary, Edited by David B Gurulnik, Oxford and IBH Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1989, P.348

⁶ Fritjof Capra, *The Turning Point : Science, Society and the rising Culture*, (Flamingo, Pub. by Fontana Paper backs), P.355

⁷ *Su’sritasamhita* with *Nibandasamgraha* commentary of Sri – Dalhanacarya, (Edited by vaidya *Jadavji Trikanji Acarya*, Pub. by *Pandurang Jawaji*.Bombay. 1931) P.72

From various descriptions about health in various texts, it is clear that Indians gave greater awareness to good health and hygiene from the very beginning they began to lead civilized life. Even though a human being is high in worldly possessions he cannot enjoy it unless his body and mind are in good condition. To make one's life fruitful the body must be protected properly. Caraka pointed out in his *Carakasamhita*.

***SaSarvamanyat parityajya sharirmanupalyet/
Tadbhave hi bhavanam sarva bhavah sharirinam//⁸***

‘Even by giving up everything else one should protect his body. For, if body is not in proper state everything is lost.’ Life has four indispensable moral aims for making it good. They are Dharma (virtue), Artha (wealth), Kama (enjoyment) and Moksa (salvation). Healthy body and mind are instruments to acquire the moral motto of life. Knowing this Caraka reiterates that –

Dharmarth kaam mokshanam arogyam moolmuttam⁹

Health is the supreme foundation of virtue, wealth, enjoyment and salvation. The great Indian poet Kalidasa observes that only a person who has good health can do the ‘Dharma’. According to him the body is the primary object to have dharama observe.

Sharirmadyam Khalu dharma sadhnam¹⁰

Vagbhata also expressed the same idea in Ashtangahrdaya.

***Ayuh kamaymanen dharmarth such sadhnam/
Ayrvedo padesheshu Vidheyah parmadarah//¹¹***

According to Vagbhata person who are desirous of a life which is the means to acquire dharma, Artha, and Sukha (happiness) should bestow utmost faith in the teachings of Ayurveda. Ayurveda teaches why healthy life is essential. Now a days the people of Kerala are confronting a great threat from disastrous diseases such as Chikkungunia, Dengue fever, Tiger moth, Nipha, H1N1 and other communicable diseases. The recurrence of such diseases has put Kerala under a challenge, as how to tackle this problem politically and economically at the national and international level. Most of these diseases are the outcome of unhealthy practices of daily life and imbalance caused in the environment.

⁸ Carakasamhita with Dipika commentary of Chakrapani datta, second Edition (Pub. by Pandurang Jawaji, Bombay, 1935) P.101

⁹ Carakasamhita with Dipika commentary of Chakrapani datta, second Edition (Published by Pandurang Jawaji, Bombay, 1935) P.101.

¹⁰ Kalidasa, Kumarasambhavam v, with Vimala Sanskrit Commentary by Sri Krishnamani Tripadi (Chaukhamba Surabharati Series, Varanasi, 1989) P.26

¹¹ Vagbhata, AH with the commentaries sarvagasundari of Arunadatta and Ayurveda rasayana of Hemadri. (Chaukhamba Sanaskrit Series, Varanasi, 1982) P.4

According to Ayurveda, daily routine in oneslife palya a very important role in the protection of health. In Ashtangahrdaya Vagbhata says –

Nityam Hitahar vihar sevi sameekshkari vishyeshvasaktah/

Data samh satyaparah kshamavanaptopsevi cha bhavatyarogah//¹²

‘Indulgence in suitable food activities daily, doing all activities carefully considering their good and bad, not getting engrossed too much in sensory pleasures, giving donations (to the needy), treating all living beings equally, following the path of truth, forgiving the mistakes of others and keeping the company of good, learned men all these make a person live a disease –free life’. Ayurveda is the only branch which strictly follows the Principle of leading a routine life and speaks about it elaborately.

Suggestions for a creative and healthy life according to Ayurveda.

Routine

- One should awake before sun rise
- Evaluate bowels and bladder after awakening
- Bath everyday to create a sense of bodily freshness.
- Twelve Pranayamas in the morning create freshness of mind
- Do not take breakfast after 8.00 a.m.
- Wash hands before and after eating
- Brush teeth after meals.
- Fifteen minutes after meals take a short walk.
- Eat in silence with awareness of food
- Eat slowly
- Each day massage the gums with the finger and sesame oil.
- Fast one day a week to help reduce toxins in the body.
- Sleep before 10.00 p.m

Diet and Digestion

- One teaspoon of grated fresh ginger with a pinch of salt is a good appetizer.
- Drinking lassi (buttermilk) with a pinch of ginger or cumin powder helps digestion.
- A teaspoon of ghee with rice helps digestion.
- A glass of raw, warm milk with ginger taken at bedtime is nourishing to the body and calms the mind.
- Overeating is unhealthy.

¹² Vagbhata, AH with the commentaries sarvagandhari of Arunadatta and Ayurveda rasayana of Hemadri. (Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series, Varanasi, 1982) P.4

- Drinking water immediately before or after taking food adversely affects digestion.
- Prolonged fasting is unhealthy.
- Consuming excess water may produce obesity.
- Excess intake of cold drinks reduces resistance and creates excess mucus.
- Store water in a copper vessel or put copper pennies in the water. This water is good for the liver and spleen.
- Taking a nap after lunch will increase Kapha and body weight.

Physical Hygiene

- If Possible, gaze at the rays of the sun at dawn for five minutes daily to improve eye sight.
- Gazing at a steady flame, morning and evening for ten minutes improve eyesight.
- Do not repress the natural urges of the body i.e. defecation, urination, coughing, sneezing yawning, belching and passing gas.
- During a fever, do not eat and observe a ginger tea fast.
- Rubbing the soles of the feet with sesame oil before bed time produces a calm, quiet sleep.
- Application of oil to the head calms the mind and induces sound sleep.
- Oil massage promotes circulation and relieves excess vata. Do not sleep on the belly.
- Reading in bed will injure the eyesight. Long finger nails may be unhygienic.
- Cracking the joints may be injurious to the body (causes deranged vata).
- Dry hair immediately after washing to prevent sinus problems.

Mental Health

- Fear and nervousness dissipate energy and aggravate vata.
- Possessiveness, greed, and attachment enhance Kapha.
- Worry weakens the heart.
- Hate and anger create toxins in the body and aggravate pitta.

Excessive talking dissipates energy and aggravates vata. Ayurveda provides us with the right regime for our particular type covering all aspects of our nature, physical, psychological and spiritual. But it can only succeed with our own effort, devotion and dedication. What is necessary, therefore is that we each establish for ourselves our own appropriate life regime according to our unique constitution. It is necessary that we establish the right rhythm in our lives. This helps maintain a certain harmony and consistency but remains flexible and responds to the challenges of the moment. The most important general factor in physical and mental health is lifestyle. Right lifestyle does not mean suppressing our nature, but

bringing out its deeper powers. The life style considerations for everyone involve such physical or right amount of rest, sufficient exercise, right exposure to sun, to heat or cold, and no pleasant natural environment. Whatever we can do for ourselves to improve our own health will be more effective than what others can do for us. When we have failed in our efforts, the doctor, health care, professional or clinical facility becomes necessary. Often small things we do for ourselves, such as giving up wrong foods, will do more for our health in the long run than taking unnecessary remedies or consulting a number of doctors. There is no substitute for our right living. It cannot be brought at any price and we cannot expect another to provide it. One of the failures of modern culture is that it deprives us of the time we need to take care of ourselves and those we love. However, if we really value our well being, we will take the time. The responsibility is ours, and there is no one to blame if we ignore the effort.

Ayurveda is not a system of medicine but a dynamic philosophy of life by which one can attain healthy individual and social life so as to perform the functions efficiently and fulfill the social obligations fully, at the end of attain perfect bliss of liberation. This medical system has two objects – one, prevention of diseases (including promotion of health) and the other, cure of them if arisen, of which the former is always better and preferable as it is wise to stay apart from mud rather than washing it off.



Bhagalpur's Salubrious Climate Used as a Sanatorium by Nawab of Bengal and Europeans from Late 18th Century

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The silk district Bhagalpur is known as *Anga*. The history of *Anga* occupies an important place, because it was one of the foremost Pre-Mauryan Mahajanapadas. In the time of East India Company the territory of Bhagalpur is big. *Captain Sherwill* describes that the territory of Bhagalpur district is comprising 7,801.04 square miles. The Southern part of the district was called '*Jungle Terai*'. The Jungle means forest and Terai means basement of the hill. It had salubrious climate. So, in the 18th century so many royal-householders used to come here for climate change.

The eldest son of Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II, Prince Jahandar Shah reside at Rajmahal in 1788. Naib Nazim of East India Company Muhammad Riza Khan's younger son Dilawar Jang recovered here (Rajmahal and Bhagalpur) from illness after climate change in 1788. Nazim of Bengal Nawab Mubarakud-Daulah (1770-1793) used to come to Bhagalpur for hunting excursion (1790) at Pialapur (Pirpainty Block in Bhagalpur District) and also for a climate change whenever he fell ill in 1791. It clears that in 18th century the old Bhagalpur *i.e.*, Greater Bhagalpur was salubrious climate. Reginald Haber *alias* Bishop Haber, who came to Bhagalpur in 1824, said that "*Bhagalpur (Boglipoor) is in a pretty situation and said to be one of the healthiest stations in India.*"

The good and salubrious climate of Bhagalpur attracted the Nawabs of Bengal and Europeans in late 18th century and first half of 19th century. Bhagalpur was environmentally sound to recoup the health. It was also hunting zone of Nawabs. Due to river Ganga, Bhagalpur was important for its fine situation and salubrious air and was used as a sanatorium by family of Nawabs of Bengal and also Europeans.

The Silk District 'Bhagalpur' is known as *Anga*. The history of *Anga* occupies an important place, because it was one of the foremost *Pre-Mauryan Mahajanapadas*. The importance of regional history is now being stressed all over the world, for, without this no authoritative and comprehensive account of a country is possible. *Anga i.e.* Bhagalpur was one of the important regions which played a significant part in all times.

The term Bhagalpur means "*the City of Goodluck*" or "*the City of Refugees*".¹ had always remained a pleasant site in terms of climate. It had salubrious climate, so many royal-householders used to come here for change. The other reason for their coming in 18th century was humidity. In 18th century, Bhagalpur was a vast region. *Captain Sherwill* describes that the territory of Bhagalpur district comprises 7,801.04 square miles. The district is bounded on the North by the kingdom of Nepal, on the West by the district of Tirhut and Monghyr, to the South by Birbhum to the East by Murshidabad, Malda and Purnia. The district of Bhagalpur, comprising 7,801.04 square miles of territory is situated in the fertile valley of the river Ganges, which divides the district into two unequal portions, the larger portion lying to the South of the river. South of the Ganges:- 6,102.07 square miles, North of the Ganges : 1,698.97 square miles, Total – 7,801.04 square miles.² The Southern part of the district was called Jungle Terai *alias* Jungleterry, a district adjacent to Birbhum, Rajmahal and Bhagalpur.³ "*Jungle Terry Districts*", a name then loosely applied to the Kharakpur hills on the West to the Rajmahal hills on the East and from the Bhagalpur plains on the North to Ramgarh, Pachet and Birbhum on the South.⁴ Jungle Terry or Jungle Terai *i.e.*, jungle means forest, terai means basement of the hill.

Reginald Haber *alies* Bishop Haber, who came to Bhagalpur in 1824, said, "Boglipoor is in a pretty situation and said to be one of the healthiest stations in India".⁵ In 1765 circumstances had greatly changed. The East India Company was responsible for the *Diwani* (revenue collection) and acquired complete control over the finances of the province; whereas the Nawab was responsible for the *Nizamat* (administration) of the province. Thus the *farman* of August 1765 placed the seal of British supremacy in Bengal and for the first time gave a body of traders the legal status of a power in India.⁶ Before that, The East India Company decided to help *Prince Shahzada* to establish himself as Emperor at Delhi and subsequently,

he was proclaimed king by the name of *Shah Alam* second on 29 June 1761 with the help of Mir Kasim.⁷

The Company's main problem was administration. The functions of the Diwan were exercised on behalf of the Company by the Resident at Murshidabad, who acted as the Collector of the King's revenues, under the inspection and control of the Select Committee. Muhammad Riza Khan⁸ was appointed *Naib Diwan* in 1765 and served in this capacity for seven years. Raja Shitab Rai was appointed the *Naib Diwan* for Bihar *alias* Bahar.⁹

On March 13, 1788, the eldest son of Shah Alam II, Prince Jahandar Shah¹⁰ wrote to the East India Company Sarkar that he desires to reside with his family and attendants in the Company's territory at Rajmahal¹¹ as a suitable place for his residence.¹² Nawab Muhammad Riza Khan appealed to Company's Government on July 4, 1788 that his younger son Dilawar Jang was seriously ill. He recovered himself under the treatment of Dr. John Glass.¹³ In order to recoup his health fully he requires a *change of climate* and consequently he will proceed to Rajmahal and Bhagalpur by boat. But it is necessary that the doctor should accompany him on his journey. He requests that the Governor-General will kindly permit Dr. Glass to do so.¹⁴

The same day (4 July 1788) Company gave permission. Muhammad Riza Khan became glad to hear of the convalescence (gradual recovery of strength) of his son Nawab Dilawar Jang. The Company says that he has no objection to Dr. Glass's accompanying his son to Rajmahal or Bhagalpur wherever the latter proposes to go for a *change of climate*.¹⁵

On 1st October 1788 Nawab Muhammad Riza Khan gave thanks to Company's Government that his son, Nawab Dilawar Jang, has returned to Murshidabad from his trip and is now in good health. He very much enjoyed the company of Dr. John Glass. The latter will communicate full particulars to the Governor-General about him. Offers thanks to God for his son's recovery and expresses his gratitude to his lordship for his good wishes.¹⁶

Nazim of Bengal Nawab Mubarakud-Daulah (1770-1793)¹⁷ says in 17 January 1790 that he desired last year, he had a mind to go to Pialapur (at present Pialapur is in Pirpainty Block in Bhagalpur district), a place near Akbarnagar (old name of Rajmahal), for hunting but circumstances prevented him from doing so. Now it is his desire to go there in the month of *Phagun* (February-March) and enjoy hunting for a few days. Since he looks upon his lordship as his master and patron he therefore thinks it necessary to take his permission. Hopes his lordship will grant it.¹⁸

The Nawab is glad to receive his two letters on 25 January 1790 intimating his wish to go on a *hunting excursion to Pialapur* near Akbarnagar in the month of *Phagun* and informing that Raja Sunder Singh¹⁹ intended to come to Murshidabad

of his own accord. Says that he has no objection to the Raja's visit to Murshidabad, but cautions the addressee against admitting him to any influence in his affairs or to any connection with him in any shape whatsoever. Acquiesces in the Nawab's desire to go out hunting. For further particulars refers him to Mr. Harington.²⁰

Nawab Mubarakud-Daulah said in 17 November 1790 that the climate of Rajmahal, whither he had gone for hunting this time is very pleasant and agreeable.²¹ On 5 October 1791 Nawab said to Mr. Charles Stuart²² that he has been keeping indifferent health for some time past and that he therefore proposes to go to Bhagalpur *for a change of climate*. Nawab hopes the addressee will approve it.²³

Nawab Mubarakud-Daulah gave thanks to Mr. Stuart on 23 November 1791 that he had agreed to their proposal for going on a hunting expedition towards Bhagalpur. Nawab also thanked Mr. Stuart for making the necessary arrangements for it and shall start early in *Pus*.²⁴ (November-December)

On February 1, 1792, Nawab Mubarakud-Daulah informed to Mr. Stuart that he has arrived at Bhagalpur where he has been staying for the last four days.. He proposes to pay a visit to Monghyr which is at a distance of 17 *kos* from this place (Bhagalpur), before he return to Murshidabad.²⁵

On January 30, 1793 Nawab informs the Company's Government that he visits Akbarnagar (Rajmahal) now and then *for a change as well as for hunting excursion*. For this purpose he has to take tents and many other things for the accommodation of himself and his party. The fort of Gaur²⁶ near Akbarnagar (Rajmahal) lies in a desolate state. Requests his Lordship to permit him to erect thatched houses for the accommodation of his attendants and a building for his own use in that fort and to use the serviceable bricks and stones of the old fort for the purpose. Recalls that formerly in the time of Warren Hastings he had granted permission to the Company for the use of serviceable bricks and stones of the fort of Gaur.²⁷

Rajmahal tract of old Bhagalpur *i.e.*, Greater Bhagalpur district had *environmentally salubrious climate*. Because a large portion of the range is included in the *Damin-i-Koh*, a Persian name meaning "*the skirts of the hills*". The Rajmahal hills have been described as "*classic ground for the study of Indian Geology*".²⁸ It was rich of animals due to densely covered forest. *Statistical Account of Bengal* stated about Santhal Parganas *i.e.*, Rajmahal tract tigers, leopards, bears, hyaenas, deer and wild pig, with a variety of small game, were common almost everywhere, while wild elephants and rhinoceros used to be seen.²⁹ While taking a dig into the historical records of Bhagalpur it is evident that the Europeans also first came to Bhagalpur to enjoy the conducive climate and settled as cultivators and indigo manufacturers and later became erstwhile zamindars. On 10th February 1795, Magistrate of Bhagalpur Mr. John Fombelle write to Secretary to the Government that following Europeans residing within my

jurisdiction, Amon O' Neale since 1777, Tho. Mordaunt since 1782, Austin Campagnola since 1783, geo Smith since 1783, James Hay since 1787, Father Marwa Lella Fomba since 1783, George Smith since 1783, Matthew Fairrie since 1794 etc.³⁰ So, in late 18th century the Greater Bhagalpur's environment was salubrious and suitable for hunting excursion. It proves that eldest son of Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II, Prince Jahandar Shah resided at Rajmahal. Naib Nazim of East India Company Muhammad Riza Khan's son, Nawab Dilawar Jang recovered here from illness after climate change. Nawab of Bengal Nawab Mubarakud-Daulah used to come to Bhagalpur district territory for hunting and also for a climatic change whenever he fell ill. Many Europeans also settled here due to healthiest climate of Bhagalpur.

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7. *Ibid*, p- XXXVIII (introduction)
8. Nawab Muhammad Riza Khan expired on 1 October 1791 (2 Safar 1206 A.H.), *CPC, Vol.- IX:1790-1791*, Delhi, 1949, p-318, Pub.by- The National Archives of India, Edited by- Surendra Nath Sen
9. *Fort William – India House Correspondence, Vol.-XIV: 1752-1781*, Delhi, 1985, pp- Xii-Xiii (introduction), Edited by-Amba Prasad
10. *CPC, Vol- VII*, p-4, Foot Note No.-3, Pub.by- The National Archives of India,
11. W.Hamilton, *East India Gazetteer ; Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol.- XXI*, pp- 76-78. RAJMAHAL, during the reign of Emperor Akbar, Raja Man Singh, a Rajput general, on his return from conquest of Orissa, selected Rajmahal (formerly Agamahal) as the capital of Bengal on account of its central position with respect to that Province and to Bihar, and because it commanded the Ganges and

the pass of Teliagarhi. In 1608 the seat of Government was removed from hence to Dacca by Islam Khan, but in 1639 was brought back by Sultan Shuja, the unfortunate brother of Aurangzeb, during whose viceroyalty it attained great importance, being the established metropolies of the Bengal and Bihar province, for which it was admirably situated.

12. *CPC, Vol.-VIII:1788-1789*, Delhi, 1953, p-100, (CI-20, pp-32-33, No.38, AR-4, p-546, No.-67), Pub.by- The National Archives of India, Edited by- B.A.Saletore.

13. Dr.John Glass was an Assistant Surgeon at Murshidabad. Subsequently he became Surgeon at Bhagalpur where he died on 3rd August 1822, aged 72 years. He was buried at Bhagalpur, *CPC, Vol.-VIII*, p- 135, Foot Note No.1.

14. *CPC, Vol.-VIII*, op.cit.p-210. (OR-388; TR-28, pp-9-10, No.-344; AR-4, p-509)

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17. *CPC, Vol.-XI:1794-1795*, Delhi, 1969, p-7, Pub.by-The National Archives of India, Edited by- K.D.Bhargava.

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19. Raja Sunder Singh was sometime Diwan of Nawab Mubarakud-Daulah. *CPC, Vol-X:1792-1793*, Delhi, 1959, p-13, Pub.by-The National Archives of India, Edited by- K. D. Bhargava

20. *CPC, Vol-IX: 1790-1791*, Delhi, 1949, pp-14-15, (CI-21, pp-10-11, No.-7; TI-36, pp-14-15, No.-30), Edited by-Surendra Nath Sen, Pub. By- The National Archives of India,

Mr. John Harington was Paymaster of the Nizamat Stipend and Collector of Murshidabad. *Ibid*, p-15, Foot Note No.-1, also in P. C. Majumdar, *Masnad of Murshidabad*, pp-45-46.

21. *CPC, Vol.-IX*, op.cit.p-172, (OR-309)

22. Charles Stuart was Member of the Supreme Council till 1793 when he resigned. He was in-charge of the Presidency of Bengal during Lord Cornwallis's absence in the South to prosecute the war against Tipu Sultan, Born 1743, Died 1st May 1821, Unmarried. *CPC, Vol.-IX*, p-173, Foot Note No.-3

23. *CPC, Vol.-IX*, P-317. (OR-472)

24. *Ibid*, p- 337.

25. *CPC, Vol.-X*, p-25. (OR-56; AR-8, p-114, No.-21)

26. Gaur :- a ruined city in Malda district in East Bengal, *CPC, Vol.-X*, p-XIII (Index)

27. *CPC, Vol.-X*, pp- 246-247, (OR-74; TR-33, pp-115-116, No.-75; AR-9, p-27)

In 1784 Nawab Mubarakud-Daulah was desired by Warren Hastings to order his *amala* at Gaur to assist Mr. Charles Grant, the Resident at Malda, in removing and transporting large slates of marble selected from the ruins of Gaur by that

gentleman for use in the construction of a Church at Calcutta. Vide No. 1211 of the *Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. -VI.*

28. L. S. S. O' Mally, *Bengal District Gazetteers SANTAL PARGANAS*, Indian Reprint 1984, New Delhi, pp- 4-5, Pub.by- LOGOS PREES, 14,Suvidha Bazar, Sarojini Nagar, New Delhi – 110023.

29. Ibid, p- 17.

30. K. K. Datta (Ed.), *Selection from the Judicial Records of the Bhagalpur District Office (1792-1805)*, Patna, 1968 pp- 90-93 & 172-173, published under the authority of State Central Records Office, Political department, Bihar

Abbreviation

C. I. - Copy of Issue

A. R. - Abstract of Receipts

O. R. - Original of Receipts

T. R. - Translation of Receipts

T. I. - Translation of Issue



Insights on Imparting Medical Education in Medieval India

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The imparting of medical education in India since ancient to medieval times has been a theme of research among several historians including the names of few like Deepak Kumar and others, who had tried to highlight dissemination of medical knowledge, diseases, remedies and progress in medical practices. This article purports to give an overview of imparting of medical education in medieval India, highlight the importance of Ayurvedic physicians, Unani medical doctors *hakims*; role played by several Indian rulers in enhancing the medical education; teacher-student relationship in medical profession; two way travelling of physicians from Iran to India and vice-a-versa. This article is based on in-depth study of several primary Persian historical records, memoir, letters and simultaneously with several European travel records.

The medical education in India can be traced from the ancient times when the knowledge was imparted and practiced by the *vaidyas* who enjoyed a responsible position in the society. Both Charaka and Susruta are widely known for having been good physicians and teachers who laid down certain principles for the men of medicine. Susruta sought certain qualities in a physician. According to both Charaka and Susruta a good physician must be a person who is well versed in the science of medicine and has attended to demonstration of surgery and medicine. Besides, a physician should practice the healing art, and is clean, courageous, light handed fully equipped with supplies of medicine, surgical instruments and appliance. Together with this, a physician also must be intelligent, well read, and is a name of ready resources and is further endorsed with all moral virtues.

The *Ayurvedic* physicians or *vaidya* formed a recognized craft group not distinct as a caste but often following the profession of their fathers and forefathers.² They distributed the medicines to their patient, which were prepared by them. The relationship between the *vaidyas* and their patients was totally religious. They were well versed in religious matters. They also served as teachers and trained their pupils in the art of healing.³ People from the various castes were engaged in this noble profession. For example it is reported from Orissa that a village *vaidya*, who was a member of the warrior class and a holder of a small plot of land, have cured many people of their diseases. This indicates that people belonging to different caste and class also practiced as *vaidya*.⁴

The students (*sishtya*) would assist their teachers in dealing with the patients. They would also prepare medicine under the guidance of their guru⁵. The advent of the Muslims in India brought a tremendous change not only in the social and political sphere but also in the domain of education and learning. The Muslim rulers patronized the education alike both the Hindu and Muslim subjects.⁶

The first centre of *Unani* medicine in the whole of South Asia was set up at Lahore in or around 1160 A.D. under the patronage of the Ghaznavide rulers.⁷ The court of the early Turkish ruler of the Delhi Sultanate became a bee-hive of literary men, poets' philosophers and scientists who gave great impetus to the literary life of the day.

Abu-al-Rayhan Muhammad ibn Ahmad al Biruni gives us an insight into the rapid progress that Arabic and Persian literature were then making in unveiling the

¹ *Sushruta Samhita: Sutrasthanam, An English Translation, Of the Based On Original Sanskrit Text*, Kaviraj Kunja Lal Bhishagratna, Kashi Ghose Lane, Calcutta, Vol. I, 1907, pp.30-31; available at <http://www.archive.org/details/englishtranslati01susruoft>.

² A.L. Basham, "The practice of Medicine in Ancient and Medieval India", in Charles Leslie (ed.), *Asian Medical Systems: A comparative Study*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1976, p.23.

³ Girindra Mukhopadhyaya, *History of Indian Medicine*, Calcutta, University Press of Calcutta, 1926, Vol II. p. 21.

⁴ F.G. Bailey, *Caste and Economic Frontier*, Manchester, England, Manchester University Press, 1957; cf. Charles Leslie (ed.), *Asian Medical Systems*, op. cit., p.38.

⁵ For the system containing in modern Bengal see Brahmanade Gupta, *Indigenous Medicine in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Bengal*, in Charles Leslie (ed.), *Asian Medical Systems*, op. cit., p. 368.

⁶ See for example Narendra Nath Law, *Promotion of Learning in India* with a forwarded by H. Beveridge, Longmans, Green & Co, London, Calcutta, 1916, pp. xiv-xivi.

⁷ See Tazimuddin Siddiqi, "Unani Medicine in India during the Delhi Sultanate", *Studies in History of Medicine*, Vol. 2, no.3, 1978, pp.183-89.

rich store of knowledge imbedded in both Sanskrit and Greek literature. Ancient mathematics, astronomy, astrology, philosophy, medicine and pharmacology were favourite subjects of study with Muslim scholars. The translations of Indian works, including a large portion of narrative literature was being made into Arabic and Persian by these energetic and inquisitive scholars.⁸

Mohammad Qasim Hindu Shah or Firishta informs us that under the Khalji rule:

“Places, mosques, universities, baths, mausoleum, forts and all kinds of public and private buildings seemed to rise as if by magic. Neither did there in age, appear such a concourse of learned men from all parts. Forty five doctors, skilled in the sciences were professors in the universities.”⁹

Those who taught Unani medicine were known as *hakim* and the teachers of the *Ayurveda* were the *vaidyas*. Like *vaidyas* the *hakims* also had a reputed position in the society. Quite a number of *hakims* had specialties in the medical treatment side by side both systems of medicine seem to have collaborated because they learn from each other. There is hardly any evidence to suggest that there was animosity between *vaidya* and *hakim* in their field.¹⁰ It suggests they may have cordial relation among them.

Firoz Shah Tughlaq was himself skilled in the Science of medicine, logic, astronomy and mathematics. He used to attend on patients afflicted with any extraordinary disease in order to acquaint him with its symptoms.¹¹ Another contemporary work of Abdul Abbas Ahmed mentions that at the royal court at Delhi, there were a thousand poets skilled in one of the three languages such as Arabic, Persian, or Indian and twelve hundred physicians.¹² Regarding cure centres or hospitals also mentions that in Delhi alone there were thousands of colleges and about seventy hospitals called *Daru-sh-shifa* or house of cure.¹³

The Mughal emperors also extended the educational activities of the Sultanate period. They were uniformly interested in the development of medical

⁸ See Preface Edward C. Sachan (ed.), *Alberuni's India: An Account of the Religion, Philosophy, Literature, Geography, Chronology, Astronomy, Custom, Laws and Astronomy of India about A.D. 1030*, with notes and Indices, S. Chand & Co., New Delhi, First Indian reprint, 1964. cf Narendra Nath Law, *Promotion of Learning in India*, op. cit., pp.13-14.

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¹² Shahabuddin Abdul Abbas Ahmad, *Masalikul Absar fi Mamalik ul Ansar* in Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India as told by its Historian*, Vol. iii, LPP, New Delhi, 2001, p.579.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p.576.

sciences and in the organization of hospitals and clinics. Unani Medicine received liberal encouragement from the Mughal rulers. According to Abul Fazl, there were 29 physicians in the state service¹⁴ (both Hindus and Muslims). Their actual number would have exceeded thousands when the whole country was considered. According to Abul Fazl, Akbar had directed the instruction of *tibb* with the other sciences in the school curriculum. In one of the passages of the *Ain* Abul Fazl informs:

“...this method of teaching be adopted, a boy will learn in a month, or even in a day, what it took others years to understand, so much so that people will get quite astonished. Every boy ought to read books on morals, arithmetic, the notation peculiar to arithmetic, agriculture, mensuration, geometry, astronomy, physiognomy, household matters, the rules of government, *tibb*, logic the *tabii*, *riyazi*, and *ilahi*, sciences and history; all of which may be gradually acquired.”¹⁵

Probably the teaching of *tibb* under the Mughals was mainly tutor oriented.¹⁶ That is why in India, there were not many specialized colleges for medical sciences as we find in the contemporary Aleppo, Egypt or Iran.¹⁷ The author of *Maasir-i Rahimi* clearly mentions the medical educational system prevalent in the *madarsas*. Two prominent *hakims* of this period named Hakim Shams and Hakim Muin run a *madarsa* at Thatta and also taught medicine there.¹⁸ Similar information is corroborated by Shah Nawaz Khan in *Maasir ul Umara* in which he discusses about a Gujrati physician who had his own *makhtab* in which he divulged education.¹⁹ In these institutions, the teachers were not only responsible for the medical education and training but also looked after the general welfare of the students. While these students were residing with their teachers, the physician's clinics and the homes were turned into the great centres for learning. The medical education was always provided along with religious instructions.²⁰

¹⁴ Abul Fazl, *Ain i Akbari*, Translated into English by H. Blochmann, edited by D.C. Phillot, Vol. I, Low Price Edition, Delhi, reprint, 2008, pp.611-13.

¹⁵ Ibid., p.289.

¹⁶ See amongst others, Abdul Jalil, “The Evolution and Development of Graeco-Arab Medical Education”, *Studies in History of Medicine*, Vol. II, No, 3, September, 1978, p.195.

¹⁷ See S.A.N. Rezavi, “Physicians as Professionals in Medieval India”, in Deepak Kumar (ed.), *Disease and Medicine in India: A Historical Overview*, Indian History Congress, Tulika Publication, New Delhi, 2001, p. 41.

¹⁸ Abdul Baqi Nahawandi, *Maasir-i Rahimi*, ed. Hadayat Hussain, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1931, p. 274.

¹⁹ Shah Nawaz Khan, *Maasir ul Umara*, edited by Maulvi Abdur Rahim, Vol. III, Calcutta, 1888-90, pp.280-81.

²⁰ S. L .Bhatia, *A History of Medicine with Special Reference to the Orient*, Office of the Medical Council of India, New Delhi, 1977,p.126.

During the reign of Aurangzeb, Hakim Mir Muhammad Hashim better known as Hakim Hashim flourished. He opened a well-known *madarsa* at Ahmadabad.²¹ Similar *madarsa* was run by Hakim Alimuddin Wazir at his native palace Chiniot in Punjab.²² The *Tibb* was taught through *dawakhanas* (dispensaries) and *sharbatkhanas* (syrup houses) often run through state munificence.²³

The skill of the students of colleges which existed in India were not however inferior to any. Father Monserrate mentions a school of medical science at Sirhind which was very famous and whose products were widely practicing all over the empire.²⁴ The actual needs of the physicians in the Mughal Empire were not fulfilled by these *madarsas* and there was a great scope for people getting educated outside the country.

A considerable number of physicians of Mughal period acquired the knowledge from various academics in places like Lihijan (Gilan), Mashhad, Ishfahan, Iran, Shiraz and Arab came to India for their better fortune.²⁵ But some existing evidences indicate that contrary to the above flow of scholars from outside some Indian scholars also went to Iran for training and education in *tibb*. Ahmad Thattavi went to Iran from Sindh and studies in Shiraz²⁶ and Muhammad Akbar

²¹ Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Padshahnama*, edited by Kabiruddin Ahmad and Abdul Rahman, Vol. I, Part II, Calcutta, 1867, pp.345-46.

²² *Maasir-ul Umara*, op. cit., Vol. III, p.936.

²³ Abdul Jalil, "The Evolution and Development of Graeco-Arab Medical Education", *Studies in History of Medicine*, Vol. II, No, 3, September, 1978, p.125.

²⁴ *The Commentary of Father Monserrate*, translated by J.S. Hoyland, annotated by S. N. Benerjee, Calcutta, 1922, p.103.

²⁵ For Example see, Abdul Hayy, *Nuzhat-ul Khawatir*, ed by Sharifuddin Ahmad, Vol. VI, Hyderabad, 1962-79, p.357, 364; Hakim Abdul Hameed, Hakim Abdul Hameed, Medicine during Mughal Period, in *Interaction between India and Central Asia: Science and Technology in Medieval Times, Vol. II, Medicine, Technology, Arts and Crafts, Architecture and Music*, INSA, New Delhi, 1990, p.39; Kausar Chand Puri, *Atibba-i Ahd-i Mughaliya*, Hamdard Academy, Karachi, 1955, p.207.; Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Padshahnama*, Vol. I, Part, II, pp.345-46; C. Storey, op.cit, II, p.276; A. Rahman, op.cit. p.75; Mirza Muhammad Saqi and Munshi Muhammad Kazim, *Alamgir Nama*, Matba Ilahi, Agra, 1873, p.399; Shahnawaz Khan, *Maasir-ul Umara*, Vol. I, Lahore, 1968, p. 594.; Muhammad Bukhtawar Khan, *Mira't ul Alam*, edited by Sajida Alavi, Lahore, 1979, Vol. I, p.297; Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Padshahnama*, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1868, Vol. I, p.441; Maulana Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, *Maasir al-Karam*, Book-2, p.201.

²⁶ Shahnawaz Khan, *Maasir-ul Umara*, Vol. III, p.263.

Arzani, the court physician of Aurangzeb and native of Delhi went to Iran for further studied in *tibb*.²⁷

A large number of physicians came to India from outside as well. Hakim Mir Muhammad Mehdi Ardistani an Iranian physician came to India and joined Aurangzeb's court.²⁸ Hakim Abdurrazzaq Mashrab also came to India from Ishfahani during the days of Emperor Aurangzeb.²⁹ Hakim Abdurrazzaq Ishfahani distinguished himself in medicine. He came to India during the reign of Alamgir and settled in Bareilly.³⁰ Hakim Sheikh Hussain Shirazi belonged to Arabia but came to be known as Shirazi. He came to India during the reign of Aurangzeb and got attached as a physician to the court of Muhammad Azam Shah son of Aurangzeb.³¹ Famous physician Muhammad Hashim bin Hadi bin Muzaffaruddin Alavi Khan Shirazi following his education in Shiraz came to in 1700A.D. Emperor Aurangzeb who bestowed on him the robe of honour and gifts and deputed him to the service of his son, Muhammad Azam.³² Hakim Hashim acquired knowledge in Iran but flourished in India during Aurangzeb reign.³³ Hakim Sikander bin Hakim Ismail Yunani came from Istanbul to India towards the end of Mohammad Shah's reign.³⁴

²⁷ S.A.N. Rezavi, Physicians as Professionals in Medieval India, in Deepak Kumar (ed.), *Disease and Medicine in India: A Historical Overview*, Indian History Congress, Tulika Publication, New Delhi, 2001, p. 42.

²⁸ Mirza Muhammad Saqi and Munshi Muhammad Kazim, *Alamgir Nama*, Matba Ilahi, Agra, 1873, p.399; Shahnawaz Khan, *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. I, Lahore, 1968, p. 594; Abdul Hayy, *Nuzhat-ul Khawatir*, ed. by Sharifuddin Ahmad, Vol. VI, Hyderabad, 1962-79, p.357; See also, Muhammad Bukhtawar Khan, *Mira't ul Alam*, edited by Sajida Alavi, Lahore, 1979, Vol. I, p.297.

²⁹ Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1868, Vol. I, p.441 ; see also, A.K. Bagchi, *Medicine in Medieval India: 11th to 18th Centuries*, Konark Publication, New Delhi, 1997, p.104

³⁰ Abdul Hayy, *Nuzhat-ul Khawatir*, op .cit., Vol.6, p.147.

³¹ Maulana Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, *Maathir al-Karam*, op. Cit., Book-2, p.201.

³² Abdul Hayy, *Nuzhat al-Khawatir*, vol.6, p.364; Hakim Abdul Hameed, *Medicine during Mughal Period*, In *Interaction between India and Central Asia: Science and Technology in Medieval Times, Vol. II, Medicine, Technology, Arts and Crafts, Architecture and Music*, INSA, New Delhi, 1990, p.39; Kausar Chand Puri, *Atibba-i Ahd-i Mughaliya*, Hamdard Academy, Karachi, 1955, p.207.

³³ Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Padshahnama*, Vol. I, Part, II, pp.345-46.

³⁴ See Charles Ambrose Storey, *Persian Literature A Bibliographical Survey, Vol. II, Part 2, E. Medicine*, The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Luzac and Co. Ltd, London, 1971, p.276; See also, Alvi, M.A. & Rahman, A. et al, *Science and Technology in Medieval India: A Bibliography of Source Materials in Sanskrit, Arabic Persian*, INSA, New Delhi, 1982p.75.

As far as *madarsas* in the Mughal Empire imparting education in *tibb* is concerned, the largest information comes from the reign of Aurangzeb. During his reign several such *madrasas* were established. Special mention may be made of *Firangi mahal madarsa* at Lucknow which emerged as one of the famous and advanced *madarsas* of the eighteenth century India.³⁵

Francois Bernier mentions that the *Firangi Mahal* was a Dutch building at Lucknow and Aurangzeb allotted it for a *madarsa*.³⁶ In the late eighteenth century the *Firangi Mahal* became a major institution where students arrived for further medical apprenticeship to the clinics of the *hakim* of Oudh. The *dars-i-nizamiya* or curriculum of the *Firangi Mahal* was prepared with the consideration to fulfil the basic requirement of the *tibbi* education. Most young *hakims* at Lucknow first trained at the *madarsa*, where they received basic instruction in both rational sciences (*muaqalat*) and religion (*manqulat*) before graduating to attend indebt lectures and course in medicine.³⁷ Until the mid-eighteenth century the students of Unani medicine were taught in *madarsas*, individual clinics and homes.³⁸

After the collapse of Mughal Empire Unani medicine came under the patronage of regional elites or wealthy/ eminent people like *zamindars*, *talluqdars* and the *nawabs*.³⁹ From the mid eighteenth century onward their position of physicians was further strengthened on account of the discoveries of new elements and techniques in the realm of the medical sciences.⁴⁰

The method of teaching in Unani system of medicine in Mughal period was mainly teacher oriented and the students studied some books of medicine and were attached to the clinics of some celebrated physicians. The students spent most of their time with their teacher, sat by his side when he examined the patients, watched the diagnosis listened to the report given by the patients the question put

³⁵ Jigar Muhammad, “Mughal Support to Madarsa Education (1556-1748)”, Paper presented at National Seminar, April 5th -7th 2005, Centre of Advanced Study Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh.(unpublished)

³⁶ Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, AD 1656-1668, translated from French by Irving Brock, revised and annotated by A. Constable, London, 1891; This version, revised and annotated by V.A. Smith, London, 1914, 1916, rep., New Delhi, 1968, p.292.

³⁷ Francis Robinson, *The Ulema of Farangi Mahal and Islamic Culture in South Asia*, Delhi, 2001, p.213.

³⁸ Seema Alavi, “A National Medicine in Colonial India: The Muslim physicians and the Takmil-ul Tibb College at Lucknow”, LECTURE held at Max Mueller Bhavan, New Delhi, 04.04.2012. (I am Thank full to Prof. S.A.N. Rezavi, Deputy Coordinator, Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History , Aligarh Muslim University , Aligarh for providing the article copy to me.)

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Narendra Kumar Dutt, *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*, (2 Vols combined in single book) Vol. II, Calcutta, pp.252-6.

to him and recorded prescription as dictated. During off hours or at night the senior *tabib* taught his students. The students also engaged in preparation of medicines. The clinics of reputed physicians served as school or tutorials where education in Unani medicine both in theory and practical were given. There were also concepts of physician's family in Mughal period. These physicians used to teach *Tibb* to their sons at their homes and made them well-versed in the medical profession, the father or the grandfather acted as the teacher or enter for their some and grandiose.⁴¹

Overall, one can conclude that arrival of physicians increased in India during the Medieval period, this happened due to several factors such as the patronization given by rulers, more curiosity towards medical education, teacher-student relationship became much more stronger to disseminate medical education, need of the society of medical practitioners arose tremendously, providing of medical education along with religious instructions and finally, coming of several European physicians to India. The movement of physicians was two-ways, and not restrain to only coming to India while it happened other way round also, where several Indian physicians went outside India for medical practice. Besides the movement of physicians, *vaidyas* and *hakims* shared cordial relationships and it enhance the medical skills for treatment of patients. After the dismissal of Mughal Empire, the patronage of medical practitioners continued by several regional *zamindars*, *talluqdars* and the *nawabs*; this was further boosted by new discoveries in medical sciences during this period.

Finally, one can conclude that in ancient period we have scanty information about how teaching was imparted on the subject. Medicine was practiced and local level institutions were maintained by individual *vaidyas*. Medical education received some impetus during the medieval period. The economic prosperity of Mughal India provided ample opportunity to the *hakims* to raise their position. They also enjoyed a respectable status in the society and were well paid for their practice. Mughal Emperors also took personal interest in the development of medical sciences and hence established a number of centres and institutions (*madarsas/matabs*) for the same purpose.

⁴¹ A.H. Israili, 'Education of Unani Medicine During Mughal Period', *Studies in History of Medicine*, Vol. IV, No.3, September, 1980, pp. 179-180.



Dependent Empire: A Comparative Study of British Imperialism in Egypt and British India Accumulation through dispossession

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Abstract

Britain was the Empire that ruled the waves. But the self sufficiency of the Empire was only possible through aggressive exploitation of the colonial peasantry. The looting of gold and silver formed the basis for Pound Sterling to keep the industrial machinery greased; ensuring the controlled prices of raw materials as an imperial policy; causing hunger and devastation for the colonized.

The paper will revisit the concept of dependency repudiating from the normal perception that colonies were dependent on empire. The prime argument of this study is that empire developed the infrastructure of colonies as catalyst of dispossession. The British going through the experience of American war of independence rethought its imperial policy primarily in India and Egypt. It was the cotton valleys of Indus and Nile that contributed in Industrial Revolution and Britain became the first workshop of world having monopoly on finance, trade and raw material.

(Key Words: Imperialism, Dependency, Capital, Egypt, India)

Introduction

Imperialism challenges the status quo directly through the instigation of new advance technology and generates conflicting classes in the colonized land; therefore it is necessary to install a procedure that will move people towards economic growth. Although, the mode of imperialism is unethical, Marx believed it was also a development force, since without it underdeveloped economies of

Asia and Africa would remain in their condition of lethargy continuously. Lenin argued that, Colonialism and Neo-Colonialism as important and progressive for the long lasting modernization of underdeveloped states. Sending of technology, capital and expertise to dependencies, he believed, it would retard development in the advance capitalist states with the development of colonies at the same time. (Gilpin 1987) The paper will revisit the concept of dependency repudiating from the normal perception that colonies were dependent on empire. The prime argument of this study is that empire developed the infrastructure of colonies as catalyst of dispossession. The British going through the experience of American war of independence rethought its imperial policy primarily in India and Egypt. It was the cotton valleys of Indus and Nile that contributed in Industrial Revolution and Britain became the first workshop of world having monopoly on finance, trade and raw material. The paper is divided in following segments.

1. Dependency Revisited
2. Infrastructural Development as Catalyst of Dispossession
3. Flight of Nile and Indus Valley Resources for Development of British Industry

Dependency Revisited

It is a fact that many less developed “races” had been dependant in one way or the other way on civilized nations as their satellite or had been part of their strong protectorate or they had been under the shadow of influence of great powers. The interference increased with the expansion of empire and administrative control was secured over them. This also helped the empire to increase their tentacles of control and expansion led to rule over new areas and people. India by all means was the most prized colony for the British and British politics. The trade between India and Britain in the year of 1931 to 1932 stood around 120 million pound for exports and 92 million pound for import. During the time of the crisis, though the exports decreased and yet they were maintained by forced exports of Gold and Silver.

There were various exports of Indian origin to Britain such as cotton, grains, jute, tea, leather, hides, and vegetable oils seeds. While on the other hand, India imported the most valuable products of the English industry such as machines, metal goods, oil, railway equipment products of chemical and paper industry and automobiles. For the British, the import of their cotton textiles by India was of a great importance. Before World War 1, half of the Britain’s cotton exports were sent to India. The post war years saw a decline in the British cotton exports to India, yet as late as 1928, India took almost 40 percent of Britain’s cotton export. (Fox 2008, 41)

Before moving on further with the argument of being dependent, it is necessary to put a glance on Waller stein’s three tier structure of the world economy. Since the

British bourgeoisie were engaged in repressing the poor down trodden of India, Wallerstein claims that the bourgeoisie would usually prefer a three tier structure to operate since it is the most stable and sustainable as compared to the two tier structure of core and periphery. The bourgeoisie have sustained a three tier structure effectively. The people on the bottom of tier would prefer a two tier structure, so that they can call it a struggle between us and them. The bourgeoisie thus prefer a three tier, structure because the 'middle class' of states acts as a cushion between them and the labor class. Just as there are centre parties between left and right wing political parties.

Dependency Revisited: Empire or Colony

In a letter to the Russian economist, Danielson, of the 11th February 1881, Marx thus sharply characterizes the annual tribute which India pays to England "what the English take from them (the Indians) annually in the form of rent, dividends for railways, pensions for military and civil service men, for Afghanistan and other Wars etc, useless or burden to Indian exchequer. what they take from them without any equivalent and quite apart from what they appropriate for themselves annually, within value of the commodities, the Indians have gratuitously and annually to send over to England amounts to more than the total sum of income, the 60 million earned by the agricultural and industrial proletariats of India! This was a bleeding process with a vengeance. (Fox 2008, 42). In the words of an Englishman well aware of India and her history, "our writing of India's history is perhaps resented more than anything else we have done". It is a bit difficult to say what the Indians resent the most but the list is long and varied. But it is true that the British period is bitterly resented. It is true that the history is written by the victors and conquerors, or simply place the victor's vision be given prominence and held the ground. The greater part of the records from which the history is written proves the British point of view. The circumstances of defeat hindered the Indian side to record their side of the story. While the available records destroyed during the revolt of 1857. Looking back at the events of the 18th century, it seems that the fruitful events and a chunk of good luck made the British earn this prized colony and became the world power. History tells us that the British were defeated on many occasions by Haider Ali, Tipu Sultan, Gorkhas, Marathas and Pathans. Had the British been a little less on good fortune they would have lost a foothold in India completely, or at the most restricted to certain colonial territories. (Nehru 1962, 17)

Infrastructural Development as Catalyst of Dispossession

The decline of the Mughal Empire in India opened various new avenues for dominion for the various power brokers. India during this had become a fluid, disorganized and anarchic state. This state of affairs proved fruitful for the British. The British made use of this situation with their astute tactics and able political

craft. They were better organized than the natives and had a professional approach. Out of the many functions of the East India Company secretariat, one was to corrupt the Indian officials by hiring them through wealth, rewards and riches, and subsequently to win their loyalties to the British crown. Their tactics like these made them win battles before the battles were actually fought. By winning loyalties, the British contributed to desertion by the locals and betrayals in the armies of natives. Betrayal by a senior official of Gwalior is a case in the point. Moreover, the British had a perfect spy system. The natives never thought that the British were watching every move they make. The foreigners had all the information of weapons and armies of their adversaries. While the Indians never bothered much that the British could take them by surprise. The Indians were ignorant in this regard because they never thought the British were a threat since they came from far away land. The British apart from a well placed spy system, had a global chain of command and communication, another plus point that they when it came to better organizing themselves. Each battle lost by the Indians was taken as an irreparable loss that could not be remedied. While the British, even if they lost, recuperated by the help of wealth and resources and were able to launch fresh offensives against their enemies. Winning Bengal proved that quite helpful for the British, the riches collected from that state made the British to sustain their fight against a tough adversary like the Marathas

The British try to hide what they have done in India. In the words of Adam Brooks “The British rule in India is a highest watermark of graft”. It was the massive plunder of Indian resources that made the Hindustani word “loot” be included to the English language. This loot and plunder was responsible for the famine that struck Bihar and Bengal, wiping away the third of the population. Before the advent of the British, the concept of such mass famine was unknown to the Indians. British on the other hands, claim, that their presence India was to civilize the people. In 1893, the Great Britain grew investment in various areas abroad, from total wealth of Britain, one- half of her capital was fixed, in the shape of loans to outsiders and colonial administration, a large part of the share was invested in banks, railways, telegraphs and other public sectors. (Hobson 1902, 16) They arrogantly claim that they laid down 40,000 miles of railway, 70,000 miles of metal road which aided in trade and brought 300,000 acres of land under cultivation for a country like India that solely relied upon agriculture. In fact it was the opposite. The railways, roads and irrigation systems were developed to increase the production and trade, but not for the Indians rather the British. Britain acted as a core country, plundering the resources from the peripheral India to ensure its own prosperity. Even the Englishman admit the fact that, the industrial revolution in England would not have taken place had it not been for the plundered resources of Bihar that acted as a catalyst, aiding in the industrial revolution.

One of the condition of the imperialist rule and a fundamental colonial feature of the Indian village was that the Land lord, the money lender and the merchant, along with the various other sub-tenants had a powerful grip and hold on the poor peasant. This mode of control left the agriculture to an everlasting deterioration while the peasant tasted famish. The peasant never got any benefit if the prices rose; the capitalist fame grew riches on the other hand. The rise in prices disrupted the peasant's equilibrium at times, causing more suffering for him. The peasant was getting peanuts in return for the blood, sweat and hard labor they invested. Not to mention the loans the peasant, borrowed on the harshest terms to make both ends meet. During the time, Britain was fighting imperial wars, the prices of commodities shot up, cornering the peasants. The inflation made the peasant to witness one of the worst famines in Indian history, causing damage of 12 million human souls. Events like these were given the cover of an influenza epidemic. The facts of such events were to be admitted, openly later. (Fox 2008, 45-46)

The important factor of imperialism is economy which impacts imperialism relating to investments. The placement of capital is necessary by every advance civilized nation, beyond the limits of its own territory in faraway lands or colonies to generate a new source of revenue is nothing more than imperialism. (Hobson 1902, 11)

Flight of Nile and Indus Valley Cotton to Lancashire

One of the flip sides of the coin, the case of Egypt, was no different. Sudan was used as a complementary, since it had all the points of origin for the river Nile. That made a simple equation, any one controlling Sudan would definitely have Egypt's lifeline in his hand. Egypt stands out from the rest of the countries that were colonized. The reason being this, that it was the only country that was completely converted into a factory for cotton production. Egypt solely produced cotton that landed in Lancashire to be completed as a finished product. The peasants of Egypt had the same fate like the rest of the peasants in other colonies. Their lives were knitted with the world's cotton market. Flogging was the order of the day, any movement considered a threat were suppressed brutally by the British. The peasants never stood a chance in the face of the British power. Armored cars and machine guns were the weapons of choice for the British forces. Even after Egypt's independence, British were the de facto rulers. The political party of Egypt belonged to the Egyptian elite, which was also toothless. It could barely protect its own self-interests against the British, protecting the rights of the peasants were never on the agenda. Sending the political party's head to Malta by force is also a testimony to the fact that political parties were like puppets, with their strings in the hands of the British. (Fox 2008, 92-93)

During this time in history the British were not only actively engaged in India and Egypt, but were also participating in the slave trade. The Africans brought were

sold in the slave markets to work on plantations of Cocoa, tea and tobacco. The crop once cultivated was sent to Europe for future processing. Once the products were made, they were sent back to the colonies to be sold. (Jeffery 2009, 175) British were the leaders of capitalism and their political power backed the economic might of capitalists and they were the saviors of capitalism as system, about which Karl Marx predicted that it contains within itself the seeds of its extinction. But capitalism as system survived and became worldwide in nature.

Imperialism as Savior of Capitalist System

The three economic laws as laid down by Marx give us an insight of what has been brewing inside capitalism that will lead to its internal breakdown of capitalist system. The first law given by Marx explains the dis proportionality of demand and supply inherent in capitalism. This law is in contrast to the law given by Say that capitalism can maintain its equilibrium, as supply creates its own demand. For Marx, capitalism will distort this equilibrium by overproduction, causing a gap between demand and supply. This will lead to economic fluctuation and depression in the long term. The supply of goods will exceed the demand by overproduction in capitalism. The second law of Marx tells about the accumulation of capital. Since the bourgeoisie were just interested in making as much profit as they can, this creates dis-equilibrium in the structure of investment and investing capital. The trend leads to concentration of capital in the hands of the few efficient bourgeoisies. This tendency pushes the weak bourgeoisie in the ranks of the proletariat, increasing their numbers causing more unemployment which in return leads to further decline in the wage of the working class. The third law of capitalism entails about the decreases in the rate of return on investment. This makes investing capital as less profitable. Liberal economists found a way to cure this problem by exporting capital in the foreign markets and having ventures abroad. For Marx, the problem of decreasing profits cannot be ignored, it is inevitable. Since the capitalists are engaged in more productive ways to produce with an edit advantage of better technology with the passing of time. This will lead to less manual work, causing unemployment to swell. For Marx, these factors have a direct bearing on unemployment. The distortions in the business cycle would set the stage for a rebellion and a social revolution by the workers. Since imperialism, was the way incorporated in British strategy to avoid the negative consequences of system, the system survived.

Though the thinkers like Hobson were heralding proudly about their contribution in development of colonies and there role in bringing these outer areas into three tier world system, there were many voices critically pointing towards the real functioning of capitalism and how British as leading capitalist state were exploiting the wealth of the colonized. Vladimir Lenin a Great Russian leader of his era is one of the people suspicious of the British imperialist policies. Criticizing imperialism

in the broadest sense means what the people of various classes think of the imperialist policies in their own ideology. As the finance capital has been concentrated in the few hands with a web of relationships and ties with not only medium but small masters on the one hand and a battle against other financiers for the division of the resources of the world pushes the elites to the imperialist camp. People are fascinated by what imperialism had to offer. Even the people belonging to the working class living in states like Britain were attracted towards it. Hence between working class people and imperialism there was no iron wall. Social Democratic party leaders were then called Social imperialists since they were just social democrats in words and on the paper, but imperialists in their actions.

The people including the writers, elites who were in favor of imperialism defend imperialism by concentrating on its secondary details. People in favor of it circumvent by hiding the real danger it has, while giving it a name of reform to defend what it does. On the other hand many imperialists were bold enough to accept the fact that is an absurd idea of reform that is incorporated by the policy of imperialism.

Lenin were of the view that reforms as projected by the advocates of imperialism were nothing more than a way of deception, an innocent wish, that will never actually achieve what it portrays. The elite classes of the weak nations will never taste the riches they think they will. Rather, they would further go into servitude progress will be hindered and they will witness one further backward even if the promises of imperialism are veiled by promises of “science and logic”.

The political feature of imperialism has been producing reactions of various sorts in every corner of the world, the rise in the oppression nationally, combined with the oppression of the finances and ending of a free competition is giving rise to anti-imperialist voices in all the countries that were colonized.

A group of people in United States became anti-imperialist and were in opposition when an imperialist war was engaged against Spain in 1898. The people termed it to be a criminal act and totally in violation of the American Constitution as lay down by the founding fathers. These anti-imperialist groups of people also denounced the way Filipinos were treated, First they were promised independence but later they were tricked, the Americans landed their boots on the ground and seized the territory, capturing their leader Aguinaldo. Here it becomes imperative to quote a former ex- president of U.S Abraham Lincoln, “when the white man governs himself, that is self-government, but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is more than self-government, that is despotism.”

Imperialism introduces the urge for domination and not freedom in the era of finance capitalism and monopolies, no matter what type of the political system is followed by a country, the tendencies of imperialism were producing nothing more than reactions in a negative way. The tendencies of imperialism lead to national

oppression and fuel annexation which is in sheer violation of the national independence of any given country. Annexation, was nothing else then robbing the people from their right of self-determination. Hilferding points out that an even in the new countries that have opened up, the advent of capitalism in them aggravates contradiction and provides the raw material for the constantly ever increasing resistance to foreigners by the native people who are waking up to their national consciousness. Countries that were witnessing capitalism are watching their history fade away. The Agrarian societies were being revolutionized. Cultures and relationships of societies were diminishing because everything was being sucked by the world pool of capitalism. Movements of national independence wherever they may be, in the colonies or around the world were a threat to the European capitalism and their field of massive exploitation. European capital had no other option for its dominion rather than to consistently keep on exerting violence and continue with it to keep their wall rolling. (Lenin 1997, 55-63)

Hence in essence, from all the loot and plunder done by imperialist in colonies and any other virgin areas, the imperialist could lay their hands on it. It became quite evident that it was not actually the colonies that were depending upon a savage empire like Britain's that devours everything that comes in their way. It was vice versa in reality, the empire was dependent on the colonies to maintain the status and power it had achieved by robbing the resources of the feeble nations and its colonies, to keep its huge armies, naval power and definitely to keep its industrial complex running.

Conclusion

Hobson, the famous English economist has been producing works of merit on economics and argued about the mode of capitalism. In the thinking of Hobson, the idea that he gave on imperialism is one of a kind. Imperialism for Hobson was a way of the British to ensure that the colonies can never break free from the shackles of capitalism. Hobson believed that cost of imperialism were bore by British people and state that were benefiting from imperialism but a class of capitalists, who were the real beneficiary. Hobson also argue on other point that it was only British Empire who bares all the economic burden of British-India alone that paralyzed the British economy in return. For him, imperialism had a tight grip and control over the dependent colonies through a mighty empire.

Moreover, Vladimir Lenin, a staunch follower of Marx was also suspicious about imperialism. He explained and shed light on the three existing principal of Marx and introduced fourth principal as imperialism. Lenin believed that, imperialism is projecting a wonderful picture and showing green pastures to ardent followers and supporters of capitalism. In reality, for Lenin, imperialism has nothing much to offer, for him, its deceiving and becoming more of a pious wish. In a nutshell, great empires always dependent on colonies and they were never been so powerful

without extraction of resources from dependent colonies creating an economic, political lag between different races and world is divided in civilized US VS Barbarian them.

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The History of indigenous bankers in India: an outline

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Abstract: The History of Banking in India is as old as Vedic Civilization. The terms *rina patra* or *rina lekhyā* are used in ancient India as banking terminology. Interest rates as well as usury were prevalent in ancient India. Later on *Manusmriti* condemns usury and calls it an acceptable means of acquiring wealth. Existence of institution money lending proved by the fact that *Manusmriti* fixes minimum and maximum rates of interest and considers money lending above a certain rate as grave sin. However, it fixes different ceiling rates for different caste. *Mahajanpada, Mauryan, Gupta, Rajputa, Sultanate and Mughal* periods¹ are also known for various types of such instruments. The *Arthashastra* of *Kautilya* mentions presence of bankers during *Mauryan* era. There were instruments in *Mauryan* Era known as *Adesha* which are equivalent to bill of exchange of modern times. The paper deals with several banking patterns of Indian history during the course of time.

Introduction: We find the definition of the functions of a Banker, “the principal business of a banker is to receive money from his customers, on the understanding that he will refund all moneys received or collected either on demand or at some definite date agreed upon between him and his customers. A banker is also a lender of money either by way of loan or by way of overdraft on current account. A banker is discounter of bills and promissory notes. Banker is issuer of drafts, of letters of credit and circular notes and on acceptor on behalf of his customers of

¹ Colonel James Todd, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Allahabad, p. 1130

bills drawn on the authority of letter of credit and issue of notes.² Formally one of the primary functions of a Banker but now can find in India to the other bank apart from bills issued under the letters of credit, the banker does not as a rule, accept bills drawn by his customers but though not compelled to do so. He does usually undertake either expressly or impliedly, to honour bills domiciled with him by his customers.

The indigenous banking

The banker performs other services for the customers acts as customers bailee in taking charge of valuable property, such as a plate jewellery, securities etc. which is storable in a small space; he acts as his customers agent in buying and selling stock exchange securities on their behalf; in making periodical payments, such as charitable, library and club subscriptions, insurance premiums and like and if a joint stock company the bank may act as a custodian Trustee. Now let us in comparison to the definition see what were the functions of an indigenous bankers is ancient and mediaeval India.

The indigenous bankers in ancient India receive money from his customers on the understanding that he will refund or money received as deposits either and demand at some definite date agreed upon between him and his customer the term applied to such deposits was *Nickchep* deposits³. In *Mahajanpada* India deposits were regularly received by the *shrenis* or guilds from their customer and interest was allowed on so many deposits by them to the depositors on their beneficiaries. In the *Mughal* India receiving of deposits was continued by *Kotiwalas*. The indigenous bankers in ancient India lent money to his customers either by the way of loan or allowed them to draw such amounts from time to time as work required by them for the finance of their business. It is of course true that the checks were unknown during those days and the customers had to draw money either in person by executive deeds of loan for every withdrawal or throw letters which were presented in their absence by their agents. The granting of loans was known in Vedic period and during Manu's time it attended scientific form. it was known as *rina* or *kusidam*. Function of the banker as mentioned by Sheldon is of discounting bills and promissory notes. There is no clear mention of the function of the modern banker in any of the *Dharmashastras*⁴, but it is clear that the rich bankers used to stand the sureties for their clients for loans taken by them from other bankers. These sureties were divided into four kinds, two of whom were personally liable to

² Herbert P. Sheldon, Practice and law of banking, Macdonald & Evans Ltd; 11th edition, 1982, p.180

³ Yajnavalkya smriti. With the commentary of Vijnanevara called the Mitaksara and notes from the gloss of Balambhatta. Translated by Rai Bahadur Srisa Chandra Vidyanava, p.70

⁴ Radha kumud Mukherjee, Local government in ancient India, Oxford, at the Clarendon press, 1919, p.110

pay the loans or the advancing bankers and the sons and grandsons of the other two were liable to pay even on the death of the sureties. The business, however, became one of the principal businesses of the Indian indigenous bankers during the *Mughal* period. They discounted *hundis* and *rukkās* and used to charge a certain rate of discount on the *Hundi bechan* and certain charges on *hundi sikrai*. In the connection we have the following testimony of Tavernier to substantiate this statement which reads as; ‘but when it happens that the merchant finds himself short of money in these some places and that he was need of it to enable him to pay for the goods which he has bought, it is necessary for him to meet it at Surat, when the bill is due, which is at two months and by paying a high rate of exchange.’” The word exchange is known in Vernacular as *hundawan*.

The next business of banker as described by several scholars is an issue or of drafts, of letters of credits and circular notes, and an acceptor on behalf of his customers of bills drawn on the authority of letters of credit. *Kautilya* mentions the use of *adesha* which were akin to the modern *Hundis* or bills of exchange. R.C. Dutt in his book ‘history of Civilization in ancient India’ makes a mention of the use of *hundis* in ancient India. We have another testimony of foreign writer who says as, ‘besides the coins, there was a very considerable use of instruments of credit. The great merchants in few large towns gave letters of credit on one another and there is constant reference to promissory notes.’ yet another foreign writer give the following testimony, ‘it may perhaps, therefore, be conjectured that the punch marked piece was natural development of *hundi* or paper of hand.’ This goes to prove the fact that bankers in ancient India used to give letters of credit and that there was a General use of these instruments of credit to those days. During the *Mughal* period there was the general use of these instruments. Tavernier⁵ says, ‘in India a village must be very small if it has not a money exchanger, whom they call *Sarraf* who acts as banker to make remittance of money and issue letter of exchange. These *hundis* were freely accepted and negotiated during this period as is clear from narrative of famous French Traveler. At these three last places Dhaka, Patna and Banaras, they only give letter of exchange on Agra, and at Agra they give others on *Surat* the whole only amounting to the sum i have stated.’ The negotiations of *hundis* (*hundi bechan*) from person to person till it reached to issuer, was a matter of course during the *Mughal* period. Accommodation bills were not also unknown. The *hundis* were divided into different kinds and were divided into bills payable on the demand and usance bills.

⁵ Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Travels in India, vol. 1, Macmillan and Company, London, 1925, pp.37,38

The next function of the banker described in the issuer of banknotes. The indigenous bankers in ancient times did issue metallic currency about which Mukherjee writes, “Does one unique feature of the north Indian Evidence is the existence of Guild seals and Guild coins. The excavation of *Basarh* now Vaishali have brought to light many seals and inscriptions referring to corporation of guilds of bankers (*shreshthin*), traders (*sarthvah*) and merchants (*kulhaka*).⁶” It seems that there was some thing like modern chamber of commerce in northern India at some big trading centers like *Pataliputra*. There are several references of the issue of metallic money of gold, silver and copper, but there is no evidence of issue of paper currency. *Hundis* were issued from each town and village by bankers who were inter related in business with bankers all over.

Methods of business

The methods of business of the indigenous bankers were very simple. There were no formalities to be observed. He could be approached day and night and at any hour. He had no fixed business hours and business would be transacted at any hour when the borrower approached him in either to borrow or repay the debt; either to place and deposit or get it back. When the borrower approached the banker, he settled the rate of interest; time and condition of repayment and after this was done by Maney was advanced in a most simple manner. Before an advance was made, the borrower was required to execute in loan deed (*rin patra*) or a *dastwez* as it was called in Mughal period⁷. He knew his clients immediately and had superb knowledge of their resources and financial position and thereby he was always in a position to determine without the aid of Intelligence department whether to lend or not; and to what extent. He knew the needs of his borrower and knew what was what. When he had decided whether to lend or not and if to lend to what extent, the loan was advanced then and there and borrower went to his home satisfied within 15 minutes. The bankers advanced loans in the following manner; against mortgages; against pledges; against production of sureties and undertaking to stand as such and even without sureties where the client was better known to him. At the time of advancing a loan, the borrower was required to execute a loan deed. the *Dharmashastras* ordained that no loan was to be given without execution of such a loan deed. The loan deed of Ancient India was in some such form:

I.....sonof.....bycaste.....of.....gotra.....alias.....
 have today (*miti* or date).....month.....*paksha*.....borrowed from.....son
 of.....by caste.....ofgotra.....alias.....the sum of.....repayable as.....with interest
 at.....

⁶ T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, Publisher T. Fisher, 1911, p. 101

⁷ C. J. Brown, *Coins of India*, Association Press; London, 1922, reprinted Bharatiya Kala Prakashan 2009, pp.13,14

If the loan deed was written by the borrower it did not require any witness and was sufficient proof of the transaction unless it was got written under compulsion or threat or under a misstatement of facts. If deed was not written by borrower, he has to sign the loan deed as below.

Ison of.....agree with the above conditions of the loan deed.
Signature of borrower

Ison of.....do hereby stand as witness to this transaction.
Signature of witness

I Son of.....have written this loan deed at the instance of.....the
creditor.....and the debtor.....both of whom agreed to these terms.
Signature of deed writer



Karma and economic life as sculpted in Khajuraho

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Introduction

Bundelkhand located in heart place of India is well known for its geographical features and historical monuments. *Bundelkhand*¹ was known as *Chedi*², *Jejjak Bhukti*³ and *Bundelkhand* during the course of time. *Chandela* rulers played an important role towards the local people by constructing huge water bodies and tanks on one hand with several monuments and forts on another. There were three administrative centers of *Chandelas* in the region known as *Kalinjer*⁴, *Mahoba* and

¹ The extension of area is contradicted but generally seven districts of U.P. (*Jhansi, Jalaun, Lalitpur, Hamirpur, Mahoba, Banda, Chitrakoot*) are clearly part of it with six districts of M.P. (*Datia, Tikamgarh, Chhatarpur, Panna, Damoh, Chhatarpur*). In this way the location of *Bundelkhand* is in between 23° 8' to 26° 30' N latitude and 78° 11' to 81° 30' E longitude with 71618 square kilometers total geographical area.

² Singh, Rajendra "Water resource and its management :A case study of river Betwa", Indian journal of Landscape systems and ecological studies, Vol.13 No.1, June 1990, pp80-85 ; *Chedi* region was territories watered by the rivers *Charmanwati* (Chambal), *Vetravati* (betwa) and *karnawati* (Ken)

³ Majumdar R.C. And Pusalker A.D., The History and culture of the Indian people, Vol. I , Bombay, 1951, p. 252

⁴ Singh, Rajendra, *Bundelkhand: A traditional land of fort complex*, the Deccan Geographer, vol. 32 , no. 2, Pune , 1994, p.2 and Archeological Survey reports, vol. 2 shows the *Madanpur* Inscription of Prathwi Raj third of Chahman dynasty as under - *v: .k jktL; ik-sk Jh l kes'oj l qmwkA t st kcd HkqDr ns'kkM; a lkFohjkt su yfir kAA*

Khajuraho. *Khajuraho*⁵ is well known for cultural heritage through the temple sculpture. We are fortunate that we have information about the social and economic conditions of the Chandela Kingdom as there are few archaeological and literary works⁶, monumental or epigraphic records of the Chandelas. The Epigraphia Indica and the Raychaudhury's "Dynastic history of Northern India Volume one (reprinted in 1973)" with several other treatise like S.K. Mitra's 'Early rulers of *Khajuro*' help us in framing the genealogical tables of the *Chandela* kings and in learning something about the warlike achievements of some of the powerful rulers of the dynasty. During this period, the economic organisation of the society was grounded in the primary grouping of men into the four different castes *Brahmin*, *Kshatriya*, *Vaishya* and *Shudra* was based on the simple division of the Labour. The caste now tended now to subdivide them further into the many sub caste or into the new caste based and named after occupation followed by the people⁷. The paper deals with the *Karma*, i.e. occupation of the people and economic life in *Chandela* period.

Key Words- temple, *vyala*, *Karma*, *Nagara*

Gradually the rules of maintaining the purity of the caste were also becoming rigid. Brahmins were the highest caste and their duty was to teach, to study, to perform sacrifices⁸. Many professions were reserved for them and they took leading part of the politics and government of the country as *Pradhan Mantri* and even the Commander of the Armies. When, with the rise of Buddhism *Vaishyas* gave up the farming because it involved the Killing In insects, *Brahmins* took this occupation⁹. Farming and fighting, in fact seem to have been the two occupations open to the all the caste and creeds. The *Kshatriyas* are mostly kings and Warriors. They were also well educated like the Brahmins and farming also formed one of their occupation. The chief occupation of the *Vaishyas* were cattle- rearing. Study of scriptures, business and money lending. They also took part in the political affairs and occasionally served as warriors. In the last decades of the 11th centuries, many sub caste developed among them and also based on the occupational subdivisions. The *Shudras* were not untouchables and followed the professions of farming, building and masonry. These two had their sub-caste of own according to the occupations

⁵ Atkinson, E.T., statistical, Descriptive and Historical account of the north western provinces of India, Vol. I, *Bundelkhand* division, Allahabad, 1874, p.524

⁶ Majumdar R.C.(ed.), The History and culture of the Indian people, Vol. X I , Bombay, 1969, p.111

⁷ Pandey, Ayodhya Prasad, Chandelkalin Bundelkhand ka itihās' (in Hindi), Allahabad, 1973, introduction

⁸ Stella Kramriach, The Hindu Temple, Vol. one, Motilal Banarasidas Publisher, Delhi, 1973, p.9

⁹ Pandey, Ayodhya Prasad, op. cit., introduction

such as washer man, cobblers, jugglers, basket makers, weavers and hunters etc. The new caste of the *Kayasthas* who served as writers in the King's offices is also noticed in the records of the times.

The two untouchable castes were Chandalas and *Kritapas*, the former of whom lived in the sailing flesh and by hunting and the later burnt the dead. While entering into the city they had to strike the ground with sticks so that others may move aside and make room for them. The castes no longer followed the ancient occupations prescribed for them but took to professions suited those best. The intermixing among the castes in the beginning and the new occupation resulted to the growth of number of new castes which could be distinguished from the others only by difference of occupation. An individual of upper caste was an inseparable number of particular castes and was expected to live in accordance to the rules laid down by the cast and in conformity with the rules of karma in which the span of light of the individual was divided. In the *Brahmacharya* Ashram he led the life of student and as *Grahasth* Ashram his many acts for maintaining his family formed Part and parcel of the economic life of the society of the time¹⁰. Many of these facts comprising the economic life of the north Indian people in 10th and 11th century are corroborated by the scenes sculpted in the temples of Khajuraho. A visitor of these temples is apt to be struck by the numerous indications of the prosperity enjoyed by the people of the time as attested to by the large number of scene depicted in the large sculptures. The total absence of scenes of beggary, robbery or such other acts suggesting the poverty of any section to the population may be regarded to some extent as an indication of the plenty and prosperity in which the people in general lived in those days. Scenes showing the use of jewellery of elegant and artistic designs of men and women which indicates the standard of the living also be taken to suggest some fact. The standard of living of the people is an index to the general economic condition of Bundelkhand region.

The sculpture at the Khajuraho portray men and women in different walks of life. There are in these masons, chiseling stones, labours carrying loads, female servants carrying water to assist the mason in his work, the surgeons operating their patients, physicians feeling the pulse of the ailing person, a judge pronouncing judgment, teachers teaching the students, female artist engaged in the landscape paintings, women functioning as armed guards in the houses of the rich people¹¹, all of whom have been vividly represented by the sculptures. The builders, painters, artists unknowingly leave an imprint of the social and economic life of the people of that times in their works of art. The portrayal of the domesticated animals like horse, Bull, buffalo, elephant, dog, monkey, cow, camel etc. that there

¹⁰ Kane, P. V., History of Dharmasastra, Vol.1, published by Kane memorial trust, 2000

¹¹ A. Cunningham, Archeological Survey Reports, Volume X, p.24,27

were professional cattle bearers. Birds like parrots, peacocks, swan and the hawk show the presence of falconers. Elegant and beautiful designs of the jewellery worn by men, women, gods and goddesses warrant the existence of goldsmiths as an independent caste. The utensils like serving spoon (*karchhul*), *Kalsa*, *Ghanta* and the mirror (*darpan*) help us to assert the existence of workers in the metals like copper and brass. Furniture like cotes, folding tables, cushioned chairs (*Morhas*) the means of transport like carts, chariots show that there were carpenters. The implements like *khurpi*, and plough, war weapons like sword, spear, shield and lance go to show that the iron or blacksmiths also flourished, Stringed instruments, woven and sewn cloths, the high boots put on by soldiers and horse's saddles, attendants with leather bags, the hunting scenes and the massive construction of the temples themselves would warrant the conclusion that there must have been the professional masons, farmers, hunters, grass cutters, leather workers, weavers, tailors, engineers, servants and physicians etc. in the society of the 10th and 11th century¹².

Agriculture seems to be having been the principal occupation of the people. Unfortunately we do not find at *Khajuraho* any scene depicting agricultural operations. Yet the scenes showing a small spade (*khurpi*), sickle and plough to prove that the agriculture was, no doubt and main occupation of the people and it was in an advance stage. One of the scene shows two men standing to the left and right sides of a wall. The man standing on right side has *khurpi* or small spade in his hands. In another scene a man is standing with folded hands and a sickle is placed behind him on the back. Gardening and fruit cultivation or maintaining orchids also practiced on a large scale. The sculpture portray various kinds of trees some of which bearing fruits like mangoes, coconuts, custard apples.

The portrayal of domesticated animals like horse, Bull, buffalo, elephant, dog, monkey, goat the cow would warrant the conclusion that there must have been professional grass cutters for the supply of fodder for them. Birds like parrot, peacock, swan, kite and owl in the hands of ladies and as *vahanas* of the Gods show that tamers of the birds lived by these professions. Thus the falconry seems to have been an established profession.

The Aryans used to take both vegetarian and non-vegetarian food. With the rise of the Buddhism, Jainism though more stress was laid on nonviolence, yet gradually by the 10th century non vegetarian food was again taken at the many castes. Thus hunting must have formed the occupation of section of the lower caste people, and to illustrate this many hunting scenes are depicted in the small friezes outside the temples.

¹² R. C. Majumdar, Age of imperial Kannauj, volume 4, reprinted 2012, p.82

The use of elegant jewellery, domestic utensils like *kalsha*, *Karchhul* etc. war weapons and stirrups prove that there were the efficient workers in metallic to supply the people with an the articles they needed. The workers in metal work were goldsmith, coppersmith and black smiths. The 10th century goldsmiths seem to have been the really well versed in their art. All the images human or divine that are found at *Khajuraho* are depicted as putting on plenty of jewellery on their head, neck, ears, arms, fingers, wrist, waist, ankles and toes. The beautiful designs of the jewellery for the different parts of the body so how export the Jewellers or goldsmith work was in their art. The head ornaments inlaid with gems, the *Kundals* of many designs, the *hara*, *guluband* or necklace of the Pearls gold beads or set in the precious stones all depict the height of perfection reached by the *Hiranyakaras* or goldsmith of the time. We must not here forget the poor beadsman who carefully and artistically put every single bead into the string to make the necklace thereof.

Weapons of war such as swords, daggers, battle axes, javelins, arrow heads, shields and armours as well as stirrups and buckles used in the horse's saddles were made by black smiths. Besides these sickles and small spades were also made by them. Excepting a few, particularly all the images both male and female are depicted with cloths on. the men's *dhoti* and lady's *saree* both are so fine texture that they seems to be transparent. Some of the female images like the consort of *Gomedha* seated with an infant on her laps are shown putting on printed or embroidered *sarees*. All this proves the proficiency of the weavers in their occupation. The Silken or woolen garments too might have been used.

As both men and women appear to be wearing stitched dresses, this helps us to conclude that there must have been professional tailors earning their livelihood by this art. Many designs of male and female head gears are found. These are of different shapes and styles, some are like a Crown, some has triple design and some are like a turban. These too must have been manufactured either by the tailors themselves or by another class of men known probably as makers of headgears.

Sculptures of *Khajuraho* show various hairstyles of men. In the sculptures, men are mostly shown with their hair tied into the knot at the back of the neck. There are men with bobbed hair tied with the Ribon to keep them in place and also with the hair close cropped as today. Besides these men clean shaven with goatee some times having a knot and having whiskers or with flowing moustaches also depicted and all these prove that there used to be professional barbers and shave men according to the moods and styles popular to those days.

Scenes depicted Pitchers pictures prove that the Potter's art also practiced and were professional potters to make them. The carved pieces of the stone being

carried on *bahangi* poles by 4 or 6 men and wild animals tied with ropes prove that the rope makers also flourished and have good markets for their ropes.

Some of the soldiers, the Sun God and the few other images are shown with high boots on. The horses are saddled, the surgeons and attendants carry bags and these make us to conclude that there were leather workers to produce the articles of common use¹³. The surgeon's bag is enough to show the proficiency and skill of the leather workers. It is a bag of quite a modern design with a long strap with which to hand it on the shoulder and a button to keep the lid in place.

The presence of furniture in some of the scenes like cotes, tables, cushioned seats, and painting boards with wooden slippers as well as the representation of chariots or carts are evidence of the carpenter's profession. Once it is proved that the class of carpenters existed, it is easy to conjecture that they must also have helped in the construction of the building and furniture them with wooden doors and beams although no buildings of shown in the scenes.

The mason's job must have been important one. The massive and elaborate designs so artistically executed even in the hardest stone like granite (sixty four *Yogini* temple is fine example) has bear testimony of the his efficiency. Hugh pieces of stone cut in various flowery designs, the massive Circular or octahedral pilasters supporting the roof, the top most part of the shrines cut and shaped like a *chakra* are some of the striking examples of the stone cutters and chiseller's art. While is there is no scarcity of the beautiful images rather there are thousands of them in one temple alone. the proportion of their bodies, facial out and various expressions of the face those of anger, love, disgust and parental affection show that the degree of perfection the sculptor's art achieved at *Khajuraho*. The minutest details smiling lips, flaming eyes are chiseled out in the meticulous manner by the *Khajuraho* sculptors. The mason has breathed life in the stone even while carving animal figures, the Hugh *Nandi* bull, the *Varaha* and the elephant are few of many examples of the stone image which could be mistaken for the real ones but for their surroundings. Modern painter would find it difficult to control his brush to the extent to which the 10th century meson has controlled his chisel.

Great care has been taken as to the formation of even tiny figures carved in the small friezes all round the inner and Outer *pradakshina*¹⁴ and it is neither short of a miracle, the way which they have made the stone images life like and highly realistic. A small slab of stone depicts a stone cutter cutting stone with his chisel set on the stone and held in his left hand, while the right hand has a hammer uplifted to strike at it with all his might which is mirrored, so to say in the muscle

¹³ C. V. Vaidya, the rise of medieval Hindu India, Cosmo publications new delhi First Published 1921 Reprinted 1979,p.313

¹⁴ Krishna Deva, Temples of North India, National Book Trust, New Delhi, 2000

of his arm. Close by the stands of woman with an earthen pot as ready to pour water.

Big pieces of stone tied tightly to the *bahangi* pole with the ropes are being carried by 2 to 4 or even 6 men; prove that there used to be a labour class as well doing the rough and tough works of the society.

The massive structure constructed with the Huge blocks of stone prove that there were expert engineers to design and execute such pieces of art.

“The architect ‘*Sthapati*’¹⁵ is the foremost of the craftsman (*Shilpi*), of whom there are four classes; *Sthapati*, *Sutragrahin*, *taksaka* and *Vardhkin*; the designing architect, surveyor, sculptor and builder plaster painter. These craftsmen carry/ out the instructions of the architect priest, who has the qualification of *Acharya*.” Surgery seems to have been practiced in those days. There are four scenes depicting surgical practices of the times. Government services too provided means of livelihood to people who had the necessary qualifications for it. Kings are shown with personal body guards, military men and civil officials as depicted in the judgment scene. Besides these there are other too the standard bearers, *Chauri* holders, watchmen, elephant driver, charioteers, grooms and other domestic servants. There are both male and female attendants depicted along with a few images which must have represented the richer class of the people¹⁶. As chariots were one of the means of communication as the charioteers and elephants drivers too must have for a separate profession.

Gold, silver and copper coins of the *Chandela* Kings have been found in *Bundelkhand* region but there is no reference to them in the scenes depicting here perhaps because most of the transactions was done by barter.

There are few scenes for portraying the means of transport. Horses, elephants, Bullock carts, camels, chariots and *bahangi* poles were commonly used for the same. Horses and chariots seem used for the quick moments from the places to another. Elephants might have been used for carrying heavy loads and for fighting. Camels must have served as easy mode transport for Nomadic people. Bullock carts were perhaps used by proper people for carrying their goods from places to places and hence must have been the most common mode of transport, yet only ones a idol has been shown holding a double wheeled cart in the hands. Men are shown carrying big stone pieces on *bahangi* poles. The number of men varies according to the weight of the stone. The slab of stone kept in complex shows that three men on each side of the stone slab which is tied to the pole with a rope, while in the *Chitragupta* temple, only two men carrying the pole. This scene very

¹⁵ The Srauta Sutra of Apastamba, belonging to the Taittirīya Saṃhitā, with the commentary of Rudradatta, Volume 3

¹⁶ Sisir Kumar, Mitra, Early rulers of Khajuraho, Calcutta, 198, p. 73

clearly shows how with the help of small bamboo poles they used to keep the big pole with the weight tied to it on their shoulders. The big pole was made to rest on the smaller ones, till it could be kept on the men's shoulders. Boats too must have been quite common, have been depicted. While walked on the earth, Gods went from the places to another through air. The flying horses, the *Garuda*, the *vidyadharas* signify the celestial means of the communication.

Domesticated animals like bull and cow show that the milk must have been used as beverage, though no scenes depicting cows being milked are shown nor in the any scene showing wheat, grains and pulses etc. or farming, yet there is no room left for doubt that agriculture was the main occupation of the time. The history of the Chandelas supports the fact that India was prosperous in agriculture and was flooded with milk and butter.

Hunting scenes would seem to support the view that animals were killed not for the skins only but also for their meet because the most common animals of the Hunt were deer and wild boar whose flesh is relished. Again the Hunters are shown carrying the entire body of their Hunt but they have been using their skins only they would have skinned the animal rather than the carried the whole of it. A scene depicting a rat eating *laddoos* from the bowl shows that there were various kinds of sweet. In support of this we can also see *Ganesha* eating laddoos from the bowl. Coming to the fruits now, we see that Gods and Goddesses along with their attendants are often shown with a fruit on their palm, which may be identified with the coconut or the mustard Apple. Ladies are often shown carrying a bunch of three or five mangoes. A mango tree is also shown with women standing under it. Practically every temple depicts ascetics or country folk drinking from bowls. These scenes seem to show that the drinks used were intoxicating beverages. Four ascetics are seated, three facing front and one facing towards his left side. At the extreme end stands a man bending on one side as if trying to pour from a pot full of some drink. Each ascetic has a bowl in hand. The first and second ascetics are anxiously looking on the cups held in the right hands. The first one the asking for more drink. The third one seems to have been over drunk as indicated by his abnormal way of asking for more wine. he has turned his back towards the man with the pot and is holding his bowl in his right hand outstretched at his back in unnatural and ridiculous pose. The 4th one is looking angrily at the third ascetic. Besides the domestic animals or beasts on burden already mentioned some wild animals too are depicted such as lion, deer, boar, antelope, wild goat and wolf. These animals are depicted in Jungle where hunting parties are shown.

No direct depiction has been made of cities, towns and villages of the period¹⁷. The presence of the cities and towns maybe conjectured from the Royal scenes

¹⁷ Udai Narayan Rai, *bhartiya kala*, Allahabad, reprinted in 2008

depicting the king and queen going along with their cortege. Hence it would be not be improper to assume hear the presence of prosperous villages and cities in the in the *Chandela* period of the Indian history. The palace scene depicted in the *Chaturbhuja* and *Vishwanath* Temple prove that besides poor man's huts of which no mention has been made, but whose presence maybe safely assumed. There were big palaces too with roomy balconies to accommodate a number of men fond of gossiping and chatting. The temples themselves bear eloquent testimony to the existence of the beautiful buildings elaborately elaborately constructed to beautifully the bosom of the earth.



Elephants Shown in *Kandariya Mahadev* temple *Khajuraho*
All pics courtesy Purushottam Singh, surveyed on 10.02.2011



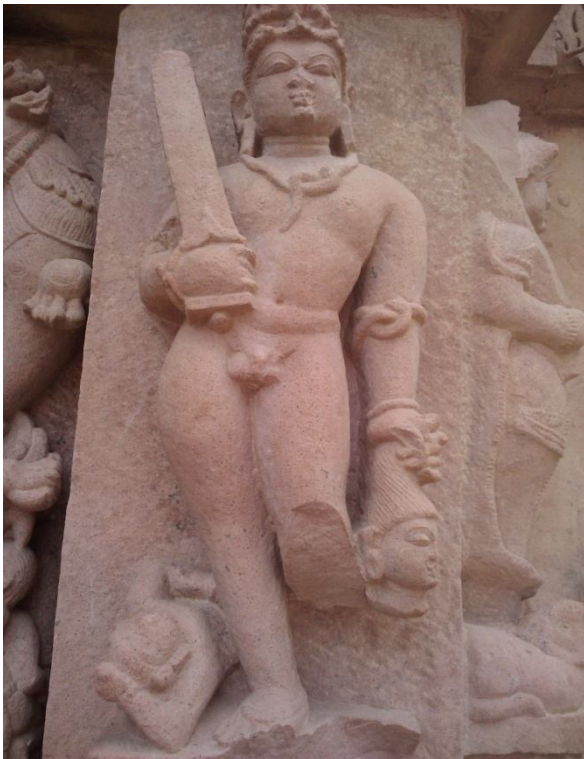
Vyala Shown in Chitragupta temple Khajuraho



Fighting and hunting in *Parshvanath* Jain temple Khajuraho



Vyala in different posture



Sword and ornamentation



Horses sculpted in Vishvanath temple Khajurao



Musical instruments & musicians depicted in *Chitragupta* temple



View of Kandariya Mahadev temple



General view of Kandariya Mahadev temple constructed by Maharaja Dhanga Dev



Failure of United Nations Peace resolution and the Gulf War

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Kuwait is a Sovereign Republic but Saddam Hussein left no stone unturned to bring it under his tyrannical rule. He claimed Kuwait as an integral part of Iraq. In 1965, Iraq's foreign minister discussed his Government's demand with the Kuwait's Foreign Minister. Iraq wanted that Kuwait should at least give up the two islands of Warba and Bebyan and territory that Kuwait occupied close to Iraq's unmarked border. At that time Kuwait's Foreign Minister refused the demand saying that his Government might agree to the idea of renting Warba Island to Iraq for 99 years. From 1974 to 1977, several meetings were held between Iraq and Kuwait, but none of them reached fruition. The Sheikhs of Kuwait under prodding from Washington, wanted to change the character of the area adjacent to the Iraqi border by setting up police posts, farms, plantations, embankments and drilling of Wells 'to pump out Oil from Iraqi Oil Fields of Rumaila. Algiers Summit of 1988 added fuel to the fire. The Iraqi Foreign Minister informed the Kuwaitis that Saddam Hussein desired to solve the Iraqi-Kuwait border issue once and for all. The offer was evaded by the Kuwaitis. All these factors were piling up as explosives.

In meantime Iraq was reeling under financial problem. At the Baghdad Arab Summit, Saddam told his peers from other Arab Countries that a drop in oil prices by one dollar a barrel would cast Iraq one billion dollar a year. Iraqi officials now contend that only hours after the Jeddah meeting of representatives of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and U.A.E. when it was decided that oil price should be fixed at \$18 a barrel, Kuwait said that it would ask for an increased quota at October 1990, OPEC meeting to assure the U.S.A. and Britain that Jeddah decision Was not final.

The truth is that the average Oil production by the Arab States is 14 million barrels a day. The deterioration of prices between 1981-1990 led to a loss by the Arabs of nearly 500 billion barrels, 89 billion of which was suffered by Iraq alone.

“Iraqi anger against Kuwait further rested on the premise that the latter was extracting oil from the Iraqi side of Rumails field to the extent of \$2,400 million at the prices prevailing between 1980 and 1990. Iraq presently wants every dollar it can save, considering that during its eight—year war with Iran it spent \$102 billion in purchasing arms from the West. During the Iran War the West gained both ways.

1

The opulence and glitter of Kuwait attracted Saddam and he invaded Kuwait bring about pillage of Kuwait at exorbitant scale :

“Saddam ordered his men to bring home everything undamaged. The pillage had been at the two levels : at the level of occupation government for National gain and at the level of Iraqi Troops for individual gain.²

The Iraqi soldiers took full advantage of Saddam’s verdict. They tooted the royal palace, plundered the Central Bank of Kuwait, carted off the food stock pile to Iraq and stripped the country bare, The hungry Iraqi soldiers shot and ate every edible animal in Kuwait’s city zoo. The Iraqi’s were not considerate to the sick even. Saddam ordered his troops to adopt scorched earth tactics in Kuwait. Before Iraqi invasion Kuwait had been pumping crude oil from nearly 1000 oil wells, Saddam’s agents put 500 of them on fire and damaged the rest of them completely. Saddam used oil as a war-weapon and declared an unholy wax upon the ecosystem of the Gulf and the entire West-Asian region. He ordered his men to open the spigots of Kuwaits main super tanker and more than one billion litres of oil found its way into the Gulf.

“Saddam wanted to achieve a number of objectives by this unprecedented oil spill:

- (a) to spoil the chances of an amphibious invasion by the US marines upon Kuwait;
- (b) to force Saudi Arabia to shut down its desalination plants on the Gulf, thus cutting the supply of drinking water to the Eastern province of Saudi Arabia and the Allied forces encamped in the Area;
- (c) To compel Saudi Arabia to close down its power stations and oil refineries on the Gulf by denying them a proper supply of sea water for cooling purposes; and

¹ Khanna O.P. : Disastrous War in Gulf : Ruins, Myths & Miscalculations, The Competition Master : March, 1991, P : 556.

² Mittal N.S. : An Unfinished War : Saddam Under Sieze New Delhi, 1991, P : 77.

(d) to spread eco—terror in the entire region by causing risk of life for millions of creatures that inhabit the Gulf region.³

AS Saddam failed to acquire the desired Oil Fields of Rumaila and two islands on long lease from Kuwait by fair means; I he stooped to foul means and acquired his objectives at the cost of innocent lives.

Iraq's occupation of Kuwait in such a manner was opposed by Security Council.

“There have been 12 Security Council resolutions against Iraq following its unprovoked occupation of Kuwait on August 2, 1990. However, Israel which has always been condemned internationally due to its defiance of the UN Charter and resolutions should not be an example to be followed by Iraq. Aggression can never be rectified by another aggression.⁴

In August 1990, many resolutions were passed by President Bush. The UN Security Council called its member countries to impose economic and military sanctions against Iraq. It was believed that Iraq would be pressurized by UN to withdraw its forces from Kuwait.

The US and the British forces became alert even before the Security Council asked Iraqi President to take out his forces from Kuwait and said that,

“The UN member states could otherwise use all necessary measures to secure the objective. The US has stated that all necessary measures include the use of Military forces.⁵

In the meantime, Saddam Hussein had taken all necessary measures to create terror in Kuwait. He put into execution his home policy in Kuwait too.

“It is estimated that more than 200 Kuwaitis had been murdered by the Iraqi intelligence and troops. According to Mrs. Awadhi, an authority on international law, more than 100,000 Kuwaitis had been taken away to Iraq as hostages and about 17,000 detained in Prisoners of War Camps.⁶

Saddam Hussein acted as a hypocrite on the issue of the withdrawal of Iraqi army from Kuwait. There was not a single more of Iraqi forces from Kuwait. Hence in the second half of December 1990 there seemed to be prediction in the full swing for the imminent disastrous War.

Saddam Hussein refused to comply with the directives of the US President and declared that he would not be dictated by the US or any other nation regarding the dates for talks while President Bush agreed to change the dates for commencing talks, President Saddam Hussein announced on January 4, 1991, his

³. Mittal N.S. : op.,cit., P : 78.

⁴. Khanna O.P. : Disastrous War in Gulf : Ruins, Myths & Miscalculations, The Competition Master : March, 1991, P : 557.

⁵. Khanna O.P. op. cit., P : 557.

⁶. Mittal N.S. : An Unfinished War : Saddam Under Siege, New Delhi, 1991, P : 78.

willingness to start talks in Geneva, Saddam Hussein sought an assurance that the U.S. would not launch a military strike against Iraq while Mr. Bush insisted on Iraq's unconditional pull-out from Kuwait. The deadline of January 15, 1991, for withdrawal of Iraqi forces was not observed by President Saddam Hussein.

The month of July 1990, had already sown the seeds of Gulf War. The forcible entry of Iraqi troops in Kuwait, Saddam's forcible acquisition of the Oil Fields of Rumaila and the efforts of U.N. Security Council to free Kuwait, aggravated the situation further.

In October 1990, the Iraqi Offer to sell Oil at half rates added fuel to the fire. Russia and France stressed on settling the Gulf crisis peacefully while

“The U.S. Senate passed 96—3, a resolution supporting Military Deployment in the Gulf.⁷

The month of November and December 1990 set the pot of hot-question boiling to a great extent. The first sixteen days of New Year came as premonition of War. All efforts to end the cold war with a peace treaty failed to pacify the blood-thirsty Saddam Hussein. Various efforts were made to establish peace between Iraq and U.S. which are enumerated below:

- (a) UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar meets with President Hussein in Baghdad.
- (b) Perez de Cuellar says he had not made any ‘progress’ during his talks with Hussein. Bush signs the congressional resolution authorising use of force against Iraq.
- (c) UN Security Council dead locked over French peace plan.
- (d) De Cuellar asked for an Iraqi commitment to Kuwait to pull-out in return for a promise of a comprehensive UN review of the Palestine issue.
- (e) President Bush starts hostilities against Iraq.⁸

Ultimately, the darkness of January 18, 1991 was enlightened by the operation Desert Storm for which

“President Bush declared, there are times in life when we confront values worth dying for. This is one such time. At this Saddam's retort Was, Should the Americans become. Embroiled, we will make them swim in their Blood, God willing.⁹

As the Gulf War took momentum, five of the Arab nations- Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Libya and Mauritania put forth an earnest appeal to the UN Security Council to call for a cease fire⁰ But Saddam turned down their request in a high-handed manner.

⁷. Indian Express: Jan. 18, 1991.

⁸. Ibid, Jan. 19, 1991.

⁹. Mittal N.S. : An Unfinished War : Saddam Under Siege, New Delhi, 1991, P : 112.

By February the Gulf War had engulfed the peace of the whole world. Those who were directly involved lived in constant fear of death while the others involved indirectly with War apprehended the destruction of Mother Earth.

Saddam adopted certain measures for open purchase of Military weapons from Russia and believed in clandestine purchase of arms and apprehended from the West, especially from the U.S. Saddam Hussein sneaked away 5% of Iraq's Oil Currency and deposited it in secret Swiss Banks. This money was utilized for purchasing Military hardware on clandestine grounds.

Saddam Hussein had deliberately invaded Iran in 1980 in order to make Iraqi army the strongest in the region. France was the first nation to supply weapons to Iraq and China followed suit. In this way Saddam provided Iraq with :

“5500 tanks, about 3700 pieces of artillery and rocket launch batteries; 36 Soviet Scud-B Missiles, 800 Fighter Planes, Five Frigates 1 Four Corvettes, Eight Missile-launching Petrol Ships, Six Torpedo Ships.¹⁰

Besides this he equipped Iraq with 72 tanks and 2000 Scud Missiles, Exocet Antitank and Anti-Air Craft Missiles and Puma attack Helicopters.

Saddam Hussein was convinced that only non-living explosives would prove useless without skilled men to operate them. Hence, he gave extensive military training to over one million Iraqi citizens. The chemical weapons of terror were to be utilised and many countries intended to threaten their rivals with this deadly term.

“Only Iraq, the Soviet Union and the U.S. admit possessing them, although the World's Intelligence Community believes the unofficial list is much longer 1 with some 20 countries 1 including France, China, Libiya, Iran and Israel.¹¹

The Gulf War began with the Bush—Saddam verbal conflict but it soon spread like an epidemic in the neighbouring region. The insignificant argument took the shape of a disastrous War. it was undeniably a high-tech war in which some of the weapons used were :

- (a) F-15 : The F-15E is powered with two Pratt and whitney turbofan engines of 25,000-lb static thrust.....The planes can carry up to 24,000 lb of bombs or rockets.
- (b) F-117A : The F-117A is a stealth fighter first used in Panama in December, 1990.
- (c) F-111F : The F-111F is a swing-wing supersonic, extremely agile fighter bomber capable of carrying either nuclear or conventional missiles and M—61 Guns and able to operate from low altitudes.

¹⁰. Special Report on : The Gulf Array, Front Line : Sept., 1990, P : 119.

¹¹. Khanna O.P. : Disastrous War in Gulf : Ruins, Myths & Miscalculations, The Competition Master : March, 1991, P : 562.

- (d) F-4G : The F-4G Wild Weasel Fighter Planes armed with anti-radar and air-to-ground missiles,
- (e) B-52 : The B-52s, based in Diego Garcia, are heavy bombers of Vietnam era, that can deliver a heavy payload that lighter air craft cannot.
- (f) Tomahawk Cruise Missiles : One of the first weapons to be launched in attach on Iraq were over 100 Tomahawk Cruise Missiles, equipped with sophisticated guided systems by which the unmanned missiles travelled deep inside Iraqi territory.
- (g) The Patriot: This powerful U.S. Weapon is about 5 m long and 0.3 in across, It weighs 1,6 tones and has a maximum speed of 5 Mach. It is highly maneuverable, very agile and destroys Scuds by delivering a killer punch like a boxer.¹²

Besides these, the Scuds supplied by the Soviet Union to Iraq were also used in the War by Iraq against Saudi Arabia. These did much damage in the War.

Another deadly weapon used in the Gulf War by Saddam Hussein was Oil. While retreating from Kuwait Saddam's agents pumped million barrels of oil into the Persian Gulf. As a result of the slick of Oil in the Gulf Water, a large number of sea birds and animals died. During the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, the, Indian Diplomats did not interfere and remained calm observers of the proceedings in the Gulf. This had an adverse effect later on. Mrs. Nazma Heptullah was sent to Saudi Arabia, as an all-party representative of India, but she was forced to wait in her hotel suite for three days before being admitted into the Palace to deliver the letter of the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Chandra Shekhar to the Saudi authorities. The Indian external affairs minister remarked that the present Gulf condition should not distract he attention of the World from the Israeli Arab conflict. He further stated that Israelis should vacate the Arab lands He further stated that without the solution of Israeli-Arab territory dispute and the Palestinian question, the peace in the Gulf region could not be restored. The Israelis had planned to settle the Soviet Jews in Gaza strip and West Jordan which was an open violation of International laws. Moreover, the massacre of a large number of worshippers at A1 Haran, Al-Shareef in Jerusalem shocked the people and the Palestinians living in these territories felt insecure. The consequences of the Gulf War were disastrous.

“Each country, whether rich or poor faced a heavy expenditure. U.S.A.’s Air-attack alone cost them 500 million dollars per day. Apart from this:

“Each Tomahawk missile fired cost about \$13 million. The one Patriot missile that intercepted an Iraqi Scud headed for Dhahran, Saudi Arabia cost \$ 1.1

¹². Khanna O.P. : Disastrous War in Gulf : Ruins, Myths & Miscalculations, The Competition Master : March, 1991, P : 562.

million.¹³

Egypt invasion on Kuwait cost her nearly 22 billion dollars. While Saddam Hussein had four to five thousand tones of chemical weapons which could be used during the War, Mr. Bush declared that nuclear energy would not be utilised on any ground in the Gulf War. By the end of War, the Multi—national forces had succeeded in destroying 1003 out of 5500 tanks, besides 800 personal armoured carriers out of 2870 and 1100 out of 3100 artillery Iraq had deployed in Kuwait. Due to Iraqi refusal of pulling out its forces from Kuwait, the only field left open for multi-national forces was to start the ground offensive against Iraq and push her out of Kuwait. The Iraqis were least interested in fighting back. During the first land-offensive against the Iraqi forces, 5500 Iraqi prisoners of War were taken alive and within a period of 24 hours their number reached to 14,000. Thus, Iraq was being hit-hard. When the War picked up momentum, Saddam Hussein planned a dramatic move. He personally Went on the air and announced his decision of withdrawing from Kuwait, implementing all the u.s. resolutions. He told his countrymen that Kuwait was no longer a part of Iraq and he had abandoned it under special conditions.

“Saddam Hussein declared that Kuwait - which he had earlier made Iraq’s 19th province — was no longer a part of Iraq.¹⁴ Since all the escape roots were sealed by the Allied Forces, the Iraqis did not know how to escape. The British, the French and the U. S. butchered the Iraqi troops. The ground offensive stopped at 8 a.m. on February 27, 1991. Soon after the Iraqi acceptance of 12 UN resolutions declared by the Security Council. During the short period of 23 to 27 Feb. President Bush addressed his nation thrice on television. President Bush declared Kuwait. a liberated nation and the defeat of Iraq in War. This declaration was made exactly 100 hrs after the ground operation.

The UN Security Council placed forth the following resolution as a basis for cease fire:

- (a) Iraq must release all prisoners of War and other captives of other countries.
- (b) Iraq should release all Kuwaiti who were prisoners of war and it should inform Kuwaiti authorities about the development and nature of all land and sea mines.
- (c) Iraq should comply with all the UN resolutions and pay War indemnity to Kuwait.
- (d) The Allied forces asked the Iraqi authorities to arrange the meeting of Military Commanders within 48 hrs. to arrange for the cease fire.

¹³. Khanna O.P. : Disastrous War in Gulf : Ruins, Myths & Miscalculations, The Competition Master : March, 1991, P : 565.

¹⁴. Khergamvala, F.J. : Peace Shot Down : Quick Ground War Frontline : March, 1991, P : 8.

Saddam Hussein was still in a defiant mood. He declared that it cease fire Was not honoured by other countries, Iraq would again pick up arms in self-defence, He added the grim warning,

“They will continue their aggression even after our withdrawal from Kuwait. So our readiness to fight must be at the highest level. You have faced the whole world, great Iraqis.¹⁵ The War was followed by a peace resolution from which India china and Yemen kept aloof and Cuba opposed it.

“The resolution stipulated eight conditions on which a Pause in Hostilities could be made effective:

- (a) Rescinding of Kuwait’s annexation;
- (b) Acceptance of reparations liability; -
- (c) Release of foreign nationals;
- (d) Return of Kuwaiti property;
- (e) Release of Prisoners of War;
- (f) Identification of minefields and booby traps;
- (g) Ending of provocative actions by Iraq; and
- (h) Meeting of Commanders of both the armies to arrange ceasefire modalities.¹⁶

The resolution lifted the sanctions imposed by the Council earlier against Kuwait but kept them in place for Iraq. But the resolution did not assign any role in implementation of ‘Pause in Hostilities’ to the United Nations. The Security Council Resolution was placed before the Iraqi National Assembly for its approval. They found it unjust yet accepted it to defeat the American-Zionist Plot’ against Iraq. The speaker observed, citing the Quran, We must sometimes, for our own good, accept that which displeases S.N The Security Council President Communicated that the Wax was finally over and a permanent ceasefire was restored in the place. - But in fact, the War in a way was not over for the hostilities had net ended permanently. It was a practically an uneasy peace because U.S. had a secret agenda to carry out and Saddam was adamant and irrational, creating difficulties in the compliance of the terms of ceasefire. Despite permanent Ceasefire in the Gulf, peace in West Asia is still a distant dream, The Arab world is in the grip of uncertainty, insecurity and apprehension of another War. Saddam Hussein may invite upon the Arab Soil by retaining his iron grip over Iraq in the face of stiff opposition from his Arab neighbours and their Western allies.

¹⁵. Khergamvala, F.J. : op. cit., P : 9.

¹⁶. Mittal N.S. : An Unfinished War : Saddam Under Siege Delhi : 1991, P.P. : 131-132.



Historical Analysis of Independence and Partition

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The whole country was in the grip of communal frenzy and the League *was* determined riot to compromise. On Jan. 31, 1947, the Working Committee of the Muslim League declared the elections to the Constituent Assembly and the Assembly itself as “invalid and illegal” and that ‘it should be forthwith dissolved’. It asked the Government to declare that the May 16 Plan had failed because neither Congress, nor Sikhs, nor the Scheduled’ Castes had accepted it.

Meanwhile communal frenzy had gripped several parts of the country. League had entered the Interim Government without calling off its ‘direct action’ threat. In Calcutta, where Chief Minister Suhrawardy had promised ‘immunity from police and army interference’, at least 4000 were killed and 10,000 injured.² The violence had spread to Noakhali and Tippera in Eastern Bengal, to Bombay, Bihar, U.P., N.W.F.P. and Punjab. Burrows reported that ‘trouble in South East Bengal is not a general rising of Muslims against Hindus but activity (apparently organised) of a body of hooligans who have exploited existing communal feelings.’ The League administration showed blatant bias: of the 1074 arrested only 50 were in jail by April 1947.³ In Punjab, a League campaign of civil disobedience brought down the Khizar ministry. Next day, a provocative Sikh

¹ Shiva, Rao, B. (ed.); *The Framing of India’s Constitution*, p. 359

² V. P. Menon, *Transfer of Power in India*, first published 1958, reprint, Orient Black swain, 1998, p.297-300.

³ *Ibid*, pp. 725-53.

demonstration in front of the Assembly chamber in Lahore, with Tara Singh brandishing a sword, and raising the slogan '*Raj Karega Khalsa*', was followed by large scale riots in Lahore, Amritsar, Multan, Attock and Rawalpindi.

However, the British made no efforts to avert or control this awesome human tragedy. The Interim Government of Nehru found itself presiding helplessly over this growing communal inferno. Despite the title, it was really little more than a continuation of the old Executive Council of the Viceroy. Entry of the League in the Interim Government had brought all functioning to a standstill. The Congress leaders lost their patience and threatened to resign from the Government.

In these deplorable conditions Prime Minister Attlee announced⁴ on Feb. 20, 1947, that power would be transferred to Indian hands 'by a date not later than June 1948'. Lord Wavell was to be succeeded by Admiral Viscount Mountbatten.

The announcement led to an intensification of Muslim League Policy and riots developed into organised large scale violent attempts to overpower provincial governments.

Mountbatten arrived in Delhi on March 22, and was sworn in on March 24, 1947. Nehru was his first official visitor,⁵ who pointed out that he was not accepted by the Muslim League the leader of the Interim Government. He stated that Wavell had blundered in inviting the League into the Constituent Assembly rather he should have waited for them to ask to be brought in. He said⁶ that the root cause of Jinnah's success and popularity was due to his negative attitude and policies. He avoided taking any positive action and refused to answer questions which might split his followers. Nehru believed that the promoters of Pakistan would realise their mistake soon. Breaking away from the rest of the country would not help them.

However, communal riots, combined with the evident unworn ability of the Congress-League coalition at the centre, compelled many by this time to think in terms of accepting what had been unthinkable so far - a partition. The most insistent demands for this surgical operation had now started coming from Hindu and Sikh communalist groups in Bengal and Punjab, alarmed by the prospect of compulsory grouping into Muslim dominated sections which might very well later form themselves into Pakistan.⁷

Jinnah went on advocating that he would have Pakistan and nothing else. Kriplani informed Mountbatten: 'Rather than have a battle we shall let them have their Pakistan provided you will allow Punjab and Bengal to be partitioned in a fair

⁴. Transfer of Power, Vol. X, p. 12.

⁵. Nicholas Mansergh, Penderel Moon, The Transfer of Power 1942-47, Vol. IX, p. 438

⁶. Mosley, Leonard, The last Days of British Raj, pp.100-101.

⁷. Sarkar, Sumit, Modern India, Delhi, 2000, p. 436.

manner.⁸

In the course of his talks with the prominent leaders especially with Jinnah and his colleagues it became absolutely clear to Mountbatten that the prospect of Congress and League coming together was even more remote than it had even been. To the Congressmen, it was a choice between Pakistan and chaos. The idea of division, the lesser evil, *was* considered inevitability. Gandhi was still in favour of united India, but he now departed into shadows.⁹ Nehru said, “We are passionately attached to the idea of a united India but we have accepted the partition of India. In order to give effect to this partition every effort should be made to meet the wishes and the interests of the people affected by it. Recent events have made administrative division of both Punjab and Bengal an obvious and urgent necessity.¹⁰ Nehru himself witnessed the ghastly tragedy, the sight of brutality, communal riots in March and April in Punjab which caused the death of thousands of innocent people. India was rapidly heading towards bloodshed and disaster and Nehru was “consumed with a sense of hopelessness in the face of it.”

The Rajputs of Kashmir or Jodhpur and the Nawabs of Bengal and Hyderabad wanted to keep their estates. The Akalis demanded *Khalistan* whereas the Pathans of N.W.F.P. sought independence in preference to merger with Pakistan. Suhrawardy set up a momentum of an independent Bengal. In the chaos of competing ambitions everyone kept their demand high.

Sardar Patél had accepted the ideal of Partition in Jan 1947. Much before Nehru did. V.P. Menon¹¹, the Reforms Commissioner had convinced him that a United India was an illusion, that Jinnah would never agree to anything except Pakistan and that it was better to save what could be saved of India rather than gravitate towards civil war. Menon’s view: keep the predominantly non-Muslim parts of Punjab, Bengal and Assam, accept dominion status in the transition phase before a’ Constituent *Assembly* could produce the basis for full freedom, deal with the princes without British interference and take over full power as soon as feasible.¹² After *Patel’s* broad concurrence, Menon forwarded the plan to Patrick Lawrence with Wavell’s permission. Mountbatten sw this plan before he left London for India.

The Mountbatten’s took a short trip to the hills of Shimla in the first week of May. Nehru along with Indira and Krishna Menon, joined them as their personal guests on May 8, and were put up at the Vice regal lodge.

On May 2, Lord Ismay and Sir George Abell flew to London with

⁸. Hodson, H.V., *The Great Divide*, p. 236.

⁹. Gopal, S.; *Jawaharlal Nehru A Bibliography*, Vol.p.343.

¹⁰. *The Transfer of Power*, Vol. X, p. 519.

¹¹. Menon, V.P.; *Transfer of Power in India*, pp. 353-57.

¹². Menon, V.P.; *Transfer of Power in India*, pp. 353-57.

‘Mountbatten’s First Draft Plan’ for the transfer of power to obtain the final approval of the British Cabinet. Mountbatten wanted this by 10 May, so that he could put in a week’s preparation; he had marked out May 17, for separate meetings with the princes and the leaders of the political parties, during which he would reveal his plan. If the politicians did not agree, and could not offer an alternative, Mountbatten had decided he would hand over power on the basis of this plan and quit by May 10. Word came from London that the Cabinet had approved the Plan.¹³

On the evening of May 10, in an after dinner chat, Mountbatten showed this Plan to Nehru as ‘an act of friendship’.

According to this plan, the provinces would initially become successor *states* and inevitably this would influence the negotiating powers of particularly the larger princely states which in any case would have the right to strike - deals with the centre before integrating with the Union. The Government in Delhi would be weak, with power being transferred to so many different points in the country, it was difficult to see how an effectual and contradiction ridden central government could prevent the civil wars and chaos that would break India into chunks, large and small. At least a dozen independent nations would emerge at the very minimum through this plan.¹⁴

Nehru read the document only when he returned to his bedroom. He was horrified. Shaking with rage he was unable to compose himself. He felt cheated¹⁵ So far, the British had only discussed with him Menon’s Plan which had Patel’s approval. That very morning, Nehru had accepted transfer of power on the basis of dominion status, and though he claimed that the only real difficulty would be in regard to Pakistan, he said it was now clear that Pakistan would have to be conceded.¹⁶ Mountbatten had then invited him to the round table conference on May 17 along with Sardar Patel, Jinnah, Liaquat Ali and Sardar Baldev Singh.

The betrayal shook Nehru who rushed a ‘personal and secret’ letter to Mountbatten. The proposals, he said, had ‘produced a divesting effect upon me. The whole approach was completely different from what ours had been and the picture of India that emerged frightened me a picture of fragmentation and conflict and disorder, and unhappily also of a worsening of relations between India and Britain... (I could not wait to) give you some indication of how upset I have been by these proposals which I am convinced, will be resented and bitterly disliked by all over the country.’¹⁷ He sent a long note in which he charged London with

¹³. Menon, V.P.; The Transfer of Power in India, pp. 353-57.

¹⁴. Akbar, M.J.; Nehru: Making of India, Quoted in India Today, Nov. 1-15, 1988, p.151.

¹⁵. Mosley Leonard; The last Days of British Raj, p. 135.

¹⁶. Transfer of Power, Vol. X, p. 174.

¹⁷. Transfer of Power, Vol. x, pp. 756-7.

completely abandoning every previous decision and pledge, of virtually scrapping the Constituent Assembly, of vitiating the central authority which could protect the nation and of engineering the Balkanization of India through successor states which would conclude treaties with Delhi on one side and HMG on the other, breeding a rash of Ulster's on Indian soil.

Nehru's violent opposition shook Mountbatten and the May 17 conference was postponed to June 2. Menon's plan was shown to the leaders on 16 May. Jinnah and Liaquat Ali though agreed to the Plan but refused to sign it whereas Nehru and Patel accepted it. Nehru declared that with great regret and in considerable agony of spirit, he and the Congress had agreed to the principle of partition of India because they earnestly desired a peaceful settlement of the country's problems and the least compulsion on any group or area. He added that he and the Congress always stood for United India and endeavoured for it for the greater part of their lives.¹⁸

Mountbatten left for London on 18 May to discuss the plan with the British Cabinet. The Cabinet gave their approval to the plan. Mountbatten returned to India on 31 May and decided to present his plan to the Indian leaders on 2 June. Soon after the Viceroy's meeting (on June 2 and 3) with the party leaders, the viceroy communicated to the Secretary of State the positive assertion given by Nehru, Jinnah and Baldev Singh to the acceptance of the plan. Attlee announced the plan in the House of Commons on June 3 which came to be known as 'The June 3 Plan' According to the Plan :

1. The Provincial legislatures of Sind and Baluchistan with the exception of European members would decide for their respective provinces as to which of the constituent assemblies they would join.
2. There would be a referendum in the Frontier Province and in the district of Sylhet.
3. The provincial legislatures of Bengal and the Punjab would meet in two parts, one representing Muslim majority districts and the other non-Muslim majority districts. Both these parts would separately decide which constituent assembly they would join.

In the event of partition being decided upon by the provincial legislatures, negotiations respecting defence, finance, communication and other matters would be undertaken between the two respective governments.

The AICC passed a resolution accepting the June 3 plan on June 14, Azad expressing the view that¹⁹ the choice before the Congress was not which plan to accept and which to reject, but whether the present state of

¹⁸. Transfer of Power, Vol. X, p. 870.

¹⁹. Menon, V.P.; The Transfer of Power in India, p. 385. 66.

indecision and drift should continue. Taking into consideration all the factors, the working Committee had come to the conclusion that an immediate settlement was urgently required. The AICC resolution was moved by Govind Vallabh Pant.

The North West Frontier Province, the Muslim majority parts of Punjab and Bengal, Sind and Baluchistan all decided for a separate constituent Assembly. Sylhet, too decided to amalgamate with Eastern Bengal. India was thus partitioned and two countries of India and Pakistan came into being.

On July, 2, 1947 the Draft of the Indian Independence Bill implementing the political settlement in accordance with and conformity to the announcement of June 3 was circulated to the leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League for their consideration. The Bill was introduced in Parliament on July 5 and after having passed through both the houses, it received the Royal assent on July 18, to become operative on August, 14, 1947.

The New Dominions of India and Pakistan came into being on August 15, 1947 and thus, British rule over India came to an end. It ended the chapter which began with the battle of Plessey if not with the granting of the charter to the East India Company by Queen Elizabeth.

For two generations, the major part of the national energy of India was devoted to a struggle against the British. British rule had meant for India not only 'political enslavement and economic exploitation' but above all 'spiritual emasculation'. Nehru expressed the view that "freedom of India was freedom from imperialism itself."²⁰

Partition was the highest culmination of Muslim communalism which had its roots deep in history. The British deliberately followed, the policy of appeasement of Muslims, who had been left behind the Hindus socially and economically due to social and religious reasons after the advent of British rule, to create a counterpoise against the nationalists and wreck the national movement. Partition of Bengal, Morley-Minto Reforms and Communal Award were the direct outcome of this policy. Even the demand of Pakistan had considerable British prodding behind it.

After the outbreak of Second World War, as the national movement reached its peak and transfer of power to Indian hands became inevitable, the separatist propaganda too gained ground. The British, rallying behind the communalists, incorporated the germs of separatism while negotiating the transfer of power. Thus, the Cripps Mission carried the 'non-accession' clause the Cabinet Mission Plan envisaged grouping of provinces on communal lines and Mountbatten Plan provided for the partition of the country.

²⁰. Bombay Chronicle, Aug 11, 1947, Quoted in Anita Singh The Role of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the transfer of Power, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, B.H.U., p. 296.

After the League's demand of Pakistan in 1940, Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress Leaders, although vehemently opposed the idea of partition, had accepted that 'the Muslims should have the right of self-determination in some form. Therefore, while negotiating with Cripps, non-*vaccession* clause was not made a breaking point by Nehru who however insisted on the transfer of responsibility of the country's defence to Indian hands and the talks broke down on this issue. Nehru accepted the Cabinet Mission's long-term plan but expressed his apprehensions on the compulsory grouping of provinces on communal lines. Jinnah grabbed the opportunity to repudiate the plan and the League launched the violent 'Direct Action Plan'. Nehru accepted the Mission plan in its entirety but could not satisfy the League. He led the Interim Government in Sept. 1946 and invited the League to join it. The League initially refused but finally did enter only to paralyse the entire administration. With the country was on the verge of civil war. The question now was whether the country was to have one or more divisions and this was amplified by the Plan Balkan of Mountbatten which was withdrawn after Nehru's violent opposition to it. In a bid to save at least 2/3 of India, Nehru and almost all the Congress leaders, barring Badshah Khan and Jaya Prakash Narain, accepted the Mountbatten Plan which created Pakistan. India achieved her independence on Aug 15, 1947 and Nehru became the, first Prime-minister of independent India.

The drifting caravan of India had reached a milestone. And yet there was anguish, there was remorse. The amputation of a social structure is as painful as that of human body. In both operations blood flows and so it flowed as a consequence of partition.

Many scholars have pinned the responsibility of this ghastly tragedy of partition on Nehru. It is said that Gandhi regretted that, in the final stages of the negotiations with the British, Nehru and Patel did not perform their duties as desired.²¹ Michael Brecher has also pointed out that Nehru and Patel opted for the division of the country because they were 'tempted by the prize of power'.²² Maulana Azad says that Nehru committed certain grave blunders which were ultimately responsible for the partition of India.

According to the Maulana, Nehru's July 10, press conference was "one of those unfortunate events which change the course of history".²³ He says that Muslim League had accepted Cabinet Mission Plan only under duress and Jawahar Lal's statement came to them as a bombshell for it meant that the minorities would

²¹. Lohia, Rain Manohar; Guilty Men of the Partition, p. 90.

²². Brecher, Michael; Nehru: A Political Biography, p. 379.

²³. Azad, M.A.K.; India Wins Freedom, p. 181.

be placed at the mercy of the majority. Therefore, Jinnah demanded that League should be invited to form the government for the Congress had rejected the Plan as was evident from the statement of the Congress President. He reiterated the demand of Pakistan and resolved to resort to Direct Action to achieve the cherished goal. After the Direct Action Day, the turn that events had taken made it almost impossible to expect a peaceful coalition by agreement between the Congress and the Muslim League.

According to Mosley, Nehru's speech gave the impression that once in power, Congress would use its strength at the centre to alter the Cabinet Mission Plan as it thought fit.²⁴ Michael Brecher comments that certainly²⁵ his speech was a serious tactical error'. Jinnah was given incomparable wedge to press more openly for Pakistan on the grounds of Congress tyranny.'

Azad cites other instances when Nehru "did immense harm to the national cause". According to him, Nehru insisted on giving just one seat to the League in U.P. Ministry in 1937 against Azad's promise of two, while the situation was such that neither of the two League leaders, Chaudhary Khaliqzaman and Nawab Ismail Khan, could enter into the government alone. "If the League's offer of cooperation had been accepted, the Muslim League party would for all practical purposes merge in the Congress. Jawaharlal's action gave the Muslim League in U.P. a new lease of life. Mr. Jinnah took full advantage of the situation and started an offensive which ultimately led to Pakistan."²⁶

Azad accuses Mountbatten of having greatly influenced Nehru on the question of Partition and goes on to say that 'one factor responsible for the change (in Nehru's attitude to partition) was the personality of Lady Mountbatten.'²⁷

The Maulana brands Sardar Patel as 'the founder of Indian partition's He says that 'Jinnah may have raised the flag of partition but the real flag bearer was Patel'.

He regrets his decision to step down from the post of the Congress President and offer his post to Pandit Nehru, a decision which he claims was not to the full satisfaction of Gandhiji who was 'perhaps somewhat inclined towards Sardar Patel)'. Azad writes that had Patel 'succeeded me, as Congress President he would have seen that the Cabinet Mission was successfully implemented. He would have never committed the mistake of Jawaharlal which gave Jinnah the opportunity of

²⁴. Mosley, Leonard; *The Last Days of British Raj*, p. 22.

²⁵. *Ibid*, p.23

²⁶. Azad, M.A.K.; *India Wins Freedom, Azad Papers, Painful Disclosures*, India Today, Nov. 1—15, 1988, p. 107.

²⁷. *Ibid*, pp. 107-108.

sabotaging the plan.²⁸

To a student of history; it is difficult to believe that so cataclysmic an event as the Partition was caused by Nehru's refusal to concede two seats to the Muslim League in the Congress Ministry in U.P. in 1937 or by his intemperate comments on the Cabinet Mission Plan in 1946.

It should be pointed out that any revolution, eruption agitation or break-up is not sudden. It is a continuous process combining in itself various forces which accumulate to take form in a particular phenomenon. The line of freedom struggle and partition of India falls into this category. Thus, it would be a fallacy to hold anyone responsible for such events. In such conditions a leader or a forceful personality does play a great part as he expedites or highlights the century old forces or passions which are waiting to explode at the *slightest* touch. Nehru's role in the partition of India should be examined in this light. There were other forces like the 'Divide and Rule policy' of the British, the cultural and religious differences among the majority and minority communities, rise of communal parties, rise of ambitious Jinnah, etc.

As a matter of fact, the breakdown of talks for a coalition government in U.P. in: 1937 was certainly not on the question of the inclusion of one or two Muslim Leaguers in the Congress Ministry. Khaliqzaman testifies that only once did he meet Nehru who was lying ill in his bed at Allahabad.²⁹ The meeting, yielded nothing because Nehru believed that communalism had no place in a democracy. While, Khaliqzaman insisted that the country should not be sacrificed at the altar of a system of Government borrowed from the West, which had never had to face a problem approaching in similarity to that presented by India. The Muslim problem in India was unique.³⁰ Composition of the Cabinet was never discussed.

It was Azad, who, along with Govind Ballabh Pant, discussed the composition of the Cabinet with Khaliqzaman. There was, however, no discussion on the number of Muslim League members in the Cabinet, two was taken for granted.

It was Azad who objected to the name of Nawab Ismail Khan as the colleague of Khaliqzaman in the ministry as the word 'Nawab' was prefixed to his name. But Khaliqzaman refused to relent.³¹ He however, offered full co-operation to the Congress if there was to be a coalition government. Azad handed over a two-page note to Khaliqzaman containing the terms of agreement to form

²⁸. Ibid, pp. 103.

²⁹. Khaliqzaman, C.; pathway to Pakistan, Brothers Publishers (1961), p. 167.

³⁰. Khaliqzaman, C.; pathway to Pakistan, Brothers Publishers (1961), p. 168

³¹. Ibid., pp.170

the coalition government. According to the note, the Parliamentary Board of the League was to be dissolved, the Muslim League party in the legislature was to merge in the Congress and cease to function *as* a separate group in the legislature.

To this death-warrant of the League³², Khaliqzama refused to sign. His argument was that they had come to the Assembly on the basis of separate electorates proclaiming that they would protect the interests of the Muslims. If they were now to agree to go to Congress without any safeguards for their interests they should be betraying their community. He was, however, anxious to co-operate with the Congress in the legislature and said that a conflict would not be in the interests of India. He was ready to agree to the terms if the Muslim League members were allowed to vote in accordance with their conscience, on communal matters.³³ Azad couldn't agree and the League decided to sit in the opposition. Thus, Nehru had little role in the negotiations.

Even, if the negotiations had been successful, it is doubtful whether he would have secured Jinnah's approval.³⁴ Jinnah was prepared to co-operate with the Congress but on his own terms. He was already claiming to be the sole spokesman of the Muslim community and asking the Congress to keep its hands off Muslims. Indeed in informal surroundings for an understanding between the League and the Congress in the Bombay province, the Congress was willing to let Jinnah nominate two members of the League to the provincial Cabinet, but his conditions were such that the Congress could not accept them. According to K.M. Munshi, the position would have been that Jinnah would have dictated the whole policy of the Bombay Cabinet through one or two of his nominees who would have threatened to resign at any moment they choose. Such terms would have imposed the dictatorship of Jinnah over every Congress government in the country.³⁵

It is not improbable that if a coalition government had been formed with the League in 1937 in U.P. and other provinces on Jinnah's terms, the paralysis which struck the interim government at the centre in 1946-47 would have overtaken the provincial cabinets ten years earlier.

Revival of League had become inevitable because Jinnah was too much a man of action and of politics to go into political wilderness. The bag of communal demands was empty nearly all the communal demands having been accepted by the Communal Award.³⁶ With the poor showing of the League in the elections, Jinnah could not force another Lucknow Pact on the Congress. He was faced with a dilemma: to stick to his semi nationalist, liberal communal politics which seemed

³². Ibid, pp.161.

³³. Ibid. 4

³⁴. Nanda, B.R.; "The Partition of India: Azad, Nehru and. Patel; TOI Nov. 21, 1988, p.6.

³⁵. Ibid., pp.6,7

³⁶. Bipan Chandra, The Birth of a communalist; Sunday 16-22, Oct., 1988, p. 74.

to have exhausted its potentialities, or to abandon communal politics. Both would mean committing political harakiri. The third option was to take to mass politics which in view of the semi feudal and semi loyalist social base of the League and his own socially, economically and politically conservative views, could only be based on the cries of Islam in danger and the danger of a Hindu Raj. Jinnah decided to opt for this last opinion. And once he took this decision he went all the way towards extreme communalism putting all the force and brilliance of his personality to bind the new politics based on themes of hate and fear.³⁷

Nearly all the major social and political props of colonialism lay shattered after the 1937 elections. The communal card alone was available for playing against the national movement and the rules decided to use it to the limit, and to stake all on it. They threw all the weights of the colonial state behind Muslim communalism. The League was recognised as the sole spokesperson for Muslims and given the power to veto any political settlement. The League, in turn agreed to collaborate with the colonial authorities and serve them as their instrument for its own reasons.³⁸

It is difficult to believe that Gandhi should have objected, to a person becoming the Congress President whom he declared as his heir; and said that the nation was safe in his hands. Besides, Congress was a democratic organization and Nehru was chosen as the Congress President unanimously.

The Congress as a whole and Sardar Patel in particular favoured a strong centre.³⁹ It is difficult to believe that Patel, had he been the Congress President instead of Nehru, would have accepted the concepts of loose confederation and of grouping being forced upon the provinces.

As far as Nehru's July 10 speech is concerned, even the Muslim League had expressed reservations about the Cabinet Mission's statement of 16 June, 1946. Even while accepting the Mission's statement of May 16, the League had reiterated that a separate sovereign Pakistan was still the fundamental objective of the Muslims of India. The League had raised objections both to the 'Long term Plan' and the 'Short term Plan'. The Indian Annual Register of 10 July 1946⁴⁰ states that by that date the League had already expressed its displeasure at the breaking of pledges both Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy". Neither the clarifications made by Sir Cripps and Lord Patrick Lawrence in the British Parliament nor the Congress acceptance of the Plan in its entirety on August 10, 1946, could satisfy Jinnah and the League went on with their programme of 'Direct

³⁷. Ibid. p. 70

³⁸. Ibid.; p.71.

³⁹. Transfer of Power, Vol. VII, pp. 508-11.

⁴⁰. Norman, Dorothy, Nehru: The First Sixty Years, Asia Publishing House Bombay, 1965, p. 236

Action'. Also Jinnah insisted on parity in the Interim Government and refused to enter into coalition Government with the Congress. Even when the League did enter, they did so only to bring it to a standstill and in spite of repeated requests from the Viceroy and Nehru made no declaration of their acceptance of the Mission Plan.

Jinnah had accepted the Mission Plan before he came to know that he had only two years left before his lungs gave up.⁴¹ He certainly wanted his dream to materialise before he died. Therefore, he adopted an uncompromising attitude and grabbed every opportunity to malign the Government and the Congress and to reverse his policy back to the slogan of Pakistan. He accused the Viceroy of playing into the hands of Congress and gave his own interpretation of Nehru's July 10, speech to launch an offensive against the Congress. League's ferocious Direct Action programme, their entry into the Interim Government and their role in it, testify that League never had any intention of bringing about an amicable solution or to co-operate with the Congress, in the interest of India.

The bitter experience of working with the representatives of the Muslim League and the series of communal holocausts left a deep impression on Patel's heart. He came to the conclusion that while the British would not leave India without a settlement with the Muslim League, there was no chance of the Congress being able to affect a module with the League. The Partition of India as Patel saw it was bad enough; but even worse possibilities had begun to loom ahead. As Patel saw it, the question was whether India was to have one or more divisions. It was the intrigue by the ruler of a small state Bastar with the Nizam of Hyderabad, and the attitude of the political department to it, which convinced Patel that it was imperative to secure immediate British withdrawal even if it meant acceptance of Pakistan.⁴²

A similar conclusion was reached by Nehru after his frustrating experience in the interim government where he found a mental alliance between the British officials and the league members. The riots in Punjab in March 1947 proved the last straw. By the time Mountbatten replaced Wavell, the Congress leadership, sobered by its experience in the Interim Government and the growing lawlessness in the country, was becoming reconciled to the idea of salvaging 3/4 of India from the chaos.⁴³

Thus, to accuse either Mountbatten or his wife of having influenced Nehru to accept Partition is unfair. As far as Nehru's relationship with Lady Mountbatten is concerned, Philips Ziegler, Mountbatten's official biographer, writes in his

⁴¹. Akbar, M.J.; Nehru: The Making of India; Quoted in India Today 0 Nov. 1-15, 1988, P. 151.

⁴². Nanda, B.R; Why Patel Agreed to Partition, TOI, Nov.21, 1988, p.6.

⁴³. Ibid.p.7

classic 'Mountbatten' "Her close relationship with Nehru did not begin until the Mountbatten were on the verge of leaving India,"⁴⁴ This illustrates that the politics of transfer of power had very little to do with this 'close relationship'.

Also had Mountbatten influenced Nehru to accept Partition, he would have also succeeded in making Nehru accept the Plan Balkan. His sincerity is evident from the fact that he withdrew the plan after Nehru's violent opposition to it, and returned to the original plan prepared by Menon, which had been accepted by Nehru.

It has been suggested that Nehru and Patel agreed to the Partition of the country because they were avid for power. No doubt, Nehru was anxious for a quick transfer of power but his anxiousness was an outcome of his zeal to prevent the country from drifting towards chaos and anarchy. Moreover, the decision in favour of June 3, plan was not that of Nehru and Patel alone: it was endorsed by the Congress Working Committee which included Azad. With the exception of Ian Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Jaya Prakash Narain, Partition was supported by almost everybody in the AICC. It was a painful decision taken with a heavy heart but to an overwhelming majority of the members there seemed no alternative to it. Azad said at the moment that the choice before the Congress was not which plan to accept and which to reject but whether the present state of indecision and drift should continue.⁴⁵

Nehru's conversion on the issue of Partition was very significant because without his consent and approval the Congress would never have voted in favour of the division of the country. But he had two options: Partition of the country as demanded by the League or a moratorium on all political controversy for a couple of years to allow tempers to cool and to produce the climate in which a compromise solution could be secured. But the political temperature had risen; it did not suit the League to have it lowered. For the League it was a case of 'now or never'. Gandhi's plea that there should be 'peace before Pakistan did not impress the League. Infact, the League's argument was that there could be no peace until Pakistan was established. It was either to be a 'divided or destroyed India'.⁴⁶ Nehru chose the lesser evil.

As early as 1940, Gandhi had admitted that the Muslims could not be won over by non-violent methods and that they should have the right of self-determination. In 1944, he had even discussed with Jinnah, the mode of Partition. Both Azad and Nehru had agreed, while negotiating with Cripps in 1942, that the Muslims should have some right of self-determination. Infact, this was never made

⁴⁴. Akbar, M.J.; Nehru: The Making of India; India Today, Nov.15, 88, p. 153.

⁴⁵. Menon, V.P., Transfer of Power in India, p. 385.

⁴⁶. Nanda, B.R.; Why Patel Agreed to Partition, TOI, Nov.21, 1988, p.6.

a breaking point by the Congress leaders while negotiating with the British Government. It is also true that Nehru could not agree with Gandhi on the issue of moratorium. Also, although he did oppose referendum in the N.W.F.P., he did not make it a breaking point and the province was merged into Pakistan by a vote of just over 9 p.c. of the population, Badshah Khan and his followers boycotting the referendum.

Still, it would be, unfair to hold Nehru responsible for Partition., If anything, he saved India from a worse fate by his violent opposition to the Plan Balkan, and then protected the unity of what was left of India, as is evident by his strong opposition to the formation of Gurumukhi Punjab and-the language based secessionist movement in Tamil Nadu, with a wisdom, that must place him among the greats of history.

Prof. Nanda remarks, “Some critics have pointed out: that Nehru was at times too theoretical, too proud and impatient to deal with Jinnah successfully. It is well to remember that the patience and humility of Gandhi, the cool calculation of Rajgopalachari, the militant radicalism of Subhas Chandra Bose, and the sedate idealism of Abul Kalam Azad and the gentleness of Rajendra Prasad equally failed to work on the League leader.”⁴⁷

⁴⁷. Nanda, B.R., The Indian National Congress and the Partition of India, In Philips, C.H. and Wainwright, M.D., The Partition of India,: Policies and Perspectives; p. 187.

Book Review

Kanpur Historiographers
ISSN 2348-3814

International Journal of History, Archaeology, Indology & Numismatics
Published biannually by New Archaeological & Genological Society
Kanpur India



Vol. IV, Issue -I (summer) 2018

<https://sites.google.com/site/kanpurhistorian>

The Making of the Goddess: Korravai - Durgā in the Tamil Traditions

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Publisher Penguin Books India, 2011
ISBN 0143417428, 9780143417422

The work of R. Mahalakshmi “the making of the Goddess: Korravi Durga in Tamil traditions” is answer to quest of identity of Goddess Korravi in historical traditions of Tamil region. The treatise contains six chapters including Questions of Origins and Identity of Goddess Korravai in the Early Historical Traditions; Continuities and Transformations of the Goddess in Sacred and Secular Literary Traditions; Inscribing the Goddess Female Deities in Early Medieval Inscriptions from the Tamil Region; Accommodating the Goddess; Imaging the Goddess as Saiva Iconography in Stone and Bronze; and lastly Dance as Metaphor Siva. Korravai, the only female deity known from the literature deified as the patron of the dry and arid regions, one among the five eco-zones (*aintinai*) mentioned in the Sangam texts. Marxist approach of change in means of production is defined as ‘preponderance’ of loot and plunder in such a society meant that success in wars and raids was a significant marker for petty claims to power. Thus, ‘the ideology of raid, heroism and gift intervened in the process of production and penetrated into the entire gamut of contemporary institutional structures’. During the centuries following the early historic period (c. 300-600 CE), it is possible to postulate that there were attempts to shift from primitive agrarian methods to plough agriculture,

to intensify agricultural activities in the fertile river valleys and to extend cultivation to the non-*marutam* areas as well.

Author deals in the similarities in the conceptualization of royal power and sacral authority with various symbols which were employed to bring this similarity especially in Chola kingdom. Primary discourses of the book are related to the analogy of cosmos, territory and temple, the institution of services for the deity in the temple closely which were modeled on the royal services, and the terms of reference for the deity or temple mirroring those for the king highlighted the correlation between the king in the palace and the deity housed in the temple.

Historiographical issues related to the appropriation, assimilation and incorporation of Goddess in early Chola temples is also analysed as in studies of Greek myths related to the goddess *Artemis* according to Rose with some interesting insights into the accretion of ideas and motifs, indicating the processes of assimilation, absorption and appropriation of the non-Hellenic traditions. *Artemis* is conceptualized in terms that are very similar to the Tamil Korravai; she is the goddess of the wild, the patron of hunting and a typical mother goddess figure. Several examples have been given beautifully from secondary sources of Rose, Moon, Baneijea, Agarwala, bhattacharya, Sircar and others based on iconographic studies including the *yogini* cult.

The association of Korravai is characterized as the personification of beauty and virility, beauty. The discourse becomes interesting due to frequent appearance of Sangam texts. The integration of different local elements and motifs within the form of the goddess as shown in the Sangam period is described. Chapter one and two also point out the nature of inter-*tinai* dependence, wherein local exchanges, as strong evidence that Korravai was originally a symbol of victory and power deified in the semi-arid *tinai* by the tribes whose very livelihood depended on wars and raids. Miscellaneous References are used to define Korravai e.g., according to Nilakanta Sastri, Korravai was ‘the fighting female potential’ of the three-eyed god Siva and was, by virtue of this, the presiding deity of victory in battle. Max Weber’s observation was that Korravai, the wife of Siva, like Siva himself, must be regarded as a compound of several divine forms. In a similar vein, K.R. Venkatraman sees in the deification of Koiravai-Aiyai in the Sangam literature, a proof of the prevalence of mother goddess worship in the Tamil region. All these arguments make a conclusion that the Sangam literature points to a blending of pre-Aryan and Aryan religious cultures in the Tamil region with statement that Korravai is identifiable with Durga.

The *Sankhya* Philosophy, one of the six ways of Indian Philosophy is explained with the use of two terms *Purusa* and *Prakrti* as follows

..... texts and denotes the site (Mandala) where the universal essence (Purusa) resides. It has been argued on this basis that the temple itself is an impulse towards

the manifestation of the Purusa . It is the cosmic intelligence that orders the process of manifestation and hence, the Purusa is conceived of as being latent within the former. The Agni Puranam brings into this schema the notion of impact or Sakti and form or akrti of the temple, which are manifestations of prakrti or primordial matter. 48 However, the Sanskrit texts in their descriptions of the temple and its component parts, relate it to the Purusa rather than Prakrti. Thus, the Agni Puranam refers to the door or entrance to the temple as the mouth, the flat roof as the shoulder, projections as the arms, the walls as the legs and thighs, base as the feet of the Purusa. In Tamil and Kannada bhakti traditions, inversions of this idea may be seen when bhaktas claimed that their physical form was the structure and that the object of their devotion was enshrined within them..... P.208

The best of this work of R. mahalakshmi is sixth chapter with the beauty of historical and archaeological narrative of *Siva*. This portion deals with epigraphic and iconographic evidences of Tamil area, as the following Para shows

.....There is perhaps also a need to problematize the creation of the Nataraja icon in terms of the very choice of Siva as the ‘transcendental’ dancer during the Chola period. As I have shown, many divine figures were associated with dance in the Tamil sources- Raju Kalidos raises the question as to whether Visnu was Nataraja in the eyes of the Vaisnava saints. Despite the evidence he cites- neither the term nor the philosophical signification was employed for Visnu in the manner in which it was evoked for Siva—he is the Atavallan, the expert dancer. The plethora of bronze specimens the icon of the dancing Siva were deliberate royal creations that invested the image with power and meaning. In the early medieval literature, it is the *ananda tandava* of Siva that has been exalted for its visual splendour and its cosmological ramifications.....

Over all, the treatise on Korravai Durga is a parallel discourse on gender studies. The book is worthwhile purchase for scholars of Indology. The design and outer features of book are attractive. I would like to appreciate Prof. R. Mahalakshmi for her glorious academic contribution to the domain of knowledge.