

# INDIAN CULTURE

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# INDIAN CULTURE

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# INDIAN CULTURE

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# JAINA CANONICAL SŪTRAS (VII)

By B. C. LAW

## Panḥā-Vāgarāṇa Sūya

The *Panḥā-Vāgarāṇa Sūya* (*Praśna-vyākaraṇa sūtra*) is counted as the tenth *aṅga* of the Śvetāmbara āgama. It is otherwise known as *Praśna-vyākaraṇadaśā* for the simple reason that it consists of ten lectures or chapters (*ajjhayaṇas*), the five of which are devoted to the topic of *anḥaa* and the remaining five to that of *saṃvara*. Abhayadeva Sūri wrote an authoritative commentary on it. It has been edited along with the text. Winternitz points out that it is a purely dogmatic presentation, which does not correspond either to the title of the work or to the table of contents in the *Thānaṅga* 10 and in the *Nandī*. Schubring (*Worte Mahāvīras*, p. 13) says that a later work took the place of the old *aṅga* which is lost. The title of the *sūtra*, *Praśna-vyākaraṇa*, implies at the first sight that the text is the catechism or book of questions and answers. But the text, as we now have it, is not of this nature. The contents of a *Panḥā-Vāgarāṇa* as given in the *Sthānāṅga* and *Nandīsūtra* presuppose a canonical work consisting of 108 *praśnas*, 108 *apraśnas*, 108 *praśnāpraśnas*, *vidyātiśayas* and discourses of saints with *Nāgakumāras* and other *Bhavanapatis*. The present text does not meet these requirements. On the other hand, it appears as a methodical and elaborate exposition of the two topics mentioned above. As such it may be judged as a learned dissertation on the subjects and as an important literary production of the scholastic age. Abhayadeva is compelled to explain the title of the present *sūtra* in a manner to suit its contents. He says *praśnānām vidyāviśeṣānām yāni vyākaraṇāni teṣāṃ pratipādanaparādaśā daśādhyāyana pratibaddhāḥ granthapaddhataya iti Praśnavyākaraṇadaśāḥ*. The *Praśna-vyākaraṇadaśā* is a treatise comprising ten lectures that establish the expositions of certain select topics. The methodical expositions are all ascribed to Sudharman the fifth *ganadhara*, who addressed them to his pupil Jambuswāmin. The two main topics dealt with in this treatise are *anḥaa* and its antithesis *saṃvara*. The term *anḥaa* is equated with Sanskrit *āśnavah* (*āśravah*). Thus *anḥaa* is taken to be the same as *āśrava* which goes to form an antithetical pair with *saṃvara*. The antithetical pair which occurs in the Pillar Edicts of Aśoka verbally corresponds with the *punya* and *pāpa* of Jainism. In these edicts *āśinava* stands in contrast to *kayāṇa*: *apāsinave bahukayāṇe*. It would seem that the word *āśinava* is employed there as a synonym of *pāpa* as opposed to *kalyāṇa* or

*punya*. There is still a difference of opinion<sup>1</sup> as to whether the Asokan word *āsinava* corresponds to the Ardhamāgadhī *anhaa* or to the Pali and Sanskrit *ādīnava*. There is evidently no such Sanskrit word as *āsnava* used in the Brahmanical or Buddhist works. Here we have *ādīnava* in its place but the Asokan term *āsinava* clearly pre-supposes a Sanskrit word like *āsnava* as suggested by the Jain scholiast. So far as the meaning of the two words *āsnava* and *ādīnava* is concerned, it is practically the same. Just as in Jain literature it has *āsrava* for its synonym, so in the *Amarakoṣa* the two synonyms suggested for *ādīnava* are *āsrava* and *kleṣa*.<sup>2</sup> It is important to note that *anhaa* is characterized in our text as *anādika* (*ādīvirahita*), 'beginningless', 'that of which the sinful action is the root cause', as explained by Abhayadeva. This suggests no doubt that our text is concerned not so much with the sins as with 'the innate proneness to sin'.

The five sinful deeds that one commits due to the innate proneness to sin stand as opposed to five great vows (*mahāvratas*) that follow from the principle of *saṃvara* or self-restraint. The five sinful deeds are enumerated as *himsā* (harming life), *mosa* (lying), *adatta* (thieving), *abambha* (incontinence), and *pariggaha* (hankering after worldly possession). Each of them is taken up as a subject for separate treatment. The harming of life is deprecated by the Jinas as a sinful deed which is fierce, terrible, mean, rash, undignified, shameless, inhuman, fearful, dreadful in reaction, greatly fearful, horrible, frightful, unlawful, causing anxiety, reckless, unrighteous, uncompassionate, pitiless, leading to a hellish life and destructive in effect. This sinful deed serves to generate delusion and great fear and it brings about mental distress in fear of death. This is the first door to impiety. It is defined as violence done to life, driving soul out of the body, arousing suspicion in the mind of other beings, harming those who can be harmed, and that which should not be done. It consists in hurting, killing, doing violence, oppressing, killing in three ways of thought, word, and deed, emulating, ending the lease of life, and the like. Harming life is an iniquity of which the consequences are bitter. It is of various kinds and it has various modes. It causes pain and brings misery to others. It is an outcome of unrestraint. In this connection our text furnishes a long but interesting list of the fauna and flora, classified according to the number of senses possessed by them. Many are the root causes that lead beings to commit this sin. The main causes are, however, anger, pride, conceit, and greed, all of which are ultimately rooted in delusion. It stands to destroy all good things in men. In the same connection our text discusses the position of the

<sup>1</sup> D. R. Bhandarkar, *Asoka*, revised ed., pp. 107-109.

<sup>2</sup> *Amarakoṣa*, 3. 2. 29.

professional boar-killers, fish-catchers, fowlers, hunters and the like. It also discusses the position of several cruel tribes and peoples such as the *Śakas*, *Yavanas*, *Śabaras*, *Barbaras*, *Kāyas*, *Murundas*, *Udas*, *Bhāḍakas*, *Tittikas*, *Pakkanikas*, *Kulākṣas*, *Gauḍas*, *Siṃhalas*, *Pārasas*, *Kroñcas*, *Andhras*, *Drāviḍas*, *Bilvalas*, *Pulindas*, *Arosos*, *Dumbas*, *Pokkanas*, *Gandhahāarakas*, *Vālhikas*, *Jallas*, *Romas*, *Māsas*, *Bakusas*, *Malayas*, *Cuñcukas*, *Cūlikas*, *Koṅkanakas*, *Medas*, *Pahlavas*, *Mālavas*, *Mahuras*, *Ābhāsikas*, *Anakkas*, *Cīnas*, *Lāhsikas*, *Khasas*, *Hāsikas*, *Neharas*, *Mahārāṣṭras* (*Maustikas*), *Ārabas*, *Ḍavilakas*, *Kuḥanas*, *Kekayas*, *Hūnas*, *Romakas*, *Roravas*, *Marukas* and *Civātas* (*Kivātas*). The list of tribes and peoples notorious for their cruel habit and nature is sufficient to indicate that our text is a compilation of a post-Christian period.

The second door to impiety is lying which is defined and characterized as telling an untruth which makes a person light and fickle, which is fearful, which causes enmity and brings ill-fame and the like. It is an immoral act in which the low-born persons indulge. It is cruel in its effect and it makes a liar untrustworthy. It is deprecated by the best of saints. It is linked up with the blackest of soul colourings and it only serves to increase a man's state of woe and degradation, and to bring about the cycle of re-births. It carries with it the idea of indulgence in falsehood, cheating, deceiving, crookedness, false deposition, and useless talks and the like. Anger, greed, fear and envy are the various mental factors that are behind lying. This door to impiety also includes the preaching and promulgation of false doctrines and misleading philosophical views of life. Some typical instances of false doctrines and misleading views are given. The first of them is typically the philosophical view attributed in the Pali *Nikāyas* to Ajita Kesakambala represented as an avowed *nāstika*. The Buddhist doctrine of the five aggregates is also put in the category of *nāstikya*. The *nāstikavāda* is taken to mean the denial of manly energy, the existence of heaven and hell, and the possibility of reward and retribution and the like. The instances of *āstikavāda* cited are shown to be equally misleading. The Jain teacher repudiates the idea of God as the creator and ordainer of all things and of all beings. He discards the theory of soul as a passive principle. Both the *Sāṅkhya* and the *Vedānta* doctrines stand self-condemned in his opinion. That there is a sectarian note in the statement and criticism of the views of other schools of thought is undeniable. The details of the modes of lying practised and committed with reference to persons and things are important as throwing light on the social condition and moral standard of the age.

The third door to impiety is taking away what is not given (*adattādānam*). It is defined as an act of stealing, oppressing, bringing death and fear, an iniquity which is terrifying, a sinful

deed which is rooted in covetousness and greed. It is undignified in its nature and it produces a bad name. It is equally deprecated by good men. By it one incurs the displeasure of persons, near and dear. It is full of passion and delusion. It goes by the name of theft, stealing other people's property, seeking gain from the belongings of others, greed for the wealth of others, cupidity, thieving, spoiling the hand with the ugliness of the act and the like. Robbery, dacoity and such other daring acts all come within the definition of taking away what is not given. Plundering, looting, carrying spoils and booties in the name of war are also included in this act of impiety. In this connection our text furnishes some details about warfare, weapons, and armaments. It also supplies some interesting information regarding different punishments meted out to the thieves and robbers. Their miserable life here and hereafter is described in detail.

The fourth door to impiety is known as incontinence (*abam-bham*). It is defined as a sexual dalliance coveted in the worlds of gods, men and demons, which is a net and noose of amour, which is a hindrance to the practice of austerities, self-restraint, and chaste life, which brings about death, bondage, and coercion, and which is a cause of infatuation and delusion. It bears the name of sexual congress, sex-indulgence, delight in vulgar life, sexual passions and overt act. Even the *Vaimānika* gods have sexual enjoyments with the goddesses and family maidens. They too are not free from this kind of infatuation. The demons, *nāgas*, *garuḍas* and *supannas* too are no exceptions to the rule. Among men the monarchs, king-overlords, chaplains, high officers of the State, all run after this. The same passion is equally perceptible among the lower creatures. In this connection our text gives us the details about the physical forms, dresses, beautifying, wiles and guiles, and various pleasing artifices, by which women entice men. Incidentally the modes of generation are discussed, according to which, living beings are to be classified as viviparous, oviparous and the like. This classification is the same as that met with in Pali and other Indian texts.

The fifth door to impiety is known as *pariggaha* or hankering after worldly possessions such as varieties of gems, gold, jewels, perfumes, scents, unguents, conveyances, utensils, household furniture, landed properties, wealth and opulence. It is rooted in greed and it is an expression of craving and thirst for worldly things. So it goes by the name of craving (*tanhā*), worldly attachment (*āsatti*) and it is characterized by the great longing for earning, acquisition, accumulation, hoarding, insatiety and the like. Even the gods are not free from this hankering after worldly possessions. The emperors, *Vāsudevas*, *Baladevas*, *Māṇḍalikas*, chieftains, *Tāla-varas*, commanders-in-chief, millionaires, bankers, *Rāṣṭrikas*, *Purohitas*, and the like are all guided by it. Worldly possessions comprise

all secular sciences and arts, worldly enjoyments, agriculture, industry and commerce by which men are implicated in various conflicts and clashes of interests. In this connection our text speaks of 64 sciences and arts (*catusatthi*).

After having dealt with the five doors to impiety the *Sūtra* takes up for consideration the five doors to *saṃvara* or self-restraint, one by one. They are spoken of as virtues that stand for the deliverance from all kinds of suffering. The first is called *ahiṃsā* (non-harming), the second, the truthful speech (*saccavayaṇaṃ*), the third, taking only what is given (*dattamanunnā*), the fourth, continence (*bambhaceraṃ*) and the fifth, non-hankering after worldly possessions (*apariggahattaṃ*), which constitute the five great vows that are conducive to the good and welfare of the world.

The first principle of non-harming is praised as the island, the refuge, the destination, the basis, and *nirvāṇa* to the worlds of men, gods and demons. It is just another name for pity (*dayā*), forbearance, purity, goodness, welfare, protection, morality, self-control, self-restraint, self-guarding and the virtue which is the abode of the perfected ones (*siddhas*).

The truthful speech is the second door to self-restraint. This is the accepted principle of all noblemen, teachers and saints. It implies one's moral purity and uprightness, and it is a virtue which inspires confidence. It requires a person to abstain from praising himself and condemning others. In this connection the *Sūtra* speaks of 12 kinds of language, namely, *Prākṛta*, *Saṃskṛta*, *Māgadhi*, *Paiśācī* and *Apabhraṃsa*, each distinguished according to prose and verse. Some grammatical details are also given which are too well known to need any comment here.

The third door to self-restraint is accepting what is given. It implies an abstinence from taking away what is not one's own, from stealing and committing theft. This too is a virtue well praised and a noble principle of self-control and self-restraint.

The fourth door to self-restraint is continence or chaste-life. It is the root principle of the best of austerities, regulated life, knowledge, faith, conduct and perfect discipline. It implies moral rectitude which is cultivated as a path to deliverance. In its magnitude it is mighty like the Himalaya and it is extolled as something in the heart of the deep ocean. This is indeed the very fundamental principle of religious life.

The fifth door to self-restraint is non-hankering after worldly possessions. The non-hankering may be both internal and external. The external hankering is an obstacle to religious practices and the internal hankering leads a person to the incorrectness of method, recklessness, thoughtlessness, and moral contaminations. This is the principle of non-attachment which is conducive to the practice



of *samitis* and *guptis*. This stands on the very top of the path which leads to deliverance and emancipation.

Of the five great moral vows (*pañcamahāvratas*) enforced by Mahāvīra the first four represented the four principles of self-restraint (*caturyāmasamvara*) as prescribed by Pārśvanātha for his followers. It is the fifth principle of non-hankering after worldly possessions that was added to the earlier list of four by way of an improvement. The five moral precepts as enjoined by the Buddha for the guidance of the conduct of the laity are somewhat different from the Jaina five great vows. The three principles of *ahiṃsā*, non-harming, non-stealing, and truthful speech, are common to both. The fourth Jaina vow of chastity (*brahmacarya*) is deeper in its significance than the Buddhist principle of non-excess in sexual indulgence. The Jain vow corresponds more with the Buddhist principle of *brahmacarya* which is prescribed for the recluses. The fifth Jain vow is implied in the Buddhist principle of non-participation in any worldly transaction by the recluses. Although the enumerations of the principles are somewhat different, they are all important to both the systems. We have a systematic exposition of the moral precepts in the Pali commentaries, particularly in Buddhaghosa's encyclopaedic work known as the *Visuddhimagga* or the Path of Purity. It will be seen that the Buddhist method of exposition is more lucid, direct, and clearly psycho-ethical. There is an important point of difference between the Jain and Buddhist presentations of the vows and precepts. In the Jain presentation a greater emphasis is laid on the side of abstinence from impious acts, while in Buddha's presentation much stress is laid on the positive aspect of virtues. It is not enough that a person abstains from doing a wrong thing inasmuch as a progressive man is expected to cultivate and develop friendliness, honest life, truthfulness, etc. But the difference is one of degree and not of kind.

# SOME ASPECTS OF SOCIAL LIFE AS DESCRIBED IN EARLY MEDIEVAL INSCRIPTIONS

By KRISHNA NARAIN SETH

## *Inscriptions*

SOCIAL prosperity which Northern India enjoyed during the reign of Emperor Harsha possibly continued for a few centuries following his death. While all social liberties and amenities of life fell to the lot of the first three castes of the Hindu society, the Śūdras forming the fourth and lowest caste were groaning under the pressure of social tyranny wrought by their so-called superior brethren.

## *Caste System*

The advent of the caste system had resulted in throwing the entire mass of Hindu population into four separate and distinct camps, namely, Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, and this existed with its moral sanctions during this period. Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas are seen keeping pace with each other in the race for social freedom, while Vaiśyas were trying to be in par with them. Social status of the first three castes, as against the fourth, is clear from the expressions 'महाजनः'<sup>1</sup> and 'समस्तमहाजनेन'<sup>2</sup> occurring in Ghaṭiyāla and Siyaḍōṇi Inscriptions respectively. Śūdras could not improve their social position possibly during this period of Indian History and Ghaṭiyāla Pillar<sup>3</sup> Inscription, which mentions that Pratihāra Kakkuka constructed a market place and peopled it only with Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas 'विप्रवणिग्प्रकृतौनां' forming the big folk 'महाजनः', throws sufficient light on this point. It appears that Śūdras were social outcastes and were not allowed to reside even in the city along with the three higher castes. Had they enjoyed this privilege during this time, they would have also been mentioned in the above inscription. Denial of the right of residence was one of several social disabilities under which they were subjected. It further appears that even social communication was not agreeable to the people belonging to higher castes and if it would have not been a fact Pratihāra Kakkuka would have also gone to them as he went to the houses of Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas 'विप्रवणिग्प्रकृतौनां गृहं गत्वा प्रियेण च'. We are therefore inclined to suggest that there were practically no social relations between Śūdras and the first three higher castes.

<sup>1</sup> E.I., Vol. IX, pp. 280ff.

<sup>2</sup> E.I., Vol. I, p. 177.

<sup>3</sup> E.I., Vol. IX, pp. 280ff.

Brāhmaṇas who formed the highest caste were known during this period by means of their Gōtras and Śākhas. They got themselves divided into several sections on the basis of different Gōtras and Śākhas, in order to distinguish one from another. They claimed ancient Rishis as Pravaras of their Gōtras and the practice was to mention three Pravaras in relation to a particular Gōtra. The expressions 'सुन्तल्लगोत्राय त्रिप्रवराय' <sup>1</sup> 'Tryārshēyāya Gopāli-Sagōttrāya' <sup>2</sup> and reference to Bhāradvāja, Āngirasa and Bārhaspatya as three Pravaras of Bhaṭṭa Yaśodhara, who belonged to the Bhāradvāja Gōtra, and mentioned in Nanyaurā Plate <sup>3</sup> of the (Chandēlla) P. M. P. Dhāṅgaḍeva, corroborate the above fact. The practice of adding the words 'Sa' and 'Brahmachāri' before and after the names of Gōtra and Śākha respectively along with the use of the word 'Bhaṭṭa', which may be taken as a common respectable appellation for a Brahmana, is noticed in several epigraphic records of this period. 'Sāvārṇṇasagōttra-Kauthama Chchhandōgasabrahmachāri-bhaṭṭa Padmasārāya.' <sup>4</sup>

It may be pointed out that territorial divisions among Brāhmaṇas, a fact which can be inferred from a number of inscriptions, coupled with distinctions based on Gōtras and Śākhas must have resulted in creating a feeling of isolation among them. The spirit of separation or individuality delivered a death blow to the flexibility of caste system and made its bonds rigid. This rigidity manifested itself in division of the main castes into sub-castes, though it cannot be denied that this divisional process took varied periods of evolution in case of every particular caste and by the middle of eighth century A.D. Brāhmaṇas ceased to form one caste throughout Northern India without sub-divisions. <sup>5</sup> Hānsot Plates of the Chāhamāna Bhartrivaddha record the grant of half of the Arjunadēvi village to Brāhmaṇa Bhātalla, a member of the community of Trivēdins residing in Saujñapadra, the adhvaryu of the Mādhyandina branch of Asurāyana (?) Gōtra and a student of the Vājasanēya (Samhitā). The fact that Brāhmaṇa Bhātalla belonged to the community of Trivēdins 'ta(t)traividya—Sāmaṇyaya', a community which even in modern times forms a sub-caste among Brāhmaṇas, can be cited in support of our contentions.

It appears that Kshatriyas who formed a caste next to Brāhmaṇas had lost importance for their Gōtras and if they had not forgotten them, the practice of mentioning them with their names did not popularly exist during this period. Great prominence to which the factor of Kula or family is seen to be raised, probably resulted in discontinuance of the above practice not only among the

<sup>1</sup> *E.I.*, Vol. XII, pp. 155ff.

<sup>2</sup> *E.I.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 241ff.

<sup>3</sup> *I.A.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 202ff.

<sup>4</sup> *J.R.A.S.*, 1904, pp. 642ff.

<sup>5</sup> *E.I.*, Vol. XII, p. 202.

Kshatriya ruling aristocracy but presumed also among the laity. Instability of political atmosphere in the country, in the absence of a paramount sovereign for the whole of Northern India, helped the growth of a number of ruling dynasties, a fact which greatly contributed to the importance of the Kula or family. The Inscriptions of different crown heads belonging to different houses only record the Vanśa or Kula to which they belonged and the expressions 'वाहमानन्दपतिप्रख्यातवंशश्चिरा',<sup>1</sup> 'Śrī-Rāshṭra (Kū)ṭa-Vanśo',<sup>2</sup> 'Śrī-Pratihāra-Vanśo'<sup>3</sup> and 'चौलुकिकन्वियो'<sup>4</sup> confirm the truth of our statement.

It is significant that family name became so favourite with the rulers of the times that the practice of using it by them even as the Gōtra can clearly be seen in the expression 'प्रतीहारखगोत्रश्रीवयक'<sup>5</sup> occurring in Buchkalā Inscription of the time of the (Pratihāra) P. M. P. Nāgabhaṭṭa. The above practice did not confine itself only to Kshatriyas but had its effects even over those who belonged to other caste, namely, Brāhmaṇas. Ēklingjī Inscription, which mentions the name of Śrī-Bappaka ('श्रीवयकक्षितिपति')<sup>6</sup> whom Āṭpur Inscription attributes a Brāhmaṇa ancestry, records that he was the moon amongst the princes of the Guhila dynasty, 'अस्मिन्नुद्गुहिल- [गो] त्रनेरुचंदः'<sup>7</sup>, having his family appellation as his Gōtra.

It may be noted that Kshatriyas also formed one caste throughout Northern India before they got themselves divided into sub-castes. The formation of sub-castes among them appears to have taken place as late as in the last quarter of tenth century A.D. We are inclined to suggest that conversion of Kshatriyas into Rājputas, forming the ruling class also took place by this time. The fact, that Rājputas were divided into sub-castes by the closing years of the above century, can hold good if the word 'Dahiyakam' in the expression 'Kulam Dahiyakam Jātam',<sup>8</sup> probably referred to Chachcha in Kinsariyā Inscription be presumed to be identical with what is popularly known as a Dahiyā Rājput.

It is not possible to say with any amount of certainty whether Vaiśyas, forming the third higher caste of Hindu society, were known during this period by their Gōtras or not. Though the inscriptions are silent on this point, it can be presumed reasonably, keeping the example of Kshatriyas in view, their immediate superiors in social order, that they were not using their Gōtras along with their names. Like Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas, in all likelihood, they too constituted one caste throughout the country before sub-castes made their appearance and when this division actually took place it is

<sup>1</sup> E.I., Vol. XII, p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> E.I., Vol. XVIII, p. 95.

<sup>5</sup> E.I., Vol. IX, p. 200.

<sup>7</sup> J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXII, pp. 166.

<sup>2</sup> E.I., Vol. IX, p. 252.

<sup>4</sup> I.A., Vol. VI, pp. 191.

<sup>6</sup> J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXII, pp. 166.

<sup>8</sup> E.I., Vol. XII, pp. 59ff.

not possible for us to mention. It cannot be denied that we could not find any direct or indirect reference to modern sub-castes among them in the epigraphic records of those times.

Besides main castes, existence of Hindu intermediary castes is also to be traced at this time in Northern India. Kāyasthas, who might be taken to have formed one single caste before they were divided into sub-castes, were one among them. The formation of sub-castes among them almost took place at the same period when it is supposed to be among Kshatriyas. What was the exact number of sub-castes among them, we do not know but the inscriptions inform us at least two of them, namely, Gauḍa and Māthura, the latter even at the present day forms a sub-caste among Kāyasthas. Kinsariyā Inscription attributes the composition of the praśasti to Mahādēva, son of Śrikalya, a poet and belonging to the family of a Gauḍa Kāyastha 'गौडकायस्थवंशेभूञ्जीकृत्यो नाम सत्त्वाविः। दूनुक्तस्य महादेवः प्रशस्तिः'<sup>1</sup> and Rājōrgaḍh<sup>2</sup> Inscription mentions some members of the Māthura Kāyastha family, who probably erected a temple of Śiva.

### *Caste Professions*

The epigraphic records of this period bear testimony to the fact that Brāhmaṇas in addition to their priestly profession were at liberty to take up the professions of other two higher castes, namely, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas. Some of them had even captured royal authority and Āṭpur<sup>3</sup> Inscription of Śaktikumāra records that Guhadatta, a Brāhmaṇa ('Mahī-Dēva') founded the Guhila dynasty to which a number of rulers belonged. Admissions to high offices in the State were open to Brāhmaṇas and Dhiniki Plates<sup>4</sup> mention Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa as the chief minister 'महामात्यभट्टनारायण' of the P. M. P. Jaikadeva of Saurāṣṭra.

It is significant that if some Brāhmaṇas were seen to have risen to imperial power, some of them were following the most ordinary profession of a Vaiśya, namely, selling of betel. Siyaḍōṇi<sup>5</sup> Inscription mentions the name of a Brāhmaṇa Dhamāka, the seller of betel who gave an Uvaṭaka bought by him to Śrī-Umāmaheśvara. 'उवटकं ब्रा[ह्म]ण ताम्बोलिकधमाकेन क्रयित्वा महन्तधर्मार्थहेतोः'.

It should not be forgotten that monopoly of Hindu thought was still enjoyed by Brāhmaṇas and their leadership in the academic sphere was unassailable by any other caste. Their syllabus of studies in all likelihood comprised knowledge in four Vedas 'चतुर्वेद'

<sup>1</sup> E.I., Vol. XII, pp. 59ff.

<sup>2</sup> An. Rep. Raj. Mus. Ajmer, 1918-19, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> I.A., Vol. XXXIX, p. 191.

<sup>4</sup> I.A., Vol. XII, pp. 155ff.

<sup>5</sup> E.I., Vol. I, pp. 173ff.

including Rig and Atharva, in Samhitās, and in philosophy, though specialization in individual subjects differed with individual tastes. Ruling aristocracy of the times gave recognition to their intellectual superiority by making various grants to them. Haddālā Plates<sup>1</sup> mention the grant of the village Vīmkala to Śrī-Maheśvarāchārya, as a reward for his learning ('Vidyādhanam') by Mahāsāmantādhipati Dharanīvarāha.

If there was any caste, which had chances of throwing a challenge to Brāhmanas in the intellectual life of the country, it was that of the Kshatriyas alone. Though they primarily had a military profession, nothing desisted them from a study of literature and there is sufficient evidence to show that its prosecution was a favourite subject more with a ruler than with a commoner.

While Pathāri and Kinsariyā Inscriptions record Rāshṭrakūṭa Parabala as versed in all arts ('Kalāvān')<sup>2</sup> and Simharāja son of Vākpati as well versed in logic 'नयसूत्रयुक्तः [ऋ] सिद्धराज'<sup>3</sup> respectively, no inscription of this period probably mentions a Kshatriya of public life, who attained literary eminence.

It appears that unlike Kshatriyas the Vaiśyas, whom we may call a mercantile caste, could not rise up so as to embrace the conventional functions of the two higher castes. It is true that much credit for promoting economic prosperity of the State, a factor on which social happiness largely depends, went to them. They were probably doing a number of professions of whom the most important are that of Potters ('कुम्भकार'), distillers of spirituous liquor ('कल्लपालानां'), goldsmith ('हेमकार'), sugar-boilers ('कन्दुकानां'), seller of betel ('ताम्बूलिक'), and oil makers ('तैलिकानां'), and thus were providing people with articles of social comforts.

### Marriage

It may be pointed out that Brāhmanas originally enjoyed an unfettered right of entering into marital contracts with ladies belonging to any of the four principal castes. The practice of marrying a Kshatriya wife by a Brāhmaṇa could be traced as early as the foundation of the dynasty to which Pratihāra Bāuka belonged. Jodhpur<sup>4</sup> Inscription mentions illustrious Harichandra, a Brāhmaṇa who had one of his wives Bhadrā, a Kshatriyā ('Viprah Śrī-Harichandr=ākhyah=patnī Bhadrā cha Kshatriyā'). Reference to Avantisundarī, Rājasekhara's wife as 'The Crest—garland of the Chauhan family' and hence a Rājput princess at *Karpūra-manjari*, a play which was probably written in the tenth century A.D., prov-

<sup>1</sup> I.A., Vol. XII, pp. 193ff.

<sup>3</sup> E.I., Vol. XII, pp. 59ff.

<sup>2</sup> E.I., Vol. IX, p. 252.

<sup>4</sup> E.I., Vol. XVIII, pp. 95ff.

continuance of the above practice among Brāhmaṇas during that period.

Though the inscriptions do not mention any single instance where a Brāhmaṇa married a Vaiśya or a Śūdra wife, it can reasonably be inferred to, keeping in view Candrasena and Mātṛisena, the two Pāraśava brothers of Bāṇa, that the practice of marriage even in the lowest caste existed among Brāhmaṇas during the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. It appears that Hindu society refused to give its sanction to a Brāhmaṇa-Śūdra marriage during later centuries and this change of outlook was possibly due to the rigidity of caste system. The fact of discontinuation of this practice might have been one of the factors, which brought out afterwards complete negation of such marriages, and in all likelihood ultimately culminated into total abolition of all social relations.

It may be pointed out that the institution of Anuloma marriages continued to be a living organ of the upper strata of the Hindu society to a quite later period possibly owing to its nature of adaptation to changing social conditions. It can safely be presumed by keeping in view such practice among Brāhmaṇas that Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas also originally enjoyed the privilege of marrying in castes lower to them. In all likelihood they were equally quick in joining hands with members of the highest caste against a Śūdra marriage, when a call of disapprobation came from the priestly class during later years.

It appears that a lower caste marriage though afterwards only confined to first three higher castes could not attract sufficient public notice. A lower caste woman was no more than a luxury of the rich and such marriages were not due to any high ideals. While we do not find an ordinary citizen of the State marrying a lower caste woman, public men of high social standings were contracting such marriages. The idea of marrying in different castes appears to have attracted the ruling aristocracy of the times most, and contemporary epigraphic records bear testimony to the truth of the above statement. Jodhpur and Āṭpur<sup>1</sup> Inscriptions mention that Harichandra Rōhilladdhi and Allāṭa, both of whom claimed a Brāhmaṇa ancestry, married a Kshatriya lady and Hariyadevī, a Hūṇa princess respectively.

It is interesting to note that Hindu society, while on one hand allowed a lower caste wife, tried to negative that privilege at the same time by introduction of indirect prohibitory legislations, as its policy was always to discourage such marriages. It appears that marriage with a girl of the same caste was a condition precedent to get the hand of a lower caste woman in marriage. Jodhpur Inscription of the Pratihāra Bāuka mentions that Harichandra

<sup>1</sup> *I.A.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 191.



first married the daughter of a Brāhmaṇa and as second wife wedded Bhadrā, a Kshatriyā. 'Tēna Śrī-Harichandrēṇa parīṇītā dvij-ātmaajā(dvi)tiyā Kshatriyā Bhadrā mahā-Kula-guṇānvitā.'

It will not be out of place to say something about the caste of progeny of a lower caste woman. It is perfectly evident from Jodhpur Inscription that children born of a lower caste wife, were acquiring the caste of their mother and not of father, during the ninth century A.D. Though they were considered legitimate, the fact, that their caste was to be the same as that of their mother, widely played against the idea of contracting lower caste marriages, as in no way they improved their social status in society. The above inscription mentions that sons who were born of Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya wives to Harichandra became Pratihāra Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas ('Madhu-pāyinaḥ') respectively. 'Pratihārādvijā bhūtā Brāhmanyāmyē = bhavamt = Sutaḥrājñī Bhadrā Chayāmt = Sūtē tē bhūtā madhu=pāyinaḥ'.

### *Food and Drinks*

It can clearly be inferred from epigraphic records of this period that people had a tolerably good standard of living and things of social comforts were easily available to them. Their food comprised of wheat, barley, mung, salt, butter (ghṛita), oil (taila), milk and sugar. The practice of chewing betel-leaves with betel-nuts ('दुग्') was common to both the sexes. It appears that spirituous liquor was freely distilled and consumed in the country and the State did not exercise any sort of control over it. The fact that public men were not abstainers of wine can be inferred from Siyaḍōṇī<sup>1</sup> Inscription which mentions that merchant Nāgāka ('वणिक् नागाकेन') made an endowment 'to the effect that the distillers of spirituous liquor, on every cask of liquor, were to give liquor worth half a vighrahapālādramma (?) to the God (Vishṇu)'. 'तथा समस्तकल्लपालानां मध्ये यस्य यस्य सत्कमद्यभाण्डं निपद्यते विक्रयं याति स च स चाचन्द्राकां यावद्विग्रहपाल सत्कद्रमार्द्धिकां ताली दातव्या' The expression 'drinkers of wine' ('Madhu-pāyinaḥ'), already referred to, possibly suggests that Kshatriyas were the best consumers of wine during these times.

### *Dress and Ornaments*

Love for beautiful articles of luxury was inherent among people of Hindu medieval India, but it is equally true that such instinct is more apparent in aristocracy than in common folk. Apart from the fact that they used fine garments ('चारुवस्त्रैश्च'),<sup>2</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> E.I., Vol. I, p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> E.I., Vol. II, pp. 119ff.

expression 'Prasphuṭat-Kamchukānām' in Kanawā<sup>1</sup> Inscription possibly refers to the use of bodices by ladies. It is interesting to note that ornaments were put on both by men and women. It appears that gold ('हेम') and pearls ('मुक्ता') were favourite substances for construction of ornaments, and some of them, as evident from Nagar<sup>2</sup> and Harsha<sup>3</sup> Inscriptions, were armlets ('केयूर'), ear-ornaments ('कर्णालङ्कार'), garland ('मुण्डमाला') and strings of pearls ('मुक्ताहारैः').

Ancient Indians were no strangers to use of cosmetics and pastes and to certain extent they excelled even moderners. Males received application of soothing unguents over their bodies, though such practice appears to have confined only to ruling aristocracy. Such pastes were prepared from sandal-wood ('मलयतरुवैः') and camphor ('कर्पूरैः') and Nagar Inscription refers to application of an unguent which contained camphor powder wet with water. ('दत्ताङ्ग (के) पित्रादिद्वका तनुतरे कर्पूरधूलौघरा') But it appears that ladies were best customers of beauty goods and they did not spare any effort to beautify their person by use of them. They adorned their lips with red colour of betel-leaves ('त[ता]म्बूलराग') and their eyes with black collyrium ('कालाञ्जनैः'). They also decorated their hairs ['(अ)लकानि ललितस्मित'].

### Pastimes

As regards entertainments, gambling seems to have caught the fancy of both rich and poor. It appears that State did not exercise any restrictions over its public indulgence for they considered it laudable. Gamblers and gambling dens served as one of the sources for maintenance of State religious enterprises. Bijāpur<sup>4</sup> and Āhār Sāraṇēśvar Temple Inscriptions record payments of Pellaka. Pellaka(?) and one Pētaka ['द्युते घराणामपि ये(टक्क)'] respectively by gamblers for maintenance of Jain and Viṣṇu temples. Ruling aristocracy of the times was equally interested in pursuit of this pastime and Jhālrapātan<sup>5</sup> Inscription mentions Voppaka, brother of Deva, as a bank holder during the gaming parties of rich kings.

### Satī

There is evidence to show that practice of Satī was still a living institution in Hindu society. It was considered sacred and was in

<sup>1</sup> I.A., Vol. XIX, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> E.I., Vol. II, pp. 119ff.

<sup>3</sup> I.A., Vol. V, p. 181.

<sup>4</sup> Bhārat Kaumudī, p. 267.

<sup>5</sup> E.I., Vol. X, p. 24.

high estimation of people. Ghaṭiyālā dēvli<sup>1</sup> Inscription of Rāṇuka mentions performance of Satī by Sāmpalladēvī.

Thus it can reasonably be concluded that Hindu society with its traditional four-fold divisions along with few intermediary castes and a rigid caste system was prosperous, though Śūdras were no better than social outcastes. People had enough to eat and drink and were quite progressive and advanced as regards use of ornaments and cosmetics. Gambling was one of their favourite pastimes and custom of Satī was still prevalent.

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<sup>1</sup> *E.I.*, Vol. XIX, App. p. 9.



# MISCELLANEA

## RAJA RAMNARAIN

Raja Ramnarain was the son of a Srivastava Kayastha, named Ranglal,<sup>1</sup> an inhabitant of village Kishunpur in the parganna Sasram (Shahabad District, Bihar).<sup>2</sup> Some contemporary records<sup>3</sup> do not reveal Ranglal's identity. However, Muzaffarnamah<sup>4</sup> and Khulasat-ut-tawarikh<sup>5</sup> refer to one Ranglal being employed in the army of Aliverdi and fighting against Ghaus Khan in the field of Giria.<sup>6</sup> The latter two do not say whether this very Ranglal was the father of Raja Ramnarain. But two other MSS.<sup>7</sup> mention that Ranglal, father of Ramnarain, was a Dewan of Aliverdi, probably during his tenure of office as Deputy Governor of Bihar. It is certain that Aliverdi and his whole family patronized Ramnarain since his childhood.<sup>8</sup> He was practically brought up in Nawab Aliverdi's family.<sup>9</sup> Ramnarain himself describes in his letters<sup>10</sup> as 'a hereditary slave (of Aliverdi)', 'the child of your slave (i.e. Ranglal?)', 'one trained by you (Aliverdi) and the murdered Nawab (Haibat Jang)'. Ramnarain began his official career as a clerk in Bihar on a salary of Rs.5 only per month.<sup>11</sup> After that he was appointed the private secretary of Zainuddin, nephew of Nawab Aliverdi, in the beginning of his Deputy Governorship, through the help of Hidayat Ali, father of the historian Ghulam Husain.<sup>12</sup> When

<sup>1</sup> Ghulam Husain: *Seir Mutaqherin* (Valmiki Press Ed.) (hereafter 'V.P.E.'), Vol. II, p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> See Preface to the *Diwani-i-Manzoom* of Raja Ramnarain, Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow.

<sup>3</sup> *Seir Mutaqherin* and *Ahwal-i-Aliwardi Khan* (of Yusuf Ali?) are silent about the relations of Ranglal with Aliverdi Khan.

<sup>4</sup> By Karam Ali, transcript in Oriental Public Library, Patna (hereafter O.P.L.), MS. No. 609, f. 80A.

<sup>5</sup> By Kalyan Singh, O.P.L., MS. No. 594, f. 29B.

<sup>6</sup> K. K. Datta: *Alivardi and His Times*, 1939, p. 31.

<sup>7</sup> *Gul-i-Raana* by Lakshami Narayan, O.P.L. MS. No. 701, p. 284; *Sahifa-i-khusgo* by Brindaban Das, O.P.L. MS.; *Riyaz-ul-Afkar* by Wazir Ali Ibrati, O.P.L. MS. No. 1784.

<sup>8</sup> Datta: *supra*, p. 165.

<sup>9</sup> V.P.E., *supra*, p. 117.

<sup>10</sup> Compiled by Munshi Vijayaram as 'Dastur-ul-Insha'. These letters contain many new facts regarding the history of Bengal and Bihar during mid-eighteenth century especially relating to Ramnarain himself. Most of these are written by him and a few by his brother, Raja Dhirajanarain. It is worthy of note that even up to this day, his family descendants reside in Raja Ramnarain's old house on the bank of Ganga at Patna. See f. 20A and f. 214A of 'Dastur'.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 209A.

<sup>12</sup> Ghulam Husain: *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin* (hereafter 'Siyar'), Vol. II, p. 593.

in 1745, Zainuddin opposed Mustafa Khan's rebellion, Ramnarain commanded one of the six brigades of Zainuddin's army.<sup>1</sup>

Ramnarain had some academic leanings too. He was well-versed in Persian and Arabic. It is said that he became a Persian and Urdu poet too, being for some time the pupil of Shaikh Ali Hazim, the famous poet of Isphan, who happened to be then at Patna.<sup>2</sup>

He ensured a capacity of administrative work so much that he became the Dewan of Jankiram, the Deputy Governor of Bihar.<sup>3</sup> In the latter's regime, he exhibited so many abilities in clearing up the accounts of finances and so much fidelity in managing its receipts and expenditures, that he came to be worthy of no less a station than that of the Deputy Governor of the province of Bihar.<sup>4</sup> He had very cordial relations with his master and in several letters<sup>5</sup> acknowledged his indebtedness to his master and helped him substantially in effecting a satisfactory arrangement of the finances of his government.

The *perwanna* of Nawab Aliverdi appointing Ramnarain, Deputy Governor of Bihar after Jankiram's death in 1752 is very interesting and is worthy of note. It shows how much the Nawab was pleased with Raja Ramnarain. The investiture of the post of Deputy Governor was received in 'a rich Qhylaati, to which was added a serpich, a sabre and an elephant'.<sup>6</sup> The *perwanna* runs thus:

### نقل پروانه نواب مہابت جنگ بہادر دام اقبالہ

رفعت و عوالی پناہ شہادت دستگاہ برخوردار راجہ رام نرائن مورد مراحم باشند -  
درینولا از خبر کلفت اثر واقعه راجہ جانی رام بہادر کہ از نوشتہ برلیدھر ہرکارہ  
و چہٹی اقبالندان جگت سیٹھہ و مہتاب رائے و راجہ سروپ چند بوضوح انجامید -  
چون برادر رفیق و دلسوز بود بہ خدای عالم الغیب ظاہر کہ ازین واقعہ سخت  
متاثر شد - اما از مشیت الہی چارہ و تدبیر نیست - رضا بہ قضا اللہ تعالیٰ ازان جا کہ  
کاروبار ضروریست و هیچ امر مانع نیست - آن نیابت و نظامت صوبہ بہار از طرف  
نواب صاحب بہ از جان نواب منصور الملک بہادر سلمہ اللہ تعالیٰ مقرر کردہ شد -  
و سند بہ مہر ایشان از متعاقب می رسد باید کہ خود را نائب مستقل دانستہ

<sup>1</sup> Datta: *supra*, p. 124; Siyar: *supra*, p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> Siyar: *supra*, p. 593.

<sup>3</sup> Dastur: *supra*, f. 235B and f. 272A.

<sup>4</sup> Dastur: *supra*, f. 180A.

<sup>5</sup> Seir: *supra*, p. 117.

<sup>6</sup> Seir: *supra*, p. 117.

مخاطر جمع و استقلال تمام در سرانجام امور نظامت بنوعیکه انظام سابق برهم نخورد - بلکه از بهر سابق حسن انجامد - مساعی موفوره بکار برند - انشاء الله تعالی بشرط راستی و دوستی نظامت سرانجام از سرکار و حسن سلوک با رعایا و برابا چنانکه دل می خواهد خواهد رسید - درین باب تاکید دانند \*

('May Raja Ramnarain,<sup>1</sup> The Exalted Lofty Brave Son, be receiving (our) kindnesses!! In these days, the painful news of the event (death) of Raja Jankiram Bahadur from the writing of Murlidhara *harkara* and the letter of Jagat Seth, Mehtab Rai and Swarup Chand has been known. As he was (our) sympathetic and friendly brother, I was affected (lit. grieved) very much by this happening, by God, The Omniscient. But there is no escape from the will of God. And one (you) should be pleased with the decree of God, The Almighty. As the business should be carried on and there should be no obstacle, the Deputy Governorship and Governorship(?) of the province of Bihar is conferred upon (you), on behalf of the Nawab Saheb, Better Than Soul, Nawab Mansur-ul-Mulk, May God Keep Him Safe. And the *sanad* with his seal would be reaching you later on. You should regard yourself as a permanent Deputy and should carry on and should try your best to carry on the administrative work (the functions of Nizamat, i.e. Governorship) with peaceful mind and with complete firmness in such a way that the previous administration may not be upset, nay it should be carried on more efficiently than the previous one. God willing, provided you are right and friendly the administration as regards the management of the *sircar* and good treatment with the subjects and people as our heart desires, will be done. You should regard it (the order—*perwanna*) as very important and urgent.')

'A sound financier and astute politician, Ramnarain governed Bihar efficiently being always mindful of the interests of Aliverdi'. He complied with the orders of the Nawab immediately and acquainted him with every detail of his government.<sup>2</sup> He established a system for the collection of customs in the province of Bihar.<sup>3</sup> He had also some sort of espionage-system.<sup>4</sup> According to the instructions of his master, he was very vigilant over the activities of a number of zamindars of Bihar. Prominent among them were: Chatradhari Singh, Udwant Singh, Pahlvan Singh, Kamga and Khan

<sup>1</sup> Original is in Persian. It has been copied from 'Dastur'. I am indebted to Dr. M. G. Z. Ahmed, M.A., Ph.D., for the help rendered in translation of the *perwanna*.

<sup>2</sup> Dastur: *supra*, fs. 19B-20A; fs. 180B-182B.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, fs. 183B-184A; f. 195B.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 164A, Spies were then called *harkaras*!!



Marji. He even managed to realize the arrears of revenue which they had not paid to the Nawab's government.<sup>1</sup>

All along Ramnarain was loyal to his master. 'Ramnarain', says a contemporary Englishman, 'is an interesting character. He appears to have been one of the most faithful of the adherents of the house of Aliverdi Khan and on its extinction of the English connection. His gallantry in battle is referred to by Colonel Ironside.'<sup>2</sup>

An interesting adventure of Ramnarain in Aliverdi's time is noted by the historian Ghulam Husain. Shehmahmed-hassen (Shah Muhammad Husain), who lived at the court of Aliverdi, having been reduced to poverty, began some trade<sup>3</sup> reluctantly. He appointed an agent for the purpose. This agent who brought some 'quantity of sacu-timber'<sup>4</sup> (from Gorakhpore) and as Radja Ram-narain, who in appearance shewed him much regard but in fact hated him heartily, was then building a palace, he was requested to purchase the whole quantity of timber at the common price, and to pay the money at once. Accordingly, the Radja's officers went, measured the timber, set their mark upon it and for a length of time left it there without further notice. The poor man sent the Radja word, requested him either to take up the timber and pay for it according to the terms agreed upon, or to release it entirely that any other might purchase it. The Radja proud of his power and superior rank, made a very strange and very improper answer; and it was in these terms: "I fear neither the West nor the East, as you seem to imagine; nor have I brought your timber, but out of the compassion; and you had better think so yourself".<sup>5</sup> Shah Muhammad Husain could not appease the Raja in any manner and he had to suffer a lot.

Ramnarain continued to be loyal to the new master, Siraj-uddaula. When M. Law, the Chief of Chandernagore, was asked to leave Murshidabad on the 15th of April, 1756, Nawab Sirajuddaula sent the following communication to Clive: 'Mr. Law I have put out of the city and have wrote expressly to my Naib<sup>6</sup> at Patna to turn him and his attendants out of the bounds of his Subaship, and that he shall not suffer them to stay in any place'.<sup>7</sup> But when M. Law arrived at Patna, 'he was well received by the Nawab's

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 199B; fs. 240A-241B.

<sup>2</sup> Asiatic Annual Register, 1800.

<sup>3</sup> The following is the note of the translator: 'Called *Saal* by the Europeans; it is a kind of *sahvan* (?), called *Teck* by the French, and *Teeck* by the English'. See Seir: *supra*, p. 179.

<sup>4</sup> Shah Muhammad Husain had come to settle at Patna.

<sup>5</sup> Seir: *supra*, p. 179.

<sup>6</sup> The Governor of Patna was Raja Ramnarain, a Hindu, with the rank of Naib only. It was considered unsafe to entrust so important a post to a Muhammadan, or an officer with the rank of Nawab. S. C. Hill: *Three Frenchmen in Bengal*, 1903, p. 103f. n.

<sup>7</sup> Orme MSS. India XI, p. 2779, No. 120.

deputy Ramnarain, to whom the Nawab had written to provide him with all necessaries though he was at that very time assuring Clive and Watson that Ramnarain had been ordered to expel him from his territories'.<sup>1</sup> For the satisfaction of Mr. Watts, British Agent at Murshidabad, Nawab Sirajuddaula conveyed the following message through Ranjit Rai and Mir Bakr: 'I have turned the French out of Muxadabad, and wrote an order to Rajaram Narrain (Ramnarain) Bahadre, my *naib* at Patna, to turn them out of his bounds. If after this the English troops should come in order to fight them the Peace and Articles we have agreed to will no longer subsist. If you hearken to what these two men shall say 'tis well; if not, depart from hence.'<sup>2</sup> Ramnarain implicitly obeyed only those orders—to welcome the fugitive French—which he received from the Nawab.

In the Purnea campaign of Sirajuddaula, he again proved faithful. The plot, which was laid down, that a part of the army should remain inactive, was not joined by Ramnarain.<sup>3</sup> The malcontents never hoped that Ramnarain would come. But when Nawab Sirajuddaula summoned Ramnarain for his assistance in his expedition against Shaukat Jang, the rebellious Nawab of Purnea, the Raja arrived with all his troops just when Mir Jafar, the Bakhshi and a few jamadars were about to declare in favour of Shaukat Jang.<sup>4</sup> The conspirators were disconcerted and the rebels were punished severely by Sirajuddaula.

In the great Bengal conspiracy of 1757, Ramnarain remained faithful to Sirajuddaula, probably 'counting upon the love and tender feelings of affection of the grandfather of the Nawab (Sirajuddaula)'. With the exception of three or four, such as Ramnarayan,<sup>5</sup> Meer Madan, Mohanlal and Ramram Singh of Midnapur, (all) joined in the 'great conspiracy' of 1757 against the Nawab.<sup>6</sup>

Mir Jafar, the usurper Nawab was never on good terms with Ramnarain. He hated him as one belonging to the old camp of his predecessor.<sup>7</sup> In conjunction with Clive, Mir Jafar marched towards Patna to dispossess Ramnarain of Bihar,<sup>8</sup> as he had not paid

<sup>1</sup> S. C. Hill: *Bengal in 1756-57*, Vol. II, pp. 330, 334.

<sup>2</sup> Translation of the message from Persian, *ibid.*, p. 335.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. III, App. III, p. 174.

<sup>4</sup> Hill: *Three Frenchmen etc.*, *supra*, p. 77.

<sup>5</sup> 'Of all the Gentoos (Hindus) Ramnarain seems to have been the only man, who did not join in the conspiracy against Seerajah Dowlah and who had given the French party a warm reception at Patna, as he regarded it as an important source for Seerajah Dowlah in case hostilities should be renewed with the English'. Orme: *A History of Military Transactions in Indostan*, Vol. II, p. 166.

<sup>6</sup> K. K. Datta: *History of Bengal Subah*, 1936, Vol. I, p. 102.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*; Seir: *supra*, p. 250.

<sup>8</sup> See Sir Eyre Coote's correspondence and journal, Orme MSS. India, VII, pp. 1608-50 and 1673-91.

the revenues to the Nawab's treasury.<sup>1</sup> But the orders which Clive issued to his subordinates regarding the above were never carried out, 'because Sir Eyre Coote was dissuaded by Mir Ja'far's friends, who probably thought that the plunder of the deputy had better be left for their own hands'.<sup>2</sup> But soon Clive's attitude changed and a reconciliation was brought between the Nawab and Ramnarain. Ramnarain received investiture of his office again by the hands of Nawab Mir Jafar, for which he paid nine lakhs of rupees; and he received 'a definite promise that so long as he did not intrigue with foreign powers and provided his due share of revenues, he should not be dismissed'.<sup>3</sup>

Henceforth, Ramnarain was not under the direction of the Nawab but of the English. In 1759, Shahzada, the Emperor undertook the invasion of Bengal. Ramnarain, having received the news, tried to pacify the Nawab and the English on one side and Shahzada on the other. To Miren and to Clive, the Commander of the forces of the former, he wrote: 'That he had come out in military array, and wanted no better than to fight; but that he had not the means in his power; and he added, that if the English should arrive in time, he would not fail to shew his zeal and attachment'.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, not thinking proper to write letter to the Western army (of Shahzada), he by the means of convenient persons, assured Shahzada and his General of his good will and attachment.<sup>5</sup>

In 1761, Mir Kasim after his accession, repaired to Patna, where Ramnarain held his residence with a professed view of calling that officer to account, as he disliked him since his very childhood.<sup>6</sup> The Vice-nabob solicited the help of English Generals like Major Carnoc and Sir Eyre Coote. And these officers assured Ramnarain of protection,<sup>7</sup> and refused to hand him over to the Nawab. But when they (the British Officers) were superseded, Ramnarain was handed over to the Nawab.<sup>8</sup>

'When as much money as possible had been extracted from him, he was put to death.'<sup>9</sup> Ghulam Husain says that he was drowned in the Ganga by Mir Kasim in 1763.<sup>10</sup>

KRISHNA KANTA MISHRA.

<sup>1</sup> Grant: *A Sketch History of the E.I. Company*, 1813, p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> *Cambridge History of India*, 1929, Vol. V, p. 152.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Seir: *supra*, p. 292.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Grant: *supra*, p. 204.

<sup>7</sup> B. D. Basu: *Rise of Christian Power in India*, 1931, p. 138.

<sup>8</sup> Camb. Hist.: *supra*, p. 170.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Hill: Bengal, *supra*, quotes Seir *Mutaqherin*, Vol. II, p. 93.

## WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR FIRST AFGHAN WAR?

In my researches on First Afghan War, a serious doubt arose as to the responsibility of the war. Except one or two, practically all scholars like Sir Henry Durand,<sup>1</sup> Sir John Kaye,<sup>2</sup> Sir Percy Sykes,<sup>3</sup> Keene, have thrown out the entire responsibility on Lord Auckland, under whose term of office, the war was declared. Mr. P. E. Roberts, holding the same opinion, goes to the extent of remarking that 'every re-reading of the evidence deepens and strengthens the conviction that the war was politically . . . . . most disastrous, and, morally, . . . . . least justifiable'.<sup>4</sup> Another historian seems to ignore the pros and cons of the problem and asserts firmly that 'Lord Auckland's policy is indefensible from all points of view'.<sup>5</sup> My conclusions on the topic differ from the views of scholars of this school.

It may be noted at the outset that from the beginning to the end, Lord Auckland acted upon the advice of home authorities in London. If ever he tried to add his comments or reflections to the home authorities' advices, or even persuaded the Court of Directors to adhere to his way of liking, he was instantly reminded that he is but a nominee of Melbourne Ministry. Besides, he was reminded of the instances of men, going against the wishes of authorities at home, being asked to relinquish the charge of whatever post they held immediately, or even to stand on trial for 'their such ignoble conduct' (as a member of Parliament in the eighteenth century liked to charge the 'Servants of His Majesty' as such) before the law-courts or Parliament.<sup>6</sup>

Let us now examine the facts and see where the responsibility lies. The Eastern Question opened in 1836. Russian influence in Persia was considered by the British Government as an 'imminent peril to the security and tranquillity' of the Indian Empire. They at once asked Auckland 'to counter-act the progress of Russian influence'<sup>7</sup> towards East. But Auckland to his utmost regret did not find any immediate danger. And so he expressed to the home authorities that he did not foresee any 'Russophobia', but, however, he would be contacting the Amir of Afghanistan, as directed.

But 'in Whitehall, the growth of Russian influence at Teheran has become a subject of increasing anxiety'.<sup>8</sup> For there was a deeply ingrained conviction among British statesmen and politicians

<sup>1</sup> *First Afghan War and its Causes*, 1879.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Afghanistan*, 3 Vols.

<sup>3</sup> *History of Afghanistan*, 1940, 2 Vols.

<sup>4</sup> *History of British India*, 1938, p. 312.

<sup>5</sup> Majumdar, Raychaudhuri, Datta: *An Advanced History of India*, 1946, p. 753.

<sup>6</sup> The instances of Clive, Warren Hastings, and Lord Wellesley at least were before him.

<sup>7</sup> Sir Auckland Colvin: *John Russell Colvin*, 1895, p. 61.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82.

of the day that 'near Herat, it is possible to pass from the Russian outposts . . . . to India without encountering any formidable altitude—and this is possible nowhere else'.<sup>1</sup> The home authorities, in spite of the best assurances received from Lord Auckland of 'no immediate danger', tapped Lord Auckland again. They insisted upon him to send Alexander Burnes to Dost Muhammad, the Amir of Afghanistan.

But Burnes failed to satisfy Dost, as the latter insisted the British to press Maharaja Ranjit Singh, to return Peshawar, which he had conquered a few years back. In the true spirit of friendship to the Maharaja, Auckland turned down the Amir's proposals. He did so for three reasons. In the first place, Auckland thought that 'he (Ranjit Singh) was the only man in the Sikh Empire who was true at heart to his allies',<sup>2</sup> then why such a friendship should be foregone? Secondly, Dost was less known to the English at that time.<sup>3</sup> Lastly, he was considered in official circles as an usurper and unreliable.

In the meantime, the siege of Herat has been raised. But Auckland continued to prosecute 'the measures which have been announced, with a view to the substitution of a friendly for a hostile power in the eastern provinces of Afghanistan, and of the establishment of a permanent barrier against the North West Frontier'.<sup>4</sup> The Tripartite Treaty of 1838<sup>5</sup> was concluded with this very motive. Auckland had noted with great regret the admission of the Russian Agent, Viktevitch in Dost's durbar. He scented the mischief of Russians in this design. 'And though Russia was far off', the home authorities observed, 'yet there was no safety in mere distance'. It was true, as an author remarks: 'A people who had come with their armies in long months round the Cape, could not feel much security in consideration of remoteness'.<sup>6</sup> But Auckland was not at all disturbed by such an action of the Russians. He scented no design of Russians over India then, and so he considered the problem out of his jurisdiction. And with this idea, he tried to dispel the fears of home authorities about Russian designs in India. 'It is in Europe and Persia that the battle of Afghanistan must probably be ultimately fought',<sup>7</sup> wrote the Private Secretary of Auckland as against Lord Palmerston's note contending that it 'was not European but an Indian question'.<sup>8</sup>

Throughout all these months, Auckland was in constant touch of and guided by home advices.<sup>9</sup> It was only the home despatch of

<sup>1</sup> Sir T. H. Holdich's quotation in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. I, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Kaye: *supra*, Vol. II, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Roberts: *supra*, p. 314.

<sup>4</sup> *Cambridge History of India*, 1929, Vol. V, p. 499.

<sup>5</sup> Aitchison: *Treaties and Sanads*, Vol. VIII, p. 154.

<sup>6</sup> Colvin: *supra*, p. 75.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> See letters to Secret Committee in August, 1838; Despatch of March 20 and others.

June 25, 1836, that made Auckland to issue the Simla Manifesto (October 1, 1838).<sup>1</sup> That despatch was, nay, 'the guide of his conduct throughout, even perhaps when he questioned its wisdom'.<sup>2</sup> In no way, therefore, Auckland can be held responsible for adopting aggressive measures against Afghanistan by issuing the Manifesto.

Again, the decision to instal Shah Shuja in place of Dost Muhammad cannot be attributed to Auckland really. He was assured by Captain Wade in clear terms that Shah Shuja would be hailed in Kabul. This fact had its strong support when Sir George Lawrence declared that 'their (Afghans') hearts and affections were with their previous sovereign (i.e. Shah Shuja), now a wanderer beyond the Hindu Kush'. The Governor-General selected Shah Shuja as the successor to Dost on the ground that the latter was an intriguing fellow, while Shah Shuja was a dependent of British and the latter (Shah Shuja) would never negative the request of the British Government in the hour of need. Auckland, nevertheless, had, while deciding in the favour of Shah Shuja, the important directive of the home in his mind that at any cost, 'the independence and integrity of Afghanistan are essential to the security of India'.<sup>3</sup>

Again, the responsibility of Auckland in deciding that the troops from Afghanistan should not be withdrawn, does not lay; for he had in possession of sufficient instructions from home which showed that 'whereas in previous century they (Britishers) had only to fear such rivalry on the sea-coast, they now had certain notice of its gradual approach overland, from beyond the Oxus and Paropamisus'.<sup>4</sup> And again, he was asked to take note of the fact that 'for repression, for punitive measures (in Afghanistan) . . . . . British officers were indispensable'.<sup>5</sup>

Sir John Kaye's charge that when the question about the prolongation of troops came before the Council of the Governor-General, 'either by some negligence or by some juggle, the opinions of the military members of the Council were not obtained', has been disproved now. The following home despatch<sup>6</sup> to Sir John Hobhouse shows in clear terms that 'if any words have any meaning, the words of this despatch commit every member of the Council, who signed it, to agreement with the views of the Governor-General'.<sup>7</sup> The despatch runs thus:

'With reference to your Honourable Committee's dispatch of December 31, last, on the subject of our position and policy in

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in *extenso* by Sir John Kaye; *supra*, Vol. II, Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> For the first time attention drawn by Sir Auckland Colvin to June 25, 1836. Despatch in his *Apologia* for his father, p. 86.

<sup>3</sup> A. Lyall: *British Dominion in India*, 1914, p. 315.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 317.

<sup>5</sup> E. Thompson and G. T. Garratt: *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India*, 1935, p. 341.

<sup>6</sup> Dated, March 22, 1841.

<sup>7</sup> Colvin: *supra*, p. 138

Afghanistan, we have the honour to forward, for the information of your Honourable Committee, the accompanying copies of Minutes recorded on the subject by the Governor-General and the Honourable Messrs. Bird and Prinsep.

'2. The perusal of these will most fully explain to your Honourable Committee our views and sentiments in regard to the important question reviewed in your dispatch above referred to.

'We have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, Honourable Sirs,

Your most faithful servants,

(Sd.) AUCKLAND,  
J. NICHOLLS,  
W. W. BIRD,  
WILLIAM CASEMENT,  
H. T. PRINSEP.<sup>1</sup>

The economy in expenditure in Afghanistan was not the work of Auckland. But the Court of Directors had asked him to do so. So, practically, they were responsible by this very unscrupulous and unforesighted action for the insurrections among Kabulis and later on for the brutal murder of the British officers in Kabul by the infuriated mobs of Afghans.

It is very difficult to say whether Auckland was responsible for disasters that followed. The jealousy among British officers<sup>2</sup> was to a large extent responsible for the disaster. Moreover, British officials were inexperienced of the scrupulous tactics of the Afghans. Their *chuprassies* and *khansamahs* even could not have an estimate of the tension brewing among the Afghans,<sup>3</sup> though they were residents and natives of Afghanistan. Above all, 'the government in Calcutta was extremely ill-informed of the strength and position of parties',<sup>4</sup> in Afghanistan. And what more disappointing fact was that in those days of mid-nineteenth century, there were no easy communications which may carry news from one corner of India to another quickly. And as such were the conditions, it was but natural for Auckland, when he heard of the terrible disaster, to be at a loss to do anything. He was wonder-struck to hear the heavy massacre of his countrymen.

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<sup>1</sup> Sir J. Nicholls was the Commander-in-Chief; the whole signatories of despatch comprised the Governor-General's Council; see Colvin, *supra*, 137-138.

<sup>2</sup> Burnes did not want Macnaghten to be the 'Envoy and Minister on the part of Government of India at the court of Shah-Shuja-ul-mulk', as is evident from his letters to his friends.

<sup>3</sup> The *khansamah* of Burnes did not know that a furious mob was being collected to murder his master on November 2, 1841.

<sup>4</sup> Colvin: *supra*, p. 80.



Thus, we see that in the whole affair, Auckland was not responsible for his actions. It was the force of the home authorities and that of the prevailing circumstances, that Auckland had to adopt such a policy which ultimately resulted in a total failure. It were the orders of home which explicitly demanded of him 'to interfere *decidedly* in the affairs of Afghanistan';<sup>1</sup> it were the prevailing circumstances which compelled Auckland, to desist from any diplomatic negotiation with Dost, to conclude the Tripartite Alliance of 1838 and to order for the British stay in Afghanistan (in order to save the British prestige<sup>2</sup>).

To the question then—who was responsible for First Afghan War?—the only answer is that Auckland was not responsible, at least, to such an extent as the scholars are inclined to think. It was a mixed folly of all. The responsibility of home lay more than Auckland and, in my opinion, the latter's responsibility can be reduced to the minimum, in view of the reasons put forth above.

KRISHNA KANTA MISHRA.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88.

<sup>2</sup> Some scholars are inclined to accept Auckland's contention that British withdrawal from Afghanistan with Shah Shuja would have been a national disgrace. It was, besides, also thought by Auckland's Government that on whom and in whose cause, so much has been spent and sacrificed, should not come back and pocket the same old pensionary at Ludhiana.



## REVIEWS

**JĀTAKA PĀLI**, Vol. II, Pt. II, Nipātas 11-30. Vajirārāma Tipiṭaka. Edition by Revd. Nārada, 1948.

The present work is a laudable and useful undertaking in continuation of the previous publication. Whereas in other editions published from Ceylon, Siam, Burma and Europe are found to contain the Canonical Jātakas in verse embedded in the commentary, here the texts in verses are separated from the commentary setting, and accorded an independent position. The editor has adopted the modern critical method in so far as the variants are given in the footnotes on each page (for which the credit should be given primarily to Fausbøll). But as it was pointed out before the *abhisambuddhagāthās* which were admittedly and evidently later additions are not clearly indicated. The omission of the ancient glosses which are no doubt an indispensable aid to the proper understanding and interpretation of the *gāthās* is regrettable. The edition, on the whole, cannot be treated as a work of research in so far as no attempt is made to give cross-references to other Pāli Canonical texts and Indian works particularly the two Sanskrit Epics. The *gāthās* themselves were not all original Buddhist compositions, although they are all intended to indicate what was in the literary and cultural background of Buddhism. The *gāthās* were not productions of one and the same age. A critical examination of their metres and diction shows that the history of their growth covers a pretty long period. As the *Mūlapariyāya Jātaka* indicates, the ancient Buddhist theras undertook to compile the *Jātakas* to counteract the great popularity of the pre-Pāṇinian *Mahābhārata* (also pre-supposed by the Inscriptions of Aśoka). There are nevertheless many instances in which the Pāli verses closely resemble those in the Great Epic. In spite of all these drawbacks, the editor and the publisher are to be congratulated on the production of an excellent edition of the Pāli Jātakas in Sinhalese characters.

B. M. BARUA.

**HINDU KINSHIP** (An important chapter in Hindu social history) by K. M. Kapadia, B.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in Sociology, University of Bombay. Published by the Popular Book Depot, Bombay, 1947.

This book contains an introduction and nine chapters on cult of manes, marriage and marital regulations, Hindu household, adoption and affiliation, inheritance and succession, vicarious liabilities and debts, birth and death impurities, organization of kin, and recapitulation.

In the first chapter the author says that the Vedic Aryans had a hearty and healthy love of earthly life. They had unbounded relish for the pleasures and delights. This spirit of exuberant joy and unsophisticated delight powerfully influenced their view of death and life beyond it. The most important aspect of the manes-cult is the persons who received the offerings. In the post-Vedic period the ritual of *śrāddha* appears to have developed. *Vyādhi śrāddha* is sharply distinguished from the *Pārvana śrāddha*. In the second chapter, the author has pointed out that the Indo-Aryans in the early Vedic times were establishing *sapinda* exogamy, though they were not governed by any law of sept-exogamy. Marriage with the mother's brother's daughter appears to be usual among the Indo-Aryans in the latter part of the Vedic age. The Vedic Aryans must have received hearty co-operation from their Dravidian neighbours in encouraging this kind of marriage.

In the third chapter we find that the father was the head of the family from very early times. Three pleas in favour of the polyandrous union were put forth by Yudhiṣṭhira himself. In the fourth chapter the author is right in pointing out that the practice of adopting a son was current from very early Vedic times. Adoption according to the Vedic texts appears to be free from any rigour of rules and restrictions. A son given in adoption does not completely sever his bonds of kinship with the natural family. In all important social relationships his connection with the natural family is as effective as that with his new family. In the fifth chapter the early sūtra writers did not go into the details of the descent of inheritance but specified proximity as the test of preference. The author has analyzed Vijnāneśvara's treatment of the Law of Inheritance. He has also referred to the *Vyavahāra-mayūkha* of Nilakanṭha in propounding the theory of blood propinquity. In the sixth chapter the author says that the ancient society starts from groups and subordinates the individual interest to the claims of these groups. The individual is but a part of the kindred. According to the Smṛti writers liability to pay debts extends up to the grandson and no further. Brhaspati has expressly negated the great grandson's obligation to pay debts. Liability is always in the male line. In the seventh chapter the question of impurity is very often discussed on the considerations of the sex of the deceased. In the eighth chapter the concept of Hindu *gotra* extends to generations that cannot be counted or remembered. Some of the writers extend even the concept of *samānodakas* to uncountable generations. The relationship in both these concepts is vague and serves no purpose for a cultural history. The basic unity of the Hindu family was of three generations. Father, son, and grandson, are referred to as forming a compact unity in a sacrificial formula. In the last chapter the author has tried to show that among the Hindus family is the basis of kinship, and from very early times kinship was bilateral. The book under review is on the whole useful. The author has consulted original sources and has made proper use of them. The utility of the book has been greatly enhanced by supplying additional notes and references, bibliography and an index. In the Appendix he has given a short note on draft Hindu Code.

B. C. LAW.



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