

the temple of Vishnu built by these merchants which was in a flourishing condition in 13<sup>th</sup> Century.<sup>5</sup>

These merchants carried trade in a variety of articles.<sup>6</sup> They used to buy and sell costly as well as precious articles like sapphires, moonstones, pearls, rubies, diamonds, lapislazule, topaz, carbuncles, coral, emeralds and gold. Since these merchants were experts in testing precious gems they were consulted by many rulers. Most important among the articles of export too far off countries were cardamoms, cloves, sandal, camphor, musk, saffron, perfumes and drugs.

As a result of the Chola occupation of Gangavadi prior to the advent of Vishnuvardhana the Tamil merchants established close trade contact with the southern part of Karnataka. Some of them came and settled in the Hoysala country.<sup>7</sup> They are described as the *ubhaya nanadesis* of Malayala and obtainers of boon from Bhadrakali. A certain Kunjunambi setti who was the head of the *ubhayanadesi* merchants enjoyed the confidence and favour of Vira Ballala II. He is described as a great merchant who supplied the wants of Kalinga, Malva, Chola and Pandya kings. Another merchant by name Damodara setti became famous in testing goods and animals.<sup>8</sup>

There were other eminent local merchants other than the members of the *ubhayanadesi* and the Five Hundred of Ayyavole. During the reign of Vira Ballala II the two brothers ChattaSetti and DasaSetti of *Banavara* in Arasikere Taluk engaged in extensive trade.<sup>9</sup> ChattaSetti imported wellbred horses perhaps from Persia and Arabia and sold them to the rulers of different states.

The important towns of the period Dorasamudra, Belur, Arasikere, Sravanabelagola, Talkad, Banavasi, Belligame, Hanugal, Uchchangi and other places were the centers of trade and commerce. In these towns there lived flourishing community of local merchants dealing in several articles like rice, maize, sugar, betelnuts, betel leaves, mangoes, oranges, salt, turmeric, cloves, oil, cotton, yarn, cloth, bangles and other day-to-day articles of life.<sup>10</sup> In many of these towns there were separate streets consisting of shops of different articles. The jewel merchants of Sravanabelagola had their shops in the separate street. There was the practice of naming the shops after the important persons and royal members of the period like Bammala Deviyarangadi, Kethaladeviyarangadi, Boppaladevanabasadiyangadi and Chandramauliyannanangadi in Dorasamudra.<sup>11</sup> Arasikere was a flourishing center of commerce and trade in those days and it has been described in several inscriptions as the southern Ayyavole, Abhinav Dorasamudra and the chief place for both sects of the *nanadesis* and its wealth surpassed that of Kubera.<sup>12</sup>

Apart from the important towns and cities which flourished as the centers of trade there was the wider scope for village markets. In almost all the important village's fairs were held, the vestiges of which phenomena could be seen even today throughout Karnataka. The establishment and management of fairs in the rural area was considered as an act of merit and we come across

several instances wherein the members of the royal family as well as the *Pattanaswamis* and *mandala swamis* together with the royal officials engaged in establishing fairs.<sup>13</sup>

It may be concluded that trade and commerce flourished very well in the Hoysala period. The merchant class of the time evolved an ethics of their own. The payment of taxes was not evaded and the state dues were promptly paid. They followed a code of conduct of their own which was called “Virabanjadharmā” or the high code of commercial conduct. The merchant community was a well-knit together section of the society and uniform pattern of behavior was adopted, with the result that anyone who dared to flout the accepted principle either in dealings with the state or with the consumers was looked down upon. In the medieval period the Indian society had already become isolationist and its contact with the outside world was almost shrinking. At such a period it was only the merchant class that formed the link between India and her neighbouring countries. The country stood to a lot of gain through the enterprising spirit of these merchants who not only built up trade contact but also promoted the salient features of Indian art and culture. The merchants of the Hoysala Kingdom had maintained close commercial contact with the south and south-east Asia which brought immense wealth to the country. Again, this prosperity was not confined to the personal enjoyment of the merchant class only, but was shared in a large measure with others through the philanthropic activities. The commercial class involved itself fully in the reconstruction of the society as well, apart from making profit for themselves. This fact is well established as we have numerous inscriptions indicating the charity of the merchants.

#### References:-

1. E.C., [Epigraphia Carnatica], Vol-V, Arasikere. 82, p. 182.
2. E.C., Vol-VII, Shikar pura. 197.
3. E.C., Vol-V, Hassan. 119, and Coelho William: The Hoysala Vamsa, Bombay. 1956, p.282.
4. E.C., Vol-VII, Shikar pura. 118.
5. Nilakanth Sastry, K.A. : A History of South India (III Ed.), London, 1958, p.332.
6. E.C., Vol-VII, Shikar pura. 118.
7. J.D.M. Derret: The Hoysalas, Oxford, 1957, pp. 221-22. And E.C., Vol-V, Arasikere. 108.
8. Coelho William : op. cit. P. 223
9. E.C., Vol-V, Arasikere. 22
10. E.C., Vol-V, Hassan. 144; Arasikerei. 71; and E.C. Vol-VII, Shikar pura. 118.
11. E.C., Vol-V, Op.Cit.45, and Nilakanth Sastry, K.A.; Op.Cit., pp. 308-09.
12. E.C., Vol-V, Op.Cit. 71, 77, 79.
13. E.C., Vol-XI, Davanagere. 105; and E.C., Vol-IV, Nagamangala.47.



## Begums of Bhopal

**\*Dr. Naushaba Shaikh**

Bhopal, the capital town of Madhya Pradesh, saw the rule of one of the most illustrious women rulers in modern period. With the disintegration of central power in Delhi, after the death of Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb in 1707, the control on his Empire became weak. During this time, a young *Pathan* named Dost Mohammad Khan rose and founded a new dynasty in the early part of the eighteenth century.

Bhopal was considered the second most important Muslim state in India, after the Nizams of Hyderabad. Among the so-called 'Native states' of India during the nineteenth century, indeed Bhopal the princely state held an exceptional position. The main reason being, that this state had almost an uninterrupted chain of female Nawab's inheriting the throne from their mothers for four generations. As a consequence, four remarkable women reigned over the Bhopal state for more than a century in an oriental country like India where male members have an upper edge over everything.

From the time, the new dynasty of the Nawab's of Bhopal was established in Bhopal, women played a pivotal role in its functioning. Fateh Bibi, wife of the first ruler of the new dynasty Nawab Dost.M.Khan, was the pillar of strength for her struggling husband. She was his counselor and horseback companion on the battlefield and on *Shikar*.<sup>1</sup> In almost all phases of the history of Bhopal, the position of women has been one of great honour and influence. From the Begum consorts in their palace and crown heads among the lady rulers have radiated waves of cultural effluence which shed luster on the annals of Bhopal.<sup>2</sup>

The role of its women rulers was vital for Bhopal State's existence. They played a pivotal role for the survival of a Muslim princely state in the heart of a country. Mamola Bai (1744-95), a Hindu Rajput, married the Muslim Dost Mohammad Khan's son and successor Yar Mohammad Khan. Though she was never recognized as a ruler, for fifty years she ruled the state from behind the curtain (purdah) on behalf of Yar's ineffective sons.

---

**\*Zakir Bagh, Okhla Road, New Delhi**

**Volume III, Number 11, July-September 2014, ISSN 2277-4157**

After the death of Mamola Bai, Hayat Mohammad Khan was left solely with all the state powers. However his death saw the line of throne inheritance shift to another descendant of Dost Mohammad Khan, Wazir Mohammad Khan. Wazir Mohammad Khan forced Ghaus Mohammad Khan, son of Hayat Mohammad Khan into retirement due to his ways not befitting an heir apparent. Wazir Mohammad Khan was subsequently succeeded by his son Nazr Mohammad Khan. However Nazr Mohammad Khan's untimely death, brought the era of Begum Nawab's, with his widow, the formidable Qudsiya Begum (1819-37) seizing power on behalf of her only fifteen months old daughter Sikandar. Qudsiya Begum successfully warded off all the male claimants to the *masnad* of Bhopal. She ruled the state effectively and efficiently, while side by side preparing Sikandar for future power which she would inherit, and so laid the foundations for Bhopal's golden era. Qudsiya Begum consolidated her hold over the power of the state and can therefore be said to start the beginning of a unique age of women power.

Shaharyar.M.Khan writes- 'Qudsiya Begum broke fresh ground by asserting a Muslim woman's right to legally assume the title of ruler against the claims of valid male heirs'.<sup>3</sup>

During and after her life, Qudsiya Begum was remembered and renowned for love, liberty, kindness of heart, generous deeds of charity, and the simplicity of her life. She was greatly revered and loved by all her subjects.

In pre-Victorian Britain, activities of this kind were clearly more inline with conceptions of female public commitment. Qudsiya Begum was decorated with the Order of Imperial Cross in 1877, and later with the Order of the Crown of India which was a sign of her acceptability to the Britishers. Political agent Wilkinson, who has often criticized Qudsiya Begum, as he had reservations for women's rule, had later admitted that: 'The public of Bhopal are openly declaring that they lived in peace and comfort under the protection of Qudsiya begum and that there was neither fear nor danger during her wise reign'.<sup>4</sup>

Once the Begum was confident on her line of succession, she diverted her attention and efforts in other fields as well. Qudsiya Begum's greatest achievement was the construction of waterworks and laying of pipelines throughout the state of Bhopal. She completely financed these from her Privy Purse.

After Qudsiya, the second Begum was her daughter Sikdander Begum (1843-1868). Sikandar was fearsome in her Amazonian physical appearance. She was a typical modernist and reformer of nineteenth century. She presided over administrative, social and educational reforms and made Bhopal state a heaven for scholarship and culture, which attracted many able and learned men to settle in Bhopal around the country. She encouraged art and crafts and Bhopal became a core center for their development. Sikandar Begum's golden period took Bhopal to the progressive reforms and advancement. Bhopal emerged as one of the best governed, enlightened and stable princely state by force of Sikandar personality, by sheer diligent good governance and by her wise statecraft. Her reign was the

period of 'renaissance' in Bhopal. She was an ambitious lady, who was a symbol of wisdom and strong sovereign. She worked day and night to undertake serious reforms in her state.<sup>5</sup>

The overall condition of the inhabitants of the city of Bhopal also improved. Every new administrative unit was connected to the capital by newly designed roads. In every part of the city, roads were constructed. On both sides of the street, lamp posts were set and hundreds of permanent houses were built. Learned men of science, artisans, and scholars came to Bhopal and settled. There was a remarkable increase in wealth and prosperity of the people of Bhopal.

Sikandar Begum took many reformative measures. Sikandar Begum's 'neo-Mughal' cultural policy went well with the westernization she wanted in some fields. The plans for a railway system in Bhopal are evidence of this. Another example of this westernization was the medical system in which she introduced European methods of treatment.<sup>6</sup>

French traveler, Louis Rousselet, visited Bhopal State in 1867, the last year of Nawab Sikandar Begum's reign. He was impressed and fascinated by the city, the inhabitants and, of course, by the Begums.

Sikandar Begum's dedication and wisdom brought Bhopal to its pinnacle and became one of the prominent cities of India. The rapid progress and advancement of the state of Bhopal brought relief and prosperity to the common people. The prosperity and progress of Bhopal during her reign shows that she was a better ruler than her male counterparts.

It showed to the world that a woman can rise superior to the weaknesses of her sex, and can challenge competition even in those spheres of action which demands qualities that men only are supposed to possess.<sup>7</sup>

Sikandar Begum constructed many structures for public utility. She constructed a *sarai*, schools, orphanage, hospitals, roads and laid a railway line for Bhopal. Sikandar Begum gave the much needed security and stability which pushed the state towards a model state. The state was placed ahead of other states of India. The picturesque scenery, the pleasant climate, good governance, just state, Hindu-Muslim harmony and good employment opportunities saw craftsmen, scholars, learned men, skilled men to settle in Bhopal.

Nawab Shahjahan Begum was crowned the ruler of Bhopal state in 1868. She was the third Begum to rule the state. She inherited a stable, secure and well governed state from her mother, Sikandar Begum. Shahjahan Begum's rule saw Bhopal prominently placed on the map of India. It was well administered with reforms in agriculture, the police, the army, civil administration and finance. Above all, Bhopal exuded an aura of fair governance, communal harmony, simplicity and encouragement for the learned and skilled men to settle in this beautiful city. Shahjahan Begum's fair and progressive administration took Bhopal to the pinnacle of its development. Shahjahan left a considerable mark in architecture, music, poetry and arts.

Like her Moghul namesake, Shahjahan began building magnificent palaces, mosques and monuments. She encouraged the arts and paid particular attention to humanitarian issues like housing, health and education.<sup>8</sup>

The last Begum among the four, Sultan Jahan (1901-26) stamped her rule with her own powerful image. Sultan Jahan combined Muslim piety with ardent reform and became an international figure for her works in the field of education and women's emancipation. She was the first president of the All India Conference on Education and first Chancellor of the Muslim University of Aligarh. Sultan Jahan was a tireless social worker. She had been a trail-blazing reformer like a puritan. Sultan Jahan gave Bhopal a new, liberal dimension adding colour, gaiety and panache to the state.

Sultan Jahan Begum was the successful combination of 'modernization' and 'Islamisation'. Sultan Jahan Begum had been fully and well prepared for her future role as a ruler since childhood. Nawab Sikandar Begum, her grandmother, had brought up and educated Sultan Jahan. Sultan Jahan was taught very much like male members of the ruling families. The curriculum did not differ for her and all her teachers were men. Sikandar Begum regarded English and arithmetic as compulsory subjects for making her family's position secure.<sup>9</sup>

Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum wrote her memoirs in three volumes, titled, 'An Account of my life'. She was a great promoter of art and crafts. Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum patronized art, architecture and crafts in her state. She encouraged the teaching of art and handicrafts in her schools. She wanted to improve the quality of education in her state. Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum was fully committed in improving the health and overall care of women and children in her state. Two hospitals were established in Bhopal state, i.e., Prince of Wales Hospital for males and Lady Lansdowne Hospital for females. For infant, the Lady Hardinge Infant Home was maintained under the supervision of the Lady Lansdowne hospital.<sup>10</sup>

The administrative reforms carried out by Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum deserve special mention. She was an enlightened ruler who wanted to help the poor and needy and punish the corrupt officials of the state.<sup>11</sup> Effective steps were taken to modernize Bhopal's administration. Telephone connections were installed in the palace and administrative department of the state. Nawab Begum Sultan Jahan took firm steps in promoting industries of the state.

According to the Gazetteer of the year 1908, 'the chief industries were weaving and printing of cotton cloth and the making of jewellery.' She established a sugar factory on an experimental basis to promote trade and industry in the state. In order to further expand trade in her state, Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum reduced the custom duties, so that her dream of making Bhopal a flourishing trade centre was fulfilled.<sup>12</sup> To improve Bhopal's art and manufacturing units, many attempts were initiated by the Begum. Art and crafts were included in the curriculum of the schools.

The reign of the Begums in Bhopal ended with Nawab Hamidullah Khan, son of Sultan Jahan Begum, ascending the throne.

There was a marked improvement in the overall administrative mechanism of the state as the Begum's consolidated their domain in the kingdom. It was a period when a breath of joy and gaiety was let into the life of Bhopal. All the Begums had a practical bent of mind. As Sultan Jahan writes- 'The writer (Sultan Jahan Begum) from a study of the histories of the world and from her knowledge of her own dynasty, has come to the conclusion that administrative capacity is more inherent in women than in men, and that nature specially intended them for rulers.

Men are given bodily strength to earn their living and to enable them to fight in battles. Women have been granted the qualities of mercy, sympathy, toleration, fidelity and firmness. These render them especially suitable as rulers of kingdoms though no doubt education and careful upbringing are necessary for both sexes. Given these, women are superior to men.'<sup>13</sup>

### References

1. Shaharyar.M.Khan, '*The Begum's Of Bhopal*', I.B. Taurus Publishers, London-New York, 2000, p.28
2. Kamla Mittal, '*History Of Bhopal State : Development of Constitution, Administration and National Awakening, 1901-1949*', Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1990, pp. 18-19
3. Shaharyar.M.Khan, Op.Cit. p.73.
4. Sultan Jahan Begum, '*Hayat-i-Qudsi*' : *Life Of Nawab Gauhar Begum alias the Nawab Begum Qudsiya Of Bhopal*; translated W.S.Davis, London : Kegal Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd., New York : E.P. Dulton & Co., 1918, p.108.
5. Claudia Preckel, '*Begums of Bhopal*', Lotus Collection, Roli Books, New Delhi, 2000, pp.48-49.
6. Ibid, pp. 72-73.
7. Sultan Jahan Begum, '*An Account of My Life (Akhtar Iqbal)*', Vol-I, translated C.H.Payne, London, 1910, p.9.
8. Ibid, p.120.
9. Claudia Preckel, op. cit., p.177.
10. Kamala Mittal, Op.Cit. , p.89.
11. Gauri Srivastava, '*The Legend Makers, Some Eminent Muslim Women Of India*', Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 2003, p.76.
12. Shaharyar.M.Khan, Op.Cit. , p.184.
13. Kamala Mittal, Op.Cit. , p.64.



## **The Land Revenue System In Vijayanagara Empire**

**\*Dr. R.Ravi**

**Introduction** -India is a country mainly agricultural, and Indian finances always depend on the land policy of the Government. In the days gone by, when the taxable resources of the country were found to be few, land revenue formed a major share of the gross receipts of the state. In an agricultural country like India, until quite recently, it had been the mainstay of the Indian Finance, yielding a large part of the revenue. In south India, particularly, throughout the ancient and medieval periods of history, the main source of revenue that went to fill the coffers of the government was the land tax.<sup>1</sup> According to Saletore: “The success which crowned the effort of the Hindus in Mediaeval time may be attributed, among other factors partly to the unflinching support which the people gave them, and partly to the immense revenue which they could command.”<sup>2</sup> The Vijayanagara Empire was no exception to this. In this paper an attempt has been made to examine the principles of land revenue assessment and collection and incidence of taxation adopted by the monarchs of Vijayanagara on the basis of contemporary inscriptions, indigenous literary works and foreign accounts.<sup>3</sup>

Since ancient constitutional usage (purvadamyade) played an important part in moulding the action and thought of the Vijayanagara kings and people, the views of the Smrtikaras on the revenue administration are to be noted. The fact that ‘Taxation is a necessity of the State’ is illustrated in the Hindu texts from the Vedas down to the Sukranitisara.<sup>4</sup> According to the Mahabharata, “the state is maintained by finance”.<sup>5</sup> Kautilya observes: “Finance is the basis of all activity of the state”.<sup>6</sup> Further, Sukra states: “Funds should be collected by the king to maintain the common wealth”.<sup>7</sup> Modern theorists on Political Economy like Fawcett and Mill express the same opinion.<sup>8</sup> That the Vijayanagara monarchs had indeed before

---

**\*Dept of History and Archaeology V S K University, P G Centre Nandhihalli,  
Sanduru TQ Ballery Dist, Karnataka**

**Central India Journal of Historical And Archaeological Research CIJHAR.**

them the precepts of the ancient and medieval Hindu canonists in the matter of State revenue and expenditure, is evident from the writings and actions of the most illustrious emperor of Vijayanagara, Krishna deva Raya. To augment the revenues of the State, Krishna deva Raya states: “The extent of the kingdom is the means for the acquisition of wealth. Therefore, even if the land is limited in extent, excavate tanks and canals and increase the prosperity of the poor cultivator by leasing him the land for low ari and Koru, so that you may obtain wealth as well as religious merit”.<sup>9</sup> It is likely that he was influenced by the views of Kautilya and Sukra regarding the State expenditure. On the division of state expenditure he says: “A king should divide his income into four parts, use one part for extensive benefactions and for enjoyment, two parts for the maintenance of a strong army, and one part to be added to the treasury”.<sup>10</sup> According to him, “that money which is spent on the purchase and the maintenance of elephants and horses, the payment of salaries to the soldiers, the distribution of gifts to Brahmans and Gods, should not be considered a waste of public funds”.<sup>11</sup> We may, however, note that the Hindu Smrtikaras have not only recognized the importance of finance for the material prosperity of the State, but have allowed the rulers a certain amount of latitude as regards raising revenue from their subjects. The latitude, which is thus sanctioned by the law-givers in matters of taxation, was perhaps as much responsible in the shaping of the ‘financial policy’ of Vijayanagara as the precedent set by the dynasties which ruled over South India in the pre-Vijayanagara period. Imbibing the spirit of the age, the Vijayanagara rulers, especially Krishna deva Raya, adopted an enlightened and progressive economic policy of promoting agriculture through reclamation of waste land and bringing virgin land under cultivation, and by erecting a network of irrigation works throughout the empire in order to increase the finances of the state.<sup>12</sup> However, the principle of expediency must have guided the taxation policy of the monarchs of Vijayanagara. For, they out at naught not only the precepts of the Hindu canonists, but also discarded the example set by the dynasties of the pre-Vijayanagar period at different levels of the revenue administration.

The Vijayanagara rulers inherited the traditions of the pre-Vijayanagara dynasties that ruled over South India in the land revenue administration. It may not be far wrong in affirming that the Vijayanagara rulers must have secured the good tradition of the revenue administration from the Tamil Land, which formed the bulk of the dominions of the Empire in the South and east. The detailed land-survey, the systematic classification of arable lands, the existence of royal registers, of royal officers, the strictness with which the monarchs dealt with the defaulters even after the lapse of some years<sup>13</sup> – all these adopted by the Tamil kings of the pre-Vijayanagara period – must have guided the revenue administration of the Vijayanagara rulers. In the Karnataka region proper the rayas undoubtedly profited by the system which had prevailed in the governments of the Chalukya and the Hoysala monarchs. They followed the Karnataka method of naming the measuring

rod after one of the titles of the King. This accounts for the measuring rods like the rejavibhadan-Kol and the gandaragandan-Kol, which for the sake of publicity cut on stone.<sup>14</sup> In the Telugu country they inherited much from the Kakatiyas of Warangal and the Reddi kings. The origin of the Nayankara and the Ayagar systems, which were later developed and perfected by the Vijayanagara monarchs, could be traced to the Kakatiyas.<sup>15</sup> According to Venkataramanayya and Somasekhara Sarma, “obviously the nayankara system which became a prominent feature of the administration later under the Vijayanagara emperors was already in existence at this time, though its character and political and military obligations are nowhere precisely defined. The Rayas of Vijayanagara who inherited it from the Kakatiya bequeathed it to the Nayaka kings of the South, especially to those of Madura, where it flourished continuously up to the advent of the British”.<sup>16</sup> The Kakatiya inscriptions bear evidence to this. A Telugu inscription at Donda eru in Nellore district, dated in the reign-period of Ganapatideva refers to certain... Tuma-maharaju, who ruled certain places situated in Kammanadu, as nayankara.<sup>17</sup> An inscription in Telugu at Kaza in Guntur district, dated 1269 A.D., mentions certain angaraksha Bollayanayaka who was holding the nayankara of Kranja region.<sup>18</sup> Though the origin of the ayagar system cannot be definitely traced, according to Venkataramanayya and Somasekhara Sarma, “By the time when the Kakatiyas were establishing their power over the Andhra country the ayagars had already taken firm root in the soil and had begun to exercise authority in all the villages throughout the land”.<sup>19</sup> Parabrahma Sastry says: “.... it seems in the Kakatiya period the officers who used to collect the government share of grain were called ayagamdru, tumuspayagmdru, trasu-nyayamgadru, etc., the officers who collected levies of measurable grain and weighed articles”.<sup>20</sup> Two Telugu inscriptions from Ipuru in Guntur district, dated 1278 A.D., state that certain Bachhu Narapa Setti gave one gadyana per month, collected at the time of weighing an article (trasunyanamu) to god Alladanatha of Ipuru for the merit of Kakatiya Rudra Deva-deva maharaja. The amount as stated above might have been collected by the trasu-nyayagamdru.<sup>21</sup>

Thus the Vijayanagara land revenue system owed much to the system of the Pre-Vijayanagara South India. The rulers not only inherited the traditions of their predecessors, but organized the land revenue administration on new principles. The influence of the Vijayanagara system could be seen even later in the land revenue administration of the Nayakas of Keladi, Tanjore, Madura and the Mysore rulers.

**Sources of Revenue**-The sources of the revenue of the Vijayanagara period may be classified into the following categories:

- i) Agriculture
- ii) Industry
- iii) Commerce & Trade
- iv) Profession

- v) Police and Military
- vi) Penalty and Tribute
- vii) Miscellaneous items of income.<sup>22</sup>

Of these sources of revenue land-tax was, undoubtedly, the most important one. In the absence of industrialization in the ancient and medieval periods, land was the primary source of exploitation and, from the sovereign to the peasant; various classes in society had a special interest in land. The proper assessment and collection of land-revenue exercised the time and attention of the rulers and officials. The problem of assessment and the collection of the land-tax occupy a very significant place in the study of the agrarian system under the Vijayanagara.

Like any organized system of taxation, the land revenue arrangements of the Vijayanagara administration consisted mainly of two stages: first assessment and, second, the actual collection. The assessment and collection of land revenue was the chief duty of the Revenue Department, the most important branch of the state administration. We gather from the Mackenzie Manuscripts and the Contemporary inscriptions that the Revenue Department of the Vijayanagara period was called *athavane*. According to the *athavana-Vyavahara-tantra*, in Balaghat all revenue affairs were known as *Simamulam* or especially *athavana*, and the military affairs were called *Kandacara*.<sup>23</sup> The same is corroborated by the contemporary inscriptions. A Kannada inscription from Barkur in South Kanara district dated 1431 A.D. in the reign of Deva staya II, mentions one *Atthavaneya Nagarasa* as one of the witnesses at the settlement of a religious dispute.<sup>24</sup> An inscription Kannada from Jagalur in Chitra Durga district dated 1515 A.D. records certain gift to *Atthavaneya Chennarasa* (*Krishnaraya maharaya Atthavaneya Chennarasarige*) for remitting the marriage tax.<sup>25</sup> A Tamil inscription from Devikapuram dated 1521 A.D. in the reign of Krishnadeva Raya records gift of land and two houses to a certain *Attavanai Venkappa* who secured for the temple of village of Sorappundi as a gift from the king.<sup>26</sup> Another Tamil record from Marangiyur in South Arcot district dated 1531 A.D. in the reign of Achyutaraya mentions a gift of the village *Arunbodu* as *tirunamattukkani* by *Attavanai Vasavarasaiyyan Govindayyar*.<sup>27</sup>

Some more details can be gathered from the inscriptions about the land revenue administration in the Vijayanagara period. One of the two stone inscriptions at the *Madhavesvara* temple at *Eariharpura*, *Koppa taluk*, dated 1418 A.D. in the reign of Deva Raya II, is of interest as it gives some details of the revenue administration of the time of Harihara II and Deva Raya II.<sup>28</sup> The foregoing facts bear evidence to the utmost care and attention bestowed to the minute details of land revenue administration by the Vijayanagara monarchs.

**References-**

1. Gururajachar, S., Some Aspects of Economic and Social Life in Karnataka (A.D. 1000-1300) Mysore, 1974, p. 149.
2. Saletore, B.A., Social and Political Life, Vol. I, p.142.
3. Mahalingam, T.V., Adm. And Social Life, Part I, pp. 42-43.
4. Gangly, J.N.C., 'Principles of Hindu Taxation' in IHQ, Vol. I, No. IV (1925), pp. 696-702;
5. The Mahabharata, Santiparva, 133, p.1024.
6. The Arthasastra, pp. 73, 394.
7. The Sukraniti, p.138.
8. Fawcett, Political Economy, p.196 and Mill, Principles of Political Economy, p.783.
9. The Amuktamaulyada, Canto IV, V.233; Sastri, K.A.N. and Venkataramanayya, N., P. 158.
10. The Amukta, IV, V.238.
11. Sarkar, B.K., The Sukraniti, IV, 11,111, p 28-29
12. Supra, see Chapter
13. Ep. Rep. For 1897, p.1; 98 of 1910; 113 of 1927.
14. Ibid., 212 of 1916.
15. Yazdani, G. (ed.), The Early History of the Deccan, Vol. II, pp. 668-69.
16. Ibid. pp. 668-69.
17. N.D.I., III, p. 1166.
18. S.I.I., IV, No. 705.
19. Yazdani, G., Op.Cit. Vol. II, p.675.
20. Parabrahma Sastry, P.V., The Kakatiya of Warangal, p.213.
21. S.I.I., X, Nos. 443 and 445.
22. Mahalingam, T.V., Adm. & Social Life, Part I, Adm., p. 43, Venkataramanayya, N., Studies in the Third Dynasty, p. 201.
23. Mysore Gazetteer (Reved), Vol. I, p. 579.
24. S.I.I., VII, No. 340.
25. E.C., XI, J1.7.
26. Rangacharya, V., Topographical List of Inscriptions, Vol.I.
27. 98 of 1935-36; A.R.S.I.E., 1935-36, Rep. Para 68, p.86.
28. M.A.R., 1916, Para 99, p.60; E.C., VI, Kp. 49, pp. 330-31



## **Sericulture And Silk Industry In Mysore State During Tippu Sultan**

**\*Dr. Shreekanta**

Mysore is the chief silk producing centre in India and the quantity produced is equal to half of all India production. Karnataka sericulture has a history of more than 200 years. In 1785, the Tiger of Mysore Tippu Sultan who ruled Mysore from 1782 to 1799 established sericulture in Mysore kingdom. Hence its economic importance consists in providing occupation and supplementary earnings to a large number of agriculture families.<sup>1</sup> Credit goes to Tippu for introducing sericulture in Mysore. Tippu was known for his reckless spirit of innovation. Mysore silk industry was started when he heard that such an industry existed in Muscat.<sup>2</sup>

Tippu not only a great warrior but also a statesman and innovator. He pioneered rocketry weapons, began the Channapatna toy industry, established the silk industry, brought about innovative ideas in taxation and statesmanship. He for the first time introduced silk production by setting up 21 silk production centers. In addition, he founded depots in foreign locations such as Karachi, Jeddah and Muscat, where Mysore products could be sold. Also, Tippu's rule saw Chinese technology used for the sugar production, while technology from Bengal helped to improve the sericulture industry.<sup>3</sup> Tippu sent a native of Tiruchirappalli to Bengal to learn "Sericulture and silk trade" between 1780 and 1790. Certain Talukdar were ordered to raise mulberry trees, and Tippu set up 21 factories to produce silk. Buchanan describes one such village close to Bangalore where the division of labour was complete. He says: "A gardener is here a separate profession from a farmer and is considered as inferior in rank."<sup>4</sup> Benjamin Heyne, in his Report Relative to the Mysore Survey, 1802, lists 29 types of vegetables, 31 types of greens, 6 types of roots and 26 types of fruits that were raised by the peasants in the gardens and orchard near Bangalore. We come across several references about

---

**\*Assistant Professor in History Maharaja College, University of Mysore,  
Mysore Karnataka State**

**Volume III, Number 11, July-September 2014, ISSN 2277-4157**

these plant species. Benjamin Heyene says about a few of these: “Among the trees and shrubs introduced by Tippu in the Annotto I have found a great number of plants in the Bangalore gardens and in Suvendroog Hill-at the former place I have collected the seed with a view to send them to England by the first opportunity as I recollect a considerable premium has been offered some years ago for the first 10 lbs of the valuable dye from the East Indies..... Carthamers Trinctorius. Safflor, is chiefly cultivated by the natives to dye their Kolajdays, Turbands and other clothes of a beautiful red.”<sup>5</sup> Tippu was aware of the immense advantage of developing silk industry. His letter dated 27<sup>th</sup> September, 1786 to Killedar of Srirangapattana, mentions that Bahuruddin and Kasturi Ranga had been sent to Bengal to procure silk worms<sup>6</sup>. He sent agents to Bengal and even to south china for silk worms. He seems to have established at least 21 principal stations for breeding the silkworms.<sup>7</sup>

Buchanan who visited Mysore immediately after the fall of Tipu gives the following testimony: “The silk manufacture seems especially favourable for a country so far from the sea, and from navigable rivers: as long carriage, on such a valuable article is of little importance. Some of the mulberry trees, however that remain in his gardens show how well the plant agrees with this climate. It is true, that the experiments hitherto tried below the Ghats have not been favourable; but much resolution and patience are always required to introduce any new article of cultivation; and I suspect that the climate here, owing to its being more temperate, will be found more favourable than that of the lower Carnatic.”<sup>8</sup>

The development of this industry had give employment to several communities of weaving caste like *Putteuegars* and *Cuttery*.<sup>9</sup> The silk cloths manufactured by these people were in such great demand that half of the cost or sometimes the whole of the cost was paid in advance<sup>10</sup>. The Bangalore weavers seemed to be an ingenious class of people, and were capable of making very rich, fine and elegant cloths of any kind<sup>11</sup>. As the imported raw silk was insufficient to meet the demand, Tippu encouraged the plantation of mulberry trees on a large scale to make the industry, a self-sufficient one.<sup>12</sup> Silk worms were obtained not only from Bengal, but also from Musqat. He wrote to his agents there, to send silk worms and eggs and also experts for rearing them properly.<sup>13</sup>

This raw silk was used by the *Puttuegars* or silk weavers, who made cloth of a very rich & strong texture, namely *Shiray*, *Kirigay*, *Cupissa* (jacket), *Dotra*, *Buchakhana*, *Shalnama*, and *Paggoo*. *Paggoo* or turban pieces, were from 30 to 60 cubits long and  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a cubit board, made of a thin fabric of cotton and silk made by *Puttuegars*. The *Puttuegars* dyed much of their own silk.<sup>14</sup> Some weavers called *Cuttery* who pretends to be of the Kshatriya caste manufacture exactly the same kind of goods as the *Puttegars*.<sup>15</sup> The silk industry is reviving, owing to the cessation of disease in the silk-worms, and silk filature is largely carried on in Closepet, Kankanhalli, Magadi, Chikballapur, Thirumakudall-Narasipur and other Taluks. But Bangalore is the centre of the silk trade and raw silk is prepared in large quantises for the loom and dyed.<sup>16</sup>

To develop the silk industry, Tippu showed concession of duty to people possessing more than one loom, and thus encouraged rich people to invest their capital more and more in this industry. But the industry met a set back with the fall of Srirangapattana and the weavers of silk lost demand<sup>17</sup> and migrated to different places. The demand for these silk goods made by the *Puttuegars* and *Cuttery*, according to the account of the manufactures, was in the country formerly belonging to Tippu such as; Srirangapattana, Gubbi, Nagara, Chitra Durga, Chennarayapatna being the principal marts. When the goods were in much demand, it was customary, for the merchant to advance one half or even the whole, of the price of the goods which he commissions; but when the demand was small, the manufactures barrow money from the bankers 2% a month, and made goods, which they sold to the merchants of the place. The silk weavers never carried their products to the public market.<sup>18</sup> Silk clothes were also sent from Bangalore to North Karnataka in the early years of 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>19</sup>

As mentioned previously raw silk required for the manufacture of silk produce was completely imported into Mysore during the early years of 19<sup>th</sup> century. This importation was done both from the Western and Eastern coast. Buchanan wrote about trade and commerce of Bangalore with the Western coast he tells: *“There is only one place the Western Ghats, with which at present the people of Bangalore carry on any trade. To that place are from hence sent cotton cloths, both white and coloured, and manufactured in this neighborhood. The returns are raw silk and silk cloths.”*<sup>20</sup>

Similarly speaking about the trade with the Eastern coast, he tells: *“The trade between the dominions of the Nabob of Arcot and Bangalore is carried on at Wallaja – Petta, chiefly by the merchants of this place. The imports from the lower Carnatic are European steel, paints and gule, indigo; nutmegs, loves; camphor; Benjamin; Modi, a hot root used in medicine, China root; raw silk of the kinds called Bily China, Casturi China, Rajanagari Cumercani (Commercially in Bengal?), China, Walinda and Burrahunpour silk cloths.”*<sup>21</sup>The above two accounts shows that silk manufacturing industry was in its infancy at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Mysore. While giving the average rate of sale of principal articles of commerce in the Bangalore market, Buchanan gives the following for the raw silk.<sup>22</sup>

**Rates of raw silk in Bangalore market in 1800**

Commodity	Quality	Sultany Fanams	
		Maund	Cwt.
Raw Silk	Bily China or White China	500	2172
	Casturi China or Yellow China	460	1998
	Rajanagari White & Yellow	380	1650 ½
	Yeka tava or Mugaduty	120	521 ¼

According to the custom, house accounts of 1800 both raw silk & silk cloth were imported into Bangalore from Madras. The son of the person who had then in charge of the custom house at Bangalore, states the following particulars of the trade at that period to Buchanan as follows: *"In one year there were imported 1500 bullock loads of cotton wool; 50 bullock loads of cotton thread; 230 bullock loads of raw silk; 7000 bullock loads of salt; foreign good from the Madras 300 bullock loads."* This can make 47,437 lbs of silk cloth worth 27,000.28.<sup>23</sup> Tippu was highly innovative, industries and an eye on the economic development and well being of people. Under his rule sericulture and silk industry progressed well for this. Among industries Channapatna, Devanahally, Kollegala and modern Ramanagara in Karnataka state grew as centers of sericulture and industry

### References-

1. Balakrishna. R – "Industries Development of Mysore" (Bangalore 1940) pp.35-36
2. Rebellow.- " History of Karnataka" ( Bangalore-1987) p.222
3. Mohibul Hasan, History of Tipu Sultan, (Calcutta, 1971)
4. SAKI –"Making History"- Karnataka's people and their past – Vol-I (Valmuki Prakashan. Bangalore-1998) p. 428.
5. Ibid, p. 426
6. Kirkpatrick. W- "Select Letters of Tipu Sultan", London 1811 p 418
7. Ibid, pp.186, 188,418.
8. Francis Buchanan, "A journey from Madras, through the countries of Mysore, Canara & Malabar" –vol. I. published by the Honourable directors of the East India Co.( London, 1807 ) p222
9. Francis Buchanan, "Op.Cit....vol. I p 145, 147
10. Ibid, vol. I p217
11. Ibid, vol. I p219
12. Ibid, vol. I p222
13. Kirkpatrick. W "Op.Cit, .pp. 184 and 283.
14. Francis Buchanan, "Op.Cit'...vol. I pp-208-209
15. Ibid, vol. I p.212
16. Rice.B.L Mysore Gazetteer. Vol. I. Mysore in General pp.538-39
17. Francis Buchanan, "Op.Cit', vol. I p.155
18. Francis Buchanan, "Op.Cit', vol. I p.208
19. Ibid, p.198
20. Ibid, p.199
21. Ibid 199
22. Ibid 196
23. Ibid, p 207



## **Mahadji Scindia & The Battle of Lalsot: (28 July 1787)**

**\*Dr. Naredra G. Rathod**

On July 28, 1787 in the morning Mahadji Scindia gave orders to use cannons.<sup>1</sup> The Rajputs also began using the cannons. Cannon war began. The Rajputs had bigger cannons, so their cannon-balls could easily reach the army of Mahadji Scindia.<sup>2</sup> Marathas were upset. Mahadaji's cannons were of short range, so their balls could not reach the Rajputs.<sup>3</sup> As soon as Mahadji Scindia came to know it; he sent 4 long range cannons to Ranekhanbhai under tight security. The cannon-warfare continued from 9 to 11 in the morning. Mahadji Scindia was riding a horse & supervising the battle field. He was sending extra soldiers and material where it was necessary. At eleven Naga sadhus of Rathod's army attacked the gunnery of the Marathas putting their lives in danger. Then the cavalry under the charge of Khanderao Hari halted the progress of the Naga sadhus & finished them. Seeing the rout caused by the Marathas Rathod's cavalry, under the command of Gangaram Bhandari attacked the cavalry of Khanderao Hari.<sup>4</sup> On seeing the progress of Rathod's cavalry the Maratha guns were directed to them & a heavy charge was made. But by that time Rathod's cavalry had reached close to the guns of the Marathas. The Maratha infantry sustained heavy losses. At this spot 500 Sayaji soldiers of Mahadji Scindia were killed.

Mahadji Scindia paid a visit to the camps & enquired about all of them. Mahadaji's officers started asking for money for their forces. They also started asking for prizes who distinguished themselves in this battle by their courage. The chief Sardars of Mahadji pointed out that as soon as the news about that war spreads Bhomiya & Meena forces will join Jaipur forces and there would be adverse conditions for them. So, without much delay,<sup>5</sup> the outcome of war should be settled, through war, on the battlefield itself. This time Ranekhanbhai informed that the Telangana forces had refused to fight the next day unless they were paid their

---

**\*Assistant Professor, Vasantrao Naik Govt. Institute of Arts and Social Sciences, Nagpur. (Maharashtra)**

salaries.<sup>6</sup> Thereupon Mahadji Scindia paid rupees 25,000 to Ranekhanbhai. Moreover, they were informed that they should fight only after reaching the battlefield.<sup>7</sup> Sawai Pratapsingh of Jaipur also paid a visit to the army camp in the evening. Muhammad Beg Humdani was killed, for that condolences were offered to his nephew Ismail Beg. He paid 4000 rupees for the wounded. Then he enquired about Rathod's camp. On 29 July, 1787 Ranekhanbhai appeared on the battlefield with full preparations. On the other side 6000 soldiers from Jaipur also arrived on the battlefield. But there was no war that day.<sup>8</sup> In the evening the forces returned to their respective camps. That shows that Mahadji's Scindia's moral had gone up. On July 29, Mahadji Scindia got the news at night that 5000 fresh Rathod soldiers had gone from Jodhpur & joined the Rajput forces. Ismail Beg also promised all help to the king of Jaipur next day, in a fierce battle against Marathas but Sawai Pratapsingh of Jaipur decided to suspend war for two days.

In July 1787 Mahadji Scindia had to face many problems. Because of short supply of material, all things became costly. Till the previous day flour was available at seven seers a rupee; next day it was only 5 or 6 seers a rupee. Even the food for the horses reached only eight seers a rupee.<sup>9</sup> There was general discontent in the camp of Mahadji Scindia as no salary was paid for the last eight months. That dissatisfaction turned into enmity. For salary the soldiers besieged their Sardars.<sup>10</sup> These soldiers were instigated by the Rajputs. To pressurize Mahadji Scindia these soldiers threatened to join the Rajputs if they were not paid their dues.<sup>11</sup> Ranekhanbhai requested Mahadji Scindia to solve this problem, at the earliest, Mahadji Scindia replied that, "If he paid the arrears of the Telangana soldiers that day, then the next day Hindustani soldiers, the next day the cavalrymen from the south, would ask for their arrears, and the total monthly expenditure of all was 6 lakh rupees."<sup>12</sup> Mahadji Scindia finally decided to pay one month's wages. But the soldiers asked at least for five months wages. Mahadji Scindia agreed to pay three months wages. The whole day was lost in deciding these matters. At night, Mahadji Scindia paid Rs. 2900 to those in charge of the guns, Rs. 1000 were paid to Lestino, and Rs. 10,000 were paid to the son of Murtajakhan.<sup>13</sup> But this compromise was not accepted by seven thousand Telangana soldiers. Mahadji Scindia tried to win them over. But their efforts did not bear fruit, finally these soldiers threatened that the question of their wages should be settled that day itself; otherwise they would join the Rajputs the next day.<sup>14</sup> On July 30, 1787 Mahadji Scindia learnt that the supply from Delhi was looted by the Rajputs on the fort of Khushalgad. So Mahadji Scindia was very much upset. Moreover, the discontent in the army growing to non-payment of salary.<sup>15</sup> On July 31, 1787 the Telangana Soldiers, with 125 cannons left Mahadji Scindia. This army gradually reached the bank of the river Morel. Ismail Beg welcomed this Telangana army, and immediately paid them Rs. 30,000. In the same way, Daulatram Haldia promised to pay Rs. 1,05,000.<sup>16</sup> Because the Telangana force had joined the Rajputs,

there was an atmosphere of fear in the Maratha camp. All types of rumours were rampant. Shivajipant Bapu talked to Mahadji&Ranekhan privately.<sup>17</sup>

**The Retreat of Mahadji Scindia: August 1,1787:-**On July 31,1787 at night order was given that all camps should be immediately be shifted to Pimpalai before sunrise.<sup>18</sup> The forces in Rambag joined the main camp at the time of sunrise. In the main camp everybody was busy in packing things. At the same there was an explosion of gun-powered, by accident or by negligence. When MahadjiScindiacame to the camp, he found that all had run away. MahadjiScindia started withdrawing in the morning of August 1, 1787; and after covering a distance of 40 miles, he halted at a place two miles from Pimplai.<sup>19</sup>At night Ranekhanbhai reached there with his forces. At this place MahadjiScindiasware that if he remained alive he would crush Jaipur Kars& JodhpurKars completely.<sup>20</sup> Facing internal and external dangers and bearing all kinds of suffering Mahadji Scindia with his forces, reached Dig on 8.8.1787.<sup>21</sup> On reaching Dig MahadjiScindiasent his family and luggage to Gwalior.<sup>22</sup> This rout was caused because he depended upon the Hindustani forces. So he disbanded this battalion and sent to away from the camp.<sup>23</sup> Badalbegkhan and Khadin Husain khan, the two sons of Afasiyabkhan, went to Delhi. Muradbegkhan and some Moghul Sardars joined the Rajputs, when the Marathas were withdrawing.

**The Victory and Defeat at Lalsot:** In the literature of Marwar and Rajasthan there is a positive reference to the victory of the Rajputs in the war at Lalsot.<sup>24</sup> Viewed minutely, the Rathod forces faced, with great courage, the gunnery of the Marathas and the cavalry of Khanderao Hari. In the beginning they got success because of the apathy of the Jaipur Kars. After this the Rajputs organized themselves and made many attempts to attack the Marathas. But they could not face the Maratha gunnery. If would not be wrong to describe the battle of Lalsot as the saga of courage of the Rajput forces. But their claim to a decisive victory is equally wrong.

On the other hand, in a letter dated 29.7.1787 written by Mahadji Scindia to Lal ji Ballal, he claims an equally decisive victory for the Marathas.<sup>25</sup> In addition, many documents in Marathi have made similar claim.<sup>26</sup> Even this is not the complete truth. Even the objective of MahadjiScindiato crush completely the opposition of the Jaipur forces has not been successful. The Maratha army stuck to the battlefield till the end, and still they do not appear to have made any attempt to drive away the Rajputs from the battlefield. If the events after the battle are considered it is clear that MahadjiScindiahad to withdraw three days after the battle of Lalsot. Such withdrawal is considered a defeat, and not victory. Because of the retreat of Mahadji Scindia, even the Rajputs should not think that they had won, If they did so, that would be an illusion, because MahadjiScindiadid not withdraw because of defeat in the battle. Had the Rajputs won the battle of Lalsot the Rajputs would have looted the camps of Mahadji Scindia. The Rajputs would have chased them. The battle of July 28, 1787 remained undecided;MahadjiScindiacould withdraw safely because of his tact. So the army of MahadjiScindia was saved.

But the Sardars have described the battle of Lalsot, as another “Panipat”. Even after the battle of Lalsot, not a soldier from De-Boigne army of 1300 deserted him. But many from Mahadji Scindia’s cavalry joined the Rajputs because the salaries were not paid and because of starvation.

Mahadji Scindia had to withdraw from the Battle of Lalsot. The chief reasons were the paucity of funds since he got the title of Vakil-E-Metallic, and the lack of other resources. No one was willing to give any loan to Mahadji Scindia. The battle of Lalsot proved that though Mahadji Scindia had the courage, strength and skill to strike terror in the Rajputs, he was about to lose everything because of shortage of funds.

### **Reference:**

1. Sarkar, J. “Poona Residency Correspondence” Vol.1 (1785-1794) Phoenix Publication Bombay 1936. No-135, P.210.  
G.S. Sardesai, “Mahadji Shinde yanchi Kagatpatre” Alija Darbar Press Bombay, No. 500 P.692
2. Unpublished Akhabarat P.38-40 [Sitamau], Sarkar, J. “Poona Residency Correspondence” Vol.1 (1785-1794) Phoenix Publication Bombay 1936. No-135, P.210.
3. G.S. Sardesai, Marathi Riyasat Uttar Vibhag Vol-2, Damodar Sawalaram Ani Mandli 1921 Mumbai P.123.
4. Sarkar, J. “Poona Residency Correspondence” Vol.1 (1785-1794) Phoenix Publication Bombay 1936. No-135, P.210.
5. Sarkar, J. “Poona Residency Correspondence” Vol.1 (1785-1794) Phoenix Publication Bombay 1936. No-135, P.210.
6. Sarkar, J. “Poona Residency Correspondence” Vol.1 (1785-1794) Phoenix Publication Bombay 1936. No-135, P.210.
7. Unpublished Akhabarat [Sitamau] P. 40, Acharyas K.A. “Maratha Rajput Relation 1720-1795, Jay print Station Road Akola 1978, P.304.
8. Ibid.
9. Sarkar, J. “Poona Residency Correspondence” Vol.1 (1785-1794) Phoenix Publication Bombay 1936. No-137, P-214
10. Unpublished Akhabarat [Sitamau], P-43-44
11. Ibid, P-47
12. G.S. Sardesai, “Mahadji Shinde yanchi Kagatpatre” Alija Darbar Press Bombay, No-503, P-692.
13. Ibid, No-503, P-692.
14. Unpublished Akhabarat [Sitamau], P.45-46
15. Ibid
16. G.S. Sardesai, “Mahadji Shinde yanchi Kagatpatre” Alija Darbar Press Bombay, No-503, P-692.
17. Ibid, No-503, P-695
18. D.B. Parsnis “Maheshwar Daptarachi Batmi patre” Vol-2, Nirnay Sagar Chapkhana Mumbai 1911. No-149, P-121, G.S. Sardesai, “Mahadji Shinde yanchi Kagatpatre”

- Alija Darbar Press Bombay, No-503, P-695, Sarkar, J. "Poona Residency Correspondence" Vol.1 (1785-1794) Phoenix Publication Bombay 1936. No-137, P-214, No-142, P-219, No-143, P-219, No-151 to 156, P-224 P-235, Joshi/Sarkar, "Persian Records of Maratha History" Vol-2, Phoenix Publication Bombay, 1953. P-12-15
19. Unpublished Akhabarat [Sitamau], P.50.
  20. D.B. Diskalkar "Shinde shahichi Rajkarne" Vol-1, Satara Itihas Sansodhak Mandal, 1934. No-121, P-53-54.
  21. Unpublished, Foreign Secret Dept., 28 Aug. 1787 No-19 (Delhi), Sen, S.M., "Calendar of Persian Correspondence" Vol-7 (1785-1787), Oriental Publication New Delhi 1940. No-1575, Sarkar, J. "Poona Residency Correspondence" Vol.1 (1785-1794) Phoenix Publication Bombay 1936. No-137, P-214
  22. D.B. Parsnis, "Delhi Yethil Marathyachi Rajkarane" Vol. 1 Nirnay Sagar Chapkhana Mumbai 1913. No-224, P-19L No-226, P-193, Sen, S.M., "Calendar of Persian Correspondence" Vol-7 (1785-1787), Oriental Publication New Delhi 1940. No-1574
  23. Joshi/Sarkar, "Persian Records of Maratha History" Vol-2, Phoenix Publication Bombay, 1953. P-193
  24. Unpublished Jodhpur Khayat Vol-3, [Sitamau], page 117-118.
  25. Unpublished Gulgule Daptar [Sitamau], No.7 P.87
  26. D.B. Parsnis, "Delhi Yethil Marathyachi Rajkarane" Vol. 1 Nirnay Sagar Chapkhana Mumbai 1913. No-224, P-191



## **Active Role of Women of The Darjeeling Hills In The Freedom Struggle of India**

**\*Bhawna Rai**

We find active role and participation of Indian women in the main stream of Indian politics right from the Revolt of 1857. During the Gandhian era large number of women came out of their house against all odds of social and family norms. In this background the present paper highlights the contribution of two women leaders of Darjeeling hills – Savitri Devi and Putalimaya Devi.

**Savitri Devi (1902/3-1980)**-Helen was born on 14 January 1902/03 in Kurseong as the third daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Aachung Lepcha. Being the third daughter she was called as ‘Saily didi’ by the people. She did her primary education from Scott’s Mission School, Kurseong but in 1916 Helen left her education incomplete. In 1917-18 a Bengali gentleman had arrived from Calcutta to propagate spinning of ‘Charkha and Khadi’.<sup>1</sup> Helen listened to the impressive speech of the gentleman and determined to follow the same in her life. Helen left for Calcutta to her elder sister who was there at that time. She took admission to the Charkha training centre run by one of the granddaughter of Ishwarchandra Vidya Sagar. Helen proved her efficiency in the art of spinning the charkha within few months of time. Her capacity and talent led to her selection by the Board of Charkha training, as one of principal member to lead an exhibition at Muzaffarpur in Bihar.<sup>2</sup> Helen selflessly helped many victims of flood with all her physical and moral strength in the mid of 1920 and it was during this time that she met Gandhiji at the house of Safi Dand, one of the Congress volunteer. Most probably it was at the occasion that Gandhi invited her to the Sabarmati Ashram. In Helen’s own words “Gandhiji changed her name to Savitri Devi instead of Helen as the latter sounds non-Indian”.<sup>3</sup> The Directory of Indian Women Today, page 576 mentions ‘first Nepali woman freedom fighter...Gandhi renamed her ‘Savitri Devi’ when she went to Sabarmati ashram on his invitation.”<sup>4</sup>

---

**\*Research Scholar Dept. of History, NBU, Darjeeling, West Bengal**

**Central India Journal of Historical And Archaeological Research CIJHAR.**

Savitri Devi's area of activity included Jharia coal fields, Banikpur, Danapur, Patna, and Muzaffarpur. She led a procession of about ten thousand labourers of coal field in 1921, as such her growing popularity among the rural people of Bengal and Bihar came into notice and a warrant was issued against her name. Therefore, it became impossible for Savitri Devi to remain in one place. She lived in *Ananda Bhavan*, Allahabad in the house of Nehru for some time. But after getting the news of her sick mother she came back to Kurseong. There, too, she could not cut her contact with the Congress workers. At that time the Non-Cooperation Movement was on full swing. She went from door to door in Kurseong and Siliguri urging the people to boycott foreign goods and led the burning of such goods in many places.<sup>5</sup> Art. 144 or curfew was declared at Siliguri by the authority but Savitri Devi along with her some volunteers went from Kurseong to Siliguri and led the procession but the police lathi charged on them and even opened firearms. Next day the Amrita Bazaar Patrika reported 'Siliguri, Jan.30. Smt. Savitri Devi with the Congress Secretary and E. Ahmed and Congress Volunteers have been arrested.'<sup>6</sup> She was put behind the bars for three months. Even after her release the police kept a strict vigilance and that for three years Savitri Devi could not move out of Kurseong. In the meantime Gandhiji came to visit ailing Chitaranjan Das at Darjeeling in 1924. Savitri Devi also went to see him. Gandhiji seeing Savitri well dressed with ornaments ordered her to take out all the ornaments as it did not suit a freedom fighter. She at once deposited all her jewellery to the Party Fund.<sup>7</sup> The Directory further records that Savitri Devi 'helped Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose escape from imprisonment in Kurseong and migrate to Germany through Kabul.'<sup>8</sup> When Subhas Chandra Bose was kept in house arrest at GiddaPahar, Savitri Devi communicated with him through letters hid inside the bread that used to be sent from her husband Ishan Ahmed's bakery. It is believed that Subhas Bose desired an escape to Kabul there and Savitri Devi arranged all his dress for disguise. Though Manor Husain, the police authority of Kurseong Thana and Khargabhadur Bist helped Bose to move from Kurseong to Calcutta and from there to Germany via Kabul.

Savitri Devi was elected as the first woman Commissioner of Kurseong Municipality in 1936. After independence she continued her social service among the needy people. In 1972 she was felicitated by the Government of India with 'Tamrapatra'. She breathed her last on 18 August 1980. The initiatives of Indian women in the political movements for independence have far reaching importance in the society.

**Putalimaya Devi (1920-1984)** - Another patriot born to Gorkha family was Putalimaya Tamang. She was born on 14 February 1920 as the eldest daughter of Madan Bahadur Tamang, who was a peon in the government office. Since her childhood days Putalimaya was brave and courageous. She was a student of Scott's Mission School, Kurseong. In 1934 a youth Congress member, Saryu Prasad Poddar came to Kurseong from Bihar to spread the nationalistic fervour among the youths.

Harish Chettri, Putalimaya and other youths were inspired by his words. Putalimaya also decided that she too will join the Congress but Saryu Prasad advised her to carry her studies as she was too young at that time for the task.<sup>9</sup> with the help of Savitri Devi, Pratiman Singh Lama and Harish Chettri Saryu Prasad was able to establish a Congress Branch Committee at Kurseong in 1936. Putalimaya taking the opportunity joined as a member of the newly formed branch committee and actively participated in the party work.. Not being satisfied with the threatening of dire consequences to her father, the District authority once called her with an offer of a nurse-job in the hospital on condition that she should stop her involvement with the Congress. Contradictorily it boosted her determination towards party work.<sup>10</sup>

In the first week of 1938 the administrative authority had organised a 'carnival' programme near Kurseong railway station but the Congress members knew it very well that through all sorts of gambling the poor men would lose whatever small savings they have. The carnival was started but so great was their campaign that none of the common mass turned up.<sup>11</sup>

In 1939 Putalimaya Devi founded the *Harijan Samaj* with the object (i) to educate them about the ill-effect of alcohol and (ii) to make them literate through Night school. She started the Night School for them in the Harijan building and once in a week all the surroundings were made clean for their own hygiene habit. Back in 1928 Latika Ghosh, an Oxford educated teacher started the Mahila Rashtriya Sangh in Bengal whereas in the hills of North Bengal it was Putalimaya to start the *Nari Kalyan Samiti* in 1939. The samiti was meant for the women who have to face many problems at home and outside.<sup>12</sup> However, the primary objective of it was to inspire the youths and the women with the patriotic feelings, to make them aware of the freedom struggle and to impart the knowledge and training of charkha and khadi among the womenfolk. In the meantime Putalimaya was warned by the police authority three to four times.

During the August Movement or Quit India Movement Saryu Prasad was arrested by the police on 12<sup>th</sup> August 1942. Next day Putalimaya led a huge procession but was arrested by the police along with other youth leaders like Harish Chettri, Janaklal Kurmi, etc. Soon the crowd gathered in front of the police station and demanded their release. Looking at the situation the police took them out from the back through tea garden up the present Tourist Lodge and from there took them to Darjeeling jail in the police van. Hence they were imprisoned. Putalimaya was imprisoned for one and a half years. While in jail she underwent a hunger strike demanding that she should be treated as political prisoner and should not be kept with other general culprits. While in prison she spun charkha and read 'Bhagwatgita'.<sup>13</sup> After her release from jail in January 1944 Putalimaya was not in good health. Her presence at home became a great concern to the family due to harassment of the police. One day at the congress meeting she discussed her problem at home and the Branch Committee suggested her and

Saryu Prasad to be a real life companion. After achievement of independence Putalimaya continued her social service among the women of teagardens. In 1975 she received the 'Tamrapatra' and 'Swatantrata Senani Pension' till death.<sup>14</sup> The brave soul left this world on 1<sup>st</sup> December 1984.

These women freedom fighters have inspired many youths and common people of the hills at that time and served as an example for all the generation to come. The paper is a small tribute to their great deeds for the country.

**References:**

1. Rai, M. P. – *Veer Jatiko Amar Kahani*, Aajako Sikkim Prakashan, Gangtok, 1992, p-222 (Nepali).
2. Sharma, Chandra – 'Savitri Devi', Suryamani Sharma (Ed.) *HamraSwatantrataSenani*, Sumeru Publication, Siliguri, 1990, p-48 (Nepali).
3. Rai, M. P. – *Veer Jatiko Amar Kahani*, Aajako Sikkim Prakashan, Gangtok, 1992, p223 (Nepali).
4. Sinha, Gokul – *The Role of Gorkhas in the Making of Modern India*, Bharatiya Gorkha Parisangh, Delhi, 2006, p-27.
5. Ibid.
6. Rai, M. P. – *Veer Jatiko Amar Kahani*, Aajako Sikkim Prakashan, Gangtok, 1992, p-225 (Nepali).
7. Ibid, p-226.
8. Sinha, Gokul – *The Role of Gorkhas in the Making of Modern India*, Bharatiya Gorkha Parisangh, Delhi, 2006, p-27.
9. Suryamani Sharma (Ed.) – *HamraSwatantrataSenani*, Sumeru Publication, Siliguri, 1990, p-72 (Nepali).
10. Rai, M. P. – *Veer Jatiko Amar Kahani*, Aajako Sikkim Prakashan, Gangtok, 1992, p-124 (Nepali).
11. Suryamani Sharma (Ed.) – *HamraSwatantrataSenani*, Sumeru Publication, Siliguri, 1990, p74 (Nepali).
12. Ibid, pp73-74.
13. Rai, M. P. – *Veer Jatiko Amar Kahani*, Aajako Sikkim Prakashan, Gangtok, 1992, p124-125 (Nepali).
14. Suryamani Sharma (Ed.) – *HamraSwatantrataSenani*, Sumeru Publication, Siliguri, 1990, p76 (Nepali).



## **Bar Raja Phuleswari Kunwari And Her Role In The Origin of Moamoaria Rebellion- A Critical Study**

\*Debo Prasad Gogoi

\*\*Biplob Gogoi

### **Introduction**

The 19<sup>th</sup> century colonial thinkers, both progressive and traditionalist, initiated the debate regarding Indian women's relationship to modernity and status in the society. But History of women in Indian society was not attempted till 1930s. Gerda Lerner opines, "*like men, women also always have been actors and agents of History, and women have been central not marginal, to the making of society and to the building of civilization.*" Therefore, understanding of the past is enriched and expanded when gender is included as a category of analysis.<sup>1</sup>

### **Historical Background**

Ahom king Siva Singha (1714-1744) was a great patron of literature and music and constructed numerous temples. Phuleswari, the chief consort of Siva Singha was the first queen of Assam to govern the Kingdom directly.<sup>2</sup> The King was predicted by the astrologers that he was under the evil influence of the stars, as a result of which he might have lost his throne.<sup>3</sup> At the advice of the chief priest, the king handed over reign of the government to his queen Phuleswari whose original name was "Phulmati".<sup>4</sup> The later, on assuming the charge of the kingdom, took the name Prametheswari and assumed the title "Bar Raja" or "Great King".<sup>5</sup> Phuleswari Kunwari inspired the translation of the *Sakuntala* into Assamese verse and established a school in the palace campus for teaching Sanskrit. She also excavated

---

\*Assistant Professor of History, D.R. College, Golaghat, Assam

\*\*Assistant Professor of Political Science, D.R. College, Assam

the Gauri Sagar tank in Sibsagar town of Assam and built three temples dedicated to Siva, Vishnu and Devi on its sides.<sup>6</sup> She was personally in charge of training the young girls on the art of weaving, as well as looking after the activities of the royal looms in the palace.<sup>7</sup>

**Reasons for unrest-** Phuleswari Kunwari was a devout *Shakta*, and wanted to make '*Saktism*' the state religion and took every step to realize this to an end.<sup>8</sup> Historians opine that this policy was mainly responsible for the outbreak of the Moamoria rebellion.<sup>9</sup> The Moaries were pioneers of a series of revolt against the kingdom. The Mayamara satra was founded by Aniruddha Bhuyan, popularly called Aniruddhadeva, towards the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. It was a member of the Kala Sanhati, one of the four samhatis or groups of satras of Assam.<sup>10</sup> The term 'Mayamara' denotes the satras, whose disciples are called 'Mayamarias' or 'Moarias'.<sup>11</sup> The Moamories were extremists in their reverence to their Guru and very strict in observing the rites of their sect. Their Mahanta was not only their spiritual head, but also their virtual sovereign.<sup>12</sup>

But if we look into the policy of early Ahom king Gadadhar Singha (1681-1696), it seems that there was a total shift of religious policy of the Ahom kings. He had an incline towards *Saktism* that became turning point in the religious policy of the Ahoms.<sup>13</sup> Being an Orthodox *Shakta*, he built the Siva temple Umananda in Guwahati and granted revenue free lands to Brahmanas. He also persecuted the Vaisnavas, and thereby fought the rising power of the Vaishnava Gosain who in their satra establishments had been developing a feudal structure that resembled a state within a state. Gadadhar Singha's policy towards the great Vaishnava monasteries was one of pillaging and plundering their wealth and squeezing of the devotees.<sup>14</sup> But seeing the serious consequences, Sukhrunghpa alias Rudra Singha (1696-1714), his son and successor, reversed the policy of his father. Rudra Singha patronized the three principal religious sects-Vaishnavism, Saivism and *Saktism*, with a clear intention of appeasing them all. But this led to contest for power and position among the preachers of these sects in the centuries of Ahom rule that followed.<sup>15</sup>

Rudra Singha wanted to indianize his court in line with the Hindu and the Mughal Emperors. For this reason, he imported costumes of royal dignity from Mughal India. He also wanted to be a Chakravartiking.<sup>16</sup> So he invited a *Shakta* priest from Bengal, Krishnaram Bhattacharya, for getting initiation so that he did not have to be initiated by a subject priest. In the latter part of his rule, he showed inclination towards *Saktism* and Saivism. Since then *Saktism* became the major creed of the Ahom Monarchs and of their principal nobles and officers. This happened at a time when many Sudra Mahantas were heading their Vaishnava Monasteries in the state and were Hinduizing the local tribes.

The reign of Sutanpha alias Siva Singha (1714-1744), successor and son of Rudra Singha, was a period of landmark in the history of the growth of *Saktism* in Ahom court. It was due to the influence of his chief queen Phuleswari, who was earlier, a non-Ahom dancing girl belonging to Nat family, that Orthodox Hindu

rites and *Shakta* rituals entered the Ahom court. It was she who with the zeal of a neophyte to *Saktism* and with her personal whims and incompetence for the noble job of the throne, had tried to impose *Saktism* over the Vaishnava Mahantas over whom she also committed much atrocities. Such act of sectarian fanaticism on part of the queen injured the position and prestige of the sudra Mahantas including the most powerful Moamoria Mahanta, an event which consequently led to direct clashes between the king and the Moamoria Vaishnava that took the form of the civil war or Moamoria rebellion in the year 1769 A.D.<sup>17</sup>

But here lies the something that is neglected by the historians. That Phuleswari Kunwari as a queen followed the instructions of her Guru who was incidentally “Krishna ram Bhattacharya” a same *Shakta* priest from Bengal invited by king Rudra Singha to get initiation.<sup>18</sup> During the reign of King Rudra Singha when Krishnaram Bhattacharya arrived, king declined to become his disciple and asked him to leave. When the priest returned a severe earth quake took place. King thought that it happened due to the curse of the priest.<sup>19</sup> Krishanaram was then called back, but King Rudra Singha died before having his initiation. However, he instructed his sons to accept the priest as their religious preceptor and establish him on the Nilachal Hill, for which the latter came to be known as the ‘Parvatiya Gosain’.<sup>20</sup> This factor had a great significance in the history of Assam, which in the long run led to dissensions among the priestly class in the kingdom. It shows that it was the King Rudra Singha who brought the *Shakta* priest from Bengal and forced his sons to accept the priest as their religious preceptor,<sup>21</sup> and therefore it is wrong for the Historians to say that it was Bar Raja Phuleswari Kunwari who for the first time brought *Shakta* religion into the Ahom royal court.

King Siva Singha was greatly influenced by Brahman priests and astrologers. Following the advice of his father, he accepted initiation from the Parvatiya Gosain and put him in charge of the Kamkhya temple with extensive grants of land for its maintenance.<sup>22</sup> In 1722, on prediction of his spiritual guides and astrologers that his rule soon terminate, the credulous king got terribly alarmed and in the hope of averting the crisis that would have termed as the “Chhatra-bhanga-yoga”, at the suggestion of the Parvatiya Gosain, declared queen Phuleswari the “Bar Raja” or the “chief King” and surrendered to her the insignia of royalty -the royal umbrella, and caused coins struck jointly in his name and her name.<sup>23</sup>

Historians including E.A. Gait held that with the characteristic fanaticism of a neophyte, the queen determined upon establishing *Saktism* as a state religion and launched upon a drive against the Vaishnavites, particularly the influential Moamoria Mahantas. It was not Phuleswari decision to become the Queen of the kingdom, but that decision was taken by king for his personal protection. It shows how the male chauvinist historians try to manipulate the history from their point of view. After hearing the resolution of the queen Phuleswari Kunwari, historians write, ‘the sudra Mahanta of the Vaishnavaperson refused to worship Durga, she ordered the Moamoria and several other Gosains to be brought to a *Shakta* shrine where sacrifices were being offered, and caused the distinguishing marks of the

*Shakta* sect to be smeared with the blood of the victims upon their foreheads. The Moamorias never forgot this insult to their spiritual leader, and after half a century they broke out to open rebellion.<sup>24</sup>

Those historians who try to put forward the allegation against the queen based their writings on a 'Assam Buranji Puthi' by a later writer Kashinath Tamuli Phukan. But one of his contemporary historian, Dutiram Hazarika, though he was a strong believer of Vaishnavism, was quiet about the atrocities made by Phuleswari although he refers to some of her wrongs done to the Mahantas.<sup>25</sup> Besides them, Rajanikanta Bordoloi, a litterateur of repute, also blamed Phuleswari for the religious intolerance and fanaticism on the basis of Cidananda Goswamy 'Mayamara satrar Vamsavali'. On the other hand he almost ignored the contemporary Report of Captain Welsh (1784) and J.P. Wades Account of Assam (1794-1800).<sup>26</sup> Captain Welsh made no mention of the religious factor or the guilt of Phuleswari kunwari in the whole Moamoria rebellion and he analyzed the causes of the revolt and examined the facts of allegations about Phuleswari Kunwari from Purnanda Buragohain, the Premier of the Ahom kingdom.<sup>27</sup> Phuleswari was undoubtedly Shaktist, but that did not preclude her being a pro- Vaishnavite. Her court poet Kaviraj Chakravarti in his book "Samkhochur Badh"<sup>28</sup> mentioned that she was very much devoted to the feet of Krishna. Another court poet Ananta Acharyas, also says "They (king and queen) are earnestly devoted to Hari, Durga and never omit the observance of any daily ritual."<sup>29</sup>

Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, in his "The Assamese Nurjahan", mentions that Vaishnava preceptors attended the Durga puja festival under the invitation of the queen and were received warmly at the court. Phuleswari Kunwari was particularly charmed by the politeness and courtesy of the Moamoria Mahanta. At night the Mahanta, flanked by 'torch and trumpet and attended by his disciples' marched to his camp through the streets. The Barbaruah of the Kingdom Rupchandra, could not tolerate this display of princely pomp; he dispatched a few messengers seized the person of Gosain, produced before the Barbaruah and subsequently murdered without the knowledge of the queen. She however regretted at the individual act of Barbaruah when the fact was revealed to her. She took the minister severely to task.<sup>30</sup> It shows that on her part she was not totally responsible for the suffering of the Vaishnava in her hands.

**Conclusion-** Thus, as a queen of the kingdom Phuleswari Kunwari had performed all her duties properly. It was not her decision to become the queen of the Kingdom; it was a policy of her former Ahom rulers that was carried by her. King Pratap Singha, Gadadhar Singha, and Rudra Singha: all of them followed the policy of subduing the Vaishnava, particularly the Moamarias. It is not apt to criticize Phuleswari Kunwari for the unrest among the Vaishnava. More so there was a competition among the Vaishnavism and Saktism to influence the King whosoever, for their personal gain. A few Vaishnavites might have suffered in her hands and thereby it is unreasonable to conclude that they were animated throughout with a thirst for revenge for half a century and then unfurled the standard of revolt.

**References**

1. Lerner, G. *Creation of Patriarchy*, New York, 1996; p.4.
2. Gait E.A. *A History of Assam*, Delhi, 2003; P.33
3. *ibid*, p.35
4. Baruah, S.L. *A Comprehensive History of Assam*, MunshiramManoharlal: Delhi,(ed,3<sup>rd</sup>). 1997. pp.294-295
5. *ibid*. p.297
6. Brapujari, H.K. *The Comprehensive History of Assam*, Publication Board of Assam,2004; vol-II, pp.288-290
7. Baruah SL. *op. cit.* p.303
8. *Ibid*. p.304
9. *Ibid*. p.305
10. Bhuyan SK, *Assamese Nurjahan*, DHAS, 1971, pp.34-35
11. *Ibid*. p.36
12. Baruah. *op. cit.*p.307
13. BaruahGohain P.N. *Asamar Buranji*, reprint, Guwahati, 1976. p.76
14. *Ibid*. p.17
15. Bhuyan S.K. *Tungkhungia Buranji*, *Humphrey Milford*.OUP: Calcutta, 1933.p.29
16. Sarma, Kumar Diganta. Religious Transformation of the Ahom rulers in the crossroad of making a united society, in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Medieval section. 2010-11. pp.244-245.
17. *Ibid*. p.246
18. *Ibid*. p.247
19. Baruah.*op. cit.*p.308
20. Barua Gohain.*op. cit.*,p.77
21. *Ibid*, p.78
22. Barua, G.C. (ed&tr.)*Ahom Buranji*, pp.292f
23. Barpujari,*op. cit.*, pp.291-92
24. *Ibid*. p.289
25. *Ibid*. p.293
26. *Ibid*. p.200
27. *Ibid*. p.201
28. Barua G.C. *op. cit.* pp.293f
29. Kaviraj Chakravarti,*Samkhachor Badh*, MS.DHAS, in Bhuyan, *Assamese Nurjahan*, pp. 34-35.
30. *Ibid*. p.36



## **Educational Tradition of Benaras Before The Establishment Of British Rule In India**

**\*Dr. Chandra Prakash Singh**

The early history of Benaras is involved in much obscurity. It is indisputably a place of great antiquity from the time when the Aryan race first spread itself over northern India. It is regarded, by all the Hindus, as coeval with the birth of Hinduism. <sup>1</sup> The Hindus ever behold the city in a peculiar aspect, as a place of spotless holiness and heavenly beauty, where the spiritual eye may be delighted and the heart may be purified.<sup>2</sup>

It is a fact that Shakya Muni (Buddha) on attaining the mysterious condition of Buddhahood under the Bodhi tree at Bodh Gaya, travelled to Benaras and proceeded to the Ishipattana Vihar or a monastery now known as 'Sarnath'. <sup>3</sup> This could have taken place in sixth century B.C. According to Mahavastu, 500 sages or Buddha's lived there. After their Nirvana Rishipattana was called Ishipattana.<sup>4</sup> It is located about 6.4 Km. in the north of Varanasi. At Sarnath Shakya Muni first began to "turn the wheel of the law". In Buddhist literature it is termed as 'Dharmachakrapravartana'.<sup>5</sup>

Benaras had a significant place as a political division in Northern India shortly before the time of Buddha. It was an independent kingdom before the rise of Buddhism and as such, finds mention in no less than four places in the Anguttara Nikaya in the list of Sodasa Maha-Janpadas.<sup>6</sup> In the sixth century B.C. Brahmadattas were ruling over Benaras.<sup>7</sup> Hiuen - tsiang the celebrated Chinese traveler, who visited India in the seventh century A.D. describes Benaras as a kingdom about four thousand Li (Six hundred and sixty seven miles) in circumference. To the west there was capital - near the Ganges, - which was from eighteen to nineteen Li (three miles and upwards) long and from five to six Li (about one mile) broad.<sup>8</sup>

---

**\*Associate Professor University Deptt. of History West Campus (B.N.M.U.)  
Post Graduate Centre, Saharsa (Bihar)**

**Volume III, Number 11, July-September 2014, ISSN 2277-4157**

In early Vedic literature there is no description of Benaras (Varanasi). During Vedic period it was not famous as a centre of learning<sup>9</sup> The sphere of Vedic culture in the earliest times was the Sapta-Saindhava region with its centre around Kurukshetra. It was there that the Vedas and Vedic education had their beginning.<sup>10</sup> Infact, Vedic religion reached eastern U.P, Bihar and Bengal many centuries later. The people of Benaras hardly accepted this new religion and were not in favour of it for a long period of time. <sup>11</sup> According to Shatpath Brahman Dhritrastra the king of Kashi refused Vedic religion because Shatnik the king of Bharatas had kidnapped his horse of Ashvamedha.<sup>12</sup>

As time advanced Vedic religion continued its process of evolution through the well known Sutra and Epic periods and three important centers of Education and philosophy developed at Taxila, Varanasi and Mithila.<sup>13</sup> During Upanishad period Banaras became a famous centre of Aryan civilization and religion. Ajatshatru, its great philosopher king has been discussed in the Upanishads as a patron of learning. Taxila (Takkasila) was the most famous seat of learning; owing to its far-famed reputation it attracted scholars from almost all parts of India. The cultural contact of Kashi with Taxila is well attested by the Jatakas which mention students flocking there from far off Banaras.<sup>14</sup> The Maha-Dhamma-Pala Jataka tells us that Dhamma Pala Kumara of the village Dhammapala in the kingdom of Kashi was sent by his father to study at Takkasila.<sup>15</sup> According to Kosiya and Tittiri Jataka the famous acharyas of Benaras taught three Vedas and eighteen shilpas.<sup>16</sup>

In the seventh century B.C. Banaras was probably the most famous centre of Buddhist education in eastern India. It was the place where the Buddha at first promulgated his gospel.<sup>17</sup> It went on prospering continuously. During seventh century A.D. it possessed resplendent and beautiful building with tiers of balconies and rows of halls.<sup>18</sup> Archaeological evidences show that it continued to be the flourishing centre of Buddhist learning and pilgrimage down to the 12th century AD.<sup>19</sup>

Buddhist Durajana Jataka refers to a teacher of Banaras of worldwide fame had gathered around him about five hundred young Brahmanas. They were studying under him.<sup>20</sup> Disciple of that famous teacher was a young Brahmanas who belonged from a foreign land.<sup>21</sup>

There are no evidences to show that Benares was a Hindu seat of learning during tenth century AD.<sup>22</sup> In Bhavishya Purana it is only mentioned that Kashi (Benaras) will be a famous centre of Hindu (Brahmanic) learning.<sup>23</sup> The seals which have been discovered in the Rajghat excavations at Benaras show that there was an institution for the learning of all the four Vedas called chaturvidya.<sup>24</sup> In regards to other branches of learning the very fact that pupils from all over India clustered at Varanasi for education is evidence that all those branches received their full quota of instruction in various institutions.<sup>25</sup>

It must, however, be remembered that all the educational institutions at Kashi were being run by individual Acharyas and there were perhaps no organized schools where a large number of pupils could study.<sup>26</sup> The individual teachers were carrying on their sacred duty of teaching by themselves.<sup>27</sup> There was no mass production of pundits so far as Varanasi was concerned. They were to stand on the principle of personal contact and individual attention.<sup>28</sup> Possibly the number of students under one teacher was restricted to 500 only.<sup>29</sup>

During eleventh and twelfth centuries AD. The scheme of Sanskrit education had already split into two sections. On the one hand there were the traditional Vedic pathashalas which specialized in the Sanskrit learning and where the pupil received expert and specialist instruction of the Vedas, Sahitya (Literature) grammar, different systems of philosophy like Nyaya, Mimansa, Sankhya, Yoga, Vedanta and Vaisheshika, Astronomy and Astrology or Ayurveda (medicine).<sup>30</sup> Some times the students are referred as selecting the study of Eighteen Sippas or arts,<sup>31</sup> Vedas alone or the arts alone.<sup>32</sup> These institutions which were often connected with famous temples and monasteries provide specialized knowledge of six Shastra (disciplines). Acharyas not only taught their pupils but also provided them food and other necessities of life and treated them as members of their family.<sup>33</sup> The Gahadwal kings of Varanasi granted village to learned men living there. Varanasi had given birth to several classical giants in the sphere of medicine. Sushrut was specialized not only in Rasa-Prakriya but also in Surgery.<sup>34</sup>

After 1194 AD. Varanasi was conquered by Qutubuddin Aibak, Due to the fear of religious conversion by new rulers. Many Brahman families were bound to take shelter in south India. But Sanskrit education remained quite alive there.<sup>35</sup> Teachers continued their work as before, but more quietly. The Vedas were perhaps recited in the seclusion of rooms in a loud voice. The narrow winding lanes of the old town helped because the Muslims were not always going into the interiors.<sup>36</sup>

Moreover, after the destruction of the Rajghat fort and occupation of nearby localities by Muslims, people living in these localities were cutting down forests and settling down in small groups around the ruins of old temples - surrounded by forests all round. <sup>37</sup>This condition must have remained only for hundred years or so because we find that in the reign of Mohammad Bin Tughlaq (1325-1351 AD) Varanasi was once again flourishing as a centre of Sanskrit learning.<sup>38</sup> According to Jin Prabha Suri who had received respectful attention in the court of that sovereign there were quite a number of specialists in shabdanushasana (grammar & linguistics) Astrology, Astronomy, Dhatuvidya (metallurgy), Ras Vidya (Chemistry including medicine) and Khanyavad (Geology and Mining).<sup>39</sup> During fourteenth and fifteenth centuries pundits of Varanasi set out towards the south India. During this period Kullabha Bhatta wrote his commentary on the Manusmriti at Varanasi during this period.<sup>40</sup> Individual teachers were thus the only source of education left and they too suffered considerable persecution at the hands of their new sovereign.<sup>41</sup> In the earlier years of his reign even Akbar was against Varanasi

in 1567 A.D. when he conquered the city for the second time, he actually ordered to be plundered it.<sup>42</sup> The reconstruction of Varanasi took place after 1584, when the fort of Allahabad had been completed and the headquarters of the suba had been transferred. Contribution of Benaras to Sanskrit scholarship and literature during the period 1500-1800 AD. is undoubtedly much greater than that of any other three contemporary centers of learning put together.<sup>43</sup>

Describing the system of education at Benaras in 1660 AD. Bernier writes that Varanasi was actually a sort of university, but unlike the European universities there were no colleges and no organized classes. These pupils first learnt Sanskrit with the help of grammar, Puranas came next and ultimately they specialized in philosophy, medicine, astronomy etc.<sup>44</sup> Bernier, *Travel in India*, P. 341; Altekar, *Education in Ancient India*,

The inscriptions of Mughal period inform that Vedas were studied in Varanasi. Kabir and Tulsī were also concerned with Benaras. In the early eighteenth century there were two kinds of institutions for the learning of the Vedas. Those who were learned scholars taught a limited number of pupils in their own homes and those who accommodated a large number of pupils and their discipline was more formal.<sup>45</sup> The first step in establishing a regular school was taken by Maharaja Jai Singh of Ambar in the Kangan Wali Haveli near Bindu Mahadeva temple built by Him in 1585 A.D.<sup>46</sup> It provided instruction to the sons of the social high-ups and even in it the number of pupils was not very large. The real step in this direction was however taken in 1791 AD when Jonathan Duncan, the Agent of the East India Company at Varanasi founded the Sanskrit pathashala, which later became the Government Sanskrit College and since 1958 has been raised to the status of a chartered university as the Varanaserya Sanskrit Visvavidyalaya.<sup>47</sup>

### References

1. Sherring, M.A., *Benaras the sacred city of The Hindus*, Delhi, 1975, P.1.
2. Ibid, P.2.
3. Havell E.D., *Benaras the Sacred City*, Calcutta, 1905, P.4.
4. Singh, Dr. Priyasan, *Bharat Ke Pramukh Baudh Tirth-Sthal*, Delhi, 1993, P.16.
5. R. Spence Hardy, *A Manual of Buddhism*, P.187.
6. Pargiter, P. 23-24.
7. Pandey, Rajendra, *Kashi Through the Ages*, Delhi, 1979, P.149
8. Matsya-Purana, *Anandasrama Sanskrit series*, Poona, P. 556, vol. 72.
9. Watters, Thomas, *On Yuan - Chwang Travels in India*, Ed. by T.W. Rhys-David, London, 1904-05, vol.2, P. 48.
10. Altekar A.S., *Education in Ancient India*, Benaras, 1948, P. 114.
11. Ibid, P. 115.
12. Shatpatha Brahman, 13-5. 4-19.
13. Mookerjee, Radha Kumud, *Ancient Indian Education*, Bombay, 1957, p-333
14. Sukul, Kuber Nath, *Varanasi Down the Ages*, Patna, 1974, P.87.
15. Fausboll, (Jataka) V, P. 263

16. Fausboll, (Jataka) IV, P. 50.
17. Cowell, (Jataka) Nos. 123, 150.
18. Altekar A.S. Education in Ancient India, P. 114.
19. Watters, II, P.48.
20. Altekar, A.S., Education in Ancient India, P.115.
21. Cowell, Jataka, No. 64.
22. Ibid.
23. Altekar, A.S. Prachin Bhartiya Shiksha Paddhati, P. 87-88.
24. Bhavishya Purana, Brahmakhand, chapt. 51, 2.3.
25. Sukul, Kuber Nath, Varanasi Down the Ages, Patna, P.90.
26. Ibid, P.90-91.
27. Ibid, P. 91.
28. A.S. Altekar, Prachin Bhartiya Shiksha Paddhati, P. 88.
29. Ibid
30. Fousboll, Jataka III, PP. 18,235, 143, 173 etc.
31. Sukul, Kuber Nath, Varanasi down the Ages, Patna. 91.
32. Fausboll, Jataka, I, PP. 259, 365, 402.
33. Ibid, III, PP. 18, 238, V, PP. 127, 162, 177.
34. Altekar, A.S, Education in Ancient India, Benaras, P.116.
35. Sukul, Kuber Nath, Varanasi Down the Ages, Patna, P.94.
36. Altekar,A.S.,Education in Ancient India. Benaras, P. 116.
37. Ibid.
38. Sukul, Kuber Nath, Varanasi Down the Ages, Patna 1924, P. 94.
39. Ibid
40. Pandey, Rajendra, Kashi through the Ages, Delhi 1974, P. 116-17.
41. Mazumdar, R.C. and Pushalkar, The History and Culture of Indian people, vol. IV, Bombay P. 210-11.
42. Sukul, Kuber Nath, Varanasi Down the Ages, Patna 1974, P. 95-96.
43. AltekarA.S., P. 117-118.
44. Altekar, A.S, History of Benaras, P. 43. P. 118.
46. Sukul, Kuber Nath, Varanasi Down the Ages, Patna 1974,P. 99,
47. Ibid, P. 103.



## Saarc And Bhutan

**\*Dr. Madhu Rajput**

Nations cannot survive in isolation. Co-operation at regional and international level is imperative. In South Asia, most of the countries were colonized by the British and others were part of undivided India such as Pakistan and Bangladesh. The South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation popularly known as SAARC was established in 1985 on 08th of December, initially with seven member States- India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan and Maldives. Later, Afghanistan was also been admitted as a member. This organization accounts for more than twenty two per cent of world population.

The idea was to provide a platform to work together in a spirit of friendship, understanding and trust. Speaking on the first SAARC summit on 7-8 December 1985, the King of Bhutan talked about how South Asia was the cradle of earliest human civilization with spiritual and cultural tradition to cherish. But today, in terms of social and economic well being the situation in the region is very dismal. The King reaffirmed Bhutan's support to the concept of regional co-operation from the very beginning. He further added that once regional co-operation succeeds in providing economic gains and a climate of trust is developed, there will be expansion in the economic field. The areas in which co-operation was to be extended were- poverty alleviation, cooperation in social and cultural sector, women and children, education, international political and economic environment, security of small states, terrorism, and environment with emphasis on people to people contact.<sup>1</sup>

**First Summit at Dhaka, 1985-** In December 1985, the Heads of States and Governments of seven South Asian countries Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka held a summit meeting at Dhaka. After due deliberations it was unanimously decided to setup a secretariat and issue a declaration for creation of SAARC. The declaration stated the objective of association as promotion of welfare of people, improvement in the quality of the life of people, acceleration of economic growth, promotion of collective self-reliance, promotion of mutual trust and understanding, promotion of collaboration

---

**\*Professor of Deptt.of History University of Lucknow, Lucknow (U.P.)**

**Central India Journal of Historical And Archaeological Research CIJHAR.**

in economic, social, cultural, technical and scientific fields, strengthening of cooperation between other developing countries and themselves besides cooperation with regional and international organizations with similar objectives. The declaration stated that the Heads of State or Government shall meet annually and a council of ministers consisting of foreign ministers of the member states shall be constituted to formulate policies to review the progress of cooperation, to establish additional mechanism and to decide on matters of general interest. This council of ministers shall be assisted by foreign secretaries. A technical committee comprising of representatives of member states for implementing, coordinating and monitoring of programmes and action committee for implementation of projects involving more than two member states shall be established. The expenses of the organization shall be met out of voluntary contributions of members.

King of Bhutan described it as “a manifestation of our collective wisdom and political will to bring about meaningful regional cooperation in spite of the difference on foreign policy and security perspectives.” His Majesty the fourth king Jigme Singye Wangchuck was optimistic and said “Mr. Chairman, it may neither be possible nor desirable to limit discussion in our meetings to issues of non-political nature, for the political climate of our region undoubtedly cast a long shadow over our deliberations on geopolitical realities of our region. It would be unrealistic to ignore the primacy of the political factor as in the final analysis it will be the political environment of the region which will determine the shape and scope of regional cooperation in South Asia.”<sup>2</sup>

Since the inception of the first summit, there have been seventeen SAARC summits; the 18th is to be held in Kathmandu, Nepal in November 2014. The emphasis of these summits has always been to promote South Asian regional identity and to strengthen co-operation at the international level. The importance on enlarging the scope of co-operation in core areas has been emphasized. It is also emphasized to ensure social stability and to protect the vulnerable sections of population from the adverse impacts of globalization and liberalization. In the thirteenth summit at Dhaka, a poverty alleviation fund was established with contributions both voluntary and assessed. The Finance Ministers were to formulate the recommendations on the operational modalities of the fund. It was agreed that SPAF (SAARC Poverty Alleviation Fund) will function under SAARC Development Fund. During this summit the signing of the following agreements were made:

1. The agreement on mutual administrative assistance in customs matters.
2. The agreement on the establishment of SAARC arbitration counsel.
3. The limited agreement on avoidance of double taxation and mutual administrative assistance in tax matters.<sup>3</sup>

The SAARC Forestry Centre in Bhutan was set up and during this summit the need for the centre to have a coordinating role in the field of forestry for exchange of information, expertise, training and formulation of regional projects

with emphasis on social forestry was stressed. During this summit, the SAARC vision and agenda for the third decade of SAARC was agreed upon and a new roadmap for the next decade of regional co-operation was agreed. Sixteenth SAARC summit was held from 28-29 April 2010 in the Silver Jubilee Year at Thimphu, Bhutan. The leaders emphasized the need to develop a vision statement. They agreed to form South Asia Forum for the generation of debate, discussion and exchange of ideas on South Asia and its future development. The concept of GNH pursued by Bhutan in ensuring people-centric development, culture, preservation of environment and better governance was appreciated and it welcomed Bhutan's offer to host a SAARC workshop on GNH in 2010. This was the first time in its history that Bhutan hosted the SAARC summit. Climate change was the key theme at the summit for impact of climate change is not only the greatest long time threat to the region but is also a global challenge. During the summit the inauguration of permanent secretariat of SAARC Development Fund in Thimphu was done by SAARC leaders.

**Seventeenth Summit** The Seventeenth Summit was held from 10-11 of November 2011 in Addu City, Maldives. The Meeting, which was held at the Equatorial Convention Centre, Addu City was opened by the outgoing Chair of SAARC, Prime Minister of the Royal Government of Bhutan, H.E. Lyonchhen Jigmi Yoezer Thinly. H.E. Mohamed Nasheed was elected as the Chairperson of the 17th SAARC Summit. In his inaugural address President Nasheed highlighted three areas of cooperation in which progress should be made; trade, transport and economic integration; security issues such piracy and climate change; and good governance.

The Head of States of all the SAARC Member States addressed the Meeting. The inaugural meeting was attended by Foreign/External Ministers of SAARC Member States, the Secretary General of SAARC, the Heads of Observer Delegation, Cabinet Ministers of the Maldives, Ministers in the visiting delegations and other state dignitaries. In her address Secretary General stated that the Summit being held under the theme of "Building Bridges" provides further impetus and momentum to build the many bridges that needs to be built: from bridging the gaps created by uneven economic development and income distribution, the gaps in recognizing and respecting the equality of men and women, the closing of space between intent and implementation. In this Meeting, the Foreign Ministers of the respective Member States signed four agreements; SAARC Agreement on Rapid Response to Natural Disasters, SAARC Agreement on Multilateral Arrangement on Recognition of Conformity Assessment, SAARC Agreement on Implementation of Regional Standards SAARC Seed Bank Agreement In addition, the Addu Declaration of the Seventeenth SAARC Summit was also adopted.<sup>4</sup>

**Trade-** Expanding trade was a priority for the leaders to ensure regional economic co-operation. SAARC countries individually or collectively have not played a major role in global trade. They only have a minor portion in the total

world trade. The SAFTA (South Asian Free Trade Agreement) was a step towards South Asian economic union. Bhutan's trade is concentrated in the SAARC region and more specifically with India which has been the single largest trading partner accounting for 78 percent of total imports and 98 percent of exports of Bhutan on an average. Exports consist of primary products, vegetables, fruits and fruit products, handicrafts, philatelic items, wood products, mineral products and electricity.

It may be noted that cement has emerged as a major export item to India followed by timber and agricultural products. Following the completion of the 336 MW installed capacity hydel plant at Chukha, the sale of electricity has accounted for 40 percent of exports to India by 1988. Owing to physical proximity and free trade agreement between the two countries, most of the imports comprise Indian products. Major items imported from India include petroleum products, machinery and tools, consumer goods, hardware and construction materials. As a result of an incentive programme and transit facility provided by India, exports of fresh fruits like apples and oranges to Bangladesh have increased at a fast pace since 1987. Trade with other SAARC countries such as Nepal and Sri Lanka has recently begun but without any systematic pattern.<sup>5</sup>

**Table 1: Classification of Trade Partners In The SAARC Region<sup>6</sup>**

Country	Bangladesh	Bhutan	India	Maldives	Nepal	Pakistan	Sri Lanka
Bangladesh	-	NT	A	NT	C	A	B
Bhutan	NT	-	A	NT	NT	NT	NT
India	A	A	-	C	A	B	A
Maldives	NT	NT	C	-	NT	C	C
Nepal	B	NT	A	NT	-	C	C
Pakistan	A	NT	A	C	C	-	A
Sri lanka	B	NT	A	C	C	A	-

Note:

- A** represents major trading partners with trade exceeding \$ 50 million
- B** represents significant trading partners with trade ranging from \$ 10 million to Less than \$ 50 million
- C** represents insignificant trading partners with trade below \$ 10 million
- NT** stands for no trade

The picture which emerges of the major trading partners is a mixed one. While Nepal and Bhutan have substantial trade with India only, India and Pakistan have been major trade partners of Bangladesh and its trade with Sri Lanka is also significant. Maldives has no significant trading relations with any country of the region.

**Conclusion-** The commitment of Bhutan in South Asia regional co-operation can be summed up in the words of Prime Minister Jigmi Thinley who at the fifteenth SAARC summit (Colombo, August 2008) said, “I wish to pledge here that just as the previous government has placed their faith and confidence in our regional association, democratic Bhutan will do all it can to make SAARC a powerful and effective mechanism for the realization of the dreams of people of South Asia.”<sup>7</sup> From 1962 onwards Bhutan has made rapid strides in establishing diplomatic relations with many countries, and has given a good account of itself in global politics. India’s decision to introduce Bhutan to comity of nations brought the two countries closer. Bhutan is determined to work increasingly for the stability, progress, peace and prosperity of the region adhering to the policy of non-alignment. It seeks to play a role in international affairs “as a friend and partner of India”. Bhutan cannot afford to be at odds with neighbours of comparable size and degree of modernity, but the final choice has to be considering what is good for the people of the country, the main factors being its location, size and economic needs.

### **Reference**

1. SAARC Documents, Milestones in the Evolution of Regional Co-operation in South Asia, Vol-7, SARRC Secretariat, Kathmandu, pp. 381-382.
2. Royal Government of Bhutan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, SAARC Division, Major Statements Made by Bhutanese Delegation on SAARC, 1971-91, Thimphu 1991, p.60.
3. Declaration Thirteenth SAARC Summit Dhaka, 12-13 November 2005, A Publication of the SAARC Secretariat, Kathmandu, pp.4-5.
4. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_SAARC\\_summits](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_SAARC_summits)
5. SAARC Study on Trade, Manufactures and Services, SAARC Secretariat, 1991, pp. 43-44.
6. Ibid, p.51.
7. Bhutan hosts 16<sup>th</sup> SAARC Summit, Kuensel Supplement, and Tuesday, April 27, 2010.



## **Achievements of Akali-BJP Coalition Ministry in Punjab (1997-2002)**

**\* Dr. Sunita Rani**

The year 1997 occupied an important place in the history of free India, when a long dominance of the Congress party was eroded by the newly emerged Janta party. The 1997 elections to the Legislative Assembly were the first normal elections in the Punjab after the 1980 Parliamentary and Assembly elections. No elections were held to Punjab Legislative Assembly from 1987 to 1992 because of militancy. Although the elections to the Punjab Assembly were held in 1992 but there was only 23.82 percent voting and the major regional party of the state, the Akali Dal had boycotted the elections. Therefore, these could not be termed as real elections. But the 1997 Assembly elections were held in a democratic way and 63.73 percent voters exercised their franchise. <sup>1</sup>

The Akali-BJP government was formed in the Punjab on February 12, 1997 under the leadership of Parkash Singh Badal who become Chief Minister of the state for the fourth time. In the starting the ministry had ten ministers. Akali Dal got seven ranks in the ministry.<sup>2</sup> The two were aligned with BJP<sup>3</sup> and one was Independent.<sup>4</sup> The ministry was expanded thrice and it was subsequently expanded on July 27, 1997. The strength of the ministry was increased as 33.<sup>5</sup> On December 31, 1999 ministry was expanded 2<sup>nd</sup> time, in which 8 new members were included and the strength of the ministry was increased as 41.<sup>6</sup> On December 24, 2000 ministry was expanded third time in this period one minister was included in the ministry and the strength of the ministry was raised to 42.<sup>7</sup>

The government freed Punjab from the crushing burden of Special Term Loan of Rs. 8,500 crores, a legacy of short sighted and anti-Punjab policies. The Akali-BJP government established peace, secularism, social justice, rule of law, democratic values and did lot of work for development in the tenure of five years.

---

**\*Asst. Prof. in Political Science, SGTB Khalsa, College Anandpur Sahib,  
Ropar, Punjab**

Now chief of defence forces offers prayers at Shri Anandpur Sahib during Khalsa Tercentenary celebrations. Centre releases Rs. 100 crores as devotional offering. Construction of Rs. 200 crores Khalsa Heritage Complex started by the leaders and heads of religion represented at Tercentenary functions.<sup>8</sup>

The Punjab Government has accepted most of the recommendations of the Commission and improved upon these recommendations including arrears were estimated about Rs. 660 crores. All employees have started getting their revised salary and allowances in cash from January 1, 1998. The recommendations of the Commission were considered by a Pay Implementation Committee headed by the Chief Secretary<sup>9</sup> In the field of education, "Mid-day Meal Scheme" has been started by Government of India. During the year 1997-98, the Punjab Government registered Adarsh Education Society to provide quality education to rural areas by setting up Adarsh Schools.<sup>10</sup>

During the year 1997-98 Shivalik College Naya Nangal, Shaheed Bhagat Singh College Kotkapura and Guru Gobind Singh College Giddarbaha have been taken over by the Government.<sup>11</sup> A sum of Rs. 69 crore was earmarked as grant to our universities, Guru Nanak Dev University Amritsar, Punjabi University Patiala, Punjab University, and Chandigarh. Information and Technology was being introduced as a subject in Government Colleges from March 2000.<sup>12</sup> In the year of 1997 the pattern of question papers has been changed in order to curb and eradicate the menace of copying. In view of these five types of question papers will now be printed for the 8<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> classes by the Punjab School Education Board. For the E.T.T. examination also three types of question papers have been introduced.<sup>13</sup>

The Punjab School Education Board came into being under the legislative enactment of 1969. The Punjab School Education Board is the only Board in India which gets feedback of its activities in the field of education and examinations by arranging district and teshil level seminars and workshops.<sup>14</sup> With the aid of Indian Government, Punjab Government runs the book bank scheme in the ratio of 50:50 provided by the funds. This scheme has been running since 1974-75. Under this central-sponsored scheme, Scheduled Caste students studying in Medical, Engineering, Agricultural, Veterinary Science and Polytechnic course were provided grants. Keeping in view the counting of Scheduled Caste students, a set of two books related to the course was provided to the all the students<sup>15</sup>

To meet the challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the Government proposes to set up the "Baba Farid University of Health Science" at Faridkot, in which worldwide online treatment has been provided. The inventions related to medical herbs and medical treatment for controlling human diseases was started here.<sup>16</sup> 100-bed hospital was started at Sri Anandpur Sahib and Mukerian. At Mohali hospital for heart diseases and organisation of Ranbaxy was established at Rs. 100 crore. Apollo Associated Hospital was established at Ludhiana.<sup>17</sup> The Punjab Institute of Medical Sciences started at Jalandhar. A neuron-surgery unit has been planned at Government Medical College, Amritsar and the exiting nephrology units at

Government Medical College, Amritsar are proposed to be strengthened by providing new dialysis machines.<sup>18</sup>

Punjab Government has set up Punjab Technical University at Jalandhar to provide a uniform umbrella to all technical education at degree level.<sup>19</sup> The main emphasis of the Government during the year 1999-2000 was to consolidate the gains of World Bank Project both in technical education and industrial training wings.<sup>20</sup> In the field of Information and Technology, earth station starts functioning at Mohali – 161 foreign companies registered. Agreements signed for export of software worth Rs. 150 crores. Steps initiated for setting up Institute of Information Technology.<sup>21</sup>

With the help of Special Central Aid, Punjab Government (Welfare Department) started scheme for providing Punjabi and English stenography training to unemployed graduates in 1987-88. Under this scheme, stenography organisation was established at Mohali and in the year 1995-96 government approved the establishment of three more centres at Amritsar, Ferozepur and Patiala. The centres at Patiala and Ferozepur were started in the year 1999-2000. Under this scheme, only those students were given admission who were below poverty line.<sup>22</sup> From April 1, 1997 Scheduled Castes and July 1, 1998 Christian girls were provided with the scheme of giving Rs. 5,100 at the time of their marriage by the Punjab Government. This scheme was called Shagun (financial help) Scheme.<sup>23</sup>

The scheme for constructing inns for common social functions to the Scheduled Caste people, was started by the Punjab Government in 1969-70. Under this scheme only those tribes were covered whose counting of Scheduled Caste houses exceeds 25? Under this scheme, from 1998-99, the grant of Rs. one lakh was provided for construction of new inns and Rs. 50,000 was provided for the repair of pre-constructed inn.<sup>24</sup> Punjab was the first state to create an independent department of sports in 1961 and since then it has established its supremacy on the national sports scene. The Punjab Government has honoured the Hockey Team which won a Gold Medal in Asian Games which were held in Bangkok. Two players of this team, Mr. Baljeet Dhillon and Mr. Raman Deep Singh have been promoted as SP. Padam Shri Pargat Singh has been promoted as SP.<sup>25</sup>

Sports infrastructure network like Dashmesh Sports Academy at Martial Sports at Anadpur Sahib, Astroturf Hockey field at Ludhiana, district-level sports stadium at Mansa, Fatehgarh Sahib, Muktsar and Gurdaspur were organised. Punjab Government constituted a NRI Sabha. Special laws were enacted to protect the properties of the NRIs. Police help-line introduced throughout the state with special provision at the Delhi Airport. The urban properties of NRIs were also being protected by improving laws. For the development of small industries, Punjab has made agreements on the project of Rs. 360 crore investments with 15 foreign Punjabis. <sup>26</sup>

For the welfare of freedom fighter, the Punjab Government has increased Swatantrata Sainik Samman Pension from Rs. 1100 to Rs. 1500 per month with

effect from August 15, 1997 to all freedom fighters and their widows. Free travel facilities were also available to the freedom fighters and their widows in the state government buses.<sup>27</sup> There is reservation of 2 percent seats in admission to various courses in the governmental educational and technical institutions for the children (grand-sons, grand-daughters) of freedom fighters. Financial assistance amounting to Rs. 10,000 was given to a freedom fighter on the occasion of the marriages of their sons and daughters. The scheme of training-cum-production centre was started in the year 1977-78.<sup>28</sup>

Keeping in view importance of economic development of rural link roads, Punjab Government has repaired 80 percent of roads out of 3400 km. link roads and has given Rs. 365 crores to make 2000 km. new link roads. Except this Rs. 220 crores have been given for the repair and maintenance of these roads.<sup>29</sup> Punjab Roadways and PEPSU Road Transport Corporation, the two main government organisations, have provided bus service facilities.<sup>30</sup>

The women above 60 years of age who poses identity card of the Department of Social Security and Women and Children Development, Punjab, will travel in the buses of Punjab Roadways with half-ticket. PRTC has also started operation of buses under the Kilometre Scheme.<sup>31</sup> Akali-BJP Government has provided reasonable rates of grains to the farmers and land revenue abolished.<sup>32</sup> Central Government has increased the rate of wheat which was Rs. 380 per quintal in 1996 was increased to Rs. 600 per quintal in 2001. The rate of rice was increased from Rs. 395 per quintal in 1996 to Rs. 560 per quintal in 2001. The rate of manures to be decreased. SAD-BJP government had also promised that if any farmer wants to transfer his property to his children then it will not cost him anything.<sup>33</sup> In the field of electricity, two units of Lehra Mohabbat Thermal Plant commissioned, Ranjit Sagar (Thein) Dam has been completed and Guru Hargobind Thermal Plant has also been started. The work on Rs. 2000 crore Goindwal Sahib Thermal Plant with a capacity of 600 MWs allotted.<sup>34</sup>

In nutshell we can say that The Government started functioning in a spirit of cordiality. BJP was given representation in the ministry in proportion to its strength in the Assembly. Since it was a government of two political parties only, so the differences between the two were resolved by informal negotiations between the top leaders of both the parties, and the need to form coordination committees was not felt at all. The coalition ministry attempted to bring communal harmony in the state and started with the loudly trumpeted declaration of bringing honesty in the administration. Akali-BJP coalition government took many steps to improve the social, economic, agriculture, industrial and over all development of the people

**References-**

1. Bhupinder Singh, *Punjab Journal of Politics*, "Impact of the 1997 Assembly Election on the Political Development in Punjab" Vol. XXV, No. 2, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar., 2001, p.163.
2. Sardar Parkash Singh Badal, Upinderjit Kaur, Sarup Singh, Capt. Kanwaljit Singh, Gurdev Singh Badal, Ranjit Singh Brahmputra and Parkash Singh Majitha.
3. Balramji Dass Tandon and Madan Mohan Mittal.
4. Sardar Nirmal Singh Khalon.
5. *The Tribune*, July 28, 1997.
6. *Ibid.*, January 1, 2000.
7. *Ibid.*, December 26, 2000.
8. *The Tribune*, November 1, 2000.
9. Data published by Punjab Vidhan Sabha Secretariat, Chandigarh, 1998, p.10.
10. Data published by Punjab Vidhan Sabha Secretariat, Chandigarh, 1998, pp.34-35.
11. *The Tribune*, February 13, 2000.
12. *Ibid.*, p.38.
13. *Ibid.*, 1999, p.22.
14. *The Tribune*, November 1, 2000.
15. Data published by Punjab Vidhan Sabha Secretariat, Chandigarh, 1998, p.10.
16. Data published by Punjab Vidhan Sabha Secretariat, Chandigarh, 1998, pp.34-35.
17. *The Tribune*, February 13, 2000.
18. *Ibid.*, p.38.
19. *Ibid.*, 1999, p.22.
20. *Ibid.*, 1999, pp.14-15.
21. *The Tribune*, November 1, 2000.
22. Data published by Information and Public Relations Department, Chandigarh.
23. *The Tribune*, February 13, 2000.
24. Data published by Information and Public Relations Department, Chandigarh.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *The Tribune*, November 1, 2000.
27. *Ibid.*
28. Data published by Information and Public Relations Department, Chandigarh.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Data published by Punjab Vidhan Sabha Secretariat, Chandigarh, 1998, p.40.
31. *Ibid.*, 2001, p.40.
32. Data published by Information and Public Relations Department, Chandigarh.
33. *Ibid.*
34. *The Tribune*, November 1, 2000.



L=h l ekt , d v/; ; u pkfkh 'krh bZ l s  
yɔdj l kroh 'krh bZ rd

\*MKWjktʒnz dɛkj 'kekZ

प्राचीन काल में भारतीय समाज के निर्माण में स्त्रियों ने महत्त्वपूर्ण योगदान दिया है। पूर्व कालों की भाँति चौथी शती ई से सातवी शती ई तक के समाज में स्त्रियों का महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थान रहा है।<sup>1</sup> किसी भी देश की सभ्यता एवं संस्कृति के जानने के लिए उसे देश में स्त्री जीवन के बारे में जानना अति आवश्यक है। इस बारे में जाने बिना हम संस्कृति का सही मूल्यांकन नहीं कर सकते।<sup>2</sup> मनु का कथन है कि जिस कुल में माता, पत्नी, बहन, कन्या, पुत्रवधु आदि स्त्रियों का आदर सत्कार होता है उस कुल में देवता निवास करते हैं। जिस कुल में स्त्रियों का अनादर होता है, वहाँ सारी क्रिया निष्फल होती रहती है। स्त्री जननी, पुत्री, पत्नी आदि रूपों में संसार के कल्याण संलग्न होने के कारण सृष्टि में महत्त्वपूर्ण रही है। स्त्री पुरुषों के समान शिक्षा भी प्राप्त करती थी। स्त्री के विविधि रूपों को चर्चा के अर्न्तगत भारतीय समाज में स्त्री की क्या स्थिति थी, इसका वर्णन इस प्रकार है –

du; k ds : i eaL=h % कन्या के रूप में स्त्री का समाज में महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थान था, वैदिक काल में पुत्री का जन्म पर चिंता होने का कोई प्रमाण नहीं मिलता किन्तु तत्कालीन वातावरण में पुत्र के जन्म की इच्छा होना स्वभाविक था।<sup>3</sup> अथर्ववेद में कुछ धार्मिक कृत्यों का उल्लेख है। जिसका उद्देश्य पुत्र की प्राप्ति करना था। किन्तु पुत्री के जन्म से परिवार के सदस्य व्याकुल नहीं होते थे। इस काल में पुत्री की शिक्षा का पूर्ण ध्यान रखा जाता था।<sup>4</sup> ऋग्वेद की अनेक ऋचनाएं लोमामुद्रा, विश्ववारा, घोषा आदि विदूषी स्त्रियों ने रची हैं। गुप्त काल तक आते-आते कन्या के जन्म पिता की चिंता बढ़ने लगी थी।<sup>5</sup> पंचतंत्र में उल्लेख मिलता है कि पुत्री के जन्म पर माता पिता को हर्ष नहीं होता था। वे सोचते थे कि कन्या का विवाह किसी योग्य वर के साथ करने के बाद भी उनकी चिंताएं समाप्त नहीं होती थी। कन्या का दर्शन मांगलिक था।<sup>6</sup> रघुवंश में वर्णन है

\*v/; {k bfrgkl foHkx egkjktk j.kthr fl g dkyst] eykM] ftyk Jh  
eɔrl j l kfgc iɔr iɔkc

कि जब राजा राजधानी से निकलते थे तो कुमारियां भुने हुए दानों से उनका अभिनन्दन करती थी। हर्ष कालीन समाज में कन्या के जन्म के अवसर पर पिता के दुख का वर्णन करते हुए बाण ने हर्ष चरित में वर्णन किया है। कि माता पिता के सबसे बड़ा दुःख इस बात का होता है कि उनके अपने शरीर से उत्पन्न अपनी गोद से लालन पालन की गई उस कन्या को अचानक अपरिचित व्यक्ति से विवाह हो जाता है।<sup>8</sup> समाज में कन्या के प्रति प्रेम होते हुए भी उसके जन्म के समय पुत्र जन्म के समान समारोह नहीं मनाएँ जाते थे। जन साधारण में भी पुत्री की अपेक्षा पुत्र का जन्म का अधिक महत्त्व दिया जाता था।

**ekrk ds: i ea ukjh %** गुप्तकालीन समाज में जिस समय स्त्री माता बनती थी उसका महत्त्व लोगो की दृष्टि से महत्त्वपूर्ण था जहां तक सम्मान का प्रश्न है—माता का स्थान पिता से भी अधिक महत्त्व का होता था।<sup>9</sup> रघुवंश से ज्ञात होता है भगवान श्री राम जब लंका से अयोध्या लौटे उन्होंने अपनी माताओं के पास जाकर उन्हें श्रद्धापूर्वक नमन किया। गुप्तवंशकालियों में पिता के साथ माता का भी नाम बड़े आदर से लिया गया।<sup>10</sup> स्कन्दगुप्त के भित्तारी पाषाण सतंभ लेख में समुन्द्रगुप्त की माता कुमारदेवी, चन्द्रगुप्त द्वितीय की माता दत्तदेवी का नाम आया है।

हर्षवर्धन कालीन समाज में भी माता का स्थान सर्वोच्च था। इस काल में माता का बड़ा आदर होता था।<sup>11</sup> बाण के वर्णन से स्पष्ट होता है कि माताएँ पुत्र प्राप्ति एवं उसके लालन—पालन के लिए अनेक कष्ट सहन करती । फिर भी मातृत्व के लिए वे व्याकुल रहती थी।

**i Ruh ds : i ea %** गुप्त कालीन समाज में पत्नी का आदर्श चरित्र देखने को मिलता है। वह अपने पति की सेवा करने के साथ परिवार के अन्य सदस्यों का भी आदर करती थी।<sup>12</sup> कामसूत्र में आदर्श पत्नी का चित्र प्रस्तुत किया है। आदर्श पत्नी के निम्न गुण माने जाते थे — परिवार में जनों की सेवा, आत्म संयम तथा कुशलता पूर्वक घर के सब कार्यों का प्रबंध करना, पत्नी स्वयं पति के लिए सचिकर भोजन बनाती थी। पति की आज्ञा से पत्नी सामाजिक उत्सवों, और धार्मिक जुलूसों में भाग लेती थी। बिना पति को सूचित किए वह किसी को दान नहीं देती थी। वह सास ससुर की सेवा और उनके आदेशों का पालन भी करती थी।

गुप्तकालीन समाज में पति के लिए पत्नी कितनी महत्त्वपूर्ण थी इसका वर्णन<sup>13</sup> रघुवंश ग्रंथ में अज द्वारा किया गया वह मेरी गृहिणी थी, परामर्शदात्री और मेरी मित्र थी। वह ललित कलाओं में मेरी शिष्या थी।<sup>14</sup> याज्ञवल्क्य का कथन है कि पति को पत्नी की इच्छानुसार कार्य करना तथा उससे प्रेम करना चाहिए। हर्ष कालीन समाज में पति एवं पत्नी प्रेम मय जीवन व्यतीत करते थे। समाज प्रत्येक कार्य में पत्नी का परामर्श लेता किन्तु अन्तिम इच्छा पति की होती थी। स्वयं पत्नियां पति की सर्वोच्चता को स्वेच्छा से स्वीकार करती थी। इस का वर्णन<sup>15</sup> हर्ष चरित में मिलता है। जन प्रभाकर वर्धन ने राज्यश्री के विवाह के सम्बन्ध में अपनी पत्नी यशोमति से पूछा तो उसने उत्तर दिया कि

माताएं पुत्री का लालन पालन करती हैं इसके अतिरिक्त कुछ नहीं कन्या का किसी दूसरे व्यक्ति को समर्पित करने के मामले में पिता ही सर्वोच्च होता था।

L=h f'k{k% पुरुष के समान स्त्रियां भी शिक्षा प्राप्त करती थीं। तत्कालीन साहित्य से ज्ञात होता है कि स्त्रियों में लिखने पढ़ने का कर्म बना हुआ था।<sup>16</sup> वात्स्यायन ने अपने ग्रंथ कामसूत्र में चौसठ विद्याओं की एक सूची बतायी है तथा उन्हें सीखने योग्य बताया है। इन कलाओं में स्त्रियों को पढ़ने, लिखने, भाषाएं समझने, अभिनय, श्रृंगार, संगीत, कला, व्यायाम, मनोरंजन, गृह-कार्य, खिलौने बनाना, सीना पिरोंना, उपयोगी कलाओं में निपुण बनाने को सुझाव दिया गया है। नायक-नायकाओं की कुछ कलाओं में विलास-कीड़ा में निपुण है तथा मनोविनोद की साधक है।<sup>17</sup> मालविकग्निमित्र नाटक में कहा गया है कि मालविका गणदास से गाना बजाना, नृत्यकला की शिक्षा ग्रहण की थी।<sup>18</sup> अभिज्ञान शाकुन्तलम से ज्ञात होता है कि फूल तोड़कर माला बनाने, पुष्पों के द्वारा अपने को अलंकृत करने जैसी कलाओं में भी स्त्रियां पूर्ण कुशल थीं। समाज में उच्च शिक्षिता नारियों के भी उदाहरण मिलते हैं।<sup>19</sup> वाकाटक राजा रुद्रसेन द्वितीय की भार्या (पत्नी) तथा चन्द्रगुप्त द्वितीय की पुत्री प्रभावती गुप्त उच्चश्रेणी की शिक्षित नारी थी। उसने अपने पुत्र के वात्यकाल होने से राज्यकार्य का संचालन किया।<sup>20</sup> कालीदास के ग्रंथों से ज्ञात होता है कि इन्दुमती उर्वशी शाकुन्तला उच्चशिक्षिता स्त्रियां थीं। स्त्रियां शिक्षा देने का काम करती रही होगी ऐसा उल्लेख<sup>21</sup> अमरकोष में उपाध्याय उपाध्यायों तथा आचार्य आदि शब्द से ज्ञात होता है। हर्ष कालीन समाज में स्त्रियों का बड़ा आदर था। नारी शिक्षा का समुचित प्रबन्ध था। नारी शिक्षा का उद्देश्य नारी को आदर्श गृहणी बनाना था क्योंकि नारी गृहस्था का कर्णधार मानी जाती है<sup>22</sup> बाण ने नृत्य गायन एवं वादन में कुशल कलाओं का वर्णन किया। राज्यश्री का उदाहरण इस सत्यता की पुष्टि करता है कि राज्यश्री को नृत्य, संगीत आदि की शिक्षा दी गई थी। स्त्रियों को धर्म आदि अन्य विषयों की शिक्षा भी दी जाती थी।<sup>23</sup> हेनसांग् के विवरण से ज्ञात होता है कि हेनसांग् तथा हर्ष के सत्य धार्मिक सिद्धान्तों संबन्धी वार्तालाप के समय राज्यश्री की उपस्थिति तथा उसे बौद्ध धर्म संबंधी शिक्षा देने के लिए प्रसिद्ध विद्वान दिवाकरमित्र को हर्ष वर्धन द्वारा नियुक्त करना इस सत्यता की पुष्टि करता है। यह स्वीकार किया जा सकता है कि निम्न वर्गों के स्त्रियों को शिक्षित किया जाता था। इस काल में स्त्रियां लौकिक, धार्मिक साहित्य का भी अध्ययन करती थीं। स्त्रियों नृत्य, संगीत काम शास्त्र एवं तैरने की कला की शिक्षा ग्रहण करती थीं।

गुप्तकालीन समाज में सती प्रथा प्रचलित थी। अभिलेख, शूद्रक तथा कालिदास द्वारा रचित नाटकों के अध्ययन से सती प्रथा के बारे में जानकारी मिलती है। सतीप्रथा का ऐतिहासिक उदाहरण<sup>24</sup> एरण जिला सागर (मध्यप्रदेश) का सती स्तंभ लेख की तिथि 510 ई है। जिसमें वर्णन है कि भनुगुप्त के सामन्त गोपराज हूणों के साथ युद्ध में मारा गया था। उसकी पत्नी अपने पति के शव के साथ चिता पर अनुगमिनी (सती) हो गई थी।<sup>25</sup> कामसूत्र से ज्ञात होता है कि नर्तकिया अपने प्रेमियों के सती होने का झूठा

आश्वासन दिया करती थी। हर्ष वर्धन कालीन समाज में सती प्रथा के बारे में वर्णन मिलता है।<sup>16</sup> बाण के अनुसार रानी यशोमती ने अपने पति के मृत्यु से पूर्व सती होने का निश्चय कर लिया था। हर्ष के आँसू भी उसके निश्चय को न टाल सके। वह अपने पति के साथ सती हो गई थी। राज्यश्री भी जीवन से निराश होने पर अग्नि में प्रवेश करने के लिए तैयार थी। किन्तु इस समय हर्ष वर्धन दिवाकर मित्र के साथ वहा पहुँच गया था।<sup>17</sup> कादम्बरी का आत्मदाह एवं प्रभाकर वर्धन की अन्य रानियों को सती होना आदि वर्णन कादम्बरी में मिलता है। तत्कालीन समाज में जन साधारण लोगों में सती होने का प्रमाण नहीं मिलता है। संभक्त इस प्रथा का प्रचलन क्षत्रिय वर्ण के लोगों में अधिक था।

### I UnHkZ xfk I ph

1. ए.एस.अल्तेकर, पोजीशन ऑफ वीमैन इन हिन्दू सिविलाईजेशन बनारस 1956, पृष्ठ 117
2. मनुस्मृति, कतलूक भट्ट की टीका, 1946 पृष्ठ 3/56,57,58
3. अथर्ववेद, पृष्ठ 3/26,6,11
4. ऋग्वेद, पृष्ठ 6,1,13
6. रघुवंश, निर्णय सागर प्रैस, बम्बई पृष्ठ 2,10
7. हर्ष चरित, (सम्पा) पी.वी. काणे पृष्ठ 140-141
8. शशि अवस्थी, प्राचीन भारतीय समाज, काशी, 1981 पृष्ठ 431
9. रघुवंश, कालीदास कृत, वाराणसी, पृष्ठ 1/14
10. सी.आई.आई. भाग 3 पृष्ठ 53-54
11. हर्ष चरित, (अनुवादक पी.वी.काणे) पृष्ठ 122, 25, 4, 13
12. कामसूत्र, वात्स्यायन कृति, चौखम्बा संस्कृत सीरिज, पृष्ठ 4,1,55,57,58
13. रघुवंश निर्णय सागर प्रैस, बम्बई, 1932 पृष्ठ 8/67
14. याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति, (सम्पा) जे.आर. धरपुरे, बम्बई पृष्ठ 1,27,21,72
15. हर्ष चरित, सम्पादक पी.वी. काणे पृष्ठ 4,13
16. कामसूत्र, वात्स्यायन कृति, निर्णय सागर प्रैस पृष्ठ 1,3,13,12,16
17. मालविकाग्निमित्र, कालिदास कृत अ.पी.एस.सने, पृष्ठ 36
18. अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तलम निर्णय सागर प्रैस, बम्बई पृष्ठ 4,1
19. सी.आई.आई. भाग 3 पृष्ठ 15
20. रघुवंश निर्णय सागर प्रैस बम्बई पृष्ठ अंक 8 पृष्ठ 67
21. अमर कोष, अमर सिंह, बम्बई सा. हरगोबिंद शास्त्री, बनारस पृष्ठ 6,18
22. हर्ष चरित, पी.वी.काणे, पृष्ठ 419
23. थामस वाटर्स, हेनसांग का यात्रा विवरण पृष्ठ 511
24. सी.आई.आई. भाग 3 पृष्ठ 92 पंक्ति 6,7
25. कामसूत्र वात्स्यायन चौखम्बा संस्कृत सीरिज, पृष्ठ 6,2,5,3
26. हर्षचरित सम्पादक पी.वी.काणे पृष्ठ 519, 871
27. कादम्बरी (रीडिंग) पृष्ठ 133

