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HISTORY OF THE ZIYARIDS OF TABARISTAN AND GURGAN

(927-8—1090-1 A. D.)

Dr. MAFIZULLAH KABIR

The Ziyārids originally belonged to the small principality of Gīlān, situated to the north-west of the Caspian sea. They claimed one of their ancestors, Arghish, as ruler over this province under the Great Chosroes.[1] Their rise to power in Islamic times belongs to a period when the Caspian littoral of Tabaristān, Gīlān and Daylam witnessed an unprecedented political revival under the leadership of a number of Shī'ite adventurers who fought for supremacy at the beginning of the tenth century A. D. against the authority of both the Sunnī Caliph at Baghdād and his Sāmānid ally in Khurāsān. It was in fact the revolt of Iranism under the guise of Shī'ism, The leadership of this movement was first provided by the venerated Sayyids of Tabaristān, who converted the Daylamites and the Gīlites to the Shī'ite form of Islam and enlisted these hardy and warlike tribesmen as indefatigable fighters in the cause of Shī'ism.[2] These Daylamites and their cousins, the Gilites, who were also often called Daylamites, in their turn took up the leadership in this region and soon found themselves at the forefront of events.

Mardāwij ibn Ziyar (315—323/927-1—934)

The first of the Ziyārids to establish a royal dynasty in Rayy and Isfahān was Mardāwīj ibn Ziyār, who himself a Gīlite, started his career in the service of the Gīlite chief Asfār ibn Shīrūyah.

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1. Qābūsnāma (translated by Levy, London, 1951) p. 2
2. Mas'ūdi, Murūj, ed. Meynard, vol. IX, pp. 4-6.

The latter was sent by the Sāmānid Nasr ibn Aḥmad to recover the province of Rayy from the Daylamite rebels but he in turn established himself as an independent ruler over a vast region including Tabaristān, Rayy, Hamadān, Qazwīn and Gurgān.[1] Then this Asfār contemplated not only fighting the Caliph al-Muqtadir and the Sāmānid Nasr but also crowning himself in Rayy on a golden throne. Alarmed the Caliph sent one Hārūn ibn Gharīb to deal with this mighty adventurer but Hārūn was disastrously defeated by the Gūls and Daylams.[2] Asfār then proceeded to impose a vast contribution of money on the inhabitants and treat them with violence and cruelty. The inhabitants of Qazwīn, in particular, lost heart and nerve and "their souls mounted their wind-pipes." Men, women, and children made a joint procession to the Oratory to implore the help of God against the tyrant and they passed a whole day in this manner.[3]

Indeed their prayers did not go unheeded, for, one of the generals of Asfār, Mardāwīj ibn Ziyār, referred to above as the founder of the Ziyārid Dynasty, soon rebelled against his tyrannous master and after a fierce attack hotly pursued him from one place to another till Asfār, hungry and exhausted, took refuge inside a mill. But while he was taking some milk and bread provided by the miller Mardāwīj suddenly entered the mill and forthwith decapitated him. Thus Qazwīn passed into the hands of Mardāwīj, who then proceeded to conquer Rayy, Hamadān and other parts of the region of Jibāl (315/927-8) and began to rule independently.[4] He further extended the boundaries of his dominions by fighting a notable Daylamite Chief Mākān ibn Kākī who had been ruling over Āmul and Tabaristān since the death of Asfār.[5]

The two early Buwayhid brothers 'Alī and Ḥasan (who later were awarded by the Caliph the titles of Imād al-Dawla and Rukn al-Dawla) had been in the service of

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1. Mas'ūdi, op. cit. pp. 6-9.
2. Ibid, p. ٤.
3. Miskawayh Ed. Margoliouth vol. I, p. 161-2.
4. Mas'ūdī IX, 19-26 ; Miskawayh I, p. 162.
5. Misk. I, 276-277.

this Mākan ibn Kākī but at the defeat of their chief they begged leave of him to enter the service of the victorious Mardāwīj and Mardāwīj appointed the elder brother 'Alī (Imād al-Dawla) as ruler over the district of Karaj in the province of Jibāl in 321/933.[1] Thus Mardāwīj was responsible for the first step towards the rise of the Daylamite-Buwayhids from obscurity to power. But on an after-thought Mardāwīj began to doubt 'Alīs loyalty and revoked the order, whereupon the latter moving southe-east towards Isfahān attracted a large number of Daylamites and Gīlites to his cause, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Caliph's governor there, and become master of Isfahān.[2] At this Mardāwīj sent a large army under his brother Washmagīr to deal with 'Alī', who evacuating Isfahān entered Fārs[3] and in 322/934 defeated the Caliph's governor of that Province and entered Shīrāj itself.[4] Mardāwīj then came to Isfahān and fixed up his quarters in an old palace called the Palace of Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz (Miskawayh calls it the Palace of Abū 'Alī ibn Rustum) the courtyard of which was redecorated for him with flower gardens. As he entered Isfahān there were with him 50,000 soldiers in all besides those stationed at Rayy, Qum, Hamadān and other parts of his realm.[5] He then decided to occupy Ahwāz in order to deal a severe blow to 'Alī in Fārs and when Ahwāz was evacuated by the Caliph's forces (al-Raḍi's) Mardāwīj occupied it. The Buwayhid 'Alī now thought it prudent to humiliate himself before Mardāwīj by mentioning the latter's name in the Khuṭba and agreeing to pay him a sum of money. He also sent one of his brothers Ḥasan as a hostage to Mardāwīj.[6] This marked the climax of Mardāwīj's power and the territorial extent of his kingdom.

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1. Misk. I, pp. 277-278.
2. Ibid pp. 272, 296.
3. Ibid, pp. 280, 296.
4. Ibid, pp. 297-298.
5. Masudi IX, p. 26.
6. Misk. I, pp. 301-302.

Mardāwīj was a highly ambitious person. Though he was by now the master of a vast kingdom stretching from the Caspian Sea in the north to the Persian gulf in the south including the territories of Tabaristān, Rayy, Hamadān, Isfahān and Ahwāz his ultimate goal was to occupy the Caliphal Capital, Baghdād, and to hold sway over all the Islamic lands in the east and in the west that then owed allegiance to Banū 'Abbās and then revive the Persian Empire. He was waiting for the winter of 323 A. H./934 A. D. to pass to embark on his ambitious project of attacking Baghdād when suddenly his triumphant career was cut short by death.[1] The credit of seizing the Caliphal metropolis was, however, reserved for the sons of Bawayh, the one time feudatory of Mardāwīj.

Mardāwīj was highly inspired by the glory of the ancient Sāssānian Empire and while at Isfahān he wrote to one ibn Wahaban his governor of Ahwāz bidding him go to Ctesiphon (al-Madā'in) and get the Īwān of Kisrā ready for his residence by repairing it and restoring it to its pre-Islamic conditions. Thus after about three hundred years of Sa'd's occupation of the city from the Sāssānids in 637 Mardāwīj aimed at reinstating the city to its former glory.[2] Mas'ūdi says that Mardāwīj inquired about the various crowns that had been in use in ancient Persia, had pictures of these drawn for him and finally chose the crown worn by Anūshirwān the Just. On the model of this he had made for him a crown studded with gems.[3] He also had prepared for him a golden throne on which he placed a vast cushion whereon he himself sat; below him there was a throne of silver with a carpet spread over it and below that again some large gilt chairs. These were assigned to officers in order of rank, while the vast multitude of subject people stood at a great di tance gazing in awe and admiration.[4]

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1. Misk. I, pp. 316-317, Masudi IX, p. 29.
2. Misk. I. p. 317.
3. Mas'ūdi, IX, p. 27, Misk. I, p. 327.
4. Mas'ūdi IX pp. 27-8.

But with his unbridled ambitions and untutored energies Mardāwīj was no more than a mere robber like the rank and file of his rapacious Daylamite and Gīlite soldiery. He was no better than Asfār, his Gīlite predecessor ; perhaps he was worse. Mas'ūdī is of the opinion that he was constantly under the influence of a group of shrewd and devilish men of learning, whose flattery totally misguided him and he compeletely lost all sense of proportion.[1] When he occupied Hamadān the city was given up to bloodshed, rapine and slaughter for three days.[2] In Isfahān he ill-treated people seizing their goods, violating their women and playing the tyrant.[3] He even laid heavy burdens on his own men. He used to say that he was Solomon, the son of David, and his men the demons.[4] He had a large corps of Turkish slaves numbering 4000 in constant attendance on him as body-guards.[5] But he was harsh in his dealings with them. They were, therefore, on the look-out for an opportunity to bring his rule of tyranny and ferocity to an end and conspired to assassinate him in the most tragic manner.[6]

Miskawayh says on the authority of Ustād Abu'l-Faḍl ibn al-'Amid (whose father al-'Amīd was the secretary of Mardāwīj) that the assassination of Mardāwīj took place on the occasion of the bonfire celebration of the tenth day of Bahaman called *Sadhaq*. Perhaps the account is, as we shall see, a little too exaggerated and the purpose of the narrator is to magnify the pride and arrogance of Mardāwīj in order to justify his tragic and unhappy end. We are told that Mardāwīj ordered wood to be gathered from distant regions and brought to the valley of Zarīn Rūd. Then naptha and tall candles were ordered. On the hill of Jizin he had a camp prepared for him befitting his

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1. Mas'ūdī IX pp. 27-8.
2. Ibid pp. 25-27.
3. Misk. I, pp. 162.
4. Ibid ; Yaqūt (Egypt) XVI, p. 219.
5. Mas'udi IX, p. 28.
6. Mas'ūdi IX, pp. 28-9 ; Misk. 1, pp. 162.

dignity and rank. Elaborate arrangments were made for a simultaneous blaze of fire on the hills, upon the heights, on the plain, in the rooms, and fire was also devised on the beaks and claws of crows and kites which were to be let loose on that occasion. To provide a banquet thousands of sheep, oxen and other animals were gathered but the arrogant king in his inordinate pride considered all these preparations inadequate and not commensurate with his exalted position. In his anger he delayed coming out to the gathered assembly at the scheduled time and then he expressed his desire to go back from Jizin to his palace in Isfahān. Returning to his palace he entered the bathroom, to change his clothes. The Turkish soldiery tactfully unarmed the guard of the bathroom and then rushed in upon Mardāwij. He hurriedly barricaded the door from within with a chair. The Turkish slaves then climbed up the dome of the bathroom, broke the glass and shot arrows at him. He went into the hot chamber. But some slaves made a renewed charge at the door of the bathroom and got inside. They then captured Mardāwīj and one of them cut open his belly with a knife but fearing that this was not enough they then beheaded him.[1]

Having succeeded in their designs the Turks divided into two parties. One party entered the service of 'Alī ibn Buwayh in Fārs. Others began to traverse the whole of Jibāl as wanderers. The coffin on Mardāwij was ceremoniously brought from Isfahān to Rayy, the Gīls and Daylams walking along it barefoot for four farsangs. With them walked Washmagīr the brother of Mardāwīj. Their old father also walked along with them the whole distance from Isfahān to Rayy. Mardāwīj's officers thronged in upon Rayy from near and far and swore allegiance to Washmagīr (Jan 934).[2]

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1. Misk. pp. 310-314.
2. Misk. I, pp. 315-387.

Washmagīr (934-967 A. D.)

On his accession Washmagīr inherited from his brother the territories of Jibāl and Rayy ; and Gurgān and Tabaristān. On Mardāwīj's death, however, Ḥasan ibn Buwayh, who had been in the custody of Mardāwīj as a hostage, managed to escape and make himself master of Isfahān.[1] Henceforth Washmagīr was engaged in a relentless war over the possession of Rayy which became a bone of contention between himself and the Buwayhid Ḥasan.[2] He agreed to surrender amicably the territories of Gurgān and a small coastal area of Tabaristān to Mākān ibn Kākī, the Daylamite chief from whom Mardāwīj had wrested the region of Tabaristān.[3] But this friendship between Mākān and Washmagīr alarmed Nasr ibn Aḥmad, the ruler of Khurāsān, who sent a large army against them. The Buwayhid brothers 'Alī and Ḥasan (Imād al-Dawla and Rukn al-Dawla) joined with ardour on the side of the Khurāsānians. In the battle that ensued Mākān was killed and Washmagīr fled to Tabaristān (941) but soon the Khurāsānian army withdrew from Rayy on receiving the news of the death of Naṣr ibn Aḥmad whereupon the Buwayhid Rukn al-Dawla attacked Washmagīr again in alliance with a cousin of the deceased Mākān, Ḥasan ibn Fīrūzān, who now made friends with Rukn al-Dawla by giving his daughter in marriage to him. Together they ejected Washmagīr from both Rayy and Tabaristān and compelled him to flee towards Khurāsan.[4]

Thereafter Washmagīr never succeeded in taking possession of the territories of Rayy which fell into the hands of Rukn al-Dawla and had to remain satisfied with Tabaristān and Gurgān. It was his wont during the remaining years of his life to appeal to the rulers of Khurāsān to invade Rayy, an appeal that was readily complied with, but on the evacuation of the army of

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1. Ibid pp. 352, 366.
2. Ibid p. 366.
3. Misk. II p. 4.
4. Misk, II, pp. 4·8.

Khurāsan Rukn al-Dawla not only succeeded every time in taking possession of Rayy and other parts of Jibāl without much difficulty but also in chasing Washmagīr out of Tabaristān and Gurgān obliging him to take shelter with the Sāmānids.[1] However, because of the mountainous nature of the northern provinces we find Washmagīr during the intervals ruling again over these two principalities of Tabaristān and Gurgān. Moreover, after 946 A. D. when the youngest of the three early Buwayhid brothers Mu'izz al-Dawla firmly established himself in Baghdād Rukn al.Dawla was backed every time by men and money from Baghdād and on occasions also had the blessings of the then Sunnī Caliph. This further precluded any possibility of Washmagīr's victory over Rukn al-Dawla.

Towards the end of the year 967 A. D., the year of his death, Washmagīr succeeded in arranging a formidable coalition, between himself and the Sāmānids ; this was also joined by Ḥasan ibn Fīrūzān who was once an ally of Rukn al-Dawla but now changed fronts. It was decided that Washmagīr would command the armies of the three parties, the bulk of men, material and equipment being supplied by the Sāmānids. Rukn al-Dawla was quite unprepared for such a situation when the sudden and unexpected death of Washmagīr brought welcome relief to Rukn al-Dawla by foiling the whole scheme of the coalition. Washmagīr selected a handsome black horse brought from Khurāsān and took a fancy to it. He ordered it to be saddled and against all prognostications of the astrologers decided to go out ahunting on its back. When in the course of hunting he got a-way from his companions he struck a wild boar with a spear. The boar ran amuck and charging him wounded both him and his horse. The horse threw Washmagīr down and he fell on top of his head and died bleeding. (Dec. 7,967).[2] Rukn al-Dawla's Wazīr Ibn al-'Amīd delightfully remarked on the occasion, "Praise

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1. Ibid. pp. 119-120 ; 154.5 ; 90
2. Misk. II, pp. 232-233.

be to Allah, who has spared us the use of the army with the help of a mere beast".[1]

On his death Washmagīr's son Bistun succeeded him. Bistun thought it wise to rate the friendship of the Buwayhids higher than that of the Sāmānids, who were situated far away from him and accordingly a matrimonial alliance was established between the Ziyārids and the Buwayhids, 'Adud al-Dawla, son of Rukn al-Dawala and ruler of Fars marrying a daughter of Bistun.[2] Moreover, Mu'izz al-Dawla, the Buwayhid chief ruling at Baghdād secured from the Caliph al-Muti a letter of investiture for Bistun as ruler of Gurgān and Tabaristān. Bistun was also presented with robes of honour and was awarded the title of *Zahir al-Dawla*. The occasion of the arrival of the messenger with the deed of investiture and the robe of honour was marked with mirth and merry-making and in return Bistun sent 60,000 dinars to the Caliph as presents.[3] He died in 366/976-7 and was succeeded by his brother Qābūs whom also the Caliph al-Tai gave a letter of investiture for Tabaristān and Gurgān with the title *Shams al-Maali*.[4]

Qabus ibn Washmagir (366-403/976-7—1014)

Unfortunately Qābūs was shortly embroiled in the civil war that broke out between 'Adud al-Dawla and his brother Fakhr al-Dawla, sons of Rukn al-Dawla. 'Adud on the eve of his expedition to Jibāl in 369/979-80 sent missives to his two brothers—Fakhr al-Dawla, ruler of Hamadān and Muayyid al-Dawla, ruler of Isfahān asking them to owe allegiance to him. To Qābūs also he addressed a letter advising him to abide

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1. Yāqūt op. cit. vol XVI, p. 220.
الحمد لله الذى اغنانا بالوحوش من الجيوش
2. Yāqūt XVI, p. 220.
3. Ibid.
4. Khawand Amīr ; Ḥabibus Siyar ed. Ranking, p. 124 ; Yāqūt vol. XVI, p. 220.

by the covenant entered into between himself and the Caliph. Muayyid, who had been all along loyal to 'Adud al-Dawla replied in a submissive manner while Fakhr al-Dawla disowned the suzerainty of Adud. Qābūs sent an evasive and cautious reply. He decided henceforth to throw in his lot with this rebellious Buwayhid and chose to bear all the consequences accruing from that position, for Fakhr al-Dawla soon fleeing from Hamadān took refuge with Qābūs in Gurgān (370/980-1).[1]

After his occupation of Jibāl 'Adud al-Dawla sent a joint remonstrance from himself and Muayyid al-Dawla to Qābūs demanding the surrender of Fākhr al:Dawla in exchange for a money payment as well as the cession of some territories. But Qābūs sent him a defiant reply.[2] 'Adud then persuaded the Caliph al-Tai to draw up a decree depriving Qābūs of his possessions and conferring them on his loyal brother Muayyid. The Caliph complied and Muayyid, thus authorised, started at the head of a large army for Astarabād. Qābūs after hastily digging trenches around the city withdrew into the fortress. The Daylamites uuder Muayyid started an offensive, upon which Qabus came out with his garrison to resist. At first the Daylamites were routed but on a renewed charge by Muayyid Qābus withdrew and fled. He sought refuge in Nishapur whither Fakhr al-Dawla had gone before him and thence they applied for help to the Sāmānid Nūḥ ibn Manṣūr[3] who directed his Commander-in-chief Abūl-Abbās Tash to assist them in recovering their territories (371/981-2). Tash accordingly marched from Nishāpūr to Gurgān.[4]

It was now the turn of Muayyid al-Dawla to withstand a siege in Astarabād. After two months of siege Muayyid decided

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1. Misk. II, p. 415.
2. Abu Shujā, Dhayl tajarib (ed. Margoliouth as vol. III. of the Eclipse series, p. 15 ; Utbi-Manini vol. I, pp. 107-108 ; Qābūs-nāmā (Tr.) p. 232 has a story that 'Adud asked Qābūs to poison Fakhr if he was not willing to surrender him.
3. Abu Shujā,' pp. 15-17 Akhir IX, p. 18 ; Ibn Isfandiyar, ed. Browne p. 226.
4. Utbi-Manini vol. I, pp. 109:110 ; Ibn Isf. p. 226.

to fight. At an auspicious hour, according to his astrologer's advice, he attacked the Sāmānids and their allies and the Commander-in-chief Tash together with Fakhr and Qābūs fled to Nishāpūr (372/982-983). Muayyid then proceeded to Gurgān and occupied that city too.[1] Muayyid was about to follow up his success with an invasion of Khurāsān itself when he received the news of the death of his elder brother 'Adud al-Dawla (Shawwāl 372, Murch 983).[2] Shortly after he himself died. (373-994).[3]

On the death of Muayyid al-Dawla the nobles of the court advised by the great Wazīr Ṣāḥib Isma'il ibn Abbad decided to invite the fugitive Fakhr al-Dawla to come and assume the reins of government. On receiving letters from them Fakhr al-Dawla forthwith started for Gurgān. In his moment of joy he seems to have forgotten poor Qābūs, his partner in adversity who had sacrificed his all and elected to adopt a life of exile for the sake of Fakhr al Dawla. Though Qābūs, hoping to get back his paternal dominions, expressed his desire to contact Fakhr al-Dawla, the latter avoided seeing him and proceeded by forced marches to Gurgān.[4] Though later Fakhr al-Dawla wanted to restore Gurgān to Qābūs Wazīr dissuaded him from doing so. Then he moved to Rayy leaving Gurgān to be governed by a deputy.[5]

After the death of Fakhr al-Dala (387/997) the people of Gurgān wrote to Qābūs in Khurāsān inviting him to come and occupy his paternal Kingdom. Meanwhile the partisans of Qābūs occupied Shahriyar and Rustamdar for him and Qābūs finally entered Gurgān in Sha'bān 388 (998 A. D.) after an exile of about 18 years.[6] This easy entry of Qābūs in to Gurgān aroused the indignation of the Buwayhids at Rayy for Gurgān

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1. Utbi-Manini 1, pp.110-114 ; Athir ix pp. 8-9.
2. Shuja, p. 39 ; Utbi 1, pp. 110-114, Athir ix, pp. 8-9.
3. Shuja, pp 91-92.
4. Ibid, p. 93, Khawand Amīr (ed. Ranking), p. 125.
5. Shuja, p. 26.
6. Ibid 297, Athir ix pp. 98-100 Mirkhewand, p. 125 ; Yāqūt, Mujam xvi, p. 229,

and its surroundings had been so long dependencies of Rayy. Though cautious persons warned against any rash measure which was likely to endanger the position of the boy King Majd al-Dawla, who had succeeded his father at Rayy, the Buwayhid Wazir Abū 'Ali ibn Hamula saw in the situation a possibility of self-aggrandisement and encouraged by a group of admirers he started for Gurgān at the head of a vast army consisting of Arabs, Turks and Daylams. Abū 'Ali came to Gurgān and encamped outside the city near the mausoleum of the famous Dai. For two months fighting continued between him and the allies of Qābūs. But at last famine broke out in Gurgān and food became scarce. Then rain, floods and storm combined with death rendered the position of the besiegers more and more untenable. Thereupon the soldiers of Qābūs made a sortie and a fierce fight ensued in which some 1300 men were killed. The Daylamites were defeated and many of their chiefs were taken captive while Abū 'Alī retreated first to Qūmis and thence to Rayy.[1]

Qābūs in course of time rounded off his possessions by occupying the districts of Ruyān and Shālus in Tabaristān and also adding Gīlān to his dominions. He conferred the principality of Gīlān on his elder son Minuchihr. The Buwayhid Majd al-Dawla of Rayy then made peace with him.[2] He also established peace with Maḥmud ibn Sabuktagīn.[3]

After the rise of the Ghaznavids and the occupation of Bukhārā by the Ilak Khānids of Transoxania and the seizure of Khurāsān by Maḥmud ibn Sabuktagīn it was now the turn of Qābūs to play the host for the fugitive Sāmānid prince al-Muntasir, who being ejected from Bukhārā and chased out of Khurāsān by Maḥmūd came to Gurgān to seek refuge with Qābūs. Qābūs fully realising the strength of both the Ilak Khānids and the Ghaznavids advised al-Muntasir to fall on Rayy—(390/

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1. Shujā, p. 298 ; Ibn Isfandiyar, pp 239-30 Zahīrudīn, Tārīkh Tabaristān, Ruyān etc, pp. 191-195.
2. Ibn Isf. pp. 231-2 ; Zahīruddīn, pp. 297-197.
3. Ibn al-Āthīr IX, p. 100.

1000) but al-Muntasir's attack on Rayy proved abortive and he was again compelled to fall back upon Gurgān. Qābūs for fear of being embroiled in an unequal struggle with Maḥmūd decided this time to oppose al-Muntasir's entry into Gurgān. He thus finally washed his hands of all affairs of the Sāmānids.[1]

For the remaining part of his reign Qābūs was left more or less undisturbed in possession of his territories. But though trained in the school of adversity, this had a queer effect on his character and made him an eccentric rather than a seasoned administrator. Yāqūt has a vivid description of the relentless tyranny perpetrated by Qābūs alike on army officials and subject people. His administrative policy consisted in mere murder and assassination of generals and intimate followers. On the other-hand any ordinary man approaching him with a complaint against any official would be forthwith done to death. As a result the army conspired against him and while he was staying in a fortress outside the city of Gurgān called "Shamrābād" they first plundered his stables and it was not possible for him to go out. They kept him confined in the fortress while another group went to Gurgān and invited his son Minuchihr to come and assume the reins of Government, failing which they said they would raise some other person to the throne. Meanwhile Qābūs had collected a band of faithful followers and with their help set out for Bistān with all his treasure and belongings. But his son pursued him with the army and made him prisoner. A later Chronicle has it that even at that stage the son submitted and offered the throne to his father who, however, thought it wise to retire from royal life. Qābūs was then led to the fortress of Janashk where he was kept confined. But the members of the army, not being satisfied with that, insisted on having him killed. They went to the fortress and as Qābūs entered the bathroom they shut him up there. It was winter and he cried for at least some coarse cloth used as covering for animals to protect himself from the severe cold. But he was refused

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1. Athīr IX pp. 111-113

any cloth and died of the shivering cold. He was carried to Gurgān and buried in a cemetery built by himself (403/1012.)[1] Quite contrary to the traits of cruelty displayed in his behaviour with the officials Qābūs was a man of fine literary taste—a spirit he imbibed from his contact with the Sāmānids during the long period of exile. He was well-versed in all arts of his time. Master of Arabic, he wrote both prose and poetry with equal facility. His letters were highly praised for their elegance. His knowledge of astronomy was also of a high order.[2] He was living in an age when some of the brightest luminaries adorned the intellectual firmament of Islam. He was contemporary to the great Buwayhid Wazīr Ṣāḥib Ismā'il ibn 'Abbād, the illustrious anthologist Abū Mansūr 'Abd al-Malk al-Tha'ālibī and one of the greatest men of learning of medieval Islām, Abū Raiḥan al-Birūnī, the last of whom also enjoyed Qābūs's patronage and dedicated the unique work al-Āthār to the prince with lavish and unqualified praise for him.[3] Tha'ālibī is also full of praise for Qābūs in his short notice on the prince in the Yatīma and also promises a separate volume altogether on the life and activities of Qābūs which, however, has not unfortunately come down to us. He is of the opinion that "the qualities of Qābūs cannot be comprehended through ordinary expression for his qualities do not conform to any customary or habitual standand."[4] Among his best poetical compositions is one written during the period of exile :—

"Tell him who taunts us with the vicissitudes of Fortune,
Has fortune ever resisted any but men of rank ?
Look at the Sea : do not carcasses float on its surface ?
While in its deep bottom lie the pearls ?
If the hands of fortune have played mockery with us
And sufferings from its calamity have overtaken us
Well then, there are countless stars in the heaven and
Yet none suffer eclipse except the sun and moon,"[5]

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1. Yāqūt XTI, pp. 231-233; Athīr, IX p. 167, Zahīruddīn pp. 197-8.
2. Yāqūt XVI, pp. 220-1.
3. Athār (ed Sachau), pp 3-4 ; 134-5.
4. Tha'ālibī, Yatīma iii, p. 288.
5. Yāqūt XIV, p.224; Yatīma iii,p. 2.0, Abu Shujā',p. 18 ; There is

His prose-writing of which specimens are provided in the Yātīma and Yāqūt's Mu'jam al-Udabā was also of a high standard[1] There was some correspondence between him and the Ṣāḥib ibn 'Abbād.[2] It appears that there was a bitter rivalry between the two and they rebuked each other in verse.[3] Qābūs had a literary circle attached to him. But we have it on the authority of al-Bīrūnī that Qābūs unlike any other royal person disallowed eulogies in his very presence. Although it was his wont to allot large quantities of food-stuff for distribution among the poets assembled at his door on the occasions of Nawrōz and Mihirgān he used to say on such occasions : "These persons are seeking bounties from us on account of their excellences but I disapprove of hearing from them such untruth as I know at heart to be false. In this way I take precautions against fraud and deception."[4] Some of the sayings of Qābūs because of their excellence have gained wide currency as proverbs.[5]

Successors of Qabus [A. H. 403-483 (?)/A. D. 1012-1090-91]

Minūchihr son of Qābūs was installed as ruler of Gurgān in 1012 A. D. after the deposition of his father. The Caliph al-Qādir conferred on him the title of Falak al-Ma'ālī (the Firmament of Eminence). It appears that the old rivalry between the Ziyārids and the Buwayhids continued unabated and Minūchihr never missed an opportunity to join hands with the enemies of Majd al-Dawla of Rayy.[6] But when in 420/ 1090 Maḥmūd ibn Sabuktagīn attacked Rayy Minūchihr also had to bear the brunt of the Ghaznavid invasion. However, Minū-

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a little variation in the reading of the third line.

1. Yatīma III, pp. 288-289 ; Yāqūt XVI pp. 222-223.
2. Yāqut XVI, p. 220.
3. Ibid p. 231.
4. Ibid pp. 229-230.
5. Yatīma III, p. 288.
6. Athīr IX pp. 187 8 ; 251-2

chihr succeeded in making peace with Maḥmūd by paying him a tribute of 500.000 dinars and Maḥmūd left him undisturbed in his possession of Gurgān, Tabaristān and Qumis. He also sought the hands of a daughter of Maḥmūd in marriage and this was granted to him.[1] But shortly after this he died and his son Abū Kālījār Anushirwān succeeded him (420/1029-30). He was also confirmed in his possessions by Maḥmūd and after the latter's death by his son Mas'ūd.[2] Mas'ūd further helped Abū Kālījār in repulsing the invasion of Fannā Khusraw, son of Majd al-Dawla, who in a bid to recover Rayy also attacked Abū Kālījār's dominions.[3] When the Seljukids occupied Khurāsān, Rayy and other territories on the Caspian Sea Anūshirwān was deprived of all his paternal dominions except for a hilly region in the remotest part of Gurgān where he remained as a petty chief till his death in 441]1049-50.[4] Abū Kālījār Anūshirwān was succeeded by his cousin Kaykā'ūs who is chiefly noted as the celebrated author of the Qābūsnāma. He also passed his day in his mountain fastness till his death in 462/1069-70. His son the princeling Gīlān Shāh for whom the Qābūsnāma was written held the princely title without any real power and finally the line was brought to an end by Ḥasan Sabbah during the reign of Sulṭān Malik Shah (483/1090-1 according to Levy, Mirror for the Princes, p. XX).[5]

Finally it will not be out of place here to say a few words about the Qābūsnâma to which reference has already been made. The book written in 475/1082 by the penultimate Ziyārid prince Kaykā'ūs for his son and successor Gīlān Shāh, the last of the line and named after the great Qābūs was a manual of political conduct and a text book of ethics. Never-

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1. Ibid, p. 262 ; Ibn Isf. p. 233 ; Mirkhawānd, IV, p.30
2. Athīr IX pp. 262,278 ; Ibn Isf. p. 235
3. Athīr IX pp. 284-5
4. Ibn Isf. p. 135
5. Ibn Isf. p.236 ; Zahīruddīn pp. 199-200 ; Khāwand Amīr (ed. Ranking). p. 127 ; for Chronology of the latter Ziyārids also See Sachau, Introduction to Āthār p. XXI.

theless it contains interesting observations on the social life of the Caspian region in particular and the Muslim world in general during the medieval period. But these reflect, on the whole, the picture of a society which was already in decline and of a dynasty which was decadent enjoying only a shadow of royal power. The treatise also embodies the sum-total of knowledge an average king or prince was ordinarily expected to possess. These included among other things religious science, medicine, astronomy, geometry, music, art of poetry etc. of which the author shows quite an intricate knowlege as prevalent in those days. In this place I shall, however, make mention of a few factors of importance bearing on the social life of those days.

Though the preceptor is conscious of the religious ban on wine-drinking yet he elaborates for his son a code of conduct to be followed in drinking: "Drink wine when three hours have passed after eating food and thereby derive benefit both from your food and wine. Begin your drinking after your recitation of the afternoon prayers, so that by the time that you are intoxicated the night will have fallen and nobody will perceive your drunken condition."[1] "Do not drink wine in the open or in an orchard".[2] "As far as possible do not drink wine in the morning."[3]

The Orient has ever been famous for hospitality and the proverbial Arab hospitality in particular became a legacy of all the Islamic lands. The Qābūsnāma contains an interesting chapter on the duties of a host: "When guests come to visit you, go out to welcome each one and pay him your respects giving them severally the honours which are their due." Fruit was to be served before the meal and after an interval of one hour the principal meal was to be served. The host was not to sit along with the guests unless the guests repeatedly requested him to do so. In that case he was to take a seat lower than the rest. In the case of a guest of importance the recommendation is not to

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1. Qābūsnāma (Tr. Levy as Mirror for the Princes). p. 58
2. Ibid. p. 59
3. Ibid. p. 60

sit at all. The author further recommends : "Do not apologize to your guests (for it is the habit of Tradesmen) and do not continually be saying 'Eat well' or 'you are eating nothing, I pray you not to be modest' or 'I for my part cannot provide you with anything worthy of you. Expressions of that kind are not used by persons of distinction. They are words of men who only entertain once in a matter of years : they cause such embarrassment to the company that they are prevented from enjoying their food and rise from your table only half-satiated."[1]

The author also mentions what he calls 'a very excellent custom' in Gīlān. When the guests were summoned to the table flagons of drinking water were placed in the midst of it and the hosts and the servants retired, a single person being stationed at some little distance to serve the dishes. "In that manner" so we are told, "the guests are left to eat as pleases them."[2] When after the meal the guests wash their hands rose-water and perfume were brought in. Then as usual there was to take place musical recitation by sweet-voiced and expert minstrels. Wine was also to be served at that time. Our author has special instructions regarding the quality of wine to be served. "Unless the wine is good", says he, "do not place it before your guests. It is daily experience for you to eat but wine and music (occasions for which are few and far between) should be good so that if there are any shortcomings at the table or in the dishes provided they will be covered by wine and music." The author, again conscious of the illegality of wine-bibbing propounds a curious theory about it. "Wine drinking" says he, "is a transgression; if you wish to commit a transgression it should at least not be a flavourless one. If you drink wine let it be the finest. If you listen to music let it be the sweetest : and if you commit a forbidden act let it be with a beautiful partner so that even though you may be convicted of sin in the next world you will at any rate not be branded a fool."[3]

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1. Qābūsnāma (Levy), pp. 61-62
2. Ibid. p. 62
3. Ibid. p. 62

The author instructs his son to be discriminating in his choice of guests. Likewise he is advised not to become a guest of all and sundry, because, "it will be derogatory to your prestige. When you go do not be in a state of great hunger nor yet completely satiated ; for if you eat nothing your host will be offended and if you eat to excess it would be indecent."[1] Further our author says, "If you visit a house as a guest do not let your favourite accompany you. If you do, then do not be forever occupied with her in the presence of other persons .....Do not constantly be giving her fruit and making enquiries of her nor be forever calling to her or whispering in her ears.[2]

Bathing as a luxury for the ruling class families and nobles still continued and we find elaborate instructions in the Qābūsnāma on the procedure of bathing. The three chambers in the bath, the cool chamber, the middle chamber and the hot chamber are to be visited one after another and then the bath is to be taken with lukewarm water. At the time of retirement the chambers are to be visited in the reverse order. It is bad manners to leave the bath with wet hair. Hair should be dried well before one leaves the bath room.[3]

The author's advice regarding marriage and rearing of children is most interesting. "Do not marry a wife of nobler birth than yourself ...It is improper for her to assume control of your possessions... .. If that occurs you are the woman and she the man." When a son is born he is to be given proper training in swordsmanship and horsemanship, javelin-throwing, archery and swimming etc. He is also to be given proper education in all arts. Use of the rod was permissible. While sons of noblemen must be skilled in all arts, sons of common people should acquire in particular craftsmanship. But sons of noblemen are also advised to know the crafts which might be of help to them in time of need.[4] The author's advice regarding the education

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1. Qābūsnāma (Levy), p. 65
2. Ibid, p. 76
3. Ibid, p. 79
4. Ibid, pp. 122.-123

of a daughter reveals the picture of a decadent society where women occupied a very low status, and hence they are represented as a necessary evil in the society. "If you have a daughter, entrust her to kindly nurses and give her good nurture. When she grows up entrust her to a preceptor so that she shall learn the provisions of the sacred Law and the essential religious duties." "But do not teach her" ,warns our royal preceptor, "to read and write. That is a great calamity. Once she is grown up do your utmost to give her in marriage; it were best for a girl not to come into existence, but being born, she had better be married or be buried ..... A girl is helpless and incapable of finding employment ..... Fasten her about some one's neck so as to escape from anxiety for her.[1] "Never sell your daughter yet lavish all you possess in the endeavour to prevent your daughter from remaining in your house. Quickly hand her to a husband and as speedily as you can rid yourse of trouble"[2] "And finally a word about son-in-law. Your son-in-law must hold lower rank than yourself, so that his boast may be concerning you, not yours of him."[3]

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1. Qābūsnāma Tr. p. 125
2. Ibid. p. 127
3. Ibid. p. 127

IBN BAJJAH ON THE AGENT INTELLECT

DR. M. 'ṢAGHĪR ḤASAN AL-MA'ṢŪMI

Abu Bakr Muḥammad ibn Yaḥya better known as Ibn Bājjah and Ibn al-Ṣā'igh (d. 533/1138) was undoubtedly the forerunner of Ibn Ṭufayl (d. 581/1185), and Ibn Rushd (d. 595/1198), the Commentator *par excelledce*, commenting upon Aristotelian thought. By common consent, the Spanish Muslim philosophers are well-versed in Aristotelian philosophy, and distinguish it from Platonic and neo-Platonic thought. Even al-Fārābi (d. 339/950, who was well acquainted with the works of Aristotle appears to have blended the philosophy of Plato with that of Aristotle, as his treatises : 'Ārā' Ahl al-Madīnah al-Eāḍilah, al.-Siyāsāt al-Madaniyyah, R. al-Jam 'bayn rā'y al-Ḥakīmayn, and other works bear evidence. The problems relating to the soul and intellect and their source regarding which Aristotle prefers silence, have been elaborately dealt with by al-Fārābi in the light of Platonic thought which appears to be akin to the Islamic concept of the soul and intellect and their relation to mankind.

In Arabic 'Aql (عقل) means to prevent and to prohibit, and since it prevents the human soul from undesirable and unwarranted things, 'aql is called so. It is generally used in three senses : (1) referring to the manners, respect and grace a man possesses, it is defined as good manners of man in his speech, choice, movement and gestures ; (2) meaning the sense of universal judgment a man acquires through experience, it is defined as ideas conceived in the mind to attain welfare, prosperity and desired aims and objects ; (3) meaning the soundness of the primary nature in man, it is defined as a faculty that perceives the good and evil, perfect or imperfect qualities of things.[1]

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1. Cf. Jamil Ṣaliba : معالى العقل فى الفلسفةالعربية, Majallah al-Majm' al.'Ilmi, Damascus, Vol. 29, 1954, p. 496.

According to the philosophers, however, intellect is something finer and more precise than what has been described above.

The first meaning of 'Aql is "a simple substance perceiving the reality of the object",[1] "not composed of a potentiality liable to pass away",[2] rather, "separated from matter *per se* attached to it in its actuality."[3] In other words, 'aql is جوهر مجرد غير متعلق بالجسم تعلق التدبير والتصرف و ان كان متعلقا بالجسم على سبيل التاثير "it is a substance free from matter, not attached to the body "like the attachment of management and voluntary use, though connected with the body by way of affecting the same."[4] Fārābī describes the faculties which perceive the intelligibles by saying "They are a simple substance, susceptible to matter, surviving after the death of the body—a substance having unity which is man in reality."[5] Ibn Sina always mentions the mental faculty as جوهر substance. He calls a substance, which is free from matter in all respects' عقل, intellect ;[6] and Jurjāni calls it "the rational soul indicated by everybody as 'I'.[7] According to the Ahl al-Sunnah wa'l-Jamā'ah, 'aql and Rūḥ, spirit, are real entities and no accidents, as is held by the Mu'tazilites.

The second meaning it is that is the psychical faculty through which man achieves the universal premises immediately from his boyhood without exerting his thought or reasoning to obtain the same, not knowing wherefrom and how he got it : [8] انه قوة"

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1. Ibid ; Al-Kindi : R. Ḥudūd al-Ashya ... under عقل, جوهر بسيط مدرك للاشيا بحقايقها
2. Ibid ; Ibn Sīna : Ishārāt p. 178 : وهذا الجوهر ليس مركبا من قوة قابلة الفساد"
3. Ibid ; al-Jurjānī : Ta'rīfāt.
4. Ibid ; al-Thānawi ; Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn.
5. Ibid ; Al-Fārābi : 'Uyūn al-Masā'il p. 64 : ... انها جوهر بسيط مقارن للمادة يبقى بعد موت البدن و هو جوهر احدى وهو الانسان على الحقيقة
6. Ibid ; al-Shifa, Vol. II. p. 405.
7. Ibid ; Ta'rifāt.
8. Ibid ; Maqālah fi Ma'āni al-'aql p. 40.

النفس التى بها يحصل الانسان اليقين بالمقدمات الكلية الصادقة الضرورية لاعن قياس اصلا، و لا عن فكر، بل بالفطرة و الطبع او من صباء، و من حيث لا يشعر من اين حصلت، وكيف حصلت"

Imām Fakhruddin al-Rāzi means the same thing when he says :[1] العلم بالمدركات هو غريزة يلزمها العلم بالامور الكلية والبديهية الضرورية, to know the objects which are evidently perceived through senses or by innate means, and is called العقل العلمى or العقل النظرى, the speculative intellect. Ibn Bājjah means the same thing when he says[2] يعقل الانسان به—بحثه و نظره-- موجودات لا قدرة له على ايجادها البتة لكنها تحصل معقولة له-

As to how this knowledge is attained, Ibn Bājjah says :[1a] والعلم فى الانسان هو بان يرى ببصيرة نفسه التى هو موهبة من الله عز و جل الموجودات فى عقله ' knowledge in man means that he sees through the insight of his soul, which is a gift from Allāh, the Strong and Graceful, the objects in his intellect.' This gift has been mentioned by Imām Ghazzālī as "a light cast by Allāh into the heart :[4] و لم يكن ذلک بنظم دليل و ترتيب كلام، بل بنورقذفه الله تعالىٰ فى الصدر، و ذلک النور هو مفتاح اكثر المعارف.

This is in accordance to the Apostolic saying : ان الله تعالى خلق الخلق فى ظلمة، ثم رشّ عليهم من نوره, "Verily Allah, the Exalted, created the creature in darkness, then, He sprayed over them some of His Light."

The third meaning of 'aql is that it is a faculty by which we] achieve the knowledge of elementary voluntary matters and habitual actions, and is called العقل العملى, practical intellct.[5] Ibn Bājjah refers to this by saying :[6] كلما اراد الانسان ان يصنع شيئا يقيم فى الخيال مثال ذلک المصنوع, و اذا امعن النظر التثبت رأى ببصيرة نفسه انقوة اخرى فى النفس تبسط هذا المثال فى الخيال وتنقله من حال الى حال حتى

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1. Ibid ; Muḥaṣṣal p. 72.
2. Oxford, Bodl. Ms. Poc. 206, fol. 137 B.
3. Ibid; Fol. 121 B.
4. Ibid; Al-Munqidh.
5. Ibid ; al-Fārābi : 'Uyūn al-Masa'il p. 64.
6. Oxford, Bodl. Ms. Poc. 206 fol. 138 A,

تكمل وجوده فى النفس واذ ذاک يبدأ بتحريک الاعضاء لوجود ذلک المصنوع وهذه القوة التى تعقل هذا و تبسطه فى التخيل هى التى تسمى العقل العملى، وهى العاقلة اولا، ثم التخيل يتخذ الاعضاءالتى تتحرک لعلمه على نحوما تحركها الارادة بالقوة النفسانية ـ

The fourth meaning of 'aql is that which is mentioned by the philosophers as the faculty by which the soul achieves knowledge. They explain that sense-perception does not separate the form from the matter, nor even from that which is attached to matter, rather it mixes the form with the sensible qualities—quality, quantity, and space etc. Similarly, imagination and estimation do not make the appetitive form abstract from matter absolutely. The faculty which strips form of matter and its accessible qualities totally, in all respects, is Intellect, عقل,[1] which has different stages as will be explained below.

According to al-Fārābī, when the potential intellect (العقل بالقوة), becomes actual (العقل بالفعل), it becomes identical with the actual intelligibles (المعقولات بالفعل): the actual intelligible and the actual intellect are one and the same. Therefore when the actual intellect makes the actual intelligibles objects of a second intellection, its act is essentially as an act of self-consciousness: it becomes a self-thinking thought –'form of form', to use an Aristotelian expression. At this stage, when the actual intellect apprehends its own contents which are pure intelligibles, abstract from matter, it becomes acquired intellect (العقل المستفاد).[2] This designates the final stage of intellectual development in man.

Avicenna (d. 428/1037), following al Fārābi, classifies intellect into the following five parts: (1) *intellectus materialis* or potential intellect (العقل الهيولانى) which he identifies with imagination; human intellect, before receiving the intelligible form, exists only potentially. The actualization of this material (or potential) intellect has been distinguished in three stages: (a) *intellectus in*

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1. Ibid.
2. Al-Fārābi, رسالة العقل ed. Dieterici p, 45. 7, Bouyges, 1938, 20.1; Cf. F. Rahman: Avicenna's Psychology p. 91.

effectu (2) Passive intellect (العقل المنفعل), (b) *intellectus in habitu* or (3) habitual intellect (العقل بالملكه), and (c) *intellectus adeptus* or (4) acquired intellect (العقل المستفاد). The potential intellect becomes actual through the agency of an actual intellect (العقل بالفعل) which must be outside us and always actual in itself, and which culminates into (5) Intelligentia Agens or Agent Intellect [1] (العقل الفعل).

Al-Kindi has, however, mentioned only four intellects (عقول); العقل الاول, العقل بالقوة, العقل بالفعل, and the 'aql which he calls العقل الظاهر [1]. His العقل الاول is therefore the عقل بالفعل ابدا which is the cause of all intelligibles.

Al-Fārābi says that the 'aql which has been mentioned by Aristotle in the De Anima is of four kinds : عقل بالقوة, عقل بالفعل, عقل مستفاد and عقل فعال.

The difference between the two statements is however minor, since العقل بالقوة and العقل بالفعل are one and the same, and العقل الظاهر of al-Kindi is equivalent to العقل المستفاد of al-Fārābī, which has not been mentioned by Aristotle and seems to be the invention of al-Fārābī himself. The only difference is then between العقل الاول and العقل الفعال, since according to Fārābi العقل الفعال is عقل القلک الادنی whereas al-Kindi's العقل الاول is to be compared with العقل الالهی or God himself. Likewise, the tripartite division of Alexander of Aphrodisias, viz. العقل الهيولانی, العقل بالملكة and العقل الفاعل, is not very far from the divisions referred to above, since العقل الهيولانی and العقل بالملكة are the same as القل باالقوة and العقل بالفعل respectively. The last one may be taken as against العقل الاول of al-Kindi, and as against العقل الفعال of al-Fārābi and Ibn Sina. The only difference is, then, in the fourth عقل., viz. العقل الظاهر of al-Kindi, and in العقل المستفاد of al-Fārābi.

In his K. al-Muqābasāt, Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥidi records these divisions of 'aql, as ascribed to Abū Sulaymān, viz.

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1. Cf. F. Raḥman : p. 19 & 90.
2. Ibid ; R. al-'Aql.

العقل الفعال, العقل بالملكة and العقل المستفاد—a fact which indicates that he follows Alexander [1], and does not follow his predecessors, al-Kindi and al-Fārābi in explaining the meaning of 'aql.

The above-mentioned views on the development of the theory of intellect from Alexander to Ibn Bājjah may precisely be illustrated in the following chart :

	Alexander	Al-Kindi	Al-Fārābī	Ibn Sina	Ibn Bājjah
or	العقل الهيولانى	العقل الهيولانى	العقل بالقوة	العقل الهيولانى	العقل بالقوة
(Fol. 123A.)	العقل بالملكة	العقل بالملكة	العقل بالفعل	العقل بالفعل	العقل بالملكة
(Fol. 123B.)	العقل المستفاد	العقل المستفاد	العقل المستفاد	العقل المستفاد	العقل الظاهر
(Fol. 123B.)	العقل الفاعل العقل الفعال	العقل الفعال	العقل الفعال	العقل لاول	العقل الفاعل

According to Ibn Bājjah العقل المستفاد, العقل الفاعل and العقل seem to be identical just as العقل بالفعل and العقل بالملكة appear to be one and the same. In his Tadbīr al-Mutawaḥḥid (p. 19), Ibn Bājjah divides الصور الروحانية, the Spiritual forms into (1) صور الاجسام المستديره, forms of circular bodies, (2) العقل الفعال, the agent intellect, and العقل المستفاد, the acquired intellect, (3) المعقولات الهيولانية the material intelligibles, and (4) المعانى الموجودة فى قوى النفس, forms existing in the faculties of thesoul. He further says about the second group (i. e. العقل الفعال و العقل المستفاد) that it is not at all material, and is related to matter only in

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1. Ibid; Muqābasāt p. 289 : اسم العقل يدل على معان' و تنقسم تلك المعانى الى اقسام بحسب ما ينقسم كل ذى عقل و ذلك له ابتدا' و انتها'- واحدها, وهو بمعنى الابتدا' بالطبع هوالعقل الفعال, و الثانى بحسب الانتها'وهو العقل الانسانى, و يسمى هيولانيا وهو فى نسبة المفعول, و الثالث بحسب معنى الوسط وهو العقل المستفاد, وهو فى نسبة العقل - و العقل الانسانى الذى بمنزلة

respect of accomplishing the material intelligibles, and is called العقل الفعال and العقل المستفاد [1].

Ibn Rushd holds that العقل الفعال is like a form in العقل الهيولانى which he describes as transitory. The intellect which he calls العقل بالملكة ia in itself not transitory; but the intellect which is neither a faculty of the soul, nor a part of the soul is العقل المكتسب or العقل المستفاد [2].

Ibn Bājjah has tried to explain the connection of the "intellect" with the animate body in a number of treatises some of which have been published; but a greater part of his writings on the subject still awaits publication. His Risālah Ittiṣāl al-'Aq bi'l-Insān was published first by the late Prof. Asin Palacios of Spain in the J. Al-Andalus, vol. VII. 1942, and a second time, by Dr. Aḥmad Fu'ād al-Ahwāni as an appendix to his edition of Ibn Rushd's Talkhīṣ K. al-Nafs.

The present paper introduces to the readers a very short treatise of Ibn Bājjah preserved under the title و من كلامه فى الامور التى يمكن بها الوقوف على العقل الفعال in the Bodleian manuscript, No. MS Poc. 206, and referred to by Ibn Abi 'Uṣaibi'ah [3] as كلام فى الامور التى يمكن بها الوقوف على العقل الفعال .

In this small treatise. Ibn Bājjah has described four methods of realising the Agent Intellect through the Actual Intellect

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المفعول هو فى حيز القوة التى تحتاج ان تخرج الى الفعل...ولما كان الذى بالقوة يحتاج الى شئ موجود بالفعل يخرجه الى الفعل كان ذلک الشئ هو العقل الفعال -

1. Ibn Bājjah : Tadbīr p. 19 : فاما الصنف الثانى فهو بهذا الرجه غير هيولانى اصلا، اذ لم تكن فى وقت من الاوقات ضرورة هيولانية، وانما نسبته الى الهيولى لانه متمم المعقولات الهيولانية—وهوالمستفاد -او فاعل لها-وهوالعقل الفعال

2. Cf.Tafsīr Mā Ba'd al-Tabī'ah quoted by Jamīl Ṣalība in his article, Ma'ānī al-'Aql, Majallah al-Majma' al-Ilmi, Damascus, Vol. 29, 1954, p. 508.

3. K. 'Uyūn al-Anbā' fi Tabaqāt al-Atibbā,' 1882, Vol ii. p: 64

(العقل بالفعل) [1]. In that first method, he establishes that the material beings must have a form which cannot be in any matter, but is connected with material forms which it causes to exist. The second method maintains that a passive object is not acted upon by one specified agent but by any agent of the species of the object in a general way. In the third method he demonstrates, unlike Ibn Sina, that the faculty of imagination is not intellect but it, any way, perceives the universal, and desires something to suit its demand in a general way. In the fourth one, he finds the actual intellect (العقل بالفعل) throught the material or potential intellect (العقل الهيولانى او العقل بالقوة) and distinguishes the percipient from the perceptible.

Ibn Bājjah, however, strikes a note different from that of the Greek philosophers when he declares in clear terms : (العقل) هو ثواب الله و نعمته على من يرضاه من عباده 'it (the intellect) is the reward of Allah and His bounty to those servants with whom He is pleased' [2].

There are obviously certain lacunae and references in the text which the writer has not been able to trace. It is expected that the reader may suggest an improvement himself or on the basis of some other manuscript of Ibn Bājjah's works available to him. The only other manuscript known to the present writer was available in Berlin but was lost in the last world war. At present, there is no other alternative but to read the works of Ibn Bājjah in the Bodleian manuscript alone.

The damaged portion in the text have been placed within brackets like these [...], and the additional words have been bracketed like this <...>

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1. Cf. Ibn Bājjah: R. al-Ittiṣāl, al-Ahwāni, p.107 : فالعقل بالفعل هوالمحرک الاول فى الانسان بالاطلاق. Actual Intellect has been mentioned by Ibn Bājjah in a different treatise (Cf. fol. 123a) : اذا النفس الناطقة كملت، وكمالها ان تصير عقلا بان تعقل فى ذاتها معقولات من التى هى عقل بالفعل احطها مرتبة عقل الانسان -

2. Ibn Bājjah also says, fol. 136b. ولا فكرة الا بتلک الموهبة و تلک الموهبة هى اتصاله بالعقل الفعال. Ibid. p. 108 : وظاهر ان هذا العقل الذى يكون واحدا، هو ثواب الله و نعمته على من يرضاه من عباده -

ومن كلامه فى الامور التى يمكن بها الوقوف على العقل الفعال

الامور التى يمكن بها الوقوف على العقل الفعال ضروب، والشكوك عليها ضروب :

آولها ان ينظر القياس بين التوطئات والغايات، فان التوطئات اسباب لوجود الغايات فى الاجسام، والغايات اسباب لوجود التوطئات <فى> الموجود المعقول، و هذا معنى ما حكاه القينبى عن ابن الجهم فى قوله اخر الفكرة اول العمل، واخر العمل اول الفكرة، و هذا ضرورى فى تحصيل الاصناف الثمالية المعدودة فى كتاب ابى نصر فى البرهان - فان (Fol. 129 A) [هذا اذ]ا اتبع لزم ضرورة وجود صورة لا فى جسم اصلا، و وجود جسم لم يتكو [ن فالموجود] جسم لم يتكون فقد بين فى ثانية السماع -

و اما وجود صورة [لا فى] مادة اصلا فذلک بين اذا تتبعت الاجسام الكاينة الفاسدة من حيث هى كاينة فاسدة، فان الاجساد الكاينة الفاسدة خوادم [للاجسا]م المستديرة من حيث هى غير كاينة ولا فاسدة و ذلک كالا سطقسات [فان الا] سطقسات غير كاينة بكلها كاينة باجزاءها و ذلک انواع الموجودات الهيولانية، و اذا نحن تاملنا اجزاءها و هى الكاينة، لزم من ذلک ضرورة صورة لايمكن ان تكون فى مادة اصلا و هى ملابسة للصور الهيولانية و سبب لوجودها -

الطريق الاول مضى الكلام فيه (١) -

الريق الثانى : من التكون انما يصير اخرا (ب) و ليس يصير ذلک الذى فعله بعينه بل انما يصير شبيهه، و ايضا فان المفعل ليس ينفعل عن فاعل بعينه لكن عن كل فاعل من ذلک النوع فله اتصال بالمعنى الكلى بوجه ما -

مثال ذلک : هذه الحلقة (ج) فانها اذا صارت نارا عن نار اخرى

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(١) المخطوطة : فيها

(ب) ايضا : اخر

(ج) ايضا : للحلقا

و ليس ياخذ من نارية الفاعل شيئا، ولا ايضا تصير نارا عن نار بعينها، الما تصير نارا شبيهة بالنار الفاعلة لها اى نار اتفقت ؛

الطريق الثالث : القوة المتخيلة التى بها يشتهى الحيوان، فالها ليست تطلب ماء بعينه و غذاء بعينه كما يعرض للصديق مع صديقه و للمولد مع ولده، بل انما يطلب ما فيه الكلى، فلذلك غلط جالينوس حتى ظن ان الحمار يدرک الطريق الكلى، الى ساير ما قاله فى اول كتابه فى حيلة البرء، فجالينوس و كل من لم يتدرب يظن ان القوة المتخيلة هى العقل، و سبب ذلک قلة المراس، و ايضا مما نجد فى كل حيوان لايعيش منفردا كالغرانق والحمام والقطا و ما جانسه - فان هذا يدرک نحوا ما (ا) الكلى، غير انه لا يمكن ذلک <فى> الحيوان الاهلى <الذى> يجرى مجرى ذلک، غير انه فى هذا ابين و اظهر -

الطريق الرابع : طريق يوجد من العقل الهيولانى <العقل> الذى بالفعل و ذلک (ب) انما تعتقد انا لرى الموضوع اذ ا كان له عندنا محمول، فاما اذا لم يحمل عليه شئى، فانا لانراه و لا نعلمه بوجه، و لا هو مدرک لنا، والمحمول ضرورة كلى، فاما الموضوع فليس كلى بالضرورة بل قد يكون شخصا، وكذلک المحمول ابدا يدل عليه اسم او ما يجرى مجراه كالحد اذا اخذ عوضا من الاسم -

وكذلک الاسم يدل على المعنى بحيث هو حمله و ذلک يكون (Fol. 129 B.) لنا اما علما، فيكون كالبصر، و اما موضوعا للعلم فيحتاج الى تظليل - كذلک الحد ابدا يجب ان يكون محمولا على المجرى الطبيعى، و ظاهر ما بين فى الموضوع عند الادارک انما يكون مدركا بقوة اخرى مثال ذلک ان الجسم هو مدرک و ليس بادراک اصلا، فهو اول المدركات [و ادراكه] هو الحس الجزئى، والاحساس الجزئى مدرک و هو الخيال، و ادراكه تخيل - فهو اذا يدرک بغير القوة التى تدرک فلا يمكن للقوة (ج) المدركة ان تدركه و كذلک ما كان فى الاجسام، وسبب ذلک كونه جسما -

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(ا) المخطوطة : نحوما (ب) ايضا : و ذلک انا (ج) ايضا : القوة

فاما العقل فانه يدرک و يدرک ادراکه بقوة واحدة، و ظاهر بحسب عکس النقيض ان العقل الذی بالفعل ليس بجسم فليکن المدرک العقلی (١) آو ليکن علی ادراک بَ فبَ اذاً ضرورة غير آ لکن بَ تدرک فليکن ادراکها جَ فهی غير بَ، وجَ تدرک فليکن ادراکها دَ، فهی غير جَ و هذا ما تم الی غير لهاية، فستصل ضروبه ضرورة الی ادراک لايمکن ان يدرک، و اما الی ادراک يدرک بذاته لا بغيره، فيکون المدرک والادراک (ب) واحدا (ج)، لکن ان کان هناک ادراک لايدرک فهذا مجهول فان اخذ اصناف الجهل ان يکون متصورا لوجه ما لايتصور بذاته فليس هناک علم اصلا فهذ ا محال، فبقی ان يکون المدرک (د) هو ذات ادراکه، و بين ان هذا صورة لا فی مادة، فاذن (ه) هذا الفرق بين المدرک والمدرک.

Translation

From his (Ibn Bājjah's) sayings concerning those data through which it is possible to discern the AGENT INTELLECT.

The data through which it is possible to discern the Agent Intellect are of various kinds, and the doubts expressed against them are also of different kinds :

The First being, to consider the comparison between preliminaries and the ends, as preliminaries cause the existence of the ends in the body, while the ends cause the existence of the preliminaries in the mental existence. This is the meaning of what al-Qaynabi has related on the authority of Ibn al-Jahm concerning the saying : 'The end of the thought is the beginning of the action; and the end of the action is the beginning of the thought.' This is evident in obtaining the eight kinds enumeratced in the book of Abū Naṣr on the Burhān, Syllogism. For (Fol. 129A), when 'this' is followed, it entails evidently the existence of a form existing not at all in a body, and the existence of

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(١) المخطوطة : العلی (ب) ايضاً: ادراک (ج) ايضا : واحد
(د) ايضا : مدرک (ه) ايضا : فان ـ

a body which has not been generated. The existent is therefore a body which is not generated, as has been explained in the Second Book of the Physics.

As for the existence of a form in no matter at all, this is clear when you search the bodies that come into being and pass away, in so far as they come into being and pass away, since the bodies that come into being and pass away serve the circular bodies in so far as the latter do not come into being, nor do they pass away. The elements, for example, do not come into being in their entirety, but they do so in parts, these being the species of the material existents. But when we consider the parts of elements which have come into being, they evidently entail a form which cannot exist in a matter at all, while it (the form) is attached to the material forms and cause their existence.

The First Method : the discussion of the method has just passed.

The Second Method : Due to generation an object becomes something else. It does not become identical with the thing it has acted upon, but it becomes similar to it. Again, that which is acted upon is not acted upon by one particular agent but by any agent belonging to the same species. Hence, it is, in a way, connected with the universal meaning. Take, for example, a particular ring. Now, when it becomes fire due to the fire (in which it is placed), it does neither take any part of the acting fire, nor does it become identical with fire. It only resembles the fire which acts upon it, whatever that fire may be.

The Third Method : The imaginative faculty, through which the animal feels appetite, does not demand any particular water or any particular food, as is the case with the friends, parents and the child (they want their particular friends and child), rather it only demands that which contains the universal. Having missed, this point, Galen committed a mistake in thinking that the ass, for example, perceives the universal method. This is in addition to that which he said in the beginning of his book on "The Method of Cure". Galen together with all those who have had no experience thinks that the imaginative faculty is the intellect, the reason being the little experience. Again, what we have understood from our findings concerning all those animals

which do not live single, such as, cranes, pigeons and sand-grouse and the like, all these perceive, in a way, what is universal, but it is not possible concerning the domestic animals which stand in their place. But in the former the matter is clearer and more manifest.

The Fourth Method : This method is derived from the material intellect which is actual. To explain this, we surely believe that we consider the subject when it has according to ourselves a predicate. But when there is no predicate then we do not see it, nor do we in any way know it. Nor is it even perceptible to us. The predicate is evidently a universal. As for the substratum, it is not nrcessarily uinversal, and can be an individual. Similarly, the predicate is always indicated by a noun or a substitute thereof, such as Ḥadd, definition, when considered as a substitute for a noun.

The noun, likewise. indicates a meaning in so far as it is applicable. This is (Fol.129B) for us either a kind of knowledge and is therefore like the eye, or a substratum of knowledge, and therefore needs to be shaded. Similarly, it is always necessary for the Ḥadd, definition, to be applied to the natural course. And, what has been stated concerning the substratum is explicit at the time of perception, as it is only perceived by a different faculty. The body, for example, is perceived, and is no perception at all. It is therefore the first of the perceptibles, its perception being the particular sense-perception ; the particular sense-perception is percipient, that is the thought, its perception being imagination (:hinking) When this imagination is perceived by other than the perceiving faculty, it is not possible for the perceiving faculty to perceive it as well as that which is in the bodies, the reason being that it is a body.

As for the intellect, it perceives imagination and its perception by one and the same faculty. In accordance with the opposing antithesis it is clear that the actual intellect is not a body. Let the intelligible percipient, hence, be A, and let B be for its perception. B then is obviously other than A. But since B perceives, let J, therefore, be for its perception, as it is other than B. J also perceives, so let D be for its perception which is other than J ; and this would continue without an end. Its kinds there-

fore will either attain a perception which is not perceptible, or a perception which is perceived *per se*, and not by anything else, percipient and perception having, then, been one and the same. But if there were an unperceived perception, it is not known. Now, if the kinds of ignorance be considered as perceived in a way, it will not be perceived *per se*, and, hence, there would be no knowledge at all, which is absurd. It is therefore establshed that the percipient is identical with its perception. It is clear that this is a form which is not in a matter. This is, then, the difference between the percipient and the perceptible.

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Correction

P. 12. line 4, please read, "in commenting.
P. 23. line 12. „ „ "التى هى موهبة من"

LOCAL ADMINSTRATION OF THE SAYYID DYNASTY

DR. A. HALIM

While determining the structure of administration outside the metropolitan limits, during the unsettled period of Sayyid rule, we come across such terms as 'Wilāyat.' 'Shiqq,' Khiṭṭa.' 'Arṣah' 'Iqṭā' and 'Parganah.' Though it is possible to talk with certainty about the structure of the administrative machinery in the bigger administrative areas, many difficulties have to be faced by the enquirer. Firstly, precedents will have to be hunted for determining the title of the chief of the district or Provincial finance, for, direct evidence is missing in this period. Secondly, references to parganahs occur to my knowledge only twice, once when we learn of the conferment of the Sikri Parganah on Malik Khairudīn Tuhfah, or when parganans in Kaṭher (Rohilkhand) and the Doāb are seized by Bahlul Lodī from semi-independent chiefs who owed allegiance to the Sharqīs. which fact testifies to their existence in the pre-Lodī period as well. There is no direct reference to lead to the conclusion that the parganahs were political units, though it may be presumed that they were units of fiscal and political administration. Then again, the word Iqṭā' occurs very frequently, and interpreted along with the context, cannot stand for a fief, but an administrative unit. Another factor worth noticing is this that within the circumscribed area ruled by the dynasty and contested by the usurping chiefs, or threatened by powerful sovereigns of neighbouring states, the units of local administration, Shiqq, Iqṭā, or Wilāyat, had remained more or less the same as under the later Tughlaqs.

Difficulties in interpreting structure if government-

In connexion with local administration, the following categories of divisions are noticeable. The unit known as Wilāyat (province), stands for bigger administrative areas, often inter-

changeable with Shiqq,[1] Khiṭṭa,[2] and 'Arṣa'[3] but in actual practice and loose terminology, a 'Wilāyat', a 'Shiqq' or an 'Arṣah' may be considered identical in terms of territorial extent. Though an Iqṭā' appears to have been, without doubt, smaller than a Wilāyat or Shiqq, carelessness on the part of the contemporary historians makes the picture extremely misleading. For instance, according to Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad Sirhindī, Malik Jaman was made maqṭa' of the Khiṭṭa of Badāun[4] by Muḥammad Shāh Sayyid. But the true position is this that an Iqṭa' was a smaller unit than a Shiqq or Wilāyat, and several iqṭā's constituted a Shiqq. We learn[5] that Mubārak Shāh conferred the 'iqṭā' of the Shiqq of Dipāpūr' on Malik Rajab in the year of his coronation, and the same ruler bestowed the 'iqtā' of the Shiqq of Bayānah on Malik Muqbil Khān, his slave, and the deputy governorship of the same Shiqq and the charge of the parganah of Sikri on Malik Khairuddin Tahfah. Baran is referred to on page 239 of the same authority, as a khiṭṭa and was one of the iqṭa's of the Shiqq of Badāun Therefore iqṭa' and khiṭṭā are interchangeable terms. An iqṭā' roughly corresponded to an area smaller than a Shiqq but bigger than a parganah. By far the largest number of local governors belonged to this category. An iqṭā' was an aggregate of several parganahs, not as many to a Sarkār as in Mughal times and its holder was designated as a Maqṭa'. Kathēr (Rohikhand), Gwālior, Etāwah, Kōl (Aligarh), Chandwār, Mewāt, Bayānah, Jallandar are referred to as Wilāyats by the author of the Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī, whereas Kōl, Sambhal, Miān-

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1. C/f. Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī, 127; Tatar Khan was made Shiqqdār of the Wilāyat of Multān to Ghaznin by Fīrūz Shāh to check the depredations of the Mongols.
2. Literally 'boundary' (Steingass).
3. 'Arṣah. literally a plain, surface of the earth (Steingasss). C/f Tar. Mub. Shāhī, 176, 'Arṣah of Dhār being asurped by Zafar Khān, and 'Arṣah of Gujrāt by Tātār Khān (p. 186). On page 138, of the same, Gujrat is called a Wilāyat.
4. Tar. Mub. Shāhī, 239.
5. Ibid 193, 205.

[i]-Doāb, Multāu and Dipālpūr, Mahoba and Kālpi, Dhār, Sāmana, Bayānah, Miān-[i] Doāb (an area roughly extending from Bulandshahr to Delhi), Sāmāna, and Lāhore are placed in the category of Shiqqs. Gujrāt, Dhār, Bhakkar, Siwistān are identified as 'Arṣa's. The officers of the Wilāyats were designated as Wālī, Ḥākim. Amīr or Nā'ib-us-Sulṭān, shortened to Nāib, while one in charge of Shiqq was khown as Shiqqdār. Of the first list (of Wilāyats), Bihār and Gwālior were outside the Sayyid kingdom, and Mewāt was ruled by the Khānzādahs who owed only a nominal allegiance to Delhi at this period. And considering the distance involved between Kōl and Etāwah and Etāwah and Chandwār one is tempted to guess that the so-called wilāyats were not bigger than the Shiqqs, and were perhaps identical with them. The Shiqqs wero certainly smaller in area than the Sarkārs of Akbar. For instance Chandwār and Ftāwah which constituted two separate Shiqqs during the Sayyid period, were included in Akbar's reign in the Sarkār of Āgrā (Āin, II, Jarrett, p 103), and Miān-i Doāb, a separate Shiqq during the Sayyid period, was included in the Sarkār of Delhi (as in the case of Baran, p 197, Ain II. Jarrett) within the Subah of Delhi, The Shiqqs were not uniform in size, slightly smaller in the Jumna-Ganges-Doab than probably in the rest of the country. The shiqq of Baoānah is an example in point.

According to Barani Muḥammad Tughlaq divided the Jumna.Gang Doāb, which was a crown land (and continued to be so till 1803) into several Shiqqs, each with an area of about 30x30 = 900 Karohs equivalent to 60X60 = 3600 square miles. That decision persisted during the post-Timur period and [even · during the time of the Maratha domination] so that there was a Faujdār of the Shiqq of Miān-[i]-Doab, roughly extending from Bulandshahr up to Delhi. The Governorship of this Shiqq was a very coveted post all thoughout the history of the Sultanat. There was a separate Shiqq of Kōl (Aligarh) nearly 80 miles east of Delhi. The administrator of a Shiqq was a Walī or Shiqqdār, most often designated as Amīr who always maintained a large military retinue, [1] Thus Malik Sultān Shāh Lodī,

Unist of loca administration-I Wilayat and Iqta'

1. Ferishta, Newalkishore; Qureshi, 201.

the uncle of Bahlul Lodī was styled the Amīr of Sāmāna and Mahabat Khān as the Amīr of Badāūn both during the reigns Khizr Khān and Mubārak Shāh. Shams Khān is designated as the Amīr of Bayānah[1], Ḥasan Khān of Raprī[2], 'Alā'ul Mulk as the Amīr of Multan[3], and Malik Sikandar Tuhfah as the Amīr of Lahore.[4] There is at least one instance of the same Governor holding charge of two Shiqqs like those of Firūzpur and Sarhind,[5] as under the later Tughlaqs.[6] A Shiqq appears to have been an aggregate of two or more iqṭā's smaller, in most cases, than an area comprised within a Mughal *Sarkar*. The following names of iqṭā's arranged alphabetically will explain that iqṭā's were smaller units, and can never be regarded as being synonymous with the Shiqq. Some of the units shown in this connexion are merely parganahs in the list of Abul Fazl. These are Ajodhan (Pak Pattan) Āwadh, Amroha, Badāon, Bahraich, Bayānah, Behar, Bhakkar, Burhānabad, Dalmāu Dipālpūr, Etāwah, Firūzpūr, Gujrāt, Hiṣār Fīrūza, Indri, Jallandar, Jaunpūr, Kanauj, Kaṛa, Karnāl, Khōr, Kuhrām, Lāhore Mahoba, Miān Doāb, Multan, Narnōl, Pānipat, Rāpri, Rohtak Sahrānpūr, Saresti, Sirhind, Sāmāna, Sambhal, Sunām etc. [It has to be borne in mind that many of the units mentioned here such as Āwadh, Bahraich, Behār, Bhakkar, Dalmau, Etawah, Jaunpūr, Kanauj, Kaṛa, were outside the Sayyid Kingdom]' The division of the iqṭās into Parganahs was taking place slowly and that the Parganahs were different from the iqṭa's is clear from the statements of Yaḥyā saying that Sayyid Sālem possessed

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1-4. Tar. Mub. Shāhi pp. 169, 184, 214, 218 respectively ; 5. Tar. Mub, 295 ; 6. Tar. Mub; 134.

7. Bayānah, Chandwār, Etāwah, Gwālior, Jallandar, Kaṭhar, Kōl and Mewāt are listed as Wilāyats. Bayānah, Dhār, Dipālpur Kathēr, Kol, Mahoba, Miān Doāb, Multān, Sambhal and Sikri are mentioned as Shiqqs.

Bahkkhar, Dhār, Gujrāt, Multān and Siwistān are 'Arṣahs Ajodhan, Amroha, Badāun, Bayānah and Behār, Dhār, Firūzpūr, Kōl, Mirut and Kanaūj, Saresti and sirhind are mentioned as Khiṭṭas, in the Tar. Mub. Shāhi.

many iqṭā's and Parganahs in Tabarhind and in the Doāb.

The main function of the governor, whether of the Wilāyat or the Shiqq, was to serve as the king's deputy and act as the chief executive officer for the maintenance of law and order and suppression of internal disturbances, like those of the Zamīndārs, and extend armed help, when faced with aggression or invasion of his area, safeguard the interests of the people from undue exactions by Zamindārs or the local Government Officers, help the learned and the holy, protect the highways, offer facilities to the traders and cultivators, help the revenue officers in the realization of rents and revenues. He was the head of the armed forces within his jurisdiction. As representative of the King, he carried out his farmāns and supervised the administration of justice. The governors were all military officers and joined the king's forces when called to do so. When a campaign became necessary in a particular area due to internal disturbances or external invasion, the governors and Jagirdārs mobilized and took action or joined the forces of the king and disbanded when the campaign was over. The governor had no power over the Dīwān or the 'Āmil who were controlled by the Dīwān at the centre, nor had he any jurisdiction over the officers of the Judicial Department. It was not necessary that a governor should reside in the area under his charge, for we have already noticed that when prince Mubārak Khān was appointed governor of the Shiqq of Fīrūzpūr and Sirhind, and detained at court, Malik Saddhu Nādira deputised for him.[1] Malik Khairuddin Taḥfa served as Nā'ib or deputy-governor of Bayānah and of the Parganah of Sikri, on behalf of Malik Muqbil Khāni, Mubārak Shāh's slave.[2] These instances are illustrative of the fact that princes and favourite nobles of the court could hold charge of more than one Shiqq. The Shiqq officials including the governors were appointed, transferred and dismissed by order of the King. Mubāk Shāh frequently transferred his governors because he

Duties of the Governor

1. Tār. Mubarak Shāhī, 205.
2. Tār. Mub, 205.

feared their accumulation of power by prolonged sojourn in one area.

We are not sure if the local administration in the Shiqq or the Wilāyat was a replica of the central government. To be definite there was a Diwān in charge of the finances with a mushrif (accounlant) and a mustaufī (Auditor) attached, a separate ṣadr (Judge) with his paraphernalia of the Qāzīs and the Muftīs, a Barīd (Post and Secret Intelligence), Kotwāl or Kotwāls in different towns, perhaps an 'Āriẓ (Muster-Master) and a Mīr-i 'Imārat (Superintendent of Construction) and some personal staff like the Silaḥdārs, (Armour-bearers), Jāndārs (Body-guards), Jāmadār (Wardrobe-keeper), Sham'dār (lamp-keepers), mash'āldār (torch-bearers) and Bahladār (Purse-bearers) etc. The officer in charge of the revenue-collection was the 'Āmil (collector, who was solely responsible for collecting revenue [from the Abbasid times] from the parganahs during the Lodī and the Mughal times. He and his staff of accountants (muntaṣarrif), Muḥassils [1] (tax-gatherers) and Kārkuns (clerks), were responsible to the Diwān of the Shiqq. The revenue officers were appointed and controlled by the central government, and were to submit the central periodical accounts of income and expenditure to the central exchequer. It is not possible to determine the salary of any District executive (Shiqqdār or Wāli or Ḥakim, Amir) and it is no good hazarding a guess when the resources of the state had become limited. The probability is this that they did not draw any fixed pay in cash value. The governor generally paid all officers under his jurisdiction, kept a part for his personal expenditure and remitted the rest to the central exchequer. It is my impression that when a Wālī or Shiqqdār was appointed to a Wilāyat or Shiqq, an iqṭā or Parganah within the same territorial limit was reserved for himself to meet his military

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1. C/f. Barani, 'After the conquest of Telinghna, Ghayasvbdim Tughlaq, appcinted 'Amils and Mutaṣarrifs. On pp 468, and 470, the same historian records the appointment of Wālis, Mutaṣarrifs & Kārkuns of the Provincial areas with implies that the rest of the local staff was retained as before.

obligations. [1] But it can be said with certainty that though the Sulṭanat was haphazardly divided into Wilāyats, Shiqqs, iqṭā's and parganahs, the staff of the local government was under the watchful eyes of the Central Government.

Ẓābits Some heads of local administration were styled Ẓābits, perhaps to single them out as governors by usurpation or as chiefs of the Marches. Rāi Harsingh, the Kaṭher chief, is designated as a Ẓābit. In the Lodī period this title seems to have been reserved for governors of the border. [2]

While some Hindu chiefs like the Rājah of Jammū who acknowledged nominal vassalage and most often lent his assistance for the Khokhars, the feudatory chiefs of Bhongāon and Rāprī were designated as Muqaddams (chiefs) [3]; the Hindu Rājah of Gwālior and the Rājpūt chiefs of Bhongāon, Paṭiālī, Chandwār, Etwāa and Rohilkhand and the chiefs of Miwāt paid fixed tribute.

The parganahs seem to be at this period purely units of fiscal as well as political administration. There did not exist many such units at this period, and a regular division of the country into fiscal units took shape during the Lodī period. But these units do not seem to have been so small in size as those in the time of Akbar. The parganah officers, appointed by the Ceutral Government, were the 'Āmil' (the collector of Land revenue), the Mutaṣarrif, who according to Baranī's specification may be identified with the 'Āmil, the mushrif (the inspector), [4] the Muḥaṣṣil the receiver of payments from peasants [5], the gumashta (the agent), [6] the muqaddam or Mukhia, the village headman, the fotahdār or Khazinahdār, (Khazānchī) and havildār and Kārkuns or clerks. The parganah was, in fact,

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1. Tār. Mub. Shahī 205:
2. Ibid 187 ; Barani, 440. describes Bahādur Shāh as the Ẓābit of Sonārgāon.
3. Tār. Mub. Shāhī, 571.
4. Qureshī, 208.
. Qureshi, 209.
6. Qureshi, 209.

a collection of villages and townships, and there were many parganahs included in a Shiqq. The collected tax was deposited in the parganah treasury before being remitted to the Central Diwān. The ʻĀmil as the head of the fiscal administration, saw to it that the assessed taxes were properly collected, that fraud was not committed in the preparation of revenue registers by the muqaddams, that cultivation was encouraged. He was assisted by the Muḥaṣṣil and the mushrif in the collection of rent and revenue including Jizia.[1] The collected taxes remained in the treasury under the joint congnisance and signature of the ʻĀmil and the local governor. The duty of the ʻĀmil was also to determine the revenues which the peasants had to pay for items of seasonal crops grown by them.

The petty officers of the revenue department were the Qānūngo, the 'travelling dictionary' of records of the history of land demarcation, alluvian and deluvian; the Patwārī, keeping records of sales, leases and transfer of cultivable land and their revenues; the Muqaddam or the village headman, the Chaudhury or representative of the peasants[2] and Kārkuns or clerks keeping accounts in Persian and Hindi. The Muqaddams prepared revenue estimates of their areas which were verified and corrected by the revenue clerks. The petty officers appear to have received (as in the days of Akbar) a percentage of the revenue raised by them collectively. The share of the state in the collected revenue during this period was the customary portion ranging from one third to one fourth, and no innovation in rates had been introduced. This is confirmed by the repeated statements that the recalcitrant Hindu chiefs like the zamīndārs of Kaṭher, Chandwār and Bhongāon, were made to pay after every campaign the 'customary revenue.' But seldom was revenue paid except under compulsion, some times evading chiefs were made to pay fines in addition to the customary tributes.

Petty officers of the Revenue

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1. Barani, 571.
2. Qureshi, 208.

In between Shiqq and Parganah there existed a territorial division termed iqṭā' whose administrator was a Maqṭa' and several iqṭa's constituted a Sl iqq. It has been pointed out already that iqṭa's are clearly mentioned as parts of Shiqqs. In Iqṭa's not yet parcelled into parganahs, the 'Āmil and the paraphernalia of his staff were responsible for collecting the revenue, whereas the muqṭa' discharged the executive duties. Law and order were maintained in the urban areas of the provinces or Shiqqs by the Kotwāl of whom every town of note had at least one.[1] A provincial Kotwāl seems to have been under the immediate control of the Shiqqdār or the Maqṭa'. The duties of the Kotwāl in district towns were the same as those of the metropolitan Kotwāl discussed earlier. The Kotwāl of Hānsī was, in addition, responsible for the custody of political prisoners during this and the succeeding dynasties. The Kotwāl-ship of Hānsī was undoubtedly a key post, reserved for a very trusted noble.

Law and order and administration of Justice

Political prisoners were also handed over to nobles for keeping them in their custody. Thus Jamāl Khān was the keeper of the dismissed Wazīr Ḥamīd Khān in the reign of 'Alāuddin 'Ālam Shāh, and when the prisoner escaped to safety, after baffing all attemps at his recapture, Jamāl Khān committed suicide to hide his disgrace. Though there are ample evidences of prisoners and sedition-mongers being tortured in Siyāsat (Khāna), there is no evidence of the existence of regular jails for the detention of offenders after the verdict of a law court. Justice seems to have been cheap and prompt, and punishments summary. Outside the limits of the cities there were Thānahs in strategic places, or in notoriously disturbed areas,[2] where small

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1. For Kotwāl of Lahore being appointed by Mubārak Shāh, vide Tār. Mub. Shāhi, p. 200.
2. The writer has gone round these colonies in Jalāli, Bhikampur, Ḥabībgunj, and other settlements of the Sherwānis and till recently they had rich and extensive zamīndārīs.

Maintenance of Law & order in urban & rural areas

batches of military guardsmen were posted. Sometimes colonies of martial races were planted to deal with a habitually disturbed area. Tradition has it, and it can be taken as a fairly authentic one, that at a slightly later period, the Sherwānī Paṭhāns, who lived in large numbers in 'Alīgarh district, were settled in the disturbed areas by 'Umar Khān Sherwānī, Prime Minister of Sultān Bahlūl Lodī. Such a policy had been followed by the Muslim rulers ever since the introduction of their rule and it can be presumed that this institution existed during the time of the Sayyids as well. There are evidences of the Turks being planted as colonists in a disturbed area like Bhatinda by the later Tughlaq rulers. The Thānah pickets were specially helpful to the revenue collectors at the time of realising rent or dispatching cash to the nearby treasury. The task of maintaining law and order in the villages devolved on the Muqaddam or village headman, who kept a watch over suspects and habitual criminals of his locality, and reported their conduct to the local officials in the nearby town of which the village was an administrative part. The Muqaddam was drastically dealt with from old times for his failure to apprehend criminals escaping justice.

Outside the metropolitan limits, justice was administered through the court of the Qāḍīs, situated in almost all the towns big and small. The chief towns of the Shiqqs and iqtā's had their Qāḍī's court, where Shari'a Law was administered in criminal and civil cases. Cases in which Hindus and Muslims were involved as parties were decided by principles of equity. Whether a regular chain of courts linking the smaller courts with those in the centres of districts of administration and ultimately with the court of the Qāḍāt-ul-Quḍāt or that of the Sadr existed, it is difficult to say. That the court of the Qāḍī in the local administrative centres exercised an appelate jurisdiction over cases adjudicated in the smaller towns seems to have been the usual practice and an appeal from such courts could be made to the court of the Chiefs Qāḍī. But the judges of the canon law, whether of the chief towns

Judiciary in the Provinces

of the Shiqqs or smaller ones within that area, were absolutely independent of the control of the local authorities, and sometimes kings were summoned in the Qāḍī's court to answer-charges which they did like ordinary offenders.[1] The judiciary, as a whole, displayed great independence and boldness in administering justice. There is no record, not even in the form of stories, of the judicial administration of the time, as we have of the preceding and succeeding periods. The local governors had courts of their own, adjudicating cases mostly of a civil nature. From the decision of such courts an appeal lay to the king's court and in those days of bad communications and disturbed condition of the country, only the bravest and the most desperate ones could avail themselves of such an opportunity. The Hindus had their Panchāyat courts in the rural areas, from whose decisions an appeal could be preferred to the court of the Qāḍī or to that of the Shiqq governor. Cases between Hindus and Hindus were decided according to Hindu law which was interpreted by the Pandits as consultants of such tribunals. The governor, when unable to preside at his court owing to preoccupation with field duties, could delegate his authority to a nominee well-versed in canon law. There is testimony in the succeeding period of the king delegating his authority to a noble. It seems that litigants could bring suits at the court at all hours of the day and night. This was at least true of the kings of the Lodī dynasty. But the lever on which the entire structure of provincial administration revolved was provided by the local barīd, whose spies, informants and officers, spread throughout the nooks and corners of the country, gave him information about things happening in the provinces and this was transmitted to the barīd at the centre through the medium of the postal messengers riding post-horses or running on foot. It was the fear of the barīd and his staff that kept many restless and ambitious governors,

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1. The writer had in his mind, the story of Sulṭān Ghiyāthuddīn of Bangālah appearing at a Qāḍī's court.

chiefs and warlords within the bounds of law and made them look thrice before attempting a rebellion.

Bibliography

1. The Ẓafarnāma of Sharfuddīn Yaḥyā 'Alī Yazdī (Elliott, 477, ff; Asiatic Society of Bengal Text, edited by Munshī Aḥmad 'Alī), completed in 1446, is a partial biography of Tīmūr, based on the latter's autobiography, which the author mentions as his source book. The latter work is supposed to have been written 'under the direction of Tīmūr."[1] Elliot thinks that Sharfuddīn "wrote over again in an accurate style, that history which had been compiled under Tīmūr's direction."[2] The portion of this work appertaining to Tīmūr's Indian expedition, is based according to Elliot on that work. The Ẓafarnamah forms the earliest authoritative history of the Sayyīd dynasty. From it we learn about the early career of Khiḍr Khān, his flight from Tīmūr's invading host and submission, afterwards to Tīmūr and eventual appointment to a governorship. This authority is an invaluable aid in knitting the political history of northern India, especially of the Khokhars who were in the process of conversion from Hinduism to Islām. A study of the Ẓafarnāmah reveals the existence of two Khokhar chiefs, one named 'Shaykh Kokar' killed in an encounter with Tīmūr in a fort near Nagarkōt'[3]; the other "Shaykh Kokar, a relative of Shaykh Kokar" was taken prisoner at Lāhore for his perfidy in ill-repaying Tīmūr's generosity in releasing him, and treating his people with kindness and consideration.[4]

Among other things, the Ẓafarnāmah is an invaluable guide for solving the history of the Khānzādās of Miwāt in the initial stage and of the local dynasty founded by Awhad Khān[5] whom he describes "a Musalmān and an honest man."

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1. Elliot, Vol. III, 389.
2. Elliot. III, 392.
3. Ẓafarnāmah, 142.
4. Ẓafarnāmah, 169 ff.
5. Ahodan in Ẓafarnāmah.

2. Malfūẓāt-i Tīmūri or Tuzak-i-Timūrī, by Abu Tālib Ḥusainī (Elliot III, 387 ff.) is supposed to be a translation in Persian from the autobiogaphy of Tīmūr. The Malfūzāt was dedicated to Shāhjahān, at whose order the author undertook the work. This is merely a reproduction of the Ẓafarnāmah of Sharfuddin Yaḥyā, the author taking pains to put the whole in an ornate style instead of the plain, laborious and minute style of Sharfuddīn. The portion of the work connected with Pak-Indian History tallies almost word for word with the record and sequence of events in Ẓafarnāmah so that the mistakes and confusions of the former are retained by the author of the Malfūzāt. He records nothing new.

3. Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī, by Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad Sirhindī (Elliot III, p. ff; R. A. S. B. text by Shams-ul-'ulamā Hidāyat Ḥusain) English translation by Dr. K. K. Basu, Gaekawad Oriental Series, starts from the history of Muḥammad bin Sām and abruptly ends with the incidents of the month of Jamādī II 834/1434, in the midst of the reign of Muḥammad Shah, the third king of the Sayyid dynasty. It is the only contemporary, and the most authentic source for the history of the Sayyid dynasty, the one which forms the basis of Nizāmuddīn, Ferishta and Badāūnī's work, the latter being an intelligent summary of the history under discussion. The author dedicates this valuable work to his patron, Abū'l Fatḥ Mubārak Shāh as a token of his devotion and service,[1] and that being so it must have been compiled, not in 954, as the author of the R. A. S. B. text records[2] in the colophon portion, but in 855, just on the eve of the rise of Bahlūl Lodī to the throne of Delhi, when the Sayyid dynasty had ceased to rule over Delhi, where a dual government under Ḥamid Khān and Bahlūl Lodī as his Commander-in-Cheif, had been established. Nothing is known through this history of the life and activities of the author, except that he wrote the work under the patronage of Mubārak Shāb, on whom he showers high-sounding epithets. As the work was intended

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1. Vide Intr. p. 1-4.
2. Cf. p. 244 of Tār. Mub. Shāhī

'to perpetuate the memory' of his patron, it suffers from the virtues and drawbacks of a chronology of this kind to a certain extent.

Yaḥyā's book on the whole is a faithful narrative of events from year to year. He does not even stop to write a few lines to sketch the character of any of the rulers of the Sayyid dynasty, not even his patron, whose tragic end he so much deplores. His long narrative of the wars waged by Mubārak Shāh was primarily intended to impress on posterity the greatness of his patron, though a critic gleans the bare fact that the repetition of expeditions in the Doāb, Rohilkhand and Miwāt, and even in the Punjāb shows that the dynasty, even in the hey-day of its existence, was incapable of combating the centrifugal activities of the feudatories and highly placed officers.

Anyway, the Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhi is our only faithful guide, which can be relied upon, coming as it does from a contemporary source. Our only regret is this that he did not bring his work up to date, though he seems to have lived years after he stopped writing. The historical value of this work is spoiled by hasty editing. There are quite a few errors of proper names.

4. Tabqāt-i-Akbarī, Tabaqāt-i Akbar Shāhī or Tārīkh-i-Nizāmī by Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad Bakhshī (Newal-Kishore edition, Lucknow, Bibliotheca Indica Series, in three vols; text and tr. by B. De; Nlliot, V, 177 ff.) is our next important source. Beginning from the time of Sabuktagīn upon the 38th year of Akbar's reign, it is first real history of India which deals exclusively with Indian affairs and rises above the status of bare chronologial narrative arranged date-wise. Ferishta, Abū'l Bāqī and Badāūnī have depended mainly on this history, the two former works being merely reproductions of Nizāmuddin's version, the last one being a summary.

The history of the Sayyid dynasty for which it is the first complete source, covers pages 265 to 294 of Vol. I, of the R.A.S.B. text. It is a good summary of the Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī, without the mistakes of place names found in Yaḥyā's, so far as the reigns of the first two Sayyid rulers are concerned

and for the latter part of the history of the Sayyids he has drawn on sources not known to us.

The Subḥānallah Section of the 'Alīgarh Muslim University Library contains an old Ms. of the Ṭabaqāt in beautiful Nasta'līq transcribed by one 'Abdul Ḥai, and dated 1003/1596. Thus it is only two years older than the original of Nizāmuddīn's. I consulted it for verification of proper names, compared the edited text with it whenever anything seemed to me doubtful.

5. Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh by Mawlāna 'Abdul Qādir Badāūnī, (edited by R. A. S. in three volumes, English tr. by Ranking and Lowe and Haig; Elliot V, 477 ff), was begun in 1003/1596 and finished in 1004 (Jamādī II,/Feb. 1598) during Akbar's reign, and covers the history of India from the Ghaznavid kings upto the 40th year of Akbar's reign. Its third volume is a priceless contribution to history, containing biographical notices of the learned in canon law, of poets, scholars, physicians and holy men. The Sayyid-Lodī portion of this work (Vol. I, pp. 284-306) is a summary of the Tārikh-i-Mubārak-Shāhī and Ṭabaqāt-i' Akbarī. His biographical notices in the third volume are of immense interest to historians. The political narrative in the first volume also includes information of literary and cultural interest, containing as it does, quotations from the works of poets and literary men. Sometimes Ghazls, Qasīdas or Quatrains of poets, chronograms and epitaphs on tombs are also included.

6. Tārīkh-i-Ferishta, Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīm Shāhī or Gulshan-i-Ibrahīmī (R. A. S. Ms, 'Aligarh M. U., Ms; Lucknow, Bombay and Poona Lith. Edition; Urdu Tr. by Newalkishore, and Hyderabad Deccan; English Tr. by Briggs; Elliot VI, 207 ff.) by Abū'l Qāsim Muḥammad Hindū Shāh Ferishta Astrābādī, begins from the Muhammadan invasion of India and closes with the events of 1015/1607 during Jahāngīr's reign. It was completed in about 1612 A. D. under the patronage of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh of Aījāpūr and was consequently dedicated to him.

Though he was a man of learning and historical perspective Ferishta's work is entirely based on Nīzmuddīn's Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, not excluding even the provincial dynasties. The history

of the Sayyid dynasty which is contained in the first volume of the work, is a mere reproucdtion of the Ṭabaqāt, with this important addition that Ferishta has added a few lines to discuss the character of the first two Sayyid rulers at the end of the chronological narrative. His account of the last two Sayyid rulers is very bold and critical.

Ferishta's account of the expedition of Tīmūr in India is ill-arranged. His account of the history of the local dynasty of Bayāna is inaccurate. On p. 165 of Vol. I, Lucknow Lith. Text he says "Amīr Khān, son of Dāūd Khān, son of Shams Khān, had treacherously killed his uncle Mubārak Khān" identified by Badāūnī 1,391, as Karīm-ul-mulk, in spite of the fact that the name of Amīr Khān or that of Dāūd Khān does not figure in Yaḥyā's or Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh or the Ṭabaqāt. The proper identification ought to have been Muḥammad Khān, son of Shams Khān, who recovered his father's patrimony by murdering Karīm-ul-Mulk his usurping uncle. The Paṭhān family name Lodī is most curiously always put down as Lodhī (not Lodī). Unfortunately the edited texts are full of errors, errors due more to the carelessness of the copyist than that of the historian.

7. Māthir-i-Raḥīmī (Bib. Ind. Pub. in three volumes ; Elliot V, 237) by 'Abdul Bāqī Nehāwandī was completed in 1028/1616, in Jahāngīr's reign, in Khāndesh, under the patronage of Khān Khānān 'Abdur Raḥīm. The author follows Nizāmuddīn's Ṭabaqāt, sometimes word for word. His Sayyid-Lodi history is based closely on Nizāmuddīn and Ferishta.

Ṣubḥ-i-Ṣādiq ('Alīgarh, and Bankipore Mss ; Elliot VI, 453 ff), by Muḥammad Ṣādiq, is a very voluminous and comprehensive universal history from the time of creation, completed in 1048/1638, under the patronage of prince Shujā' and dedicated to him. (A copy of this work transcribed in Khairābād, Eastern U. P. is in the 'Alīgarh Muslim University Library). The relevant accounts about India, contained in the fourth volume of the work including observations about provincial dynasties, are fairly good.

8. Lubbut-Tawārīkh, by Rai Brindāban (Muslim University 'Alīgarh and Bankipore Mss ; Elliot VII 168 ff), written in 1696, seems to be a mere summary of Ferishta so far as the history

of the last two pre-Mughal dynasties of India is concerned.

9. Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārīkh, (Bānkipore and 'Alīgaṛh Mss ; Edited by Mawlvī Ẓafar Ḥasan, Elliot, Vol. VIII, 5ff) by Sujān Rai Bhandārī of Batāla (Gurdāspūr Dist. Punjab, is a history of Pāk-India from the earliest times to the 40th year of Aurangzib, 1695/6. The portion on the history of the Sayyids is a mere summary of Ferishta.

Āin-i-Akbarī R.A.S.B. Tr. by Gladwin ; and Blochmann and Jarrett), is an invaluable guide for advanced students of history. The institutes of Akbar described in the first volume give clues to many riddles connected with the administrative system of the Sulṭanat of Delhi. The secono volume in cataloguing the administrative divisions with their Mahals, chief cities and places of importance, serves as a guide to identify, locate and even correct the place names wrongly written by the scribe or even the historian.

Other Persian histories which contain brief references of the history of the post-Tīmūr period of Indian History are :

Tārīkh-i-Ḥaqqī (Ẓikr-i-Mulūk) by Mawlāna 'Abdul Ḥaq of Delhi (Elliot VI, 175), completed in 1005/1596 in the forty second year of Akbar's reign. It has nothing to add to our information.

Rawzat-ut-Tāhirīn (A.B.S. Ms ; J.R.A.S. Cal. New Vol. 13, 1917, Elliot VI, 195 ff) Vol IV.

Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, or Aḥsan-ut-Tawārīkh by Ḥasan bin Muḥammad Shirāzī (Buhār Ms, Cal, Elliot VI, 201 ff).

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Jannat-ul-Firdaus (Bankipore Ms ; Elliot, VIII, 413) completed in 1715, A.D. by Mirzā Muḥammad Yūsuf (and Tujammul Ḥusain who added the 7th and 8th Chapters), contains genealogical charts, the birth, accession and death of the kings of the Muslim dynasties ruling in the east or west. I shall not be

surprised if it comes to light that Lanepoole in his Muḥammadan Dynasties extensively drew upon this valuable book.

Akẖbār-ul-Akẖiyār of 'Abdul Ḥaq of Delhi (printed edition, Delhi ; Elliot ; Litho Edn. Mujtabai Press, Delhi) is a mine of information for students of Mediaeval Pak-Indian history. The book contains life sketches of mystics and holy and learned men of mediaeval Pak-India. It gives information about personalities neglected by the chronicler. It gives an inkling to the literary and mystic movements of the times, and in the course of the narrative it makes mention of some facts which are of the utmost importance to the students of literary, cultural, social or economic history of the times. A work of similar nature entitled Gulzār-i Abrār by Muḥammad Ghawsī Māndvī exists in manuscript from in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta Library. It was compiled in the early years of Jahāngīr's reign. It has notices of many more holy men than in Akẖbārul Akẖiyār but the information is briefer than in the earlier work. On the whole the work is very valuable and according to a modern historian is a mine of historical information.

Jawnpūrnāmah by Khairuddīn Allāhābādī ('Alīgarh and R A. S.B. Ms ; Elliot ?) is a hopelessly misleading book. Its chronology is arbitrary, its facts are not properly sifted. More than sixty percent of its dates are erroneous, and events are not placed in their proper sequence. It cannot be regarded as a source book for the dynastic history of the Sharqīs, the Sayyids and the Lodīs. The book was completed in the later part of the 18th century under the patronage of the East India Company's civilians.

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May 28 1414 to May 20, 1421 A.D.

I

2. Muizuddīn Mubārak Shāh
1421 to Jan 20, 1434.

I

Farīd Khān

I

3. Muḥammad Shāh
1434 to 1445.

I

4. 'Alāuddīn 'Ālam Shāh
(a) 1435 to 1451 in Dēlhi
(b) 1445 to 1478 in Bengal

I

Malkā Jahān Bibī Khunza — Husain Shāh Sharqī Jawnpūr

I — Aḥasn 'Abbās Ḥaidr

The Sha·qi Dynasty of Jawnpur

1. Khwāja-i-Jahān Malik-us Sharqī.
d 803/1400.

I

(Malik Qaranfal)

2. Mubārak Shāh [adopted son]
803 to 804/1400 to 1401.

3. Ibrāhīm Shāh, brother of Mubārak Shāh
804 to 844/1401 to 1440

I

4. Maḥmūd Shāh
844 to 861/1440 to 1457.

I

(Bhikan Khān) — Ḥasan Khān

5. Muḥammad Shāh
862-63/1457-58

Jalā Khān — Jamāl Khān

6. (Ḥusain Khān)
Ḥusain Shāh
(a) 863/88-1458-83 king of Jawnpūr
(b) 888-901/1483-1495 king of Bihār

I

Jalāl Khān (Sulṭān Jalāluddīn) — daughter of Nuṣrat Shāh, king of Bengal

I

Empty title holders

Sulṭān Maḥmūd — 'Umar Khān, governor of Jawnpūr during Akbar's time.

Khalji Dynasty of Malwa

1. Malik Mughīs
2. Maḥmūd I, the great
839-73/1435-68.
3. Sulṭan Ghiathuddīn
373 906/1468-1500.
Qādir Khān
Sulṭan Naṣiruddīn
906-916/1500.
Shuja't Khan
Shihabuddīn
'Azam Humayun Khan
Maḥmūd II
916-37/15.0-1530.
Ṣāḥab Khān

DATE AND PLACE OF SHER SHAH'S ACCESSION

DR. A. KARIM

After examining three coins of Sher Shāh dated 945 A. H. obtained from the Raipara hoard, Dacca, N. K. Bhattasali concludes that Sher Shāh's accession took place in Gaur "within this fortnight, between the end of June and the middle of July, 1538. i. e., about the middle of *Safar*, the second month of 945 A. H.".[1] The coins undoubtedly disprove the earlier theory of Dr. K R. Qanungo that Sher Shāh's accession took place in Gaur after the battle of Chaunsa (i. e. in 946 at the beginning of December, 1539).[2] Since Bhattasali wrote his article, some more coins have come down to us. As will be seen presently these coins combined with literary evidences prove that the coronation of Sher Shāh did not take place in Gaur and even the date of accession may be pushed forward by about six months, if not more.

All the coins of Bhattasali belong to one type (one of a different variety bearing a different style of writing), all dated 945 but they bear no mint-name. They are described below :—

Obverse :—

Within square *Kalimah*.

After *Kalimah* within a rectangular area inside the square :—

Al-Sulṭān al-Ādil

Reverse :—

Within square :-

Sher Shāh al-Sulṭān
Khallada Allāh Mulkahu

Below within a rectangular area,

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1. *Islamic Culture*, January, 1935, p. 130.
2. K.R. Qanugo :- *Sher Shah*, Calcutta, 1921 p. 208

Segmental margin :—	King's name in Nāgarī Characters.
Names of first four Companions of the Prophet, one in each Segment.	Margin :- Farīd al-dunyā Wa'l-dīn Abū'l Muẓaffar.

After Bhattasali, H. N. Wright [1] published two more silver and two more copper coins of Sher Shāh dated 945. One of the silver coins (No. 1040 B) is of the same type as those of Bhattasali with the only difference that in this coin the mint-name Shergarh is inscribed. The other silver coin (No. 1040 A) is from the mint Qilah Shergarh. It varies from Bhattasali's coin in that it bears the words "Farīd al-dunyā wa'l-dīn,, also after "Al-Sulṭān al-'Ādil,, on the obverse. The copper coins are $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{10}$ coins respectively, bearing no mint-name but dated 845.

The coins therefore clearly prove that Sher Shāh,s accession took place in 945 at the latest and thus belie the statements of Chroniclers and the conclusion Dr. Qanungo that Sher Shāh struck coins and had Khuṭbah read in his name after the battle of Chaunsa. But what was the place of accession ? Both Qanungo and Bhattasali place it in Gaur. Qanungo is influenced by the Persian chroniclers, Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad Bakhshī, 'Abd al-Qādsr Badāyūnī, Firshtah and Ni'mat Allāh, all of whom state that the accession took place in Bangālah. Bhattasali takes the evidence of chroniclers as an axiom and the "discovery of the 945 A.H. coins at Raipara and their total absence in any other find outside Bengal ,, strengthen his view.

Among the Persian chroniclers, Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad Bakhshī is the earliest. He writes that after the battle of Chaunsa, Sher Shāh weant to Bengalah, assumed the title of Shāh, struck coins and had Khuṭbah read in his own name.[2] As we have seen earlier, Sher Shāh struck coins not after the battle of Chaunsa

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1. *H.N. Wright* :- *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of* Delhi, Delhi, 1936, Nos, 1040 A 1040 B, 1257 and 1270
2. *Tabaqat-i-Akbar*, Bibliotheca Indica text, p. 101.

but before. Moreover, after the battle of Chaunsa, Sher Shāh had no time to go to Bangālah or Gaur; he was busy pursuing Humāyūn. 'Abbās Sherwānī writes: "Sher Khān himself pursued the Emperor Humāyūn and got possession of the whole country as far as Kālpī and Kanauj. He again sent Khawāṣ Khān against *Maharta Cheruh*, to utterly destory him. Jahāngīr Kulī Beg, with 6,000 cavalry, was in Bengal; him he ordered to be put to death".[1] According to Ni'mat Allāh, after the battle of Chaunsa, "Sher Khān, who was close at the heels of Humāyoon, arrived at Kanoj; from whence he, a second time, detached Khuvaz Khān against Muharta; and Jalāl Khan Jaloo and Ḥajī Khan Batni to Bengal."[2] There is therefore reason to believe that Niẓam al-Dīn Aḥmad Bakhshī was misinformed about Sher Shāh's accession and the same misinformation was handed down to other chroniclers. As the date in the chornicles is wrong, so also is the place. As for the evidence of coins, Bhattasali is influenced by the fact that the three coins marked 945A.H. then known to him were all discovered from Bengal. Time has yielded better information about this. Not only have more coins been available, but they also supply the mint-name. The mint Shergarh or Qilah Shergarh shows that Sher Shāh's earliest extant coins were issud from lands that were in his possession in Bihar and outside Bengal. Coins might or might not have been issued by him from Gaur in 945, but the Shergarh coins certainly invalidate Bhattasali's theory. The fortnight, in which, according to Bhattasali, Sher Shāh was crowned in Gaur was a troubled period in his career. Humāyūn captured Chunar and marched towards Gaur. Sher Shāh apprehending the loss of treasure and wealth, marched towards Gaur and reached the city aided by the favourable current of the Ganges, while Humāyūn was yet in Telia-Garhi. There Humānyūn was held up by Jalāl Khān, and in the mean-time Sher Shāh removed treasures of

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1. Elliot & Dowson vol, IV, reprinted by Susil Gupta & Co, Calcutta with the title *Sher Shah*, p. 94, (hereafter referred to as 'Abbas)
2. Dorn, *History of the Afghans*, p. 123,

Gaur to Rohtas through the unfrequented route of Jharkhand. A study of the Chronicles shows that he was in great suspense throughout this period, till he reached Rohtasgarh safe. The time was not proper at all for coronation or the mintinig of coinage. Secondly if the coins were issued from Gaur, we fail to understand why they do not bear the mint-name. We know for certain that Gaur was a mint-town under Bengal Sulṭāns with the name of Lakhnautī. Near about is Pandua which was also a mint-town with the name of Fīrūzābād. If he had issued coins from Gaur within a fortnight of his stay he must have utilised one of these mints, and the mint-names would have been inscribed.

Mrs. Beveridge[1] has reproduced a protrait of Sher Shāh taken from Tārīkh-i-Khāndān-i-Tīmūriyah by an anonymous author. On top of the portrait, the place of accession is given as (سواد بنگاله سلطانپور)Sawād-i-Bangālah Sulṭānpūr. Written not earlier than 1587,[2] the Tārīkh-i-Khāndān-i-Tīmūriyah does not deserve any more credence than other chronicles, It is not improbable that the author's source of information was the same as that of Niẓām al-Dīn. Secondly, though Sher Shāh became king at the fag-end of his life when he was about 55 ar 56[3], in this portrait he is painted as a man of 35 or 40. Thirdly, before the battle of Chaunsa, Sher Shāh came to Gaur three times in 1536, 1537 (just when Humāyūn was proceeding towards Chunar) and in 1538 (for removing treasures from Gaur). On the two former occasions, the question of accession does not arise because Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh was still the sovereign' We have seen earlier that in 1538 also he could not do so because the time was not proper and the Mughal army under Humāyūn was marching at his back. Then when

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1. Gulbadan Begam : *Humāyūn Nāme*, edited and translated by Mrs. Beveridge, p. 133
2. Sri Ram Sharma, *A Bibliography of Mughal India*, Bombay, p. 44,
3. According to Dr. K.R. Qanungo, Sher Shāh was boṛn in 1486, *Sher Shah* p ६

could he ascend the throne at Sulṭānpūr in the suburb or delta of Bengal? This would be possible only if he had done so during the movement of troops, but in the absence of very strong evidence, this cannot be accepted.

'Abbās Sherwāni alludes to the subject on the following occasions :-

(i). While describing Sher Shāh's first meeting with Ṣhaikh Ismā'īl (later on Shujā't Khān), 'Abbās digresses from the original theme and writes that after his (Sher Shāh's) defeat of Quṭb Khān,[1] the Bengal general, he "gained the surname of Shāh" and conferred the title of Shujā'at Khān on Shaikh Ismā'īl and Sarmast Khān on Ibrāhīm Khān.[2]

(ii). 'Abbās puts the word Shāh in the mouth of Khawāṣ Khān, who was sent to Gaur in aid of the besieging force of Jalāl Khān.[3]

(iii). While describing Sher Shāh's negotiations with Humāyūn on the latter's way to Bengal, 'Abbās adds the word Shāh with the name of Sher Shāh several times.[4]

(iv). While Sher Shāh was just attacking Humāyāūn in the name of Sher Shāh.[5]

(v). After the victory of Chaunsa, 'Abbās gives a long description of Sher Shāh's coronation. Masnad-Ālī 'Īsā Khān proposed to him to issue *farmans*. At the instance of these Officers, Sher Shāh "seated himself on the throne, unfolded umbrella over his head, and assumed the name of Sher Shāh and struck coin and caused the *Khutbah* to be read in his own name, and he also took the additional title of "Shāh 'Ālam". For

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1. 'Abbās writes Quṭb Shāh, king of Bengal, but it is a mistake.
2. 'Abbās, p. 32.
3. *Ibid*, p. 73.
4. *Ibid*, p. 77.
5. *Ibid*, p. 91.

seven days there were rejoicings to celebrate the coronation.'

The last reference is responsible for the view that Sher Shāh's accession took place after the battle of Chaunsa (i. e. in 946). As has been discussed earlier, the coins disprove this theory. The other references in 'Abbās have so far escaped the attention of scholars. The first reference in 'Abbās categorically says that Sher Shāh "gained the surname of Shāh" after he defeated Quṭb Khān, the Bengal General in 939 (1533). On the same occasion, he also conferred titles upon his Officers. Both "gaining the surname Shāh" and the conferment of titles savour of sovereignty. The conferment of titles is corroborated by Ni'mat Allāh,[2] but for the other statement of 'Abbas, no corroborative evidence is available. Though other references in 'Abbas may be described as the result of inadvertence, emphasis may be laid on his wording. Nowhere does he say that Sher Shah assumed the title of Shah, rather, the wording is "he gained the surname of Shah", which means that his officers and soldiers gave him the title. On later occasions also, his officers called him Shah. In fact, events following the defeat of Quṭb Khāh show that his position was nothing but enviable. The victory was a turning point in his career and gave him a controlling position in the political affairs of Bihar. He conferred titles on his officers ; he did not give the "treasures, horse, elephants" (captured from Bengal) to his patron Jalāl Khān or his Lohānī partisans,[3] All Persian chroniclers agree that the Lohānīs entertained enmity against Sher Shāh and actually plotted his murder. But soon after, Jalāl Khān, his patron, including his Lohanī factions went over to Bengal and accepted service under the Bengal king. Left alone in undisputed authority, it is no wonder that he became the uncrowned king of Bihar. "After this," as 'Abbās says, "Sher Khān began to strengthen himself, and enlist more men. Wherever, there were any Afghāns, he sent to them, and gave them any money they

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1. 'Abbās, pp. 93-95.
2. Dorn, *History of the Afghans*, p. 99.
3. *Ibid*, pp. 93-94.

asked."[1] It is during this time that he was heard murmuring : "Please God, when I have dispersed the Bengal army, you will soon see, if I survive, how I will expel the Mughals from Hidustān".[2]

Though uncrowned king of Bihar, by no stretch of imagination can it be said that at this time Sher Shāh had assumed sovereignty. Because long after this event, we find that he propitiated Mīr Hindū Beg, the Mughal governor of Jawnpūr with rich presents to persuade him to give a favourable report to Humāyūn.[3] Similarly, while negotiating with Humāyūn on the latter's way to Bengal, Sher Shāh agreed to cede his whole acquisition in Bihar, if only he was given the kingdom of Bengal.[4] These are important instances to show that Sher Shāh did not assume sovereignty till Humāyūn proceeded towards Gaur after capturing Chunar i. e. till about the middle of 1538 or the beginning of 945.[5]

The failure of negotiatioon with Humāyūn and the latter's march towards Gaur changed Sher Shāh's mind. Dr. K. R. Qanungo has correctly shown that it was Humāyun and not Sher Shāh who was responsible for making a compromise impossible.[6] We reporoduce below a long passage from 'Abbās Sherwānī to show how Sher Shāh's mind was working after this incident : —.[7]

"When Sher Khān heard this intelligence, he entirely gave up all trust in the promises and faith of Humāyūn, and said to the envoy :— 'I have observed all loyalty to the Emperor and have committed no offience aginst him, and have not encroached upon his boundaries. When I got Bihār from the Lohanīs, and the king of Bengal formed a design to seize that

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1. 'Abbās, p. 51.
2. *Ibid*, p. 50.
3. *Ibid*, p. 70.
4. *Ibid*, p. 7 .
5. K. R. Qanungo : *Sher Shah*, p. 158 f.n.
6. *Ibid*, p. P. 162.
7. 'Abbās, pp-78-79.

country, I besought him most submissively to leave me as I was, and not to attempt to deprive me of Bihār. By reason of his large army and forces he would not attend to me, and since he thus oppressed me, the Almighty gave me the victory; and as he coveted the kingdom of Bihār, God wrested away from him also the kingdom of Bengal. The Emperor has only considered the word of the ruler of Bengal, and has overlooked the service I have rendered, and all the force of Afghāns which I have assembled for his service, and has marched against Bengal. When the Emperor besieged Chunar, the Afghāns urged me to oppose him, but I restrained them from declaring war and said. 'The Emperor is powerful; you would not fight with him for the sake of a fort, for he is my lord and patron, and when he perceives that, in spite of my powerful forces, I pay respects to him, he will understand that I am his loyal servant, and will give me a kingdom to maintain this large army. The Emperor desired the kingdom of Bihār. and I was willing to surrender it. But it is not the right way to govern a kingdom to separate so large a force from his service and in order to please their enemies, to ruin and slay the Afghāns. But since the Emperor takes no heed of all this good service, and has violated his promise, I have now no hope or means of restraining the Afghāns from opposing him. You will hear what deeds the Afghāns will do, and the march to Bengal will end in repentance and regret, for now the Afghāns are united, and have laid aside their mutual quarrels and envyings. The country which the Mughals have taken from the Afghāns, they got through the internal dissensions among the latter."

What the above passage reveals about the working of Sher Shāh's mind is corroborated by the writings of other Chorniclers like Ni'mat Allāh and 'Abd al-Qādir Badāyūnī.[1] Humāyūn's march to Gaur thus placed Sher Shāh in a desperate situation and he acted most wisely during this time. He first removed the treasures and wealth from Gaur to Rohtas and then turned

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1. cf. Dorn, *History of the Afghans*, p. 117; Badāyūnī :- *Muntakhāb al-Tawārikh*, vol. I, Bibliotheca Indica text, p. 347.

towards the west, expelled the Mughals from all places as far as Qanauj, established his own supremacy and collected revenues. During this period Humāyūn shut himself up in the fort of Gaur for nine months. But the news of Sher Shāh's overrunning the whole territory up to Qanauj and the rebellion of his own brother Mirzā Hindāl made him realise the situation. He ultimately left Bengal and proceeded towards Agra in about March 1539 (or about Shawāl, 945). According to Jauhar, before the Emperor reached Munghyr, news reached him that Sher Shāh already "took the title of Shah."[1] Dr. Qanungo did not find this statement of Jauhar in Sarkar's and rejects it.[2] We would have done the same but for its corroboration by coins. Obviously therefore Sher Shāh's assumption of sovereignty took place after his occupation of the whole country up to Qanauj. According to both Jauhar and 'Abbās Sherwānī[3] after his conquest of the whole country up to Qanauj, Sher Shāh gathered all his troops and concentrated them in the neighbourhood of Rohtas and was occupying the head of the road. Here in the neighbourhood of Rohtas, he built a fort near Bahrkhunda and gave it the name of Shergarh' the ruins of which are seen even today.[5] The fort is also in the neighbourhood of his paternal territory, Sasaram. His earliest coins were also issued from this place. Three different sources, Jauhar, 'Abbās and coins lead to the conclusion that Sher Shāh's accession took place in Shergarh. The date of accession may be put between the occupation of the country up to Qanauj and Humāyun's return march from Gaur i. e. from February[6] to March 1539 (i, e. Ramaḍān to Shawan, 945).

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1. *Tadhkirāt al-Wāqiat* translated by Stewart, p. 15.
2. Qanungo, *Sher Shah*, p. 440.
3. *Tadhkirāt al-Wāqiat*, translated by Stewart p. 15 ; Abbas p. 84.
4. 'Abbās, p. 143.
5. M. Hamid, *Ancient Monuments of Bihar and Orissa*, published by the Archaeological Survey of India, 1931. p. 133.
6. According to Dr. Qanungo's calculation *Sher Shah*, p. 177 f. n. Sher Shah occupied territory up to Qanauj from Octoḅer 1538 to Feb., 1539.

THE GROWTH OF THE CIVIL SERVICE IN BRITISH INDIA AND PAKISTAN

Dr. M. A. CHAUDHRI

Human institutions everywhere have their roots deep in the past. They cannot escape the categories of time. They are the product of hisiorical growth, slowly evolving under the stress of changing times and conditions. The Civil Service of Pakistan is no exception to this. In its structure and methods, it forms a direct continuation of the traditions of the Civil Service in British India. "The Civil Service of Pakistan is the successor in Pakistan of the Indian Civil Service, which was the most distinguished Civil Service in the world", states an official pamphlet.[1] To study its present organisation, it is useful to trace the history of its growth in British Inhia.

In British India, the Civil Service was the product of an evolutionary process. The mercantile service of the East India Company was transformed into a well organised Covenanted Civil Service when the Company became the ruling power with administrative responsibilties. The transference of power from the Company to the Crown did not affect the position of the Civil Service very much. With the passage of time, the demand of the educted Indians to en'er the higher service became persistent. The organisation and structure of the service began to grow complex. The service received in the course of its development the close attention of a few Commissions, and committees. The Act of 1919 inaugurating responsible govern-ment in British Indian provinces had an important effect on the Civil Servics. Finally, the Civil Service was divided between Pakistan and India after independence in 1947.

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1. Careers in the Pakistan Central Superior Services, issued by the Cabinet Secretariat, Establishment Divisions, Government of Pakistan, Karachi, 1954, p. 3.

The growth of the Civil Service in British India may be divided into four periods :

(a) a Mercanttle Service from 1601-1772 ;
(b) from 1772 up to the introduction of competitive examinations in 1855 ;
(c) from 1856 to the diminution of bureaucratic rule in 1920;
(d) from 1921 to 1947.

These divisions form no water-tight compartments. They are arranged more or less arbitrarily for the convenience of study.

I
(1601-1772)

From the beginning of its career up to the seventies of the eighteenth century, the East India Company had been primarily a mercantile corporation, and the pre-occupation of its servants was with trading activities. Only to a limited extent they carried on other functions such as legislative, judicial, administrative and municipal within the limits of their factories or trading settlements.

The servants of the Comany were divided into five grades, apprentices,[1] writers, factors, junior merchants and senior merchants. Writers were nominated by the Directors from 1714. The age of admission varied from time to time. There was no provision for the systematic training of the servants either at home or in India. The only qualifications that were insisted upon were a smattering of book-keeping, accountancy and good handwriting. Promotion from grade to grade went by seniority. On appointment they were to sign Covenants which embodied their conditions of service, rights and obligations. Hence the term the "Covenanted Civil Service."

The conditions of their service were adverse and unfavourable. Their salary was ridiculously low.[2] There was

1. The 'apprentices' were withdrawn from 1694, and from that date youths were appointed straightaway as writers.
2. "Warren Hastings in Bengal, 1772-72" by Jones, Monckton, M.E. (1918) p. 35.

also the lack of security of tenure. Suspensions and dismissals were frequent. Leave rules were quite unsatisfactary. Such adverse conditions of service in an uncongenial environment, away from the salutary influence of home, coupled with their young age, could not but prejudicially affect the morale of the servants. They supplemented their poor pay by engaging in private trade. Unscrupulousness and exploitation for wealth were resorted to by them. Presents and gifts were freely accepted. Abuses among them were rampant. There were rank corruption, greed, factious spirit, laxity in morals, gambling, negligence of duty, insubordination and indiscipline. Apart from the scanty remuneration, the political situation in India played a part in corrupting its servants. A moral nightmare came down on India with the disintegration of the mighty Mughal empire, and there was moral degradation among people and ruling classes.

II

(1772-1856)

With the assumption of direct responsibility for the administration of revenue in 1772,[1] the Company had to build up an administrative machinery and to find the personnel to staff and run it. The administrative machinery was completed by stages through a series of experimental measures. The process was started by Warren Hastings and completed by Cornwallis. Through a series of experiments, the districts gradually became the units of revenue administration, with collectorship as the permanent and main feature, and it remains so even today. In course of time Commissioners came to be appointed to supervise the work of district officers, and above them was set up a Board of Revenue. The administrative machinery for the administration of revenue and the maintenance of law and order began to develop. Many subordinate officers were also created to cope with the increasing activities.

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1. The 'Dīwānī' was conferred on the Company in 1765, but it did not stand forth as Dīwān until 1772.

Both Hastings and Cornwallis re-organised the judical system. In each district were set up two Courts—one Civil and the other Criminal. At the Presidency also were set up two Superior Courts—the Chief Civil Court and the Chief Criminal Court.

The Secretariat at the headquarters was very small; the majority of the employees were employed in the field organisation throughout the Company's territory. By the time Cornwallis assumed office, the headquarters establishment consisted of three departments, (i) general or public, (ii) revenue, and (iii) commercial, under two Joint Secretaries. In 1787 the Secretariat was reorganised under one Secretary General with three sub-secretaries to keep the records of three separate departments. With the passage of time an elaborate administrative machinery and an administrative hierarchy for the administration of revenue, civil and criminal justice and the maintenance of law and order grew up. Bombay and Madras built up an administrative machinery to suit their purposes.

In order to staff and run this administrative machinery, the Covenanted Civil Service of the Company was divided by Warren Hastings into two branches. One branch was to carry on the commercial functions, and the other to run the general administration. Under Cornwallis who further elaborated the structure, the Civil Service came to be organised under four main branches, (i) Public or General (ii) Revenue, (iii) Judicial, and (iv) Commercial.[1] There was no rigid line between them. The Act of 1793 reserved all Civil posts under the rank of Councillors for members of the Covenanted Civil Service Thus, a monopoly was created for them; but the exigencies of the public service renderd it impossible to maintain the monopoly. With the passage of time, the functions of the company began to expand. Hence, subordinate posts or offices for different purposes had to be created. Many special Departments also came into being, and these were to be staffed.

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1. The Civil Service in India (under the East India Company) by Dr. A.K. Ghosal (1944), p. 226.

It had been found necessary to confer many such appointments on other persons who were mostly military and uncovenanted officers.[1] There was no lega lsanction for many of these appointments. The position was reviewed in 1861 and an Act of the same year validated these appointments. It also reserved all the principal offices—administrative, revenue and judicial—for the Covenanted Civil Servants. Authorities in India were permitted, under special conditions, to appoint to such offices persons other than Covenanted Civilians.[2]

Thus, the Covenanted Civil Servants came to occupy all the higher Civil posts under the administration of the Company. Each Presidency had a separate branch of the Covenanted Civil Service, but the recruitment, training and conditions of the service were the same. The service in each Presidency adopted its name as its designation. Collectively and officially the service was known as the "Covenanted Civil Service of India."[3] Ordinarily there was no transfer from one Presidency to another and this caused great difficulties. In the eighties of the nineteenth century, the Government of India decided in favour of inter-presidency transfer.[4] Gradually, the Covenanted Civil Service became an All-India Civil Service.

As previously pointed out, the morale of the Company's servants was very low. Warren Hastings, Cornwallis and Wellesley made efforts to raise the morale, integrity and efficiency of the Covenanted Servants. Warren Hastings made a vigorous and loyal effort to amend and purify the service.[5] He increased their legitimate emoluments. He achieved considerable success in lifting the service out of the morass into which it had

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1. The Report of the Public Service Commission (1886-87) (C-5327, para 25, p, 11-12.
2. *Ibid*, para 36, p. 17-18.
3. O'Malley, The Indian Civil Service (1601-1930), London, 1931
4. Aitchison Commission op. cit. para 75, p. 54-55.
5. P. E. Roberts "The Early Reforms of Warren Hastings in Bengal", in 'Cambridge Hitory of India Chapter XI, Vol. V. Edited by H.H. Dodwell. (1929), p. 212.

fallen. The Act of 1773 contained several provisions which prohibited the Civil Servants from indulging in usury, gifts, extortion of money from Indians and other malpractices. These provisions were confirmed by the Act of 1784. But the enforcement of these Acts was a rather difficult job. The tradition of corruption was too strong. Hastings started the process on which Cornwallis built a better standard of conduct. Cornwallis took a number of measures in this diretion. First, the pay and allowances of the Civil Servants were substantiaIly raised to enable them to live a decent and comfortable life during and after office. The service was thus rendered highly attractive for young men of good calibre. Secondly, he fought against the abuses of patronage which was the mode of entry into the Company's Civil Service. Redundant establishments were reduced and sinecures were abolished. He went to the length of refusing candidates recommended by highly placed persons in Britain-[1] The Act of 1793 prohibited all appointments from outside the Covenanted Civil Service by reserving all Civil posts below the degree of Councillors for the members of the Covenanted Service. It thus reduced the area of patronage to some extent. The Act of 1833 incorporated the principle of limited competition to modify the unrestricted patronge of Directors. But the Diretors managed to postpone the operation of the Act of 1833. Thirdly, Cornwallis conferred all superior and higher posts on Europeans, as he entertained a very low opinion about the character and ability of Indians. Indians were thus excluded from all positions of trust and responsibility. He also strictly enforced the rules of discipline and conduct as embodied in the Covenants and in other documents.

As a result of their efforts, standards of morale and integrity went up. A great tradition of integrity, zeal and devotion to duty began to grow up.[2] Cornwallis' policy of excluding

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1. Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis of Cornwallis, by C. Rose. Vol. I (1859), p. 273.
2. The Admininstration of the East India Company : A History of Indian progress (2nd edition) by Caye, J.W. (1853) p.88.

Indians from all positions of trust and reponsibllity was not above criticism. The standard of public morality among Indians in the Company's service was none too high. The same was true of the European Covenanted Servants before his reform. Indians, if offered the same opportunity, could have shown simlar integrity and ability.

This brings to our mind the similar efforts made in Britain to raise the standards of the Civil Servants. From the closing decades of the eighteenth century started a process of the purification of the Civil Service. A strong tradition of integrity and devotion to duty began to grow up. Successful efforts were made to put an end to peculations. Sinecures were abolished.[1] The ideas of Burke and Bentham, the growth of the middle classes, and the efforts made to raise the educational standards contributed to the same process.[2]

Wellesley realised the necessity and importance of some kind of systematic education and training for the recruits to the Covenanted Civil Service. He drew up an elaborate scheme and sent comprehensive proposals to the Directors to this effect. He took the initiative in the matter and founded the College of Fort William in Calcutta in 1800 without waiting for their sanction.

The Central idea of his scheme of education and training was that the education of the Company's servants was to be of a mixed character, combining studies both Western and Oriental to suilt the needs of an administration based on Western principles. The aim was to provide liberal as well as specialised education and training. The syllabus was designed accordingly. It comprised humanities, science and Indian subjects. The Civilians were to be educated for three years in the College and to appear at two public examinations each year.

The Directors set their face against the College and refused to sanction the scheme. The Board of Control was

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1. The Growth of the British Civil Service (1780-1939) by Cohen, E.W. (1941) p. 22.
2. The Civil Service in the Changing State, by Greaces, H. R. G. (1947) p. 11-14.

convinced of the necessity of it, and after an acute controversy between the two bodies. the Dircctor under pressure, agr eed to continue the College for some time. The establishment of the College was drastically curtailed. It was whittled down to a mera school to teach native languages to young recruits to the Covenanted Service assigned to Bengal. The College was abolished in 1854. Similar arrangements were made in Madras to train the Civilians in native languages.

It was easy to wreck the College, but the fundamental idea which underlay the scheme of Wellesley could not be killed. His efforts bore fruit in 1806, when the Directors accepted his idea of education, and themselves founded the Haileybury College in England. The object was "to provide a supply of persons duly qualified to discharge the various and important duties required from the Civil Servants of the Company".[1] The institution was given a statutory status by the Act of 1813 which required that young men nominated by the Directors were to spend two years in it and to pass an examination before being confirmed to their appointments to writerships in India.

The courses of study were comprehensive. They included two groups of subjects, 'Europeans' and 'Orientals'. The 'Europeans' included classical languages aud mathematics. There was law, both general and Indian. Great emphasis was laid on political economy and general history. The 'Orientals' were mainly languages.[2] The college was designed, it would appear, more or less on the same principles and ideas as underlay Wellesley's original scheme for the College of Fort William. "There was a great deal at Haileybury that was borrowed from Fort William."[3] The College served as a partial corrective of abuses of the patronage system of recruitment to the Company's service.

Many of the witnesses, including alumni of the College, before the Parliamentary Enquiries of 1833 and 1853, extolled the

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1. The British Impact on India by Griffiths, Sir P. (C. I. E.) (1952). p. 192.
2. The Men who Ruled India (The Founders) by P. Woodruff (1953), p. 280-81. vol. II.
3. *Ibid*, p. 280.

institution as having eminently served its purpose. It supplied the special traihing needed cheap and well. It generated an *esprit de corps* among its students. "The best argument in favour of Haileybury was that it fostered a close family spirit, a unity of interest ; because of Haileybury, the Indian Empire was administered by men who knew each other and strove together in the friendly spirit of the Cook-House Football match. They trusted each other and worked for the Company, the Queen, and Team—what you will—but not exclusively for thhmselves, and that was why they overran India", observed Woodruff.[1] The tradition of loyalty and integrity among the Civil Servants was strengthened by the Haileybury Cyllege.[2] The critics pointed out that it fostered too much exclusiveness, narrowness of outlook and arrogance among the Civil Servants by cutting them off from the main stream of student life in Britain. The standard of education within the College was low. Education imparted was not liberal but professional and had to be adjusted to suit the age of young boys. It could not provide facilities for instruction in all subjects, a knowledege of which would have been necessary for their introduction to, and specific duties in, India.

With the introduction of open competition in 1853, as the mode of entry into Company's Civil Service, there was no place for an institution of this type. The College was abolished in December, 1857.

We may now turn our attention to a review of the system of recruitment to the Covenanted Civil Service. The system of nomination continued to be the mode of entry till the fifties of the nineteenth century. It was challenged by many critics from the thirties of the nineteenth century. Mr. Halt Mckenzie, a distinguished servant of the Company, vehhmently criticised the nomination system as it failed to send out competent

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1. The Men Who Ruled India, p. 285.
2. The I, C.S. (Indian Civil Service) by Blunt, Sir E. (1935) P. 35-6.

men to India for various high offices.[1] The main argument advanced in support of its replacement by open competition was that it would ensure "men of higher attainment in every branch of the service".[2] This increased efficiency, it was argued, would ensure the stability of British rule in India. Macaulay, who took a leading part in challenging the system of nomination, pointed out that "even the character of the Governor-Ceneral is less important than general character and spirit of the Servants by whom the administration of India is carried".[3]

When the question of replacing the patronage system by the open competitive principle was mooted in 1853, the Company raised all sorts of objections against it and sought to maintain the *status quo*. First, a written examination put a premium on mere academic ability and minimised such factors as personality and initiative on the part of the candidates. India needed no scholars as administrators but men of vigorous character and personality, and they could be recruited only by nomination. Second, it was pointed out that the competitive mode of entry by making the Civil Servants indepedent of their nomination would have a harmful effect on their discipline.[4] Finally, it was argued that open competition might lead to the increasing entry of Indians into the Covenanted Civil Service which was the keystone of the administrative arch in British India. This might weaken the British hold on the country.

The case for competitive examination was admirably put by Macaulay who in his classic and oft-quoted speech in the House of Commons in 1833 stated, "It is said, I know,

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1. Answers to Questions (52-56) March 2, 1832, Minutes of Evidence, pp. vol. IV of 1831-32.
2. Answer to Question 1372 (March 22, 1832) Minutes of Evidence, pp. vol. IX. of 1831-32.
3. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 24 June 1853, vol. CXXVII, p. 745.
4. See the correspondence between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control regarding the Bill for the Future Government of India in vol. LXXX, 1852-53, p. 89.

that examinations in Latin, in Greek, and in mathematics are no tests of what men will prove to be in life. I am perfectly aware that they are not infallible tests; but that they are tests I confidently maintain. Look at any walk of life, at this House—at the other House—at the Bar—at the Bench—at the Church and see whether it be not true, that those who attain high distinction in the world are generally men who were distinguished in their academic career.[1]"

The competitive system, it was argued, would widen the area of selection by opening up equal opportunity to all, at least theoretically. "The method of open competitive examination", observes Professor Robson, "is sound, democratic and equitable in that it treats all comers alike, regardless of the distinction of wealth and social rank, in that it judges men and women impersonally by their ability to carry out a specific performance, and in that it selects individuals, without reference to their family connections and inherited fortune, by the common rule of a prescribed test under known conditions".[2] It ensures, he further points out, the attainment of at least a "minimum standard of general education or of technical knowledge", on the part of the competitors, which constitutes the first essential of "an expert and efficient administration".[3]

Professor Robson has pointed out some defects of the written examination system. "The greatest defect of the written examination is, however, the fact that it can at most test but a single aspect of an individual's general capacity as a potential Civil Servant. Of his character and powers of endurance, of his address and resourcefulness, of his general demeanour and discretion, of his moral courage and loyalty, of his honesty

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1. Speeches and Documents on Indian policy (1750-1921) by Keith, A.P. (1922) vol. I. p. 152.
2. From Patronage to Proficiency in the Public Service (An Inquiry into Professional qualifications and the methods of recruitment in the Civil Service and Municipal Service) by Robson, W. A. (1922) (Fabian Society) p. 17.
3. *Ibid.*

of purpose and tactfulness, of his powers of co-operation and of creative invention, above all of his quality of mind and outlook—of these vitally important elements the written papers take no account".[1] Perhaps the case for the open competitive principle could not be better put than in the above statements. No exaggerated claim is made for the system, but what can be fairly claimed in favour of the competitive selection based on merit, as opposed to the nomination system based on favour, has been clearly stated. We endorse Professor Robson's view when he says that with all its defects, it is by far the most satisfactory method of recruitment.

Ultimately, the protagonists of the open competitive principle won the day. The Act of 1853 threw the Covenanted Civil Service open to competitive examination. This victory of the competitive system was due to a favourable climate of opinion prevailing in Britain during those days. Two factors contributed to this. First, the introduction of open competition at Oxford and Cambridge in regard to the award of Fellowships produced such encouraging results ae to create a powerful impression in favour of the principle. "That the rewards of competition be given to the most worthy is a principle now so deeply penetrating the moral life of Cambridge that its violation seems almost beyond the region of thought", stated the Royal Commission on Cambridge University.[3] The dons were ready to lend their support to the campaign against privilege elsewhere. Secondly, the growth of the middle classes in Britain in the wake of the industrial revolution was generating a new atmosphere in which privilege and patronage in different fields were being increasingly challenged. The middle classes who became a dominant force in British political life wanted a strong, stable and efficient administrative machinery in India, so that trade and commerce with her could be fully exploited. An efficient administration, they thought, could be

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1. Robson, W.A. op. cit p. 19.
2. W.A. Robson op. cit. p. 21-22.
3. Royal Commission on Cambridge University, B.P.P. Vol XLIV, 1852-53. p. 210-11.

achieved by recruiting its personnel on the basis of merit. The impetus to competitive principle came from these as well.

It will not be out of place here to mention that a campaign for the introduction of the open competitive examination for recruitment to the British Civil Service was started in the middle of the ninteenth century. This movement was partly inspired by the application of the competitive mode of entry into the Convenanted Civil Service in British India in 1855.[1] The process culminated in the Northcote-Trevelyan Report presented to the British Parliament in 1854, recommenhing the adoption of the competitive examination in place of nomination.[2] This principle of selection by open competition as advocated in the Report was, as aptly remarked by Sir Laurence Helsby, "in accord with the social and educational movements of the time, and reflected the stirrings of the growing middle class against privilege."[3] But Parliament was not as yet ready to apply this principle to the British Civil Service, although a year earlier they had done so in regard to the Indian Civil Service. The reason was obvious. It would adversely affect their own power of patronge on which depended parlly not only the smooth functioning of the party in power, but also the election of some members to Parliament itself. In the case of British India, the power of patronage of a smal. number of merchants was being taken away. But ultimately the British Government had to adopt the principle, and in 1870 Gladstone issued an order in Council prescribing open competition as the basis of recruitment in all departments except a few.

With a view to giving effect to the provisions of the Act of 1853, a Committee was appointed with Macaulay as

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1. Higher Civil Servants in Britain (from 1870 to the present Day), by Kelsall, R.K. (1955), p. 59.
2. This document is called the "Report on the Organisation of the Permanent Civil Service", pp. Vol. XX. 1954-5.
3. L. Helsby "The Recruitment to the Civil Service", in W. A. Robson (edited) The Civil Service in Britain and France (1956), p. 36.

president for making detailed regulations regarding the system of selection and appointment of candidates. The Committee made two main recommentations.[1] Firstly, the competitive examination was to be a test of general education and ability of candidates. It was not to be a test of any specialised knowledge. This was advocated on the following grounds. Work in India required the exercise of the "higher powers of mind" which could be developed only by the "best, the most liberal and the most finished education".[2] This type of education was needed also in Britain for every calling involving the exercise of the "higher powers of mind". Moreover, a competitive examination based on general education would ensure that "no candidate who may fail shall, to whatever calling he may betake himself, have any reason to regret the time and labour which he spent in preparing himself to be examined".[3]

The syllabus and age-limits were designed accordingly, The syllabus comprised mostly European literature, science and languages, classical and modern. Only two Oriental subjects—Sanskrit and Arabic—were included. The committee recommended 18 years as the minimum and 23 years as the maximum age for admission into the open competitive examination, and this was expected to enable the graduates of the various British Universities to compete for the Covenanted Civil Service.

The second main recommendation of the Committee was with regard to the training of successful candidates. The period of probation was to be not less than one year and more than two years.[4] The Committee recommended that the theoretical training should be in Britain, while the practical one could be given on the job itself in India. The theoretical training in Britain was to consist of instruciion in Indian History, the science of jurisprudence, commercial and financial science, and the Oriental

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1. Report on the Indian Civil Service 1854, publlshed in the Parliamentary papers, Vol. LV. 1876.
2. *Ibid*, p. 24.
3. *Ibid*, p. 25.
4. *Ibid*. p. 29.

languages.[1] There was to be an examination after this specialised training and those who passed it would be confirmed in their appointments and sent out to India.

The report of the Committee is a very valuable document : it marks an important epoch in the history of the Civil Service in British India. Modifications, no doubt, were made from time to time to meet the changing conditions, but the basic idea that the competitive examination should be a test of general academic nature, - a test of mental powers and resources,—has survived even today for the Civil Service of Pakistan. The emphasis of the report on the "excellent general education" and the practical training of the new recruits was of great significance. They could, however, claim no originality in this respect because the idea of training started with Wellesley as we have seen earlier. But the Committee gave it a forceful and fresh interpretation in the light of the conditions of the mid-nineteenth century.

The effect of this fundamental change on the Civil Service in British India was remarkable. It determined the essential character of the Indian Civil Service. 'Be this as it may, the open competition has conditioned the I. C. S. for nearly a hundred years and it has at least guaranteed high intellectual standards", writes Sir Percival Griffiths.[2] The Covenanted Civil Service became a full-fledged Civil Service in the modern sense of the term.

The employment of military officers in superior posts reserved for the Covenanted Civilians was a special feature of the Service structure, as it developed in the Non-Regulation Provinces.[3] The

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1. *Ibid*, p. 27-98.
2. The British Impact an India (1952) bp Griffiths, Sir P. (C. I. E. p. 192.
3. The Non-Regulation provinces were those areas of British India where the laws passed by the Governor-Genearl in Council, called Regulations, were not applicable owing to the low level of culture and unsettled conditions. These less advanced areas were governed under more simple rules and procedure made by the Executive to suit .ocal condition.

rapid expansion of British power in India and the shortage of Covenanted Civil Servants led to the growth of this phenomenon. The army officers were also appointed to certain special posts in some special departments for other reasons as well. For certain posts men of specialised qualifications were not available in sufficient numbers in the open market, as technical and professional education was in the initial stage of development. Again, in some special departments, such as medical and public works departments, places had to be found for army officers to maintain a peace-time reserve for war.

The employment of military officers in civil posts caused resentment among civilians, both Covenanted and un-Covenanted. These appointments adversely affected their promotion prospects.[1] Covenanted Civilians complained that army officers lacked good brains and manners. The handsome salary paid to the army officers excited the jealousy of the uncovenanted Civil Servants because they were paid less for the same work. From the seventies of the nineteenth century the appointment of army officers in Civil posts began to decline.[2] The main reason was that the non-Regulation areas became more settled and adopted methods similar to those obtaining in Regulation areas. The employment of military officers in special departments began to be curtailed with the increasing availability of men with technical qualifications in the open market.

We may now pass on to the other important feature of the service organisation, that is, the growth of what came to be known as the uncovenanted branch of the Civil Service. The term 'uncovenanted' was probably used originally to distinguish

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Gradually the system was given up as the people became more advanced in the scale of civilisation. The distinction between the Regulation and non-Regulation areas ceased to exist towards the end of the nineteenth century.

1. The I. C.S. (The Indian Civil Service), by Blunt, Sir E. (1937)
2. O Malley, op. cit. p. 51, and 92-93,

the uncovenanted Civil Servants from the Covenanted ones.[1] The expansion of the Company's territories, the increasing activities of the Government and the limited number of the Covenanted Civil Servants compelled the authorities to appoint persons from outside the covenanted service in increasing numbers.

It was, however, inaccurate to characterise it as the uncovenanted Civil Service for the following reasons. First, quite a few of them entered into Covenants with the Secretary of State at the time of their appointment.[2] Second, it did not constitute any organised Civil Service as did the Covenanted Civil Service. The uncovenanted Civil Servants costituted various categories with different grades, conditions of service and different methods of recruitment. Hence the term 'uncovenanted' is scarely applicable to a body which included many different classes.[3] Third, the members of the superior grades of the uncovenanted Civil Service were on the same social level as the Covenanted Civilians.[4] One group of the uncovenanted Civil Servants held lower executive and judicial posts and worked under the Covenanted Civilians. Another category of them was appointed in the various special departments, such as Salt, Opium, Education, Public Works and Forest, and so on.[5] Some of them again held miscellaneous types of higher posts.[6] On occasions they were appointed to responsible offices which had been so long the monopoly of the Covenanted Civilians. Many such appointments not warranted by law (Act of 1793) had to be made because of sheer necessity and of economy, and these were regularised by the Act of 1861,

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1. Report of the Public Service Commission (Aitchison Commission) (1886-87) 6-5327, p. 54.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Statement on the Uncovenanted Civil Service in India (prepared by thc Committcc of the Uncovenanted Civil Service Association, London, on bchalf of thc Scrvice), 1887. p.1.
4. *Ibid.*
3. Aitchison Commission, op. cit. (1886-87) para 46. p. 22-23
6. *Ibid*, para 56, p. 35.

Most of the uncovenanted servants were appointed by nomination. In some cases, nomination was tempered by a limited competition, and in a few cases there was open competition.[1] As most of them were Indians, it was felt that competition was not desirable owing to the educational backwardness and unevenness in the country. This was resented by educationally advanced Indians. Even in Britain, nomination was resorted to for the recruitment of uncovenanted servants to technical and special posts in India, and the reason for this was the dearth of men with technical qualifications.

The conditions of service prescribed for different categories of uncovenanted servants were not always satisfactory. Their pay was often not adequate, and other conditions of service were not quite reasonable. This gave rise to discontent among them. They memorialised the Government for the revision of the conditions of their service. European uncovenanted servants started a vigorous agitation and their efforts bore fruit gradually. On the whole it would not be unreasonable to state that much less attention was paid by authorities to the problems of the uncovenanted Civil Servants.

III
(1856-1920)
Representation of Indians in the higher branches of the Civil Service

The Indianisation of the higher services had long been a controversial question, and the controversy became acute as the Indians had no place in the Covenanted Civil Service for a long time to come. The policy of keeping the higher administrative posts in British hands was strongly criticised by some far-sighted British Administrators in British India. Munro believed that the effective method of educating Indians for ultimate self-government was to employ them in "important situations" and to render

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1. AitchisonCommission, para 49, p. 24-25.

them eligible for almost "any office under Government."[1] Malcolm, Elphinstone and Henry Lawrence held the same view.[2] With the spread of Western education in British India in the thirties of the last century, Indians who took advantage of it began to demand more employment in superior posts. The Act of 1833 prescribed that no Indian would be disabled from holding any office in the administration on account of religion, place of birth, descent, or colour.[3] But the clause remained a "dead letter"[4] as it afforded no opportunity to the Indians to enter the Covenanted Civil Service.

When the Act of 1853 introduced the competitive examination as the mode of entry into the Covenanted Civil Service, it was thought by Macaulay and others that Indians would be able to come by the open door. In actual practice, the difficultles of travel questions of finance, religious objections among the Hindus against sea voyages, lack of educational facilities in British India, comparative ignorance in British India of the conditions of life in Britain, and the unwillingness of parents to send their sons to a foreign country at a very young age, created obstacles preventing Indians from competing for the Covenanted Civil Service on equal terms with British candidates. Only one Indian entered thr Covenanted Civil Service in 1864 and by 1836 ther were twelve Indians in it. Necessarily the educated sections of the Indians were disappointed by the working of the competitive examination.[5] Their hopes had been raised by the declaration of Queen Victoria in 1858 to the effect that Indians would be admitted freely and impartially to offices on the basis of education, ability and integrity, irrespective of caste or creed.[6] It

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1. Quoted in 'The Making of British India', by Muir, Ramsay, (1915), p. 284.
2. British and India (1600-1941) by Coupland, R., p. 37.
3. *Vide* Clause 87 of the Act of 1833.
4. The Government of India, by MacDonald, J. R. p. 102.
5. O'Malley, op. cit. p. 210.
6. Quoted in "The Making of British India", by Muir, Ramsay (1951).

was necessary, observes Coupland, to make a serious effort to admit Indians to higher services, but that effort was not made.[1]

From the late fifties of the nineteenth century the demand for the Indianisation of higher services assumed two forms, the simultaneous examinations, and the raising of the age-limits. It became the subject of agitation in both countries. In British India the demand came from the educated Hindus and Parsis. The Muslims, as a community, held aloof from it because of their educational backwardness.[2] In England the agitation found a leader in Dadabhai Nawrozi. In 1860 a Committee appointed by the Secretry of State recommended in favour of simultaneous examinations ; but the Government refused to take any action on it. The maximum age of candidates for the Covenanted Civil Service had been reduced from twenty one years to nineteen years in 1878, and it pressed hardly on the Indian candidates.[3] This reduction in the age-limit added to the grievance of educated Indians, and they began to agitate both for simultanous examinations and for the raising of the age-limits.

The authorities, instead of conceding these two demands, sought to tackle the problem in a different manner. In 1870 an Act was passed authorising the appointment of Indians to the higher offices by nomination. After nine years of travail rules were made under the Act in 1879 which allowed one-fifth of the vacancies in the Covenanted Civil Service to be filled by nomination in British India. To give effect to this scheme the number of appointments in the Covenanted Civil Service made on the result of the competitive examinations was reduced by one sixth in 1886. Thus, the statutory Civil Service was brought into existence. The nominees were appointed to specific posts but did not belong to any organised service. The selection

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1. India - A Re-statement by Coupland, R. (1945) p. 47.
2. 'The Development of the Service (1858-1918) by Lovett, in 'The Cambridge History of India", vol. VI, Ed. by H.H. Dodwell (1932) p. 366.
3. 'A Nation in Making Being the Reminiscences of Fifty Years of Public Life' by Banerjea, Sir S.N. (1925), p. 44.

of Statutory Civilians by means of nomination was not regarded favourably by the educated Indians. Their salary was not equal to that of the Covenanted Civilians. The Statutory Civil Service was regarded as of an inferior status and position. In all, sixty-nine Statutory Civilians were appointed. "The Statutory Civil Service had proved a failure as a means of admitting Indians to higher services", wrote Sir Lovett.[1]

In 1879 instructions were issued by the Government of India and the Secretary of State to appoint Indians in increasing numbers to the higher offices in the un-Covenanted Civil Service, carrying a salary of Rs. 200/- and upwards a month. Non-Indians could be appointed to these posts with the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council or that of the Secretary of State in Council. But this did not apply to appointments in certain special departments (public works, survey, police, etc.) owing to the sacrcity of qualified Indians to hold such posts.

The educated Indians were not satisfied with the policy of the Government in regard to their employment in the superior posts. Their ambitions and aspirations were stimulated by the growth of western education, and the influx of European ideas into British India. The Indian National Congress became a platform for these demands, and passed a resolution in favour of simultaneous examinations in 1885, which was re-affirmed in subsequent years. The Government of India decided to institute a public inquiry into this and other problems of the public services, and this led to the appointment of the Aitchison Commission in 1886.

The Aitchison Commission, 1886-87

The Government of India appointed a Public Service Commission in 1886 under the chairmanship of Sir C. U. Aitchison with instructions, broadly speaking, "to devise a scheme which may reasonably be hoped to possess the necessary elements of finality,

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1. The Cambridge History of Indian, vol. VI. op. cit. (1932) p. 365.
2. Aitchison Commission, op. cit. (1886-87) para. 48, P. 23.

and to do full justice to the claims of the Natives of India to higher and more extensive employment in the public Service".[1]

The Commission went exhaustively into the Indian demand for simultaneous examinations for the Covenanted Civil Service to be held both in England and British India, and rejected it on the following grounds[2] Firstly, it was understood that the competitive examination was "to bear a distinctively English character, and to constitute a test of English qualifications", and as such, should be held in England, the centre of the educational system on which it was based. As education in British India was in a backward state, here educational institutions could not produce men of a high and liberal education, contemplated as a necessary qualfication for admission to the Indian Civil Service. British India needed men of first class Western education for higher administration. Indian youths willing to compete for the Covenanted Civil Service should spend a period in the stimulating and invigorating atmosphere of Bri tain. Secondly, it was held that the spread of Western education was so uneven among the various communities in British India that the introduction of the open competition for the Covenanted Civil Service there, would produce "inequality of a more marked kind" as it would give undue advantange to some classes and would exclude other important classes altogether, Thirdly, it was held that its effect on the development of education would be injurious. Many private establishments for this purpose would be created. The regular educational institutions would hardly be able to resist the temptation of shaping their course of study to suit the Indian Civil Service Examination. The standard of education would suffer. Fourthly, *it* was pointed out that it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to maintain the secrecy of examination papers. Firstly, it would not be possible to secure either uniformity of tests or a high

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1. Report of the public Service Commission (Aitchison Commission) 1886-87, para 1, p. 1.
2. *Ibid*, para 60, P. 39-42.

standard in conducting the viva voce examination owing to the lack of qualified examiners in British India·

The Commission, however, made two recommenations to remove some of the handicaps of the Indian candidates. The age-limit then was a handicap to Indian Candidates. The Commission recommended that the maximum age-limit must be raised, and that the minimum and maximum limits of age should be 19 and 23 years respectively.[1] The second suggestion of the Commission was in regard to the syllabus for examination. Indians complained that the marks assigned to Sanskrit and Arabic—the two classical languages of British India—did not adequately represent their educational value as compared with the Western classical languages. They demanded that the marks assigned to Sanskrit and Arabic should be made equal to those assigned to Latin and Greek. The Commission recommended that marks assigned to these two languages should be increased. The Commission did not accept that Indian demand to include the chief vernacular languages of British India among the subjects of examination.

The statutory Civil Service had failed to fulfil the purpose of its existence. It could not attract men of rank and social position and fair education because the higher classes showed no eagerness to enter it. It had neither the status nor the prestige of the Covenanted Civil service. It failed to satisfy the aspirations of educated Indians for higher posts. The Commission recommended its abolition [2]

The Commission recommended new measures to secure to Indians "higher and more extensive employment in the public service". It was suggested that the number of posts reserved under the Act of 1861, for the Covenanted Civilians, should be reduced, and the posts so set free be transferred to a local service, to be called the provincial Civil Service, and to be recruited separately for India in each province.[3] The cadre of the

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1. Aitchison Commission para 62 p. 42-46
2. *Ibid.* paras 67-72, p. 49-53
3. *Ibid.*

Covenanted Civil Service should be reduced to a corps d'elite by limiting its numbers to what was necessary to fill the chief administrative appointments and also such a number of smaller appointments as would ensure a complete course of training for the junior Civilians. It would continue to be recruited in Britain.[1] "The Covenanted Civil Service of India", the Commission suggested, "should be renamed the Imperial Civil Service of India". The terms 'Covenanted' and 'uncovenanted' were inaccurate, misleading and unscientific and should be abandoned as such.[2]

The posts released by the reduction of the schedule reserved for the Covenanted Civilians were to be amalgamated with the higher posts in the exectuive and judicial branches of the existing un-covenanted Service. In each province these posts should be knit into a regular service to be called the provincial Civil Service. The lower administrative posts below the proposed provincial service, but above the ministerial grades, were to be organised into a new service to be called the "Subordinate Service'. Vacancies in the Provincial Civil Service should be filled partly by promotion and partly by recruitment. In each province the rule for recruitment to the subordinate civil service should be carefuly revised to meet the requirements of the changed situation.[3] The salaries of the members of the provincial civil service should be fixed on independent grounds, and should have no relation to those attached to the members of the Imperial Civil Service.[4] The terms of service and pension rules were to be properly laid down.[5] Adequate provision for the training of recruits to the provincial service should be made.[6] The members of the provincial civil service, the Commission suggested, should be on a "footing of social equality" with those of the Covenanted Civil Service.[7]

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1. Aitchison Commission para 73. p. 53.
1. *Ibid*, para 75. p. 54-55.
3. *Ibid*, para 82, p. 62-3.
4. *Ibid*, para 86. p. 66.
5. *Ibid*, p. 67.
6. *Ibid*, para 82. p. 64.
7. *Ibid*, para p. 75,

The Commission made a number of recommendations with regard to the special departments. They suggested that higher posts should be organised into an appropriate Imperial Service, the middle ones into a Provincial Service, and the lower ones into a Subordinate Service, wherever possible. The Imperial branch was to be materially reduced and recruited exclusively from Britain. Indians were to predominate in the other two branches. The rule as to qualifications, recruitment, probation and general conditions of service in regard to the Provincial Branch of this service should be similar to those proposed for the Provincial Services.

The recommendations were implemented by the Government with a few modifications. The name of the Covenated Civil Service was changed not to the "Imperial Civil Service", but to the "Civil Service of India". It was popularly known as the Indian Civil Service, or the I. C. S. The cadre of the Covenanted Civil Service was not reduced to transfer some scheduled posts to the Provincial Civil Service. A certain number of posts in the schedule were thrown open to the members of the Provincial Civil Service, anh came to be known as "listed posts" to which officers of that service in each province could be appointed direct without any of them being transferred to the cadre of the Civil Service of India. Well-organised services in addition to the existing well-knit Covenanted Civil Service such as as the Provincial Civil Service and the Subordinate Civil Service came into existence. There was a considerable improvement in efficiency of administration. "The reforms which they introduced undoubtedly resulted in a great improvement in the standard of every service", observed the Islington Commission.[1]

In the first decade of the twentieth century many important changes were slowly beginning to manifest themselves in the public services of British India. The Royal Commission upon Decentralisation[2] made comprehensive suggestions for the relaxation

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1. Report of the Royal Commission on the Public Services in India. (1912-1916). 1917 Cd. 8382, Para 7 p. 11.
2. Report of the Royal Commission upon Decentralisation in India, 1909, Cd. 4360, Para 154-159, p. 62-66.

of the control of the Central Government over Provincial Governments with regard to the organisation of the provincial and subordinate services. The police service received the close attention of the Commission in 1905. A well-organised police service—Imperial police service consisting of Europeans recruited entirely in England, and Provincial and Subordidate services recruited exclusively in British India—came into existence on the implementation of their recommendations.[1] Lord Curzon made vigorous efforts and took a number of measures to organise a few departments. He also effected a number of reforms in revising and simplifying the methods and procedure of administration. His efforts began to bear fruit gradually.

The effects of these changes on the service arising out of the recommendations of the Aitchison Commission, the Fraser Commission upon Decentralisation, and the efforts of Lord Curzon were significant. By the beginning of the twentieth century British India had been equipped with a highly organised trained and professional Civil Service in all important departments of the Governmet "fully geared to the growing complexities of administration." The administration reached new levels of efficiency and integrity." Sir John Strachey also spoke of the high standards of efficiency and integrity prevailing in British India among European Civil Servants and Indians too.[3]

Indians were not satisfied with the recommendations made by the Aitchison Commission and the action taken on them in regard to their representation in the higher administration. The system of "Listed posts" as a means of employing Indians in higher offices was far from satisfactory. Firstly, the men appointed to the 'Listed posts' did not pass into the higher service and therefore always remained inferior. Secondly, the persons appointed were too old to fill their places with energy and

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1. Report of the Indian Police Commission (Fraser Commission) 1905, Paras 54, 58, 61, 64, p. 38-39, 41-3, 44-5, 47-9, and 50.
2. Griffiths, Sir Percival, op. cit., p. 202.
3. India—Its Administration and Progress, by Strachey, Sir J, (1911) p. 91.

drive. Thirdly, the men had fallen into grooves of the provincial Service and had lost self-confidence and initiative. The system of the Provincial Service could not adequately meet the Indian aspirations for higher employment.[1] The demand for simultaneous examinations had been kept alive. In 1893 the House of Commons passed a Resolution in favour of it. To this Resolution the Government did not consider it either necessary or desirable to give effect. But the agitation for the representation of Indians in the higher administration went on.

The Islington Commission (1912-1915). 1917

The Indian demand for simultaneous examinations for the I. C. S. remained unfulfilled. In 1911 a notable debate took place in the Imperial Legislative Council, which brought to a head the agitation which had long been growing among politically conscious Indians for a larger share in the higher services. The progress in this respect was very slow. There was a remarkable change in the attitude of the Muslims towards the question of simultaneous examinations from what it had been in 1886-87. Almost all of the outstanding and eminent Muslim leaders, Mr. M. A. Jinnah (later on Quaid-e-A'zam), His Highness the Aga Khan, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq and others joined their weighty voices with those of the leaders of the Congress in demanding simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service. The structure of the Services had grown considerably complex and needed some examination. There was a great rise in price levels affecting the purchasing power of money and consequently relief had to be given to the European members of the various services. An inquiry into the salary structure and other conditions of the Services became necessary. Once more the Government resorted to the usual expedient, and appointed a public service commission under the chairmanship of Lord Islington in 1912.

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1. Macdonald, J. R., op. cit.

The Commission in their approach to the various issues before them were guided by three main considerations :—[1] (a) the need of maintaining high standards of civil administration in British India, (b) the need to safeguard the paramount interests of British rule. and (c) the desirability of satisfying the reasonable aspirations of Indians and of promoting harmonious relations between Indians and Europeans for the sake of good government.

The Commission made a number of suggestions in regard to organisation.[2] The services should be organised, where necessary, into higher and lower branches on the basis of work and not on the basis of race or salary or any other artificial distinction. The Civil Servants promoted from a lower to a higher service should be treated identically with those directly recruited and should be made full-fledged members of the service, except in the case of the I. C. S. In regard to the practice of employing army officers on civil duties, they proposed its discontinuance, except in a few departments (medical, public works, railway, etc.,) where their employment was necessary to maintain a war reserve of officers or for efficiency. The Commission approved of the existing practice of the employment of I. C. S. officers in higher administrative posts even in special departments (post office, salt, finance, customs, etc) in the interest of inter-departmental co-ordination and general efficiency. It was inaccurate, the Commission pointed out, to designate the services under the Imperial Civil Service working under the Central Government as Provincial Services. These should be termed Central Services The Services, on the other hand, which were organised provincially and which were working under provincial governments should bear the name of their province. In other words there were to be four categories of Civil Service—Imperial, Central, Provincial and Subordinate.

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1. Report of the Royal Commission on the public Service in India (Islington Commission), (1912-1915), 1917, Cd. 8382. para 23, p. 18.
2. *Ibid.*, paras 24-30, p. 1821.

The Commission enquired into the problem of recruitment to the various services from the point of view of place, fixation of proportion for Indians, and the methods. As regards the place of appointment, higher services were divided by the Commission into four groups.[1] Firstly, there were the Services which were to be recruited exclusively in British India. Secondly, there were the Indian Civil Service and Indian Police Service. These Services were to be recruirted predominantly in Britain, though some recruitment was to be made in British India for the first time. In the third group should come services like education, medical, public works, engineering, etc. and those should be recruited partly in Britain and partly in British India "on grounds of policy and efficiency". An admixture of both the Eastern and Western elements in these services was necessary to promote better understanding between the two communities. In the fourth group should be placed certain scientific and technical services to be recruited both in Britain and British Ind.a. Eventually, the normal recruitment of these services would be met in British India. In the meantime some recruitment was to be made in Britain owing to the lack of technically qualified men in British India. Efforts should be made to develop technical education in British India.

These recommendations about the place of recruitment would, it was hoped, facilitate the admission of Indians in increasing numbers to the higher branches of the various services.

The Commission made detailed recommendations in regard to the fixatic n of specific proportions for Indians in those services which were to be recruited partly in Britain and partly in British India. In making appointments to the various services, the Government should keep in mind, the Commission suggested, the desirability of providing for the representation of the various communities in the services. The power of nomination should be properly utilised for this.[3]

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1. Report of the Islington Commission para 31-2. p. 22-3.
2. *Ibtd*, para 36, p. 27.
3. *Ibid*, para 46, 31-33.

The Commission were of opinion that the time was not ripe for the general adoption of open competition.[1] The commission recommended that the nomination system was to continue for recruitment to the services. The main reason for this was the backward state of Western education in British India. Not only this, English education was diffused unevenly among the different communities and among different provinces. In a situation like this, recuitment through competitive examinations would exclude from public services important sections of the Indian population. The Commission argued that with the improvement of education, the competitive system could be adopted with advantage.[2] The change-over from nomination to competition must not be too sudden and must be warranted by the existing conditions. The nomination systen was to be carried on with the following safeguards against its likely abuses.[3] Firstly, the impartiality of the selecting agency was to be above suspicion. Secondly, adequate and full publicity was to be given to the vacancies to be filled, to attract a large number of candidates. Thirdly, the credentials of candidates were to be submitted to expert scrutiny. Fourthly, no outside pressure was to be brought to bear on the authorities responsible for making the choice. Fifthly, all recruits must possess a minimum of educational qualifications. Finally, nomination was to be carried on with the help of a Selection Commitee composed of officials and non-officials. It was also suggested that the nomination system should be tempered by limited competition. Direct rectuitment was to be supplemented by promotion from lower services. But the Commission did not want too much emphasis to be put on promotion as a method of recruitment, as it was likely to jeopardise intiative, vigour and freshness of outlook.[4]

Definite principles were enumerated by the Commission in regard to the determination of the salary structure of the various

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1. Report of the Islintgon Commission para 42, p. 30.
2. *Ibid*, para 42. p. 30.
3. *Ibid*, par 37. p. 27-8.
4. *Ibid*, para 44, p. 30-1

Acc. No. 11

Civil Servants. The criterion recommended by the Commission was that "Government should pay so much, and so much only to their employees as is necessary to obtain recruits of the right system, and to maintain them in such a degree of comfort and dignity as will shield them from temptation and keep them efficient for the term of their service.[1]" Detailed suggestions were made for the application of this principle to the various categories of the Civil Servants. In some services, different rates were to be paid to Indians and Europeans for the same type of work. The services recruited wholly in British India were to carry salaries in accordance with Indian conditions. In certain services no distinction in pay was to be made on racial grounds. Indians recruited in Europe should be paid as Europeans.[2] The graded system of pay was to be replaced by incremental scales based on the compartment system.[3] In short, the revision of the pay scale was to take place on the basis not only of the general rise in prices but also on racial grounds, with some exceptions.

The Commission also made elaborate suggestions for the revision of other terms and conditions of service. Rules relating to allowances of different kinds were to be simplified and rationalised.[4] The separate leave rules for the Europeans and Indians were to be simplified.[5] The pension rules were to be liberalised. The members of the Indian Civil Service who, unlike other categories of Civil Servants, had to contribute to their pension fund, were not to do so in future. The possibility of instituting family pensions for certain groups of higher civil servants was to be explored The system of family pensions already existed for the I. C. S. officers.[6] These recommendations were likely to improve and simplify considerably the various terms and conditions of service.

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1. Report of the Islington Commission para 49, p. 34.
2. *Ibid*, para 53-57 p. 36-39.
3. *Ibid*, para 51, p. 35.
4. *Ibid*, paras 60-71.
5. *Ibid*, paras 74-82, p. 49-54.
6. *Ibid*, paras 87-96, pp. 55-60.

The Commisson made an exhaustive inquiry into the public services in British India and recorded an immense volume of evidence, official and non-official in each province. The report was completed in 1915, but owing to the outbreak of World War I it was not published till 1917. Some of the suggestions made by the Commission were very valuable. The proposals regarding the reorganisation of the structure of the Civil Service were quite useful. But the recommendation of the Commission about the continuation of the nomination system as the mode of recruitment was probably not commendable. The Indian witnesses of all closes, communities and shades of opinion were opposed to the nominat on system.[1] The emphasis put by the Commission on communal and provincial representation in superior services was not perhaps quite sound, and was not liked by the majority of Indian witnesses.[2] The racial discrimination introduced into the salary structure was not perhaps conducive to the morale of the Civil Servants. Indians resented the violation of the principle of equal pay for equal work. They also objected to the increase of salaries as these put a great burden on the exchequer which was too inadequate for development purposes. The proposals of the Commission regarding the representation of Indians in large numbers in higher services fell short of Indian aspirations. The effect of the report, stated the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report "was to irritate rather than to satisfy Indian opinion".[3]

The Government could not take immediate action on the recommendations of the Commission because of the 1914-18 war. By about 1919-20, many of its recommendations had begun to be put into practice, with such modifications as seemed desirable in the light of the changing conditions. Most of the Civil Servants were of the view that full account was not taken of the rise in price levels. The recommendations of the Commission

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1. See the Minutes of Evideuce taken by the Commission.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Report on Indian Constitutional reforms (Montagu Chelmsford Report), Crnd. 0119,. 1918, para 12 p. 10.

regarding the entry of Indians into higher services became out-moded before they were implemented,owing to a very momentous statement made in the House of Commons on August 20, 1917, about the goal of British policy is British India. "The policy of His Majesty's Governmeet, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration, and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire "[1]

The effect of this historic announcement was to transfer authority gradully to Indian hands. The "system of absolute government" would yield to responsible government which till then was unknown in the chequered history of British India. The need for the Indianisation of higher administration became urgent and essential. The introduction of responsible govern-ment in British Indian provinces would lead to the progressive curtailment of bureaucratic rule. The announcement marked the end of "one epoch", and the beginning of a new chapter in the history of the Civil Service in British India.

IV
(1921—1947)
The Montagu - Chelmsford Report, 1918

We may now examine the views of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report on the Civil Service. The report focussed attention on the following things regarding the Civil Service.

The report advocated a liberal policy in regard to the admission of Indians into higher administration. The development of responsible government which was to be introduced in British India for the first time, would depend on the extent to which Indians were associated with higher administration. Practical ex-perience in higher administration would not only make Indians sober, realistic and mature in their outlook and judgment but

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1. Montagu Chelmsford Report para 6. p. 5.

would provide British India with public men versed in the whole "art of government". The report, however, struck a note of caution by insisting that too rapid Indianisation might impair the tradition and standards of the Civil Servants. A leaven of British elements in the I.C.S. and in other higher services would be needed for administrative efficiency and proper development of self-governing institutions. There must be a system of appointment in British India for all the public services for which there was recruitment in Britain open to Europeans and Indians alike. Finally, they suggested specific proportions for Indians in the I. C. S. and other superior services.[1]

The authors of the report examined the proper position of the Civil Servants *vis-a-vis* the ministers. The members of the I. C. S. were asked to recognise the change in their position in the new constitutional set-up. They would be called upon to act as principal and impartial advisers to the ministers in the formulation of policies[2] and to carry out the policies so formulated with efficiency, loyalty and impartiality. The British members of the Civil Service were asked to actively guide the growth and development of self-governing institutions in British India.[3] The politicians were called upon to realise that the effective and smooth functioning of parliamentary government would depend on the system of proper relations based on co-operation, good-will, mutual tolerance and confidence between the ministers and Civil Servants.

The report also suggested that adequate provisions should be made to safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of the Civil Servants. This was done on two grounds. First, the Civil Servants would need this protection if they were to carry on their functions with objectivity and efficiency when the ministers would be their masters in a limited way. Second, many Europeans would not like to continue in the various Civil

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1. Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms (Montagu—Chelmsfort Report), Cd. 9109, paras 313-317, p. 250-253.
2. *Ibid*, para 325, p. 257, and para 327, p. 290.
3. *Ibid*, para 325. p. 258, and para 327, p. 260.

Services, and these services, on the other hand, would not be able to attract European recruits of the right stamp, unless a formal guarantee of their rights and interests was assured. If the British elements in the services faded away too soon, and too much, administrative efficiency and the infant self-governing institutions would suffer.[1]

The reforms suggested by this report in regard to the Civil Service had important effects on the personnel policy of the Government. We may here offer a few comments on their suggestions. The authors of this report showed considerable enthusiasm in expecting that the European members of the I. C. S. and other superior services would act as guides to the growth and development of self-governing institutions in British India. Later events did not justify this enthusiasm fully in all cases. Some of the higher Civil Servants opposed the grant of constitutional reforms to British India on the ground that she was not ripe for them. The new situation was repugnant to quite a substantial number of European Civil Servants who chose to retire on a pension proportionate to their length of service after the inauguration of the Act of 1919.[2] This attitude on the part of the Civil Servants who refused to serve their new political masters, but elected to retire, was nothing peculiar as it might true of any bureaucracy that might be called upon to surrender its power.

On the other hand, the majority of the witnesses, who were ministers, before the Reforms Enquiry Committee of 1924, set up to enquire into the working of the reforms, stated that they and their Indian Civil Service Secretaries worked together smoothly and harmoniously.[3] Some Ministers, however, were of the view that they did not receive full co-operation from all their senior officers.[4] Summarising the evidence before them,

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1. *Ibid*, para 325, p. 258.
2. Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, Vol. I. Cmd. 3568. 1930. para 294, p. 267.
3. Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee, 1924 (Muddimen Committee), Cmd. 2360. 1924, para 31, pp. 30-31.
4. *Ibid*, paras 28, 29, and 30, pp. 28-30.

the Committee said, "We consider that there can be no doubt but that the members of the services generally loyally co-operated with the Ministers in working the reforms. There may have been a few instances in which this was not the case, but we believe they were exceptional. We consider that the evidence before us also goes to show that the members of the permanent services did not hesitate to carry out any policy once it had been decided upon by the Ministers".[1] Even the members of the Committee who wrote a minority report came more or less to the same conclusion when they said, "Our conclusion upon a review of the evidence is that generally speaking the attitude of the members of the services was one of loyal co-operation though in a few exceptional cases it might not have been so".[2] In view of this it would appear to be reasonable, we think, to state that the members of the superior services did co-operate with the ministers in working the reforms, in actual practice. Even the safeguards recommended by the report to protect the rights and interests of Civil Servants proved to be no obstacles to good relations between the Civil Servants and Ministers.

The authors of the report, it was suggested by some critics, did not display much far-sightedness in their recommendation regarding the rate of Indianisation of higher services. The time had come, they thought, to suggest the cessation of further recruitment to the I. C. S. and other superior services by the Secretary of State. Some Civil Servants themselves held the same view. Sir Lancet Graham said that there was no point sending out from Britain a privileged class of Civil Servants if British India was to achieve responsible government.[3] Referring to the I, C. S., Professor Percival Spear said, "A service which under a Colonial system must govern as well as administer should be remodelled as soon as the Colony sets course steadily towards self-government".[4] The Indian Civil Service, he thought, should have been subordinate to the Government of India.

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1. Muddimen Committee Report, para 32, p. 31.
2. *Ibid*, p. 163.
3. The Asiatiatic Review, Vol. 47, (1951) p. 310.
4. Percival Spear, "The Transition from Dependence to Sovereign

The Government of India Act, 1919, made ample provisions for the the protection of the rights and interests of the members of the I. C. S. and other Civil Servants. Section 96 (B) of the Act deals with the rights and interests of all categories of Civil Servants while sections 97 to 100 deal with those of the members of the I. C. S. The Instrument of Instructions issued to the Governors required them to take personal interest in safeguarding the legitimate rights and interests of the Civil Servants and to secure the due representation of the various Communities in the provincial Civil Service. At the centre, however, there was no transfer of political power to any significant extent. Consequently, the Central Civil Services, and the members of the All-India Services, working under the Central Government, remained in the same position as before and there were no ministerial masters for them.

The Civil Services in British India began to lose their old charm. Several factors were responsible for this. The rise in prices deflated the real value of their salaries. The financial stringency of the post-war years made it difficult for the Government of India to adjust their emoluments to the new level of prices. Hence the the economic position of the services was a source of anxiety to them. The Act of 1919 led to a progressive diminution of the power of the bureaucracy and consequently the lure of power and prestige suffered a great deal. The persistent criticism, not often well-informed, inflicted on the Civil Servant by the members of the legislature in the early years of reform had a discouraging effect on them. The political barometer was unsteady. The non-co-operation movement of 1920-21 rendered the work of the head of the district and police officials extraordinarily difficult. As a consequence, the number of British candidates for the London competition for the Indian Civil Service and other superior services, began to fall.[1] On the other hand, the rate of Indianisation of the higher services adopted in 1919 was regarded by Indians as inadequate and illiberal.[2]

Status", 'The Constitutional Aspect', 'The Asiatic Review, Vol. XLVII(1951) p. 120.

1. The Simon Commission, op. cit. (936) para 294, p. 297.
2. Indian Statutory Commissition (Memorandum submitted by the

There was, thus, a compelling need for a fresh, full and impartial inquiry into these and other questions, and that led to the appointment of the Lee Commission in 1923.

The Lee Commisson, 1924

A Royal Commission on the superior services in British India was appointed in 1923 under the Chairmanship of Lord Lee of Fareham. The Commission made a number af recommendations which may by briefly discussed here. The Commission reviewed the position of the two groups of services, the All-India Services and the Central Services, since the provincial services were no longer under the control of the Secretary of State. The Commission divided the All-India Services into two groups. and recommended that the All-India Services which had been operating in the Transferred departments[1] should no longer be recruited, and controlled by the Secretary of State. The services dealt with in this manner were the higher education, agriculture, veterinary, and the roads and building branches of the engineering services. These services were provincialised aud their recruitment was handed over to the provincial governments. This was done in order to bring things into conformity with the partial transfer of political power under the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. *Status quo* was to be maintained in regard to the position of the existing members of the All-India services operating in the transferred field. As regards the second group of

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Government of Bengal to the Indian Statutory Commission vol. VIII, 1930, para 281, p. 192.

1. Under the Gozernment of India Act, 1919, the provincial administration was divided into two halves—transferred half and reserved half. Over the transferred departments the Ministers responsible to the Legislature exercised control subject 10 certain limitations. In the transferred departments, control remained in the hands of the Executive Councillors responsible to Governors.

All-India services operating in the reserved departments, the Commission recommended that these should be recruited and controlled by the Secretary of State. The services concerned were the I. C. S., I. P. S., Indian Services of Engineers (Irrigation Branch) and the Indian Forest Service outside Bombay and Burma.[1] These four services were to be retained on an All-India basis. This was justified on the ground that these serviees were operating in departments for which the Secretary of State still remained responsible in a general way to the British Parliament.

With regard to the Central Services the Commission suggested that all the higher appointments to the political, ecclesiastical and imperial customs departments should be vested in the Secretary of State.

On the other hand, the Government of British India would be responsible for the control and recruitment to all the appointments in the rest of the Central Services. But recruitment to the higher posts in the Railway, Post and Telegraph departments would be shared between the Secretary of State and the Government of India.[2]

The delegation of power by the Secretary of State in regard to the recruitment and control of various services was also conducive to the progressive Indianisation of higher services.

The second main recommendation of this Commission was in regard to the Indianisation of the higher services which were still to be recruited and controlled by the Secretary of State. For the Indian Civil Service, the Commission suggested that twenty per cent of the superior posts should be filled by promotion from the provincial Civil Service, and that direct recruits should be Europeans and Indians in equal numbers.[3] For the Indian Police Service direct recruitment was to be in the proportion of five Europeans to three Indians, while twenty per cent of the vacancies would be filled by promotion from the provincial police service.[4] In the Indian Forest Service, the recruit-

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1. Lee Commission Report para 13, p. 7.
2. *Ibid*, para 19, p. 9-10
3. *Ibid*, para 35, pp. 18-19
4. *Ibid*, para 37, pp. 19-20

ment proposed was seventy-five per cent for Indians and twenty-five per cent for Europeans.[1] In the Irrigation Branch of the Indian Service of Engineers, the Commission recommended direct recruitment of Europeans and Indians in equal numbers, with twenty per cent of the vacancies to be filled by promotion from the provincial services.[2] As regards the Central Services, the Commission suggested that twenty-five per cent of the vacancies in the political department would be filled by Indians and the rest by Europeans ; and a much higher proportion for Indians in other departments.[3]

The third recommendation of the Commission related to the conditions of the services. The Civil Servants were demanding an increase in their salaries and improvement of other conditions of services, owing to the rise in the cost of living. In political circles in British India there was a strong opposition to any increase in pay scales as it would put a strain on the Indian exchequer. The Commisson decided neither to reduce the basic pay of the services nor to increase it all round. They thought to strike a middle course. They suggested some improvement in the pay scale of a few services—I. P. S., Indian Forest Service and the Indian Service of Engineers.[4] At the same time the Commission proposed to give substantial financial relief to the European members of the Service on account of the higher cost of their various commitments. They recommended an increase in overseas pay, facilities to remit money to their dependents in Britain at a favourable rate of exchange, and the provision of a specified number of return passages to England for them and their families.[5] Finally, the Commission advocated some liberalisation of pension rules for all higher Civil Servants, and also the facilities for medical aid for them.[6]

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1. Lee Commission Report para 39, p. 21
2. *Ibid*, para 40. pp. 21-22
3. *Ibid*, para 42. pp. 22-23
4. *Ibid*, para 52 & 59 (pp. 28-29) and 32-33).
5. *Ibid*, paras (p. 29-31 ; paras 62-65 (pp. 35-37)
6. *Ibid*, paras 66-73, pp. 38-42

The recommendations of the Commission were not regarded as quite satisfactory by many European Civil Servants. Some of them thought that the Commission had been too liberal in regard to the Indianisation of higher administration. Nor were they happy with regard to the finacial relief suggested by the Commission as it was inadequate from their point of view. On the other hand, in the political circles in British India, it was felt that the Commission had been too partial and liberal to the Civil Servants. There was considerable opposition in the Indian Central Legislature to the proposed increase to the emoluments of the European Civil Service in the shape of overseas pay and other allowances. Indians were not satisfied with the rate of Indianisation proposed in the I. C. S. and other superior services. But in fairness to the Commission it must be said that the rate of Indianisation proposed for the various services was much higher than it was in the past. The full effect of the changes advocated by them was yet to show itself and it would take time before the new recruits would rise to positions of importance.[1]

The Government decided to implement the recommendations of the Commission with minor modification. The increase of emoluments failed to attract an adequate number of British young men to the I. C, S. and other higher services. The Indian services were beginning to lose their appeal to the British youths. It was partly due to the less attractive emoluments than in the past and the gradual change in the position of the Civil Servants in view of the constitutional reforms. It was also due to the availabitity of well-paid jobs for highly qualified persons in Britain itself. Again, the entry of Indians to the I. C. S. began to increase rapidly with the passage of time. The introduction of the competitive examination for the I. C. S. in British India in 1922 also contributed to this development. London, however, remained the main route of entry into the I. C. S. but the Indian youths were no longer afraid of going

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1. Memoranda submitted by the Government of India and India Office to the Indian Statutory Commission, Vol. V. part II (1930). para 21. p. 818

of England to compete for the I. C. S. During the early thirties of the present century, Indians were successful in large numbers in creating a headache for the Secretary of State for British India. It was found that enough British candidates were not forthcoming to fill up the quota reserved for them.[1] In 1936 the Secretary of State had recourse to nomination to make up the deficiencies. The Universities in British India strongly protested against nomination. Nomination, however, went on for the British candidates for the I. C. S. until recruitment to the the I. C. S. was suspended during World War II. In British India the system of open competition for the I. C. S. was tempered by nomination when recruitment for it was begun. It was done to provide for the representation of various communities in the service. From 1925 the Government of India pursued a definite policy of communal representation in the various services. The object was to redress "communal inequalities". In 1934 the Government of India passed a comprehensive resolution laying down definite proportions for the various communities in the All-India Services, Central Services, and the Subordinate Services under the control of the Government of India.[2] In 1943 more definite provisions were made for the representation of scheduled castes and tribes in the services.[3] Gradually more castes among the Hindus began to clamour for this. These might have given satisfaction to the various communities, castes, and tribes, but they were unfortunate from the point of view of administrative efficiency and integrity.

A Public Service Commission was set up in British India in 1926. The Act of 1919 embodied a provision for such a

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1. Report of the Government of India Secretariat Committee, 1937. Appendix VI), p. 67.
2. Government of India, Home Department Resolution, dated 4 July 1934 (published in the records of the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms, Section, 1933-34. Vol. II (1934) H. L. 6 (II) Record C. I. pp. 315-318
3. Government of India Resolution, No. 23/5/42--11 August 1943

body.[1] The Lee Commission had made a strong plea for establishing such a body without delay as a safeguard against unhealthy political or personal influences in the selection of the Civil Servants.[2] The public service commission, when set up, was entrusted with the function of recruitment like the Civil Service Commission in Britain but was also made responsible for advising the Government on two important matters, disciplinary control and protection of the services.[3] Detailed regulations were issued regarding the exact composition and functions of the Commission. Madras among the provinces in British India took the initiative in setting up such a body.

The service in British India received the close attention of three important bodies in the early thirties of the twentieth century – the Indian Statutory Commission,[5] a Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference,[5] and the Joint Select Committee of both Houses of the British Parliament.[6]

In the first place, they dealt with the future of the All-India Services, five of which were operating. The Simon Commission recommended that two of these services--the I. C. S. and I. P. S. – should be recruited on an All-India basis by the Secretary of State. They also prescribed the employment of a sufficient number of Indian Medical Service officers in the provinces for the usual reasons – the maintenance of a reserve for war purposes and the desirability of providing European doctors for the treatment of European civil servants and their families.

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1. Section 96 (c) of the Government of India Act, 1919.
2. Lee Commission (Cmd 2128, 1928) para 24. p. 13,
3. *Ibid*, para 27, p. 14
4. Report of the Indian Statutory Commission (Cmd. 3568, 1930) Vol. I and Cmd 3569, 1930), Vol. II (Simon Commission).
5. Report of the Sub-Committee (Services) No. VII of the first Round Table Conference (1930-31), Proceedings of the Sub-Committee. Part II.
6. Report of the Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms, Vol. I. part I. (Session 1933-34) H. B. C. (Part I) and H. C. 5 (in part I).

The Joint Committee were also of the view that three All-India Services –the I. C. S., I. P. S. and I. M.S.—should be recruited on an All-India basis by the Secretary of State and that the control of their conditions of service must remain in his hands. The position was to be reviewed after some years in the light of experience. The Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference were of the view that the I. C. S. and I. P. S. should be recruited on an All-India basis ; but some members were opposed to it. The majority of the Sub-Committee held the view that recruiting and controlling authority with regard to these services must be vested in the Government of India while a minority held the view that this authority must be vested in the Secretary of State. The Sub-Committee were of the view that there should be no Civil Branch of the Indian Medical Service and that the question of appointing British doctors for the purposes stated above, should be left to the Governments in British India. As regards the Indian Service of Engineers (Irrigation Branch) and the Indian Forest Service, the Simon Commission while emphasising the advantage of maintaining their All-India character, left their future to the consideration of the authorities in British India. The Sub-Committee of the R T. C. and the Joint Committee recommended that they should be provincialised.

The second aspect of the services dealt with by these bodies was in regard to the rate of Indianisation in these services. The Simon Commission agreed with the ratio fixed by the Lee Commission for both Europeans and Indians in the I. C. S, and I. P. S. A strong British element in these two services was necessary not only in the interest of administrative efficiency but for the sake of ensuring impartiality and objectivity in administration in a country where there were acute conflicts between the Hindus and Muslims. The Joint Committee held the view that British India would need a strong British element in the two security services in particular, and in the Railway, Forest and Engineering Services to some extent. The majority of the Services Sub-Committee (R.T.C.) admitted the necessity of maintaining the British element in the I.C.S., and I.P.S.

but they could not agree on the exact ratio to be reserved for them.

The third thing examined by these bodies related to the representation of the various communities in the Services. The various minority communities became very vocal regarding their representation in the different services. Both the Services sub-committee (R.T.C.) and the Joint Committee emphasised the need to secure a fair and adequate representation to the different communities in the services consistently with the considerations of efficiency and the possession of necessary qualifications. The Governor-General and Governors should have a special responsibility so that the legitimate interests of the minorities in the services were safeguarded and implemented effectively.

The fourth important question dealt with by these bodies was in regard to the adequate provision for the constitutional safeguards and protection of the legitimate rights and interests of the Civil Servants. The Simon Commission strongly recommended the necessity for embodying in the Constitution adequate provisions for safeguarding the rights and privileges of all the civil servants in general and those recruited by the Secretary of State in particular. The services sub-committee (R.T.C. were also emphatic in recommending the same thing. The Joint Committee had gone into this question in a very comphrehensive manner. They approved of all the rights and safeguards proposed for all the Civil Servants who were to be recruited, and controlled by the Secretary of State. Without such provisions offering reasonable security, European recruits of the best type would not be attracted to service in British India. The actual safeguards proposed in the White Paper for all Civil Servants in regard to security of tenure and fairness in disciplinary control were accepted and advocated by the Committee. The Committee also endorsed the proposal that a special resposibility was to be imposed on the Governor-General and Governors to secure to "the members of the public services any rights provided for them in the Constitution Act", and to safeguard their "Legitimate interests". The Committee also thought two more steps were necessary in this respect. It was desirable to make it clear that All-India, Central and Provincial Civil Servants were essentially the servants of the Crown. It was expected

that such a clarification of their status would contribute to the development of healthy and sound conventions, as in Britain, to govern the relations between the Civil Servants on the one hand and the ministers and legislatures on the other. Again, it would be essential that the central and provincial legislatures respectively should give general sanction to the rights and status of the Central and Provincial Services.

Finally, the significance of the role of the public service commission in maintaining adequate standards of recruitment and thereby ensuring efficiency in administration was duly emphasised by all these three bodies. Already, the Government of India and the Government of Madras set up these Commissions. Other provinces were yet to do so.The Simon Commission pointed out that these Commissions would be of great advantage to the ministers. "They should be freed from the technical work of recruitment which is no part of Ministers' duties, and even more important, they should not be exposed to the charge, however ill-founded, of using their position to promote family or communal interests at the expense of the efficiency, or the just administration, of the service".[1] In order to maintain the impartiality and independence of the members of the Commission, they must be completely removed from political influence. To secure this, firstly, no further employment under the government should be open to them except the higher officers in the Commission itself, or an appointment on the Central Commission. Secondly, they must be appointed by an authority independent of all party interests and they should not be removed from office except by the same authority.

The Government of India Act, 1935, embodied elaborate provisions to safeguard the rights and interests of the two categories of civil servants—the one recruited by the Secretary of State and the other by the authorities in British India.[2] The instrument of Instructions issued to the Governor-General and Governors defined their responsibility with respect to the rights and interests of the services. The ratio of Indianisation fixed

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1. The Simon Commission, op. cit. para 334, p. 296
.2 The Government of India Act, 1935, Chapter II part X.

by the Lee Commission was to continue in the I. C. S. and I. P. S. to be recruited by the Secretary of State. The Civil branch of the Indian Medical Service was to remain, while all other All-India services were provincialised. The proportions reserved for the various communities in the services became more definite. The Act of 1935 contained elaborate provisions relating to the organisation and functions of the public service commissions.

The Act of 1935 extended the scope of responsible government in the provinces, although subject to safeguards. But critics pointed out, the opportunity was not taken to re-organise the structure of the services to bring them into conformity with the transfer of political power. The provincial ministers responsible to the provincial legislature would have no complete control over the two security services - I. C. S. and I. P. S.—working under them as they would be recruited and controlled by the Secretary of State. The majority of the sub-committee (R. T. C.) suggested that the recruiting and controlling authority in regard to these two services should be the Government of India and not the Secretary of State, but this was ignored. The British Indian delegation in their joint memorandum urged that All-India services should be organised on a provincial basis and recruited and controlled exclusively by the provincial governments.[1] It was felt that responsible government in British India would not function successfully so long as "the steel frame of the services", secure in rights and privileges, and used to an atmosphere of prestige and unquestioned obedience, remained beyond the control of the ministers. The special safeguards provided for them by the Government of India Act, 1935, strengthened such fears.

The working of provincial autonomy which was put into operation in 1937 dispelled such apprehensions. The members of the two security services--the I. C. S. and I. P. S.—showed a spirit of accommodation and a power of adaptation to the new situation created by the Act of 1935. The members

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1. Report of the Joint Committee, op. cit. para 296, p. 183

of these two services enjoyed "happier relations with their ministerial chiefs" in some provinces.[1] But in some provinces, however, the relations between the ministers and the higher Civil Servants were not quite cordial and satisfactory at the initial stage because many of the ministers who took part in political movements and agitations against the Government had been arrested and imprisoned by the members of these two Services. Consequently many of the Ministers could not overcome their distrust of these officials very easily. The lack of experience on the part of many ministers was also partly responsible for this. Gradually, the ministers began to recognise the value of the work of the higher Civil Servants and also began to take them into their confidence. Relations improved as time went on.[2] Sir Harry Haig stated, "Congress and the services, starting about as far apart as it was possible to be, learned to work together. The Congress learned the stubborn facts of administration. The Services learned the implications of democratic control"[3] The position of the members of the Central and All-India services remained as before, as there was no responsible government at the centre.

Before we pass on to discuss the problems of the Civil Service in Pakistan, we might reflect briefly on the work and professional standards of the Civil Servants in British India. Since the twenties of the present century the work of the Civil Servants had been growing increasingly complex and arduous. Several causes were responsible for this. Political movements and agitations, sometimes quite violent and revolutionary, had begun to produce unrest and turmoil on a wide scale. The Hindu-Muslim conflicts were becoming increasingly acute and sharp. By the end of 1946, British India was drifting towards 'chaos'.[4] All this rendered the task of maintaining law and order extremely difficult. Again, the masses of British India were in the

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1. Indian Politics (1936-1942) by Coupland, R. (1943) p. 81.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 119-120.
3. The Asiatic Review, vol. 36. 1940 (July) p. 126.
4. Modern India, by Sir P. Griffiths (1957), p. 85.

grip of appalling poverty and illiteracy. Their demand for economic development and for the extension of education became keen and insistent. Comprehensive programmes of socio-economic development were launched by the provincial ministers after 1937. These added to the task of the higher officials who had to undertake more work. The introduction of a parliamentary system of government in the provinces under the Act of 1919 and 1935 also increased their work. They had to explain and justify their actions to some extent to the Ministers and Executive Councillors who had to meet the questions, debates and discussions, as well as criticism of the administration in the legislature. The preparation of the materials for these fell on the Senior Officers. Lastly, the outbreak of World War II added to their work to a great extent. The Government had to take various measures to deal with the problems created by War. Economic controls had to be imposed to tackle the shortage of goods and services. The resources of the country had to be planned and mobilised for war purposes. To add to all these, there was a severe famine in Bengal. Last, but not least, the wheels of government had to be kept from getting clogged in spite of difficulties. All this enormously increased the work of the higher officers. even though there was considerable expansion in the size of the Civil Service during the war.

The Civil Servants in British India—particularly the members of the I. C. S. and other Superior Services—set up excellent traditions and a very high reputation for integrity, honesty, morale, initiative, objectivity and efficiency. The I. C. S. as the *corps d'elite* set the tone which was followed by other categories of Civil Servants. However, the standards at the lower levels were not uniformly high. Since the twenties, as their work was becoming complex and difficult, professional standards among the Civil Servants had tended to fall. This tendency was probably more marked at the lower level.

Several causes were responsible for the fall off of integrity and competence. The character of political movements and agitations which were becoming aggressive and violent, compelled the Government of the day to use the Civil Servants to suppress

these. The Civil Servants were exposed to political controversies and bitterness. They were subjected to public vituperations and attacks. By the end of 1946 the position became more critical for them. "Senior officials were quite anxious about their future, and were conscious that they were caretakers under notice. They were thoroughly disheartened."[1] No wonder that all these had a very depressing and demoralising effect on their morale and impartiality. Again, the rising tempo of Hindu-Muslim conflicts and bitterness produced pulls and pressures which had an unfavourable effect on their morals and integrity. Civil Servants who belonged to one community were suspected of partiality and discrimination by the members of another community. Some of the Civil Servants recruited on communal grounds succumbed to political influences and lost objectivity in their work to some extent. "Even some members of the services, at least in the upper levels, had given up their traditional loyalty and impartiality and had begun openly to take sides in the political controversy," wrote Menon.[2] A statement more or less to the same effect was made in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan by the late S. A. R. Nishtar, when he said "Muslim League expected of Muslim public servants to help in the establishment of Pakistan just as Congress utilised the services of the Hindu public servants"[3] Finally, the World War II had its effect on the professional standards of the Civil Servants, particularly at the lower levels. The war-time inflation coupled with low pay at the lower rungs caused considerable hardships to them, and some of them yielded to the temptation of bribery.

In 1947, British India was divided into two independent dominions, Pakistan and India, with complete transfer of political power to both. The power of the Secretary of State to recruit and control the members of the I. C. S. and I. P. S. and other

1. Sir P. Griffiths op. cit. p. 85.
2. The transfer of power in India by Menon, V. P. (1957) p. 348.
3. Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Debates (Official Report), Monday, the 26th October, 1953, Vol. XV. No. 14, p. 475.

superior services came to an end. The British members of the superior services were given the option to serve either of the new dominions or to retire on proportionate pension and rehabilitation gratuity.[1] Some Indian members of the Secretary of State's services were given similar choice, subject to certain limitations.[2] The new Government of Pakistan showed itself eager to employ the British members of old I. C. S. and other superior services, as there was an acute shortage of trained senior officials in Pakistan. The partition of British India also led to the division of the services between the two dominions. All these developments had not been without their unfavourable effect on the strength and morale of Civil Services.

V

(Since 1947)

Civil Service in the New Constitution of Pakistan

After independence and partition, Pakistan decided to adopt a parliamentary system of Government within the framework of a federal constitution.[3]

The new Constitution which came into force in 1956, incorporated several provisions in regard to the Civil Service. Firstly, the Constitution defined the status of the Civil Servants by laying down that the members of the Central and All-Pakistan Services should hold office during the pleasure of the President, and that the members of the provincial services would hold office during the pleasure of the Governor.[4] The clarification

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1. For details, see Cmd. 7116 and Cmd. 7192 of 1947.
2. *Ibid.*
3. The same system of government prevailed in Pakistan from 1947 to 1955 under the Government of India Act, 1935, as adapted and amended in the light of the Indian Independence Act, 1947. The new Constitution was abrogated in October, 1958, and since then the country has been under martial law administration.
4. Article 180 (a) and (b)

thus made of their status was expected to promote political neutrality of Civil Servants as no minister could look upon them as his employees. It also made clear that no Civil Servants would have a right to office. His services could be dispensed with by the President and Governor as the case might be.

Secondly it was provided that the tenure and conditions of service of the officers should not be varied to their disadvantage. The rules which would be framed to govern the conditions of their service must permit at least one appeal to each of the Civil Servants against any order which would punish or censure him, or alter or interpret the rule affecting his service to his disadvantage or terminate his employment before he would reach the age of retirement.[1] This provision was intended to protect the Civil Servants from undue interference with their rights, emoluments and other conditions of service, and was expected to contribute to their morale and integrity. Thirdly, the constitution provided for the continuance of All-Pakistan Services. At present there are two such services--the Civil service of Pakistan and the Police Service of Pakistan. They are common both to the Central and Provincial Governments.

The existence of All-Pakistan services is an unusual feature of the Federation of Pakistan. With the exception of the Indian Federation, there is probably no other federation where there are such services besides the Federal and State services. Many critics pointed out that these services would be incompatible with provincial autonomy and responsible government under the provincial ministers would have no control over them. The answer is that they are needed in the interest of national unity and administrative efficiency.

Fourthly, the Constitution guaranteed two important safeguards to Civil Servants to portect them against any arbitrary action. No Civil Servant—Central, All-Pakistan or Provincial—could be dismissed or removed from office or reduced in rank by any authority subordinate to that by which he was appointed. Nor could a Civil Servant be dismissed or removed or reduced in

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1. Article 182.

rank without being given a reasonable opportunity for self-defence.[1]

The safeguards. it was argued, would give the Civil Servants due and effective protection against victimisation by Ministers. Some members of the Constituent Assembly were very keen to preserve the political neutrality of the Civil Servants in the interest of fair and efficient administration. Many critics might point out, that this provision relating to safeguards was a legacy of the past and not in conformity with the doctrine of ministerial responsibility as the ministers would be without full disciplinary control over the Civil Servants.[2]

Fifthly, provisions were made in the Constitution to secure certain guarantees to the Civil Servants who were recruited by the Secretary of State before independence. The Government of Pakistan was eager to retain the services of the highly experienced members of the old Indian Civil Service. Consequently, provisions were incorporated into the Constitution guaranteeing the same terms and conditions of service and the same rights to these higher officials as they enjoyed before independence.[3]

Sixthly, the Constitution contained a provision to give equal representation to the provinces in all the Central and All-Pakistan Services. East Pakistan, in particular, has been very poorly represented in the services. There has been persistent demand to remedy the situation. In the course of Debate in the Constituent Assembly, the East Pakistani members took a very strong view of the matter and demanded parity of representation in the services. It was provided in the "Directive Principles of State Poli:y" that steps should be taken to achieve parity with regard to the representation of East Pakistan and West Pakistan in the services.[4] Although it is a non-justfiable provision, it has been acted upon.

Seventhly, provision was made in the Constitution for the abolition of communal representation in the Services. Every

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1. Artic e 181.
2. See the Debates of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan (Thursday, the 20th May, 1954, vol. SVI. No. 12.
3. Article 232 and 233.
4. Article 31 (2).

citizen would be free to enter the service of Pakistan, if he was otherwise qualified, irrespective of race, religion, caste, sex, residence or place of birth.[1] This guaranteed equality of opportunity to all citizens in respect of appointment in the service of Pakistan. But the Constitution also permitted the reservation of specified posts and services for persons of either sex, and for first fifteen years, posts might be reserved for persons belonging to any class or area to secure their adequate representation in the services. A critic may point out that special reservations are not conducive to integrity and efficiency. Provision for reservation of posts for different areas and classes has been made to suit the peculiar condition obtaining in the country. In the eighth place, the Constitution made elaborate provisions in regard to the organisation and functions of the public service commission.[2] The main functions of the public service commission are to maintain adequate standards of recruitment, to conduct examinations for appointments to various services, and to advise the government in regard to the principles to be followed in making appointments to various posts. promotion, transfer and disciplinary matters. Their functions can be extended by law. The President or Governor, as the case may be, may remove certain class of Civil Servants from the purview of the Commission.

The Public Service Commissions[3] are purely advisory bodies. Their recommendations are not binding on the Government. The Government can ignore or reject them. Some members of the Constituent Assembly wanted that the recommendations of the Commissions should be made mandatory. It was pointed out that the Commissions would not be the appointing authority. The ultimate responsibility for appointment would rest

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1. Article 17 (1).
2. Part X, Chapter II of the Constitution of Pakistan, 1956. Articles 184-190.
3. There are two types of Commissions in Pakistan—Federal Public Service Commisson, and Provincial Public Service Commission.

with the Government. It was decided that the matters should be left to development of Conventions that normally the recommendations of the Commissions should be accepted.[1] In order further to strengthen the position of the Commissions it was provided that they would submit annual reports about their activities. These reports would show the cases where their advice was not accepted and also the matters, if any, on which the Commission ought to have been consulted, but was not consulted, with the reasons thereof. These reports would be laid before the Legislature. It was expected that public opinion would act as a deterrent to the Government when they contemplated the rejection of recommendations of the Commission.

To promote the independence, impartiality and integrity of the Commissioners, it was decided that they should be removed completely from political influence. To secure this objective, a number of provisions were incorporated into the Constitution. First, the Chairman and members of the Federal and Provincial Commissions would be appointed respectively by the President and Governor, each acting on his discretion. They would thus be appointed by an authority above party politics. Secondly, the Chairman of the Federal Public Service Commission would not be eligible for further employment under the Government. No further employment under the Government would be open to commissioners except the higher office in the Commission itself, or an appointment on the Federal Commission, on the part of the chairman or members of the provincial Commission. This would, it was argued, shield them against outside influence and temptation. Thirdly, the Commissioners might not be removed from office except on the ground of misbehaviour, infirmity of mind or body. A member of the Federal Commission should not be removed from office except by the procedure applicable to the removal of a High Court Judge. A Provincial Commissioner would be removable by the Governor on a report from the Supreme Court made on a reference to it by the Governor.

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1. Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Debate, Saturday, the 19th June, 1954. vol. XVI, Mo. 15.

Finally, the terms of their offices were definitely laid down, and it would be for a period of five years. These provisions, it was argued, would ensure the independence, objectivity and integrity of the Commissions.

These elaborate provisions in the Commission regarding the Civil Services, critics might point out, would tend to introduce a certain degree of rigidity in the administration of public personnel. A few general provisions with regard to the Civil Service and Public Service Commission would have been enough and the rest could have been left to the Government to be dealt with by law.

MATHURA LION CAPITAL INSCRIPTION
(A PALAEOGRAPHICAL STUDY)

BY DR. AHMAD HASAN DANI

This is the only Kharoshṭhī inscription found at Mathura, otherwise Mathura, apart from the coin legends of the Scythian rulers, lies in the zone of Brāhmī, adopted alike by the Scythians[1] and the Kushāṇas.[2] It is inscribed on a locally-found red sand stone Lion Capital. The inscription has proved difficult to interpret because of the manner in which it is engraved on the capital. Three good editions by Buhler,[3] Thomas[4] and Konow[5] have led to different interpretations. simply because the relation of the minor engravings with the main part of the inscription is not very clear. As interpreted by Konow, the purport of the inscription is two-fold : (i) the erection of a stūpa and a monastery by the queen of Mahākshatrapa Rajula, and (ii) the grant of a piece of land to Buddhadeva in respect of the monastery. Apart from much confusion seen in the arrangement of the text made by Konow and in the part assigned to the historical personages mentioned therein, the second objective itself appears to be unique in this period. The interest in the land-grant, if it was really made, should be clearly realised before one tries to determine the meaning and date of the inscription. Here we find the names of almost all the important early Śaka chiefs, beginning from Muki (or Moga-Maues ?), Rajula and his son Śoḍāsa with their other relations, the Yuvarāja Kharaostasa, the prince Khalamaśa and Maja, the Mahākshatrapa Kusuluka Patika, the Kshatrapa Mevaki Miyika and the Kshatrapa Khardaa. It

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1. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Calcutta, 1942, pp. 118-19.
2. *Ibid* pp. 146 ff.
3. *Journal of the Ropal Asiatic Society*, 1894, pp. 525-40.
4. *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. IX, 1907—8, pp. 135-47.
5. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II, pp. 30-19.

is no wonder that a pious wish is expressed for the whole *Sakastana*. In the use of this last phrase again the inscription maintains its uniqueness. The language, as discussed by Ronow, shows a free use of such letters that were current in the vase inscriptions of the time of the Kanishka group of the Kushāṇa rulers and the Central Asian documents. Konow further says "the shape of individual letters is not quite uniform, some of them having occasionally a cursive form, which fact may point to a comparatively extensive use of the Kharoshṭhī script by the people who set up the capital, leading to the introduction of cursive forms side by side with the old ones".[1] It is for this reason that A. Barth remarked, "Everything considered, I should, therefore, rather be inclined to believe that a considerable number of these inscriptions have nothing to do with the erection of the pillar, that they are not contemporaneous with the first consecration, and they were engraved not before the capital was put into its place but on various occasions after its fall".[2] Thomas did not agree with this remark of Barth for in his edition of this inscription he says, "In type, on the other hand, the characters present an uniformity which like the subject-matter of the records, forbids any supposition of additions during the subsequent history of stone".[3] Konow agree with Thomas and attributes the whole of the inscription to one time "not much later than that of the Patika plate", but admits, as quoted before, variation in the form of the letters. This variation was also noticed by Thomas in the *Table of Aksharas* published by him, but he did not attach much significance to it, nor did Konow pay any heed to it. The Patika plate from Taxila and, as a matter fact, all other Kharoshṭhī inscriptions published by Konow in his *Corpus* show a set hand in the different inscriptions, and the style of the period can be easily determined by examining them. But the Mathura Lion Capital inscription shows such variations in the same line that doubt

1. *Ibid*, p. 32
2. *Indian Antiqnary*, Vol. XXXVII, 1908, p. 247.
3. Thomas, *Op. Cit.*, p. 136.

is at once cast on the engraver. Certainly the writing is far from being similar to that of the Patika plate. As the following analysis will show, the inscription contains profusely such letters that came in general use during the time of the Kanishka group of the Kushāṇa rulers, but at the same time the varying forms of the letters appertain to different periods. The obvious suggestion is that some foul play has been possibly done with the lion Capital in some later date when the inscription was engraved on it in order to claim the monastery and the land belonging to it. It is on this supposition alone that we can explain the discrepancies and understand the motive of recording the names of most of the important Śaka chiefs.

The annexed letter index of this inscription is made on the basis of the facsimilies published by Konow and Thomas to illustrate their articles. The alphabetical references are to the division of the inscription made by Konow and the numbers refer to the lines as recorded by him. A complete index is prepared here, except in those cases where the letters could not be seen in the plates at all. The most important omissions are the letters occurring in the words *Dhamadana* and *Guhavihare* in H and H.

1. I. A :—A.6 ; A. 13 ; K.L. 1 ; F. 1. ; N. 1 and 3.

II A :—A. 5 ; K. L. 3 ; G. 1 ; N. 1. ; Q. 1.

III A :—A. 3 ; A. 7 ; A. 8 ; A. 9.

IV A :—A. 2 ; A. 2 ; A. 2.

2. I. I :—A. 3. (?)

II. I :— E′. 1.

III. I :—M. 1.

IV. I :—A. 10 ; C. 1.

3. I. U :—I. 4.

II. U :—K. L. 3.

III U :—A. 9.

IV U :—C. 4.

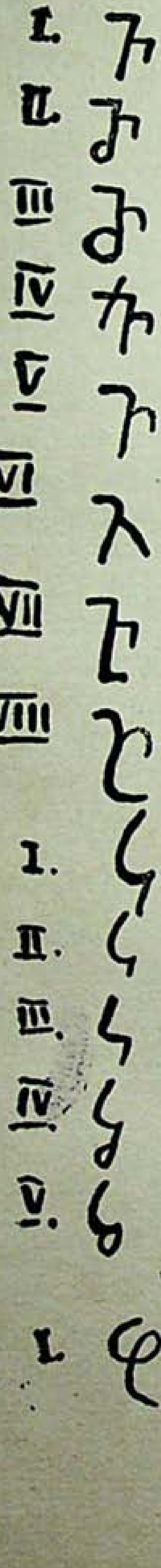
V U :—I. 1. (?)

4. I. E :—A. 6 ; K. L. 3.

5. 1. O :—E′. 1 ; C. 1.

II. O :—A. 4.

III O :—E. 1.

6. 

Ka :—A. 9 ; J. 2.

Ku :—G. 1.

Ku :—E. 2.

Ki :—A. 13.

Ka :—G. 1 ; E. 3 ; E″ ; I. 1 ; I. 2 ; G. 2.

Ka :—A. 3 ; C. I ; A. 5 ; E′. 1.

Kra —(or K'a) :—A. 12; F. 1; N. 1; N. 1

Kra (or K'a) :—E″ ; R. 2.

7.

Kha :—A. 4 ; E. 1 ; E. 2.

Kha ;—Q. 1.

Kha :—N. 4 ; J′. 1.

Khu :—F. 2.

Khu :—N. 1.

8.

Gra (G'a) :—A. 2 ; A. 16 ; J. 3 ; N. 2.

9. I. Gha :—A. 14 ; A. 15 ; O. 2.

Ghi :- N. 3.

10. I. Cha :—A. 14.

II. Cha :—A. 14.

11. I. Chhi :—J. 1.

12. I. Ksha :—A. 1 ; G. 1 ; C. 3 ; M. 1 ; G. 2.

II. Ksha :—B. 1.

III. Kshi :—R. 1.

13. I. Ja :—E. 3.

II. Ju :—A. 1.

III. Ju :—B. 2.

IV. Jo :—C. 2.

14. I. N̄a :—A. 4.

II. N̄a :—N. 4.

15. I. Ṭha :—N. 4.

II. Ṭha :—A. 11.

16. I. Ḍa :—C. 3.

II. Ḍi :—M. 1.

17. I. Ḍhra (Ḍh'a) :—A. 10.

II. Ḍhra (Ḍh'a) :—M. 1.

18. I. Ta : E″. 1 ; J. 2 ; R. 1.

II. Tra (T'a) :—A. 3 ; A. 8 ; G. 1 ; F. 2 ; K.L. 3 ; N. 4 ; B. 1 ; B. 2 ; C.3 ; M. 1 ; M. 3 ; J. 2 ; N. 2.

III. Tra (T'a) :—A. 5 ; A. 6 ; A. 7 ; A. 13 ; G. 2 ; J. 3.

IV. Tra (T'a) :—A. 16 ; Q. 2.

V. Tra (T'a) :—E. 4.

VI. Tro (T'o) :—A. 1.

VII. Tro (T'o) :—A. 11 ; A. 12.

VIII Tru (T'u) :—A. 14.

IX Tri (T'i) :—A. 11 ; J. 2.

X Tre (T'e) :—A. 10 ; K. L. 2.

19. I. Thu :—A. 14.

20. I. Da :—A. 5.

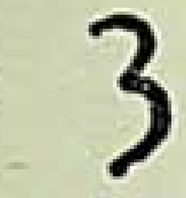
II. Di :—I. 1.

III. Di :—A. 5 ; A. 15 ; C. 1.

IV. Do :—C. 4.

21. I. Dha :—A. 6 ; A. 12 ; I. 2 ; I. 1.

II. Dha : —A. 8.

III.  Dha :—K. D. 2 ; O. 1 ; O. 1.

IV. Dhi :—A. 8.

V. Dhi :—A. 3 ; F. N. 1.

22. I. Na :—A. 5 ; A. 8 ; A. 10 ; N. 3 ; N. 3.

II. Na :—A. 8 ; A. 9 ; A. 16 ; J. 3 ; R. 2.

III. Na :—E. 4 ; C. 4 ; J. 1 ; J. 1 ; K. L. 3 ; N. 1 ; F. 1.

IV. Ni :—E. 4.

V. Ni :—A. 11 ; A. 12 ; R. 2.

VI. Ni :—J. 2 ; J. 2.

23. I. Pa :—A. 9 ; J. 1 ; J. 3.

II. Pa :— A. 16 ; J. 1 ; M. 1 ; N. 2.

III. Pa :— G. 1.

IV. Pa :—I. 1.

V. Pi :—A. 7.

VI. Pu :— O. 2.

VII. Pu :—B. 2 ; G. 2 ; O. 1 ; O. 2.

VIII. Pra (P'a) :—A. 10 ; A. 10 ; N 3.

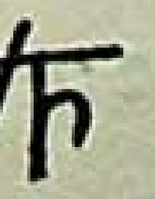
IX. Pra (P'a) :—A. 11 ; M. 3.

24. I. Bu :— A. 12 ; I. 1 ; K. L. 2 ; O. 1.

II. Bu :—A. 6.

III. Bu :—F. 1 ; N. 1.

25. I. Bha :—A. 12.

II.  Bhi :— F. 2.

III. Bhi :— N. 1.

IV. Bhu :— A. 13.

V. Bhra (Bh'a) :— A. 7.

26. I. Ma :— A. 1 ; E. 2 ; E. 3 ; E. 4 ; G. 1 ; N. 3 ; N. 4.

II. Ma:— A. 2. ; B. 1.

III. Ma :— A. 5 ; A. 6 ; A. 7.

IV. Ma:— A. 14 ; O. 1.

V. Mi:— G. 2.

VI. Mu :— A. 3 ; A. 12 ; E'. 1 ; J'. 1.

VII. Mu :— A. 13.

VIII. Me :— A. 11 ; G. 1.

IX. Mo :— E. 4.

X Mo :— M. 1 ; J. 2.

27. 1. Ya :— A. 2 ; A. 13 ; E. 1.

II. Ya :— K. L. 1 ; G. 2.

III. Ya :— I. 1 ; I. 4 ; J. 2 ; O. 2 ; O. 2 ; N. 1.

Yi :— K. L. 2.

Yi :—G. 2.

Yu :—A. 4.

Yu :—A. 8.

Yu :—E. 1

28.

Ra :—A. 1 ; A. 4 ; A. 8 ; N. 1.

Ra :—A. 11 ; A. 13 ; A. 14 ; E. 2
E. 1 ; E. 1 ; J. 1.

Ra :—A. 9.

Ra :—B. 2 ; C. 2.

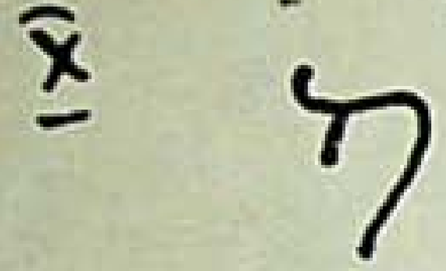
Ra :—F. 1.

Ri :— A. 10 ; A. 11 ; A. 16 ; N. 1 ; J. 3.

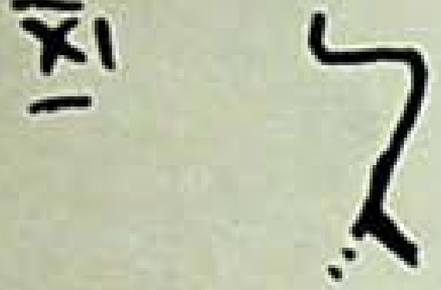
Ri :— E. 4 ; J. 2.

Ri :— K. L. 1.

Re .— A. 9 ; A. 10 ; J. 1.



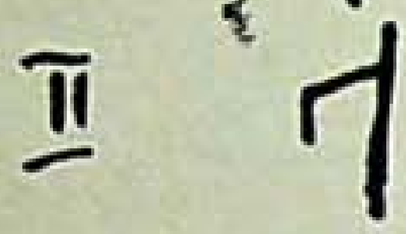
Ro :— 1. 1; 2 ; 1. 3.



R'a :— A. 4.

29. I.

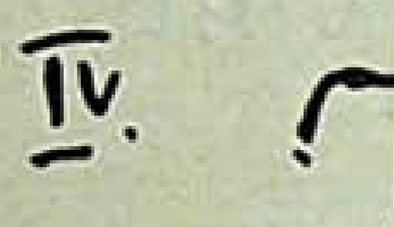
La :— B. 2.

II 

La :— E. 2 ; F. 1 ; N. 4 ; A. 6 ; R. 1.

III

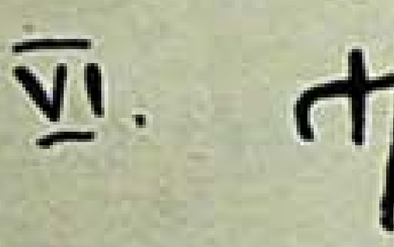
La :— A. 1 ; G. 1.

IV. 

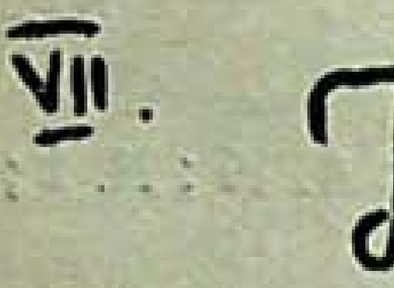
La :— N. 1.

V.

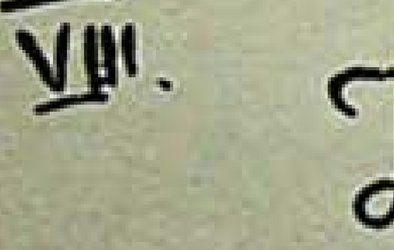
La :— J'. 1.

VI. 

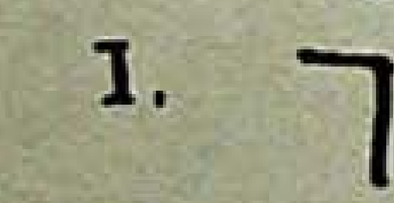
Li :— J. 1.

VII. 

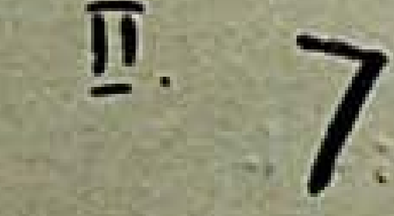
Lu. :— C. 1 ; N. 4.

VIII. 

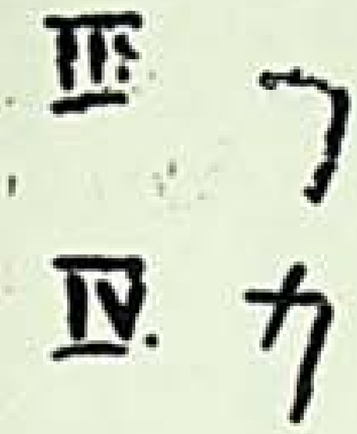
Lu :— C. 4.

30. I. 

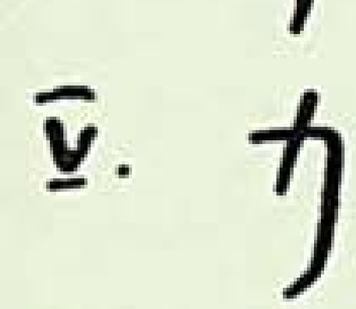
Va :— A. 1 ; A. 4 ; A. 14 ; A. 16 ; G. 1 ; F. 2.

II. 

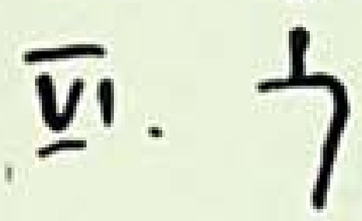
Va :— A. 10 ; A. 12 ; Q. 2 ; G. 1 ; G. 2 ; J. 3 ; N. 2.



Va :— E. 1 ; I. 1 ; I 3 ; B. 1 ; C. 2 ; K. L. 1.

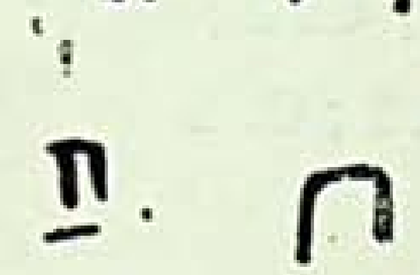


Vi :...A. 10 ; A. 11 ; 1. 4 ; A. 13 ; N. 4

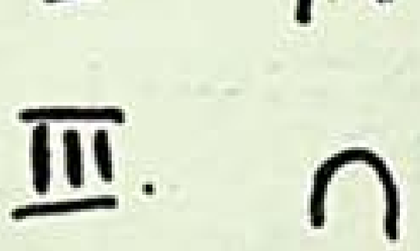


Vi :— M. 1.

Ve :— C. 3 ; I. 1 ; M. 1 ; N. 4.

31. 

Śa :—J'. 1.

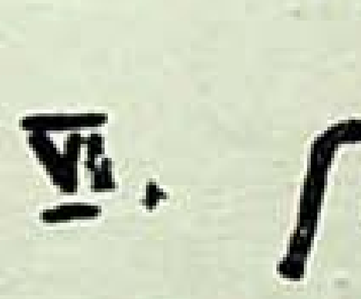


Sa :—A. 11.

Śa :— A. 12.

Śu :— C. 3 , M. 1.

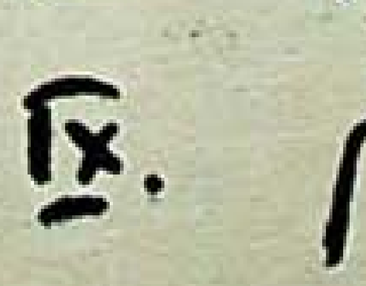
Śo :— J'· 2.



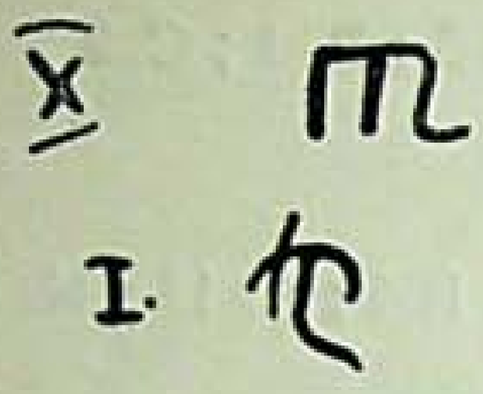
Śra (Ś'a) :— A 10.

Śra (Ś'a) :— A. 15.

Śri (Ś'i) :—A. 13.



Śre (Ś'e) :— A. 11



Śro (Ś'o) :— M. 3.

32. I. Shri (Sh'i) :— A. 2.

33. I. Sa :— A. 1 ; A. 12.

II. Sa :— A. 1 : A. 5 ; A. 6.

III Sa :— A. 12 ; A 15 ; A ; A 15 ; A. 15 ; K.L· 1 ; G. 2 ; G. 2 ; N. 2 ; N. 4 ; J. 3 ; O. 2.

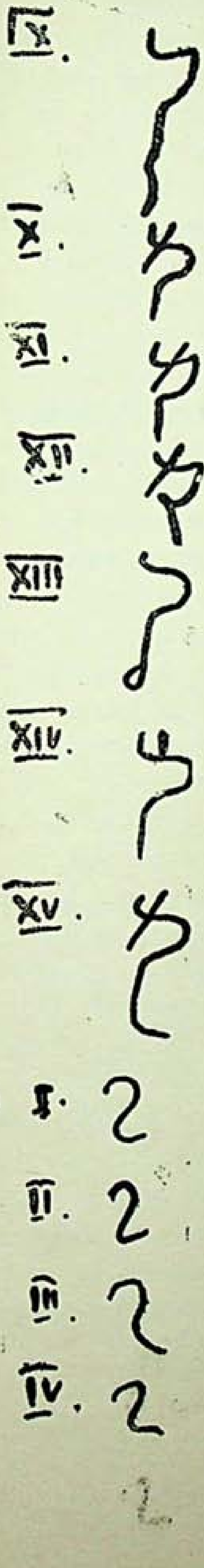
IV. Sa :— A. 13 ; N. 1 ; N. 2 ; N. 3 ; G. 1 ; E. 2 ; E. 4.

V. Sa :— A. 8 ; A. 13 ; A. 4 ; F. 1 ; F. 1 ; F. 2 ; F. 2 ; F. 2 ; Q. 1 ; R. 1 R. 2

VI. Sa :— A. 14 ; Q. 2 ; N. 1.

VII. Sa :— B. 1 ; N. 1 ; Q. 1.

VIII. Sa :— I. 1 ; K.L, 1 ; O. 1.



IX. Sa (or Sya ?) :— B.2; G. 1.

X. Si :— A. 2.

XI. Si :— A. 11.

XII. Si :— J. 2.

XIII Su :— G. 1.

XIV. Se :— C. 3; M. 1.

XV. Sri (S'i) :— A. 7.

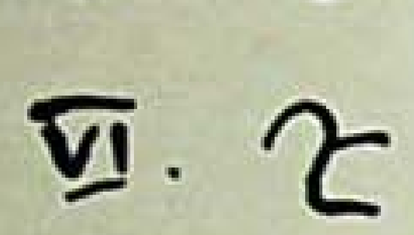
34 I. Ha :— A. 8 ; G.1 ; N. 3.

II. Ha :— A. 8.

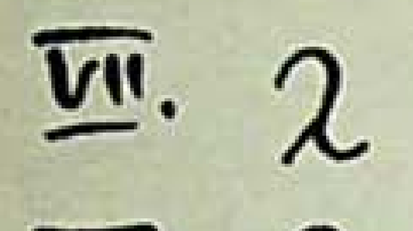
III. Ha :— B. 1.

IV. Ha :— A. 1.

Hi :— A. 7.



He :— A. 2; A. 16 ; J. 3.

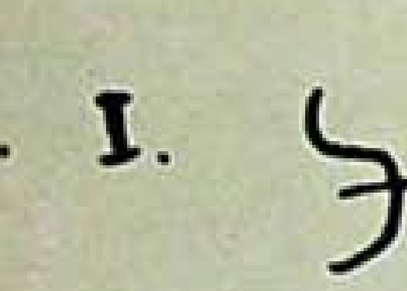


Ho :— A. 6.

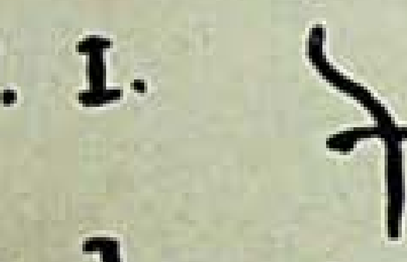
Ho :— A. 9.

35.

Rva— A. 15; J. 1; F. 2; J. 3; N. 2; O. 1.

36. 

Rda :— Q. 1.

37. 

Rna :— 1. 11.

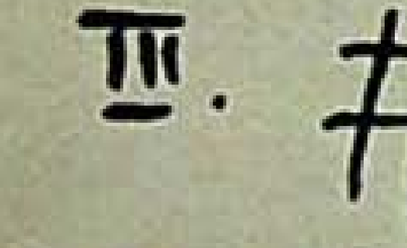
38.

Śpa — A. 7 ; A. 13.

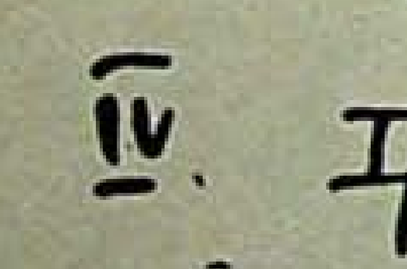
39.

Sta — A. 4.

Sti :— A. 16 ; J. 3.



Sti :— F. 2 ; N. 2.



Sto :— E. 1.

The object of this analysis is not to lay stress on the whimsical forms of the letters that must differ from hand to hand, but the main purpose has been to arrive at some set tradition or traditions that must have governed the land of the writer while writing this inscription. It is not easy to discover this. Buhler described the writing as closely agreeing with that of the Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra versions of the Aśoka forms and the cursive deviations of the Dhammapada manuscript and those discovered by Dr. Stein, to which approximate the vase scratchings from Māṇikiāla and other places and the inscription of Sue Vihar." This big margin is kept by Thomas in order to explain the variations in the lettter forms shown in his *Table of Aksharas*. Konow fixes a definite date of the time of Patika, slightly later than his Taxila plate, more probably because of the name of Patika occurring in the Lion-Capital inscription than on the consideration of palaeography. Konow talks of "cursive form", as quoted before, but takes no account of this factor while determining its character. This is not by sheer neglect, but it is due to the nature of the writing itself, which evades clear definition. It has misled earlier palaeographers, as it deceived our eyes too when we first examined the inscription. It is because of this confusion that we started to work on the mechanical process of counting each form occurring in the inscription and recording every time. It is by this process that we got the index to all the letter forms appearing in the inscription. Each one of them need not be described in detail. But the imortant features require stressing. The features can be distributed into two groups.

(a) The verticals of the letters generally fall straight. The mid-stroke of *I* is either at an incline or given horizontally. The medial *U* has generally a loop at the lower end of the vertical. *Kha* is without its upper hood, as seen in the Scythian inscriptions. *Ya* has generally a pointed top. *Sa* sometimes shows the prolongation of the vertical upwards to narrow the mouth of the head. In the conjuncts like *Rva* Rda and Rna the letter *R* is shown by a downward curve with no loop formed with second letter. These are the dominant features in the inscription

and tally fully with the Kharoshṭhī inscriptions dated between 78 and 130.

(b) Some features recall the Aśokan writing : the initial *U* (no. 3. 1), *Cha* (no 10. 1) and *Mu* (no, 26, VII). It is strange how these forms are preserved at so late a date. Other forms speak of a much later date. The characteristic bend or incline at the lower end of the vertical is occasionally seen ; e, g, 1. II and III ; 2. III ; 5. II ; 14. II ; 15. II ; 22. IV ; 23. III ; 28. V ; 29. V ; 30. V ; 33. IV. This feature compares very well with the writing seen in the Kalawan copper plate dated 134,[1] The wave in the verticals is also sometimes marked, as is known from the late Kushāṇa inscriptions : e, g, 1. IV ; 2. IV ; 3. IV ; 5. III ; 13. I and II ; 21. IV ; 23. III ; 28. VIII ; 33. IX. In these two features cursive hands are easily recognisable, We also find the same tendency in *Ka* (6. VI) , *Khu* (7.V), and in the forms of *Da*, *Dha*, *Na* and *Ha*, The form of Ṅa (14. I and II) is definitely of the later period. The round topped *Ya* again points to the late period, *Sa* with the month of its head wide open and having a curved attachment at the top (33 II,III,IV,V and VI) speaks of the time of the Kanishka group of the Kushāṇa rulers, When these features are combined with the special favour shown to inter-vocalic sounds, like *Kra* (*K'a*), *Gra* (*G'a*), Ḍhra Ḍh'a), *Tra* (*T'a*) *Pra* (*P'a*) *Bhra* (*Bh'a*), *R'a*, Śra, (Ś'a) and *Sra* (*S'a*)—the sounds which predominate in the writing of the time of the later Kushāṇas—it is hardly possible to doubt that the writer of this inscription was fully conversant with the later style. It may be that some of these forms may not express new sounds, as is argued by Konow but may denote compounds with *Ra* as the second element, But palaeo-graphically no distinction has been properly kept. On the other hand the fascination for *T'a* is so clearly manifest in the inscription that it seems the writer's own speech was akin to that seen in the inscriptions of the later Kushāṇas. Indeed the features seen here resemble fairly well with that known in the stone inscriptions of the later Kushāṇa rulers.

In view of the mixture of at least two definite traditions in the

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1, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol, XXI, 1931-32, p, 259,

Lion Capital inscriptionit is but natural to argue that the inscription was actually engraved in the time of the Kanishka group of the Kushāṇa rulers and that the writing is not contemporary with Śoḍāsa. It is not unlikely that the engraving was done surreptitiously in order to make a claim on the monastery and the land. This purpose could be easily served by adopting a peculiar blend of the Kharoshṭhī hands in a region where Brāhmī was the usual form of writing, otherwise it is difficult to understand why an attempt is made to copy some of the older forms in this inscription. The writing in this inscription does not tally with the tradition known in the time of Śoḍāsa in the North Western region.

THE DOCTRINE OF MĀYĀ IN VEDĀNTA : WHAT IT IMPLIES.

DR. GOVINDA CHANDRA DEV

In my philosophical writings I almost always tried to give a new orientation to the Vedāntic doctrine of Māyā so much so that my critics at times think I have substantially departed from the traditional view. I do consider this a mistake and feel inclined to throw some further light on this vexed topic. It may be worthwhile to quote below a passage from an earlier work to focuss attention on my view of Māyā in Vedānta : "Without departing substantially from the Vedāntic tradition, if we simply cross its 't's and dot its 'i's I believe we might be in a position to discover in precise terms the extra-subjective implications of the concept of empirical reality (Vyavahārika-Sattā) of the world in which we live, move and have our being."

To do this it is necessary to take a bird's eye view of the development of the ideas of Māyā in Vedānta.

Prima facie, the concept of Māyā rouses two idea in the mind of the students of philosophy as well as the lay, general readers. Often enough to them, Māyā means a sort of universal magic by which in the Vedāntic absolute devoid of plurality and difference, Nirguṇa as it is called, a world of plurality and difference is projected. This is a subjective affair pure and simple. The absolute is not at all touched by it, nor has it any role to play in it. So from the idea of Māyā as universal magic, another idea follows as a matter of course. If things of the world are no other than magical conjectures, the world of experience is nothing but a series of perceptions in the mind of the individual who sees and feels it. Plainly speaking, the world exists because we percieve it and not that we perceive it because it exists. This is the scheme of reality

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1. Dev—*Idealism and Progress* : p. 374, Das Gupta and Co. Ltd. Calcutta.

in Vedānta equated with what is called subjective idealism or more precisely solipsism in academic philosophy.

Such a reading of Vedānta does not seem to be altogether erroneous either. The only danger perhaps is that it is a half-truth which is at times worse than falsehood. In a work as early as the Rigveda we come across the idea of Māyā as magic. There the supreme God, Indra, is said to assume various forms through the magic of Māyā: "Indra Māyābhiḥ pururupaḥ lyate." Here the word Māyā has been used in the plural number : Māyābhiḥ. Gradually, the idea of Māyā as magic was applied to the world as a whole and made a universal principle of mysterious nature to fill in the gap between the absolute devoid of differences and the world of eperience shot through and through with them. The doctrine of Māyā thus becomes an attempt to make these two opposite poles meet.

But this is not an easy job. Naturally enough, some advocates of Vedānta, not to speak of its undaunted critics, have laid the emphasis on the first and given the world of experience a look of subjective fancy pure and simple. Others with a realistic frame of mind, 'tough-minded' thinkers in the familiar phrase of William James, have tried to put their finger on the second and make light of the absolute devoid of plurality. I do believe that neither the subjectivism of the first nor the realism of the second does justice to the spirit of Vedānta. In the mean between the two, not golden but diamond perhaps because of its toughness, lies hidden the true meaning and significance of Māyā in Vedānta.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the Vedāntists in general to differentiate their position from solipsism, their critics have often enough traced a para'lel of Buddhist Vijñānavāda in Vedānta. It is well known that according to Vijñānavāda, the objects of experience are nothing but ideas in the mind of their percipient. I have my own doubts however about Vinjñānavāda being altogether identical with solipsism. Its supposition of a universal consciousness, Ālaya-Vijñāna, which is in the final analysis the repository of all idens seems to me to indicate the shortcomings of a purely subjectivist reading of the world of experience. The same is perhaps the case with Berkeley who stumbles all of a sudden on a universal consciousness to make up for the deficiencies of his initial inordinate

subjectivism. I would like to say the same thing though in a lesser degree about Fichte too. Be that as it may, the equation of the object of experience with the idea of it is the central theme of solipsism as it is commonly understood. From Śaṅkara downwards, the advocates of Vedānta have often enough spared no efforts to find fault with this equation. Śaṅkara's unambiguous refutation of Vijñānavāda in the second section of the second chapter of his celebrated commentary to the Brahmasūtra of Vādarāyaṅa is well-known. The following excerpt from it might aptly recall Moore's "Refutation of Idealism" in which modern realism expresses itself with great clarity and force perhaps for the time in the English speaking world. 'Upalavyate hipratipratyam bāhyaḥ arthaḥ Stambhaḥ kudyam Ghaṭaḥ paṭa iti."

"With every experience, there is invariably an external object, say the pillar. the wall, the jar, the cloth etc. It is hardly possible to deny the existence of that which is felt outside."

The Vedāntists are generally a bit too fastidious in their faith in the independent existence of the object of experience. An erroneous experience is taken by plain commonsense as a confusion of an idea with an object. But Vedānta refuses to accept this simple account of error. According to it an erroneous experience, say of a shell shining in sunshine as silver, is not a mere idea of mind. There is an object like shell-silver which is perceived outside. It is a familiar fact that owing to our ignorance of the shell, we are liable to mistake it as piece of silver But we must remember except for a piece of illusory silver outside, there could be no mistaken perception of it. Obviously enough, there is no illusory silver in the world of normal experience. This is why Vedānta maintains that ignorance of the shell mistaken as silver becomes transformed into illusory silver. Thus, even illusory silver is not a mere idea but a fact of a particular type. To quote from a standard work of Vedānta: Śuktitva-Prakārikāvidyā..... rajatarupraṭhā Kāreṇa parinamate". "The ignorance of a piece of shell becomes transformed into illusory silver in the private world of the victim of error".[1]

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1. Dharmārājadharīndra : Vedānta Paribhāshā Chap I, Section on Bhrama.

The very phrase 'Arthākāreṇa Pariṇamate' needs to be underlined because it lays special emphasis on the independent status of the object of experience not only in our normal life shared with other individuals but also in the sphere of error which is a private personal experience.

In Western Psychology sometimes at least a line of demarcation is drawn between illusion and hallucination. It is supposed that the former has an objective basis, the latter none. When a man suffering from jaundice sees a white conch-shell as yellow, it is a case of illusion. It has an objective reference though mistaken and misunderstood. But when Macbeth, for example, saw a dagger hanging over his head day and night, it was a case of hallucination. It is a mistaken idea pure and simple, not a mistaken reading of a stimulus from without. I do not think Vedānta can afford to believe in this distinction. For it, there can be no mistaken perception, if there is no illusory object to be perceived. If this be the case, it is difficult to believe that the doctrine of Māyā in Vedānta implies that the objects of experience are no other than ideas of the individual mind. Yet it will not be historically correct to say that at certain stages of development of the theory of Māyā in Vedānta the world of experience was not treated as ideas of the mind that perceives it.

Not only Buddhist Vijñānavāda but certain trends in Vedāntic thought itself corroborates this supposition. Gauḍapāda, the distinguished predecessor of Śaṅkara is an advocate of the doctrine known as Ajātavāda according to which the world was never created. Much later Prakāśānanda holds the same view under the cover of a new name, Dṛiṣhṭi-Sṛishṭivāda. According to it, the objects of experience are created, the moment we perceive them. They exist neither before nor after. Needless to add that most Vedāntists do not share this view. According to them, the world of experience is an apparent transformation (Vivarta) through Māyā of the absolute devoid of plurality and difference. Prakāśānanda however observes that the idea of apparent transformation is not a correct statement but a concession made to human weakness that draws from and banks upon ignorance.

To quote his own phrase: "Bālān Prati Vivartaḥ" "for the ignorant is the idea of apparent transformation", not for those who are free from ignorane and bondage. It would be idle therefore to deny the historic fact that at some stage of development of the idea of Māyā in Vedānta, solipsism caught hold of it. That impress was so indelible that even in much later writings, there is a trace of it.

If the ultimate reality is an indeterminate absolute devoid of plurality and difference, prima facie at least the conclusion is that the world of our normal experience is and must be a creature of individual fancy. This simple but, I fear, bad logic is at the root of a subjectivist reading of Vedānta. The logic is without doubt very simple. The world of plurality and difference cannot be rooted in the absolute. It runs counter to its very essence, its indeterminateness. According to the subjectivist, the only other alternative is to trace the world of experience to the distorted vision of the finite individual. But a careful analysis reveals that this is bad logic too. For plain, unadulterated and unsophisticated commonsense at least, the finite individual that experiences the world of plurality cannot be numerically one. There is, as a matter of fact, an almost endless variety of finite individuals. The inevitable result is that when a particular finite individual is liberated from bondage, the world of experience ceases to exist for him alone. But for others it exists. That 'others' will always remain and the world of experience will also be there. This is inescapable. Liberation is a most difficult job and there will always remain individuals wending their way in the vale of ignorance. The irresistible conclusion therefore is that in the scheme of reality in Vedānta, consistently with the ultimate reality of the indeterminate absolute devoid of plurality and difference, some scope must be left for the existence of the world of experience beyond the perception of this or that individual, of Tom, Dick and Harry. Many find it difficult to escape between the horns of this dilemma. In their eagerness to find out an easy solution either they superimpose solipsism straight on Vedānta or bid farewell to its indeterminate absolute by accepting the Hegelean

dictum : 'Pure being is as good as pure nothing'. Vedānta rightly viewed and rightly understood fights shy of both. Its main task is to leave some room for the extra-subjective status of the facts of experience side by side with the indeterminate absolute, the pure being, conciousness and bliss, Sachchidānanda as it is called.

Before we labour this point a bit, we must pause to consider another phase of development of Māyā in Vedānta which we come across in a later Upanishad, Śvetāśvatara. It seems to identify the Māyā of Vedāntā with the Frakriti of Sāṁkhya. To quote its own words: "Māyāntu Prakritim biddhi Māyinastu Maheśvaram." "Have it that the cosmic energy is no other than Māyā and its guide and regulator no other than the Supreme Being."[1] Thus is Māyā made the synonym of the Prakriti of Sāṁkhya or the cosmic energy in which before creation all facts of experience lie hidden and out of which during creation they emerge,

By an identification of the Prakriti of Sāṁkhya as the Māyā of Vedānta, Śvetāśvatara Upanishad tries to kill two birds with one stone. The Prakriti of Sāṁkhya has a full measure of reality. By covering it with the mist of Māyā, Śevetāśvatara makes it less real than it was left to itself. Again, by making Māyā one with the cosmic energy it takes away from its unrealitya nd makes it objective in real sense. The last trace of subjectivism on Māyā in Vedānta is thus considerably taken away.

Judged by this criterion, Māyā is not something over and above the world of experience. But the whole world becomes reduced into Māyā and we live in the realm of ignorance, nescience as it is at times called. Besides, Māyā is rooted in the Supreme Being. Our aim is therefore to get out of its clutch, its iron-grip so to say. Māyā thus understood has a three-fold meaning : first, it takes away from the full reality of the world of experience and makes it semi-real. Second, it gives some sort of objective status to the world of experience, and third and last, it serves an ethical purpose by laying an emphasis on the the need of transcending Māyā to get out of the veil of darkness and to be in the realm of light

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1. Śvetāśvatara - Upanlshad : IV, X.

constituted by its support, the absolute. This inter-action of the misty Māyā of early Vedānta, of this magical power and the fully real Prakriti, the cosmic energy of Sāṁkhya places the Vedāntic doctrine of Māyā on a stable equilibrium, gives it a general colour which remains more or less the same throughout later writings.

This is the idea that seems to dominate the philosophical speculations of Śaṅkara and his representative followers. They have tried hard to steer clear of the solipsism of Vijñānavāda of Buddhism on the one hand and the activist realism of Mīmāṁsā school of ritualist philosophy on the other. Historically at least, in its mature from, the notion of Māyā in Vedānta occupies the curious middle ground between these two extremes. Vedānta in its final phase must be earmarked from stark realism and aggressive subjectivism.

Śaṇkara in whom above all we come across a clear enunciation of the philosophical-cum-ethical implications of Māyā maintains that unmanifest energy out of which the world of experience springs exists in a latent form in the absolute just like the productive energy of a banyan tree in a small banyan seed. As he himself puts its : Paramātmani otoprotabhavena Samāśritaṁ vaṭakanikāyaniva vaṭavriksha-Śakti.[1] In the same train he describes the world of experience as the joint product of ignorance (Avidyā) of the individual and the unmanifest cosmic energy (Avyakta).[2] This shows perhaps unmistakeably that though subjective in its details, the world of experience is objective in its general structure. Its details are determined by individual ignorance, its general structure by the unmanifest cosmic energy.

This I presume is the true meaning and implication of the inexplicable existence (Anirvachanīya-Sattā) of the practical work-a-day world so much emphasised and underlined in Vedāntic literature. The work-a-day world cannot be real in the true sense. In that case, it will add to the reality of the indeterminate absolute. Ex-hypothesis, this is not possible. He can neither add to nor take away from the essence of an absolute whose nature is pure being,

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1. Śaṅkara's commentary to Kaṭha Upanishad I, III, XI
2. *Ibid* II, IIII,

consciousness and bliss. But the world of experience cannot be altogether unreal either since its existence is felt. A sheer nonentity-like hare's horn (Śaśa-śriṅga) or the barren woman's son (Bandhyāputra) can never be experience. Not only this. As has already been pointed out, practical work-a-day life will never cease to exist. There are and there will always be individuals in bondage. In relation to them, the world must exist. In brief, the world as we find it perpetually hangs, like the sword of Democles over our head and the absolute God, the only reality in the true sense will remain ever hidden from the vision of almost all of us except the select few who are luckily enough out of bondage. So this curious commodity, the inexplicable and, through that 'false (Mithyā) world we live in will remain for ever as a veritable datum of experience. It can hardly afford to be an idea of the individual mind. The average critic of Vedānta rightly or wrongly finds it difficult to draw a line of demarcation between the real and the unreal, the existent and the non-existent. Yet the time-old wisdom of spiritualist philosophy in Vedānta, Plato and many others consists in the discovery of this semi-mythical intermediate realm which is a mixture of light and darkness, reality and unreality, truth and falsehood, 'Satyānrite mithunīkritya"[1] as Śaṅkara describes it with X-raying insight. I should therefore like to plead with the hasty critics of the notion of falsity not to give the dog a name it does not deserve and then hang it. Madhusūdhana, I think, is amply justified when he observes that nothing could be false without being a content of experience (Dṛiśya). In other words, objective existence is the indispensable condition of falsity. Nothing can be false if it is simply imaginary, i.e merely an idea of the individual mind. To be false, it must be imaginary as well as a content to experience. It must share half the kingdom with the bride to put it in the familiar language of fairy tales.

But many do not consider it at all a precise specification of the world around and inside us. To them, it is a confusion, perhaps worse confounded, a hotch-potch. The standard Vedāntic answer to this criticism is: if the world is a hotch-potch, how can

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1. Śaṅkara's introduction to his commentary to Brahma-Sūtra.

we possibly help it ? Is it not better to call quinine, quinine than to make it appear sweet by a coating of sugar ? In short, Vedānta prefers a straight submission to facts as they stand to a make-shift. Even a thinker of the eminence and reputation of Rāmānuja finds fault with it. He observes with pungent humour that the idea of the inexplicable in Vedānta is a confession of failure to explain the status of the world of experience : "Anirvachani-yavāda Anirvachanīya eva." The stricture seems to be misplaced as the concept of inexplicability is not really a confession of failure of intellect as Rāmānuja and many others contend. In its positive aspect, it is an objective assessment and, as such its negative implication should not be looked upon as its last word. Here also it is the letter that killeth. The word Anirva-chanīya or the inexplicable is without doubt negative in appearance but it is nevertheless positive in substance. A Vedāntic thinker rightly observes : "Na hi anirvachanīyatva nāma buddherasā marthya Kathanam api tu vastu—Svarūpa- varnanam." The notion of inexplicability does not imply the futility of intellect. It simply states the nature of facts as they stand." Being imbued with this idea in a previous work, I have described the position of Vedānta as follows : "..... the doctrine of Māyā not only implies the unreality of the world of experience without any reserve but it also implies that the felt plurality is nevertheless more real than reality itself. Despite being real, reality cannot assert itself fully. But the unreal is more real because, notwithstanding its unreality, it can appear, can assert itself as a peculiar positive datum not only in reference to the finite centre of experiene but also from the standpoint of the ultimate reality which it forces, as it were, to appear as the cosmic whole. Thus under-stood, the doctrine of Māyā is far off from solipsism."[1]

An emphasis on the subjective aspect of the world of expe-rience in Vendāta has at times led to an under-estimation of its objective aspect. It is a plain fact that the majority of Vedāntic thinkers do not believe in the theory that there is only one individual self (Ekajīvavāda) but in an endless variety of selves (Bahujīva-Vāda). But as the main motive of

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1. Deva : Idealism and progress p 351.

traditional Vedānta is more ethical than philosophical in our sense of the word, many of them have betrayed a sort of indifference on this issue. Curiously enough, in standard Vedantic works the notion of one finite self and that of many finite selves have heen placed side by side without much preference for the either. Even Śaṅkara who seems to be an advocate of the theory of a plurality of finite selves observes problematically at least that there is no harm if we believe in one finite self. So far as attainment of freedom is concerned, an average Vedāntist does not appear very much hostile to the notion of one finite self. The advocates of the theory of liberation of all finite individuals together at a time (Sarvamuktivāda) are however exceptions. If the all-important factor in life is to get out of the clutch of ignorance, it is immaterial whether others remain or not after I have attained liberation. In such a context the well-known formula : After me the deluge, has some significance, of course in a much more dignified shape. For Vedānta philosophy in its theoretic aspect, this makes a real difference. The idea of one infinite self will lead to unqualified subjectivism while the idea of many selves to objectivism toned down by subjectivism.

The theory of a plurality of finite selves has a deeper implication which is sometimes at least ignored by the advocates as well as the critics of Vedānta. Vedānta rightly believes that corresponding to the awareness of the finite individuals, there must invariably be a cosmic consciousness. The part must draw from the whole, the finite perspectives from the infinite. The logical counterpart of our small worlds is a big world, more precisely the biggest in which these small worlds of different individuals are finally rooted. The former is called microcosm and the latter, macrocosm. Obviously the first must be many, the second one and only one. Speaking plainly, the macrocosm is no other than the cosmic consciousness in which the almost endless variety of the small worlds of the finite selves are absorbed They are the partial aspects of the total view of the cosmic whole. If this be the case, as it should be, in the very heart of the indeterminate absolute of Vedānta, there must

somehow be a cosmic conciousness in which what we call the world of experience is grounded. In the Vedāntic terminology, this is called Īśvara as distinguished from its background, Brahma or the indeterminate absolute. The relation of this cosmic consciousness to its indeterminate background is not easy to understand. Śaṅkara observes that it can neither be described as altogether identical (Tat) nor also as completely different (Anya) from its support and substratum. I presume the precise attitude of Vedānta to solipsism could best be ascertained in the light of the status of the cosmic consciousness in the Vedāntic scheme of reality. It goes without saying that in one sense, the cosmic consciousness does not exist and in another, it does. Possibly because of this Śaṅkara does not altogether identify it with or differentiate it from its background, the absolute In the final analysis. Māyā in Vedānta implies that there is the cosmic whole in the absolute witout either adding to the essence of the latter or taking away from it.

How could this happen? It might be legitimately asked. The answer of Vedānta perhaps is that apparent reality (Vyavahārika-Sattā) can go hand in hand with ultimate reality (pāramarthika-Sattā). Abstract logic finds it difficult to concede to the concept of apparent reality. But it should not be forgotten that facts are not for logic but logic is for facts. Often enough, Vedāntists are aware of this role of logic in philosophy. Vāchaspati rejects infinite regress (Anabastā) as a fallacy but accepts it as a fact without murmur. Śaṅkara points out that this world of experience is a logical contradiction but an undisputed fact. Sarvaloka-pratyaksha, as he puts it,[1] philosophy must willy-nilly reckon with this standing contradiction. So it comes to this that māyā and the cosmic whole and the world of experience in its full dimension are one and occupy the curious middle ground between that which really exists (Sat) and that which does not (Asat). Thus, the all-inclusive whole (Īśvara) is not the last world of Vedānta and it is not also a figment of individual fancy, a temporary make-shift as some would have us believe.

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1. Śaṅkara's introduction to his commentary to the Brahmasūra,

It is very much to be regretted that even in average Vedāntic literature, much serious effort has not been made to determine precisely the existential status of the cosmic whole (Īśvara) vis-a-vis its background, the indeterminate absolute (Brahma).

It must not be forgotten that though the cosmic whole is apparently real, ultimately unreal, it is never actually cancelled like the content of erroneous experience, for example, the familiar rope-snake. The rope-snake is the product of individual ignorance and the moment that ignorance goes, it is lost beyond recovery in its substratum, the rope. Luckily or unluckily, cosmic consciousness precludes such a possibility. Śaṇkara himself has described the world of experience as ever real as a series of events (pravāhākareṇa Nityam.).[1] Ignorance will I may repeat never be exhausted and there will always be finite individuals in bondage and as their counterpart, there must always be a cosmic consciousness. In the light of all that has already been said, I do feel tempted to reverse the formula and observe that in a deeper sense, the cosmic consciousness is not the counterpart of finite individual but individual consciousness itself is the inevitable but a distorted counterpart of the universal. Viewed rightly, Īśvara is not the shadow of Jīva but Jīva the shadow of Īśvara.

The demand for cancellation of the cosmic consciousness does not seem to be logically sound either. It does not need to be cancelled at all because being infinite in its range and quality, it does not suffer from the limitations of the finite individuals steeped in ignorance. To the contrary, it is ever free and, as such, knows that the world of plurality that exists in it is only apparently real, exists only in its imagination just like the creations of a master-poet. Possibly because of this, Upanishad describes God as a poet (Kavi) and a poet is said to be one whose vision extends to the farthest limits and the innermost core of things (Krāntadarśī).[2] If we could by aesthetic imagination conceive a rope appearing as a snake to itself and fully

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1. Śaṇkara's commentary to the Bhagavad-Gītā : XV, I.
2. Iśa- Upanishad: VIII, also Śaṅkara's commentary.

conscious of the fact that it is not really a snake but a rope, it will, I suppose, correspond mnch better to the role of the cosmic whole in Vedānta vis-a-vis its indeterminate substratum. I personally feel that sometimes at least undue emphasis has been laid on the role of the external observer in the Vedāntic analysis of error. The idea therefore has gained ground that just as a rope-snake has meaning and significance in relation to a person who out of ignorance sees it from outside, much in the same manner the world of experience is a creation of an individual or individuals who owing to their ignorance perceive the indeterminate absolute in a distorted manner i.e. as the world of experience. This seems to me to be a superficial analysis of error. It ignores the great fact of cosmic consciousness that lurks behind individual perception and can never be cancelled from outside like a product of individual fancy, say a rope-snake or a shell-silver.

This is why I feel inclined to hold that ultimately the mark of falsity in Vedānta is not the actual cancellation of content by an external observer but its cancellabitity. Though the world of experience so far as it is rooted in the cosmic consciousness cannot be cancelled and negated like a rope-snake it has no ultimate existence because it is cancellable. It is nagated really in the absolute and ideally in the cosmic consciousness. Herein lies the difference between cancellation and cancellability. Judged from this perspective, the examples of error like the dramatist (Naṭa) and the magician (Aindrajālika) give a better insight into the meaning and significance of the Vedāntic doctrine of Māyā, of the mysterious, inexplicable apparent reality of the world experience and its eternal substratum, Īśvara than a rope-snake or a shell-silver which are coloured a bit too much by subjectivism as they have meaning and significance only in relation to their external observer and not their own substratum.

If we point after Śaṅkara the cosmic consciousness (Īśvara) as a dramatist whose eternal drama the world we live in is Māyā will mean neither more nor less than "a simple statement of facts"

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1. Vivekānand: Complete Works, Vol. II. p. 89.

as Vivekānanda would have us believe. Romain Rolland while explaining the implications of Māyā in Vivekānanda in the light of the findings of science rightly observes that modern equivalent of Māyā is relativity.[1] We live in the realm of the relative, of the conditioned and ever changing and we have no glimpse of the the absolute truth. This is what Vivekānandā says throughout his exposition of the idea of Māyā in Vedānta. I do not know whether the theory of Relativity of Einstein has much to do with the time-old philosophic concept of Māyā. Possibly it leaves little scope for the absolute truth. From this angle, it is indeed far off from Māyā But judged from another perspective it seems rather near Māyā. The world we live in is a world of space-time and if space and time have no fixed objective existence, they seem not very far from the subjective-objective, apparent reality of Vedāntā. The gist of it might be found in the following humorous but significant rhymed statement of the implications of Einstein's theory :—

"There was a young girl named Bright.
Who could travel much faster than light,
She departed one day
In an Einsteinian way,
And came back on the previous night :"

Is it ethereal poetry or hard fact ? If it is possible to come back on the previous night after departing the following day what else is the world of space- time except Māyā, something veritably real and yet lacking in reality in the true sense, the eternal sphinx of philosophy ?

Whatever the philosophical implication of the theory of relativity, I know there is an element of Māyā in modern progressive thinking throughout. Modern outlook of life is based on the concept of relative truth. For it, not only truth is relative but all our experiments in practical life too are relative. What works in life is true as the pragmatist observes. But what works

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1. Romain Rolland : Life of Vivekānanda and the Universal Gospel p. 209.

to-day may not work tomorrow and might be a great handicap of progress day after tomorrow. But the Vedāntist says that modern outlook of life is true so far as it goes but it is not the full truth. There is a second half of truth which modern progressive outlook lamentably lacks. It is no other than the absolute truth. To make modern life consistent in the full sense, we must add the idea of absolute truth to it. It is indeed a happy coincidence rather semi-coincidence. that, centuries before, Śaṅkara observes that Māyā is relative truth (Āpekshika Satyam)[7] whereas the reality behind the panorama of sense alone is the absolute truth.

I would now like to make a passing reference to the great practical significance of this view of life in the modern scientific environment. Modern man and woman often enough say that Māyāvada represents a primitive approach to the problems of life and should be kept in a museum like Egyptian mummies for display. To me at least this means a lack of insight into the basic needs of modern man, if not a grave danger. If we understand that all truth, and by truth here I mean all human truth is relative, it will give us a spirit of tolerance, amity and understanding. In our individual and social, national and international life, it would better equip us to look at matters from the opposite angle. It will thus lessen tension in all spheres of life and help avert a nuclear conflict and pave the path of stable peace within and without.

Let us now pause to consider the practical implication of the Vedāntic concept of absolute truth. The recognition of the unity of creation which is the last word of Vedānta will, if given a fair play in practical work-a-day life, generate a spirit of universal love and make a world-understanding much less difficult. It will bring a world-culture and a world-Government nearer in which the peace and prosperity of the common man and the solidarity of the human race lies. When man is about to return to dust due to his own folly of having too much power and too little love, in all pervasive love of Vedānta

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1. Śaṅkara's commentary to Muṇḍaka-Upanishad I, II, I.

lies his pulse-beat, the safest key to his harmonious growth. I can do no better than to conclude this rapid survey of the Vedāntic doctrine of Māyā by quoting the following inspiring passage from Yājñavalkya's talk to his beloved wife Maitreyī while he was about to renounce the world:

"Navā are Sarvasya Kāmāya Sarvaṁ Priyaṁ bhavati ātmanastu Kāmāya Sarvaṁ Priyaṁ bhavati"[1] "Verily we love things of the world not for their own sake but for the sake of the universal spirit behind."

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1. Vṛihadāraṇyaka-Upanishad II, IV, V.

A BURMA LETTER OF 1802

DEVAPRASAD GUHA

Three quarters of a century back, in 1885 to be exact, Professor J P. Minayeff of St. Petersburg University published an interesting document, written in Pali, in the Journal (pages 17-28) of the Pali Text Society of London. Dated in the Buddha Era 2346 (A, D. 1802) and written by the venerable Nāṇabhivaṁsa, a celebrated Burmese Buddhist monk, the letter was addressed to two of his Siṅhalese contemporaries, Dhammakkhandha and and Dhammarakkhita. The writing of Minayeff suffers from the defect that it gives the bare text of the letter and nothing more, not even its provenance. No doubl this shortcoming is to be deeply regretted, but the learned professor should not be blamed very much. It is fairly known that at the time when Minayeff published the record, the study of Pali, though quite a few decades old, was not yet much too systematised. Since his time so many years have passed away. Pali has established its reputation as a medium of oriental learning and scholarship. Scholars. not a few in number, have made their mark in different branches of its study. But, it is really a matter of deep regret that, though Minayeff tried to draw the attention of scholars to an absolutely unexplored branch of study, his attempt had not yet met with any cognizable success. However, it must be admitted that some kind of an attempt was made by the late lamented Burmese savant Ledi Paṇḍita U Maung Gyi who did actually collect a few such letters from Burma and put them together in his work *Pali sagā-thin : saye-thin*, with translation in Burmese appended to each. The defect of U Maung Gyi's work is that it does not contain any comment whatsoever on the letters. But in fairness of facts it must be acknowledged that the work, in which the documents appear, is not

the proper place for any comment whatsoever. Any way, besides this one, no noteworthy attempt has yet been made to explore the rich resources hidden in these documents, nor even to collect them whose existence in Burma, Ceylon and Siam is just likely. It may be mentioned in passing that in the last few sessions of the All-India Oriental Conference the present writer placed a number of such records before the world of scholars with some observations on them.

Before going into the details of document, it seems necessary to say a few words to introduce its author, the Venerable Nānâbhivaṁsa. To the Burmese scholars of today, he is popularly known as the Maungdaung Sayadaw the First. He is so called after the name of the village Maungdaung in the A-lone township of Upper Burma in which he was born in 1753 as the son of Maung San U and Shin Khwe. At the young age of ten, Maung Myat Ne as he was then called, entered the monastery for the customary initiation of a Burmese Buddhist which, however, he did not leave like most of his fellow brethren. After the lapse of three years, he was ordained as a novice. And at the age of twenty, he became a full-fledged monk and came to be known as Shin Nāṇâbhivaṁsa. Soon he established his reputation in the field of scholarship, and more so as a man of virtue. His fame attracted the attention of king Bodawpaya (1781-1819) who had him brought to his court at Ava, made him his chief adviser in matters religious and conferred on him the exalted title of *Sāsanābhidhaja-mahādhammarājaguru*. When he was thirty-five, he distinguished himself so much in scholarly and religious pursuits that he was made the *Sāsanapaing* (the head of the entire Burmese Buddhist monastic order) and was further adorned with the more exalted title of *Dhammasenāpati-mahādhammarājādhirājaguru*. On the day he accepted this distinction, he is said to have made a bold assertion in the celebrated Kyaung-U pagoda of Ava with the following words: "Matters concerning the *sāsana* shall I discharge equitably. I would rather leave my life than do injustice. No matter the promoter of the *sāsana* and the king issue special orders, I will follow righteousness. I will not abandon justice to do

wrong." This statement testifies to his inherent boldness, the virtue which stood as the basis of all his future activities, a trait which manifested itself with all its force when he played an active role in the Pārupana-Ekaṁsika controversy which was the only dark spot in the otherwise brilliant career of the Burmese Buddhist Church, a controversy which brought about a serious rift in the solidarity of the Burmese *Saṅgha*, a rift which stayed there for more than a century. Besides being a luminary in the spiritual firmament, Nānâbhivaṁsa was a profound scholar in Pali, Sanskrit and Burmese, and a prolific writer who wrote not less than thirty-eight independent works. With his facile pen he composed treatise on various aspects of the Buddhist lore, besides works on grammar, prosody, medicine, astrology and astronomy.

Nāṇābhivaṁsa, however, could not stick to the monastic
for a long time. A call from his friend and follower,
ing Bodawpaya, he could not ignore. The royal court was
n need of a man of his ability and experience. Readily
nded to the call, left the robes, became a minister in
apura court (the capital was already transferred in
n Ava to Amarapura) in 1812 and assumed the title
thammasaṅkram. Both as a spiritual dignitary and as
ative head he showed excellence and merit, and in 1832
ripe old age of seventy-nine he breathed his last on
ourth waning day of Pyatho (December-January) when
agyidaw was on the throne as the successor of Bodawpaya.

Coming back to the text itself, we propose to give a short summary of its contents. As said above, the letter was sent to two Siṅhalese Buddhist monks, Dhammakkhandha and Dhammarakkhita, by the Venerable Nāṇâbhivaṁsa during the reign of king Bodawpaya who has been represented in the text by his exalted and majestic appellation *Siri-pavara-vijayānantayasa tribhavanādhipati-paṇḍita-mahādhammarājā*. In the introductory portion of the letter, written in ornate Pali, the author describes the richness and beauty, grandeur and excellence of the Burmese capital Amarapura, a description which reminds one of that of Sāgala put in the preamble of the *Milindopañha*. Then comes the account, brief though, of the establishment of Buddhism in

Ceylon and the glory it attained during the succeeding centuries up to the time of the celebrated commentator Buddhaghosha. Thereafter starts the story of degeneration and we are told how Ceylon had to direct her eyes towards Burma and Siam for guidance and help in matters religious, and how emissaries were sent to these two countries for seeking the help needed during the rule of the Siṅhalese monarchs Mahāvijayabāhu (1186-(87), Vimaladhammasuriya (1592-1604) and Kittisirirājasīha (1747-82). We are further told that in the *Sāsana* Era 2344 (A. D.-18(0), during the reign of Siri-Vikkamarājasīha (1798-1815) six Siṅhalese novices and three lay-disciples, with *Sāmaṇera* Amba-gahapitiya Nāṇâvimalatissa as the leader, reached the Burmese capital Amarapura and were cordially received by the venerable Nāṇâbhivaṁsa.

Every possible provision was made for the comfort of the guests, and ultimately they were presented before the king who made necessary arrangements for their ordination. Accordingly, they were initiated and ordained by the royal priest himself and the Siṅhalese team was placed under the care of the celebrated Burmese monks for religious guidance and spiritual uplift of its members. At this stage the Venerable Nāṇâbhivaṁsa made a clear and categorical declaration of the feeling that had actuated him to undertake the work of converting the members of the Siṅhalese delegation. It was, said he neither for enhancing his personal prestige nor for acquiring any personal gain. He did it out of respect for the dignitaries of the Mahāvihāra fold of Ceylon and out of loving kindness and sympathetic consideration for the upholders of righteousness (by which he meant the Siṅhalese delegation in Burma), as also for the welfare of the king and people of Ceylon, besides for the establishment of the *sāsana* in the island on a firmer footing. Once ordained, the novices, now monks, were taught *sekhiyavatta* and *khandhakavatta*, and were instructed to put on the upper robe covering both the shoulders, a *Vinaya* practice which had already been a bone of contention and shook heavily the religious life of the country, a dispute which could be settled only when much of precious human blood was shed.

In conclusion, Naṇàbhivaṁsa says that the Burmese *Saṅgha* would ever wish for the good of the *sāsana* and more so for its flourish and embellishment in the island of Laṅkā. He also refers to the gift of three authoritative Pali works, namely, the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, the *Abhidhammatthavibhavini* and the *Sankhepavaṇṇanā*, which were given to the Siṅhalese delegation on its return home. He further adds a note of assurance saying that if persons befitting the dignity of the reigning Burmese monarch were sent from Laṅkā, the letter would only be p'eased to give treatises on Vinaya, Sutta and Abhidhamma (evidently as presents).

Now as we look at the letter, the following questions naturally crop up in our mind :—

1. Why did Ambagahapitiya and his companions go to Burma to receive ordination there, instead of getting it at home?

2. Why did Nānâbhivaṁsa attach so much of importance on the *Vinaya*, while teaching the Siṅhalese monks *?*

To find answers to these questions, we shall have to turn our eyes towards Ceylon and try to get an idea of the condition of Buddhism that was then prevalent in the island. History tell us that from the sixteenth century onwards the Ceylonese throne was never very secure, and this was due to the jealousy that prevailed amongst the petty kings who ruled over the different parts of the country. Weak as they became by mutual strife, these kings prepared ground for the establishment of the foreign rule in the island. At such a time, boats of greedy foreign traders like the Arabs, the Dutch, the portuguese and the English, attracted as they were by the rich resources and indigenous treasures of Ceylon, started touching its shore on their way to South-east Asia and the Far East. The disorder in the political arena of the country too helped the foreigners to gain foot-hold there. But these merchants did not remain satisfied with business transactions alone. With the help of missionaries, whom they brought with them, they went on introducing their own religious faiths and ideas amongst the local people, As a result, Islam and Christianity, particularly the latter, gained a strong footing over almost the entire length

and breadth of the island except a portion in the south. The rivalry that existed amongst the petty chiefs became coupled with the activities of the foreign missionaries and disturbed the very life of the country. Consequently, the *Saṅgha* became much too degenerated. At this critical juncture, in the later half of the eighteenth century, the Siṅhalese *Saṅgha* adopted certain disciplinary measures which were not in conformity with the or hodox tenets of the *Vinaya*. Irritated as the puritan monks became, they sought for the help of and guidance from the *Saṅgha* of the outside world and were able to influence the the king Kittisirirājasiṁha. Uuder his patronage they managed to get a chapter of twenty nonks from Siam and succeeded in restoring the hierarchy which was considered to be lost. These monks formed a group of their own and established a new Buddhist sect called the Siyamasaṅgha, the Siamese School.

Things went on well for sometime. But trouble started again. The king Sirivikkamarājasiṁha, presumably approved and authorised by the *Saṅgha*, issued a decree that no other than the highest class of people would be permitted to receive the *upasampada* ordination. Naturally this brought in discontent amongst the common run of people, and in 1800 a novice from the Salāgama caste, a caste apparently low on the ladder, Amba-gahapitiya Nāṇavimalatissa by name, defied the royal order and with five novices and three lay-disciples set sail on the sea and went to Amarapura, the then capital of Burma and its ecclesias-tical centre, to receive the *upasampada* ordination there. With all honour they were received by the Burmese Church and ceremoniously presented before king Bodawpaya who got them ordained through *Sagharāja* Nāṇabhivaṁsa, the most venerated authority of the time on the *Vinaya*. After they received the ordination, these Sinṅhalese got their spiritual and academic training not only under the *Saṅgha*rāja himsetf but also under other ecclesiastical dignitaries of the country. Thus for two long years they lived in Burma during which period they equipped themselves with the knowledge of the different branches of the Buddhist lore, particularly the *Vinaya* and in 1802 retnrned to Ceylon taking with them a complete chapter

of Burmese monks. Going back home, they founded a new school of Buddhist thought under the designation of the Amarapura Saṅgha, and initiated the movement of conferring *upasampada* ordination on each and every person who asked for it, without caring for the prejudice of the caste or the distinction in social status. At one point, however, they were extremely strict, and that was the observance of the *Vinaya* principles which they tried to follow to the letter of the code. Like the Burmese, from whom they had received their training, they started covering both the shoulders. In this respect they acted against the existing practice of the country, namely, covering only one shoulder, a practice which was introduced into Ceylon by the adherents of the Siamese School of Buddhism.

On the background of what had been said so far, it is now easy to answer the questions raised above. The first question was about the motive which encouraged Ambagahapitiya and his team to seek for ordination in Burma instead of getting it at home. As we have seen above, by imposing restrictions on the conferrment of the *upasampada* ordination, the then Siṅhalese *Saṅgha* became partisan in spirit, and thereby fell off from the ideal of universal brotherhood, the ideal which inspired the Buddha to found the *Saṅgha*, It is no wonder, therefore, that people like Ambagahapitiya Nāṇavimalatissa, who were inspired by democratic ideas and at the same time possessed great regard for the Buddha and his teachings, became dissatisfied with treatment of the *Saṅgha* at home and looked for some place where the fundamental human rights and dignity might receive due respect. Their search was not to go in vain and in Burma they found what they were looking for. So, they lost no time and availed themselves of the earliest opportunity to go to that country and had their mission fulfilled.

Coming to the second question, as to why Nāṇābhivaṁsa attached so much of importance to the *Vinaya* principles while imparting training to the Siṅhalese team, we now find it to be still easier to answer. What we have got above is a rather dismal picture of the *Saṅgha* in Ceylon in the later half of the eighteenth century. Really it became very weak with regard

to the observance of the tenets of the *Vinaya* upon which actually depended the good name and fame of the Buddha's *Dhamma*. In Burma, on the other hand, particularly at the time of king Bodawpaya, the *Vinaya* principles were very punctiliously observed. It is said that he decreed that no monk would become the head of a monastic establishment, unless by virtue of his personal conduct, character and behaviour he was fit to hold that exalted distinction. This decree, if one may rely on its veracity, shows that great emphasis was laid on the *Vinaya*. As a result, a large number of monks became proficient in subject, a fact which is well-attested by the presence of master-minds like Nāṇābhivaṁsa who were all very rigid adherents of the *Vinaya* codes. So, when Nāṇavimala:issa and his party approached the *Saṅgharāja*, at once he understood what their actual need was and lost no time to equip them with the tenets and practices of the *Vinaya*.

To make this discussion complete, a few words about the Ekaṁsikapārupaṇa controversy seem to be essential. A short account of it is therefore given below.

In or about 1700, when king Sane (1698-1714) was on the throne at Ava, a certain Buddhist monk, Guṇābhilaṅkāra by name, indulged in the luxurious habit of using a cover for the head and a palmyra fan while going out on alms-round. Moreover, he used to put on the upper robe in such a way as to cover one shoulder only. This practice, though regarded detestable, encouraged some monks, and very soon a group gathered round him. These monks started covering only one shoulder, and thus came to be known as the Ekaṁsikas. The behaviour of the Ekaṁsikas, who were considered to be rather weak in their knowledge of the scriptures, irritated the orthodox section of the monks and a country group, presumably constituting the majority, came into existence and its members started calling themselves the Pārupaṇas. Rigidly they stuck to the *Vinaya* rules. The Ekaṁsikas, conscious as they were of their own weakness in respect of the practice of the *Vinaya* codes, caught hold of an ex-monk of disreputable character and had a book written by him in support of their views and practices. This

act not only exposed their weakness but also brought about their ruin which of course came century later.

During the reign of the next king Taninganwe (1714-33), there came up an orthodox monk, Ukkaṁsamāla by name. Himself a Pārupaṇa, he tried to establish that the Pārupaña practice had its sanction by ancient texts. The Ekaṁsikas, however, opposed his claim, and the matter was referred to the king who appointed a commitee of four monks to probe into the matter and give a verdict. But the monks were not well-read enough, and as such they could not arrive at a decision. Consequently, the controversy continued to remain an open one.

Mahādhammarajādhipati (1733-52) was the next king to ascend the throne. He was a great patron of Buddhism and had, as his preceptor, the Venerable Nāñavara, a scholar and writer of repute. The *thera*, a Pārupaṇa, took up the cause of his creed but in vain. The Ekaṁsikas were not prepared to yield, and even though the monarch intervened, the dispute stood where it was.

With Mahādhammarājadhipati ended the Ava dynasty and and started the Konbaung. The man, who next occupied the throne and proclaimed himself king, was a commoner and was known as Alaungpaya (1752-60) He was a man of might and of strong determination. He crushed the Mons who ruled over the southern part of the country and brought almost the whole of Burma under his sceptre. His preceptor was the *thera* Atula Yasadhamma an ardent Ekaṁsika, who, in his endeavour, to take advantage of his position, brought forth the controversy into limelight. The Pārupaṇas became very much concerned and referred the matter to the king who decreed that, before a settlement was reached, the monks would have to follow the view of Atula. Evidently it was a blow for the Pārupaṇas, many of whom were forced to yield to the Ekaṁsika practices, though they considered them to be irreligious and so illegal. But there were men of staff and one such, Munindaghosa by name, rose up in revolt. At the order of the king, he was banished from the state. But the banishment could not deter him from his determination. Even while, in exile, he went on preaching vigorously his own faith, i. e. the creed of the Pārupaṇas.

After Alaungpaya came in succession Naungdawgyi (1760-63) und Hsinbyushin (1763-76). During their reign too the controversy was alive, but nothing outstanding could be done in the way of its settlement

Hsinbyushin was succeeded to the throne by his eldest son Singu (1776-82). The monarch was a believer in the Pārupana creed, and he came under the influence of the celebrated *thera* Nandamāla who too was Pārupaṇa. The *thera* succeeded in creating greater interest in the mind of the king who summoned the leaders of both the factions to discussion in which the Ekaṁsikas were worsted as they failed to produce any convincing textual authority in support of their views. Apparently the dispute ended. But the upholders of the Ekaṁsika creed were not yet cowed down, and as such it required some more time for drawing the curtain finally over it. It was done during the reign of Bodawpaya (1781-1819). The monarch took up the matter in hand with all seriousness. He sent men to monastic establishments all over the country to elicit genuine and first-hand opinion about the dispute. When it was done, he appointed a committee of eight senior and erudite monks to go through the controversy. At its head he placed his own preceptor the Venerable Nāṇâbhivaṁsa, a Pārupaṇa and the writer of the letter under consideration. The committee met to settle the dispute wherein Reverend Atula Yasadhamma, the leader of the Ekaṁsika faction, made a vigorous attempt to win the cause to the advantage of his party. But that was not to be, since the works he referred to as the authority of the Ekaṁsika standpoint were proved to be of recent origin The inevitable followed. The Ekaṁsikas lost their case and curtain was finally drawn over the century-old dispute. For the Pārupanas it was a decisive victory. The king, who always had his sympathy for this fold, lost no time in issuing a decree imposing strict observance of the Pārupaṇa practice throughout the country. Thus ended a long and bitter struggle which actually shrouded the glory of the Burmese *Saṅgha* for more than a century. Scriptural authority was eventually established, orthodoxy finally emerged triumphant and the pristine ideal of monastic discipline was once more held aloft.

A survey of the contents of the letter brings about several points of interest. Did the Siṅhalese celebrities, to whom the letter was sent, acknowledge its receipt? It they did what did they write in reply? Then again, how is it that books on *Abhidhamma* alone were sent when the Siṅhalese *Saṅgha* was really in need of *Vinaya* treatises? What was the effect of these *Abhidhamma* works on the Siṅhalese monks? What, again, was the reaction of the Siṅhalese dignitaries with respect to the assurance given by Nāṇâbhivaṁsa promising gift of other books? All these questions remain as open ones and shall do so till some more documents are discovered. Will they be found? Possibly and that in Burma and Ceylon and presumably also in Siam. But for this a serious and sincere attempt should be made and that also without delay, as much of these valuable records seem to have been already lost and what still remains is just a fraction, a very small fraction indeed.

In this connection it may be pointed out that the history of Buddhism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, particularly of Burma and Ceylon, is simply shrouded in confusion. It must also be admitted that so far no serious attempt has been made to present the account systematically. Of course there are reasons for this inaction. But, it is high time for starting with an attempt to collect the materials, howsoever scrappy they might appear to be, on the basis of which the history of Buddhism of this period might be written. Both Burma and Ceylon profess Buddhism. Though they are not Buddhist countries, interest of India and Pakistan for Buddhism can in no way be neglected. So, it is felt that learned bodies like universities and research institutions, interested in oriental studies in the aforesaid countries, should immediately take up the work with all seriousness. We fell sure that a consolidated move in this direction would be prized with success, and as a consequence the history of Buddhism of the last two centuries will no longer remain a subject for mere surmise.

TWO BRONZE STATUETTES FROM CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS.

T. K. BARUA

Recently two Buddha statuettes have been presented to the Dacca Museum, which are of considerable artistic merit and are of great archaeological and iconograhic importance. They are well preserved specimens found thirty years ago by a Burmese Buddhist monk in a place locally known as "Padmabill" in Jhagrabill mouza, P. S. Rangamati, Chittagong Hill Tracts. The tops of the statuettes were exposed to the earth. On his way to the Buddhist temple at Jhagrabill the monk saw them and dug them out from the depth of about 9" (nine inches). He deposited them in the near-by Buddhist temple and since then they were lying there. Recently the Deputy Magistrate of that area has presented them to the Dacca Museum.

Both the statuettes are made of bronze but the following proportion of the alloy[1] shows the difference in the metal contents.

Large Statuette : Weight :— 4. lb. 7. Oz.
Copper :— 72%.
Tin :— 10%.
Zinc : - 8%.
Lead :— 5%
Impurities & Other elements :— 7%

Small Statuette :— Weight :— 12. Oz.
Copper :— 57%.
Zinc :— 27%.
Tin :— 5%.
Lead :— 4%.
Impurities or other elements :— 7%.

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1. The Chemical analysis has kindly been done by Mr. S. Z. Haider of the department of Chemistry, Dacca University.

The bigger statuette (A) has its left hand as well its seat slightly pressed in. It contains a high proportion of copper. The smaller statuette (B) is well preserved except for slight breakage of the seat. The high proportion of zinc almost brings it in par with brass.

Both the statuettes depict seated Buddha in Bhūmisparśa mudrā, the seat being triangular in section, with their corners rounded off. The seat of the bigger statuette is double tiered and the figure bears some red marks and also has earth sticking to the body.

Both figures are seen seated in rapt meditation with their legs crossed, soles upward, and right hand on the right knee, but the fingers are not touching the seat. The left hand with its fist closed is placed in the lap. The body which is broad at the shoulder thins down at the waist and is covered with the Saṅghāṭī (upper garment), with the right shoulder bare. The neck is quite high. The face is much more conventionalised with the broad open eyes extended right upto the ear in conformity with the classical tradition. The nose is almost triangular with sharp angles and the mouth reveals the scratching technique of the terracotta. Consequently the lips appear to be thick. In the bigger statuette the ear lobes fall right upto the shoulder, while in the smaller one there is a hole at the lower end. In both the statuettes the head is crowned, the crown being conical with a knobbed ending The crown of the bigger statuette has double rings at the lower side while that of the smaller one shows a ring round the knob.

On the whole the figures are very crude and the faces are more Burmese-like. The whole depiction is conventional and they appear to be commercial products to meet the needs of the Buddhists. The art is degenerate in style. The crown is very simplified. It is possible to derive it from similar crowns seen on the heads of the Buddhas in mediaeval Bengal.[2] But

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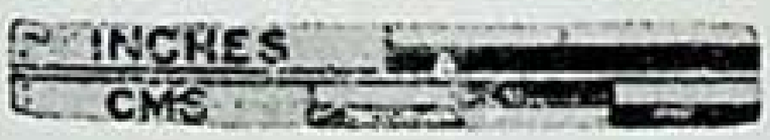
2. Stella Kramish. "Pala and Sena Sculptures" in *Rupam* No. 40, 1929, Fig. 43. R. D. Banerji :—"Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture" in *Arch. Sur. of India*, New Imperial series, Vol. XLVII, Pts. XIX. B. & C.

A

A



B

B

here they come closer to Buddha style known from Burma in which we find stupas on Buddha heads. It is difficult to be certain on this point, as the object is very much conventionalised. On the similartity of the statuettes with Burmese specimen [1] they may be dated to 12th-13th century A. D.

1. *An. Rep. Arch. Sur. of India*, 1930-34, page 192, pl. CV, B,

ARE THE KHASIS A "MOUNTAIN TRIBE"?[1]

C. OP'T LAND.

The opinion seems to be well established that the Khasis are a people that have lived in mountain areas from time immemorial. One has to acknowledge that the arguments in favour of this view are powerful. When we trace back their history we are led to accept migrations from one ragged country to another, till they reached their present habitat[2] The same may be said of their linguistic and cultural affinities, which occur in the hilly regions, especially in Burma. The distribution of the typical Khasi-hoe is sometimes taken as evidence that the Khasis themselves once lived in Burma too. One does not need to draw upon this half-hypothetical and half-historical evidence to demonstrate that these people are a mountain people. Convincing and numerous are the proofs that the Khasis have been living in their present surroundings for a long time, long enough to adjust themselves to the physical environment, as they have done indeed in the case of religion, and in some other respects too.

The Khasi religion established a close link between man and his native soil. In essence it is a dualistic philosophy in which

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1. The present article has been prepared without the support of the modern literature on the subject. Apart from the several Census reports, which were of little help, the writer could in Dacca avail himself of:—

   Gurdon, P. R. T. *The Khasis*, London, 1907.

   Hunter, Sir William. *Statistical Account of Assam.* Vol. II, London. 1897.

   Gait, E. A. *A History of Assam*, Calcutta, 1906.

   Especially Gurdon's book has been of considerable value.

2. Gait, E. A. op. cit, p. 25³, Gurdon, op. cit. p. 10

woman is brought into one class with the earth. In the myths of origin the first woman (there are several of them) came out of caves, and in one instance she was caught in the river. Through the comparison of myths from many peoples we have come to understand that this feature indicates that the woman 'belongs' to the earth. The Khasis have this view too.

The first woman, appearing from a cavern, looked very much like a princess. To the Khasi it was apparent that she had a commanding position in the realms beyond the cave. Thus she was married to a Khasi-chief (Siem). Also in woman was vested the property rights on land. Only the daughters inherit. In consequence marriage is matrilocal among the agricultural Khasis. People of the same village are thus one another's matrilineal relations. The daughters of one mother with their offsprings constitute an exogamous unit. It had to be exogamous in order to prevent that someday a descendant might be born with more 'rights' to the land than other children, A dangerous development had been made impossible by this rule. A married man is a stranger in the village of his wife. Among the Synteng Khasi he is not even allowed to eat in his wife's house. He takes his meals in his mother's house and goes to his wife's house after dark. This is an extreme case; the habits of the other Khasi divisions are milder. However, after death the remnants of a man are brought back to his mother's village where they are burned on matrimonial soil. There on the funeral pyre his soul is set free, but his ashes rejoin the matrix.

In the way 'described' an affectionate tie is created and sustained with the physical environment. The environment is not only the home of the Khasis but the gods they worship also have their abode here. The gods live among them; the Khasis are able to indicate in the terrain the spots where mythological episodes have occurred. The conservative Khasi—a scarce phenomenon now—will in his best moments experience in his own country feelings similar to those a Christian has when he visits Jerusalem or a Muslim when he goes on a Haj. This spiritual bond between man and habitat is a strong support of the view that the Khasis have lived here for a long time. It is not

surprising that all the topographical names are true Khasi words. (Gait. op. cit. p. 253).

There is also other evidence of an ecological nature. The present day Khasi Hills are characterized by large treeless areas that lend them a barren outlook. This strikes one particularly on a trip from Shillong to Cherrapunji. Here the low and fast-drifting clouds lash the grassy uplands with rain (photo No.1) Everywhere one hears the rustle of running water or the drone of waterfalls. Geologically speaking, the relief is young, the slopes precipitous, the rivers wild. Now the surprising feature in the landscape is the confinement of forest to the very steep places, where erosion is most intensive. The softly undulating plateau is bare of all trees. For those Khasi Hills are really a plateau : probably an old peneplain, for all the mountain tops and ridges rise to the same height. The skyline of this landscape is a horizontal one (Photo 2). Enormous masses of debris must have been carried away, for now-a days in Cherra good coal is dug from the surface. The denudation goes on unabatedly and renders those remnants of forest all the more interesting. Apparently reduced to the least favourable spots, they prove that neither climate nor soil condition has caused those steppe-like highlands. In fact the forest-covered spots are few and far between, consisting mainly of sacred groves as on Shillong Peak or covered steep mountain sides. The modern Khasi even seems to take it for granted that wooded places are haunted, so much has "patch of forest" come to mean a "sacred spot."

Bareness of country is sometimes due to extensive grazing, especially by sheep and goats. The Khasis, however have little reason to keep large herds of these animals. He does not take milk or butter, nor does he use a plough or cart. He does not use wool for his clothing. The few cows he tends serve only for meat supply; but an even major portion of the tribe abstains from beef. Goats serve also the purpose of sacrifice but no large quantities are needed for this purpose.[1] As a rule one does not see many animals around and

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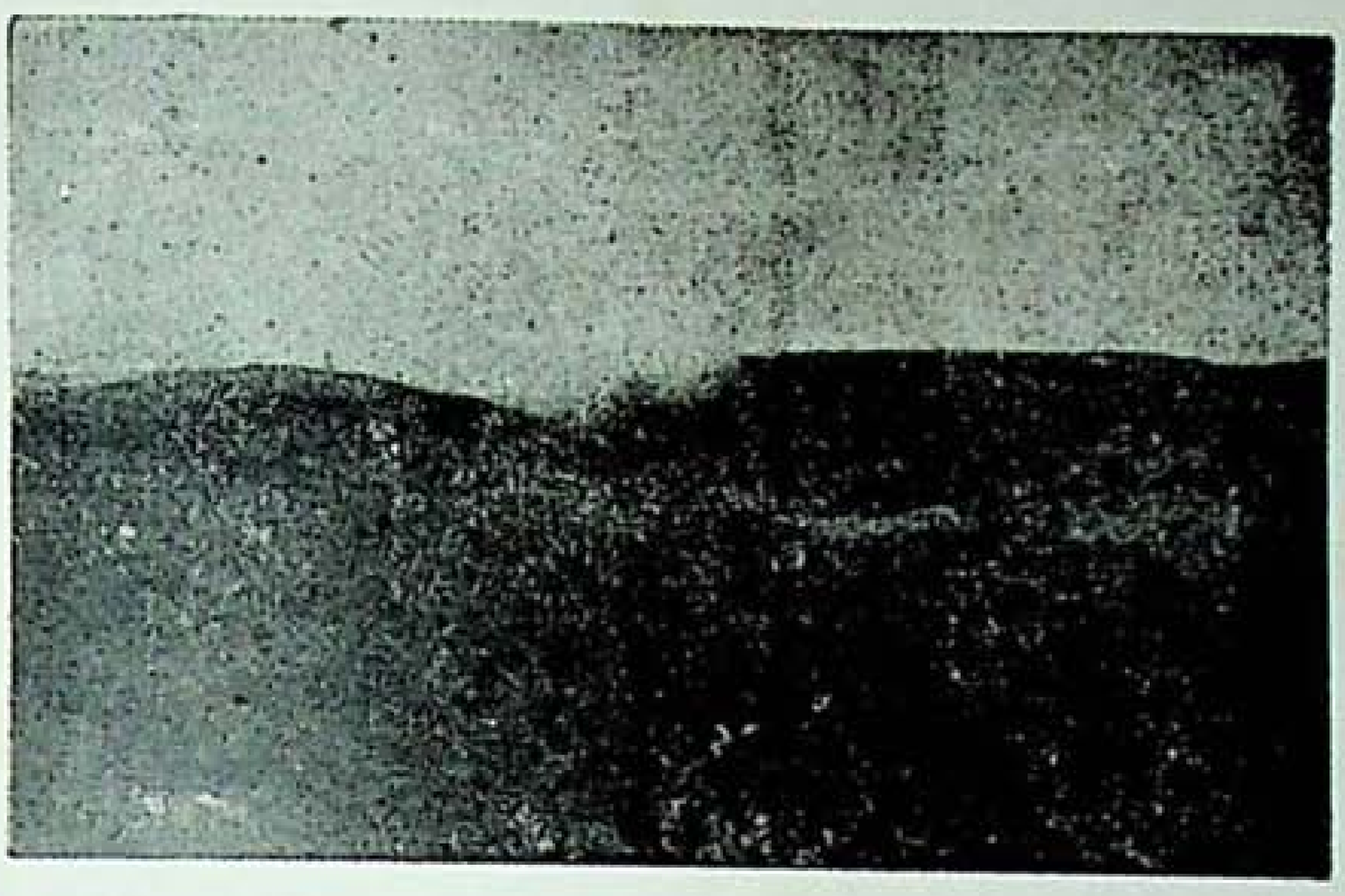
1. The biggest sacrifice occurs only a year ; on the fourth



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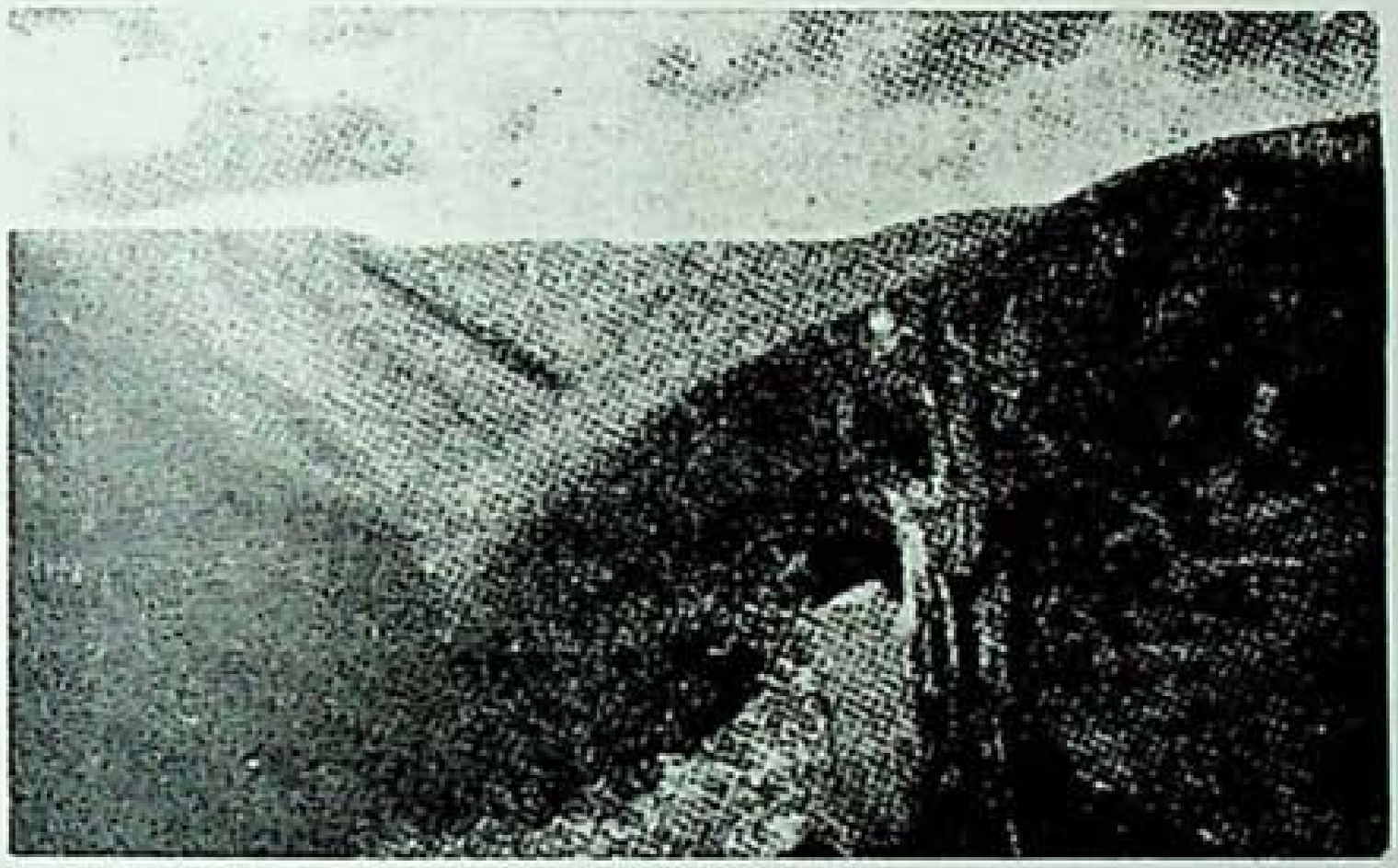

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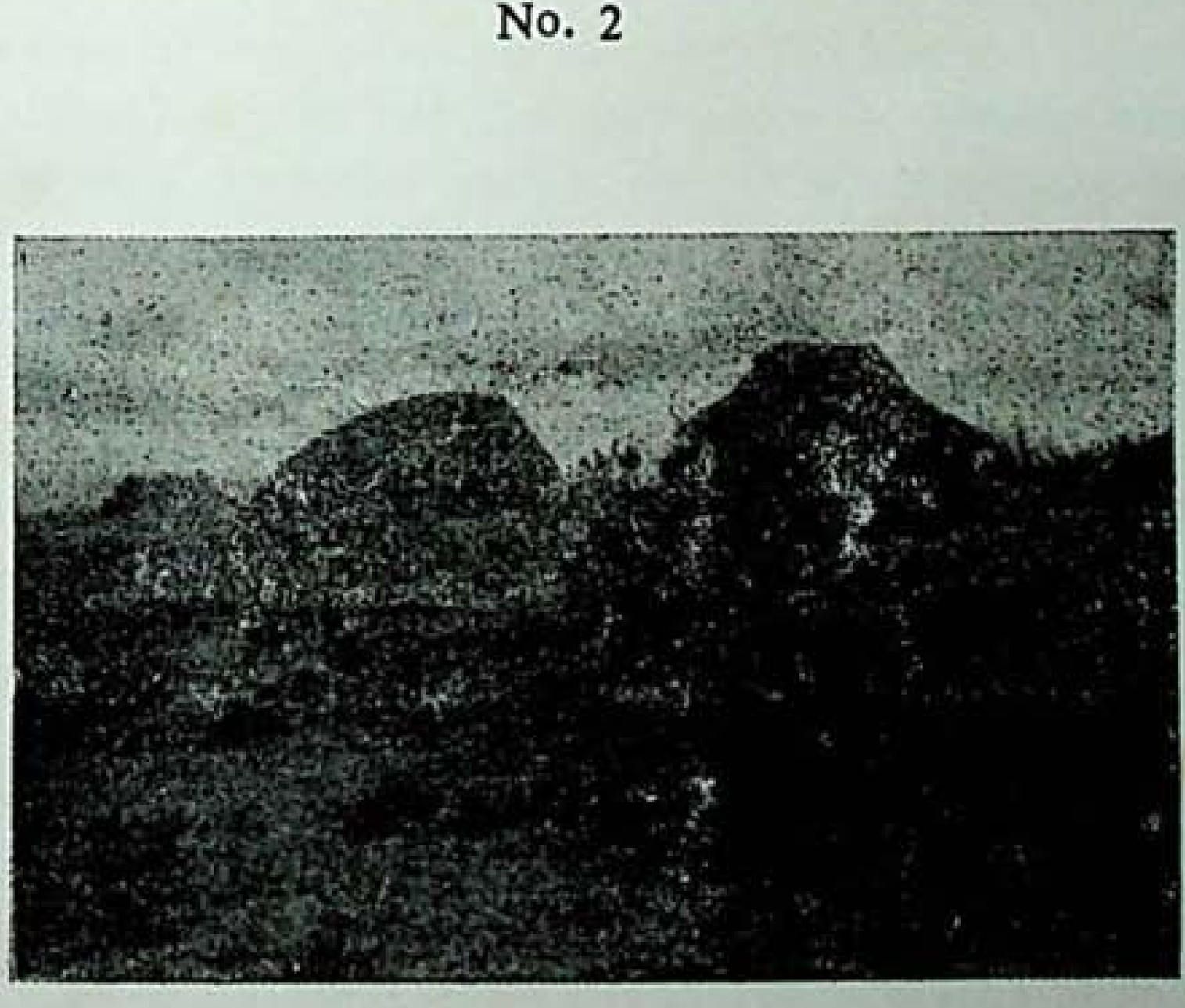

No. 3

Fig. 3

certainly not herds of them. However now-a-days around Shillong things have become different. Those vast tracts of deforested land are proof of protracted human activity. For the Khasis 'Jhum' as most of the other tribes in S. E. Asia. To acquire arable land they burn down the forest and in the ashes they sow their seeds. The exposed soil can not resist the onslaught of the climate and is quickly washed away. Everywhere one finds the outcrops of solid (often calcareous) rock at the surface. What is left of the top-soil is too shallow for trees. Thus the vegetation is incapacitated to reconquer the terrain.

That the grassy uplands have a man-made origin is rendered probable by the site of villages. One often finds these in the midst of denuded country and the fields under cultivation several miles away from the homesteads (photo No. 3). Now one can not expect people to make their gardens at such distances just for the fun of walking. The obvious reason is exhaustion of the soil close by. The villages of Cherra, Smit, Mawphlang, Jowai may be named as examples.

The two discussed arguments, religious and ecological seem sufficient for the acceptance of the view that the Khasis have lived for many generations in their present mountainous surroundings, which are rightly called Khasi Hills. Still we have dared to doubt their character of mountain people. Why? Because we found at least two features in their material culture that in our opinion seem to betray a lack of adjustment to the environment. These features are moreover of a very fundamental nature; they pertain to agriculture and the construction of houses. Now when speaking of a mountain people one would accentuate—or at least, suggest—an adapted living to unlevel regions. This position would mark the difference between a mountain-people and people that happen to live in mountains. Let us consider the agricultural argument first.

The Khasi's mainstay of life is agriculture. Whether they prosper or go hungry depends on the production of their fields.

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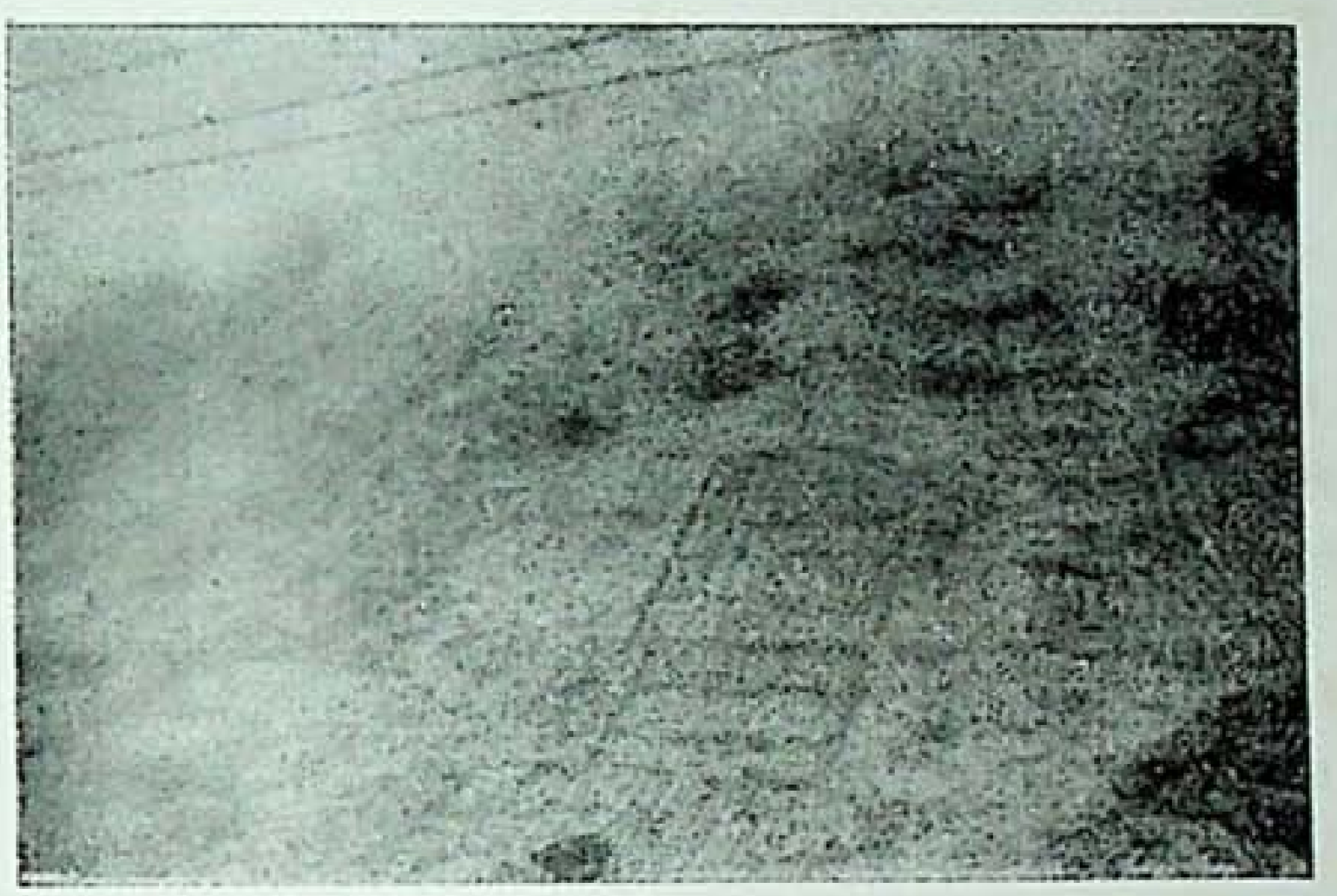
day of the so—called "Nocgkrem—dance" at Smit. Then some dozens of goats may be slaughtered.

They know this and do much to ensure a good harvest. Application of dung is very normal and the fields are regularly hoe-cultivated. The Khasis are an enterprising and energetic people and have nothing of the indolence of the plainsmen. They are busy all the time, do not shun manual labour but take pride in a well-accomplished piece of work. These laudable qualities, however, never resulted in great care for the soil. Poundfoolishly, all their attention goes to the crop. Now, from a people adjusted to their environment one might expect cosideration for and utilization of the natural features of the terrain, at least to the extent of their knowledge and skill. We would expect a mountain people to take advantage of the topography i.e. the differences in height. Also that they would cope with the disadvantages. The first part would imply irrigation and drainage which they know. The second part would mean measures of soil conservation. The Khasis, however, do not take such measures. They lay out their small-sized fields in disregard to the relief, very much like washings on a bleaching green. The fields on the mountain-slopes are never terraced No protection is made against surface-water that may run down-hill from above. In the gardens the loose upturned soil is laid on beds about three feet wide or in small ridges. On these beds and ridges the plants are put in neat rows. Now most mountain farmers would make small terraces or have the rows of plants parallel to the contour lines of the mountain. They would perhaps also protect the soil against erosion by small stone-walls, hedges, or earthen walls reinforced with osiers, wickerwok, and the like. The peculiar thing with Khasi-gardens is that the plant-beds are parallel to the grid The plant-rows run invariably downhill, thus creating gullies between them (photo no 4). Sometimes one may even see the bare rock between such rows. The Khasis are aware of the dangers, but as an informant replied, there has always been much land available. To prepare new gardens is a cumbersome work. The Khasis postpone this as long as possible. There they bring earth from elsewhere to heighten their shallow garden-soil. They often take it away from between the beds or rows. Abandoned fields are thus often recognizable by their small beds and broad paths.



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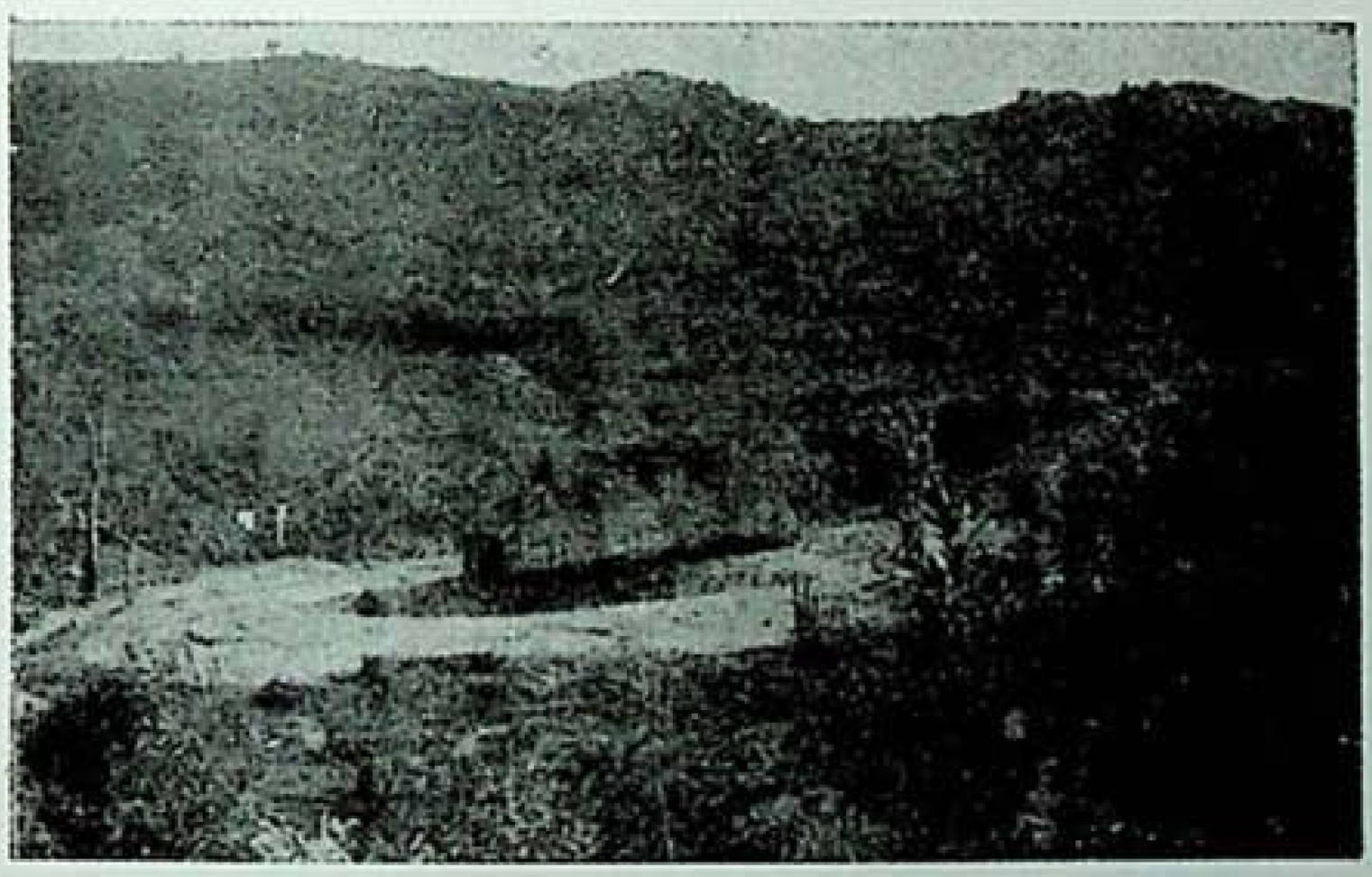

No. 5

This has given the grass lands a peculiar corrugated outlook, another proof of their man-made origin. We find thus that the Khasis, though experience has taught them the dangerous implications of their cultivating habits still have not developed more adequate ones. So long as they keep themselves satisfied with the traditional techniques, no stable relations with the physical surroundings will exist. A process has been set in motion that in the long run will prove disastrous for the Khasis themselves. Similar processes and their consequences may be fonnd in France, Sumatra (Batak country, in the U. S, etc.,) where unsuitable agricultural methods have upset the natural environment.

The other feature we want to discuss is the traditional way of constructing houses, Nawadays much has been changed and no Khasi house of the old type are built anymore,

The technical problem in unlevel country is how to make a horizontal floor. Some people will make pole-dwellings, using poles of different lengths to match with the unevenness of the ground. Others will make a level platform of stone, or earth, or both on which they erect the house. One can also level the earth and build the house there. This is what the Khasis do, and they do still further. They prefer the level places to build their houses and villages, but if they can not get them they will prepare rather large terraces, with sufficient room, not only for the house, but the whole compound finds a place there (photo no. 5). Thus we can see for instance in Smit village that the village is situated on the flat stretch of land, while the gardens are confined to the slopes of the surrounding hills. Other places show a similar aspect (photo no. 6). The Garos, the neighbouring tribe, for instance show more milieu-consciousness. They erect their houses on the slope, thus saving the level places for agriculture. This is also reported of the War-Khasi. But the Synteng—Khasi and the Khasi proper rather use the level places (though not of the top level) for their dwelling and they practice agriculture on inclined land. They could not do otherwise for the traditional construction of their houses does permit erection on level or levelled land. This construction is not adapted to mountainous areas, because the constituting

elements are not solidly joined together. The house as a structure is full of illogical elements that make for weakness. There is a truss that has no function ; the roof rests on the walls and on the ridgepole. The floor has a foundation of its own; numerous short props or stone-pillars support it. On these the joists are laid. There is however no solid connection w ith the walls, which have their own foundation : a sleeper supported by a row of stones set erect. This sleeper is often rather weak. There are Khasi houses that have walls, attached to poles (set in the ground) that support the roof construction. Furthermore the arrangement of the Khasi compound and the use people make of it betray that their living habits are like those of people in the plains. This statement invites a comparatlve study with other peoples on this matter. One would like to compare especially those Khasis who live in the plains of Sylhet near Jaintiapur. These Khasis, however, have undergone ccnsiderable Bengali influences, not a few of them even are converted Muslim. The present writer has not been able so far, to do research work among the Plains Khasis of Sylhet. He does not know whether he will find opportunity to do so. Attention may be called to this gap in our knowledge of this tribe. Much field work has been done among the Assamese Khasis : several pubcations are expected shortly. The Khasis of Sylhet are as yet undescribed.

The above has argued the point that in Khasi culture at least two features advocate an origin in non-mountainous areas. Is there, we might now ask, some historical truth in the tradition that the Khasi came from the North, went to the plains of Sylhet and afterwards were forced to take their abode in the hills on account of a big flood ? With the new evidence the origin of the Khasi tribe becomes all the more intriguing. So far this origin has been reconstructed on the basis of linguistic evidence, or in another case on the distribution of one single hoe-type only. As Gurdon already said in 1907 ; 'All this sort of thing is, however, extremely vague' (p. 10). The problem as such, seems after fifty years, still unsettled.

THE SURVEY OF CULTURAL TRAITS IN INDIA

C. OP'T LAND

During a recent visit to Assam I chanced to pay a visit to the Shillong Field Station of the Department of Anthropology (Government of India). The station is one of the three that belong to this Department. The other two are at Port Blair Andaman Island) and at Nagpur (Madhya Pradesh). If I understood correctly, it is the aim of the department to establish more regional centres as personnel and funds become available. The existing three regional offices have been functioning for some time (two or three years) and because their existence has been little known outside India, I may be excused in telling something about them. Their main task is the collection of factual information on the tribes and and cultures in the region. They have no direct advisory task ; the Anthropology Department comes under the Ministry of Education. Consequently their task is a purely scientific one. To pursue these tasks their scientific staff consist of a cultural anthropologist, a physical anthropologist, a linguist, a historical research officer and one or two research associates. This presents, as one can imagine a well-composed "task-force." To enable this group to carry out their researches motor transport and field-equipment is permanently available. The station at least the Shillong one, moreover has a surprisingly good library. The titles are mostly of theoretical works and hand-books. Some monographs on tribes—I would say some of the evergreens of enthnography are to be found there and certainly not from the sub-continent only. One objective has not been achieved as yet : the library is poor in publications on the cultural authropology of the region. For instance of the considerable literature on the Khasi only a few titles were present. The same can be said of the Garo. This may disappoint the casual visitor but one should not forget that the field station has the rich library of the

Department in Calcutta in the rear to fall back upon. So far, however, the field station has not yet become a documentation centre of its region, which it will become in the measure the research workers file their findings.

The Station maintains a small museum too. Here one can see specimens of the products of arts, the utensils, the textiles and ornaments of the regional cultures. It is a pity that the collection has been drained by the Indian Museum at Calcutta. The really good pieces are now there. Such an action however is wholly understandable when one considers the far better means of preservation and expert skill available in that museum.

From the description one can conclude that there in Shillong is a well-equiped centre of anthropological research with its spacious office, recording apparatus, motor transport, scientific, clerical and menial personnel. Coming from across the border one fee!s at the sight of it admiration and envy simultaneously. One must add that in Shillong is a second and even more lavish one. It is the office of the Adviser on Tribal Affairs. This is a department directly under the Governor of Assam and its special province is the North East Frontier Area.

Now the Department of Anthropology with its theree field stations and individual research officers in the field has started on a cultural survey of India. This enterprise has good scientific merits and its significance for Pakistan is equally large as for India, because, the results will be highly contributive to the knowledge of Pakistan cultural history. To improve on this aspect Pakistan social scientists might even wish to start a similar survey, so as to obtain comparable and complementary information and oblige their Indian colleagues by enhancing the total importance of the survey. Anyhow the project deserves our attention and a discussion in this periodical is in order.

The project was started in March 1959. Its objectives are in the first place the systematic recording of the presence of certain selected traits of material culture. This will enable the drawing of maps that show their distribbtion over the subcontinent. In its turn this map will make possible the delineation of zones and sub-zones and ultimately a composite picture

of the cultural zones of India will emerge. Against such a background the Department hopes to carry out detailed studies of cultural processes later. We may therefore say that the present survey aims at taking a snapshot of the cultural position as it is today. It goes without saying that such a survey is indispensable if one wishes to evaluate the processes of cultural change. The Indian Government enjoys the additional advantage of being supplied with a reliable assessment of the present position, which will enable it to design plans for cultural development that has a connection with existing patterns.

The direct scientific significance of the project is of course the fixation of a distributional pattern of those traits "which appear to have persisted over long historical periods." The survey thus has a pronounced diachronic orientation. And of course in studies of cultural change the time-dimension cannot be ignored.

How is the research project organised? Sometimes it is also indicated as a "village survey" and this refers to the unit of observation: the village. The aim of the project leader is to take at least one village per district for all the Indian districts. In many districts the cultural and ecological variations are so big that more than one village will have to be studied. But in the preliminary stages only those villages will be selected for investigation as are average (basis is the 1951 Census), as have a multi-ethnic composition, as are mainly dependent on agriculture and sufficiently away from "major sources of modern communication," such as District Headquaters, industrial centres, etc. Between the selected village and the latter centres should be a distance of about a day's journey. From all these villages the same informations are required. To ensure homogeneous data a schedule has been prepared that covers such items as: settlement pattern, house types, diet, dress, means of transport, domesticated animals, crops, agricultural tools. There are questions about the local forms of worship, about the number of households, occupations, markets, village sanitation. All investigations will have to be carried out along the lines prescribed in this schedule. We see from teh abbreviated contents—to the

readers convenience the whole schedule is reproduced below—that the material aspects of culture receive good attention. This can not be said of the social aspects of culture : prevalent forms of marriage, traditional groups of cooperation, neighbourhoods. traditional rural authorities, means of social control, customs connected with child birth and rearing and many more ; there may be as many regional differences that reveal a different cultural heritage, which are now in the present survey more or less neglected. This objection betrays perhaps a difference of orientation. The designer of the investigation apparently takes an interest in culture as such : I would not do so. To me culture has no meaning unless related to a community. The latter phenomenon has for me primary importance. I have also a more pragmatic consideration. Social practices are often more persistent than material traits. One rather changes the type of footwear than a marriage-custom. These socio-cultural items are no less suitable to help define cultural zones perhaps even better. We could also mention other cultural features like bodily postures, gestures, etc. After all, it is perhaps not fair to try to find fault, with the present inquiry. It is clearly styled "a preliminary stage." The investigation should, if authoritatively indicated in the initiating circular, not last longer than three days per village. If anything serves to accentuate the restricted character of the survey, it is this stipulation. We may therefore expect that supplementary inquiries will be held in due time, which makes the present start all the more interesting and worthy of our attention and support.

Appendix : Schedule to be used in the Survey of cultural traits in India.

Traits for Study.

A. Material traits

1. *Settlement pattern* :

(a) A rough lay-out of the village allocating settlement areas, water resources, drainage, agricultural fields, pastures, village jungles if any, graveyards, burning ghat, etc. (The

field worker may try to obtain the cadastral map of the village from the District Land Record office.)

2. *House types* :
   (a) Plan of a dwelling with distribution of huts in family compound, significant variations if any.
   (b) Details of construction plan, plinth, roof, arrangements for ventilation.
   (c) Materials used for construction, sources of the material-local or outside.
   Who builds the house ? Specialists or others ?
3. *Diet* :
   (a) Staple food cereal or otherwise (yam etc)
   (b) Other items of food commonly taken—pulses, vegetables, protein diet – meat, beef, chicken, lamb, goat etc., milk and milk products, sweets, spices, oil—animal vegetable, salt.
   (c) Meals (Courses : average, festive occasions and ceremonial) Note also the mode of cooking and serving meals and the observance of ritual cleanliness with regard to taking food, such as bathing, washing hands, putting on special type of dress, offering to gods, etc.
   (d) Fat or oil most commonly used for cooking in average as well as ceremonial meals.
   (e) Cooking utensils, hearth and fuel.
4. *Dress and ornaments and foot-wear* :
   For adult males and females, for different economic classes and castes—ordinary, festive and ceremonial occasions.
   Note also whether the dress is prepared in the villages or procured from outside.
5. *Common means of transport of goods and passengers* :
   Human borne, pack animals, carts, boats, etc.
   How does the bride or bridegroom ride to the marriage booth ?
6. *Domestication of animals and birds etc. in the villages* :
7. *Crops grown :*
   (a) Rice, wheat etc.

(b) 'Rabi' crops
(c) 'horticultural' produce
(d) perennial crops such as betel nut, cocoanut etc.

How many crops are grown in a plot during the year ?

8. *Agricultural tools* for rice cultivation and for cultivation of other cereals, pulses and horticulture in general.
This would include digging, levelling, sowing, transplanting, weeding, reaping, threshing, husking. storing implements : whether the implements are made in the villages or procured from outside.
9. *Common oil press.*
10. *Village Census* : No. of households (hearthwise) belonging to different ethnic groups in the village and its hamlets.
11. Occupation : A quick survey of occupation may be made under the following 3 columns :

Traditional occupation	Contemporary	
	Major	Subsidiary

The field worker may directly place the question as to why a particular caste is giving up the traditional occupation and record the response.

12 *Markets attended* : Which markets most commonly visited, for what purpose ? (mileage)
Other markets occasionally visited ? why visited ? (mileage)

B. Gods and Festivals

1. *Village Gods* : Shrines in the village. emblems and their priests—maintained communally or individually.
2. *Annual festivals in the village* : month by month—within the village or outside, if visited by the villagers (mileage). The central themes of these festivals are to be noted briefly in one or two lines.

C Viliage Sanitation and Hygiene practices :

1. Places for deposition of ordinary refuses.
2. Process of evacuation and subsequent cleanliness. Ablution.
3. Other observation on general sanitation of the village.

THE 'MAW-SHONG-THAIT' NEAR JAINTIAPUR.

C. OPT LAND.

The road leading from Sylhet to Shillong passes Jaintiapur the old residence of the so called Khasi-kings. Little remains of its splendoured past and one can easily miss the place when motoring down the rather good road. Keeping to this road one has little chance indeed to see anything remarkable, that might remind one of the days of yore, when the kings ruled supreme and kept the people in anxious awe by sacrificing human beings to appease their deities. At least this is, what one can read in books. We did not think of all the questions that surround the history of Jaintia as we were occupied with the enticing sight of the fast approaching Assam Hills. Little wonder, that we, comfortably driving towards our destination, failed to notice this renowned place. But forcibly was the remembrance of it brought upon us, when all of a sudden we saw a group of magnificent stones, till that moment concealed from view by a bend in the road (photos 1 and 2). We stopped to have a closer look.

On a small level in the terrain, something like a low promontory in the very flat plains, we saw three huge standing stone menhirs. Their height must have been about fifteen feet. In front of these lay row of seven big stoneslabs, more or less round. Some of these slabs still were supported by smaller stones, others lay on the ground. This row of tables was longer than the small row of menhirs and the elongation at one side only suggested that there might have been more menhirs at one time. Anyhow all traces that could confirm such a view were conspicously absent.[1] The neighbourhoad seemed all wasteland,

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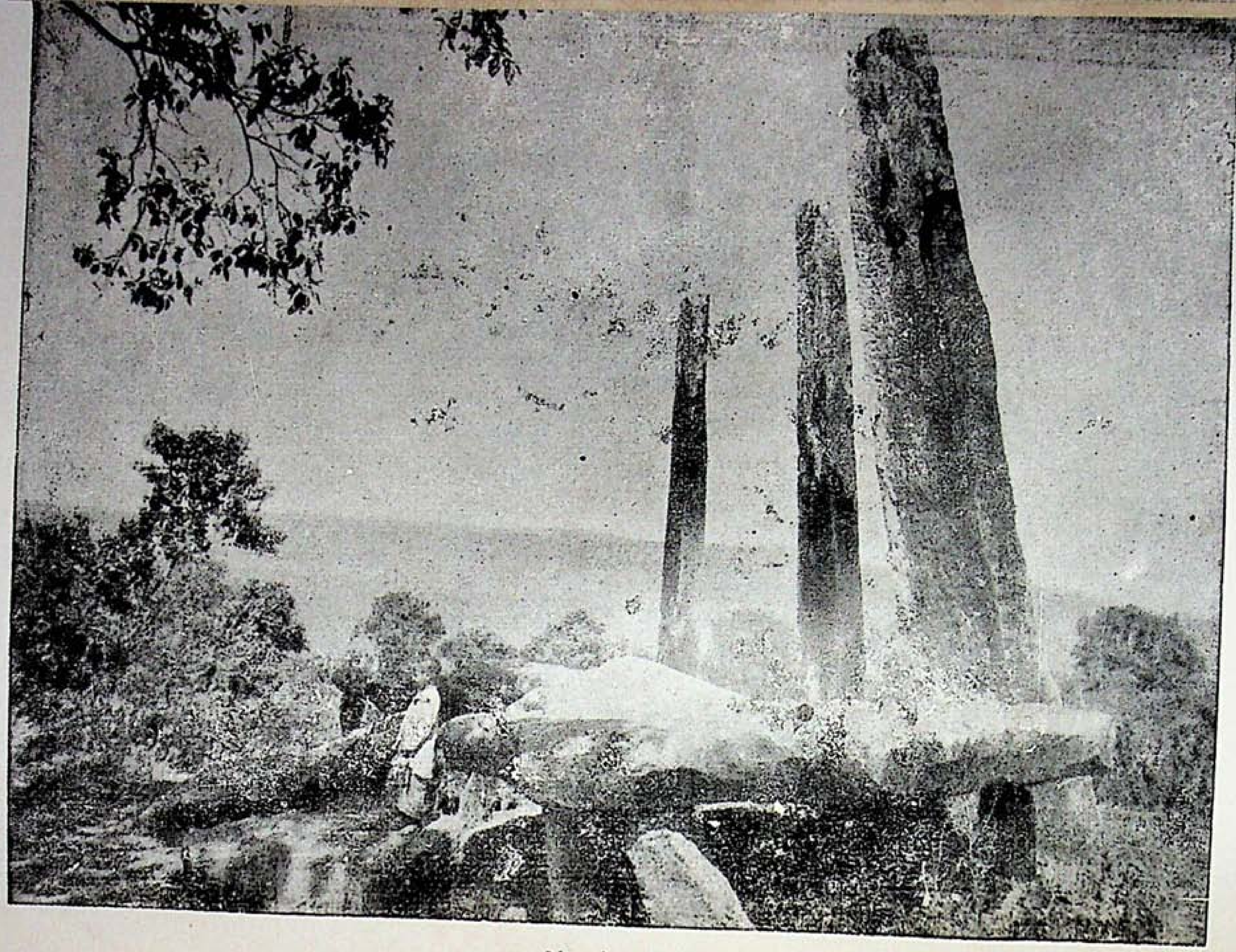
1. Compare however Nath, R. M., "the Background of Assamese Culture" Shillong, 1948. There on plate I or photograph of the same stone group is reproduced. Four standing stones are shown in that picture.

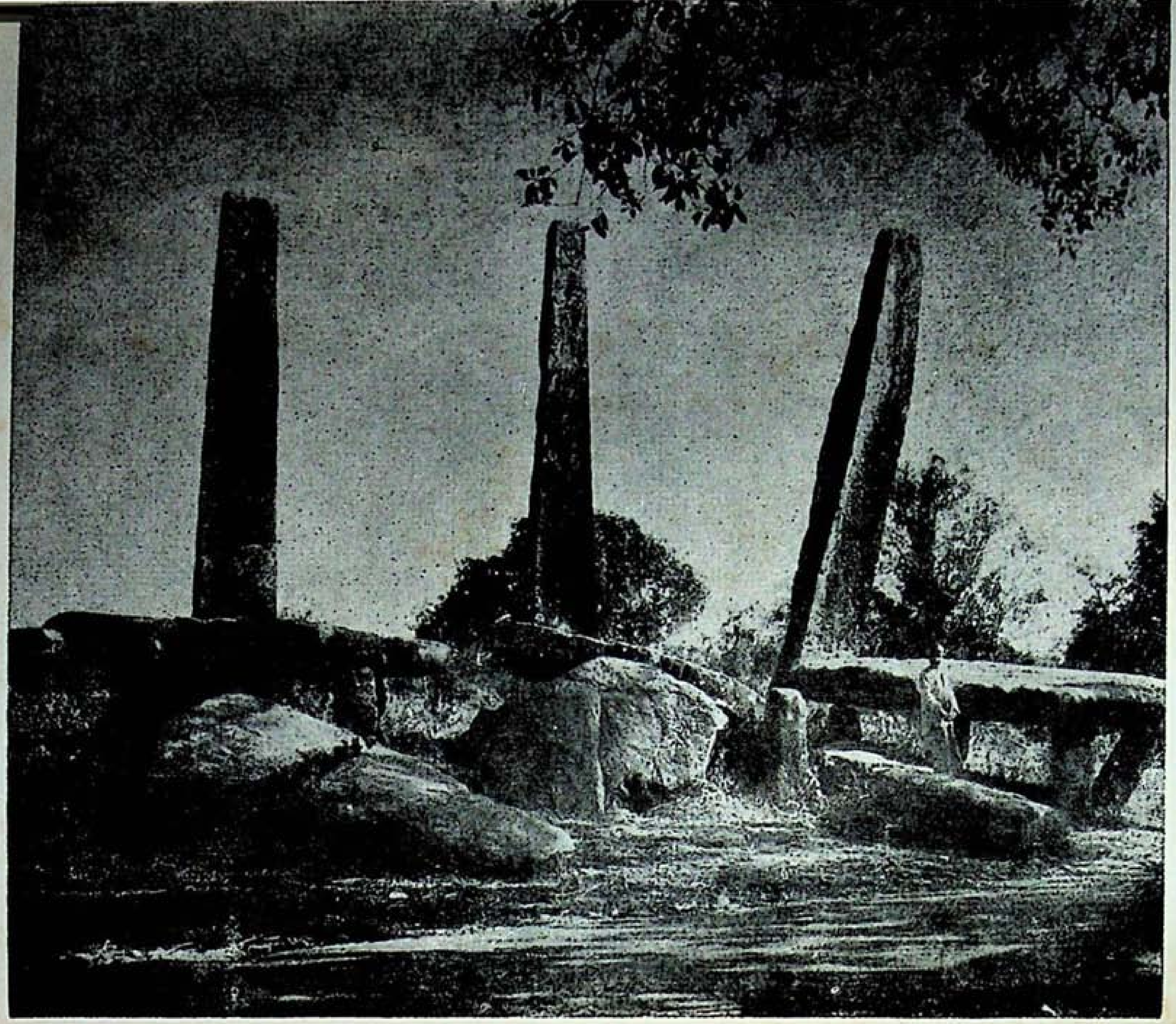
to the north was jungle and at the southside of the road (which runs more or less East-West here) was an elephant station (photo 9). Only a few people were around apparently *mahauts* of that *Khedah*. The elephants, every leg tied to a pole, were recently caught in the jungle that cover the foot of the Hills. There was no mistaking that the stones had a Khasi origin. Of course there were many more other tribes that have at one time engaged in the erection of stone monuments. In this region the Khasi only could be credited with the feat.

This tribe has been and still is rather numerous in the neighbourhood. According to the 1901 Census of India there were some 3000 Khasis in the Sylhet district and the 1951 Census of Pakistan mentions a number of 6606. Although the figure is inclusive of the Santhali that live in the district, it nevertheless may be taken as proof of the presence of Khasi people (*Report Census of Pakistan* 1951, vol 3, table 7-3). It is an open question whether there were still many resident Khasi households, that clung to their tribal traditions. Although the composition of unhewn stones resembled in many ways the stone groups one can not fail to see up in Hills, there were some noticeable differences.

In the first place the silhouette of the menhirs was different. Whereas the uprights in Khasi land are mostly pointed, these were squarely topped. Topped in such a way that all three had more or less the same height. Apparently the middle one was not to be taken as the 'maw-kni', ordinarily the most important one. Probably the group did not derive its significance from these standing stones. If this supposition were correct, there would be some motive for the presence of such extra-ordinary large tables. For when one compares this group with other similar groups in the Hills one notices at once its large dolmens, which dwarf the menhirs. As a matter of fact these menhirs seem to serve the purpose of merely drawing attention to the dolmens. Normally one would see that the dolmens are of modest size (in comparison to the uprights) and few in number. Here they really dominate the group. Would this mean that the monument had no religious function ?



No. 1



No. 1 A

Indeed the Khasis have made similar stone groups elsewhere for the sole purpose of resting the tired wanderer. Gurdon in his monograph, speaks of 'maw-shong-thait' or 'flat table-stones, often accompanied by vertical stones, which are placed in the market places and by the side of the roads to serve as seats for weary travellers' ('The Khasi', London 1907, p. 150). The conclusion seems justified that the roadside stonegroup of Jaintiapur also is a 'maw-shong-thait' and therefore comparable to such groups we find for instance at the Bara Bazar of Shillong and in the Nartiang market. In purpose this group does not vary much from the big round sitting stone in the Cherrapunji market. As far as we could assess, the group of stones had no special name and this agrees with what Gurdon had to say about these 'maw-shong-thait'. He says, they do not have a name of their own. People call them simply 'ki maw jong Siem' i e. the Siem's stones (p 152. The Siem is a regional chief of the area that traditionally belonged to one of the matrilineal clans in which the Khasi tribe was divided.

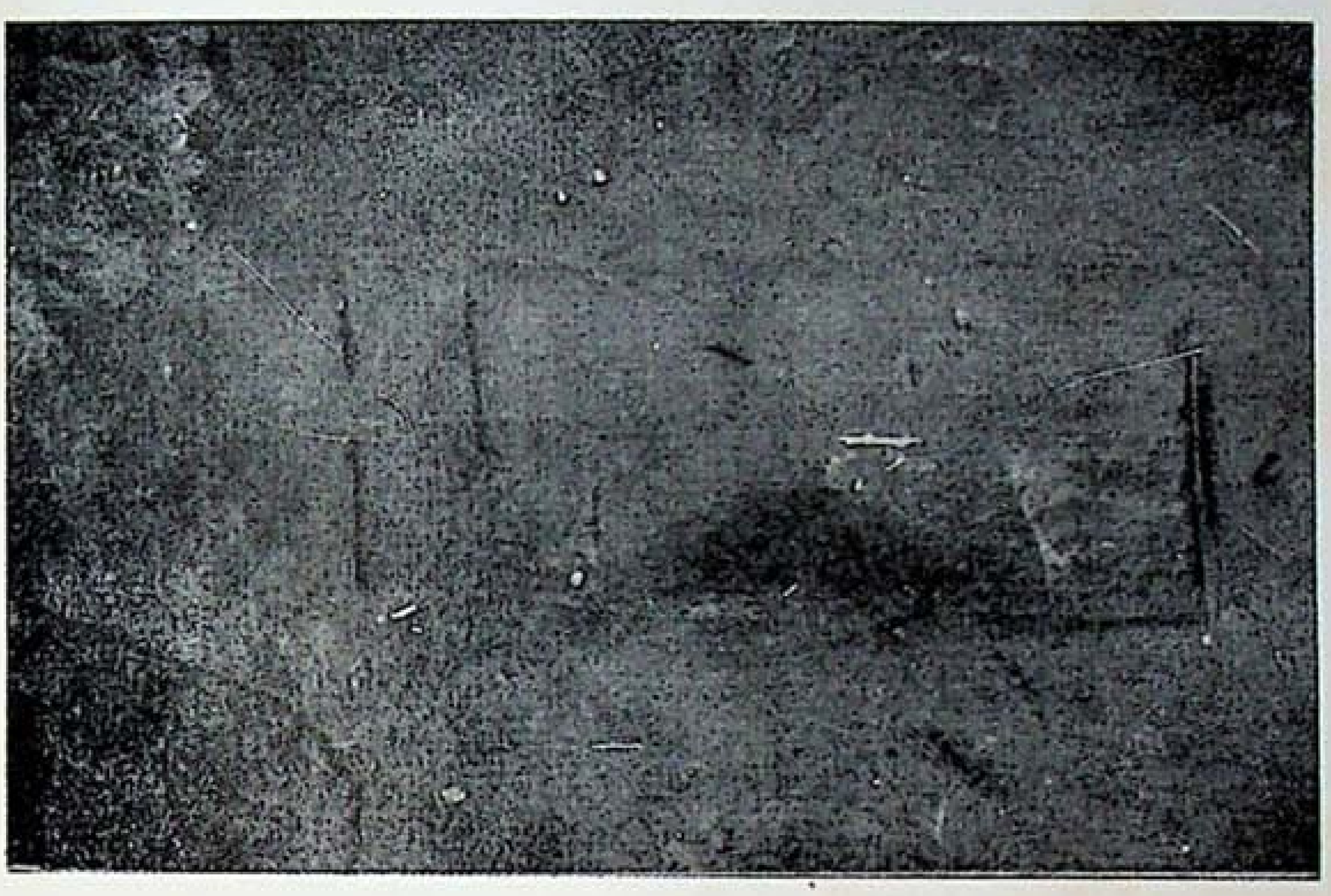
The local people of Jaintiapur will tell you however that the stone group commemorates the grave of a princess buried there. If anything, this 'explanation' reveals that the local informants are far removed from the original Khasi traditions. The stones are definitely not held in such a reverence as might be appropriate when it was a grave. People have whetted their knives on the rims of the dolmens (photo 1). They spread their paddy and pulses on it, so that it may dry. Heaps of elephant dung soil the surrounding ground. Though this can not be taken as a sure proof of an erstwhile secular character, it nevertheless does reveal something, especially in a country where every tradition is very tenacious. Two other features we found are not peculiar to Khasi monuments. These were a few rows of holes (photos 2 and 8) and a series of carvings 3, 4, 5, 6,).

To turn to those rows of holes first, one notices their unifrom shape and the fact that they are connected by a shallow groove. Their form is oval, their depth is not very large, nearer three to four inches. Although the Khasi way of hewing stones

from the living rock is nowhere described and we did not see them use anything else than crowbars in the few quarries we visited we think to be right in our supposition that they used wedges of metal to break the stones loose. The metal wedges were put one in each hole and then hit with a hammer in turn. Together they would put pressure on the stone, causing it to break along a line determined in advance. The neat row indicated by a groove and the oval shape of the loosening of the wedges, if needs be with one oblique hit of the hammer. This shape also gauges the pressure by the wedge on the stone in the desired direction. With round holes one is never sure. Further proof of this explanation may be seen in the shape of the plane of cleavage as a result of this method in photo 7, where the line of fracture connects the holes. An indirect proof that the slabs have been split off from the rock by some device may be found in the uneven surface of the tablestones (photo I and 6). The other imaginable device would have been the drilling of holes and blasting the rock with gunpowder. It is doubtful, however, whether this practice was used here at that time and also whether such a crude method would produce such fine large flat stones as are to be found in Jaintiapur. The last mentioned practice is now-a-days fairly wide-spread over the sub-continent and also in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. We would not like to suggest that no memorial stones ever were blasted free from the living rock in a quarry. On the contray, we believe that the adoption of this method is responsible for so many poor unsightly stones that stud the Khasi Hills now-a-days and we might as well suppose that the introduction of this easy practice has tempted the people to erect so many of these stones in rather recent times. The number of really imposing monuments is however scarce. The stone group under discussion is one of these and may be a very old one for its surfaces are blakened with age. How old one can not say with justification. There are no records that tell us anything about it. Nobody has described or mentioned it before. Even the Department of Archaeology of Pakisttan is unaware of its existence. Nevertheless the monument is

No. 2

No. 3



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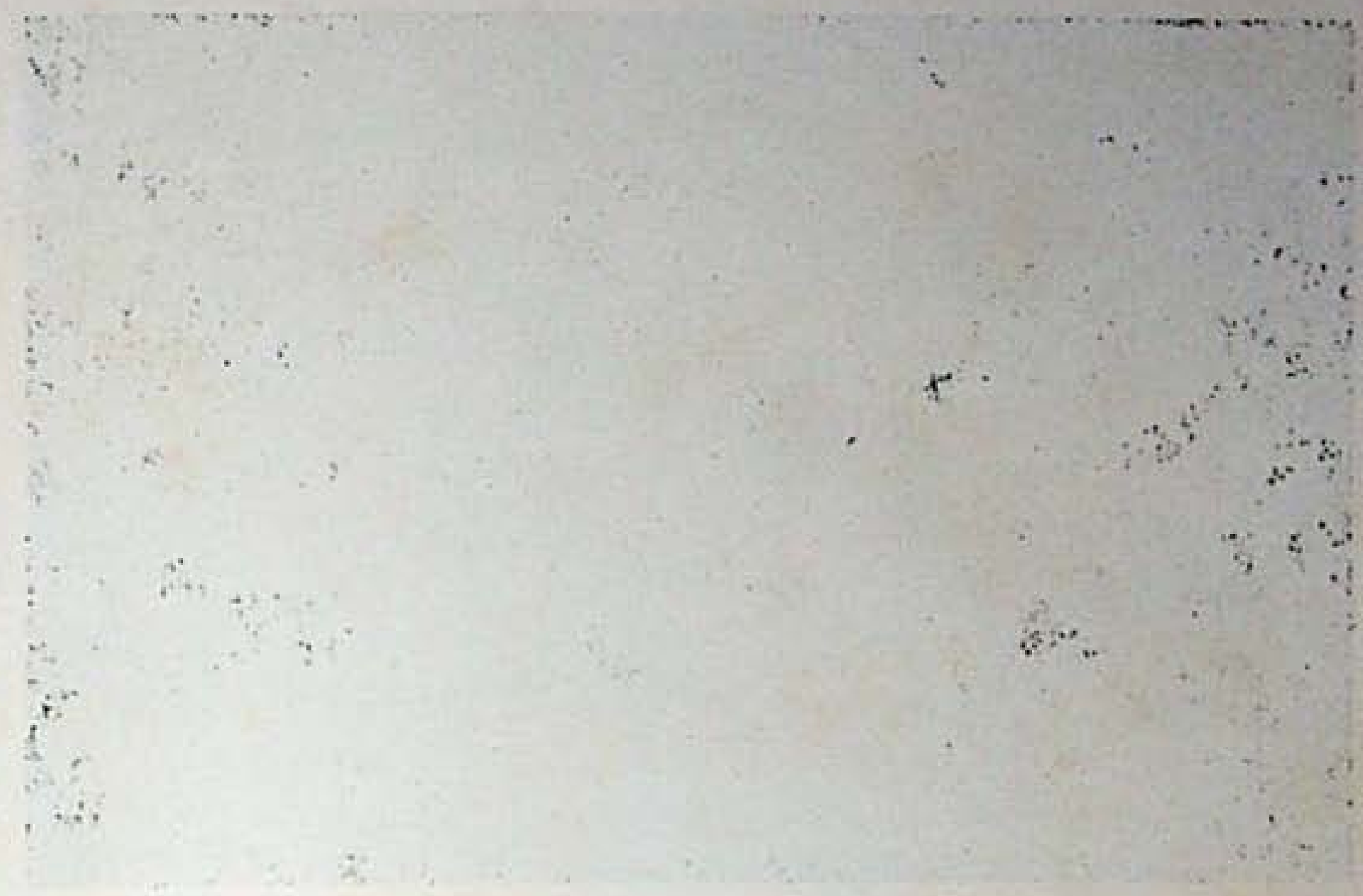

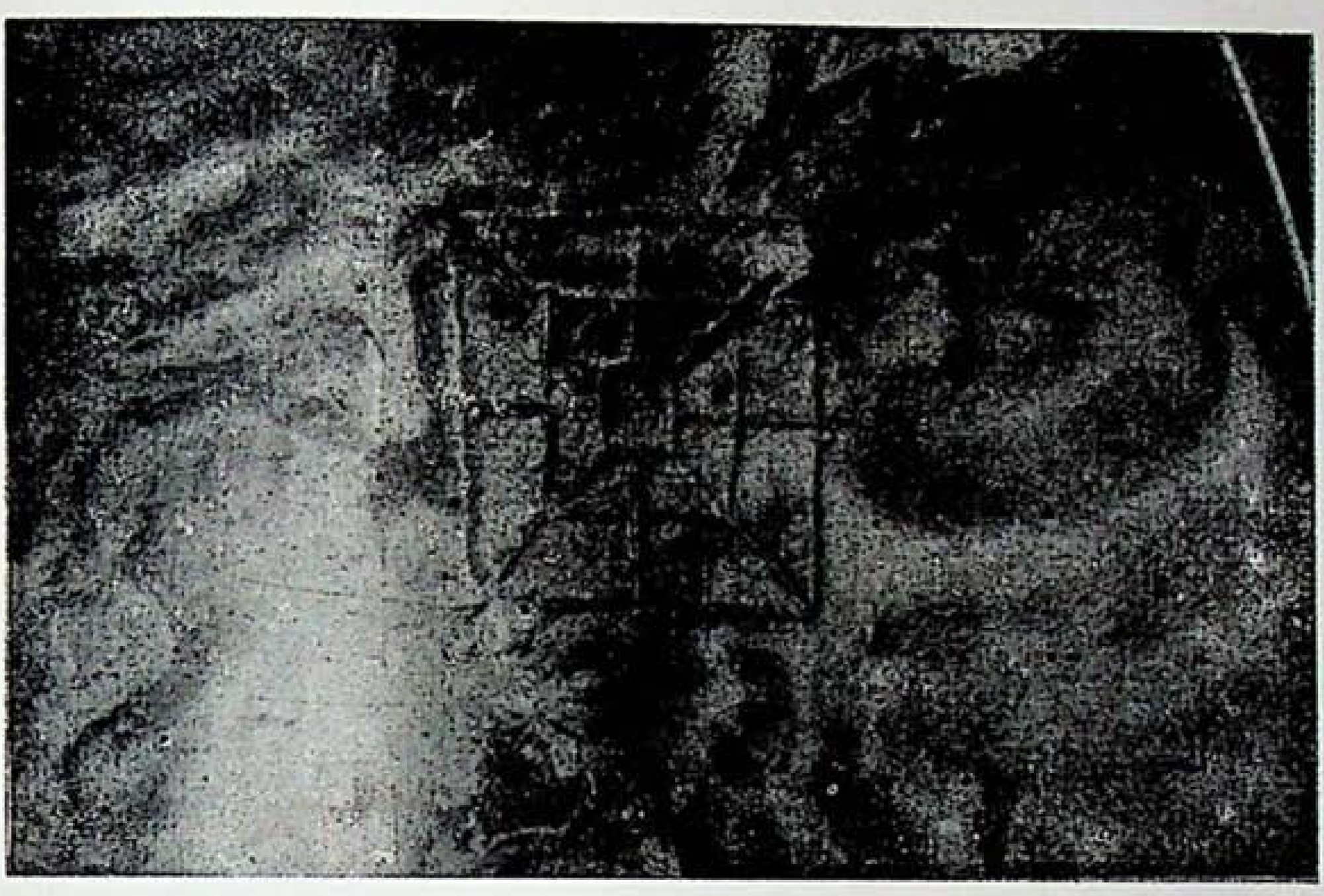

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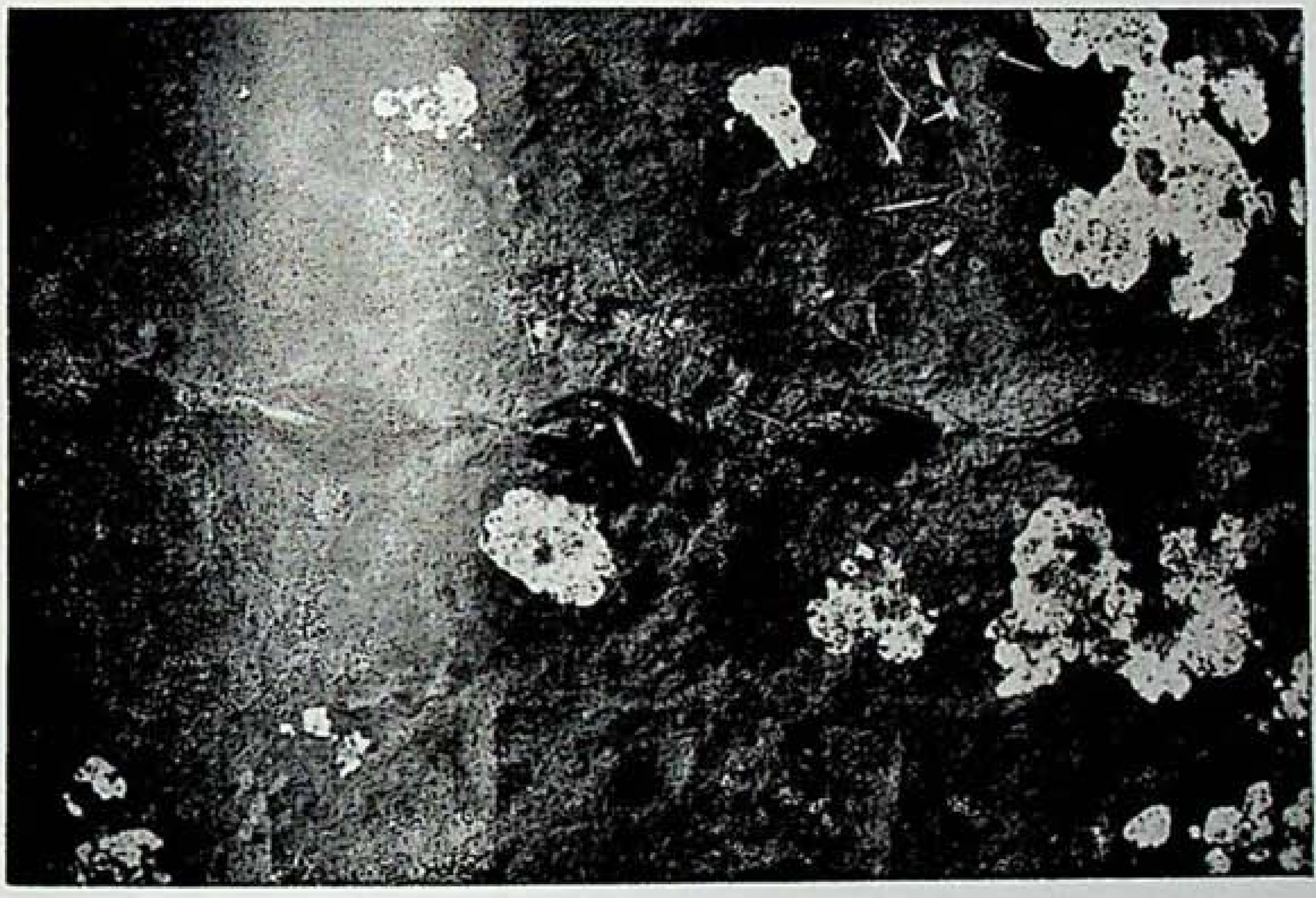

No. 8

worth some care and attention. because it is the only one of its kind – and a beautiful one – in East Pakistan and one of the two that can be found at all in this country, A second stone-group seems of a different type and has been described by Mr. Hutton (Some Megalithic Work in the Jaintia Hill', J.A.S.B. N. S. XXII (1926), p. 333f.) It stands near the old compound-Wall of what is sometimes called 'the palace' Jaintiapur, but in reality was a temple.[1]

The other feature that struck us was the occurrence of game designs on the horizontal stones. As a rule all the monumental stones of the Khasis are unornamented. There are no such stones in Khasi-land that are carved or sculptured. Here we find, as the present photo shows, several game-patrerns in odd places on the dolmens. The designs are certainly not Khasi. If they were, we would have found them elsewhere in the Hills too. We have to thank Mr. Hem Chandra Dasgupta for the evidence he brought to our attention in his articles on 'sedentary games'. His information is sufficient to demonstrate their westward affinities. For instance, the figure on photo 3 is exactly the same as the drawing he gives of the 'Atharagutiala teora' play (see his 'A few types of Sedentary Games in the Central Provinces', JASB, XX (1924) p. 165f). Photo 6 shows a diagram which is rather identical with the 'Nao-guti' play from the Punjab (see. Mr. Dasgupta's article on 'A few types of sedentary games prevalent in the Punjab', art, no 22 in JASB, Vol. XXII(1926) Photo 4 could be of a plan used for playing the Khutka-Boia play also from the Punjab. Of photo 5 we are not too sure whether it represents a finished pattern or not. We give it for completeness' sake. The important thing to notice is that the cultural traditions of these games point westward, while the Khasi traditions proper came for all we know from the east. It seems

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1. The Archaeological Dept. of Pakistan only possesses a file containing some information about the old Hindu temple. Photographs shown to me afterwards of the stone monuments near this Place reveal also the combination of small menhirs and big flat dolmens.

therefore not justified to fancy Khasi-people, having travelled from far or near, resting on the stones of the 'maw-shong-thait' and shortening the time with a game. The designs have been made most certainly by Bengalis. We might even venture and approximate date after which these carvings were made. The patterns are only to be found on such tablestones as still rest on their supports. If it could be ascertained that the 1897 earthquake demolished the monument, there would be an argument to date the carvings not earliar than that But there have been more earthquakes. There are other agents also that can ruin a monument. We find here in this monument the palpable proofs of two cultures : two rival civilizations that competed for snpremacy in this region. Or "competed" is perhaps not the term, for the Khasi culture seemed definitely inferior. The Hindu-Bengali influence has been more marked For instance in the topography of the region no feature bears a Khasi name. All topographical names are Bengali. We also find no other Khasi monuments in this part of the District of Sylhet. There is here no clan burial ground ('maw sieng') not even a 'ging thang' or Pyre, where the Khasis were burnt before their bones could be buried in the maternal soil This part of the plains can for these reasons not be attributed to the Khasi territory, and we might very well doubt if the Khasi ever did. We may therefore object the standing opinion, that the rulers of Jaintiapur, were kings of the Khasis, or even Khasis themselves. In the face of the very slight and few demonstrations of Khasi presence here, the establishment of the 'Khasi-capital' in Jaintiapur must be considered as surprising. One would like to see an administrative centre to occupy a geographical central place too. What motive could a ruler have had to endanger his position and to draw out his lines of communications short to thwart his authority and command ? What might have induced him to take up residence at the edge of his realm ? We do not know the reasons, but we do know that when the Jaintia-princes enter the history they appear fully Hinduised. This would mean, that the true Khasi could not consider them as one of them. Apart from the circumstance that the tribal organization of the Khasi does not know of centeral authority

or even a 'king' (there were about fifteen Siems of equal rank), the Khasi chiefs had a religious function first and subsequently some political powers. The Siem had to perform and lead annually certain tribal rituals. This was a privilege and an obligation, essential to his Siemship. If that Jaintiapur ruler originally had been a Khasi-chief, he could have been at best a Siem, but would lose his authority if he neglected his divine duties. This would mean, that considering the prevalent system of inheritance among the Khasi where the son does not take the place of the father, but where the daughter-husband succeeds, practically the whole population must have been Hindu. This might have been true for the Jaintiapur parganas of the Sylhet District, but certainly not for the Hill-population.

The continuation of a Hindu-regime would only be ensured if all possible consorts to the heiress were Hindu too. This would certainly have proved a demand too exacting, for traditionally the Khasi daughters were entitled to choose for themselves. Would it be, we might ask now, too far-fetched to challenge the supposed Khasi-origin of the Jaintia-dynasty? Sometimes we have heard the guess that 'Jaintia' would be a corruption of the Khasi-term 'Synteng,' with which a major divison of this tribe is indicated. This can not be true, because we know from historical records that the old name was 'Jayantipura.' This name certainly does not show linguistic affiliation with the mono-syllabic Khasi language. In our opinion, Jayantipura is named to commemorate the mythical event that happened here according to the Hindu traditions. It was here that the left thigh of Sati fell, after Vishṇu had cut her dead body up into fifty-one pieces to make an end to the annoyance created by Śiva's mourning. Wherever these parts fell, the place became sacred. Sati's members fell, wide apart, but it seems that so many of them landed in places, which marked the end of the known world at that time. We find for instance that the most sacred part of Sati, the very essence of her feminity came dowu in Gauhati. There it is worshipped in the famous Kamakhya temple surprisingly also at the border of the pagan Khasi Hills. A similar situation of a most important temple dedicated to the same goddess in the close neighbourhood,

though at the other side of the Hills, gives quite a different significance to Jaintiapur. Its origin would not be as a capital of a rather obscure principality, but as sacred place of the Hindus. In line with this view is probably the old tradition that before the Jaintia dynasty, commencing with Parbat Ray, a number of Brahmins had ruled (E. A. Gait : "History of Assam" Calcutta 1906, p. 256). Other considerations seem to corroborate this view. In the first place the "king" did not call themselves 'raja' nor carried the title 'Śrī' but named themselves 'Purandara.' The use of this old Sanskrit term here, when the other kings carried other titles suggests a different status. In the second place we find in the history of Jaintia hardly any evidence that they wielded power in the Hill-region too When there is war with the Ahom kings or with the Manipuri or Kachari, the war really begins and ends with the occupation of the site of the court in Jaintiapur. We never learn that the Jaintia king retreated into the Jaintia Hills. Even much later, when the British invaded the region and subdued the Jaintia prince, they still had to conquer the Hill area.[1] Here the Khasi chiefs thought themselves as independent as before. The British at that time certainly had little reason to challenge the claim to power over the Hills by the Jaintia dynasty, which since that time have become known as 'Jaintia-Hills'. On the contrary this claim must have been a welcome justification to conquer the Hills too. To be sure, the Khasi Siems over there could now be looked upon as 'rebels' and as a matter of fact one of them—U Tarot Singh—died in 1834 in the jail of Dhaka, confined there for 'insurrection.' Also when we try to reconstruct the history of Jaintia—as Syed Murtaza Ali has done (see his 'The History of Jainta', Dacca 1954) we find the Hills devoid of traditions concerning Jaintia. All these are preserved in the Plains in the Jaintia-parganas and according to Mr. Ali, by Hindu descendants of

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1. The last ruler, Indra Singh prefers the sure income of Rs. 500/- monthly from the British to the guaranteed sovereignty in the hill-state Tcwai (Nath. op. cit. p. 107)

the former court and temple officials. Here the genealogies and the historical anecdotes still are known.

In the Hills people profess ignorance. In the light of this evidence Mr. Gait's supposition that the Jaintia parganas in plains constituted an annexation by the Rajas of Jaintia, till that moment residing somewhere in the Hills,[1] has little substance to stand as most of the historical evidence seems to demonstrate that these parganas were all that they ever held sway over. In the Hills they had virtually nothing to say. That the first historical ruler called himself 'Parbat Ray', which means 'Lord of the Hills' is a boast few were in a position to disprove. Boasting appears to have been cultivated to some extent by the Jaintia-princes. Did not Jainarain (1709-1731) profess that the western boundaries of his realm were formed by the Brahmaputra (see Murtaza Ali, P, 5)? A great deal is made of the prevalence of succession through the female line though not by exclusion in the Jaintia dynasty, to demonstrate the Khasi origin of that family. In this tradition he is king, who has married the queen. The rights of succession are not vested in the man but in the wife and are due to the daughter and by implication to the son-in-law. In the absence of a daughter the line of inheritance would pass through the sister. The very history of Jaintia shows however that this practice must have been prevailing among the Hindu-kings in the neighbourhood too. For on different occasions we read that the Ahom king, the Manipuri or Kachari king forced the Jaintia-ruler to give them their daughters in marriage. Around 1600 Dhan Manik of Jaintia was defeated by the Kachari king and taken prisoner. Dhan Manik secured his release by offering his dughter to the Kachari king: a gesture which in reality meant an abdication. As such these presentations of brides were appreciated more than merely contracting close ties of kinship. For around 1668 the Jaintia king appeased the Ahom king by offering his niece. But the king of the Ahoms did not want to be put on a dead-end siding and asked for his daughter in reply (Murtaza

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1. Gait. E. A. op. cit. page 255

Ali, P. 20). There are also instances of plain exchange of daughters for additional territory (See, Murtaza Ali p. 16). Similar practices of succession to the throne were followed in Indonesia and also in South India. In Central Java the king was not succeeded by his son, but by his son-in-law. Many of the Javanese palace-revolutions and partitions of the realm were originated by the wish to favour the legal son. Dr. Dani informed me that in the absence of male offspring a prince could be succeeded according to the "putrikā-putra" rule, which might appear to the outsider as matrilineate. We must therefore acknowledge that the succession to the throne along the matrilineal line is not typical Khasi and can not be drawn upon as proof of the Khasi-origin of the Jaintia-dynasty. Moreover Murtaza Ali's book gives instances of patrilineal succession in Jaintia.

The wisest thing to do seems to accept the view that the Hindu court at Jaintiapur has had no Khasi-origin. Jayantipura has been a Hindu-centre right from the beginning. Strategically and economically favourably situated, it soon assumed a considerable importance. It seems that the Ahom kings open hostilities when the trade route is closed by the men of Jaintia and are satisfied when the road is opended again. We know also that along this route high quality *pan* from the Hills was brought into the plains[1] In the neighbourhood of present day Jaintiapur we have to look for the old trading centre, where goods from the Hills were exchanged against commodities from the Plains. It seems that the situation of Jaintiapur is such that the Khasi descending from the Hills could reach the place on foot, even during the monsoon. Also the Plains people who prefer the use of boats could come to Jaintiapur, for this place was situated on the fringe of the last spurs of the Hills. The navigable Barak river flows past this town. From Jaintiapur lead important roads into Kachar and Manipur and also across the Hills to the Brahmaputra valley in the north. Along these roads traders and pilgrims travelled. It was a good place to settle down and collect tolls.

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1. Compare also Nath, R, M. op. cit. p. 104 when other commodities are mentioned too.

Until recently this was the main source of income of the Jaintia kings. The Assam District Gazetteer Vol II mentions the place as one of five important markets. Their yield of market fees might have been considerable. Murtaza Ali gives the figure of 8000 rupees. Afterwards the market fees were collected by the British and the Jaintia raja would receive a monthly pay instead. Viewing the old residence as a Hindu settlement and market place of more than regional importance two things became understandable. In the first place it developed into the centre of an influential principality that controlled the communications and commerce. It apparently seems to have much resisting power : most of her wars ended in defeat (while the king could have held out idefinitely if he only took recourse to the Hills). In the second place we can see why the traces of Khasi culture have been so negligible. What betrays their former presence in the region are those two stone groups, At least one of them is connected with trade. This is the 'maw-shong-thait' we have discussed. It is not necessary to see in the presence of these stone groups the proof that the Khasis have lived and ruled here. They are only manifestations of some Khasi activity, exerting their rights to visit this market and carry on their trade in the face of the Hindu usurper.

REVIEWS

Wilfred Cantwell Smith : *MODERN ISLAM IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN*,
Ripon Printing Press, Bull Road, Lahore, (Pak.)—
Price Rs. 10/-

Mr. W.C. Smith, Director, Institute of Islamic Studies McGill University, Montreal, Cannada, needs no introduction. He has already won reputation for a number of works on the Mu lims of the sub-continent of Pakistan and India, by virtue of which he has established himself as an authority of "Indian or Pakistani Islam", as he would prefer to say, in particular, and of "Modern Islam", in general. Mr. Smith has, probably, justified his claim of being an authority on "Indian Islam" by staying at Lahore and Aligarh for sometime and by studying the Urdu language. That his works relating to "Pakistani or Indian Islam and Muslims" have already won distinction for himself, and recognition of the world, in general, and that of America and Canada, in particular, is borne out by the position he holds in the Institute.

To the Muslims, the title of the work under review may appear to be hyperbolical but the author, a progressive or reactionary as he is, believes in "Modern Islam" in the literal sense of the expression, though belief in Islam is not his faith. His sole criterion of judging Muslims and for that matter Islam is "modernism" vis-a-vis "progressivism" or "communism". As against the usually accepted meaning of Islam, it is defined according to him, as "the religion of the Muslims", and 'Muslim' is defined as "any person who calls himself a Muslim" (vide, the book under review, p. 403). That Muslims who believe in Islam are those who have faith in the teachings, of the Qurān and Ḥadīth which they learn through Arabic, Persian or Urdu or any other Muslim language, cannot understand 'Islam' in the sense defined by Prof. Smith, is needless to emphasize.

The book claims to be a fuller account of the various Muslim groups and parties (especially those which take a pro-Congress and nationalist attitude) than is to be found elsewhere. "The sccond half of the book" deals "with the political attitudes of various Islamic schools of thought and sects. The religious and social terms used by the author have been defined separately at the end of the book (pp 433-409) which clarify the stand-point of the author and enable the readers to understand his arguments in the light of his own terminology.

The fact that the author hardly cares to refer to the original sources, in spite of including a long bibliography in the book, is obvious from his writings. The 'Modern Islam, as described by Prof. Smith, is not the faith of the Muslims ; it is only a fabrication of the Professor himself. A few years ago Prof. Gibb wrote his 'Modern Tendency in Islam' in which he collected data from the least known periodicals and book-lets of insignificant persons whose versions were never accepted by the *Millat*. But he was careful enough not to use the ex-pression like 'Modern Islam.'

Modern tendency is to explain away the causes of the decline of a nation by analysing mostly its socio-economic bankruptcy forgetting, as Ibn Khaldūn holds, the most vital historical reason that whenever a nation loses its martial spirit, other nations take its place through their growing military power. The British power, just to cite an example, which the author considers prosperous and free from blemishes, is today reduced to the third position, while in the First World War they held the first. It is therefore a fallacy to think that the religion of the Muslims is responsible for the decline of the Muslims, since America, which can claim the first rank among the world powers, also believes in a religion, viz in Christianity.

For attesting the real worth and the historical value of the book under review, this writer proposes to check a few references and some of the data collected in the *first chapter* and especially some of the views assigned to al-Marḥūm Sir Saiyid Aḥmad Khān.

On page 6, Mr. Smith writes : "It opposed the extensive and formidable, though now waning, lower class 'Wahhabi, agitation against the British infidels."

Unfortunately, he has not defined 'lower class,' nor did he describe what he meant by 'lower class Wahhabi.' If he means that all those who opposed the "British infidels' belonged to the 'lower Class,' then the expression is clear, and can only be considered as an abuse. But if he means that the 'agitation' was organised exclusively by the 'lower class',—an expression which finds no place in the history of Islam and the Muslims, not even in the Muslim period of Indian history which contains a chapter on the "Slave Dynasty"—then the author's statement is highly misleading, and only displays 'bourgeois–like tendency. On page 13, he remarks concerning, Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān :

> "His mind was not enslaved to the authority of *Hadith* and *Sharī'ah* ; ... His first move was to take only the Quran as determinative of Islam ; ... Thus he rejected *hadith*, embodying the social morality of Islam in the society of its first century or two when they were compiled, and the *Fiqh*, embodying the development of that morality in the subsequent society until the time of the four accepted *mozahib*."

As for the allegation of rejection of *hadith*, Sir Sayyid himself writes (*Akheri Mazamin*, Co-Operative Press, Lahore, 3rd ed. p. 44 :

اور حدیث کی کتابوں میں متعدد حدیثیں اس مضمون کی موجود ہیں کہ رسول خدا صلی اللہ علیہ و سلم نے مسلمانوں کو نہایت تاکید سے نصیحت کی ہے اور فرمایا ہے کہ تم اپنے امیروں اور حاکموں کی ہر حالت میں اطاعت کرو' خواہ تمہارے ساتھ ظلم و ستم ہوتا ہو یا وہ انصاف اور مروت سے پیش آتے ہوں' ان حدیثوں میں حاکم یا امیر کے ساتھ کوئی شرط یا قید نہیں ہے' جس سے وہ بات معلوم ہو کہ حاکم یا امیر کس مذہب کا ہو' پس تمام مسلمانوں کو ان حدیثوں کا ماننا اور اسپر عمل کرنا لازم ہے

Translation : The books on *Hadith* contain several *hadith* in which it is stated that the Holy prophet advised his followers with great emphasis, and ordered them to obey the rulers and chiefs in all cases,

whether they oppressed the people, did them injustice, or treated them well and displayed justice. These *ahadith* are unconditional, and quite clearly indicate that, whatever the faith of the ruler, they should obey him. All Muslims, therefore, are to obey these *ahadith*, and it is binding (*farḍ*) upon them to practice according to them.

Ibid. pp. 14-16 : سب سے زیادہ مقدس حدیث کا علم ہے...
اب تمام دار ومدار علم حدیث کا ان کتابوں پر رہ گیا' جوصحاح کے نام سے مشہور ہیں -

The most sacred science is that of *hadith* ...
Now the science of hadith depends on those books which are known as the six Correct Collections.

Ibid. p. 16 : حدیث کے بعد مقدس علم فقہ کا ہے . .. رفتہ رفتہ فقہ اور اصول فقہ کی کتابیں مرتب ہوئیں' اور اہل سنت وجماعت میں چار امام مقبول ہوئے -

After *Hadith* the next sacred science is that of Fiqh, Jurisprudence, ... gradually books on the science of Fiqh, and *Usul* were compiled. The people called Ahl al-Sunnat wa'l-Jama'at followed the four Imams.

Ibid. p. 108 : ایک مسلمان یقین رکھتا ہے کہ اس کو خدا اور رسول کی اطاعت فرض ہے' اور ہرایک شخص سمجھتا ہے کہ خداکی اطاعت تعمیل احکام قرآن مجید ہیں' اور رسول کی اطاعت اس کے اقوال اور افعال کی پیروی ہے جو حدیثوں میں پائی جاتی ہیں منحصر ہے- جو لوگ ایک ادنی حدیث کی بھی تحقیر کرتے ہیں - میں ان کو نہایت نالائق سمجھتا ہوں کیونکہ ممکن ہے وہ حدیث رسول خدا صلی اللہ علیہ و سلم کی ہو'

A Muslim believes that it is binding upon him to obey God and the Apostle. Everybody understands that obedience to God means to act according to the injunctions of the Qur'an, and obedience to the Apostle to follow his sayings and deeds which have been explained in *ahadith*.

I consider him very much unworthy who dishonours even a weak hadith, since it may be the saying of the Messenger of Allah. Allah may send His blessings to him.

I the light of the above quotations from the writings of Sir Sayyid it is difficult to accept the following opinion of the author (p. 38) :

> "Sir Sayyid approached Islam from the values of the modern West ; Shibli approached Western values from the view-point of Islam," inasmuch as both of them were devout Muslims in faith and practice, and were anxious to uplift their fast-decaying community by disseminating education and Islamic values among them.

Sir Sayyid's rational attitude to the study of the Qur'an, Ḥadīth, Fiqh and his interpretations of certain anthropomorphic expressions—thoughts the like of which were displayed even in the first few centuries of Islam by Imām Ḥasan Basrī, Imāms Abū Ḥanīfah, Abū Yousuf, and the Mu'tazilites, and even in subsequent periods by the reformers and scholars like Īmām Ghazzālī, Imām Abū Taymiyah and others—seem to have been characterized by the author as "Modern Islam."

It is, thus, clear that the author, perhaps, never took the trouble of reading the works of Sir Sayyid themselves, and has without hesitation, based his accounts on English sources or on immatured guess of his own.

M. S. H. al-Ma'ṣumi

REVIEWS

Majid Khadduri : *WAR AND PEACE IN THE LAW OF ISLAM,*
The John Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1955.

The book is a revised version of the first edition published in England in 1941 under the title 'The Law of War and Peace in Islam' "which confined itself to the study of the Principles and Practices in early Islam". The present edition "not only seeks to formulate from the diverse original documents a consistent legal theory and practice of Islam's relations with other nations throughout the centuries but also to discuss the efforts in recent times aimed at adapting Islam to the principles and purposes of the modern community of nations".

Book I, that deals with fundamental concepts of Muslim law, is a restatement of the basic principles of law appertaining to relations between Muslims and non-Muslims both inside and outside the Islamic State.

In conformity with the tradition of early Muslim jurists dealing with this relation under the title "*Jihad*", the author has made the law of war the core of the Muslim Law of Nations and has thoroughty dealt with this in Book II. The Muslim Law of peace is discussed next in Book III. The question of Amān, the Status of Dhimmīs, arbitration and diplomacy —some of the most important aspects of Muslim law of peaee are beautifully delineated with reference to original sources. Not all may agree with the author on the conclusions derived by him but his attempt to systematise the original sources is successful and he deserves our praise for this commendable task.

It is, however, the epilogue that was probably intended to serve as a bridge between the classical Islamic Law of the Nations and the acceptance by the present day Muslim States of the ideals of modern International Law which appears to me to be most abrupt and superficial. The whole tradition

of Muslim international relations supplemented by the practice of the Ottoman Sulṭāns, as admitted by the author himself, provides the necessary background for all the Muslim states to qualify for membership of International community, though the European prejudice prevented Turkey from becoming a member of the family of nations for a long time.

In view of the author's threadbare discussion of all aspects of Muslim Law of Nations, his fear of neo-Pan-Islamism "with the creation of Pakistan in 1947 and the recognition of the *Sheria* as a primary source of legislation in the Syrian Constiution of 1950" and 1953 is without any basis, and results from underestimation of the possibilities of Islam and underrating of the glorious Islamic tradition. "The tendency to introduce religious element in politics on the international no less than on the domestic plane can be dangerous indeed" (p. 293) is a line of thinking borrowed from the west and is hardly true of Islam.

It is generally admitted that "Moslem ideas on warfare are in some respects superior to Christan conceptions of the same period."[1] Ransoming and exchanging of prisoners were far more widely practised in the East than in the West.[2] About the crusaders Arthur Nussbaum opines that although they were aggressors, they proceeded on the principle that no faith need be kept with the infidels though, on the other hand, no dispensation from treaty obligations on religious or other grounds is provided by Islam[3] Again regarding the crusaders the noted English historian Lane-poole remarked, "The virtues of civilization were all on the sides of the Saracens.'[4] I bring in this comparison because the author has tried to equate Christianity with Islam (p. 295) in this regard.

Recent religious revival in some of the Muslim countries that have newly won their iudependence is a phenomenon

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1. Arthur Nussbaum: *A concise History of the Law of Nations*, Revised Ed. Newyork, 1954 p. 52.
2. I*bid*,
3. *Ibid*, 53-53.
4. as quoted by Nussbaum, 54.

which has a positive meaning. It marks a cultural reaffirmation of Islam, following closely upon the elimination of foreign rule. Neo-Pan-Islamism might at most mean in the context of the present day world that the Muslim States will form themselves into an ideological bloc (the regional Arab bloc having almost failed) and strive for promotion of internationalism both individually and collectively. In the domestic sphere, the ideal of universal brotherhood as between Muslims themselves and justice to minorities as guaranteed through the numerous constitntional charters during the classical period—all these bind the Muslims down to acceptance in toto of the fundamental human rights, which even now-a-days are being denied to groups of people in south Africa. An emphasis on Islamic religious revival need not therefore evoke any fear. On the contrary the Muslims by their tradition are committed doubly,—to promote internationalism in their foreign relations and to guarantee fundamental human rights so far as their domestic policies are concerned. And no Muslim state has so far deviated from that.

It has become a fashion to judge Medieval Islam by the refinement and humanity of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries and due credit is not given to Islam for its liberal and humane ideas. The status of the Dhimmis is such a subject. Though the non-Muslims were treated as autonomous commuinites to be governed by their own religious laws, this is regarded as short of full citizenship by our author (p. 213). What else could full citizenship mean in those days ?

The chapter on Diplomacy has been to my mind scrappy. Instances of some important cases of reception of embassies might have been elaborately dealt with. Foot note 15 on p. 244 should have referred to contemporary or near contemporary sources (Miskawayh Ed. Amedroz vol. II, 412; Ibn al-Jawzi *kitab al-Muntazam*, Hyderabad Ed. p. 98—100) instead of referring to a much later work.

Mafizullah Kabir

REVIEWS

Abdul Karim : ***SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE MUSLIMS IN BENGAL*** **(down to A. D. 1538), Dacca, Asiatic Society of Pakistan 1959, pp. XVII—251. Rs. 15/-**

Interest in medieval Bengal is of recent growth almost coincident with its inclusion in the post-graduate studies by the Calcutta University in the early forties. Some years later Dacca University published two of its three projected volumes on Bengal. The interest, thus widened, was further stimulated by the fact of inependence which occasioned the partition of this linguistic and cultural area imposing on the historians of the two segments a kind of duty to make the past also yield horizontal compartments. To study Bengal's past as an integrating process would however, in the present context, need more imaginative effort and understanding, which, it is only fair to recognise, the present work does not seek to embody. Not that investigation on the individual aspects of social or religious groups is without value; such studies, do indeed, build up the content of history. It is, however, primarily a question of perspective and the reviewer would have been happier if he could say that the author had shown a fuller awareness of the environmental factors of time and space.

It is legitimate to expect this, for the book is ambitiously planned and has had learned sponsors. It has earned the author the degree of doctor of philosophy of the Dacca University and has been published by the Asiatic Society of Pakistan. With an initial chapter devoted to the political background the book proceeds to discuss the growth of Muslim society in Bengal, point out the governing factors, analyse its nature and composition and to summarise information relating to the details of living condition. There is also an awesome profusion of footnotes and lengthy extracts from Arabic, Persian and Bengali sources with

their English translation. There is thus an aura of learnedness round the book which it takes much courage to penetrate. For it is a brave attempt to force a maximum number of generalization into a minimum number of evidence, some even of such doubtful validity as to discourage lesser authors.

The candour and ingenuity displayed in doing this must earn admiration for the author has not pretended that there is any other way of escaping the consequences of limiting the social history of the Bengali Muslims to only the pre-Mughal period for which material is so notoriously scanty. There have to be, therefore, minutely descriptive and longwinded passage such as on p. 54-55, (in connection with establishing the fact that the Sulṭāns helped in the growth of Muslim culture by patronising Muslim scholars and *sufis*). "Sulṭān Fakhruddīn Mubārak Shāh was so fond of faqirs that he made one of them, named Shaydā the ruler of Sudkāwān. But the faqir proved faithless, killed the Sulṭān's son and received punishment from him. Sulṭān Sikandar Shāh ordered the erection of a domed building at the shrine of Maulana 'Aṭā, a great Ṣūfi, lying at Deokot. In his reign a mosque was built by one Khan-i-A'ẓam Ulugh Majlis Khān in the vicinity of the dargāh of Ḥaḍrat Muḥammad Kabīr Shāh, called Shah Anwar Qulī of Aleppo. In the year 863/1459 a tomb was erected in honour of a Great Ṣūfī, probably Ḥaḍrat Nūr Quṭb 'Ālam by one Khān A'ẓam, Latīf Khān. Poet Shāh Muḥammad Saghīr who wrote *Yūsuf Jolekhā* in Bengali received patronage probably from Sulṭan Ghiyathuddin Aẓam Shāh. The Sulṭān was very much respectful towards the contemporary Ṣūfīs. He once sent a trayful of dishes to the celebrated Ṣūfī Ḥaḍrat Nūr Quṭb 'Ālam" .. . . "Khān Jahān who is considered to be the first to bring Bagerhat under the Muslims is credited to be "the lover of the descendants of the leader of the Prophets and sincere towards the pious scholars" Sulṭān Jalāluddīn Fatḥ Shāh repaired a stone-building in the precincts of the dargāh of Maulana 'Aṭā Wahīduddīn. Muḥammad Budai 'urf Syed Mir 'AlaWī wrote a book *Hidayat ar Rami* (a book on archery) and dedicated it to Sulṭān 'Alauddīn Ḥusayn Shāh. The same Sulṭān patronised one *muhaddith*, Muḥammad

bin Yazdān Bakhsh who transcribed the Ṣaḥīḥ-ul-Bukhārī in three volumes in 911/1503 in the capital city of Ikdālah. This last point used once again on p. 79-80, in connection with Muslim scholar's contribution, rests on the evidence of the Copyist's colophon in a manuscript copy of Bukhārī's *Jāmi'* signed by the above person simply as a *katib* in Ikdālah in 911 A. H. in the reign of Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn Ḥusayn b. Ashraful Ḥusaynī : that the copyist must also be learned in the science of the book transcribed is of course, the author's own contribution. Such tediously minute list of detailed evidence continues in the same strain for another six pages. One must admire the author's resourcefulness in the manner in which he has made repetitious use of such inanities as those on p. 191 : "though references to fish and vegetable are not included in the sources at our disposal, there are no reasons to think that the Muslims did not take those things ... ... Muslims also took the various fruits available in the country such as banana, jackfruit, pomegranates and sugar cane." On p. 205 "Although they came from deserted lands they tried to adapt themselves to the peculiar geography and climatic condition of Bengal. Thus in dwelling house, diet and dress they had to consider the question of suitability and availability ... ... " On p. 208 they adopted various professions like trade and commerce, crafts, industry and agriculture besides accepting offices in the state. They built their dwelling houses with the materials locally available. Even the court-patronised stone or brick architecture developed a local style suited to the climate of the country. Their diet included meat, fish or vegetables as they were locally available." And again, on p. 210 : "The fact that the Muslims settled in this country, learnt the local languages, lived in harmony with the local people, accepted local wives, adopted various professions suited to their genius and that in their dietary system and dwelling houses they depended on materials locally available bear out that they considered Bengal as their homeland ... ... They (Sulṭāns) also attended to the local problems by the construction of dykes and roads and excavation of tanks ... ... 'The evidence of certain educational establishments founded in Mecca and Medinah by Ghiyath

Uddīn A'ẓam and Jalāluddīn Muḥammad is described on four pages (pp. 47-51), where dependence is based on Sakhāwi's biographical work and on Ḥājī Dabīr who, however, only 3 pages earlier, is pronounced as "thoroughly unreliable." It may be mentioned here that Ḥāji Dabīr's source of information, was the same work which Bilgirami drew upon, namely كتاب الاعلام لا علام بيت الحرام written by one of the Ḥājī's own country men, Quṭbuddīn Muḥammad b. 'Alāuddīn Aḥmad al-Qādrī, Khurāsānī wan-Naharuah ; This work has been edited and published by Wustenfeld from Vienna, as early as 1857.

The author's approach to individual topics, however, call for some comment. Bengali Sufism is practically a virgin field and offers a scope for analytical study. Unfortunately the author's treatment of the theme shows no attempt to penetrate the surface. Instead of enumerating the ṣūfīs and their shrines, the author might have examined the thought content of Bengali Sufism and its variation from that of North India, for which material is available in the hagiological literature listed in his sources. The significance of the popularity in Bengal of the shaṭṭāri order and its apparent interest in the Joga system seems to have been entirely missed by the author. Depending as he does on the brief notice of the Amṛitakuṇḍa published in the JPHS, he has failed to note that the revised Arabic version whose preface he quotes (on p. 63 note 1, and which is entitled المراة المعانى فى ادراک العالم الانسانى) was done by the celebrated Ibn ul 'Arabī in Damascus within 20 years of Ruknuddīn's original translation; similarly he has not noticed the still more interesting fact that a 14th century Egyptian saint, Muḥammud b. al-Misri mentions the *Amritakunda* as forming an integral part of Indian Sufism. The Persian version named *Bahrul Hayat*, which the author considers anonymous was, in fact, done by Muḥammad b. Khatiruddīn Shaṭṭāri, at the request of his *murshid*, the celebrated saint Muḥammad Ghauth of Gwalior, the author of *Gulzar-e-Abrar*, who had stayed some years in Kamrup and had been impressed by the science of Joga (All preface, quoted in *Islamic Culture*, 1947, p. 190-91). The popularity of this work is attested to by the existence of a number of its manuscripts, in different libraries

in India, some even with illustrations, and also by printed editions published from Madras as late as this century. The author refers to the Arabic text published by Yūsuf Ḥusain but if he had examined it and had also looked into the Muslim mystical literature in Bengal, he could not have failed to notice their close connection.

The account, nevertheless, is not without some merit, at least for the awareness displayed, that not all the enshrined Ṣūfis had a saintly occupntion in life. This point is worth stressing in view of the tendency among certain scholars to use the legendary veneration of such persons as undisputed evidence of their being whole time religious preachers. As the author's description shows a majority of these canonised persons had, for their living, the occupation of *Imam cum-muallim* (teachers in *maktabs* and *madrasah*) : some were business men while some were judicial functionaries and military officers. That in actual life no distinction could have existed between, for instance, a scholar and a whole time saint, is however not realised by the author who devotes seperate chapter on what is called "contribution of Muslim scholars towards the growth of Muslim Society," where he lists a little over half a dozen names of authors reportedly associated with Bengal. Even here dependence on inadequate examination of the relevant material has led him to make rather large assumptions. As an instance one may refer to page 73-74 where a versified Persian work on *fiqh*, called *Name-e-Haqq*, by an anonymous author is ascribed to Bengal on the ground that the prefatory poem mentions in eulogistic terms one Sharaf "born in Bukẖārā and educated in Kẖurāsān" and is dated 693 years since the demise of the Prophet. "By the the 693 years after the death of the Prophet the author must have referred to the Ḥijrah year. We have already noted that Maulana Sẖarfuddīn Abū Tawwamah came to Bengal between 1286-87. The book was probably written in 693/A.D. 1293 in Bengal." Equally strained is the conclusion (p. 78-79) that Ibrāhīm Qiwan Fārūqī, author of a *Farhang* named *Sharaf Namah*, was associated with and dedicated his work to Bārbak Sẖāh of Bengal This statement merely echoes the view first expressed by Charles

Rieu and then by Maḥmūd Sẖairānī in his *Panjab men Urdu*, and reproduced in a paper published in the "Urdu" Quartealy, which our author uses as his main source. He, however, overlooks the significant verse quoted in his source, از قدومت همست حقا در هم اقلیم هند (شهر جو لاهور ما مانند لولؤ در عدن) in which Fārūqī claims Jaunpur as his native town. Bārbak Sẖāh mentioned in some of the eulogistic verses, therefore, need not necessarily be the Sulṭān of Bengal, for Jaunpur also at this time had a Bārbak Sẖāh, the younger son of Bahlol Lodī appointed as vassal ruler after Ḥusain Sẖarqī was driven out and whom Sikandar Lodī finally removed a few years after his accession. Nor was Maner, the site of the ṣhrine of Sẖarfuddīn Yaḥyā in whose honour the book is named, part of the Bengal kingdom, for Sikander Lodi's non-aggresion pact with 'Alāuddīn Ḥusain Sẖāh was concluded on the Bengal—Jaunpur border at Barh, which is situated some distance east of Maner.

In the section on the social influence of the Ṣufīs one is made conscious of the author's injudicious haste in pursuing the evidence to yield the required idea. Of the saints mentioned in this connection, there at least eight, on the author's own admission, can hardly be associated with Bengal, and they depend purely on priestly tales, about which only a few pages earlier (p. 86) the author remarks "the accounts are full of mysterious tales which on reasonable grounds seem preposterous." On p. 93 *Sheka Shubhodya* stories are pronounced "fictitious" and the book 'spurious" and yet on p. 136, we are told that "we know from the *Sheka Shubhodaya* that many people attached themselves to Sẖaikẖ Jalāl Ṭabrezī. The Sẖaikẖ restored to life a dying man whose wife was named Mādhavī. One is struck by the author's naivette in quoting the high-flown eulogies of memorial inscriptions as proof positive to substantiate the view that "their (saints) Kẖānqahs were open to all poor destitutes, mendicants and wanderers, who received food and shelter therein (p. 134), "The discussion on popular Islam does not touch even the fringe of the problem. What a scientific account was expected to do was not merely to list the variety of what is called "pirism", but to analyse and trace these varieties to their respective sources. Did the Buddhist *Chaityas* or *stupas* ever form objects of worship ? To

say that the ideal of saint worship or "pirism" of the Muslims was identical with "avatarism" of the Hindus "(p. 163) shows the author's thouhtless eagerness to invent parallelism. "Avatarism" is in fact, a theory of incarnation of God, for which Muslim philosophers used the term *halul*, and Dr. Karim has not suggested that 'pirs' were considered incarnations of God. What indication there is to think that the 'pirs appeared to the Hindus as "teachers of the Śā*kta* order "(p. 164)? A Śākta is a Śaivite, concerned with the cult of Śiva or Śakti, both in its male and female aspect and cannot despense with images. If there is evidence that the 'Pirs' ever assimilated this cult in their person or practices it would be most revealing. On p. 170 the author uses the term "Mullaism" to designate the local religious instructors as a force in society sanctioning popular religious ceremonies. A little consideration would have shown that historically they could not be viewed seperately from the class of scholars and Ṣūfīs, for, in the villages, they represented and tended to derive their influence from a combination of both the formal and spiritual elements of Islam—a phenomenon universal in the Muslim world and traceable to the time of Ghazālī. The author would have done real service if he had gone a little deeper into this question and had traced the stages of its growth in Bengal.

I would, however, be uncharitable to enlarge on such amateurish lapses, perhaps inescapable in the context in which the author had to work for his degree and write primarily for the examiner-. For there are sections which deserve attention, the analysis, for example, of the reason behind the repoted antagonism between the Ilyas Shāhī kings and certain contemporary Ṣufīs (p. 126-32) breaks fresh ground, and provides welcome lead to the cofused events of the Gaṇeśa episode. Like the Turks and Afghāns in North India defending their possessions against the Mongols and their Muslim descendants, the Ilyās Shāhīs had also to encourage and depend upon the territorial patriotism of the Bengali people against the Muslim imperialists of Delhi. The secularism which this policy required provoked opposition from the idealist "Ulema and Mashaikh," particularly of the Chishtia order, whom, because of their organizational

connection with Bihar, Jaunpur and Delhi, the Tughlaq strategists could always seek to exploit in the name of Islam. Firoz Tughlaq's proclamation issued on the eve of invasion of Bengal gains significance in this context. One is reminded of a similar proclamation by Tīmūr on the eve of his invasion of India using practically the same arguments and aiming at precisely the same objective. The auhor has drawn attention to the letters of Muẓaffar Shams Balkhī urging A'ẓam Shāh to adopt a less tolerant policy towards the non-Muslims ; the sentiments expressed and arguments advanced in them read so remarkbly like the ideas, for instance, of Ḍiāuddīn Baranī and Aḥmed Sarhindī and Badāyūnī,—ideas which, in fact, ring like a parallel note through the entire course of Indo-Muslim history. Jalāluddīn Muḥammad's subservience to such Islamism becomes understandable. To what extent the restored Ilyās Shāhīs conformed to this demand is not ciear, but is it permissible to suppose that their restoration marked a return to the earlier policy at any rate, to counter the increased aggressiveness of the Sharqīs ? Bārbak's recruitment of Ḥabshī slaves as a possible counterpoise to the support both of the local and the pro-Sharqi "Mashaikh," and his eventual execution of the foreign-born Ismā'īl Ghazī, are points which may have some significance in this connection. The Ḥusain Shāhīs in any case appear to have gone back to the policy of fostering a territorial loyalty.

In the chapter on the composition of Muslim society a commendable attempt has been made to utilize the epigraphic and literary sources in analysing the formative elements. On one or two points, however, some comment may be offered. Fīroz Tughlaq's proclamation, on which the discussion has largely centred, appears to list only the propertied classes, and it is doubtful if the income groups of Bengal conformed exactly with this pattern. "Gabr could not refer to guru," but to the fire-worshipping magian, a class which is not known to have existed in Bengal. Some information of a rather miscellaneous sort concerning the living condition of the Bengali people has been summarised in a lengthy chapter mostly from Bagchi's translation of the Chinese annals. But the author admits the difficulty of

seperating the details as applicable to the Muslims. He also points, quite rightly, to the occupational difference between the immigrant and local native Muslims. If the travellers mention Muslim merchants, these must refer to immigrant or visiting foreigners who controlled the overseas trade of the country, very soon to be displaced by the Dutch and Portuguese. The section would have been more helpful, however, if some pains were taken, for instance in identifying the varieties of Bengali textiles mentioed by the Chinese (p. 185), or in explaining more fully the designations of the administrative officials. (p. 180-81) *Jāmdār Ghair Mahalli*" is explained as "cup-bearer outside the palace." "*Ghair mahalli*" however, means extra ordinary or special.

In a book which is admittedly a first attempt "to reconstruct the social history of Muslims in Bengal", some amount of padding and immaturity should perhaps be tolerated. Even so, the work is rather inconsequential. Instead of a coherent account of the evolutionary growth of Muslim Society, the book reads like a collection of references and notes gathered mostly from secondary materials and put together without much discrimination or insight. Nevertheless the author deserves credit for making them so promptly available to the future writer who may attempt a more comprehensive study and who, it is hoped, will be able to draw upon the materials of the Mughal period also. The Asiatic Society ought to be thanked for enabling the author to do so in a publication which, inspite of some printing errors, should set a standard for book printing in East Pakistan.

A.B.M. Habibullah

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