

CHAPTER I

NATURE OF GUJARATI SOCIETY ON THE EVE OF BRITISH RULE

As pointed out in the Introduction, the object of our study is to observe the changes that have taken place in the social and cultural life of Gujarat during the 19th century under the impact of British conquest and rule. We have postulated as our basis of approach that Gujarati society on the eve of British conquest, like all societies prior to commercial and industrial revolutions in Europe exhibited the basic characteristics of what is called traditional, sacred, custom-dominated and ascriptive social structure.

We will examine in this chapter, how far Gujarati society on the eve of British conquest and rule exhibited the characteristics of a traditional society.

The scope of this chapter will therefore be to examine the nature of pre-British Gujarati society as revealed through -

- 1) the nature of the political system,
- 2) the nature of the economic system,
- 3) the nature and extent of education and other media of communications
- 4) the nature of social-status system as revealed through caste-system and the position of woman,
- 5) the nature of value system and
- 6) the overall features of the pre-British Gujarati society.

I

NATURE OF POLITICAL SYSTEM IN PRE-BRITISH GUJARATI SOCIETY

In order to understand the nature of society on the eve of British rule, we should know what was the boundary of Gujarat. The word 'Gujarat'

emerges very late in history. The region which is composed of the mainland of Gujarat and the peninsula of modern Saurashtra was not called Gujarat in ancient times, nor did it form one political unit. In ancient period Saurashtra was the name for the peninsula, and the other areas consisted of Anarta and the Lata; Anarta forming the northern and Lata the central and southern parts of the present Gujarat. As Dr. Mangulal Majmudar remarks, "The exact boundaries of these provinces were, however, uncertain and they varied greatly during the course of history."^{1*}

Every portion, Anarta, Lata, etc. was composed of different territories in different periods.² We will not give the account of changing boundaries of Gujarat through different periods, though it may be a very interesting exposition.

The name Gujarat also comes into use very late in history. Dr. Mangulal Majmudar contends, "up to the 10th century 'Gurjara-mandala' or 'Gurjara-bhumi'" hardly denotes territories comprising modern Gujarat. During the thirteenth century the whole of northern Gujarat was known as the "territory of the Gurjaras" which is why Hemachandra describes the army of his Solanki patron Kumarpala as consisting of Gurjaras. The Dohad

*Mr. A.K. Forbes in Ras Mala describes the boundaries of Gujarat in the following words. "The province of Goozerat, in Western India, is composed of two portions - the one of these is continental, the other is peninsular and projects into the Arabian Sea nearly opposite the coast of Oman, and below that of Mekran and Sindh. Hindoos usually assume the river Nerbudda to be the southern boundary of the continental portion of Goozerat proper. Some consider the boundary much further to the south - as far even as Damaun or St. John's about, halfway between the mouth of the river and Bombay. Stretching northwards from the banks of Nerbudda a range of hills connecting the Vindhya with the Arawallee mountains forms the eastern and northern border of Goozerat and separates it from Malwa, Mewar and Marwar. The Gulf of Kutch and a salt, and sometimes partially inundated, desert called the Rann

contd.

inscription of 11th century A.D speaks of Siddharaja Jayasimha as the "Ruler of Gurjara Mandala". The Girnar inscription dated 1222 A.D. enables us to conclude that the name 'Gurjara Mandal' denoted territories wherein were situated the towns of Anahilwada or Pattan, Stambhatirtha or Cambay, Dabhoi or Dabhoi and Dhavalakka or Dholka. Thus, when once the people came to be regarded as Gurjaras it was but the next step to call their country 'Gurjara Mandala' or Gurjara Ratta' or Gujarat.³

The Mohammedan emperors at Delhi grouped many territories including Khandash and Malwa in Gujarat because they were governed by the Viceroy of Gujarat. During the pre-British conquest phase, Gujarat included Cutch, peninsular Gujarat, North Gujarat or the mainland between Mt. Abu and the Mahi River and South Gujarat between the Mahi and Daman-Ganga rivers.⁴

'Mirat-I-Ahmedi',* a work written during the period of 1750-1760, by a Diwan of the Province of Gujarat⁵ mentions that "in the times of the Sultans of Gujarat, the Province of Gujarat consisted of 25 sarkars, but Akbar after conquering it divided it into 16 sarkars as mentioned in the Introduction. Six of them pay tribute and the rest revenue."⁶

are the boundaries of the province on the north-west and west, the Arabian Sea and the Gulf of Cambay wash its southern and south western shores. The least protected part of this frontier line, and that by which Goozerat has usually been invaded, is on the north-west, where a sandy plain intervenes between the desert and the foot of Mount Abu." (Ras Mala, Hindoo Annals of the Province of Goozerat in Western India, by Alexander Forbes Ed. by Rawlinson, Vol.I, 1924, p.3).

*Mr. M.S. Commissariat in his History of Gujarat Vol.II, describes the supplement or Khatima as "a statistical Gazetteer of the Province during the Muslim period." (History of Gujarat, by M.S. Commissariat, Vol.II, p.564).

Before we describe these divisions we may mention one fact that, barring some periods, Gujarat was governed by various autonomous and independent kings, sultans, nawabs or princes. Even during the period when Gujarat was subjected to some overall suzerainty of a powerful Hindu dynasty, Muslim Sultan or Mughal Emperor, the respective princes and nawabs continued to rule different parts of Gujarat, only they accepted the supremacy of the sovereign. Thus politically Gujarati society was a cluster of principalities, with sometimes overall suzerainty or partial supremacy of some powerful dynasty like Solankis, Sultans, Moghul Emperor or subsequently Marathas. There was continuous battle to establish overall supremacy between various powers. On the eve of the British conquest and also during the earlier phase of British settlement in India, particularly during the 18th century, Gujarat was divided politically between three or four competing political rulers striving for or retaining the suzerainty over as much territory as possible and as many chieftains, petty princes and nawabs in various parts of the territory as possible.⁷ Ahmedabad was governed by the representative of the Moghul rulers and Surat, Broach, Cambay were ruled by independent Nawabs, accepting the tutelage of the Delhi ruler. A large number of Rajput and Kutchi princes ruled over parts of Saurashtra, and the expanding Maratha rulers who were themselves split up into Peshwas, Scindias, Gaikwars and each claiming for power and competing with others ruled over some areas.⁸ Thus during the 18th century Gujarat was torn into multiple warring principalities and claimants for supremacy. East India Company also added to the claimants' fold and slowly started gaining its own foothold by siding with one or the other contestants and ultimately establishing

a large portion of territory under its direct rule and subjugation.^{9*}

The political fragmentation of Gujarati society can be visualized through a description given of Kathiawad by Sjt. Govindbhai Hathibhai. According to him: "The major part of the population of Kathiawad was composed of chieftains (Sardars) and peasants, and they were designated as Bhomia and Raiyats (subjects). The Bhomia (Ruler) may be a chief of a single village or may be chieftain of a number of villages, calling himself a king. Rural people in the area settled on the land for a long time were called Raiyats. The chieftains had come down from outside and had established their power or rule by migrating from north or even from Iran. Some of the adventurer Muslim courtiers of Ahmedabad court, plunderers and cattle lifters like Kathis, the Miyanas and Vaghelas carrying on activities as sea pirates, all came in the category of chieftains. However the most powerful and numerous group of chieftains were composed of Rajputs, who after having experienced debacle in their own territories in Rajputana, had migrated to Saurashtra. Rajputs, having been ascribed by Religion, one vocation viz. military-administrative,

*Till the death of Aurangazeb, the Moghul Viceroys were able to maintain order. With the raids of Marathas from 1664 unrest began to spread in Gujarat. In 1723-30, the claims of Marathas to raise the revenue (chowth and sardeshmarkhi) from territories created newer and newer problems. Dr. Majmudar describes this phenomenon in following words. "Henceforth absolute anarchy reigned in the province, which was ravaged by the leaders of the Peshwas and Gaekwars' armies, by the Rajas of Jodhpur, by the agents of Nizam-ul-Mulk and by such local Musalman chiefs as Babis, who established themselves at Junagadh (1738) and Bala sinor (1761). The Jhalorais who settled at Palanpur (1715) and Momin khan who set up the state of Cambay (1748); and this in spite of the fact that the Delhi continued to appoint Viceroys till 1748." (Cultural History of Gujarat, by Majmudar M.R., p.126).

had migrated to Saurashtra and established their political rules over various territories. There is one similarity which one finds about all the chieftains. The chieftains, more powerful among them, with a hand of their warriors, used to demand subordination from the neighbouring chieftain, refusal of which led to wars. The villagers, townsmen or smaller chieftains, with a view to have peace, protection used to accept the supremacy of the more powerful chieftains and pay their tributes. The subjugated chieftain shared a part of the tribute collected by him with the more powerful chieftains. Thus various kingdoms were formed. Sometimes the kinsmen of the chieftains, Bhayat, used to start either independent principalities if sufficiently powerful or separate kingdom under the overall supremacy of the original chieftain, uniting under the head chief for common defence against other warring chieftains. Such being the basis of emergence of various states and chieftains in Saurashtra, the mutual relationships among these chieftains, were founded on the power of the strong."¹⁰

In short Gujarat was politically a disunited area, predominantly experiencing lack of peace and security due to constant friction between various categories of chieftains and rulers. The Gujarati people were subjected to strains of war, plunders, frequent changes in political rule and also hardships arising out of instability and growing claims of changing victors.¹¹

Under these circumstances, certain powerful administrators, or a very big trader wielded tremendous influence. In the city of Broach, for example, one gentleman of Modh Baniya caste named Laloobhai Majmudar was entrusted with the authority of the whole administration of Broach in

1771 when the Nawab went to Bombay for settling some problems with regard to rights over customs with the East India Company.¹¹ This point is significant because, in spite of the existence of the very near relations of the nawab, such a responsibility was entrusted to a Hindu Diwan points out the significance of such powerful personalities.*

Similarly in the working out the transfer of Surat from the Nawab to the hands of the English, the name of Kirparam Mehta, a Vadnagar Nagar Brahmin, is very prominent.¹² We are mentioning these facts in order to show that in the absence of powerful centralized authority, individual circumstances influenced the course of events in different principalities of Gujarat.

Having referred to the political contours of Gujarat in pre-19th century period, we will now briefly describe the administrative system of Gujarat.

Administrative system of Gujarat

Every political system, if it is worth its name, must have some semblance of administrative machinery, its judicial system, as well as its revenue collecting mechanism. Gujarat, as we observed, was subjected to a large number of kings, princes, chieftains, nawabs and others. Each had

*A copy of original order given by the Nawab to Laloobhai as to how he should run the State was in the possession of the descendants of Laloobhai. (D.B. Krishnalal Zaveri Lekhsangrah ed. by Majmudar Manjulal, p.466). It may be mentioned here that there were two personalities of Laloobhai. As an Administrator and Revenue Collector, he was cruel, cunning and unscrupulous. But he showed exceptional liberality at the time of famine in Broach. Mr. Forbes in his oriental Memoirs, says, that according to him he was a great man. Here we may also mention that at the end of his life this gentleman was arrested and his wife had gone to Poona on horse-back to ask pardon from Nana Fadnavis, the Diwan of the Peshwas, and at that time she had taken the fine muslin cloth of Broach as a gift to be given to Nana Fadnavis. (Bhavuch no Itihasa by Desai Gunapatram, pp.435-454).

its own mode of administration, its judicial system and its own revenue collecting machinery. Though varying from one another, there were certain common features which could be observed. It is difficult to describe in detail the administrative, judicial and revenue collecting system of each kingdom. The overall suzerains like Solankys, or Muslim Sultans and subsequently Moghul rulers had worked out some administrative mechanism for governing the large areas which were under their direct control and worked out a system of relationships between the suzerain and the other princes and nabobs who were subjected to the tutelage of the suzerain.

On the eve of the 18th century and even during the 19th century, till the British conquered Gujarat, we find that a broad pattern of administration worked out by Muslim sultans and slightly refined by Moghul Governors, was operating in certain parts of Gujarat and was being adopted by some major princes. This formal administrative machinery was also mostly kept intact by Maratha chieftains, who established supremacy in various parts of Gujarat after the decline of Mogul rule. In the initial stages, the Maratha conquerors were not interested in establishing their kingdom but in collecting as much fortune as possible by securing *chauth*, *sardeshmukhi* and other kinds of tributes from the people and chieftains and therefore not to disturb the mode of administration prevailing in the area.

The picture of the administrative machinery is vividly recorded in a very important and rare document - *Mirat-e-Ahmadi*. It throws light on the patterns of administration that was worked out by the Rulers. The ten 'Sarkars' which were paying revenue were as follows:- Ahmedabad, Pattan, Baroda, Broach, Chanpaner, Nandod, Godhara, Sorath, Nawanagar and Surat. Six Sarkars belonging to the Zamindars, during the conquest of

Gujarat by Akbar, remained in possession of them as in the times of the Sultans of Gujarat. "The Girasia Rajputs, Kolis, Kathis, Jats, Jhadejas, Bakhirs, Koraishis, Rathors, Ahirs, and Makwanas who from ancient times are lords of their fields pay tribute to the Nazims."¹³ Over and above this the Sultan used to get tributes from the Desais and other landholders in lieu of they being given the right to take revenue.¹⁴

In short there were various categories of rulers in Gujarat. The Gujarat Suba (Province) was under the charge of a Subedar or Nazim receiving as payment both cash as well as land, besides getting tributes from the landlords. He was appointed by the Delhi ruler. He combined both military and civil authority*. At times a Naib-Subedar or Deputy Governor was also appointed to assist the Subedar. Next in rank to Subedar was the Provincial Diwan. He was the head of the finance and revenue departments. For executive purposes ^{every suba} ~~was~~ further divided into Sarkars or Districts which included mahals, paraganas and villages. Each sarkar was headed by Faujdar who was a police official responsible for maintaining order.¹⁵

The office staff consisted of secretary, daroga, a superintendent of police, 'a treasurer (mushrif), a cashier (tahavildar), and few clerks, for record keeping.¹⁶

*Mirat-e-Ahmadi records 60 viceroys from the year 1573 (when Akbar appointed the first Nazim of Gujarat) till 1758 (when imperial Moghul rule came to an end).

Nobles of highest qualification and distinction and at times royal princes were generally selected to hold the post of Nazims. (History of Gujarat, Vol.II by Commissariat, M.S., p.3.).

The judicial department consisted of the district judge, the kazi court, vakil, bakshis (paymasters) and reporters.¹⁷

There were other departments such as secret service, postal service based on couriers, department for branding and purchasing of horses, department of the cloth market and department for treasury regulations.¹⁸

Many a times larger and financially important areas needed special arrangements for their administration. A person was therefore kept in charge. Surat is an instance in point. There were two officers, one, quillidar or commandant and the other mutta saddi or governor; latter was responsible to the Delhi court. Thus both were independent of each other.¹⁹

The Diwan of the division generally was the chief financial minister being assigned the duties of collection of revenue and its remittance to the treasury. He was also invested with extensive powers in all civil matters. He had to make payments of salaries according to the services rendered and had to receive tributes from the jagirs having royal lands.²⁰

Recruitment to the services

In all the abovementioned departments the personnel was generally manned on the principle of heredity.²¹ Even if the fresh appointments were made there is no evidence to show to us that they were based on some objective qualifications. At times for a Hindu the knowledge of Persian might be very handy in getting higher post as it was, for instance, in the case of Mayaram, a Diwan of Surat Nawab.^{22*}

*The joint author of the *Mirat-e-Ahmadi* was a Kayastha gentleman Mithalal who must have known Persian to be described as a co-author. (Forward to *Mirat-e-Ahmadi* by Syed Nawab Ali and Seddon, p.x.)

As in any other feudal social structure in all these posts there were no rules governing promotion, retirement, pay scale and such other things, which we find in a well organized 'legal-rational' bureaucratic structure.

Further most of these officers were receiving payment in cash as well as in kind. They were given jagirs in lieu of their services.²³

The whole structure was thus very losely organized. Very many times, revenue collection was farmed out to certain individuals, e.g., Desais in Surat or Broach Sarkars. These Desais were made responsible to maintain law and order in their territory. This type of sharing in responsibility led to unrest and disquiet.²⁴ The administrative system was so composed that it could run successfully only if the central authority was powerful. During the 18th century when there was absence of strong government, naturally all these independent chieftains, Desais, Girasias, behaved as they liked.

Judicial system

In the judicial system, though the Quazi had in him power to deliver judgement few cases must have come before him. In the self-sufficient village structure, village council decided most of the cases occurring in villages.^{25*} Further there were caste councils empowered to settle the

*Dr. Altekar believes that due to 400 years' of stable rule of Muslims and due to the establishment of regular courts headed by the Kazis the judicial functions of the village council might have been affected. He says, "under the Moslem rule, in every town there was a Quazi to try the cases of Mahomedans, and a Sadr those of non-Mahomedans. Appeals against their decisions were entertained by the Quazi and the Sadr at the 'Subha'; as a last resort the Ahmedabad decisions were subject to an appeal to the kazi-u-kuzzat and sadr-us-sadr at Delhi." (History of Village Communities in Western India by A.S. Altekar, pp.51-52). We feel that in practice, due to the isolation of village and the scanty means of transport, local disputes must have been the responsibility of the village council. The Gujarat village councils might not be as powerful as at some other parts in India, but acceptance of their existence meant that they must also be sharing the responsibility of imparting justice. It may be possible that in the period of unrest and disquiet, these village councils might be utilized by a Koomayisdar for his own benefit.

disputes amongst the caste-members and Mahajans to settle the disputes of the traders or artisans. Further the Hindu Law governing the Hindus and Quranic law governing the Muslims was not secular but was based on religious texts of the respective communities.²⁶ In Surat for instance if there was any dispute in Hindu community it was settled by the Nagar-sheth Laxmidas while for Parsis the arbitrator was Mr. Mody.²⁷

A.K. Forbes vividly describes the judicial system in the pre-British Gujarat especially during the Maratha period. He says, "The whole administration of such parts of each district as were ryutee was confided by the Mahrattas, to a Koomavishdar, a collector, or rather a farmer of revenue. The residence of this person in the district was only temporary, he was, at any time liable to be displaced by any other person who was prepared to offer higher terms for the possession of his authority. It was therefore in his interest to accumulate as much money as possible, without reference either to permanent revenue of the purgunnah or to the happiness of its inhabitants. One means of enriching himself was that of exacting fines for criminal offences and with no severe punishment, therefore, crimes of the most heinous and flagitious nature were passed over. Civil disputes which consisted principally of claims for the possession of land, for the recovery of debts or for the assertion of caste rules were under the government of these farmers, referred to arbitration the Koomavishdar interfering only by lending the aid of his authority for the enforcement of the award, and by appropriating to his own use a fourth of the sum awarded.

On the estates of the Rajpoot chieftains, justice, both civil and criminal where it was administered at all, was in the hands of the grassia. The influence of the Bhats and Charans was very powerful and usually

compelled the proper execution of engagements for which they were securities.²⁸

Thus during the 18th century justice was very arbitrary. Though there were different courts for criminal and civil purposes, but procedure of getting justice was on personal basis.

The securing of justice was very costly, particularly in criminal matters as described by the narrator of history of Suṛat. He says, that the principal object of the courts was to draw revenue from the cases brought before them. In Surat courts they were able to collect nearly Rs.40000 out of fines.²⁹

Justice was principally administered through a system of ordeals and oaths.³⁰ Forbes describes in detail various types of ordeals.³¹ When a person makes a statement on oath, he takes the oath of a thing which is most respectable to him. Therefore, a Brahmin swears by his sacred thread (Janai), a Rajput by his sword, a Wania by his Sarda (i.e., his account book), a cultivator swears by his bullock and a Shravak by his religion.

Thus the system of justice in pre-19th century Gujarat was based on religious sanction and was governed on the principles of custom rather than points of law. We may also point out that as the religious texts were governing force behind the law, there was no equality before law. Because in the law books punishments were determined by the social status of the individual. It may be that harsh punishments were not meted out to the lower caste persons. But nevertheless they "served primarily as a reminder of caste barriers and the exalted position of the Brahmins."³² It was not a uniform for all and various authorities like caste council, village panchayat, trade guild, religious authorities, koomavisdar and state courts shared the responsibility of dispensing with justice.

Revenue system

In describing the revenue system, the first important feature that comes to our notice is that land is not a commodity which could be sold in market. The right of occupancy was accepted by the authorities, but not the right of sale and purchase.³³ In this respect Nilakantha, a Hindu lawyer of the 17th century in his 'Vyavahara Mayukh' mentions, "on conquest, the ownership of the conqueror arises only in respect of the houses, lands, and personality etc. of the ruler conquered. Where the latter had a right to taking taxes, the conqueror acquires that much right and no ownership. Proprietary right in the whole land with regard to villages and land etc. lies in their respective land-lords. The king's right is limited to the collection of tax therefrom. Therefore what is technically meant as 'giving away of land' by the king does not mean giving away of land but a mere creation of allowance. If house, land, etc. are bought from the owner by the king, proprietorship can arise."³⁴

Thus the land revenue system therefore meant a system of tribute gathering from villages and paraganas. In this background the village cultivator was not expected to pay the revenue individually, but the whole village was assessed. The village headman* was considered responsible for collecting and paying the revenue on behalf of the village.

There were different varieties of village organizations for distributing the land revenue on different cultivators. The commonest

*Dr. Altekar while describing the village communities in Western India, states that "during the Mahomedan period in Western India, the existence of headman was regarded as necessary for revenue collection." (A History of Village Communities in Western India by A.S. Altekar, 1927, p.6.)

was a simple form called 'Seja' wherein the village headman realized the amount according to the established rates and customs of the village.³⁵ The second form of village organization was the 'narva' or share system. Under this the headman's responsibility ^{was} is divided among the members of the family. Village was divided according to the number of family members, and each share was made over to the representative of one son. Every year the Government due was divided equally among all the branches and each shareholder had to pay his share.³⁶

There were certain villages which were owned by Girasias, Kolis, and Rajputs who paid the fixed revenue at the point of bayonets only. "The amount was fixed by the chief's power to resist rather than by his ability to pay; when the available force was strong the demand was raised."³⁷

In short though the method of collection might differ, the unit of calculation was mostly village and not individual. Though technically the share of the king was fixed it was never adhered to.* During the 18th century especially when the right to collect revenue was farmed out to the largest bidder the conditions of the cultivator was very precarious. The Maratha rulers generally appointed 'kooma-visedars' (revenue collectors) to collect revenue from the people. The koomavisdars many a times asked the Desais, the hereditary vatandars

*The plight of the cultivator was described by the 18th century poet Shamal Bhatt. He says as soon as the crop was thrashed every claimant from ~~an~~ ordinary beggar to the king's representative came to the field, and made demands on the cultivator to have a share in the crop. (Refer to Bhabharam ni Varta in Sinhasan Batrisi by Shamal, 1960, ed by Bhayani Harivallabh, pp.61-62). Similarly Forbes also quotes a whole poem wherein the plight of a Coonbi girl is described. (Forbes Rasmala, Vol.II, pp.244-46).

to collect the revenue.* In fact these hereditary officers performed whole of the revenue work.³⁸ These hereditary vatandars were given cash payment for performing this revenue work, and were also given land, sukhdi (additional payment for the maintenance of their family) and gifts from the people.^{39**} It has been remarked that the rates of the Desais were so oppressive that "the whole population of the Bulsar Pargana deserted it twice, in five years, shortly before the introduction of British rule and took refuge in Dharampur."⁴⁰

*The 'Desais' were originally the pioneering group who persuaded the people living in the jungles to come to the civilised area and cultivate land. It is believed that initially their office was of a very great honour and status. The Desais were given gifts by the people at times and they were permitted to keep sepoys. (Government of Bombay, Selection No. CLXXIV, pp. 422-423).

**Sometimes the claims of these Desais were enormous. Olpad (a talooka in Surat District) Desais were claiming following dues from the people over and above their Watan emoluments.

- 1) Sura- land by right.
- 2) Moghlai Inam - revenue over land ceceded by Nawab.
- 3) Sukri - in grain.
- 4) Lawajam from Dhers (untouchables), the things like firewood which they used to get from Dhers.
- 5) Phulsari from Giras lands.
- 6) Wajifar (religious lands) mortgaged to Desais.
- 7) Inam - Gifts.
- 8) They took tax from Shepherds - Wool tax.
(Bombay Government records No. CLXXIV, pp. 334-335).

Many a times Muslim rulers used military force to exact a yearly Peshkash (revenue) from those zamindars who had not subjugated; this expedition was described as 'Mulukgiri expedition'. The Marathas retained this mode of collection, but in order to meet the expenses of the Mulukgiri army they imposed a new tax on the land-holders called 'Ghas dana' (food for the horses). The Marathas exacted chouth (fourth part) from the people of Gujarat in order to prove their right over the territory. Later on they took chouth from those territories also which were not under their jurisdiction.⁴¹

As observed earlier, this group of revenue collectors had to maintain law and order in their areas, and had at times to dispose of justice. These groups also possessed power to keep a small army or raise an army for arising assisting the king in emergency.

In short during the 18th century the system of land revenue exhibited the following features.

1. Land revenue was basically collected in kind and not in cash from the villages.
2. Land revenue was collected from the entire village on the basis of the proportion of the total production in the village.
3. The lands in the villages were considered as the collective possession of the village as a whole. The land could not be sold, mortgaged or transferred by the individual farmers.
4. The revenue officer of the State - the Inamdar, Vatandar, Jagirdar or others collected revenue from the village panch or village Patel. All these were hereditary officers.
5. Many a times bards (known as Bhats and Charans in Gujarat) used to stand as securities for the payment of land revenue. As described by Forbes, "the security of a bard was one of the few available means of ensuring the performance of both political engagements and private agreements and of providing for the safe transaction of commercial operations."⁴²

Other taxes: During the pre-British phase in Gujarat, along with land revenue, there were various other taxes collected by the Government. Lord Elphinstone mentions 5 or 6 types of taxes imposed on villagers,, before the British captured the territories.

1) Dukul Pattee (a 10 per cent duty on the Inamdars), 2) Miras Pattee (similar charge on Mirasdars), 3) Mohterfa (tax on shop-keepers), 4) House tax, (5) Marriage tax, 6) Buffalo tax.^{43*} Apart from this a sort of 'labour tax', 'visii' was taken. The State had a right to forced labour upto a certain limit in every village, and each labourer was obliged to work for the State for a certain number of days in the year.^{44**}

Administration of law and order

We will now briefly point out the nature of the machinery to maintain law and order in Gujarat in the pre-British period.

*Over and above these, at times certain arbitrary taxes were levied. Under the Maratha regime the Koomavisdar levied new taxes on various pretexts, a hul vero (cess on ploughs) a khata vero, oodhar vero, of tax in any other form was levied. (Kaira, a District in Fertile Gujarat by Jhaverilal Yajnik, p.13). In the cities, also various types of taxes such as Mukat - a commodity tax, customs, certificate tax (tax on giving certificates for reducing the customs) and other further during the Mohammedan rule the import and export duties which were unequal in the sense that Hindus were taxed more than the Muslims, or Armenian traders. (Surat ni Tavarikh by Patel, A.B., pp.112-114).

**There is a common Gujarati couplet indicating that if one wears a Bava-topi or suffan cap, then one is saved from taxes as well as forced labour and on top of it, everybody would address as Songasin (Bava).

Sanyasin

In the Mohammedan period the Manasabdar who was entitled to keep a cavalry of 10,000 sepoy, was the highest officer in the province whose responsibility was to provide army whenever it was necessary. The Manasabdar was paid in cash as well as given jagirs.⁴⁵ Along with this army, there were sepoy who were recruited in times of emergency. The head of 200 to 300 sepoy was designated as Jamadar.

There were police stations (Thanas) situated at the interval of 5 to 6 miles where cavalry and infantry were posted for the preservation of order.⁴⁶ Generally the Muslims, or the persons from Kshatriya and aboriginal Koli and Bhil tribes were recruited for the army.⁴⁷ We do find stray instances of Brahmins being put in charge of responsible military offices under the Mohammedan rule as evidence in Krapashankar Lalji who was in command of 10,000 soldiers in Kaira district or Malek Gopi of Surat who was also holding a significant post.⁴⁸ But these were rare exceptions.

In short, for the maintenance of law and order, along with the state officials like Manasabdars, Faujdars, Thanadars, there were Vatandars and Talookdars whose duty it was to maintain peace in their territory. Many a times sepoy were recruited for supplementing the army, and they were either paid on daily basis or were promised a share in the booty.⁴⁹

Concluding remarks

Having described the administrative, judicial, and revenue system which prevailed in Gujarat in the 18th century, we will conclude this section by making a few observations.

1) Gujarati society was politically fragmented into a large number of kingdoms.

2) There was no uniform boundary for Gujarat's territory.

3) Political system was monarchic in form, composed basically of hereditary officers. There was no uniformly organized civil service composed of transferable officers, appointed on the basis of merit and achieved qualities getting fixed salaries and governed by fixed rules. There was no clear cut distinction between executive, legislative and judicial functions. 'Desai', a revenue officer may function as a judicial authority as well as maintain law and order.

4) The authority of the king was founded on supernatural sanction; either Hindu or Muslim religion sanctified the authority of the king.

5) Law was not separated from religion, custom and morality. In most of the dealings custom played an important part. Shastris, Pandits, Maulvis were the interpreters of law.

6) The scale of political relationship was extremely limited. The vast bulk of people living in villages were hardly connected directly with political working. It is observed that even revenue collectors were hardly capable of disturbing the internal order of the village.⁵⁰ People continued to live according to the customs in spite of the vicissitudes of political authorities. In the absence of uniform laws or uniformly operating judicial or administrative machinery enveloping every individual, the revenue judicial and law and order systems had no direct contacts with each and every subject of the state. Further due to a large number of chieftains and kings people under each chieftain had hardly any political contact with one another. There was no idea of citizenship. Added to this was the limited means of communication which also restricted the scale of political relationship.

II

NATURE OF ECONOMIC SYSTEM IN PRE-BRITISH GUJARAT

Having analysed the nature of political system in pre-British Gujarat, we will now observe the nature of economic system that prevailed in Gujarat, on the eve of British rule. The economic system consists of production, distribution and exchange of economic goods in the community and which further includes the nature of property relations prevailing within the society.

Gujarati society as a system of economic relationships was comprised of a cluster of towns (predominantly State capitals, religious centres, trade centres and ports) and thousands of villages of various sizes. In towns and particularly in bigger towns, the economic groups consisted of handicraftsmen, traders, manufacturers and financiers,⁵¹ while in villages the economic groups consisted of cultivators and village artisans peculiarly blended with one another into forming self-sufficient village communities.

We will begin our analysis with the study of economic system that prevailed in rural Gujarat.

(a) Economy in Rural Gujarat

Village was the unit of organization wherein the Gujarati population was primarily residing.⁵²

Mirat-e-Ahmadi gives a detailed list of each division of the district composed of a number of villages. The list points out that the number as well as size of the villages were not uniform for all divisions.⁵³

There were small hamlets containing hardly ten to twelve families, then there were villages with less than 500 persons, and some with population of 1000 persons.⁵⁴

Here we may make a note of one phenomenon which was peculiar to Gujarat. Gujarat has a long coastal boundary which facilitated trade with the outside world. This feature had its effect on the growth of certain territories which were producing the commodities to be exported, e.g. Surat, Broach, Cambay. We do find certain village communities producing commercial crop like cotton required for the urban centres of production, such as villages near Nadiad, Viramgam, Jambusar, Ahmedabad and Kaira towns.

However the overwhelming majority of villages were self-sufficient, producing for the needs of the community. The village communities were composed of cultivating classes, village artisans and village servants.

The caste was the determining factor of occupation and therefore we find that cultivating classes of Gujarat were composed of Kunbis, Rajputs of lower varieties, such as Kachias, Malis, Kolis and tribal population.⁵⁵ Similarly the artisans were caste-ridden.

The proportion of the type of cultivators many a time determined the over-all nature of the village communities, and the predominance of one group or the other of the cultivators also gave stamp to the economic and other social relationships of various regions. For example in South Gujarat, in areas such as Broach and Surat, there was the predominance of Kunbi and tribal cultivators while in Kaira district there was the predominance of Kunbi and Koli cultivators. This is well illustrated in the following description of village communities given by Mr. J. A. Javerilal Yagnik. He says that "village community was of two kinds. In its simplest form it existed where all the lands of a village were held direct from the Raja or owner of the village.... The other species of village community, abundantly met with ~~the~~^m ~~charot~~^{her} or western portion of the

Kaira zilla, in Broach and the Surat Attavesy, consisted originally of a body or bodies of cultivating castes such as Koonbies in the Kaira zilla, Koonbies and Bohras in Broach and Bhatellas and Rajpoots in the Surat Collectorate. Leaving a certain portion to be held in common or mujmoon to be given to their servants and others as an inducement to come and settle there, they divided the reminder of the lands of the village into large equal shares."⁵⁶ In social status the Kunbis as cultivators were considered higher than Kolis and Kachias.*⁵⁷

The other class of people who were residing in the village were composed of a complement of village servants of two categories viz. those like village Patel and Muzmudars who subserved the village in relation to outside world and a group of artisans and ^{menials} ~~mainly~~ who subserved the inner needs of the village community.

Village headman was generally a hereditary officer; his duties were collection of revenue and defence of the community, and settlement of the village disputes.^{58**}

The headman enjoyed inalienable rent-free lands as his remuneration.⁵⁹ Of course many a time written documents with regard to hereditary claims were not to be found. In Broach, for example, it is mentioned that the village

*It was a common saying "tens of millions follow the Kunbee but the Kunbee follows no man," while Koli-Kachia is a derogatory term.

**It is interesting to note that Lord Elphinstone who respected of traditions found it very difficult to oust the village headman from the authority, in the new measures introduced after the conquest of Gujarat by the British. But the new measures were qualitatively so different that Elphinstone had to satisfy himself by merely preserving the social status of the headman, while depriving him of many powers. (Social Change in Western India by Ballhatchet, p.173)

headman, "neither held land nor received any payment or allowances in virtue of their office. Their succession to the office was entirely independent of Government. They held no government document conferring or recognizing their appointments; it was purely a village concern."⁶⁰

Next in importance to the village headman was the village accountant known as 'Lekhaka' or 'Talati', to keep the registers of the revenue.⁶¹ Of course villages with very small population had no necessity of their own accountant.

In addition to these two officers who were links with the outside world, there was the full establishment of village servants comprised predominantly of the following members - Village family-priest(Ghamot), potter (Kumbhar), barber(Hajam), carpenter(Suthar), blacksmith (Luhar), tailor (Darji), shoe-maker (Mochi), Washerman (Dhobi), tanner (Khalpo), sweeper (Dher), scavenger (Bhangiyao), watchman (Wartanio).^{62*} The peculiarity of these village servants was that they were just what would make the village self-sufficient. Of course all the villages did not possess the full contingent of the village servants. There might be one tailor or one blacksmith between three or four villages. These village servants were not paid money for the work they performed but they were paid in kind. Here we may point out that the mode of payment by the village community right from tribute gatherer to the sweeper was predominantly in kind and the share of each group was determined by custom.

*Here we may mention a folk song wherein the lady - the main character of the song - requests all the different artisans to contribute in their own way something to the celebration of 'Garbo' - the lighted earthen pot with holes sacred to Goddess Amba. The carpenter supplied the central wooden stand, blacksmith makes the hooks, painter paints it, potter brings the earthen pot, the Kunbi gives cotton to make wicks out of it and the oilman gives oil as his quota and the 'garbo' is lighted. The song is called "Sahelinu bedlu".

The revenue collector, if he is a direct representative of the State, will claim one-fourth or one-sixth part of the entire produce; if a middleman in the form of Desai, or Amin, or Girasia comes as a claimant, he not only takes the revenue on behalf of the state but also claims other customary payments such as 'jivayat', 'Sukri' and others. If a village was endowed to a religious organization (Vajifa) the religious body could take certain dairy products from the village along with the revenue.

The shares of village servants (balutedars) were also customarily fixed. This payment constituted of three categories: grains and other village produce, services from other artisan groups and use of raw materials like skin, wood, clay and others. Many times they were granted 'pasaita' land in lieu of their services.

We get some glimpses of this mode of customary distribution of wealth, even including the amount of share fixed for each group from the poem of the famous 17th century poet Shamal Bhatt. He describes the procedure as follows. On the eve of the spring, when the crop was collected, purified and transformed into grain, the process of distribution started. The ruler got half the share, and the entire village community divided the other half of the crop. From the portion available to the village, the person who supplied seeds, the Brahmin who performed religious functions, charan or bard, barber, carpenter and others claimed their share. Further according to the poet, the blacksmith, cobbler and carpenter got one-twelfth of the crop, potter, washerman and barber got one-twentieth of the crop.⁶³

Having referred to the constitution and ~~functions~~^{functioning} of the village community, we will now briefly refer to the type of production in the villages.

Production in Rural Gujarat

In the background of village community and its self-sufficient character and with the production carried on with plough and at times even with hoe, we can conclude that agricultural production was for the needs of the people of the village concerned and not for market, barring a few exceptions such as in the case of cotton producing tracts, and areas producing tobacco and indigo.⁶⁴ Added to this, was the disruption of the transport system and market places which also made the villages produce only for their needs.

Further in the background of very limited monetary transactions, the barter system could meet the needs of the time. As pointed out before, in most of the villages the relationship between the different groups of the village inhabitants were governed on customary basis. The vicissitudes of political power were hardly able to affect the close system of village community. The observations made by Sjt. Shelvankar on Indian village community life are applicable to Gujarat village system also in pre-19th century days. He remarks, "When there was a conflict, it was over the share of the agricultural produce to be retained by the peasant or surrendered to the lord. The foundations of agriculture were not affected. Nor was there any such widespread and general rise in prices or the temptation of greater income by turning arable into pasture."⁶⁵

No outside element was permitted to enter the village community. Even if, for instance, a piece of land is to be transferred it cannot be given to a stranger without the consent of the community.⁶⁶ The land was generally held by the family, in the name of the male head of the family. But the ownership of land did not mean that the family head could sell the land. The holdings of the villagers were subject to various collective restrictions and entitled to various collectively managed services.⁶⁷

The land revenue from the village community was gathered by tribute gatherers who had hereditary right to collect the land revenue, or they were intermediaries appointed by the state, collecting land revenue on behalf of the State. The tribute gatherers had no direct relations with the processes of production, nor had they any direct relation with the land and its improvement. Further the amount of tribute collected from villages varied, and the pressure of the tribute may be very great if the ruler and tribute gatherer changed or became excessively rapacious. One of the chief tensions on the village community was the amount of share which it had to fork out to the tribute gatherers. During the period of uncertainty and warfare among various chieftains and contesting powers the insecurity of village communities increased.

In Gujarat which was composed of numerous petty chieftains as well as some powerful rulers like Sultans or Marathas or Moghul Subas, the revenue gathering groups were of the following categories. Chieftains (mostly of Rajput and Koli castes and their bhayats - brothers and heirs), Girasdars, Nawabs, Desais, Mazmoodars, and Koomavisdars. Finally some of the religious groups were also endowed with the right to collect revenue for the maintenance of temple and other religious institutions. These tribute gatherers were composed of definite castes. Desais and Mazmudars were of Brahmin, Patidar, Baniya and Kayastha castes. Chieftains and Girasias were composed of predominantly certain Rajput Koli clans. Some of the tribal chieftain groups and a few of the Muslims, belonging to upper category comprising of Nawabs, Subedars, and other tribute-gathering officers and a few Maharashtrian Brahmins working as Koomavisdars

and Mazmoodars constituted the tribute-gathering groups in Gujarati society.*

Here we may also mention that village communities everywhere were not of the same size, and were not run on the uniform pattern of efficiency. As indicated earlier, the agricultural practices of a large number of farmers particularly of Kali paraj and of majority of Koli farmers were very primitive and inefficient, and even the cultivation done by the Kunbis, the group of farmers who were more efficient and had relatively larger holdings was very strenuous, and was done under very heavy odds and uncertainties of weather, pests, marauders and warfare.**

The Gazetteer of Surat describes vividly the nature of cultivation in Surat in the following words: "The most marked general feature in the cultivation of Surat is the striking contrast between the tilage of the ujli or fair and the kali or dark cultivators. The agriculture of the dark races is of the rudest description. They grow only the

*This detailed reference to various categories of groups who were endowed with the power to collect revenue and tribute from the village is made for the simple reason that this group which had no proprietary rights over lands in the village itself, but only revenue collecting rights, after the British rulers introduced the principle of private property in land, a new necessity had arisen to create varieties of land settlements such as talookdari, inamdari, vanta, narawdari, mevahi and others to transform these revenue collectors into owners of the land.

**Here a brief mention to the recurring famines and floods will not be out of place. The famine of 1718, the triple alliance of famine, flood and pestilence in 1732-34, the recurring floods of Sabarmati, Narmada, Tapi must have led to tremendous misery of the people and migrations of groups of people. It is believed that during these natural calamities which affected Marwad also considerable number of Marwadis came to Gujarat; Kathis left Cutch, and Gujaratis also went to Bombay during one of these famines. (The Cultural History of Gujarat by Dr. Majumdar, Manjulal, pp. 56-62; also refer to Surat Sonani Murat by Ishwarlal Desai, p.85,117).

coarser kinds of grain, kodra (*Paspalum scrobiculatum*) and nagli (*Eleusine coracana*), seldom millet or wheat. They have no tools for weeding or clearing the fields, and when the seed is sown they leave their fields never returning till after three or four months the time for harvest draws near... They possess little or no agricultural stock."⁶⁸ Similarly in the Panchmahals also better cultivators like Kunbis, Ghanchis or Talabda Kolis were able to manure the soil frequently but in the case of aboriginals, the husbandry was of the roughest and most primitive kind. Sometimes the plough they used had to be borrowed.⁶⁹

In short, the structure of the village community, the relations between the cultivator and other groups of people, the absence of money economy all point to the subsistence character of village production.

We will now briefly refer to the features of village community in Gujarat in the pre-19th century.

1) The peasant though he had hereditary occupancy rights, could not sell, mortgage or transfer his land. Thus peasantry had occupancy rights but not full ownership rights. This right was customary, based on tradition, and based on long usage accepted by the village community. This prevented any outside trading or moneylending group to advance credit on land.

2) Even the artisan and other servant sections of the village community, were traditionally provided with duties to perform specific services, which were traditionally fixed by custom and long usage, Regarding the relationship between peasants and other servicing groups: "It is however not strictly accurate to say that there was exchange

between individuals. For while the peasants individually went to the artisans and when they needed his services, the payment he received in return was not calculated on the basis of each job, nor was it offered to him by each customer (or client) separately. The obligation was borne by the village.⁷⁰

3) The occupation was hereditary and was the function of a caste. Every occupation or sub-occupation was identified with some caste or sub-caste. Thus occupation and economic function were ascribed to the individual by birth and not achieved by him through his merit, skill or self-effort.

4) The self-sufficient character of the village economy with ascribed relationships between various categories of economic groups was further accentuated and strengthened by the low-division of labour - archaic condition to use Theodore Morrison's term.⁷¹ Family itself performed a large number of services. Further most of the provision of raw materials such as wood, clay, hide etc. needed for artisan industry were secured locally. Agriculture was carried on broadly on "mingle-mangle" pattern, operated through a primitive plough and harnessed animals like bullocks and buffaloes.

5) Production was for the subsistence of the village community. A portion of the produce was handed over to the king, his representative or to the temple or assignee, who had a right to tribute over the products and not the right over the land, and which was handed over to him as a certain share from the total produce. This fact acquires importance because the major link between the urban and rural groups was that of tribute collecting.

In brief the features of village economic life could be described in terms of the criteria adopted by us in the following manner.

1) Economic relations which were predominantly restricted to village, were very archaic, and fixed by custom and tradition.

2) Every group played its role, performed its functions and secured its share on the basis of the position ascribed to them by hereditary castes. Further there was hardly any exchange in the strict sense of the term. Custom determined the type of the services which each group was to perform.

3) Absence of money and opportunity for bettering the lot by self-achievement prevented any incentive for improving the mode of work or skill in the artisan. As work and share were ascribed, and achievement had no corresponding benefits in terms of either improving the status or increasing ⁱⁿ the share ~~in~~ the products, the economic activities were carried on in traditional circular manner leaving no scope for progress.

4) Wars, famines, floods, pestilence, and the exactions of the tribute gatherers created a constant deterrent to higher production.

5) Village communities were dynamic but not progressive. The slow expansion into considerable large unoccupied territories, by clearing jungles and cultivating other lands, and further taming tribal population and transforming them from unsettled food gatherers or hoe-cultivators to cultivators with plough exhibited change. Migrations as a result of famines, floods, overpopulation or as a result of Inamdars or Chieftains inviting peasant communities to settle down in uninhabited areas, did lead to growth and expansion of village communities but the dynamism was more in the nature of reduplication of old village communities with their traditional economic relationships rather than a progressive transformation into village communities with higher modes of production based on market or money economy.

It should be noted that in some parts of Gujarat like Broach due to the proximity of ports as well as capitals demanding certain amount of cotton for producing textiles by town handicrafts-men, a definite amount of commercialization and penetration of money economy had taken place, in pre-British Gujarat. However, this development was relatively not very significant in the context of the overall rural economic life. In short we can conclude that the economic relationship in pre-British Gujarat exhibited classically the characteristics of traditional customary social order. We will now try to observe the nature of economic relationship as they prevailed in urban centres in pre-British Gujarat.

(b) Urban Economic System in Pre-British Gujarat

Having examined the nature of the economy in rural Gujarat we will now describe the type of economic relationships that prevailed in urban areas in Gujarat.

Gujarat has been since ancient times perhaps the most urbanised region of India with larger and more continuous contact with the outside world than any other part of India.⁷² The main advantage which accrued to Gujarat in this respect, was its proximity to sea. A cursory glance at the map of Gujarat will show that major portions of Gujarat territory are near the sea coast. In fact very few areas like Palanpur, Dohad or Zalod are some 100 miles away from the sea coast. This peculiarity of Gujarat has exposed her to wider contacts from very early times.*

*As early as the V Century B.C., Porbunder, Veraval and Mangrol were well-known ports. (Cultural History of Gujarat by Majmudar, Manjulal, p.18).

Mirat-e-Ahmadi records, "27 ports and 45 baras in the Province of Ahmedabad. A port is a place where big ships anchor while a bara is meant for small boats called 'hodis' in Gujarat."⁷³

It is to be noted that in Gujarat towns arose in three major types. There were certain centres like Champaner (during the 15th century), Anhilwad, Patan, Ahmedabad, Surat, Cambay, Bhavnagar, Junagadh and others which were the headquarters of the numerous chieftains and capitals of some of the bigger kings, sultans and nawabs.

There were other groups of towns which were important as trading centres, carrying on internal trade, with territories outside Gujarat. They were Virangan, Dholka, Dhandhuka, Nadiad, Mehamdabad and others. Some of these towns like Dakor, Patan, Nadiad and Surat were religious centres either of the Hindus or of the Muslims.

There were still another group of towns which were coastal towns, carrying on trade with the outside world, and which were at times capital or religious towns. Cambay, Surat, Broach, Jambusar, Gogho, Dholka, Veraval, Mangrol, and many others belonged to this category.

It may also be noted here that these urban centres were experiencing the vicissitudes of circumstances. There were various circumstances affecting the fortunes of the urban centres like changes in political strategy (for example, Champaner which was from 1484 to 1535 the political capital of Gujarat, lost its power to Ahmedabad due to the latter being made the capital town) or a geographical change (the silting of the gulf of Cambay led to the decline of Cambay's importance as well as affected the fortunes of Ahmedabad). The use of Surat by the Mohammedans to go to Macca (the sacred place of the Muslims) affected Broach; while the emergence of Bombay as a trading and capital town of the growing East India Company in turn led to its decline.

Travellers coming from Europe at different times have described Cambay, Ahmedabad and Surat in glowing terms. Barbosa describes the prosperity of Cambay in the following terms: "To Aden come ships of Cambay, as many and so large and with so much merchandise for transport to the Arabian, Abyssinian and Egyptian markets that it is terrible to think of so great an expenditure of cotton-stuffs as they bring."⁷⁴ Mandeslo in the 17th century describes Ahmedabad as a commercial emporium in the following words: "There is not in a manner any nation nor any merchandise in all Asia, which may not be had at Ahmedabad, where there are made abundance of silk and cotton stuffs. They also make there great quantities of gold and silver brocades, and some of them amount to eighteen crowns the piece."⁷⁵ Tavernier M. De Thevenot in 17th century notes that cloth from all parts of India was brought to be whitened here because water of Narbada was considered excellent for this purpose.⁷⁶ Ovington describes Surat as a great museum of the whole of India in 17th century. Goods from Europe, China, Iran, Batavia and from each and every part of India come to Surat.⁷⁷

Having referred to the importance of different urban centres, we will now observe the economic activities carried on in these towns.

The Gujarat towns were known as 'Kasabas', the word 'Kasab' meaning a craft. Thus the important economic activities of these urban centres were centred round handicraft, industries and their local and international marketing. We may also mention here that along with producing of rudimentary artisan products, these centres catered to the needs of the royalty, the upper classes and the requirements of the foreign market, by producing superior types of manufactured goods.

Silk, velvet, satin, cotton textile with its numerous varieties like baftas, and muslins, manufacture of indigo, swords, daggers and shields were demanded by all groups of people. The manufactures included luxury articles like ivory work, agate and other stone jewellery work, silk, gold and silver thread work. Ship-building was also an important craft developed during this period.

Many of these items were for local consumption or the needs of Indian market, and commodities like textiles and indigo were for foreign consumption.⁷⁸

We will briefly refer to the nature of textile and ship-building industries during the 18th century.

Cotton goods were important article of manufacture from very early times.*

Tavernier, the traveller in the 17th century mentions that Turkey, Muscovy and Poland preferred the printed cloth goods from Daccan, but western Europe imported silk fabrics and cheap calicoes from various textile centres, especially Gujarat, the coromandal coast and Bengal.^{79**}

The 'baftas' of Broach, Baroda and Navsari are mentioned in the East India Company's invoices as 'Narrow Baftas, broad baftas, special narrow baftas and dye baftas.'⁸⁰

This supremacy though lasted upto the early twenties of the 19th century, due to various reasons, a sort of decline in textile manufacture

*Dr. Majmudar mentions that the author of Periplus (60 A.D.) mentions that Saurashtra and Northern Gujarat supplied cotton cloth, silk yarn and indigo. At that time the chief emporium was Broach. (Cultural History of Gujarat by Dr. Majmudar Manjulal, pp.80-84).

**During the 17th century it was estimated that £160,000 worth of calicoes were exported from Surat. (The Economic History of India, 1600-1800 by Mukerjee, Radhakamal, p. 152)

is observed. The British interests in England, finding the competitions of Indian textiles too powerful started enacting prohibitory and sumptuary laws against the use of printed Indian calicoes in England.⁸¹ The political unrest prevailing in Gujarat had its effect upon the trade.

Further the recurring famines and pestilance had affected the population growth and in this weavers were also affected.⁸²

Apart from the importance of cotton textile as an exportable commodity the spinning of cotton particularly is a very important home industry in Gujarat. Further spinning is the main industry of women.* Excepting Brahmin, Bania and Rajput women, all others were using the spinning wheel for their living.⁸³

The organization of the weaving industry was to some extent based on the "putting out" system. The merchant used to bring cotton in carts from the villages to the towns. The purchasers of cotton were the traders themselves or their agents. This cotton was cleansed in the godowns of the city. Later on the cotton was given to various women for making cotton yarn. This yarn was then supplied to the weavers through the traders and thus cloth was produced.⁸⁴ The merchant made advances to the weavers and at times spinners to enable them to buy raw materials, and support themselves while at work. The English and Dutch had to employ brokers as intermediaries to place their orders and to estimate the credit of the artisans.^{85**}

*There is a famous proverb that a person may not get financial assistance from the rich treasures of father but may easily be accommodated in the spinning wheel of mother. (Bapni Punji ma na Samoy temana rentiyama Samay). There is a further reference to the 'trak' which spins cotton, that while using all the different products for scaring away evil spirits at the time of receiving the bridegroom in the marriage ceremony, 'trak' should not be used because it is the shelter of the world. (Trake ma punkhish umaya, Trak a jagatnu dhanknu re).

**There was an incident in the 17th century, due to the fact that merchants of East India Company purchased cotton yarn for export to England which naturally increased the price of yarn and enhanced the cost of production for the weavers. As the Baftas made at Broach were of excellent quality,

This system of organization, led to the importance of intermediaries either as supplier of advance loans, or raw material.

The ship-building industry was also a very significant productive activity during the pre-British phase. Dr. Majmudar believes that it might be the next in importance to manufacture of cloth in Surat.⁸⁶ By the middle of the 17th century the English Company~~s~~ at Surat had successfully adopted the practice of getting small vessels required from India.⁸⁷ A building yard was maintained in Surat till 1735, when most of the work was transferred to Bombay. The Parsee ship-builders were well-known in this field.*

In this connection it may be pointed out that in Gujarat there is a particular section of Brahmins and Vaishyas called 'Vaya da' who have the unique worship of Vayu, the guardian Dikpal of the north-west corner as their traditional family god.**

and such as could not be had anywhere else, the English agent in charge of the factory had to give them in writing an undertaking that he would not buy any more yarn in that city. (History of Gujarat Commissariat, p.302). Of course this situation could not be repeated in the 19th century because of the superiority of cheap machine-made goods in England.

*A Parsee gentleman named Dhanjibhai was the master-builder of Surat. He was sent to Bombay to build 'Queen' for the East India Company. In his workshop there was one very clever craftsman named Lavji Nussarwanji Wadia. He was persuaded to go to Bombay wherein he set up a regular ship-building yard. It was believed that during the period between 1736 and 1853 Wadias had built nearly 170 ships for East India Company. The Lavji family was entitled as Master-builders by the East India Company. (Surat Sonani Murat, Desai Ishwarlal, pp.100-101); also refer to Cultural History of Gujarat by Dr. Majmudar, p. 78.

**Dr. Majmudar believes that the iconography of Vayu suggests speed by its vehicle of an antelope and direction by a banner in one of his hands. "This suggests that the worshippers of Vayu in Gujarat had been carrying on an extensive trade with Arabia, Iran and other parts situated in the north-west direction to the coast of Gujarat and Saurashtra." (The Cultural History of Gujarat by M.R.Majmudar, p.76). It is very surprising to note that in a territory where many time activity was so prevalent from centuries a very serious taboo prevailed with regard to foreign travel particularly for Brahmins and to some extent on Baniyas during the 18th and predominantly in 19th century. It further appears that the taboo was stronger with regard to travel in the western countries rather than in African or Chinese territories.

Having referred to some of the important manufactures of the pre-British Gujarat we may briefly point out the features of these manufactures.

- 1) These handicrafts were carried on by manual and skilled labourers.
- 2) They were carried on either in the homes of the craftsmen or small workshops where these handicraftsmen were assembled together or in karkhanas which were run by the rulers.
- 3) The mode of production was such that in the absence of the use of machinery, production was limited. Further an elaborate division and specialisation of hand-skills rather than the meticulous division of labour round process as we find in machines and in factories after the industrial revolution could be noticed. Here we may also mention that as the occupation was determined by the castes, all these divisions and sub-divisions in the production process were also divided into caste and sub-caste categories. Every sub-process of cutting, sharpening or giving a finishing touch to the agate stone was done by a special sub-caste group with the result that one division cannot change places with the other. Added to this was the phenomenon of keeping secret the skill in order to preserve the monopoly of a particular craft. This secrecy was either preserved by permitting only certain people to have access to training in the craft,* or sometimes as in the case of goldsmiths, by constructing their houses in such a manner that the minute processes of their craft were not noticeable by other people.⁸⁸

*In certain crafts till today, the daughter of the household was not taught the secrets of the skill but the daughter-in-law was permitted to learn the art, because daughter is supposed to go out of the family.

It should be noted that the practice of caste determining occupation was accepted even by the Muslims and they had their own caste (~~Chhipa~~) of weavers (Vanakar), dyers (~~Prandey~~ ^{Rangrej}), calico-printers (Chhipa), paper-makers (Kagdi) and so on.

4) The institutions which emerged to carry on the handicrafts with all their sub-divisions were known as craft-guilds. These guilds were composed of members belonging to specific castes, thus even the guilds were in the nature of caste organizations, providing rules, restrictions, prohibitions and punishments for their members. Thus handicrafts became a traditional, hereditary and closed craft, restricted to the members belonging to certain castes carrying on that vocation.

5) Another aspect of the handicraft industry lay in the fact that some of the industries catered not merely to the needs of the local urban market but for the wider, regional Indian and international market. These manufactures were therefore dependent upon the supplier of capital, explorer of the market as well as the provider of those amenities which were required for larger production. To cater to these needs in Gujarat a powerful commercial class had developed.^{89*}

In Gujarat the trading communities were composed of Baniyas both Hindu and Jain, Muslim trading groups and the Parsis.

*Here we may point out that 'Baniyas' were the chief representatives of the trading castes. These traders had attracted the attention of visitors coming from other parts of the world. They were well-known for their art of calculation, stinginess and shrewdness. Of course there is a divergence of opinion with regard to their honesty in dealings.

Ovington remarks about the Hindu Baniyas that they are very honest and they never think of defrauding others. (Quoted in Surat Sonani Murat by Desai Ishwarlal, p.75). While Barbosa believes that the Hindoo Baniyas exhibit dishonesty at every stage, and remarks, "Must be descended from the lost tribe of Israel" (Quoted in History of Cambay (Guj.) by Jote Ratnamaniro, p.114).

The four chief occupations which attracted the merchant class were shipping and trade, jewellery, banking and moneylending and cloth-selling.⁹⁰ Of course the trader was prepared to do any occupation which might help him to earn his living.*

The trading classes which either collected goods from the handicraftsmen or brought them together in certain places to produce specialised commodities which were required for the market and lastly who provided raw material and capital to handicraftsmen to produce special type and quantity of goods required by themselves slowly acquired control over the craft guilds and became the most powerful economic group in the urban areas. Some of these traders also started financial institutions required for trade and payment to guildsmen.

Though most of the traders were engaged in retail trade, there were some important houses (Pedhis) who were doing the wholesale trade and catering to the needs of the wider market. Many a times these traders acted as contractors of supplying the military and other requirements of the rulers and their agents. Many a times they were the financiers supplying the money needs of the ruling chieftains. At times they accepted the monopoly (Ijaro) of a certain area and collected revenue therefrom. Thus during the pre-British period in Gujarat we find the commercial class which acted in numerous capacities like trader, financier, contractor, Tjardar and agents (dalal).**

*Here we may mention that as in the case of Baniyas castes or sub-castes get their identity as a result of occupation and in certain cases identification of sub-castes is also determined by their places of origin like Mewadas from Mewar, Modhs from Modhera, Shrimalis from Shrimal or Bhinnamal etc.

**Due to overwhelming significance of the trading caste in the urban economy, they were considered next to the rulers in their power. The Muslim rulers were known as 'Padshah' (Quarter shah) while traders were known as 'Shah's'.

In this connection we come across many names which were symbols of economic power in the pre-British days.

A Jain merchant named Shantidas Javeri who flourished during the reign of Jahangir and Shah Jahan and whose great resources as a financier, and business connections as a jeweller enabled him to enjoy considerable favour and influence at the imperial court in Delhi.*⁹¹ He was made the 1st 'Nagar Sheth' (the important person of the town) by popular voice and his family continued to enjoy this title till recent times.

Similarly, there was another financier and trader named Sheth Khushalchand (incidentally the grandson of Shantidas Zaveri) who averted the sack of the city of Ahmedabad by the Marathas in 1725, by spending lakhs of rupees from his own treasury to persuade them to leave Ahmedabad. As an appreciation of his services the combined Mahajans of the city of Ahmedabad decided to pay him and his family at the rate of four annas 'for every hundred rupees' worth of goods which enter into the city or leave the city and which were subject to octroi duties.⁹² It was repeatedly mentioned in this document that the act was the result of the free will of the members of the Mahajan.**

Along with these two names we come across names of Veerji Vora of Surat who was considered the 'largest creditor of the East India Company'

*It is noted that Shah Jahan's son Murad borrowed five lakhs and fifty thousand rupees from the family of Shantidas, to equip his army and to finance his military operations. In lieu of the repayment of this loan he had been given the gift of certain lands in Gujarat. (Quoted from the Imperial Farmers in The History of Gujarat, Vol.II by Commissariat, p. 148).

**The families of Khushalchand continued to enjoy this privilege till the advent of British in Gujarat.

and 'prime merchant of the town of Ahmedabad'. The Veno, the French traveller of 17th century considered Virji Vora as his friend. Even after his losses when Shivaji sacked of his treasures Theveno believed him to be a man worth 80 lakhs of Francs.⁹³ Travadi Shrikrisna of Surat, was recognised as the official shroff of the Company in 1783.⁹⁴

Names of Sunder Saudagar, Asharam Dalichand, Shamal Bechar, Vakhatchand Khushal, Rupji Dhanji, were well-known in the pre-British days and even after as the financiers or traders carrying trade with places near and far.

Due to this influential position, the Baniyas were generally associated with Brahmins to signify the upper layer of society as symbolised in the term 'Brahmin-Mania'.

Mahajans

Having referred to the trading and commercial activities of the Baniyas, we will now briefly refer to the one of the outstanding institutions of these groups known as 'Mahajan'. This institution was different from the craft guild in the sense that the Mahajan was composed of members belonging to a number of castes carrying on a particular trade. These Mahajans were specially for ~~trading~~^{traders} whose operations were of a large-scale nature enveloping numerous castes and sub-castes. Though detailed description of forms and functioning of the Mahajans is not available, some idea about its working could be had from the Gazetteer of Ahmedabad. The Gazetteer describes the Mahajans in the following terms: "In consequence of the importance of its manufacture of silk and cotton, the system of caste or trade unions is more fully developed in Ahmedabad than in any other part of Gujarat. Each of the different castes of traders,

manufactures and artisans forms its own trade guild, to which all heads of households belong. Every member has a right to vote and decisions are passed by a majority. In cases where one industry has many branches there are several guilds. Thus among potters the makers of bricks, of tiles, and of earthen jars are for trade purposes distinct, and in the great weaving trade, those who prepare the different articles of silk and cotton form distinct associations. The ^{purpose} ~~object~~ of guilds ^{is} ~~are~~ to regulate competition among the members e.g., by prescribing days or hours during which work shall not be done.* The decisions of the guilds are enforced by fines. If the offender refuses to pay, and the members of the guild all belong to one caste, the offender is put out of caste. If the guild contains members of different castes, the guild uses its influence with other guilds to prevent the recurrent member from getting work. Besides the amount received from fines, the different guilds draw an income by levying fees on any person beginning to practise his craft. This custom prevails in the cloth and other industries but no fee is paid by potters, carpenters and other inferior artisans. An exception is also made in the case of a son succeeding his father where nothing has to be paid. In other cases the amount varies, in proportion to the importance of the trade from Rs.50 to Rs.500. The revenue derived from these fees and from fines is expended in feasts to members of the guild and in charity. Charitable institutions (Sadavrata) where beggars are fed daily are maintained in Ahmedabad at the expense of trade guilds."⁹⁵

In short the 'Mahajan' tried to regulate the trade or craft by various means. ~~It decided~~ the volume of production, it prohibited any other person to reside in a place where some other artisan of their group is

functioning.⁹⁶ The Mahajans worked as agents for taking orders for production. If a Government Officer wanted cloth to be dyed, he had to send it to the alderman who got the work done and either paid all expenses out of the common fund or levied a special contribution for the purpose from the whole craft.^{97*} The Mahajan was a very influential group in the city. If a person committed a breach of rule he will be either fined or excommunicated, which meant that he was deprived of his source of living. In the background of the social structure where an individual could not change his occupation by his free-will, such punishment could very nearly be fatal. We also observed before, how the Mahajans of Ahmedabad appreciated the services of Khushalchand. The head of each Mahajan was a hereditary post. Further the head of the town was also a hereditary head known as 'NagarSheth'. These organizations such as craft guilds and trade guilds working on traditional principles had tremendous customary power over their members.

Financial Institutions in Pre-British Gujarat

As observed earlier, Gujarat due to its peculiar topographical and other features, was relatively more developed as a trading area than most of the other territories of India. Due to the fact that the handicrafts industries developed to supply some of the important goods for trade and further due to the fact that the growth of trade in Indian and international spheres, a relatively complex financial institutional structure evolved. As found in almost all the traditional societies, where the organizations based on limited liability of risks of the investors of capital were non-existent the banking institutions generally took family or caste forms. The organizations like Mahajans which organized and regulated

*In Cambay, if the royal family wanted any work done from the agate stone, the order was first placed with the head of the Mahajan and he then assigned tasks. (History of Cambay(Guj.), Jote Ratnamanirao, p.129).

trade, also undertook financial operations. Further as we have observed, even among these Mahajans, some outstanding families were assigned the task of taking up contracts to supply the needs of the rulers. They thus acquired a distinct prestige within the trading groups. Some others have acquired importance by being appointed 'Nagarshets' or head families of the Mahajans. Financial operations were developing into monopolies of these big houses. Thus, the financial activities in pre-British Gujarat were concentrated and handled by the Mahajans and Nagarshets.

In Gujarat, as we have observed, there were a number of kingdoms. Due to the policy of Delhi rulers, in the early 18th century of farming out mints, the independent and semi-independent chiefs and states started issuing coins of their own, with the nominal consent of the Delhi Emperor, but almost invariably in his name and keeping to the Moghul style and superscription which remained in force right upto the 19th century. The English factory at Bombay also reproduced the rupee of the Moghul Emperors.⁹⁸ Later on when the Marathas conquered different territories of Gujarat they also had their rupees, with the result that during the 18th century, there were several types of rupee coins known as Babashai or Siyashai (of Baroda), Bharuchi, Surti, Ral (Spanish dollar), etc.^{99*}

Along with the existence of numerous currencies in Gujarat during the 18th century, there were internecine wars going on among the kingdoms which generated great uncertainties for trade. The presence of these two

*It is interesting to quote a Hindi 'lavani' which must have been composed in 1837 just after the British currency was introduced. In it is stated: "His coinage is really valid and deserving respect who wields authority with his sword. The Kaladar (British rupee) has supplanted all other currency, (because) the prowess of the Angrez is certainly overpowering... all other coinage is stopped; the Kaladar is the current coin. (MSS. collection of the Forbes, Gujarati Sabha, Bombay, Descriptive Catalogue, p.241).

factors necessitated the hoarding of wealth in terms of gold which could also operate as a measure of value. To tide over the above-mentioned situations a customary institution called 'hundi' (bill of exchange) based on the security, prestige and other factors emerged in pre-British Gujarat. The institution of hundi though operated for small-scale business ~~also, but~~ its main use was for inter-state and international exchanges and hence hundis of certain very outstanding families such as Shamal Becher, Arjun Nathji, Haribhakti Vallabha, Tapidas Kasidas and such others were accepted.*

Thus we find that in pre-British Gujarat along with the Mahajans a group of big financing houses emerged who had acquired a reputation internationally and who could operate on a big scale.

These families sometimes controlled and regulated whole-sale trade, could become repositories of gold and other deposits from individual families and religious trusts. They also could issue currency. They also became financiers of the State and supplied the necessary monetary needs of kings or the representatives to finance their war and other expeditions.¹⁰⁰

The financing group including these big houses also acted as insurance agencies for goods which were taken to other territories and which were imported in their own areas.¹⁰¹

*Dr. Majmudar informs us that in the legal texts "Shahjog hundi" is defined as "the hundi (bill of exchange) which is taken to be cashed to the house of Shroff and which does not return uncashed is called "Shahjog hundi". Such bills of exchange were to be seen in the wider market, which proves the extent of influence of the trading and financing class. (Gujarat Darshan Special Number of Vishva Manav, May 1960, p.157). It was a common saying that the bills of exchange of Atmaram Bhukan of Surat were so secure that even "trees would give rupees". (Surat ni Tavarikh, Patel, A., p.254).

It is interesting to note that in the matrix of the peculiar caste system of Gujarat the trading and financing operations were also the preserves of only a few castes; outstanding among them being Bhatias and Lohanas of Saurashtra and Cutch (who had a more vital contact with Bombay)¹⁰² and Baniyas belonging to Vaishnava and Jain religions of Gujarat and a very small sub-section of some of the sub-castes of Brahmins like Khedavals of Central Gujarat.¹⁰³

Resume

We have observed the nature of manufacture, trade and banking in the urban areas of pre-British Gujarat. We will now discuss in brief the salient features of the urban economy of pre-19th Century Gujarat.

1) The manufacture, trade and finance were basically restricted to urban areas. Thus their field of operation was very narrow, having an insignificant impact on the rural population.

2) The institutional form within which these activities were carried on were essentially hereditary guilds. Even the organization of Mahajan for trade and banking which included few castes also was limited only to trading castes, and not merely influenced the economic aspects of the members but also shaped social and cultural life of their members. Thus the institutional form for economic activities was traditional.

3) Due to the absence of uniform currency and specialized institutions providing banking, insurance and other risk-bearing facilities the economic transactions including the transaction of finances were predominantly worked out on the basis of custom. The principles underlying the exchange between various traders, either within the region or ^{on} an international basis, ~~was~~ ^{were} founded on certain customary practices ensuring the safety as well as reliability in the transaction. In the absence of

any complex body of laws, enacted by the State and providing a framework for internal and international exchanges, either a certain traditionally moral evolved/code or a slowly built up body of customs ensured the smooth carrying out of these exchange transactions. The guarantee behind the exchange of goods was provided by prescriptions and codes of honour which bound various trading groups of different parts or by the prestige acquired by some of the outstanding Mahajans or reputed families. The reliability ensured by such customary guarantees, provided by Mahajans, Nagarsheths, or renowned families ^{was} ~~is~~ analogous to the reliability ensured to the people for safe travel and freedom from ravages by even robbers or predatory chieftains of other territories which was provided by the word of honour given by a Bhat or a Charan* and similar other groups in political matters, in the pre-British period. Both these reveal the traditional character of the society in which economic and even political safety were ensured through a group of customs enabling certain individuals as well as groups to wield certain status and prestige within society.

Concluding remarks

Having reviewed the nature of economic relationships that prevailed in rural and urban Gujarat, we will now conclude our observations with regard to the overall features of the economic system that prevailed during the pre-British period.

*The Gazetteer's remarks about the importance of the Bhats in the following words. "At the close of the last century Bhat security was in common use both to ensure payment of rents and to prevent breaches of the peace. No deed or transaction was considered valid unless it was countersigned by a Bhat. This was the security the early British officers obtained (A.D. 1807) from the Chieftains of Kathiawada and other parts of north Gujarat." In a country infested with robbers the Bhat was resorted to as the only person whose security could be accepted without danger. Kolis and Bhils as well as Rajputs respected Bhat security. (Gujarat Population, Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. IX, p. 210). For the influence of Charans refer *ibid.*, p. 217)

i) Economic relationships were embedded with other sets of relationships like caste, kin, familial, religious and political. This meant that economic relationship had not differentiated themselves completely, a characteristic which developed only within modern societies.

ii) The overwhelming majority of transactions were based on barter; and determined by customary regulations. In village this phenomenon was almost having its overall grip. In urban areas large bulk of retail transactions were more in the nature of barter. The exchange based on money and currency was to be found only in a small sector of economic life; and that too was not governed by laws of the open market but operated on the basis of certain customary norms evolved within the community. Thus the second characteristic of economic relationship lay in the fact that they were limited in operations both quantitatively as well as qualitatively. We find a wider net of relationships only in certain trade and commercial transactions and that too in the absence of specialized banking and other institutions limited in size and with regard to only certain commodities. This phenomenon was further accelerated by poor means of transport and the absence of large-scale production due to non-industrial technology.

iii) The forms evolved to carry on economic activities were also predominantly operating on hereditary lines. The occupations were ascribed to individuals by the place which they occupied in the society due to ~~his~~ *their* birth in certain castes. As we have observed family was the unit which carried on the majority of economic activities and the other important

*Even as late as 1837, the custom of barter was prevailing in certain transactions. Mohanlal Ranchodlal Zaveri informs us that when he was passing through a copper-smith (Kansara)'s shop, he requested his father to get him one statue of Krishna. His father gave 2 seers of ghee (solidified butter) and took the statue. (Arvachin Gujarati Shikshana na Sava so Varsha by Ramlal Navanilal, p.29).

unit which determined the occupation of the individual was caste.

Thus, the economic relationships were exhibiting the basic characteristics of traditional society; where birth determined the choice of occupation and custom determined the transactions and rules regarding the ownership, rights, obligations, as well as modes of distribution in economic matters.

iv) The rural economy had a very tenuous relationship with urban economy. This created a dual world of self-sufficient village economy and a relatively mobile world of urban economy which hardly left its impact on the rural economy. The peculiar self-sufficiency of villages based on a unique combinations of agricultural groups and artisan class, carrying on their production for subsistence and operating within certain collectivistic customary regulations prevented the penetration of the money economy and the classes associated with this economy into the rural areas. This further prevented the growth of a status system based on wealth acquired in the process of production for market and permitted only the traditional status system based on birth. Similarly in urban areas though a certain amount of market economy had developed, but due to the traditional overall feudal values, these economic activities were also confined to certain traditional groups and thus placing the trading and manufacturing groups within an overall status system which was based on the principle of birth and sanctified by supernatural sanctions.* Thus the hierarchic gradations of groups and the status of the individuals ^{were} ~~was~~ basically determined by birth, a typical characteristic of traditional society.

In short like political relationships, economic relationships in Gujarat were also basically customary and exhibited the marks of a traditional society.

*Even amongst the Mahajans it was found that the traders were considered superior to these artisans. (Gujarat Sarva Sangrah, Summarised by Narmad, p. 283-285).

We will now observe the nature of educational system as well as the nature of means of communication that prevailed in the pre-19th century Gujarati society.

III

(a) Nature and Extent of Education in Pre-19th Century Gujarat

By educational system, we mean here, the formal organization which imparted knowledge as a specialized activity.

In the pre-British Gujarat we find that the educational system exhibited certain significant features.

1) The educational activity was not considered as a State responsibility^{104*} though certain rulers might have patronised educational institutions by giving grants of land, or other forms of assistance.¹⁰⁵ The educational activity was predominantly a private affair.

Due to the fact that Gujarati society was split up into hundreds of small and big kingdoms, the patronage to the educational institutions, if at all given, was unequal. A Muslim ruler may give patronage to a Madressa, while a Hindu ruler would give protection to Sanskrit schools. Further things such as the content of the education or the structure of the institutions imparting education or, the payment to the teachers were not determined by the State. In short, all these activities were conducted by groups and individuals privately.

*It may be mentioned here that, in the village community, village school teacher does not find his place in the group of village servants. (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol.No.II, pp.56-57). Further in the long list of Government officials and Departments given in the Mirat-e-Ahmadi there is no place for education, in spite of the fact that there is a department for Wardrobe, gardens, hospitals, alms houses. (The supplement to Mirat-e-Ahmadi, tr. by Syed Nawab Ali & Seddon, pp.180-183).

2) The second distinguishing feature of education was that, it was closely associated with religion.¹⁰⁶ Most of the education was imparted in the precincts of a Hindu temple, or a Mohammedan mosque, a Parsee Agiari, or a Jain Apasara.¹⁰⁷ Even if organized institutions on a little larger scale emerged, they were always either found in the religious sanctuaries or they developed very proximately to, and mostly directed by the religious organizations.¹⁰⁸ Thus we find that in Gujarat education which was imparted was generally given in Pathshalas, Madressas, tols, chatuspathis, etc. which were essentially functioning either in the precincts of temples, mosques and other religious shrines, or were run under the direction of the religious bodies attached to these religious shrines.

Education was closely associated with religion in another manner also. Most of the education itself was considered a sacred activity which which could be imparted and acquired only by purer, higher groups.¹⁰⁹ The content of higher education was theological.¹¹⁰ Even the sophisticated studies of Logic, Grammar, Philosophy, Literature as well as other aspects of specialized higher learning were considered as a part of training in religious and spiritual discipline.¹¹¹

The education given in the elementary schools, popularly known as village schools and which initiated a small section of the Vaishya castes composed of trading, craft and cultivating groups, into the three R^s also impressed upon the students, the sacred character of education by beginning all the lessons with prayers to Goddess Saraswati and by generating a reverential respect towards the teacher who was considered holy.¹¹²

This association of education with religion is further revealed in the fact that higher learning was always the monopoly of Brahmins, the priestly caste of Hindu society,¹¹³ and further by the fact that the teaching profession was always considered the monopoly of this priestly group.

We will now analyse the structure of educational system that prevailed in pre-British Gujarat.

Structure of Educational System

The entire educational system was divided into two distinct categories. The higher and the sacred learning, with its own pattern of curriculum and courses and the elementary education lasting for three to five years, specially organized to subserve certain specific needs for certain groups and largely unconnected with the organization of higher learning.¹¹⁴

The higher education which lasted for number of years, and which was graded into a hierarchic scheme of courses, culminating into proficient mastery into certain sophisticated and philosophical shastras was the monopoly of Brahmins. A Brahmin boy was initiated into such a schooling directly. Further such higher learning ~~either was~~ conducted in some of these organized institutions or ~~were~~^{was} carried on in the homes of some of the distinguished scholarly learned Brahmin families.^{115*} The elementary schools essentially concentrated upon training some of the boys of Baniya and cultivating and craft groups, into the knowledge of the three R's.¹¹⁶

*Many learned men kept Brahmin pupils in their houses, teaching them. Pupils begged alms for their upkeep. Sometimes certain families took responsibility of providing meals to one or two students by rotation. In Surat Madhvanand Saraswati and Shiva-datt Shukla were well-known for their educational activities. (Desai, I., Surat Sonani Murat, p.109; also refer to Gujarat Sarva Sangrah, ed. by Narmad, p.67)

This education generally lasted from three to five years. Though a certain amount of knowledge was attempted to be given during this period, the curriculum was not graded into hierarchical classes. Further the students could master, this knowledge in ~~longer~~^{longer} or shorter periods, depending upon their abilities.¹¹⁷ The classes were generally run in some open spaces, or in the verandas or halls attached to either the buildings of some wealthy patron or attached to the houses of teachers.¹¹⁸ This schooling was done not according to specific academic terms, but was carried on irregularly. It used to stop in some places when the students were required to participate in the family occupations such as agriculture.¹¹⁹

Further as these schools were mostly attempting to provide knowledge of certain calculations and a little knowledge of ~~working~~^{writing} necessary for certain types of occupations, they concluded the educational activity as soon as that knowledge was imparted. The institution of examination had relatively very little significance. Further, the courses of study provided in these institutions had no direct links with entry into higher education. The Government report on indigenous schools said in this connection that "the Gujarat students being mostly Baniyas by caste or profession preferred to have first of all the mastery of multiplication tables which were useful to them in business calculations."¹²⁰ In short, elementary education was more in the nature of providing certain elementary proficiency required for certain types of callings.¹²¹

Thus we find that in pre-British Gujarat a hierarchically graded scheme of primary, secondary and higher education inter-woven through a thread of graded courses tying up gradually from elementary stage to secondary and culminating into higher education did not exist.

Method of teaching in the Elementary Schools

As the instruments of writing were not highly developed and further as the knowledge to be imparted was fairly rudimentary it was given basically orally and was expected to be retained by the student also in memory. With a view to achieve this object various techniques of imparting knowledge which would help the student to memorize it quickly had developed in these schools.*

Generally as the memorizing process becomes easy, if it is provided in rhythmic or meterical forms, we find that education imparted in these schools was communicated in poetic forms. Thus knowledge of alphabets, words, calculations as well as even information about seasons and others was communicated through poetic compositions.^{122**}

*It may be mentioned here that two of the outstanding techniques which were used by the teachers in elementary schools in Gujarat and which have been recorded by some of the historians of education, were called the method of 'Danka Pallavi' and 'Kara Pallavi'. 'Danka Pallavi' was very much akin to the Morse system in the telegraphic communication. The teacher used to beat with stick in a particular manner and student was expected to know what it meant. 'Kara Pallavi' was the manipulation of fingers by which the students were expected to understand even the complex calculation. (Bharuch Shaherno Itihasa by G.H. Desai, p.221).

**Poet Shamal mentions different mathematical tables for calculating time, weight and distance. Here it is interesting to note that poet Dalpatram of the 19th century when asked to compose poems for the text-books of newly established schools, also imparted information with regard to seasons, agricultural products, the calculation of leap year and many such things in poetry. (Refer to Dalpatram, Dalpat Kavya, Part II, pp.280, 278, 288). Another incidental result of the system of committing to memory was that it generated lot of noise. Whatever the teacher taught was repeated simultaneously by the students. To further memorization the key learning device - the whole class recites lessons aloud. (Shala Paddhati, p.58).

Nature of appointment and payment to the teachers

As observed earlier, some of the learned Brahmin families were hereditarily accepted as qualified teachers for elementary education. They were maintained either by some of the rich families or by the community comprising the area, or by the students who took education under them.¹²³ The teacher was generally provided with his requirements, in terms of kind. This took the form of giving certain 'Dakshina' or certain payments either in the form of grain, vegetables, vessels, clothes, and a number of other things, at different times.¹²⁴ The students also brought tiles, grains, fruits, vegetables, milk and a number of other things in lieu of their fees. Thus the teacher's payment was neither fixed on time nor money basis. In fact the payment to the teacher was more in the nature of supplying provisions for his daily needs. Further due to the fact that teachers were not employees in the service of some master, on a contractual basis, the problem of promotion, pension, retirement, and such others did not exist, in the pre-British educational structure.

In short education in pre-British Gujarat exhibited certain distinct features.

1. Education for training up priestly groups, and which was the monopoly of the Brahmins was called higher education and the education. For *laity* which was to provide certain elementary training required by groups for their vocation was called certain/elementary education. Both these educational systems had no direct organic connection.

2. Education was basically religious.

3. Education was predominantly a privilege of Brahmins. Even the teaching profession was a preserve of the Brahmin caste.

4. Education was essentially a private affair, incidentally patronised by the state, but having no control over the content, scheme of organization or teaching staff.

5. The structure and the functioning of the educational system was customarily worked out in the society; and was based on customary recognition of payments, nominations, and teacher-student relationship. Further the entire educational system was more oriented to inculcate respect and reverence for traditions. This education therefore generated a value system in the students which would train him to accept the scheme of life uncritically.*

6. As education was basically oriented to subserve certain religious objectives, and further providing a certain amount of elementary training for certain types of vocations it excluded women from having any access to it. As woman's place particularly amongst the higher caste was restricted to home it was considered that the formal education which was given in either elementary or higher religious schools was irrelevant, harmful and ran counter to the status and duties assigned to her customarily by society.¹²⁵

In short, we find that the educational system in pre-British Gujarat exhibited all the characteristics of an institution which formed a part of a traditional, ascriptive and society.

*It would be highly improbable to expect students challenging the knowledge of the teacher in the pre-19th century Gujarat. A Narmad could not only defy the teacher (European) by solving the mathematical problem by a method which is not taught by the teacher, but he may also complain to the head and get redress. Such defiance was not possible in the pre-British Gujarat (Narmad-Mari Hakikat, p.26).

(b) Nature of Communication in Pre-British Gujarat

(1) Oral Communication: Having surveyed the nature of the educational system in Gujarat, we will now observe the nature of mass communication media that prevailed during the period.

As a result of the limited means of physical communication, inadequate transport system and the absence of technological mechanism for diffusing information and knowledge the media of communication of news and ideas remained predominantly oral in the pre-modern society.¹²⁶ Further, due to the absence of a printing press and other modern media of mass communication the basic means of communication, not only for common people in their performance of daily tasks was oral but also the same technique became the most significant vehicle of ideas and information for more specialized functions required by rulers, traders and men of letters. This feature observed in all pre-modern societies was also noticeable in pre-nineteenth century Gujarat. Though unlike tribal societies the traditional complex of pre-British society in Gujarat had evolved a certain amount of writing and it did have written communication, the ruling groups either governing from the Imperial Seat at Delhi or the capitals of Suba of Gujarat, did require some precise written mode of communication to either convey the ruling farmans (orders) to the subordinate administrative groups, or receive reports about the happenings in the different parts of the kingdom.¹²⁷

Further, Gujarat being an important trading region also evolved a system of communication with regard to arrivals and departures of ships, prices, potentialities of markets and such other phenomena.

Similarly a specialized communication medium had also become necessary to announce occurrences or special events or situations of a critical nature such as flood or enemy raid.

Finally a specialized mode of communication had also become necessary for the transmission of a complex and higher culture.

We will now portray how during pre-British period the abovementioned needs requiring specialized agencies of oral communication evolved certain distinct functionaries to disseminate news, orders, views and values in that society.

Pokarchis (Town-criers) and Dandiyo (Drum-beater)

An important group of functionaries which evolved as specialists in transmitting information within urban centres was the group called Pokarchis* (town-criers) and Dandiyo (drum-beater). These functionaries used to move from street to street with bronze gongs, plates, or drums. With the noise created by these instruments, these functionaries collected people in certain localities and conveyed the news either by reading some proclamations or by making announcements of some important news. For instance the announcement of the Rule of Mahadji Sindhia in Broach was made in this manner in 1783.¹²⁸ Similarly the establishment of Company's rule over Surat in 1800 was announced through such means.¹²⁹ Further such functionaries operated in the market places or in other significant open spaces, like open compounds of temples or mosques or on cross-roads either to convey news or preach religious or other views.

*Author of Mira-e-Ahmadi refers to a special department of Naggara Khana (Drum Dept.) and Gharyal Khana (Clock Dept.) (Supplement to Mirat-e-Ahmadi ed. by Syed Nawab Ali and Sadon, p.181). Their duty it seems must be to beat drums at particular occasions to draw the attention of the people and to beat gongs, in order to announce the time.

**Even as late as 1946, in Bombay during the period of communal riots, the announcement about the installation of curfew order was done by beating the brass plate, which was described as 'dandipitai'.

It is important to note that along with town-criers and drum-beaters, Kathakars (story-tellers) and preachers, were some of the specialists conveying views and values among people.*

It should also be noted that specialized functionaries like bards (Bhat) and charans, had also emerged to serve the needs of the ruling groups either for conveying news about military episodes or certain types of dealings among various ruling families.¹³⁰ Along with these, a large number of castes had elaborated a specialized groups of persons in the form of caste gors for conveying the information about birth, marriage, caste dinners as well as deaths occurring within the castes.^{131**}

The trading groups had also evolved certain specialized agencies through which it could transmit important information relevant to trading communities. For instance, a group of criers, had emerged as special functionaries to announce the dates of arrival and departure of ships. Some enterprising traders including those belonging to the Parsee community in Surat, Bombay and other places had engaged criers announcing the date

*Here it would not be improper to mention the institution of Purana-reciters called 'Gagara Bhatta' or 'Mana Bhatta'. They were from the Brahmin caste and their function was to recite before large audiences with suitable commentary and illustrations accompanied by music, episodes from Mahabharata and the Ramayana. The verses mostly were their own and while singing them, they keep time by means of striking an iron ring put on their little fingers, against a large, round, narrow-necked copper vessel called Gagar or Man. *These Purana-reciters were a great power in the land before modern education and printing presses brought books to the homes of the people." (Milestones in Gujarati Literature, 1938, by Jhaveri, K.M., pp.92-93). Not all the Mana Bhats were clever and one poet has tried to caricature in a very able manner their poor equipment to use this medium. (Brihad Kavya Dohan, pt.I p.757)

**Even in 1964, in certain towns and villages of Gujarat the use of 'Gors' at the time of sending invitations to marriages or caste dinners is made. Of course in bigger cities, this need is met by printing invitation cards.

on which "the vessel would start, the name of the 'bunder'(port) from which it would start, the names of the ports at which it would anchor to embark and disembark passengers. This programme of the departure of the vessel would be repeated in different market places like stereotyped recitation."¹³²

Thus in the pre-British Gujarat, a large number of specialized functionaries carrying the spread of news, views or values among the people had evolved. It has been found by some of the scholars that most of these groups of functionaries had become distinctly hereditary ~~centres~~ castes. However it should be noted that, despite the above mentioned communication through specialized functionaries, most of the oral communication was carried on through extremely informal means. Such communication was carried on in Darbar gadhs (courtly houses) where chieftains entertained themselves. Caste and other gatherings, market places, festivals, fairs and places of worship were the centres in which people gathered, gossiped and exchanged news and views. Two of the important traditional categories of suppliers of news which had drawn ^{attention} as significant agents of disseminating information were the female florist (Malan) and the barber (Hajam).¹³³

(2) Written Communication: Unlike the tribal societies, all pre-industrial civilizations including that of Gujarat had a body of written communication to subserve different functions. This body of written communication could be classified into a few categories: Written documents, prepared for governmental and administrative purposes; written documents prepared for recording and exchanging information and transactions among the trading group; written documents embodying the philosophical, ethical, ritualistic and regulative prescriptions and rules for community; written

documents necessary to impart formal education to a limited strata of people; and a body of written literature containing artistic and aesthetic creations.

Two characteristics of this written communication deserve to be noted. A portion of this written communication was composed in classical languages like Sanskrit and Persian. For instance most of the political, and higher religious, philosophical writings were to be found in Sanskrit or Persian.¹³⁴ Another portion, composed of documents containing trade, commercial and other information, as well as some of the popular classical creative literature was being written in Gujarat.

In the absence of printing press, the body of growing written material required a group of specialists called scribes or lahias.* These scribes mostly functioned as copyists preparing copies of the documents. The task of rendering written material through hand labour basically limited the volume of written material. Further, for want of either mass medium of communication like press or mass media of transport like railways etc. Various groups requiring the spread of written words, evolved special agencies to convey this information, instruction or views and values.

We will briefly mention a few of these specialized agencies which emerged to communicate the written word.

1. The government appointed a group of reporters of various categories to prepare reports for the city on the development of events in the court of judicature and to provide information gathered in the Kotwal's office.¹³⁵

*The task of copying was so arduous that every scribe used to write at the end of the manuscript that while 'copying his whole body has been aching; and as the book has been prepared after hard labour it should be carefully preserved.' (Quoted in 'Sathi nu Sahitya by D. Derasari, p.2).

A category of reporters called "Sawanih-nawis" who later on worked as postal superintendents sending their reports every week was also evolved.¹³⁶

An institution of couriers (khepias) conveying these written reports from one centre to another which were divided into various postal stations was also established.¹³⁷

Further, a group of officers called 'harkaras' were appointed throughout the kingdom who would collect information from various centres and report them to the Nāzām and also prepare a list of papers which were sent along with the mail bag to the Emperor . The assistants appointed by 'harkaras' were called 'Akhbar Navis'.^{138*}

2. The trading community had evolved a system of 'Kasads', 'Khepiyas', 'Angadias' who were the vehicles of inter-centre communication, and also between different commercial firms. In the business letters after writing about the trade dealings, the traders used to send news about the weather and other happening in their part of the country. In fact these trade-letters used to be the ~~organ~~ agencies of giving other political information also.¹³⁹ It has been believed that news about Nadirshah's sacking of Delhi was brought to Western India through such letters.¹⁴⁰ Further the Kasads and Khepiyas were working under the supervision and protection of a divisional head known as 'Madadho'.¹⁴¹ A 'Madadho' lived in each of the big commercial places such as Broach, Surat, Nadiad, Kapudvanj and Ahmedabad.

*The priest traveller Ovington describes the method of written communication in the late 17th century. The paper for royal letters was specially selected and many a times was ornamented with floral designs, and after rolling it was put in a hollow tube which was sealed at the mouth, and then sent. (Desai, I., Surat Sonani Murat, p.73).

'Angadias' were special persons used for sending costly commodities; and they many a times worked as couriers for taking letters.^{142*}

3. A group of institutions had emerged to preserve the body of written material. These institutions were more prevalent amongst the Jains and known as Jain Bhandars,^{143**} where manuscripts in the form known as 'Pothis' were preserved.

Thus we find in pre-British Gujarat a group of specialized institutions and functionaries who specialized in the spreading of communications through written media had emerged. Here we should also take note of an important feature of this group. They were generally coming from specific castes and continued to carry on the functions hereditarily.

Thus though a body of written documents was emerging in Gujarat in the form of political records, the writings in temples and madressas, bhandars and pathshalas, as well as in the form of written communications and records created to subserve the functions of trading groups and lastly worked out by Bhaktas and creative writers, it was comparatively meagre written by hand and ~~mm~~ inscribed on Tad-Patras or leaves, on copper plates or on stone or wood, and on some varieties of papers worked out from mashed material.

*The system of 'Angadia' is still prevalent in the trading centres such as Bombay, Ahmedabad, Baroda, Surat and others.

**It has been believed that amongst the Brahmins after the death of male-members, in the family the sacred books are immersed in the rivers and therefore very few relics of institutions for preserving Hindu knowledge could be located. (Derasari, D., Sathi nu Sahitya, pp.273-74). The preservation of knowledge was so unorganized that, as late as 1852, Poet Narmad had to make herculean efforts before he could locate a rare work of prosody which he accidentally found in the junk of a mason's house. (Narmad ~~Ma~~ Hakikat, p.49).

We can describe the condition of means of communication in pre-British Gujarat by quoting the analysis made by Dr. A.R.D. Parikh. As he points out "towards the end of the eighteenth century, indigenous methods of communications included "Kasads", "Khepias" and "Angadias" who were the vehicles of inter-centre communications and that too between the different commercial firms; they included moreover "criers", "drum-beaters," and "dandiyo" for mass communication. All these indigenous methods could effect communication, but rather partially. They were not speedy, nor always reliable and above all they were rather costly...The common features of these indigenous methods of communication was that they were mostly "oral" and wherever they were written they covered just a few persons, and were limited."¹⁴⁴

(c) Growth of Literature in pre-British Gujarat

After having observed the educational and communication system prevailing in the period before the establishment of British rule in Gujarat, we will now briefly review the nature of creative literature that was generated in the period under survey. We are not tracing the history of literature in this section but ~~which~~^{what} we will try to depict is the prevalent ~~form~~^{form} and content of literature and its place in traditional society.

Due to the fact that most of the cultural heritage had to be given through oral means, and due to the very limited means of transport and communication, the form of literature also was affected.

Hemachandra, a Jain sadhu, has been acclaimed as the first Gujarati author who made a conscious effort to study and preserve the spoken literature of his times in his work on Grammar. It was in 1102 A.D.¹⁴⁵ With him started the first period in Gujarati literature known as the

period of Apabhramsa* Literature.¹⁴⁶

The Bhaktas (saints) of Gujarat like ^{medieval} ~~medieval~~ saints of other parts of India gave a very great impetus to the language of the people in contrast to Sanskrit.^{147**}

Narsimha Mehta, Mirabai and later on Akho, Premanand Dhiro Bhagat, Shamal and many others created literature which occupies a prominent place in modern times.

The period which we are reviewing - the 18th century - prior to British conquest and rule was a period of political unrest as we have observed. It had its effect on the quality of literature and no good literature flourished during this period.¹⁴⁸

As mentioned previously in this section, we are not going into the details of the history of Gujarati literature. So we will briefly mention the characteristics of ^{form} ~~form~~ in the pre-19th century Gujarati literature.

Form in Gujarati literature

The first glaring feature which draws the attention with regard to the form of literature is the pre-eminence of poetry. This is a form through which culture could be easily transmitted. In the poetical form we have instances of many varieties such as Ballads, Akyan Kavyas (story in poems), Barmasi (poems round the twelve months), Fagū (description of glories of spring), seasonal songs, Bhajans (devotional songs), 'Garabo' and others.¹⁴⁹

*Apabhramsa is a language based on local origins but receiving literary polish from Sanskrit.

**These Bhakta poets were exponents of local vernaculars at that time known as 'Prakrit' and many of them emphasised the significance and power of Prakrit, the language of the people in contrast to Sanskrit which was the language of the elite. As Shemal Said at one place "Sanskrit is like paddy (~~अन्न~~ ~~अन्न~~) which must be pounded before it can be eaten, for it is difficult to understand and appreciate; whereas Prakrit is like rice ready from the granary which can be cooked direct. (Brihad Kavya Dohan, part 6, p.352).

Prose as a form was unknown to this literateurs. Whatever prose writings there were, they were of documents, contracts, endowments deeds and a few prose writings of the Jaina sadhus. The folk-literature was abundant in stories but, they were also predominantly in poetry form. In the ballad literature of Saurashtra, the story hinges on couplets (known as Dohas) which are strung together by a thread of prose supplied by the narrator.

The dramas which were till recently attributed to Premanand, a medieval poet also were proved as non-genuine; and the main argument for raising the doubt was that stage and dramatic literature was unknown to Gujarat in the whole period of medieval literature.¹⁵⁰ Mr. Munshi's remarks on this matter is pertinent. "Old Gujarat had no drama; and to the literacy men of Gujarat from Somasundar to Dayaram, the dramatic presentation of character, incident and dialogue was an unknown art."¹⁵¹

Thus the prose forms which we now come across in the 19th century, such as essay, novel, diary, autobiography, short story were hardly known in the 18th century.

Themes in literature

During the period under survey the first noticeable feature is the predominance of religion in the content of literature. Not only 'Bhajans', 'Chhappas', 'Kafis' were written to manifest the devotion and servitude of the devotee to the all-powerful and all pervading God, but the 'akhyans', folk literature were all centering round religious theme. The episodes from Ramayana, Mahabharat, Bhagvata and other Puranas were the popular themes round which the story was woven. These were the 'Akhyans' which were recited by the Mana Bhattis, in the open places of the village or in the lanes of towns.

Along with these themes we also come across the mystic poetry of Mandan, Akho, Nirant and others. It is not our contention that social problems were absent in the pre-nineteenth century literature. Poets like Premanand and Shamal and Vallabhbhatt did try to portray the social conditions and problems of the time, but they were not secular but generally linked up with mythological characters.

Shamal shines out as a distinct poet who tried to give a portrayal of the social conditions of his times through his stories. But as one critic has pointed out, due to the political unrest and cultural degradation of the period, he depicts life which is ideal rather than real.¹⁵¹

Even in love themes, it is the love of Radha and Krishna which attracts attention. The mother's love for her child, the brother's love for his sister, the lover's quarrels and lover's ecstasies are all brought out through the life of Krishna. In this respect along with Narsingh and Mira, the poet Dayaram is the last representative of the old literature and excelled in depicting the romantic life of Radha and Krishna.¹⁵²

Further there is a group of songs round the mother Goddess - Amba - sung in praise of the goddess. They are also popular in the literary form called 'Garbo'.¹⁵³

Even the seasonal songs and ^{poetry} written around the twelve months of the year were largely religious.¹⁵⁴ Thus there is very little pure description of the beauty of nature. Even if certain descriptions of natural beauty could be located, it is merely a record of natural scenery rather than psychological reaction to nature's beauty. In fact, very little expression is given to subjective and individualistic emotional expressions in the literature of this period.

In short this was the period when writers wrote poetry, to express their devotion to the all-pervading spirit and therefore the other worldly

attitude in literature was also predominant.¹⁵⁵ As literature further was not considered as expression of one's subjective reaction of the outside world, there was an added element in the treatment of the subject viz. the element of didacticism and moralising. This trend is further revealed in the allegorical poems such as "Jivraj Sheth ni Musafari" by Jivram, "Vivek Vanzaro" by Premanand. Further like all saint poets they exposed the pretensions of the priesthood, criticised the caste system and advocated a liberal spiritual religion.^{156*} But the criticism does not lead to any solution; because as some of the poets of the 18th century described, all these distortions were attributed to be the results of the 'Kali yuga'. Hence we find the titles of their poetry as 'Kali Kal no Garbo', 'Kali Mahima', and 'Kali Jug no Dharma'.¹⁵⁷

Further, excepting in the folk art, and the folk stories told by the Bhats and Charans, there is very little depiction of heroism and patriotism in the poetry of this period. Due to the political unrest, and due to the fact that Gujarat was divided into various principalities, there was hardly a consciousness of being a Gujarati, excepting to some extent as manifested in Premanand.^{***}

In conclusion it can be said that there was very little variety in themes selected by the literateurs of pre-19th century Gujarat.

*Akho says at one place about the rituals, "He has spent ~~twenty~~^{fifty}-three years in making religious marks on his body, his rosaries have been worn out; his feet are tired with wandering from one sacred place to another; yet he has not reached Hari." (Selections from Classical Gujarati Literature, Vol.II, p.104). Similarly about the inequality generated by the social system the saint-poet remarks, "To Narayan, none is high and none low. This world is made up of five elements but a fool takes pride in his caste. In order to maintain their castes some are called the head, some the waist and some the feet. But really, the Brahmin, the Kshatriya, the Vaisya and Sudra all make up the bodies of Hari who is then a Sudra."

**Here is a famous couplet. "If we take one rupee as a basis for calculation, Hindi claims all the 16 annas, Marwari 12 annas, Maharashtrian 8 annas, while Gujarati language could be valued at only 4 pice", and therefore it was said of Premanand that he had taken a pledge that he would not wear turban till he could elevate Gujarati on the level of Sanskrit.

We may mention here a word about the castes^{to} which these literateurs belonged. Like the saint poets of all other parts of India, Gujarat saint poets sprung from different castes.¹⁵⁸ Though Narsinh, Premnand or Shamal sprang from Brahmin caste, but there were Jain poets, goldsmith poets such as Akho, Nirant, and Bhojo and numerous Bhatas, Charans and Patidars. It is very surprising to find this in a caste-ridden society. But it seems that due to oral communication and the communal life of the people in the villages, whosoever composes simple, and sonorous verses, attracted the attention of the village community. As observed by Dayabhai Derasari, Gujarat was humming with the Bhajan of this Bhagat and that Bhagat. The level of knowledge was revealed in the compositions of lesser poets.^{159*}

Concluding remarks

In this section we delineated the nature of education and communication of news, ideas and values and we may mention the following features arising out of our study.

1) The educational activities were predominantly in the hands of the private agencies. There was very little organization in the educational system in the sense that the elementary learning and higher learning had very little connection. Due to the limited facility for written communication most of the teaching was based on oral transmission of knowledge.

2) Medium of mass communication was also predominantly oral and based on face to face relation.

*It is interesting to note that one Kunbi Patel composed life with an agricultural field and one Koli Bhajanik described the relationship of Ram and Sita (who are husband and wife) as uncle and aunt.

3) Pre-British Gujarati society literature also exhibited limited variety in the form and content.

4) The curriculum in the schools as well as the content of the literature reveal overwhelming devotion to predication of the society's traditional religious-philosophical concepts.

5) In short education, communication as well as literature were limited in scale, traditional and primarily based on face to face relationships.

IV

SOCIAL STATUS SYSTEM IN THE PRE-BRITISH GUJARAT

Having examined the educational and communicational system of Gujarati society in the pre-British days, we will now analyse the status system of Gujarat during that period. The most outstanding social institutions that provided social framework and status ~~symbols~~^{order} to the Gujarati society were the caste systems and the joint family systems. The values and structural formations of these two institutions determined the position of women also. We will attempt to observe the nature of these institutions as they existed in pre-British Gujarat.

Caste System: Like every other region of India, Gujarat was also having a status system which was founded on caste. Many eminent scholars have tried to locate the main features of this unique system.*

*Dr. G.S. Ghurye in his work 'Caste, Class and Occupation' sums up the main features of the caste system as follows:-

1. Segmental division of society; 2) Hierarchy of groups. "Everywhere in India there is a definite scheme of social precedence amongst the castes, with the Brahmin as the head of the hierarchy." (p.6); 3) Restrictions on feeding and social intercourse; 4) Civil and religious disabilities and privileges of different sections; 5) Lack of unrestricted choice of occupation; 6) Restriction on marriage. Each group becomes endogamous; 7) Caste council supervising and regulating the affairs of the members of the caste. (Caste, Class & Occupation by G.S. Ghurye, 1961, pp.2-16).

The status, position, role, obligations and privileges of individuals were determined by the nature of the caste in which the person was born. Further every caste had a fixed position, rank, and order in the hierarchic ladder. The Gujarati society was also composed of a complicated chain of hierarchically graded castes having at the apex the castes of Brahmin and at the base a cluster of castes of untouchables and depressed groups. As observed in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, "Gujarat is pre-eminently a land of castes."*160

The author of Mirat-i-Ahmadi describes the castes in the 18th century in the following words: "Hindus are divided into various castes and sects. They are Brahmins, Shevpas, Kshatriyas, Rajputs, Banias, Kayasthas, Kunbis (Farmers) and Kolis; Goldsmiths, Blacksmiths, Fullers, Oil-makers, Carpenters, Weavers, Tailors, Dyers, Tanners and Dheds... Every caste in the course of centuries has been subdivided owing to the adoption of certain vicious customs or to some misalliance. Even the Brahmins who are considered the noblest of the race and was who followed the four Vedas have become divided into different sub-castes... Excommunication is the punishment meted out to the guilty man or woman who is however taken back on making penance and payment... A description of all the Hindu castes being a difficult task I shall give an account only of the Brahmins, Shevras (Jains), Banias, Meshvis and Shravaks."*161

*Mr. Forbes in Ras Mala observes, "The first institution of Hindu society which forces itself upon the attention of the stranger is that of caste. When Mr. Borrodale counted the castes in Surat in A.D.1827, at the time that he was employed in collecting and assessing information regarding the customs of the Hindoos (a work which has unfortunately been altogether discontinued), he found in that city no less than two hundred and seventy castes. Each of these was more or less restricted from private intercourse with all the rest." (Forbes' Ras Mala, ed. by Rawlinson, Vol.II, 1924, p.230).

Though in the classical Hindu concept of social structure, society is composed of four varnas, Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras, in Gujarat a concept of 18 Varnas had acquired large currency.¹⁶² These 18 Varnas were composed of four traditional Varnas plus nine 'naru's and five 'karus'.^{*} This designation of 18 categories as Varnas reveal how in Gujarat certain occupations had gained such significance that they were elevated to the status of Varna and not merely a caste or sub-caste.

The peculiar complexity of caste system in Gujarat is also revealed by the fact that the clusters of castes were divided into two major categories. Castes composed of fair skinned people (ujaliat lok) and led by and called Brahman-vania, and lower castes composed of dark skinned people

*The concept of narus and karus requires some explanation. It has been mentioned in one of the Jain writings that there were 18 ranks and their sub-ranks (અક્ષર સેવીયસેવી). Rank means, for example, potters' group and sub-rank means the sub-divisions of the potters'. In the commentary on Jambudwippragnapti it has been mentioned that there were nine narus and nine karus. Nine narus were (1) Potter, 2) Patel (farmer), 3) Goldsmith, 4) Cook, 5) Gandhyarva 6) Barber, 7) Gardener, 8) Kacchakar or Kujjukar, 9) Tamboli (Pan-vendor) while (1) Chamar, 2) Oil-presser, 3) Printer, 4) Vansfodo (bamboo breakers) 5) Tinsmith, 6) Tailors 7) Guar(?), 8) Bhill, 9) Fisherman (Bhagvan Mahavir ni Dharma Kathao, Nayadhamma Kaha, tr. by Bechardas Doshi, pp.189-190).

Another popular conception regarding 18 Varnas was as follows:

નવ નારુ નિકારુ પંચ વર્ગ દ્વારી જોયો પ્રવૃત્તિ
 હવે મલ્યા વર્ગ અક્ષર ચાલે સર્વે કૌલકાચકાર

The ordinary life was carried on in 18 Varnas out of which nine were narus, five were karus and 4 traditional varnas. Poet Shamal refers to the 18 varnas in the following manner: Kandoi (sweetmeat-maker), Kachio (vegetable grower), Kumbhar (potter), Machi (fisherman), Mardania, Sutar (carpenter), Bhiyin Sanyi (shepherd(?) or carrier of water), Tamboli (Pan-maker) were nine narus while goldsmith, printer (of cloth), ironsmith, cobbler, gancha (bamboo breakers) were five karus. (Brihad Kavya Dohan, Part I, pp.519-527); also refer article by Majmudar Manjulal in Sahityakar Akho (ed.) Majmudar, M., p.186 and Jote Ratnamanirao Gujarat no Sanskrutik Itihas, pt.I, p.236.

called Ghanchi - Gola (oil-pressers, rice pounders)¹⁶³ The tribal population was mostly described as Rani Paraj (forest dwellers). The upper castes included Brahmins, Brahma Khatris, Kayasthas, Vantias, Kunbis and some craftsmen. They were traditionally entitled to wear the sacred thread; and can call themselves Dwija (twice-born); the cluster of castes belonging to the lower rank were not permitted to have this privilege.

Thus the concept of caste itself was not limited to mere four Varnas but had wider meaning leading to 18 Varnas - and if we conceive of the sub-castes of each of these major castes, the number is bound to be more.*

There are likely to be various reasons for so many sub-castes in Gujarati society. The groupings may be due to migrations as revealed in Audichya Brahmins, or Modh Brahmins, or Shrimali Baniya. The groupings may be the results of occupational distinctions as reflected in major craftsmen as Tailors, Potters, Ironsmiths, weavers, etc. Further in Gujarat as we have pointed out, even in the same occupation if the processes are different there are difference sub-castes, such as in dyeing, a 'rangrej' would dye the cloth of any colour while a 'Galiara' would dye only cloth with indigo. At times these sub-castes arise due to religious differences as to be found, for example, in Baniyas where some belong to Vaishnava cult while others to the Jain section. In fact, there were various circumstances which led to the creation of so many sub-castes in Gujarat.

*The Brahmins and Baniyas are traditionally divided into 84 sub-castes (A long list has been given in *Mirad-I-Ahmadi* by Syed Nawaballi and Sedon, pp.126-134).

We will now briefly describe the major castes of Gujarat.

The Brahmins who were considered to have been born from the mouth of the god Brahma,¹⁶⁴ were at the apex of the social pyramid. They were divided into two sections on the ground that some specialized in administrative revenue collecting non-priestly functions and were called laity or grihasthas and others performing the priestly functions attached to various other castes as performers of their religious functions, and ceremonies and further carrying on such functions as religious teaching, astrology, calendar-making, medical relief, were designated as Bhikshukas.¹⁶⁵ In Gujarat excepting the Anavil Brahmins of Surat where all are 'grihasthas, all Brahmin caste divisions have these aforementioned distinctions.

Brahmins were further sub-divided in terms of their priorities in residence in Gujarat. Bhargava Brahmins of Broach, Anavils of Surat, Nagars of Vadnagar were some of the earliest settlers in Gujarat, while Audichya Modh, uneval, Mevada, Saraswat, Kanujia and others might have migrated with their chiefs or independently.

Another aspect of the Brahmins lay in the fact that even among them there was a complex hierarchic gradation. The lay Brahmins (grihasthis) have been considered superior to the bhikshukas, even in the same group. Further among the Brahmins performing priestly functions for other non-Brahmin castes those who performed functions for castes which were considered higher, were termed superior. For instance Brahmins who worked as priests for chieftains were superior to those who performed priestly functions for craftsmen or cultivating castes. Even in the latter, those who performed priestly functions for higher craftsmen or superior cultivating castes like Koonbis were ranked superior to those who performed

for lower categories of craftsmen or cultivators. Thus Kalatiya, Kandolia, and Rajgor, Parajya, Barad, Tapodhans and Saraswat are considered of lower category.¹⁶⁶

The detailed description of differentiation among the Brahmin groups is given to indicate how even in this small group of highest Hindu fold a hierarchy had developed, resulting into numerous castes and sub-castes and further divided into local, regional and other sub-groups. The peculiar feature to be noted is that the differentiation always resulted into hereditary caste groups, with all the features of traditional caste organisation.

Out of these numerous groups certain higher Brahmin groups particularly Nagars, Anavils, Bhaṛgavas, Khedavals and Shrimallis who were attached to administration, land owning, revenue collection and other functions in pre-British Gujarat* were affected by the British political, economic, and educational policies in a peculiar manner and acquired unique features during the 19th century.

The Rajputs were the second important category occupying the position in the upper layer of society. They were also divided into various sub-groups. However their basic divisions were 15, such as Chavadas, Chauhans, Gohils, Jadejas, Jhalas, Parmars, Rathods, Sisodiyas, Solankis and others.

*In Surat during the times of Nawabs in the 17th and 18th centuries, many of the Diwans were Nagar Brahmins. Here it is interesting to note that the association of Nagars with the ruling group was so intimate that sometimes the families of the 'matsaddi' group would give Persian names to themselves and their family members and sometimes the craze was so foolish that they would chant their mantras (sacred hymns) in Persian. (Nandashankar Jivan Charitra by Vinayak Mehta, p.49). Anavil Brahmins were traditional revenue collectors.

Gujarati society on the eve of British rule was thus divided into hundreds of castes and sub-castes having their own rigid rules about occupations, marriage, inter-dining and others. The peculiarity of these groups lay in the fact that they were hereditary groups having assigned a rank in the hierarchy of status traditionally sanctioned by custom and backed by supernatural religious authority.*

The most significant feature about the caste groupings was, that, as they were traditionally and religiously sanctioned, the hierarchy was accepted as a normal phenomenon.** No caste dared to compete with the others for securing higher status. If higher status was achieved as in the case of the Baniyas, it was never as a result of challenging the other groups. As observed by Dr. Majmudar, "The castes were not allowed to compete with one another. A man born in a particular group was trained to its manner, and he found it extremely hard to adjust himself to a new way. Every man was said to have his own specific nature (sva-bhāva) fitting him for his own specific function (sva-dharma) and changes of Dharma or function were not encouraged."¹⁷¹ Where status groups were treated as eternal very little change could be expected.

*Here we may point out that each caste and sub-caste had got in its treasure stories depicting their mythological origins. But we cannot go into such details.

**Here we may reproduce the remarks of Charles Drekmejer in connection with the importance of the Brahmins. He says, "At the apex of the structure, enshrined in immunities and privileges protected by the law codes and by tradition was the Brahman. This authority, according to the theory could not be considered an encroachment on the freedom of the other orders of society. For it is through the exercise of brahman authority that the individual is established in those modes of life that make possible his ultimate salvation - which is more highly valued than freedom as such." (Kingship and Community in Early India by Drekmejer, pp.292-293).

The institution of caste council (gnati-panchayat) was a unique regulating organization evolved by Hindu society to keep the individual members of the caste group under rigid value systems and behavioural patterns.

The caste councils were generally composed of the elders of the various families comprising that caste. The caste council very rigidly supervised the functioning of the families and of the individuals with regard to almost every aspect of life, i.e., dress, food, use of vessel, behaviour, marriage, death and other ceremonies, pollution and such other details.* The caste councils not only regulated the internal behaviour of the individuals within the caste but also saw that the interaction between the members of its caste and that of other castes was also meticulously regulated.

As the caste council was empowered customarily the executive and the judicial privileges, it therefore not merely demanded the confirmity of the behaviour laid down by caste customs but also punished the person who deviated from the prescribed practice. The nature of punishment was according to the gravity of the crime. The forms of punishment included fines, dinners to be given to the caste, loss of privileges for a particular period, and excommunication in the end.¹⁷² In the artisan castes, the

*In fact each caste was identified on these bases. The head-wears(Paghri), of different castes were different, the pattern in the saris, the peculiar colour to be worn at the time of death of a person were determined by the caste council. Rajput women were not permitted to wear silver jewellery while the Patidar women were not permitted to attend the marriage of their sons. Further, even the residence of each caste was so distinct that there was a folk song describing each caste in a couplet, by which a particular caste could be easily recognised. About Nagar colony it states, the lady is small, with a pearl in her nose the husband is away, she is passing her days by writing letters and waiting for the return of the sweetheart. This is the sign of Nagar colony.(Nani shi nar ne nake moti, Piyu Pardesh ne vatdi joti; Lakhe Kagal ne nigame dahada a andhaniye Nagarvada).

panchayats regulated the occupation also, and performed the functions of a guild. Thus a person belonging to the artisan caste not only lost his social status but also means of earning his livelihood for breaches in caste custom.

These powers were given to caste-councils by custom and were backed up by tradition and supernatural sanction. Even the State did not interfere with the powers of the council. In fact the State which itself was construed as a divinely ordained organization to preserve Dharma saw to it that the Dharma in the form of inter-caste relationships as well as privileges and duties of different castes as prescribed by religion and custom was maintained. In fact laws of the State were themselves on above-mentioned assumptions. Even the Muslim rulers generally did not interfere with the customary practices of various castes.* They may convert individuals or groups to the Islamic fold but those who still remained Hindus were permitted to govern their lives according to their customary regulations, just as they permitted the village communities to function.

Thus caste systems in Gujarat was a very powerful social structure determining every aspect of the life of the individual, placing every caste and sub-caste in a hierarchical order, and functioning on customary principles. The status of a caste or sub-caste was taken for granted and therefore nobody felt that it was not based on justice.**

*Rulers like Akbar did try to regulate the age of marriage, or to prohibit widow burning, by special enactments, but the law was observed more in its breaches than in its adherence.

**The only exception was the current of the saint poets who challenged the autocracy of the Brahmins and defended the cause of the untouchables as poet Narsimha and Akho did.

regard to custom and practices among different castes and sub-castes, e.g., the custom of divorce was taboo among the joint families of upper castes while it was permissible among the lower castes such as Bhats,¹⁷⁸ Charans,¹⁷⁹ Craftsmen,¹⁸⁰ Koonbis¹⁸¹ and others. Similarly custom with regard to widow remarriage, expenses to be incurred at the time of marriage of one's son or one's daughter, the prescriptions with regard to customary exchanges between two families at the time of marriage either in the form of bride price or dowry, not merely differed between different castes but also varied considerably even amongst the various sub-castes. Thus for marrying a son in the Nagar caste, the father had to spend lots of money while the Koonbis had to incur debts for marrying their daughters.¹⁸² Similarly only Vadnagara Nagar Brahmins did not permit second marriage if wife was alive. In all the other sub-castes, it was a permissible custom. In short there were various differences in practices of different castes and sub-castes affecting the family.

The joint family was the omnibus organization performing various functions, such as economic, educational, cultural, recreational and political. In fact family was the unit of society and not individual. The male head of the family like all patriarchal families was the all in all in family matters. Hence the individual had no voice in choosing his education, vocation, friend or wife. The limited means of communication, and the comparative isolation of villages did not give scope for mobility excepting in some groups of traders. Thus there were very few extraneous occasions when a person was expected to be away from the family. In fact any idea of separating from the family was alien. Nay! it was considered as the result of the Kali Age. In one poem called Kali Mahima (in praise of Kali) written in the 17th century, it is predicted that in the Kaliyuga

the wife will behave in the following manner. She will have no love for her father-in-law or mother-in-law. The brothers-in-law will be considered enemies by her. The husband's sister will not get a pie while the wife's sister will get all she needs.¹⁸³ Similarly a poet of late 18th century predicted that in Kaliyuga there will be vengeance between father and son, between brothers and brothers.¹⁸⁴ The same poet as well as all other poets feel that this type of ill-feeling is generated by women-folk. They were the arch conspirators to break the unity of joint family.¹⁸⁵ In short the separation from the joint family was not at all encouraged by the custom and on the contrary considered as a very degrading occurrence in the life of family members.

Having described the nature of joint family in Gujarat in pre-British Gujarati society we will now briefly observe the status of woman in that society. We will discuss the institution of marriage along with the position of woman.

The Status of Woman in Pre-British Gujarati Society

The birth of a girl child: Like all pre-modern societies, in Gujarat also the birth of a girl-child was considered as a curse.¹⁸⁶ A girl was looked upon as a burden like a snake (sap no bharo) and many epithets were given to her at the time of birth such as a stone has been given birth or the parents are considered impotent even if there are 7 daughters and no son.¹⁸⁷ No sweet-meats were distributed if a girl child was born. On the contrary the custom among certain castes like Jadeja Rajputs and Kulin Kanabis whose marriage customs involved very heavy expenditure and where the daughter was expected to be married in particular families only, led to the inhuman practice of female infanticide popularly known as Dudha piti.¹⁸⁸

Education: After a girl child was born no special attention was paid for rearing her up. It was not considered essential for her to get any schooling or education. Very few girls knew the three R^s. On the contrary it was believed that if she is educated she will be a widow, and such other things. It was further believed that whatever training was necessary, she will get in the family. So there was no need for her to go to village school for getting trained. As observed earlier education in these village schools was oriented towards proficiency in calculations needed by the sons of the traders and women being not required to do any job, consequently were not sent to these schools. There may be some stray incidents of learned women, who composed poetry like Mirabai, Diwaliba/i, or there may be instances of some Nagar women who knew Persian or Sanskrit, but these instances were few and far between.* The main aim of the life of a girl was to get married and be the mother of sons.

Marriage: For a Hindu girl in Gujarat in the pre-19th century days marriage was the incident of all incidents in life. According to Hindu Dharmashastras the institution of marriage had three aims in order of importance viz., Dharma (religious duty), Praja (progeny) and Rati (sex).¹⁸⁹ In fee order to save the father from going to the hell after the death, the son is required to offer certain oblations. If the son is not there who will be the saviour? Further there were certain religious duties to be performed as a householder and for that also marriage was inevitable. But

*This could be easily seen from the fact that in the 1st School started by the Gujarat Vernacular Society in Ahmedabad in 1849 only one girl was admitted. (Samaj Sudharama rekha darshan by Navalram Trivedi, p.116).

for woman it was absolutely essential.* This precondition ultimately led to the custom of child marriages. In the pre-19th century Gujarat child marriage was a common phenomenon.¹⁹⁰

The girls were married between the age of 3 and 11 years and 13 was the maximum limit to which she was kept unmarried.¹⁹¹ Generally the girl was married in order to remove one burden from the head, or not to miss a good bridegroom (because choice was limited to one caste or sub-caste or even locality), or many a times to enjoy the marriage occasion.

The natural result of the infant marriage was ill-assorted marriage. The girl may be of 8 years' of age while the husband may be of any age, even eighty years' old.¹⁹² The unhappy lot of the child wife is very well portrayed in a poem written by an 18th century poet Vallabha Bhatt. We are quoting a few lines from the poem depicting her misery; the poem is addressed to Goddess mother (Gorma):

"Mother, mine are just sixteen years and he has seen his eighty.

...Mother, my hair is black and his head is all white or grey,

My youth is at its blooming and already my life is wrecked.

Goddess mother why was not I strangled at birth, why was not
I poisoned?

Yet if my husband die, it is my part to be true to death.

May Goddess mother, with joined hands I pray at thy feet

When I am born again, give me a husband that is young and strong."¹⁹³

Here we may also point out that there was another form of ill-assorted marriage viz., the girl was senior in age to the boy by a few years.

*In Gujarati there is a proverb that an old man may die unmarried but an old lady cannot do so. (Doso Kunvaro Mare pana doshi Kunvari na mare).

The anxiety of the girl in bloom is recorded in some folk songs. One of them says, "I have passed twelve spring, and he is only a child of fifteen months, How shall I pull on?" Another folk song conveys her heart's yearnings in rather an enigmatic way: she requests the passers-by to give one swing to the cradle wherein was sleeping a child. Some thought it was her son, others thought it was her infant brother. She cleared their doubt by giving out the bitter truth that it was her husband!¹⁹⁴

The child wives became child mothers as well as child widows.¹⁹⁵ Krishnaram, the 18th century poet, remarks that a girl of 10, 11 or 12 becomes a mother, one can imagine the fate of such mothers and such children!

We will here refer to another custom. This was the custom of polygamy. Almost all castes permitted the husband to take a second wife in the life time of the first.¹⁹⁶ The grounds for second marriage were various; one of the most important being childlessness or having only female children. The undesirable lot of co-wives was a common theme for folk-songs and for poets describing the Kali Age. To have the status of a co-wife for a woman was explained by mentioning certain misdeeds of the previous birth, e.g., one must have committed the sin of killing a Brahmin or one must have tortured the mother-in-law or sister-in-law; or one must have robbed somebody of his wealth, or might have poisoned somebody; then only such misfortune befalls on a lady.¹⁹⁷

Whereas the husband was permitted to marry as many wives as he could afford to keep, the woman when she became a widow was not only not permitted to remarry in the higher castes, but was expected to die along with her husband. As Forbes describes, "The wife who burns with the corpse of her lord lives with her husband as his consort in Paradise; she procures admission

also to that sacred abode for seven generations of her own and his progenitors, even though these should have been consigned for punishment of their own misdeeds, to the abodes of torture over which Yama presides." While the pyre is being prepared, exclamation of the Bramh Pooran tell the faithful wife of the greatest duty of woman 'She is loyal and pure who burns herself with her husband's corpse.'¹⁹⁸ The custom was usual among the warrior class, but at times women^{of} different castes practised sati.¹⁹⁹ At many places in Gujarat and Saurashtra, particularly on the banks of rivers or tenks masonry shrines dedicated to a sati may be seen. They were known as 'Satima no Paliyo'.

Those women who did not follow their husbands had to live a celibate life. The castes like Koonbis, and artisans did permit widow remarriage but upper castes like Brahmins, Wantias and Rajputs did not permit remarriage of a woman. Hence she had to pass her entire life denying everything. Many a time the head was shaven, she put on only a single bangle and no other ornament and wore only white or black or maroon saris as prescribed by the custom of the caste. She was not to take any part in happy gatherings because her shadow was considered to bring ill-luck.²⁰⁰

Having discussed the problems relating to marriage in case of women, we will now briefly mention her other disabilities. The Gujarati woman ~~her~~ in those days was not expected to earn her living and whatever help she gave to the husband was within the four walls of her house. She was not expected and not allowed to move freely. When women went out occasionally they were not allowed to wear shoes and use umbrellas even if it was raining heavily. Further there were very few occasions for her to go out. Even aristocratic women were observing the custom of living

a secluded life.* Though the women of lower castes had to go out to earn their living, still they also did not move on the street without covering their head. In short woman's movements outside the home were more out of necessity than out of wish.

Concept of woman: The general concept of woman in the Gujarati society in the pre-19th century was medieval. She was considered subordinate to man. Woman's social and legal rights were glaringly few.²⁰¹

The concept of woman's role in pre-modern society has been well described by Sjoberg, in his work on 'Pre-Industrial City.' He says, "Women are apt to fear men, and men view women in a startlingly ambivalent manner. On the one hand, women are the fount of all that is pure and good: the long suffering mother may take on a "goodness-like" quality. But paradoxically, women in general, even a young wife, are considered inherently "evil" and even capable of undermining a man's virility if given the chance... Practically everywhere in traditional urban milieux... women are adjudged by men to be deficient in intellectual qualifications to be flighty, insincere, irresponsible, treacherous, to be physically weak, and what is more, to lack the will to resist the temptation - all deemed sufficient reasons for denying them a significant role in community and societal affairs."²⁰² All these attributes were associated more or less with women as reflected in the poems of Shamal, Krishnaram and others.

*Here we may mention that even in such advanced community like Parsis as late as 1819, the Parsi Panchayat (caste organization) in Bombay issued a proclamation forbidding any Parsi woman to leave her home alone on any pretext whatever before sun-rise or after sunset and declaring that any woman unavoidably detained at a friend's house should not return home without a servant and a lighted lantern and further that any woman found walking on the road unaccompanied would be seized by the nase-salaras (professional corpse bearers) and confined in the Nas Khana where the funeral piers were stored. (Kharshedji, R.Cama, 1831-1909, a Memoir, 1923, by J.M. Edwardes, pp 29-30)

Shamal was a pastmaster in raising woman to a very high pedestal and then dropping her off by describing her as "a gate-way to hell", "woman is the evil-genius", "woman is without wisdom". Further the poet also compares her misdeeds with the water of sea. It was also said that nobody should go alone with a woman because she was well-known for her immoral behaviour.*203

Concluding remarks: In this section we have surveyed three aspects of Gujarati social life viz. caste system, joint-family and position of woman. We can now draw the following conclusions.

1) The social structure was based on traditional principles which were sanctioned by religion. The caste, family and position of woman were traditionally determined and all of them had links with the other worldly conception.

2) The status system of society was based on principles of birth and hereditary qualities rather than on the principle of achievement. In the family also authority was commanded on the basis of age. A woman for instance who had come as a docile daughter-in-law, slowly attained the position of mother-in-law, and behaved in the same manner as her mother-in-law behaved, forgetting her plight at that time.

3) In the social structure of pre-19th century Gujarat, the individual had very little place. He had no voice to raise, or had no freedom to give assent to a particular decision because it was his duty to do as ordered.

*There were stray instances of powerful personalities of women who inspite of social ostracism exhibited ingenuity. The author of Surat Sonani Murat records one demonstration of Muslim women in 1799 when the Nawab had imposed tax on tobacco. The author considers it to be the firm incident of organized movement of women. (Surat Sonani Murat by I. Desai, p.121). Similarly we have referred to the instance of the wife of Lalooobhai of Broach who had gone on horseback to Poona to request Nana Fadnavis to release her husband. There was another instance of one Dahibai, a widow of Surat, who secured ~~Pereia~~ pension from the Government by arguing with the magistrate. She was popularly known as 'Dahi, the pleader'. (Narma Gadya,, Narmadashankar, p.291)

4) As a result of the above-mentioned reason, the people accepted whatever was ordained for them. There was no use complaining because everything had come to stay. The fate of an untouchable or a widow were divinely ordained; so nothing could be done to remedy these miseries. To fulfil one's task in this life so that the next life might offer better fruits was the only goal of life preached through social institutions.

The ties with kin groups were more powerful than connections with other groups. Therefore we find that there was hardly any voluntary associational life during the pre-16th century. Men lived in family or caste which were not voluntary groupings.

In short, the social structure exhibited the characteristics of a traditional ascriptive framework, where informal, face to face ties based on kin were predominant.

V

THE NATURE OF VALUE SYSTEM IN PRE-BRITISH GUJARATI SOCIETY

* Having surveyed the political, economic, educational, communicational and social systems of Gujarat, we will, in this section, try to locate the value system which integrated the Gujarati society during that period. In this section we will make an effort to construct the system of values from the foregoing studies.

(1) Predominance of supernatural and sacred values

In our study we noticed that the major institutional structure was based on a supernatural value system.

In polity the whole basis of authority - the king - was considered to be divine in origin; he was 'the beloved of God'²⁰⁴ and hence his word was law for all. The law itself was based on supernatural sanctions and

was not secularly created. Religion was the supreme regulative system.*

In the economic field, the occupational division and the right to perform these occupations were determined by castes which had religious sanction. The classification of occupations into clean and unclean also was based on religious considerations. No economic activities could be performed on particular days, e.g., 11th and 15th of every month, and during the Navratri (festival of mother Goddess) or during the Panchsan (auspicious days of Jains).²⁰⁵ Thus holidays were also linked up with religious considerations.

In education as we have seen, religious values prevail from the beginning till the end. The beginning of schooling for a child was made on an auspicious day, the first letter which was written on the slate was

मातृका (Matruka) - a Jaina salutation to God. The whole curriculum was also sacred and the attitude towards the teacher was also of reverence and the teacher was considered as the God on earth. In literature the main inspiration came from religion. The episodes from Ramayana, Mahabharat, Bhagvat and other Puranas were the constant occurrences in literature. Further the some forms of literature viz. Bhajans and Akhyans were typically suited to religious themes. The saint poets like Narsimha, Mira, Pritam, Bhojo, Dhiro, were the creators of literature of the time. In short religion was a predominant factor in pre-19th century literary currents.

*Dr. Manjulal Majmudar mentions about the influence of religion as the legal system. He says, "The Smriti Law administered in Gujarat from earliest times, was perhaps the direct influence on social life which preceded from the Brahmanic church. It controlled the law of marriage, it affected the disposal of property, it vindicated to some extent the rules of morality." (Cultural History of Gujarat by Dr. M. Majmudar, p.204).

Similarly the caste system was also linked up with Hindu religion, through conception of 'Karma' (behaviour). As Max Weber describes, "The doctrine of Karma occupies a central place in Hindu ethical theory. Based on belief in the transmigration of souls, the doctrine of Karma asserts that every single ethically relevant act produces inevitable consequences which constitute the individual's fate in the next existence."²⁰⁶ Wrong actions done in this life will lead to low birth in the next. Hence birth in a particular caste was a reflection of one's action in the previous birth. Marriage too was sacrament and its chief function was the fulfilment of a religious duty. One of the objectives of the family was the propitiating of the ancestral deities. Family had to perform the religious functions also.

If we take sacred to mean 'reluctance to change' in the sense in which Prof. Becker uses,²⁰⁷ we also find that pre-British Gujarati society was permeated with this value. In whichever aspect of life we examine we find that there was very little readiness to change the system. The political rulers exhibited immense cruelty, generated disorder and unrest but we rarely come across people's protests against political rule itself. There was hardly any concept of citizenship, and therefore we cannot expect protest movements, as we witnessed in subsequent phases.

Similarly in the economic system also, if the demands of the landlords or Desais were very exorbitant, people would leave that area and stay at some other place but could not ask for the removal of the revenue collector. The craft guilds and the Mahajans in the towns determined the nature, quantity and even marketing of the products, that there was very little scope for individual action. Individual craftsmen could never introduce innovations in his method of production. Hence as they were skillful artists they were able to imitate well, the tailors²⁰⁸ and ship-builders²⁰⁹ but they did not evolve a new path in their production method.

In the case of the social system also, as we have pointed out time and again, the social structure was taken for granted. Some Bhaktas, or poets like Shamal or Krishnaram exposed the Brahmins, and their activities. They also criticised customs like child marriage, widowhood, lack of education of woman, evils of joint family life, etc. but there were no suggestions for changing the social structure, or eradicating these evils; because they were termed as the results of the time - (Kāl bal) and so individuals could hardly do anything to improve the society, as everything was pre-determined.

In short the governing value system generated the spirit of conformation with the traditional society rather than change of the social system.

(2) The second important value which permeated the Gujarati society in the pre-19th century was the acceptance of everything on faith, on the basis of authority. As the individual was not an important element to be considered in any aspect of life, naturally, he was not expected to have any opinion. He had to accept whatever was told to him. It is in this atmosphere, that the individual was unable to challenge the king, the revenue collector, the head of the Mahajan, his school teacher, the head of the caste council, or head of the family. Right to raise doubts was not given to the individual. Even if the teacher taught wrongly the student could not correct him; if the wife was punished wrongfully, she could not utter a single word in her defence, because from birth she is taught to tolerate and never to lose temper.²¹⁰ However unhappy she may be at her in-law's place she was not to lodge complaints at her parents' place. In fact to doubt authority was considered a sinful act. The king, the religious head, the teacher, father, husband or head of the caste or village council, were all omniscient, infallible and therefore the persons below them whether they liked or not had to do as prescribed by the authority.

As a result of this, free thinking, free speech and free action did not develop. The competitive spirit was also not inculcated. Individuals did not compete with other individuals. Their vocation was prescribed and their status was ascribed to them by birth. So there was no point in aspiring for things which were never to come. Further as observed in the section on political system in pre-British Gujarat, the services were not based on legal-rational principles in which fixed salary on the time basis, with rules for promotion and retirement. The majority of appointments were on a personal basis, and were of a hereditary character. Payment was generally in kind, determined by customary rules. There thus was no scope for improvement of one's prospects unless a person was attached to trade or revenue collection.

Even castes did not compete with each other for achieving higher status, because the hierarchy was ascribed by religion. The artisan castes, the untouchables and the depressed classes accepted their lot and passed their lives in order to attain better status in the life hereafter. Confirmation and not competition was the rule of the time.

(3) In the absence of values which generate concepts of individualism or rationalism in behaviour, custom was the predominant element determining the actions of the individual, and groups. It was through custom that village councils were empowered to collect revenue, maintain peace and order and to administer justice. Similarly it was custom that empowered the Bhats and Charans to stand as sureties in political or business dealings. Similarly the share of each village servant in crops were determined by custom, and the perquisites to be given to the village servants were also customarily determined. The rate of interest was charged on customary basis and exchanges of thousands of rupees' worth goods were also undertaken on customary faith and

and words of honour. Education was customarily in the hands of the Brahmin castes and the payment to teachers were also determined by custom. In social matters the overpowering influence of custom in birth, marriage, death, and other ceremonies was outstanding. Partners in marriage were selected on customary basis, the expenditure at marriage was determined by custom, even the mourning period was prescribed by custom. Thus customary was the predominant determinant of behaviour pattern and interpersonal and inter-group relationships.

Further there was absence of any concept of progress. The whole phase of the universe was divided into four epochs in the following sequence: Satya Yuga, Dwapar Yuga, Treta Yuga and Kali Yuga. The people supposed that they were passing through the Kali yuga stage. Each succeeding stage was considered as a step to deterioration, in social life. In the 18th century also, it was believed that as society was passing through the fourth stage, it was experiencing all sorts of miseries. Till this phase lasted there was no chance of human betterment, or progress.

In fine, it may be said that the integrative system behind Gujarati society, ~~exhibited~~ exhibited sacred, other worldly, non-individualistic, non-rationalistic, customary value system. The society not only did not encourage a different types behaviour from the traditional one, but punished severely those who deviated from the accepted behaviour patterns.

VI

OVERALL PICTURE OF THE GUJARATI SOCIETY PRIOR TO BRITISH RULE

We have upto now described the various aspects of Gujarati society, and have attempted to understand the basic underlying integrative value systems that prevailed in the Gujarat of pre-British era.

In this section we will apply our indices to describe the nature of Gujarati society in the pre-British phase.

1. Limited scale of relationship: Politically Gujarat was fragmented into a number of small and large kingdoms. There was no peace for the people. Raids, attacks, robbery and uncertainty were the common features ^{of} every day life.

In the absence of efficient communication system, the different parts of Gujarat were living an isolated life. The village communities were existing from time immemorial, being 'untouched by the storm-clouds of the political sky.'²¹¹ The autonomous character of the village communities limited the scale of relationships. Though people may be politically ruled by one common ruler, they would hardly be linked up with each other. Because each village was connected with the state only through the tribute gatherer, which in many cases would be the village headman or talookdar or desai of the nearby town. The judicial function also was not uniform but was distributed between the royal court, the guilds, village council and the caste councils. Thus in the absence of uniformity of application of law, people were not brought into a wider circle of relationships.

In the economic field also, as production was for subsistence, hardly any village people came in contact with the outside world. Even in case of commercial crops like cotton the contact was not regular but spasmodic and they were hardly affected by the developments in other areas.*

The limited character of relationships was revealed in the scanty means of communication and method of communication. As we have observed,

*This contrast will be marked in the 19th century when the breaking out of Civil War in America upsets the nook and corner of Gujarat.

agencies like Khepias, Angadias, Couriers, or methods of communication such as town-criers and drum-beaters could be useful only when the scale of society is limited. For a wider society, oral communication is not sufficient, it requires quicker, more efficient and written method of communication which will reach out to larger areas. Forms of literature were also suited to the limited character of relationships. Socially in caste-ridden Gujarat there was very little vital contact between one caste and the other.

The relationships were primarily limited to kin groups and most of the interrelationships were confined to the castes or village levels, but did not extend to other castes or other villages. In short, scale of relationships was very limited in Gujarat in the pre-19th century phase.

2. The dominance of custom: In all the aspects of life, the dominance of custom could be noticed. In political sphere custom determined the nature of laws to be applicable to the parties, or the nature of punishment to be meted out to the guilty. Further it was custom which determined the appointment of personnel, particularly in lower grades of offices.

In the absence of wide use of money, most of the transactions were through barter in which again custom played significant part. Further as the payment for most services was not in cash but in kind, it was custom which determined the share of each individual or group. Occupations in society were also customarily determined. As very few commodities came in the open market for sale, laws of competition had hardly any effect on the value of a commodity.

In education also it was the customary privilege of certain castes to get education, while others were deprived of it. Further the amount and nature of salary of the teacher was also determined by custom.

In social fields, custom was the uncrowned authority. The whole life of the individual in social matters were determined by customary rules and regulations. It was a customary to practise female infanticide amongst certain Rajput or Koonbi castes, not to send girls to schools for getting educated; that girls should be married before they had attained puberty; that families should choose brides from particular families only; for widows to shave their hair and live in one corner of the house for full one year after the death of her husband, and that husband and wife should not address each other in the presence of the elder members of the family.

In short custom dominated all aspects of the life of the individual and inter-exchanges with other individuals or groups.

3. Predominance of Ascriptive Roles: Another feature of the Gujarati society in the pre-British period was the pre-eminence of ascriptive roles in society. In whichever sphere we cast a glance the roles were ascribed to individuals, the positions in offices were hereditarily granted and not competitively achieved.

In administrative jobs, the revenue collector, the Kazi or the judge, the police patel, the village headman, the scribe, the courier, the Pokarchi (town crier) were all hereditarily appointed. Even in the case of higher offices such as that of Diwan, Nazim, Foujdar, or Mutsaddi, the principle of appointment ^{was} based on personal whims, the only difference being that it was linked up with the court power politics, and that factory determined who would be at the helm of affairs.

In the economic field also the roles for carrying on productive activities were ascribed by the castes and sub-castes, and individuals had

no right to change their occupations. There was hardly any connection between qualification and occupation. The skill for performing the occupation was imparted in the family and caste guilds, hence qualification to perform a job was not to be achieved by education.

The status in society was ascribed to the individual by the caste hierarchy. No individual or group could aspire to reach higher status by their efforts because it was already fixed for him by religion and custom. A Shanti-das Zaveri might save the whole of Ahmedabad with the power of his purse, or A Virji Vohra might give a financial aid to the East India Company or a Shamal Bechar might be having his financial dealings all over the world, but before their Brahmin priests they were nobody's. They had to bow down to the Brahmin who was considered higher in status, while in real life may be maintained by them. In cases of other ^{castes} centres, and specially depressed castes, they could never improve their financial position also, because they were customarily prohibited from doing so. Even the nature of menu to be kept at caste dinners was pre-determined and if anybody broke the rules, he was punished heavily by the caste people or by the higher authorities.*

*Here we may mention an interesting episode which had occurred in Broach during this time. A person named Lalobhai (who had been given immense power by the Nawab) punished one oil-presser (Ghanchi) for preparing in caste dinner one sweet dish called 'Pakwan' which was the monopoly of the Baniya caste. (Bharuch no Itihas by G. Desai, p.452)

Similarly in the periodical Buddhiprekash of 7th March 1860, a list of savage customs prevailing in Gujarat some years ago was given. In that list we find the first custom was that only king could have a first floor to his palace; ordinary subjects had no right to build a higher building than that of the king. Poet Dalpatram mentions that in the days of Peshwas the artisan castes were kept in a low position. The underlying belief was that if they became rich they would not perform such tasks as smithing. The wives of iron-smiths or carpenters were not permitted to wear ornaments or clothes worn by the Baniya women.

The castes such as Barbers when even given permission by the government to prepare a particular sweet dish in the caste dinner, the sweet-meat makers (Kandois) refused to do so, arguing that if Barbers prepare such a sweet dish/what will the Baniyas prepare in their caste dinners! (Gujarati Hindu oni Sthiti by Dalpatram, p.23).

In the family also the roles of father, husband, brother, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law were fixed by birth and sanctified by custom. Though son might be cleverer than his father in managing the ancestral property he could not give suggestions. If a sister was quicker in grasping knowledge than her brother, still she was not sent to the school. Wife howsoever intelligent she may be, must bow down to her husband.

Here it is not our intention to say that the roles could never be changed or that some persons never changed their occupation. In fact some shifting was going on, and arrangements in the form of fees were actually existing in each guild, to be charged for the newcomer.* But the scope was very limited. Mahajans very rarely encouraged such entries.²¹²

As a result of all these manifestations, the value systems of the society also encouraged confirmation with the ascribed roles rather than encouraged competition with others for achieving higher status. The whole value system may be summed up in the common saying of Bhagvad Gita "one's own duty (i.e. dharma or caste rules) though defective, is better than another's duty well performed." ^{"In traditional societies,"} We may end by quoting Drekmeyer, "Integration is based on social duty, rigidly defined and hierarchically arranged. A man is born into a set of obligations; he knows his place in the total scheme of things and will hold to his duties - for their performance is the key to his salvation. The problem of conflict, for all practical purposes is solved."²¹³

*The craft guild of the paper-makers charged 20 rupees for newcomer, while tin-smiths charged 500 rupees. (Gujarat Sarva Sangrah ed. by Narmdashankar, p.282).

4. Norms sacred and other worldly: We have emphasised this aspect throughout our study. All the sanctions behind authority were other worldly, whether the authority was in the form of king, priest, head of the family or husband.

The whole regulative system was based on sacred principles. Law was sanctioned supernaturally. Punishment was meted out according to the prescriptions of supernatural authorities. Even evidence was based on supernatural considerations and powers. Trial by the method of ordeal point out the supernatural associations in evidence.

The whole educational system and literature were based on other worldly norms, and values propagated through the agencies were also predominantly sacred rather than secular. It was for propitiating the God that poetry was written, it was to narrate various incidents in the life of Rama or Krishna, that Akhyans were composed. Literature was not for the self-expression of the emotional reaction to a situation.

The major social institutions viz. caste and family were also based on religious principles, and wielded authority on those grounds. To challenge caste was to challenge the religion. To doubt the parents' authority was to question the supernatural power.

Under these circumstances the society was change resistant. Everything was supernaturally ordained and so no power on earth could affect any alteration. Some exposure of the extant system, a certain amount of satirical narrations of the behaviour of upper castes, found expression during this period, but in the absence of concrete efforts to eradicate the deficiencies of the social system no substantial change could occur.

5. Another feature which is brought out from our description of the pre-19th century society is that there was limited specialization in functions. The religious, the political, the economic, the social or the educational

spheres of life were not strictly separated but a good deal of 'embeddedness' of the one with the other was noticeable. Religion and polity were mixed up as reflected in religious sanction behind law and authority. Economic institutions and caste systems were also linked up. Caste and family provided a background to the individual where most of his needs would be satisfied. Caste supplied him with occupation, partner in life, and social security. Family performed for an individual not only the chief functions such as satisfaction of sexual needs, procreation, and provision of home, but it also performed religious education, social, economic, political and recreational functions. In fact in caste and family the total life of individual was being lived. Thus the separation of functions was manifested in a limited manner.

In short we can describe the pre-British Gujarati society as a traditional society in which the scale of relationships was limited. Where there was dominance of custom in regulating and prescribing patterns of interpersonal or inter-group dealings, where there was predominance of ascriptive roles, where norms were sacred and oriented to the other world, where individualism was not encouraged, where functional division was not very marked, and where the value system encouraged conformity rather than change. Such a society comes into vital contact with a new force viz. the British rule, through East India Company, and experiences certain fundamental shakings in its structure. Before we study the changes brought about in the Gujarati society in the 19th century, we will briefly describe the nature of new rulers.

References

1. Majmudar, Manjulal, The Cultural History of Gujarat, pp. 11, 12, 14.
2. Ibid., p.13; also refer Munshi, K.M., Gujarat and its Literature(1954), pp. xii to xix; Joshi, Umashankar, Purano ma Gujarat(1946), p.11; Narmadashankar(ed.), Gujarat Sarva Sangrah, p.1.
3. Ibid., p.18; also refer Munshi, K.M., op. cit., p.xiii.
4. Ibid., pp.16-17.
5. Syed Nawab Ali and Charles Seddon (1924), The Supplement to the Mirat-i-Ahmadi, preface, pp.ix-x; also refer Commissariat, M.S., A History of Gujarat, Vol.II, pp.561-564.
6. Ibid., p.184.
7. Commissariat, op. cit., p.209; Parekh, Hiralal, Arvachin, Gujarat nu Rekha Darshan, pt. I, pp.12-14; Desai, G.H., Gujaratno Arvachin Itihas, pp. 254, 257, 290.
8. Forbes, A.K., Ras Malal, Vol.II, Ch.V to X; Parekh, H.T., op. cit., p.45.
9. Desai, G., op. cit., pp. 275, 289, 294, 317 & 319.
10. Desai, G., op. cit., pp.319-321.
11. Majmudar, Manjulal (ed.), D.B. Krishnalal Zaveri no Lekh Sangrah, pp. 464-474; also refer Commissariat, p. 522.
12. Narmadashankar, Narma Gadya, pp.296-297; also refer Desai Ishwarlal, Surat Sonani Murat, pp.124-125.
13. Nawab Ali & Saddon, op. cit., pp. 216, 184, 218.
14. Ibid., p.220.
15. Ibid., p.164; Commissariat, op. cit., p.5.
16. Ibid., p.169.
17. Ibid., pp.170-171;
18. Ibid., pp.171-180.
19. Narmadashankar, 'Surat ni Mukhtesar Hakikat' in Narma Gadya, p.293; Refer Ovington's observation; Desai, I., op. cit., p.73; Commissariat, op. cit., pp.-4-5.
20. Nawab Ali & Saddon, op. cit., pp.168-169.
21. Majmudar, M.R., op. cit., p.132.
22. Desai, G. I., op. cit., p.97; Patel, Adelji, Surat ni Tavarikh, p.88.

23. Nawab Ali & Saddon, op. cit., pp. 164, 168, 169.
24. Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Vol.II, Surat District, p.215.
25. Altekar, A.S., Village Communities in Western India, pp.34-35; also refer to quotation of Hamilton in Desai, I., op. cit., p.42.
26. Smith, D.E., India as a Secular State, pp.270-271; also refer Manjulal Majmudar, op. cit., p.131.
27. Patel Adelji, Surat ni Tavarikh, p.104.
28. Forbes, A.K., Ras Mala, Vol.II, p.280.
29. Patel, A., op. cit., p.103.
30. Forbes, A.K., op. cit., pp. 280-281; Majmudar, M., op. cit., pp.131-132; Desai, I., op. cit., p.43; also refer Buddhprakash, Feb. 1857.
31. Ibid., pp.281-284.
32. Drekmeir, Kingship and Community in Early India, p.233.
33. Moreland, W.H., The Agrarian System of Moslem India, pp.3-4; also refer Mukerjee, R., The Rise and Fall of East India Company, pp.146-148.
34. Quoted in Majmudar M., op. cit., p.121.
35. Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Kaira District, Vol.III, p.88.
36. Ibid., p.88; also refer Yagnik, J.U., Notes on Kaira, A District in Fertile Gujarat, pp. 7-8.
37. Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Vol.IV, Ahmedabad District, p.148; also Majmudar, M., op. cit., p.119.
38. Bombay Government Records No. CLXXIV, p.210.
39. Ibid., p.211.
40. Ibid., p.316.
41. Majmudar, M., op. cit., p.122; Parekh Hiralal, op. cit., pp.46-47.
42. Forbes, Ras Mala, Vol.II, p.263.
43. Altekar, A.S., op. cit., p.67.
44. Majmudar, M., Cultural History of Gujarat p.179.
45. Majmudar, M.(ed.), D.B. Krishnalal Zaveri no Lekh Sangrah, pp.485-486.
46. Nawab Ali and Saddon, op. cit., p.166; Majmudar, M.(ed.), op. cit., p.492.

47. Narmad(ed.), Gujarat Sarva Sangrah, p.124.
48. Majmudar, M., Cultural History of Gujarat, p.135; Majmudar, M.(ed.), D.B. Krishnalal Zaveri na Lekh Sangrah, pp.489-490.
49. Ibid., p.136; Patel, A., op. cit., p.102.
50. Bombay Government Records no. CLXXIV, p.315.
51. Parikh, Rasiklal, Gujarat ni Rajdhanio, pp.8-10; also refer Jote, R., Gujarat nu Patnagar Ahmedabad, pp.116-117; Munshi, K.M., Gujarat and its Literature, pp.xxiv to xxvii.
52. Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Vol.IV, Ahmedabad District, p.45.
53. Nawab Ali and Saddon, op. cit., pp.184-215.
54. Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Vol.IV, p.43.
55. Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency Hindu Population, Vol.IX, pp.152-153.
56. Yagnik, J.U., op. cit., p.7.
57. Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Vol.IX, p.239.
58. Altekar, A.S., Village Communities in ^{Western} India, pp. 4, 7, 62; also refer Majmudar, M., op. cit., pp.171-172.
59. Majmudar, M., op. cit., p. 173.
60. The Memoir on the Zilla of Baroche under the Superintendence of Lt. Col. Williams, p.38.
61. Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Vol.II, Broach District, p.382; Altekar, A.S., op. cit., pp.11-13;
62. Ibid., pp.383-385; also refer to Majmudar, M., op. cit., p.182; Altekar, A.S., op. cit., pp.88-89.
63. Quoted from Shamal in Cultural History of Gujarat by Majmudar, M., p.183; also refer Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Vol.II, pp.385-388.
64. Ibid., p.145; also refer Vol.III, p.53; Buddhiprakash, 1863-1864.
65. Shelvankar, K.S., Problem of India (1940), pp.98-102.
66. Mackay, Western India, p.83.
67. Mukerjee, Ramkrishna, op. cit., pp.149-151.
68. The Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Vol.II, pp.62-63.
69. Ibid., Kaira District, Vol.III, p.232.
70. Desai, A.R., Social Background of Indian Nationalism, p.4.
71. Morison, Theodore, The Economic Transition in India, p.1.

Indian Business

72. Gadgil, D.R., Origins of the Modern/Class, p.14.
73. Nawab Ali & Saddon, op. cit., p.229.
74. Majmudar, M.R., Stanley's Barbosa quoted in Cultural History of Gujarat, pp.68-69.
75. Quoted from Mandlso's Travels in Commissariat, History of Gujarat Vol.II, p.352.
76. Ibid., The renot's tour, p.367.
77. Quoted in Desai, I., Surat Sonani Murat, p.72.
78. Desai, G., Bharuch no Itihas, p.274; also refer Desai, G.H., Gujarat no Arvachin Itihas, p.349; also refer Mukerjee, R., Economic History of India, 1600-1800, pp. 115-116; also refer Commissariat.
79. Mukerjee, R., op. cit., pp.88-89; also refer Commissariat, op. cit., for Tavernier's Travels in India, p.298.
80. Quoted in Cultural History of Gujarat, Majmudar, M., p.82.
81. Mukerjee, R., op. cit., p.153; also refer Patel, Adelji, op. cit., p.49.
82. Commissariat, op. cit., p.301.
83. Majmudar, M.R., The Cultural History of Gujarat, p.193.
84. Desai, G., Bharuch no Itihas, pp.281-282.
85. Commissariat, op. cit., p.302; also refer Narmad, Narmagadya, p.293.
86. Majmudar, M.R., op. cit., pp.76-77.
87. Ibid., p.77; also refer Desai, I., Surat Sonani Murat, pp.98-99; Commissariat, op. cit., pp.308-309.
88. Parekh, H., Gujarat Vernacular Society no Itihas, pt.I, p.7 65.
89. Gadgil, D.R., op. cit., p.20.
90. Desai, Iccharam (ed.), Brihat Kavya Dohan, pt.3, p.243; also refer Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Gujarat Population, p.77.
91. Commissariat, op. cit., p.140.
92. Ibid., quoted from original Records pp.420-421.
93. Jha, S.C., Studies in the Development of Capitalism in India, quotation from The English Factories in India by William Foster, pp.82-83.
94. Ibid., p.85; also refer Sinha, N.C., Studies in Indo-British Economy Hundred Years Ago, p.21.
95. The Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Vol.IV, Ahmedabad District, p.101; Jote, R., Khambhat no Itihas, pp.127-128.

96. Dave Narmadashankar (ed.), Gujarat Sarva Sangraha, p.284.
97. Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Vol.IV, p.107.
98. Majmudar, M.R., Cultural History of Gujarat, p.128.
99. Ibid., p.128; also refer Patel, A., op. cit., pp.145-146.
100. Desai, I., Surat Sonani Murat, pp.196-213(Detailed descriptions of the Lives of some of the well-known families).
101. Gujarat ek Parichaya article by Amin, R.K., pp.527-53.
102. Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol.IX, p.118.
103. Ibid., pp.78-79.
104. Majmudar, M.R., The Cultural History of Gujarat, p.347; also refer Sjoberg Pre-Industrial City, p.298; O'Malley, L.S.S., The Modern India and the West, p.139; Kantawalla, H., Kelvani nu Shastra ane teni Kala, pt.I(1923), p.15.
105. Smith, India as a Secular State, p.336; also refer Survey of Indigenous Education in Province of Bombay (1820-30), Parulekar, R.V.(ed.), p.xxxii.
106. Ibid., p.335; Majmudar, M., op. cit., p.347; Kantawalla, H., op. cit., pp. 146-147.
107. Nurullah & Naik, History of Education in India, p.38; also refer Patel, A., op. cit., p.87; Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol.IX, p. 113.
108. O'Malley, L.S.S., op. cit., p.140.
109. Majmudar, M.R., op. cit., p.347.
110. Nurullah, & Naik, op. cit., pp.12-13, 39; Derasari, D., Sathi nu Sahitya, p.6.
111. The Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol.IX, p.31.
112. Derasari, D., op. cit., p.5; Navalram, Navalgranthavalli, pt.II(1915), p.109; Nurullah & Naik, op. cit., pp.9-10; Kantawalla, H., op. cit., p.162.
113. Navalram, op. cit., p.94; Kantawalla, op. cit., p.161.
114. Nurullah & Naik, op. cit., p.38; Derasari, D., op. cit., pp.6-8.
115. Desai, G., Bharuch no Itihas, pt.215-216; Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Vol.IX, p.31.
116. Parulekar, R.V.(ed.), op. cit. p.xvi ; also refer Naval Granthavalli, pt.II(1915), p.93.

117. Ibid., p.xvi.
118. Desai, G., Bharuch no Itihas, pp.220-221.
119. Parulekar (ed.), op. cit., pp. 67, 72.
120. Ibid., p. xxxi.
121. Navalram, Naval Granthavalli, pt. II(1915), p.95.
122. Desai, Ichharam,(ed.), Brihat Kavya,Dohan, pt.8, p. 229.
123. Parulekar (ed.), op. cit., p.xxii.
124. Ibid., p.xxv; also refer Desai, G., Bharuch no Itihas, p.223;
Derasari, D., Sathi nu Sahitya, p.4.
125. Desai, G., op. cit., p.257; Parulekar(ed.), op. cit., p.75.
126. Sjoberg, Pre-Industrial City, p.286.
127. Nawab, Ali & Saddon, op. cit., p.170.
128. Desai, G., Bharuch no Itihasa, p. 461.
129. Patel, A., Surat ni Tararikh, p.142; Desai, I., Surat ni Sonani Murat,
p.126.
130. Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol.IX, pp.208-209.
131. Ibid., p.23.
132. Watcha, Sir D., Shells from the sands of Bombay being my Recollections
and Reminiscences, pp. 15, 17.
133. Gautam, R., Vritta Vivechan, p.63; also refer Shamal Bhatt, Suda Bahoteri
Varta, No.32, p.146.
134. Derasari, D., op. cit., pp. 6-7, 17.
135. Nawab Ali & Saddon, op. cit., pp.170-171.
136. Ibid., p.172.
137. Ibid., p.172.
138. Ibid., p.173; also refer Derasari,D., op. cit., p.274.
139. Derasari, op. cit., p.274.
140. Joshi, V.K. and Lele, R.K., Vratt Patrancha Itihas(1951), p.21.
141. Derasari, D., op. cit., p.274.
142. Ibid., p.275.

143. Jote, R., Khambhat no Itihasa, p.145; also refer article on "Apna Prachin Gnan Bhandare" in Aitihāsik Lekh Sangrah by Gandhi, L.
144. Parikh, R.D., Press and Society (thesis), pp.27-28.
145. Majmudar, M.R., Cultural History of Gujarat, p.341; Munshi, K.M., Gujarat and Its Literature (1954), pp.78-80.
146. Ibid., p.341.
147. Ranade, M.G., The Rise of the Maratha Power and Other Essays(1961), p.86; also quoted in Belvalkar & Ranade, History of Indian Philosophy, Vol.II, p.257.
148. Majmudar, M.R., op. cit., p.344.
149. Sandesara Bhogilal and Parekh Somabhai(eds.), Prachin Fagu Sangrah, p.39.
150. Sahitya Parishad, Report Vol.III, speech by Narsinhrao Divatia.
151. Munshi, K.M., op. cit., p.251.
152. Rawal Anantrai, Gandhakshat, p.108; also refer Rawal Shankarprasad, Dayaram Ras Sudha (1943), pp. 3, 7, 12, 16, 17, 18, 28.
153. Desai, Ichharam (ed.), Brihad Kavya Dohan, pt.8, pp.109, 710, 715.
154. Ibid., pp.644-654; also refer to Ibid., pt.III, pp.680-682.
155. Ibid., pp.24-25.
156. Narsinh, quoted in Sahitya Nikash by Rawal Anantrai, pp.24-25; refer to the poems of Dwarko quoted in Selections from Classical Gujarati Literature Vol.III, ed. Erach Taraporewala(1936), pp.61-64, 163; also refer Ibid., Vol.II, p.499.
157. Tripathi, Govardhanram, Classical Poets of Gujarat, p.12; Taraporewala (ed.), op. cit., Vol.III, pp. 51, 54, 149, 151.
158. Ranade, M.G., op. cit., pp. 79-80.
159. Derasari, D., op. cit., pp. 9-10.
160. Bombay Gazetteer Vol.IX, Gujarat Population, p.xii.
161. Nawab Ali & Saddon, op. cit., pp. 124-125.
162. Desai, Ichharam (ed.), Brihad Kavya Dohan, pt.I, pp. 519-527.
163. Bombay Gazetteer Vol.IX, p.xiv, also refer Jote, R., Gujarat no Sanskrutik Itihas, p.230.
164. Nawab Ali & Saddon, op. cit., p.125; also refer Shamal, Batris Putlini Varta, p.767.

165. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol.IX, p.2, f.n.
166. Ibid., pt. 4-23; Dave Narmadashankar (ed.), Gujarat Sarva Sangrah, pp.58-59.
167. Forbes, A.K., Ras Mala, Vol.II, pp.273-274; also refer Shamal Suda Bahoteri, pp. 249-50.
168. Ibid., p.278.
169. Nawab Ali & Saddon, op. cit., p.132.
170. Bombay Gazetteer Vol.IX, p.70.
171. Majmudar, M.R., op. cit., p.191; also refer Shamal, Batris Putli ni Varta, No.32, p.769.
172. Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Vol.IX.
173. Kapadia, K.M., Marriage and Family in India(1958), pp.216, 243-246.
174. Ibid., p.249.
175. Ibid., p.250.
176. Ibid., pp.228, 229.
177. Altekar, A.S., The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization, pp.250, 259-260.
178. Bombay Gazetteer Vol.IX, p.22 213.
179. Ibid., p.221.
180. Ibid., pp. 179, 181, 186, 188.
181. Ibid., p.161.
182. Ibid., p.167.
183. Quoted in Majmudar, M.R., op. cit., p.143.
184. Ibid., p.143.
185. Ibid., p.143.
186. Altekar, A.S., op. cit., p.3, Davies.
187. Majmudar, M.R., op. cit., p.151.
188. Forbes, A.K., Ras Mala, Vol.II, p.335.
189. Kapadia, K.M., op. cit., p.30.
190. Majmudar, M.R., op. cit., pp.149-150.
191. Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol.IX, pp.39, 62, 90.

192. Brihad Kavya Dohan, pt.IV, poem by Vallabh Bhat, pp.680-682.
193. Quoted in Majmudar, M., op. cit., p.158.
194. Meghani, Z., Radhiali Raat, pt.II(1926), pp.15-16.
195. Majmudar, M.R., op. cit., pp.160-161.
196. Ibid., p.161.
197. Shamal, Suda Bahoteri Varta No.32, p.194.
198. Forbes' Ras Mala, Vol.II, p.427.
199. Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Vol.IX, p. 358.
200. Shamal, Batris Putli ni Varta, pp.358-359, Suda Bahoteri ni Varta, p.200; also refer Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol.IX, p.50.
201. Sjoberg, Pre-Industrial City, p.163.
202. Ibid., pp.171-172.
203. Shamal, Suda Bahoteri, p.236; Desai, I.(ed.), Brihad Kavya Dohan, pt.II, pp.480, 486.
204. Ashoka's Relics quoted in Majmudar, M.R., op. cit., p.256.
205. Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol.IX, pp.81, 187, 189, 191.
206. Quoted in Smith, India as a Secular State, p.294.
207. Becker & Boskoff, Modern Sociological Theory in Continuity and Change, p.142.
208. Refer to Quotation of Ovington in f.n. Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Vol. IX, p.180.
209. Desai, I., Surat Sonani Murat.
210. Shamal, Batris Putli ni Varta, p.69.
211. Mukerjee, R., The Rise and Fall of the East India Company, p.144.
212. Narmad (ed.), Gujarat Sarva Sangrah, p.284.
213. Dreke^emeir, Kingship and Authority^{COMMUNITY IN EARLY INDIA}, p.294.