

1953

Board, it was only in June 1952, that the para in its final form was decided to be adopted in the Audit Report, 1951

(c) Government are actively negotiating for the revision of the agreement in question

SUBSIDY TO FLYING AND GLIDING CLUBS

70 SHRI M VALIULLA Will the Minister for COMMUNICATIONS be pleased to state the rate at which and the basis on which subsidies were distributed among the various flying and gliding clubs in 1951-52 and in 1952-53?

THE MINISTER FOR COMMUNICATIONS (SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM) Subsidies amounting to Rs 9,33,449 and Rs 9,71,847 have been paid to the various flying clubs during 1951-52 and 1952-53 respectively. Subsidies are granted at the rates provided for under clause 2 of the subsidy agreement executed by the clubs with the Government. A copy of the form of agreement is laid on the Table of the House. The basis of calculation of subsidies is the same in respect of all the flying clubs but the actual amounts earned by them depend on the amount of flying carried out by them during the year. [See Appendix IV, Annexure No. 109]

2 The Indian Gliding Association Poona is granted Rs 20,000 per annum towards meeting its standing charges. It is also given a bonus at Rs 250 per 'C' glider pilot trained by them. The Association has been granted subsidies amounting to Rs 20,000 and Rs 23,000 during 1951-52 and 1952-53 respectively. Besides grants totalling Rs 1,45,000 have also been paid to the Association so far since 1948, for the purchase of gliders.

3 Subsidy to the Delhi Gliding Club is paid on an *ad hoc* basis. It has been paid Rs 10,000 during each of the years 1951-52 and 1952-53 for meeting their recurring expenditure. Besides a grant of Rs 30,000 during 1951-52 and of Rs 20,000 during 1950-51 was paid to the Club for the purchase of capital equipment.

APPOINTMENT OF AN EXPERT COMMITTEE ON JUTE

71 SHRI M VALIULLA Will the Minister for FOOD AND AGRICULTURE be pleased to state

(a) whether an Expert Committee to improve the quality of jute has recently been appointed by Government, and

(b) what time has been fixed for this Committee to submit its report?

THE MINISTER FOR FOOD AND AGRICULTURE (SHRI RAFI AHMED KIDWAI) (a) Yes

(b) No time has been fixed for the submission of the Committee's report but it is expected that the report will be available in about three months' time.

THE ANCIENT AND HISTORICAL MONUMENTS AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SITES AND REMAINS (DECLARATION OF NATIONAL IMPORTANCE) AMENDMENT BILL 1953

MR. CHAIRMAN We now pass on to the Legislative Business.

SHRI M P N SINHA (Bihar) Sir, before this Bill is taken, I want to make a request to you. I have given notice of an amendment. I am very sorry I could not do it yesterday. I have consulted the Government and they have no objection to this being discussed.

MR. CHAIRMAN The Government are agreeable and it will be discussed.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER FOR NATURAL RESOURCES AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH (SHRI K D MALAVIYA) Sir, I beg to move

'That the Bill to amend the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archæological Sites and Remains (Declaration of National Importance) Act 1951, be taken into consideration.'

Sir this is perhaps going to be the first of a series of routine amending

[Shri K. D. Malaviya.]

Bills because as the House is aware, after the passing of the Constitution, it is obligatory on the part of the Government to approach the Parliament and obtain its sanction before we take over any monuments of ancient and historical importance or of archaeological sites and remains. The 1951 Act gives a list and the Archaeological Department after its survey periodically prepares further list. That list has got to be put up before the Parliament and its sanction obtained to include it in the original list in order to declare it as objects of national importance. Besides this, Sir, there are certain clerical mistakes and some spelling mistakes which have to be corrected and even for that purpose we have to approach the House and obtain its sanction for the rectification of those clerical mistakes. This amending Bill, as the House is aware, contains a list from all Part A and Part B States and it is now proposed that all these items be included in the Schedule of 1951 Act which is known as the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains (Declaration of National Importance) Act, so that they may also be declared to be of national importance. There are a few items which I am proposing to be deleted from this list. The object of this is that either they have become too old to deserve any protection now or the proprietorship of those monuments is being questioned and the private parties do not wish that we should take them over. There is only one such case. The Maharaja of Dhar does not want it to be taken over by the Government. The list which is attached to the amending Bill is before the House and I move, Sir, that this be taken into consideration so that it may be adopted

MR. CHAIRMAN: Motion moved:

"That the Bill to amend the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains (Declaration of National Importance) Act, 1951, be taken into consideration."

SHRI S. N. MAZUMDAR (West Bengal): Sir, I have no quarrel with this Bill.

MR. CHAIRMAN: What have you to do with this Bill?

SHRI S. N. MAZUMDAR: But I take this opportunity to draw the attention of the House and that of Government to another matter which is brought before my mind while I read about monuments. I speak about the statues of the Viceroys and Commander-in-Chief which are still there before our eyes. These should be removed at the earliest possible moment. This should have been done long before. It is a shame that after 5 years of Congress rule the statues which are the reminders of our past slavery and past sufferings are still being maintained in public places at public cost. So, while I lend my support to this Bill, I request the Government to take up this matter seriously.

As regards this Bill I should be very glad if the Government gives us some information about how these ancient monuments and archaeological sites are selected because I wish to know whether the help of non-official bodies is also taken. I would like the Government to throw some light on this matter.

SHRI S. MAHANTY (Orissa): Sir, with your permission, I would like to speak from the front row, as I have a sore throat.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I should welcome this Bill however inadequate and ill-conceived it might be. When I say ill-conceived and ill-planned, I say in no spirit of carping criticism. This is not a political measure. It relates to the cultural aspect of our life and here I am speaking as if I were a Member of the Treasury Benches and I hope that in such a matter, no political intransigence will stand in the way of our deliberations. Before I go to justify my charges that this Bill is ill-conceived and ill-planned, I would invite the attention of this House to the main

problem of Indian Archæology, because this is not merely a routine amending Bill as the hon Deputy Minister of Education has sought to characterise it but it is something more than that. What are the main problems of archæology? Of course I am a humble student of ancient history. I have no pretensions here to make any authoritative pronouncements. So far as I understand the main problem of Indian Archæology today is to fill up the hiatus that exists between the close of the Harappa period in 1500 B.C. and the dawning of the Buddhist period in the 5th and 6th Century B.C. This one thousand years of darkness, of chaos has to be filled in by historical facts based on archæological data and not by legends or fanciful stories. In this context I should invite the attention of the hon Minister to one of the very pertinent observations made by the ex-Director of Archæology—Dr Mortimer Wheeler—before he left for Pakistan. In an exceedingly readable paper which was published in *Ancient India* No 4—he indicated the lines on which the Indian archæological researches should progress. He indicated it in his inimitable way that Indian archæological researches should progress from known to unknown. So on this occasion I feel it my duty to ask the Minister how far his Archæological Department has proceeded in this matter. If I may be permitted to say so it is another wasteful Department which has no ostensible records of achievement. Even the bulletin *Ancient India* that was being published regularly has now been suspended. We read of the many excavation reports that are going on in India. Many chalcolithic sites are being excavated, many new findings are reported in Indian as well as foreign journals but it is a pity it is a thousand pity that the Government of India does not publish them in any of its journals and even that *Ancient India* which was being published has now suspended its publication. I had an occasion to go through issue No 6 of *Ancient India* and I was pained to find as a humble student that its standard has much deteriorated both in quality of the

contributions and the quality of production as well.

Another problem of Indian Archæology is whether the chalcolithic civilisation, that flourished in India in Mohenjo Daro and Harappa was merely confined to the several sites which were unearthed or it spread eastwards and southwards. So far, after the partition of India Mohenjo Daro Harappa etc—all these sites of ancient Indian civilisation which were a source of inspiration not only in India but outside it is a thousand pity—have passed on to Pakistan. It is an irony of history that what in ancient times was known to be India is today not India. However it was left thereafter to the Government of India and to the Universities and to the scholars as well to find out whether there were other chalcolithic sites. There is no reason to say that Mohenjo Daro and Harappa were a mere accident. It certainly evolved through years of history about which we don't know and it behoved upon the Government which claims to have any amount of culture to have unearthed these sites. Even when foreign countries like Switzerland and France are sending out their research teams to India to unearth these spots, to fill up that gap in the history of the Far East it is a shame that our Government sits idle and twiddles its thumb all the time and the Minister comes with such a routine amending Bill.

When I said ill-conceived and ill-planned, I said it merely from this point of view that this amending Bill has no relation to the main problems of archæology.

Now I should come to the second aspect. Of course in this House we had no occasion to review the activities of this Department. Probably our attentions were engaged with more. I should not say important but relatively important Departments of the Government.

With your permission, Sir, I would like to make a brief survey of the activities of this Department. In 1950-51 a beggarly sum of Rs 6,91,000 was

[Shri S. Mahanty.]

sanctioned for Parts B and C States for the classification of monuments. Would you believe it, Sir, Rs. 6,40,000 were surrendered at the end of the year and the balance of Rs. 51,300 was spent in maintaining the staff. A government whose whole cultural horizon is confined to the pages of the Five Year Plan and the Congress Election Manifesto cannot be expected to do anything better. But with all humility I would say that a nation is not built and sustained by factories and river-valley projects. If a nation is to stand the tests of rise and fall, it must have deep and strong cultural moorings and inspiring cultural backgrounds. Otherwise in no time we may also become, as many of our friends in America and other places have become, people without any tradition and probably we will behave as upstarts as many nations without traditions behave. It is of course, good to have factories. It is good to have river-valley projects. But we should also pay attention to our ancient heritage, to our ancient culture. In 1952-53 the original estimate was Rs. 44 lakhs and it was reduced to Rs. 38.54 lakhs. And now I will indicate the main item of expenditure. Rs. 5.05 lakhs is for maintenance of monuments in the Part B States. I feel very strongly on this, Sir. Many of the ex-princely States there were spending four or five times of this in their individual States for the maintenance of these monuments and for carrying out their research. In this connection I would like to draw attention to the extremely laudable work which was being done by the Oriental Institute of Baroda. You know, Sir, how many ancient monuments they have unearthed and how many research papers they have published and how many missing links in our ancient history they have been able to discover. It is a pity that for all our Part B States the Government have provided only a sum of Rs. 5.05 lakhs. For the 'A' States we have got Rs. 16,25,200 for exploration, and for excavation charges we have Rs. 1,59,700. But as I indicated earlier, we have a lot of work to do in this field of exca-

vation and exploration and this amount is entirely inadequate. These come to about Rs. 22 lakhs and the rest, i.e. Rs. 16 lakhs are for maintaining the staff which has got very scant understanding of the main problem that besets us today.

Now I come to the main Bill. I would have expected the hon. Minister to attach an explanatory memorandum to these lists of items. If I ask him what is meant by Chausath Yogini Temple, I know he will maintain silence. If I ask him about Ardhanariswar Temple, he will, I know, remain silent. It is no good merely mentioning these names and saying they will be included in the list. We have every right to ask why such and such items are proposed to be included in the list of ancient or historical monuments of national importance.

Then again, you will find Sir, on page 5, the words "ancient sites" occur so many times. There are so many "ancient sites" on this page. This is a very vague way of putting things. "Ancient" is a very vague, generalised term. An ancient site may belong to the neolithic period; or it may belong to some other recent period in history; it may mean a tomb of one of the Moghul emperors as well. There is also reference to "brick mounds." These require further clarification to show to which period these brick mounds belong. The hon. Minister might say it is too much to expect one person to know all these items, but then, for what is he maintaining his Department? It is the business of the Archaeological Department to frame this Bill and circulate an explanatory memorandum.

• Sir, on this occasion, I would also like to make a plea and a suggestion that the Orissa Circle should be freed at once from the Eastern Circle, because as this House knows, Orissa abounds in many ancient sites and so far what the Archaeological Department under the ægis of the Government of India has done is not only inadequate but it betrays a woeful lack of interest. Here I would like to invite the attention of the hon. Minister to

the excavation going on at Sisupalgarh. These excavations have progressed only up to the seventh layer and already they have disclosed things connected with the first century B.C. I have, however, heard that there were many other sites near about Sisupalgarh which if excavated would reveal many more important finds. Even as it is, a gold coin was found and it is a shame that the legend which was inscribed on it has not yet been deciphered. Some time back, while at Banaras I had occasion to enquire about it and came to know that Dr. Altekar has made a tentative decipherment of the inscription as "Maharaja Dharmadmodar". It was a tentative decipherment only; and nothing seems to have been done thereafter. In the meantime, two years have gone by and the other day when I visited the Orissa Museum, they complained that that gold coin which in the fitness of things should have been placed in the Orissa Museum, has gone away somewhere—nobody knows where. Sir, Orissa has been robbed in the past in a number of ways and I most respectfully submit that she should not be robbed of her cultural traditions also.

SHRI V. K. DHAGE (Hyderabad): Is there a museum in Orissa?

SHRI S. MAHANTY: Yes, it is a museum in itself.

Now, I come to my amendment, Sir. In this amending Bill Government is seeking to include the Chausath Yogini Temple which they have found near Bhubaneswar in Puri District. There are, I am told no other sites in India containing these rare manifestations of our ancient architectural and iconographical traditions.

There we had only one site at Veragarh at Jubbulpore and lately we have found the Chausath Yogini Temple near Bhubaneswar in Puri District but before this Chausath Yogini Temple at Veragarh came to the notice of the scholars there was a Chausathi Yogini Temple at the site which I propose to be included in my amendment in Ranipur Jharial in Bolangir District, but the vandalism of age, of cow-herd

boys and of the iconoclasts has been at work. Seven images have been removed from that temple at the site of Ranipur Jharial. I have also seen the site at Hirapur near Bhubaneswar and I can say it authoritatively that the temple in Bolangir in Ranipur Jharial is much more important than the site in Hirapur. There is another reason why this Chausathi Yogini Temple of Ranipur Jharial should also come under the National Monuments Act; only when we have two sites we can make a comparative study in iconography, in architecture and other related facts. It is not for me, Sir, to stress on the importance of the Chausathi Yogini Temples. They belong to a very important phase in the development of *tantric* philosophy in India. In Hindu *tantra* you may not find any mention of it. Buddhist *tantra* might have been silent. My friend says it is a part of Buddhist *tantras*—then it is all the more important why we should immediately preserve it; otherwise, in a matter of two or three years that wonderful site, those lyrics in stone will be no more. I am speaking now on the amendment so that I may not have any necessity of speaking at the second stage. The Khichingeswari Temple in Mayurbhanj, about which my hon. friend will be in a better position to speak, is also another most valuable site in the entire history of Indian architecture. Here, Sir, I find so many caves, ancient sites of indefinite age and time, are being sought to be included as monuments of national importance. May I invite his attention to ancient caves in Hemgiri in Sundargarh District, and in Gudhandi in Bhawanipatna District? So far, all indications go to show that they might belong to the chalcolithic age. We find, Sir, the hieroglyphics which flourished in those sites resemble those of the Egyptian hieroglyphics. I am not in a position to say whether it was a replica of the Egyptian hieroglyphics but Rev. Father Herras, that savant who has conducted invaluable researches into the chalcolithic age of Indian culture, some time back was saying that a proper research should only prove what relation this

[Shri S. Mahanty.]

part of the country had with the other chalcolithic sites. If other chalcolithic sites are going to be explored, as I know, the Indian Archaeological Department is keen on it, it is all the more important that these ancient caves at Sundargarh and Gudhandi should also come under the National Monuments Act.

Sir, with all respect, with all humility, not as a Member of this Parliament in the Opposition but as a humble student of history, I beseech the hon. Minister to see his way so that all these valuable monuments might be preserved and maintained.

SHRI RAMA RAO (Madras): Mr. Chairman, I like this Bill only for one reason and that is for its judicious and equitable admixture of tombs and temples. Beyond that, it is not entitled either to my personal affection or to intellectual respect. The Deputy Minister in charge of this Bill, I am afraid, counted without some of us who take interest not only in the froth and foam and noise of contemporary politics but also in those things that are related to the eternal verities of life. He seems, also to have forgotten that this is a country, whose history, it has been rightly said, has exhausted time and is encroaching on eternity. In the darkest periods of our history when hordes of enemies trod over us, humbled us, disgraced and defeated us, something yet remained for us, something bright, something illuminating and uplifting our souls, and it was the culture of the race, the architecture, the statues, the literature and all those great and glorious things it is our purpose today to renovate and to give an absolutely new orientation to. I ask the Deputy Minister whether he has brought to the subject that vision without which we all perish. This is a routine Bill, he says, take it, pass it and put it on the list. Wonderful! It is not what I expect.

Sir, I am opposed to the principle of this Bill even as I am opposed to the principle of the original Bill, even as I am opposed to the unfortunate

provision in the Constitution that divides archæology into three or four sections. I was not a Member of the Constituent Assembly and I am not bound by its decision, and I am not going to accept that provision of the Constitution for the reason that it has failed to deliver the goods. I am opposed to the principle of this Bill, as I have said, because I do not like the decentralisation of archæology which is against the settled principles of historic experience. I am opposed to this Bill because this Archæological Department has not been functioning with anything that can be said to be decency or reasonableness. Nothing in this Bill reveals to me that there is any proper uplifting national approach to the great question it embodies. Finally with the great events of recent months still leaving their happy echoes in our ears, I believe we have not sufficiently recognised the international importance of India's archæological discoveries.

Sir, if I do not go deeply into the various details attached to this Bill—it very much looks like a casualty list in war-time—it is because the Deputy Minister is not entitled to expect me to discuss the details. He has given no notes, no explanations. My friend, Mr. Mahanty was right when he took that question up. I would, however, confine myself to the fundamentals concerning archæology. Mr. Mahanty has brought the fact to the attention of this House that the Five Year Plan makes no provision for archæological progress. There is no provision in it for literature, no provision for culture, no provision for anything that pleases the heart or uplifts the soul. Splendid! The Prime Minister is discovering India everyday and I want to know whether the Archæological Department is helping him. Sir, yesterday I invaded the Library for the latest Archæological Report.

SHRI S. MAHANTY: You won't find it.

SHRI RAMA RAO: It ratified my impression that none had been issued since 1937. I could understand even

1947, Sir But what have we been doing after 1947? I suppose we are a free country today. Are we not? Then what is being done in regard to this line of national activity? A number of new temples are being added to the list What is the necessity of transferring them from one list to another? What is the basis of this division and this transfer? What under the Constitution is the function of the States? What are the organisations in the States, made under the provisions of the Constitution, to carry on the work? Have they any organisation at all? Have they any money? Why do you transfer responsibility to a set of poverty-stricken and cultureless men in the Provinces who will never be able to understand what archæology is?

Sir, in this connection, while I am on the matter of lists, I should like to put a question about the intentions of the Government about Sevagram. Surely it will be conceded that Sevagram has mattered much in the history of this country. I know Mahatma Gandhi was a difficult person, in some matters at times dangerously difficult I do not know what his will and testament is But so far as Sevagram is concerned, it is high time that the nation made it into a grand trust and put it under men like Kaka Kalelkar who will look after it.

Sir, you will permit me to discuss the constitutional aspect as it concerns the Archæological Department. I am putting in a plea before this House to support any demand we may have to make for a change in the structure of the related provision in the Constitution. The provision is that all those monuments which are declared to be of national importance are in the Central List; those which are not so declared are on the State List; then come sites and remains, which are in the Concurrent List. I make no distinction between the three for practical purposes, because there is nothing happening in regard to any of the three. I contend that this division is against the settled tendency of Indian history. The present position is summed up by

an expert thus "The Constitution seems to say that the Centre can assert itself whenever it feels that a State, either through negligence or by following wrong methods or policies of exploration, is acting detrimentally to the sites remaining in its jurisdiction"

Incidentally, I am glad that, in this connection, something is being done about Vikramasila. Some time ago when I was in Bihar I found that that site had been given over on contract or sale to some Calcutta potteries firm and the firm's men were digging it up for clay, thereby ruining a historic possession The District Magistrate had guts enough to stop it, sale or no sale, contract or no contract. He rightly appreciated that the site of Vikramasila University was not the place to take *matti* from for making pots If the digging had been allowed, the university, its culture and the great memories of the past would have vanished into the void.

Before 1862 there was nothing like an Archæological Department. In that year a Director was appointed to make an accurate description of such remains as deserved notice The office was not intended to be permanent. Later liberal ideas came along and more interest was taken in matters relating to antiquity, beauty and historical interest. Subsequently more attention was paid to ancient monuments though it was not regarded, even in the time of the great Cunningham, as the responsibility of the State. It had to be frequently impressed upon the Local Governments that they were to do proper conservation work in this matter. We next come to the classic despatch of Lord Lytton in 1878. He wrote, "The preservation of national antiquities and works of art ought not to be exclusively left to the charge of local governments". I trust the Deputy Minister is following me. "The preservation of the national antiquities ought not to be exclusively left to the charge of local governments which may not be alive to the importance of such duty."

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: I think most of it is not relevant.

SHRI RAMA RAO: I am attacking the whole Bill. To continue the quotation, "Lieutenant-Governors who combine aesthetic culture with administrative energy are not likely to be very common". Then we come to the time of Lord Curzon. Let me quote the three-fold objects of his policy. To ensure the proper upkeep and repair of ancient buildings in private ownership, excepting such as are used for religious purposes; to prevent the excavation of sites of historic interest by ignorant and unauthorised persons; to secure control over the traffic in antiquities.

Sir, in 1904—at least this ought to appeal to the Education Department—an Englishman like Lord Curzon had much more reverence to our antiquities than most of us are having in free and Swadeshi India today. After visiting some important places in India Lord Curzon launched the Ancient Monuments Bill. Commending it to the Supreme Legislative Council of that day, he said, "As a pilgrim at the shrine of beauty I have visited them but as a priest in the temple of duty have I charged myself with their reverent custody and their studious repair".

The marked characteristics of archaeology, rather of how the Archaeological Department worked in this country, may be summed up in a few words. It was always intended to be disbanded. Whenever there was retrenchment, the axe first fell on the Archaeological Department. The Provincial Governments were again and again told to take over responsibility for it. Even after the magnificent performance of Lord Curzon, an attempt was made to transfer responsibility for archaeology to the provinces. Lord Minto, the successor of Lord Curzon, who was more fond of hunting than of cultural preservation, said "no" to it. The Secretary of State of that day I believe it was Morley, who did not lack culture, put it down.

We have however, been, concentrating more on the conservation side of archaeological work than on the other and the more important aspect of it, namely exploration. I want to know

whether this department is going to do anything more than that hereafter. Look at the annual report for 1952-53. My friend, Mr. Mahanty, has covered a portion of it. I am trying to give it my own interpretation. "During the financial year 1952-53 the total sanctioned grant to item No. 18, Archaeology was Rs. 38.54 lakhs as against about Rs. 44.00 lakhs originally budgeted for by the department". This provision included a sum of Rs. 5 lakhs for the maintenance of monuments declared to be of national importance under the *Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains (Declaration of National Importance) Act, 1951*, in "Part B States". It comes to this. It was Rs. 44 lakhs in 1951-52 and it was reduced to Rs. 38.54 lakhs in 1952-53. To this add the Part B States which have come in. These States would swallow up Rs. 5.05 lakhs. If you minus this from Rs. 38.54 lakhs, it comes to Rs. 33 lakhs and odd which is Rs. 11 lakhs less than in the previous year. This is archaeological progress in the reverse direction. It will probably be said that Shri Chintaman Dwarkanath Deshmukh sits tightly on the chest of this Department and not having got much money, it cannot proceed with its plans. Then why proceed with the work at all? If you take this amount of money and distribute it between the Provinces, in a vast country like ours with a large number of monuments, you will find that it does not come to very much. I am reminded of one Telugu proverb—the more the number of guests, the larger the quantity of water you have to put into the buttermilk.

Sir, the work to be done is vast. It generally consists of conservation, survey, excavation, research, publications, tourism and popularisation, scholarships and routine work. You will find that so far as routine work is concerned, something is being done. But it is not so regular. My friends from Bihar will bear me out when I say that Nalanda has been neglected for a long time. I made enquiries of the Curator in November 1952 when I was down in Bihar. He took me

round and I discussed with him his budget. He told me frankly that for six or seven years, if not more, nothing had been done for further excavations. And yet we are thinking of a Nalanda University and wherever we go to other countries we talk about Nalanda and boast about it. But our Archaeological Department is sleeping over Nalanda even as the ancient walls of Nalanda are sleeping.

There are the other aspects. The people are not educated properly. I would insist upon archaeology being made a part of our educational system, at least where the study of history is concerned. As the editor of a newspaper wherever I work I receive frequent complaints that the old coins that are discovered are being melted and made into bullion. This is not done in a civilised country. Our people are ignorant. They have no more value for ancient coins than they have for a piece of bullion which is immediately convertible into ornaments. Thank goodness, we had a great man like Sir Akbar Hydari and therefore Ajanta was rescued. Are you not aware that there are still millions of undiscovered paintings in the caves of India? What discoveries have we made, what attempts have we made for this purpose? Buildings are being discovered. Only this week C. Rajagopalachari went down to Tanjore and there was a three-column report in the papers of a great function at Saraswati Maha that has been discovered recently. With that enthusiasm for things artistic, which only my Tamil friends can command, they made a magnificent festival of it and a splendid art show was held. I trust that we, everywhere in this country, will capture at least a hundredth of that great spirit which the Tamilians have for art and culture. I pray the Archaeological Department also may get a little of that contagion.

10 A M

Sir, it has been said that an English explorer discovered the source of the Nile, because of the information he had gathered from the Narasimha

Purana. By a study of the ancient books we must add to modern knowledge. The Puranas are a great mine in themselves. Recently, a French professor who returned from Tibet was speaking about the arrays of ancient Buddhist and Hindu books that are to be found in that country. It is well known to students of history and archaeology that we are indebted to Tibet for certain important records. It is time that we sent scholars there to take copies of those source books and make them available to students of history here.

There is next the question of Pakistan. Pakistan has offered its friendliest co-operation to us in the matter of archaeological work. It is true I believe recently, however, there was some trouble about the sharing of some of the ancient monuments or statues that are lying in Lahore Museum.

My friend Mr Mahanti, here referred to Harappa and Mohenjo Daro. Recently remains of the same era of history have been discovered in the Bikaner State also. I want to know whether we have instilled into the minds of our Pakistani friends, our belief that so far as Harappa and Mohenjo Daro are concerned, they are our conjoint heritage and therefore we should make a conjoint effort to salvage them. Let us make a sporting offer. Remember that long long before Islam came to India, long long before modern Hinduism took its shape, long long before Buddhism was born, the civilisation of Harappa and Mohenjo Daro existed. The Muslim of Pakistan and the Hindu of India have a common heritage in them and it is therefore necessary that we should make a joint effort to study them.

There is also another aspect—our international position to which the Prime Minister has been drawing attention as a priest of nationalism and a prophet of internationalism. Recently we had a great celebration in connection with remains of Sariputta and Mogalanna at Sanchi. We expect that in the days to come this country will once again be the centre of a new cul-

—[Shri Rama Rao.]

ture, at least in the East. If so, what are we doing for our part to make India the radiating centre of ancient knowledge? Time is the essence of the problem. Grass, the white-ant and the vandal are the enemies of civilization. Bernard Shaw is fond of quoting Sir Flinders Petrie for his belief that civilization travels in cycles. We too speak of *kalpas* and *mahakalpas*. We can get our knowledge of them only if we read carefully the ancient books and also delve deep into the bosom of the earth. Sardar Panikkar has pointed out in his book *A Survey of Indian History*, that there is a vast gap in our knowledge of Indian history between the period of the Ramayana and the period of the Mahabharata. When Rama went South, it was all Dandaka Aranya and nothing else, but by the time of the Mahabharata war, we get the Chappana Rajyas—the 56 countries with well settled civilizations. After that too we have not had a continuous story of our race, not to speak of the big gaps, in our knowledge of history, which we can make up only with the aid of our literature partly but very largely only with the aid of discovery of our hidden monuments. In my high school days we knew nothing of South Indian history. If we read the books of those days carefully, we would find that there was precious little of South India in the historical books then written. It was only when I went for my college course to Madras that we read the splendid books of K. V. Rangaswami Ayyangar, a great student of South Indian history. That was because South India had been so largely neglected with regard to archæological discoveries.

Sir, I shall not take up much of the time of the House. If I have spoken on this subject, it is because I feel we have not got the proper vision of our duty as well as our destiny. Here I must pause to pay my tribute to the great Englishmen Lytton and Curzon, who, as Viceroy, inaugurated a new department and put a new drive into our archæological work; also to those great Englishmen, Marshall Cunningham and Burgess; and lastly to our

Indians, Yazdani and Sahni. Sahni was the first man to discover Harappa and Mohenjo Daro.

PRINCIPAL DEVAPRASAD GHOSH (West Bengal): It was Rakhaldas Banerjee who discovered Mohenjo Daro.

SHRI RAMA RAO: Yes; I am sorry. He was murdered, was he not?

MR. CHAIRMAN: That is all right.

PRINCIPAL DEVAPRASAD GHOSH: No; it was Nanigopal Mazumdar who was murdered.

SHRI RAMA RAO: Sir, the importance of archæology as the basis of historical patriotism cannot be doubted. Students of English literature, prose as well as oratory, will recall the inspiring passage in Macaulay's speech on the Jewish Disabilities Bill. Macaulay had one final argument against his opponents. The descendants of the men who built the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem were surely entitled to better treatment at the hands of Englishmen than the England of his day was prepared to give. That was also the argument used by many cultured Englishmen when they referred to India: "Are these the people over whom we can rule with any sense of decency and culture? They are much more advanced." As early as the beginning of the 18th century, an English Governor of Madras wrote that if it was a matter of traffic in cultures between England and India, England would be on the debit side.

Sir, we are thinking of contacts with the Middle East. Every student of history knows that it was Buddhist culture that formed the basis of Christian religion. Vincent Smith in his book on Asoka brings out that there were Buddhist *viharas* in those days in the Middle East and that the *vihara* was the prototype of the later Christian monastery. We are speaking of Indonesia, Burma, etc. as fellow Asian nations. They are children of our light and they look to us for further help and guidance. Finally all civilization is common. I was reading a book:

yesterday in the Library, and I discovered a frank admission that most of the civilizations of today had their origin either in Egypt or in India.

When the Hebrews created their State of Israel after two thousand years of hoping and striving, the first thing they did was to start the University of Jerusalem and therein create a department of archæology. That spirit we have to bring to our country.

Sir, may I be a little autobiographical? As I was watching from the Acropolis in Athens the excavation work that was being carried out by Americans, I was amazed at the way that they, Americans from over the Atlantic, should have come to Athens, spent millions of dollars and got down to excavating. Only the other day we read a report that they have not only gone down layer by layer from the Mycenaean to the pre-Mycenaean age, but also to the pre-pre-Mycenaean age. History is being discovered every day. And what is the history of Greece compared to the history of this country? Yet we make a grant of Rs. 34 lakhs to our Archæological Department! We make it the responsibility of the States—ignorant States, poverty-stricken States, States mostly run by men who have no title to culture. I trust that the constitutional arrangement will be changed. If it is not going to be changed, I can only hope that the States will look after themselves.

I am speaking as an Andhra, expecting that the Andhra State will soon come; I hope sincerely that the glories of Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda will be resuscitated. When I stood on the banks of the Krishna years ago, there was nothing left there to see, nothing at Bhattiprolu, and other Buddhist places. All the discovered materials had been removed to Madras Museum. I want to know whether we are not entitled to keep things where they are discovered, and, secondly, whether it will not add to the intensification of our patriotism if at least a portion of these things are left behind or returned as part of the local heritage.

I plead for an entirely new orientation of archæological work in this

country. I plead that as far as possible interest in archæology should be widely spread. I sincerely hope and devoutly pray that the time is not far off when we in India shall establish more Nalandas and more Amaravatis and invite scholars from all parts of the earth so that there might be among mankind more happiness, more culture and more radiance.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

DR. RAGHUBIR SINH (Madhya Bharat): Mr. Deputy Chairman, after all this eloquence that has been showered on the House it becomes a little difficult for me to come to a matter-of-fact speech. It seems that throughout all these speeches we have completely digressed from the main subject. I do not know who is to blame. Probably we went off the rails from the very outset because the very objects of this Bill before us were not definitely and clearly stated.

The problem before us is very simple. It should be clearly stated before the House, because this House was not there when the original Act was passed, and it is that Act which this Bill seeks to amend. Therefore, to make the object clear before the Members of the House, I would like to go a little into the past. The position is that in 1904 an Act was passed called the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, 1904, and at that time it could be made applicable only to British Indian provinces. The Act did not at all apply to Indian States. Therefore, all the monuments that were to be preserved and which were selected for protection were only those which were in the British Indian provinces. I am afraid it must be admitted to the discredit of the Indian States that in spite of all their tall talk of a long heritage, they were most unmindful of their past and their heritage. And only lately as a result of continued instigation and pressure from the Britishers they were forced to take certain definite action and then too very few States were able to organise some good archæological departments. This was the position when the inte-

[Dr. Raghubir Singh.]

gration of the States came about and as is well known to the Members of the House, the British Indian laws were even then not made applicable to the Indian States. In the meanwhile, the Constitution of India was on the anvil and it seems that among the makers of the Constitution there were men who were most zealous about their provincial heritage and that is why it was made compulsory that no monument should be declared of national importance unless and until it is so declared by Parliament by law. And it is therefore, Sir, that all these Bills have got to come before us here, as has been made quite clear by my eminent colleague, the Deputy Minister, who has sponsored this Bill. Therefore, Sir, what happened was that to declare the various monuments in the Indian States to be of national importance, especially, of those States in which there were no organised departments of archæology, a certain Bill had to be sponsored and brought in here. If we carefully scan the original Act which we are going to amend, it would be seen, Sir, that that Act merely goes on at length to narrate the list of the various archæological monuments in the Part B States only. It seems, Sir, that when this Act was being planned and passed by the Provisional Parliament, apparently there was some legal misapprehension in the minds of some people as to what should happen to the monuments of those States which were merged into the Part A States and that is why in the whole list in the original Act of 1951 there does not appear to be any monuments belonging to those States which were merged in Part A States. I feel, Sir, that now another view is held and therefore in this new Bill before us a provision is being made to declare some monuments of the States, which have been merged into Part A States, to be of national importance. Sir, it was in last December that by means of a question before this House I tried to bring to the attention of the Education Ministry the fact that the list that had been attached to the original Act had been prepared most haphazardly. At least, that is how I take it. I am

very sorry to find that the Bill now before us is prepared equally haphazardly. I must say, Sir, that I cannot understand why in the original Act that entry about Chhapan Mahal was put in without an agreement having been arrived at with the Maharaja. For, I know it definitely that in 1949 this was given over to Maharaja of Dhar and therefore its inclusion in the list at that stage was very wrong.

Then, Sir, coming to other things, I can understand the fact that the two entries under Saurashtra—entries Nos. 20 and 24 relating to Surya Temple and Varaha Mandir—are now being omitted because the recent structural changes that have been made to those two monuments have been such that the original character of the monuments is completely changed. But, Sir, I find that certain mistakes in the original Act itself still continue to exist. For instance, I would like to mention entry No. 40 on page 14 of the original Act, ancient ruins at Badoli in Udaipur. So far as my information goes, Sir, this is not a mere site but there are a group of temples there and these particular monuments are now actually under the direct supervision of the Archæological Department, because, Sir, when the original entry was made into this list, I think, and I can say with confidence, that it was I who had the privilege of bringing it to the notice of Dr. N. P. Chakravarty, as I had seen this place myself; nothing happened then, but later Dr. Katju happened to go to that very site. He came back here and he reported the matter to Maulana Saheb; he described the condition prevailing there to Maulana Saheb and orders were immediately issued, so far as I understand, to take this site immediately under the control of the Archæological Department. I think, Sir, that after having seen that place, the Archæological Department should have decided to correct this mistake by removing this entry from Part II to Part I because actually they are monuments and it is these monuments which need to be looked after very carefully.

Secondly, Sir, I want to point out, in support of my contention, that in this

list as well as in the original list no mention is made of the monuments of Part C States. I understand that the monuments of Bhopal can be covered by item 1 in Part I of the Schedule attached to the original Act which says.

“ * * * which have been taken possession of by the Central Government as protected monuments ”

Sir, the Bhopal State had a very well organised archæological department. It is a very well known fact, Sir, that Khajraho Temples are one of the superb things in the history of archæology and they have not yet been declared as of national importance and even now I do not see any proposal to declare them as such. When I made enquiries in this respect, I was given to understand that possibly in respect of Part C States action may be taken under section 3 of the Ancient Monuments (Preservation) Act of 1944. But I want to point out that any action under that Act which is not supplemented by an Act of Parliament will be wholly invalid, Sir. I stand to correction because I cannot by any means claim to know better law than many of the eminent lawyers here but my view is that after the inauguration of Constitution wherein it has been clearly stated that it should be declared by law by the Parliament before any monument could be protected, I feel that any monument to be protected as a monument of national importance should be passed by law by this Parliament and therefore they should have been included in the list. I may also state here that along with Khajraho, there are good many other monuments of art in the 'C' States. For instance in Chamba there are many monuments of great importance, of archæological value and cultural value which as well as others in other distant Himalayan States should be protected, because they form the link in our culture and they can't be ignored. They are in the Part C States and unless and until they are so declared, I am afraid any action taken by the Government under the Preservation of Ancient Monuments Act will not be of any good.

My regret is that we are doing all this work in a slipshod manner. After the first Act was passed the following lists should have been prepared with all care and fullness. I understand the Government of India is equally keen to do its best to preserve these monuments and take as many of them as are of importance under its own protection but to do that I think it is necessary that the list should be complete. It is obvious that many States like Rajasthan or even my own part of Madhya Bharat or Vindhya Pradesh have hardly anybody worth the name who knows anything of archæology. Perhaps it was due to this fact that somehow the list was sent after preparing it in this slipshod manner. I can point out many important places in Rajasthan and Madhya Bharat which have not been even thought of. I bring to your notice the place called Menal which is about 12 miles from Begun and about which a good deal of description has been written in the Progress Report of Archæological Survey of Western India for the period ending June 30, 1905. Then again I don't know if any officer of the Archæological Department is aware of what has been written by Tod about it. In the case of Badoli too Tod had his artist with him and he got prepared complete pictures of all these monuments, the engravings and the big images and they are all there, in his book "Annals and antiquities of Rajasthan". I cannot understand how when all these lists were prepared by the Archæological Department, they somehow left these unnoticed. Again I come to Madhya Bharat. There is the Fort of Narwar. It is one of great antiquity. Nothing has been included from that fort of Narwar. There are one or two monuments in that fort which are of unique importance from the architectural point of view but they are not included. I can understand that the States themselves have not been able to help it. But the Education Ministry have with them these volumes of Archæological Survey Reports by the eminent officers of the Department and there they have given all the details of these important monuments. The Central Archæological Department

[Dr. Raghubir Sinh.]

could have prepared these lists of their own on the basis of these reports and then they could have checked them with that of the States.

Therefore while I fully support the Bill before the House, I only wish that effort be made to make this process of bringing under the control of the Central Government all these important monuments as complete and as soon as possible. Secondly before I close I would once again like to bring to the notice of the Minister that the monuments of Part C States should not be so neglected and legal opinion on the subject should be taken whether any action merely on the basis of Section 3 of the Act would do or whether in respect of those States also a Bill will have to be passed by Parliament for declaring them monuments of national importance. I have nothing more to add but I hope the few suggestions I have given will be taken into account and the process of declaring these various monuments of national importance will be completed soon.

SHRI M. S. RANAWAT (Rajasthan): Mr. Deputy Chairman, so far as this Bill is concerned, I support it heartily. Because at least here is an effort, however small, towards the right action. But I feel that although the Government of India feels or they say that it is an important Department but probably they don't really consider it to be so because the amount they provide in the budget is far less compared with that of other things that they are taking up in their hands and some of those are comparatively far less important but the Government officers or the Government machinery, which carry the things out, consider them more important perhaps because the ancient monuments of the past don't count much to them. Therefore they think they could afford to ignore them but therein we are ignoring a thing which will be a great charge against the present generation by the future generation. There is no other reason why urgent action should not be taken. The times are fast changing, communica-

tions are increasing and you are making a lot of work into the agricultural and various things. The normal common man is concerned with his food and income. He does not really care whether his culture is preserved or not. I have seen dug out temples. There is the temple of Chandravati near Abu. I had been there. There is one temple left and huge mountains of those temples were dug down when the railway was built. Now the whole thing is lost and the carvings that were there are simply not there. Similarly huge mounds and other places are being dug up and built upon and the people are simply using these materials and this happens because the local officers or the local Government have no control over this matter. Therefore it is urgently necessary that the Central Government should take quick steps and for this purpose I would suggest that instead of trying to make the thing so very round-about, lengthening the red-tapism, some officers may go round these places and prepare a list of these sites with the aid of the verbal information that the local officers and others may be able to give them. They can say that these places should be preserved till some decision is made. The State Government is very apathetic at present because they have their own immediate problems with them, the problems of their day to day Administration and they are so much engrossed in these things that this side of their function is not at all given importance. The money we have sanctioned is Rs. 44,28,000 and out of this Rs. 22,27,000 goes to the Directorate, that is to say, the machinery of the department and that is most necessary because without such a machinery nothing could be done. They have to work with Rs. 8,99,000 for Part A and Part B States and what is left for real conservation purposes will be Rs. 15,88,000 and for exploration you have a mighty sum of Rs. 2,90,000 for the whole of India. If you look into the State Budgets you will find that in proportion they are providing even smaller sums. Therefore it is now highly essential that all Members in both the Houses interested in this subject—and they are all interested—

those in the party and also those outside the party, should bring pressure on the Government so that the Government could be made alive to the importance and need of it and Government may be made to grant even an *ad hoc* grant for the time being, to this Department so that they could have some kind of a hurried survey of all the likely places and then decide to preserve them.

There is one thing which has come up of late. In these days the destruction of these sites has been much greater than what it was in former days. In former days there was the general power of the State that nobody could dig up these monuments. The idea was there might be treasures all over and so the local officers were very keen to see to it that nobody should steal it and that was one of the indirect reasons why most of these structures were properly preserved. Now that the States and the zamindars and the men interested in this have gone, the people are digging up the place. I have myself seen a temple which was all right when I visited it some years ago when I was the Revenue Minister there and recently when I went there again, there was a deep pit dug right in the middle of the temple. Now the people dig the places and if you object, they ask you, "Who are you to stop us?" Therefore, there is nothing to prevent this destruction from going on. With our freedom, we seem to have got the freedom also to destroy these things, to do this suicidal thing, of killing our own culture. Therefore I think it is necessary to exercise some control over these things in the Part B States. I suppose the same thing should be happening in the Part A States also. Therefore some strong, definite line of action should be drawn up for all the States. This should be laid down by the Central Department and the States must stick to it. If you find out from the States as to how many sites they have taken possession of during the last five years, you will be surprised to find that most of them have not taken over a single site. I may refer to Rajasthan in particular and the list

prepared by Rajasthan. There, so much ignorance has prevailed that they have taken up only the two forts of Mewar including the Fort of Chittor and a few other places. They have not taken up the other monuments in Chittor and those connected with that great national hero—Rana Pratap—his Chatra is in some distant jungle and after some years, people will have to search for it, and yet may not find it.

PROF. G. RANGA (Madras): Is it even now in that condition?

SHRI M. S. RANAWAT: Yes. Nobody looks after it. You know the famous Haldi Ghati—it is not cared for. The place where his famous horse Chetak fell dead was marked by the hero and he built a *chabutra* there and gave a whole village to the Brahmins to do puja. Even now the Brahmins are doing some puja there, but if you look for the *chabutra*, you will not find it and after some years nothing will be left there except some stones with *sindoor* marks. Similarly I can tell you of other places near Nandasa where there is an ancient *Yagnasthali* and the late Rai Bahadur Pandit Gori Shankar Hira Chand Ojha fixed it as belonging to the third or fifth century B.C. There is an inscription on it and it is perhaps the only *Yagnasthali* that has come down to us in a preserved condition from those ancient times. Still there is nobody to look after it and in a short time that too may be lost. The place is simply neglected. You know, Sir, Rajasthan had been the home of culture for thousands and thousands of years and when the temples were broken up in northern India from Hardwar to Mathura and Kashi, thousands and thousands of the ancient and sacred idols were simply removed from their original sites and taken over to different places in Rajasthan and hidden and preserved, in forests and jungles. The famous idol of the temple of Harihar at Hariki Pawdi which dates from the ancient days of the Pandavas was brought to Mewar and hidden among the hills and Hariharji is living there in a small temple. You can find such things in all these places, in Chittor and other places. There are

[Shri M S Ranawat]

so many idols there. There is the Govardhanath and Somnath Murthis, but nobody takes care of these famous and valuable treasures. I was told, when I was in Bundi as an administrator, that there are Sila lekhs—inscriptions on stone—deep in the jungles.

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN Obviously the list is inexhaustible.

SHRI M S RANAWAT I am only pointing out how

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN Yes, but we are only considering the principle of the Bill.

SHRI M S RANAWAT If you do not want me to bring these things to the notice of the Government.....

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN The hon Minister will be thankful if he gets a list of all these ancient monuments from the hon Member.

SHRI M S RANAWAT I am not the only man who knows about these things, though the hon Minister can get something from me also. I can straightaway suggest one thing to Government. There is Pandit Gori Shankar Ojha's History of Rajasthan.

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN If the hon Member could give him a list the hon Minister would be thankful.

SHRI M S RANAWAT Sir, if I am not given any more time.

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN Yes, you can speak on the principle of the Bill.

SHRI M S RANAWAT These things can be seen in the latest book also. Somebody could prepare a list of them all.

There is just one thing which I would like to bring to the notice of the hon Minister. The Aravalli Hills are considered the most ancient hills in the whole world. As a matter of fact geologically, the Himalayas is

considered only yesterday's child as compared to the Aravalli Hills. Some people have found stone-age implements there. Well, there had not been any survey or investigation of those ancient hills and this is another reason why I suggest that the Aravalli Hills should be investigated from this point of view.

There is one further suggestion, it is that Government should take powers under the Constitution that whenever any such site comes to their notice they can immediately take possession of that site. Later on they can come to the Parliament and do the other formalities. If the Government has to wait for the sanctions it will take such a long time and by the time you get the sanction probably things will not be there. So, I believe Government must be given exclusively the widest possible power to take possession of any such site immediately. Their officers report or the Local Government reports. That will be a very very healthy thing. It is no good tying down the hands of Government in such a necessary work. There is another point. In the areas of Nepal and Bhutan were a great collection of our ancient art. Now a great change is coming in that country and I hope that some way might be found that in this change, in this revolution, our ancient collections which were probably removed from India in those difficult days are somehow preserved. Similarly also Sir, the Kashmir Valley contained a lot of ancient history. Now, it is necessary to take steps to see that any available manuscripts or anything that is there is maintained and the Government of India should draw the attention of the Kashmir Government to look after those things in a more detailed way.

Thank you, Sir.

DR SHRIMATI SEETA PARNAND (Madhya Pradesh) Mr Deputy Chairman I rise to speak on this Bill with some mental reservations. It is for this reason Sir that as the hon. Mr Rama Rao has already remarked

the Bill has been brought as an incomplete and not as a comprehensive measure without full vision of the requirements. It is to this type of Bill, Sir, that I was referring which when they are brought in an incomprehensive manner, not only the time of the House is taken up but the money of the country is spent. I will soon mention what are the clauses that should have been included at once in this Bill. Sir, the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, for instance, of 1904 not only at this time but even before the first Bill of 1951 was introduced, should have been repealed and the Act of 1951 should have been made comprehensive. Similarly though the Constitution, after the integration of the B & C States makes it necessary to bring forth this legislation, questions of importance, e.g. whether national monuments in States like Mexico and Brazil where the ancient civilisation of the Mayas existed and where the monuments, we have been recently told, are fast disappearing should have been acquired under this Act, could have been considered. Similarly, Sir, the classifications of monuments into A, B and C types could have been also considered and the share that the States should bear of expenses for maintenance of these monuments could have been considered. Sir, all these types of clauses which one day would be found necessary, which would be brought forward for legislating at a time when some such requirements are found wanting, on the representation of Part B States, it would have saved practically a day and that means Rs. 10,000 for the legislature, for one day's sitting of the Council. I won't go into the demands made by different States because I feel that it could be left to the very competent Archaeological Department and to the Members of those State here who are ever watchful of their needs. I would again urge on the Government taking advantage of this opportunity that they should find out the monuments existing particularly in Mexico. Just as it was said here that Pakistan and so even Indonesia, Burma, Siam, etc., are children of India, I think that the Mexican civilisation was a child of

India. So, they are closely interconnected and, in the interests of the future of human civilisation this link should be better preserved in our country than anywhere else. I am sure, Sir, that the Government have made demands and are trying to do what they can to bring back from the British Museum specimens of archaeological importance which were taken there but I would suggest that there are certain specimens which I have seen in the Chicago Museum which also, our Government may request the Government of the U.S.A. as a friendly gesture, to hand over to us.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRI P. C. BHANJ DEO (Orissa): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I had originally thought of breaking the tradition of this side of the House by making a speech in Hindi today in view of the fact that the ancient greatness of India would be most adequately stressed in her future *lingua franca*.....

SHRI GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): You should have done it in Sanskrit.

SHRI P. C. BHANJ DEO:and specially in view of the fact that just as the ancient past and its glories are being neglected by the Government, the future language of the whole of the country seems to be receiving the same treatment at its hands, judging from the progress which it is making amongst ourselves and in the various Government Departments. But, many of my friends on this side of the House have pressed me to change my mind and speak in English today because there are many Members who may not be able to understand the Hindi language.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA (Bihar): Un-
due influence.

SHRI B. RATH (Orissa): From your side.

SHRI P. C. BHANJ DEO: Sir, I shall say, however, the few words that I have got to say in English without wasting further time.

I shall speak both in a general way as well as in connection with the

[Shri P. C Bhanj Deo.]

amendment of my colleague, Shri Surendra Mahanty because he has spoken on both the heads together. As far as the general remarks in connection with the Bill before the House today are concerned, I fully support the spirit underlying this Bill, namely, the desire of the Government to extend its ægis over the various sites and symbols of the past greatness of this country. But, at the same time, I must say that I express my disappointment and disapproval of the way in which this is being done in the very tardy and step-motherly way in which it is proceeding in this matter, in view of the very small sums that the Government is sanctioning for this line of work and the very slow progress consequential upon this that could be expected both at present and in the future in this direction. It is a trite saying, Sir, that a country which has no past can have no present and no future at all and specially in view of the fact that India, since time immemorial, has a glorious past that is unequalled in the pages of history, it is criminal, in my opinion, for a national and independent Government of this country to overlook and not pay proper heed to the rich treasure of ancient sites and ancient monuments that we have scattered over the whole country because it is upon this basis that our present greatness and our future prospects can be most solidly based

In the Utkal University of which I am a fellow, Sir, I once heard our honourable Chairman deliver the chief guest's speech and he declared that one of the greatest miracles of India's past, present and future was the continuity of her civilization since time immemorial. He told us that all the glories of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa which had been dug up, revealed urban civilizations that cannot be equalled even in the present day of engineering progress and other mechanical inventions, indeed they serve as models for modern town-planners. In that greatness he saw one symbol namely the image of Pasupati which was the symbol of the philosophy of

knowledge and mercy which has spread throughout Indian history from that very ancient site and from the very ancient period. Knowledge embodied in the form of the divine figure seated in meditation, raining mercy even upon the animal world. The animal world seems to have forgotten its differences around Him: tigers, rhinoceroses and deer are sitting side by side around the divine image on the same pattern as the preachings of the Buddha at a later period of *jnana* or *prajna* and *karuna*, this immense heritage ranges through millenniums and centuries. We have all these at our back so that we can produce something in the future and at present which the whole world will be proud to partake of. In my opinion today our entire foreign policy, the policy of the whole Government, the moral that is given to us by the Great Mahatmas, is a direct outcome of that great heritage which we have received from our forefathers and it is to establish this heritage, to place it before the whole world and to build our own civilization and independence on that solid foundation that this Department should take up its work earnestly and spread not only before the Indian people what they have been in the past so that they can look forward hopefully to the future but they should place before the whole world through our embassies and through the various agencies of our educational department abroad what others can appreciate in us and so be sympathetic towards us and help us to restore that greatness and to bring it back from the recent past which has been a curse in our history and which has been a period like the Ananda period that we should do well to forget. Now this very spirit, in my opinion, is symbolised in our National Flag today. In our National Flag we have rightly adopted a fitting symbol, namely 11 A.M. the great Asoka Dharma Chakra. It is this Chakra which stands for the four fundamental truths upon which our Constitution today is based, and in that Dharma Chakra, Sir, today, I not only see India's past and India's future combined, but I also see in that Dharma Chakra the message

given by the State I come from, namely Orissa, for it was in Kalinga that that Dharma Chakra was conceived by the Great Emperor. It was in Kalinga that the Great Emperor became a messenger of peace, a messenger of right and a messenger of justice instead of being an exponent of might which his previous title Chandasoka had described in him in the pages of history because he was a blood-thirsty warrior. But the sacrifice, the courage and the hard penance of the people of Kalinga taught him that the victory of the sword was not true victory. It is the victory of the spirit which is the right victory and towards that victory all kings and all powers should strive. And it is that very message today, embodied in our National Flag and preached by our National Leaders, which inspires me to say and it is a very great pity for me to see today that the ancient capital of that great Emperor, namely the site of Sisupalgarh near Bhubaneswar in Orissa which many archæologists and historians have declared to be Tosali, that the ancient capital of Asoka's Province in Orissa, is being neglected in this way and the sites adjoining it are not given full protection so that India's ancient history may shine in its true light in our pages of history and in our hearts. It is to me a sign of decadence that today the Archæological Department instead of devoting due funds and due efforts to unearth these great symbols which we revere in our lives, in our hearts and in our banner, deem it more appropriate to devote large sums of money to repair the Taj Mahal, they are not paying due attention to sites of historical importance and sites of great possibilities for India's future in all directions.

AN HON. MEMBER: So is Taj Mahal.

SHRI P. C. BHANJ DEO: Taj Mahal is a thing of beauty and should no doubt be preserved but it stands for a symbol which is not vital to our lives as the Asoka Chakra or the message of Asoka which is addressed to the whole world.

AN HON. MEMBER: Taj Mahal is the symbol of love towards one's wife.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is a question of views and opinions.

SHRI P. C. BHANJ DEO: I hold the Dharma Chakra to be of greater significance in our lives than the love for a wife which the Member opposite supports.

In this connection also there are other very important sites in Orissa which I regret have not been included in this Bill. There are the great sites of a place called Ayodhya in Orissa near Nilgiri State. It is not, however, the Ayodhya where Sri Ramchandra was born but another Ayodhya named after that city. Now this place is full of sites everywhere—sites of ancient monuments especially of Buddhist civilisation. Hundreds of images have been dug up from there and most of them are now resting in private residences. Every man practically digs up half a dozen images in his own backyard there. This was a huge civilization of the past and I myself can point out to the hon. Minister hundreds of sites there which I have told the Archæological Department of Orissa repeatedly to take heed of and to try and dig out in the interests of history and in the interests of culture but which they have not listened to. Not only that; I have told them that if they do not want to spend any money on these, I am quite willing to starve myself and give whatever I have got for digging up these things in the interests of history and in the interests of this country. I am sorry to say that up to date I have received no reply saying 'yes' or 'no' to this proposal of mine.

Then a colleague of mine has spoken regarding the Chausath Yogini Temples. There are, as far as I know, only three sites of this type in India. One is at Bheraghat in Jubbulpore, one is at Ranipur Jharial in Bolangir and the other which is mentioned in the Bill is at Hirapur. I have not seen the Hirapur Temple, but I have seen the other two temples at Bheraghat and Ranipur Jharial. These Chausath Yogini cults and temples are common to Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism.

[Shri P. C. Bhanj Deo.]

They are symbols of the great Tantric civilisation which spread practically throughout India from Kashmir to Cape Comorin once upon a time and in these three temples cults common to these three great religions were practised in an ancient age. Here we see the great culture contact which has taken place between these great and ancient communities. Our historians in the past under the inspiration of foreigners and their divide and rule policy have tried to point out the difference between Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism and our other religions. It is our duty now to see the unity which underlies them all in order to weld us into one. For this purpose it is very essential that sites like the Chausathi Yogini Temples which are very rare in India should, for the purpose of comparative research, be taken under the ægis of the Central Government and not left to the vagaries of officials of State Governments, so that full historical research in this field can be carried out and both the nation and our foreign friends can be informed about the results of these researches.

I may mention, Sir, that these Chausath Yogini sites that are in existence at Ranipur Jharial and Bheraghat are not Hindu sites at all, although the name sounds Hindu. They are Jain sites and in Ranipur Jharial at the entrance of the circular temple embodying the images of the 64 Yoginis are the figures of Mahavira and Parswanath, the two great Jain 'Tirthankaras' and the names which are inscribed under the pedestals of the Yogini images, all belong to the Jain Tantras and not to the Hindu Tantras. I cannot say anything about the site at Hirapur which is mentioned in this Bill because I have not been there, but if this site is a Hindu Chausath Yogini temple, then it would be a very interesting study to compare the images in this site and in the sites at Ranipur Jharial and Bheraghat. For this I would like the Ministry not only to take under their ægis this site at Hirapur but also the sites at Ranipur Jharial and Bheraghat as well.

Now the declaration of these various sites as of national importance has to be done through Parliament. I would like to know the machinery that the Government employs in this direction. Is there an Expert Committee of archaeologists, historians and other suitable people whom they consult in order to declare these various sites as of national importance? Is there a Committee of experts to consult before placing such lists before the two Houses of Parliament in order to translate them into law upon which authority can act? To me this is very important and it is very necessary for them to consult experts for such decisions and for such submissions as ordinary laymen do not understand the intricacies of archaeology and do not understand the intricacies of the various cultures for which these temples stand. I think it was with this intention that my colleague put forward a suggestion that it would have been a source of information and satisfaction to us if an explanatory memorandum based on the views of these experts could have been circulated to us so that we could have known for ourselves what these various sites stand for and what cultures they represent.

I have now only to add my own very unfortunate experiences as an archaeologist and as an anthropologist in this line. While in Bastar of which I see various temples included in this list, it was my good fortune or perhaps bitter misfortune you may call it, to collect a number of various images and inscriptions from various decaying temples in the capital of the State in order to lay the foundations for a museum. Some gold coins also stamped with the mark of Jagannath, Balbhadra and Subhadra which are not found anywhere else in India were discovered in Bastar and they were also in this museum. Since I left the State and returned to it after independence I was horrified to find that the whole museum had disappeared. There was no trace at all of those collections. Enquiring about those gold coins I found that they had been auctioned and some ladies had converted them

into bracelets and were putting them on quite openly.

SHRI M. P. N. SINHA: Who were they?

SHRI P. C. BHANJ DEO: Outsiders. This is the way in which old things and old records are preserved in the greater part of this country. Not only this; I have also to mention that in my own paternal State of Mayurbhanj in the palace there, there was a rich library containing some one lakh of very rare Sanskrit works. The House will be grieved to learn that because of neglect, that library has been completely burnt down.

SHRI M. P. N. SINHA: Who has done it?

SHRI P. C. BHANJ DEO. No one knows who has done it. Some careless attendant; or some careless outsider, left a lighted cigarette perhaps; and you know old palm-leaf manuscripts are very easily inflammable; anyway, the whole library was burnt to ashes except for a few volumes which I had borrowed many years ago and kept to myself.

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI (Nominated): It is due to the working of Part B States.

SHRI P. C. BHANJ DEO. My hon. friend here, Shri Mahanty, talked to you, Sir, about the Khichingeswari Temple at Khiching in Mayurbhanj. That temple belongs to the 12th century A.D. and it is one of the landmarks of ancient Hindu architecture. It had been completely demolished by iconoclasts of an earlier age and it was in pieces, literally. The image of Khichingeswari had been removed, before the iconoclasts came, by the aborigines, i.e. the Adibasis there, and had been hidden in the forest, it used to be worshipped there. For that reason that temple today has the unique practice of having both a Brahmin priest and an Adibasi priest as well. That temple was restored stone by stone by my first cousin, the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj. Two lakhs

of rupees were spent for building up this temple only. The Natya Mandir was left, because the merger came and everything was in chaos. After the merger nothing has happened at all except neglect in this direction. The temple is there. A museum was built up. Huge images of Shiva and Parvati, beautifully carved from black stone, have been dug up from various sites and preserved in this museum. Today this museum is in such a state that it is on the verge of collapse. I was grieved to see the state of the museum. When I asked the Curator there about this happening, he said, "I am completely helpless. There is no money. The Government pays no attention to this, and soon the roof will fall and all these ancient images will be destroyed." I again wrote to the Department volunteering to give some money myself for the repair of that valuable museum. Again, I am sorry to say that there was no reply either in the affirmative or in the negative.

PROF. G. RANGA: Something is rotten in the State of Orissa.

SHRI P. C. BHANJ DEO: Around that museum there are rich sites still lying unexcavated, and if the Archaeological Department does not take all these things under its ægis and does not give sufficient funds for the excavation and for the completion of Indian history, neither we in our present circumstances nor others—because the State Government is already on the verge of bankruptcy—i.e. the State Government can do anything to help in this matter. It is my humble appeal to the House, Sir, and through the House to the Ministry, to take all these things into their consideration in their true perspective.

Sir, we are a secular State. We have restored the Somnath Temple because that temple was broken by iconoclasts of a previous age in a deplorable manner, and it was a stigma on our national history and on our national prestige. Similarly, I would also like to appeal to the same Ministry to carry out other restorations, excavations and repairs in that same spirit.

[Shri P. C. Bhanj Deo.]

Anything which has been done in the past against the honour of this country through violence, through force, should be restored again to its pristine status so that the honour of this country can be vindicated and the history of our past can come back to us from the Ananda period of darkness which intervenes between the glories of India that was and the glories of India that is to be.

I thank the House very much for the patient hearing which it has given me.

SHRI GOVINDA REDDY. Sir, I welcome the Bill, however unsatisfactory it is. I say it is unsatisfactory because I expected the hon Minister to list for declaration as of national importance and for protection at least hundreds of monuments. As was referred to by hon Members, our country is an ancient country with a number of monuments and ancient sites scattered all over the length and breadth of the country, and we have a past which has its roots in legends of the hoary past, and these ancient sites and monuments hold the secret of the ruins of our race and our civilization. It is these monuments that link up our age with those ancient, glorious ages, and if we should neglect reclaiming them and preserving them, we would be losing the thread of our ancient history. It must be remembered that the longer we delay in attending to these monuments, in taking out such knowledge as they give, the more we allow them to be covered up by forests, and the more we allow them to be destroyed by ignorant people. In this matter I must say that the Department has not been quite alert. There has been some slackness. There are justifications for that slackness, but it is a fact that there is slackness. I myself know of two cases of this slackness. I found a coin near to the educational institution of which I am a trustee. That coin was not gold, it was not silver, it was not lead, but it had the hardness of a metal, and it had a very curious feature about it, and it was found in an ancient site which is associated with Pandavas. While I

was examining the site I found this coin. I know something about it, but still I wanted to refer it to the authorities, and I sent it, at considerable cost, to the Curator of the Madras Museum. For six months I did not hear from him. I had requested him to let me know what their finds would be. For six months I did not receive any letter. I sent a reminder. I pursued the matter. I was told it had been sent to Calcutta for examination. Later on I heard from the Calcutta Department that it was some coin bearing the face of a lion—something like that—but they could not trace its origin. The other case was in my own land, which is covered with cotton soil to a depth of 10 or 12 feet. My brother-in-law was laying the foundations of an agricultural farm there. While digging the foundations, he discovered a grave. There was one skeleton, and there was another skeleton after some slide laid across the first skeleton. And as soon as they dug up these things, they became powder and they resulted only in some small pieces of bones. They were all broken and then by the side of these skeletons there were boards. Of course I did not happen to be in the village then, but when the matter came to me, I immediately rushed up to that site. The skeletons were removed and the bones were put in a heap. I found they belonged to the Buddhist sect. I brought them and I was washing one which had just the shape of a flask; it was earthen and it was very nicely polished; while I was washing it and putting into the water, a cloud of smoke rose from it, just as we see in the Alladin genie lamp. I was puzzled and I was unable to explain what it was, it must have been thousand years old and still there was something. I thought that site was of sufficient importance for the Archaeological Department to be included. So I contacted personally my friend concerned in my State and requested him to come over there. I said I would make all arrangements for the examination of the site and all that, but he did not come. Sir, the first thing is, as hon Members have pointed out, that the Archaeological Department has been treated with step-motherly treat-

ment and has been treated as of no consequence at all in the country, whereas people from Sweden, Norway, U.S.A., U.K. and other foreign countries come here, explore our sites and carry away things from our country and we in our country have not been able to finance the Archæological Department and naturally we cannot expect them to do much. Some of our friends—I believe it was Mr. Ranawat—said that the State Governments have not been able to attend to this problem. But I will tell them that they did some good work in the past; Mysore has done a very good work in this direction. And I must tell Dr. Raghubir Singh—he is not here now and he was deprecating the attitude of the States in this direction—that there are some States which have a glorious record in this direction. So, the States are also resourceless and the Centre is also resourceless and there is no co-ordination between the State Governments and the Central Government. There should be close co-ordination. We find that those monuments which have been included and which have been brought under this Act, have not been taken care of. The only thing we see there is a board hanging there and there is no protection accorded to it whatever. Those buildings which have been declared to be of national importance are dilapidating and the people are removing the stones and are digging up the sites and there is nobody to take care of them, or to bring those people to book. Well, there must be this close association between the State Departments and the Central Department. Even for finding out these ancient sites and monuments, it is necessary that the Central Government should have close co-ordination with the State Governments. A number of hon. Members here have pointed out a number of sites and monuments which should come under the Act. Of course, I know there are thousands more which need and deserve protection, but the fact is that either the Archæological Department does not know or they have not taken the trouble to know them. I would like to throw a suggestion in this regard that the Central and the State Departments should get

into close co-ordination and that private assistance and co-operation should be called for. Surely many enthusiasts like the hon. Mr. Bhanj Deo and Dr. Raghubir Singh will be there who would naturally give their fullest co-operation to the Department. In every region, in every State, there are people, there are enthusiasts. Those enthusiasts can come forward and give co-operation to the Department and find out first of all the importance of the places which have to be listed. Excavation of course is a costly process and not all the resources of the Government of India will be able to satisfactorily help the work to be done. Excavation is therefore out of question. The places have first of all to be selected and naturally they have to be verified by inscriptions and other things and it is only then that the Department can devote its attention to them. So, in order to do this work, I would suggest that they enlist the co-operation of people who know these things and take interest in these things. They can very well form an association for this purpose with membership spread all over India or they can form regional committees for every State. Well, in order to do this, I would like the hon. Minister to consider the suggestion made by Mr. Rama Rao that this subject should become a Central subject. The State Governments cannot be expected to be interested in this subject or take lively interest in this subject. Therefore, it would be better for the hon. Minister to move an amendment to the Constitution.

SHRI RAJAGOPAL NAIDU (Madras): It is not at all in the State list. It is in the concurrent list.

SHRI GOVINDA REDDY: It is in the State list also. So it should come entirely as a Central subject. The Central Government cannot take action unless it declares a certain place to be of national importance. It is only after that that it can take action. Therefore it is very necessary that it should become a Central subject.

And then for preservation also I would like to suggest that some committees can be formed of people who

[Shri Govinda Reddy.]

are interested locally wherever there are such monuments or people near about the villages and towns could be associated with this type of work. In fact, we have been doing that work in my own town and we have a number of enthusiasts and they have formed themselves into a small group and we have been doing that work and we suggested to the Government that we have there a local museum because we had many things to exhibit and after our hard struggle with the State Government we have been able to get a petty grant of Rs. 50 per month for the upkeep of it and for maintaining two servants there. And we are now running a museum. Such enthusiasts can be found in every place which is of some ancient significance. Well, I would like the Government to go into this question and form these associations in order to protect all those monuments which are declared to be of national importance. This is very necessary.

Well, I have a list of these monuments which should be included but in that matter I will follow your observation that instead of wasting the time of the House, they could be passed on to the Minister and therefore I am not referring to them.

It would be worth while, Sir, for the Department to claim more funds from the Government and they naturally will have the fullest support of the Parliament to vote larger sums for the Department and the Minister concerned should make out a good case for getting more grants for this purpose. And there should be regular reports about the work of the Department. The Department's work is not known to the country; the Department should take care to see that they popularise this work. It achieves two results. By doing that work, by narrating the work that they have done, they can justify the existence of the Department and also justify the need for more grants. Secondly, by issuing these reports, they will be educating the public which is very necessary. So many hon. Members have pointed out that our people

are ignorant of the value of these monuments and therefore they either destroy them or allow them to suffer from neglect. That would not be the case if more and more information comes from the Department from time to time to educate the people. I think I have done. I wish the Department gets more active and will be able to do much more work. One more thing. I did not follow why this Explanatory Note is to be added. The Minister gave an explanation. I want to know whether some instances have occurred owing to these errors being mentioned there and if so, while replying, he may tell me what those instances are.

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI:
Sir, I rise to support this Bill and also to offer certain suggestions on the lines of work which the Archæological Department may fruitfully undertake. I think that our energy and expenditure should be conserved and economised as far as possible. I don't, therefore, propose to put forward very ambitious schemes of archæological excavations and explorations but I wish the Department to concentrate on certain very vital points upon which depends the evidence for the continuity of India's long civilization and history. There is the great hiatus of about 2,000 years between the date of the Harappa civilization which is taken at about 3,000 B.C. and the next landmarks in India's monumental history and that is really very late. Perhaps if we are inclined to consider the colossal statues that have been discovered from time to time, we may take these as examples of pre-Mauryan art but that also cannot be dated earlier than about 300 to 400 B.C. Therefore the question is how can we try to fill up this great gap in the monumental history of India? So I think we may try probably the lines of work that have been undertaken by the present D.G. of Archæology Mr. Ghosh and also Mr. Lall. These two persons have been successful in unearthing certain very ancient sites near Bikaner and Narmada Valley and Kurukshetra. I want the Archæological Department to concentrate their attention firstly as a matter of priority on the need of discovering monuments by which we will

be able to fill up this great hiatus in our national history. Then again there are certain places which have already proved their usefulness as sources of very important evidence e.g. the excavations at Kausambi have brought to light inscriptions one of which mentions the name of the Ghoshitarama Monastery which is famous in the annals of Buddhism. This is a very important point of confirmation of the evidence of literature and epigraphy. This kind of confirmation is rare and therefore Kausambi which was the capital of the UP of Asoka's Empire—unfortunately the capital has changed its site now—deserves special attention and this kind of evidence shows that we can go back to the days of Buddha because Buddha was always fond of spending some time in that great monastery of Ghoshitarama. The next important thing is we should be able to find all the available evidence bearing upon the life and work of one who was not merely the Greatest Emperor of India but perhaps the Greatest King known in history as H. G. Wells has admitted. H. G. Wells has considered Asoka as the Greatest King known to humanity. But even about this great King who has given the inspiration for the fashioning of our National Flag, there are many gaps left in our knowledge, even about one who is such an exponent of Indian culture. From this point of view I am entirely at one with my friend from Kalinga—I don't like to use the modern prosaic name of Orissa. In Asoka's time Kalinga was an important province of his Empire and we must direct our archaeological work towards finding out the actual location of the capital of the newly conquered province of Kalinga in Asoka's Empire. There was a reference made to Shishupalgarh and the kind of evidence that is being excavated and explored. That kind of evidence perhaps will show how we can profitably carry on excavations and explorations at the site to find out actual evidence of the fact whether that could be regarded as the capital of Asoka's newly conquered province of Kalinga. Then there is a new site close by, viz. Jaugada in Ganjam Dis-

trict where Asokan inscriptions have been found. All these places in Kalinga of the 3rd Century B.C. must have a prior claim upon the attention of the Archaeological Department before it is frittered away in trying to find out evidence from later sites. We must exhaust first the exploration of earlier sites and then proceed chronologically in regard to discovery of fresh sites. Similarly I have already referred to a few examples, that have been discovered, of colossal statues fashioned in India in those days. I don't think there is any country in the world which could show so much progress in the art of the statuary. These colossal statues are independent entities by themselves. These were not fashioned to decorate any palace or any building. They had an independent value of their own and they stand by themselves as objects of worship. Some of these statues are known as Yaksha statues. These statues were produced in order to cater to the popular religion of those days—folk worship which consisted of worshipping small Godlings and minor Gods like Yakshas, Yakshis, Apsaras, etc.

PROF. G. RANGA Gaumateshwar

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJEE:

It comes later. These images of the subordinate deities which were worshipped by the people at large also figure in the sculptures, in the Stupa of Bharhut of 2nd Century B.C. Therefore there is a continuity of tradition which built up the folk culture of ancient times by means of these images fashioned for popular worship. This field of enquiry is important not only archaeologically but also culturally because we have got here concrete example of the way by which the people were being trained in religion. Similarly even Mathura, close by, is a very important place of historical pilgrimage to this day and I wish to suggest to our enterprising MPs like Prof. Ranga and others to undertake an expedition to Mathura and see for themselves how many mounds are left unexplored and unexcavated there. Mathura was the centre of the Kushana Empire. It was a place where Gandhara and Indian art were synthesised.

[Dr Radha Kumud Mookerji]
and we have wonderful monuments kept on view in the Mathura Museum of this synthetic art but there are many unexplored mounds to be excavated for fresh evidence of same. Therefore the Archæological Department must finish their work which is most promising in results and I think perhaps this site should be fully excavated. So in my humble opinion the Department should follow a well-planned scheme of exploration by which the most promising materials of Indian history might be brought to light. In this connection I should like to say that I don't know whether this suggestion is strictly relevant for the purpose of this Bill because this Bill seeks only to enlarge the range of the area of proclaimed monuments. Of course under our Constitution perhaps the Government is bound to come to Parliament for permission to declare some areas as protected areas from the archæological point of view. This is probably a dilatory process, for there may be many local workers or others who may bring to the notice of Government certain important places and when every time that happens if you are to come to Parliament for Legislation on such a small matter as that, like the proclamation of additional areas to be brought under Government control, I think that would be a process somewhat dilatory and I would like the Minister in charge of this subject to find out some means by which executive action may be taken in such matters not merely on behalf of the Centre, but also on behalf of some of the States so that the scheme of the conservation of these valuable historical areas might be speedily translated into action. I do not want to take any more time.

SHRI B K P SINHA Sir, I do not have much to add to what Dr Mookerji has said. I have only to say that the procedure adopted in this amending Bill as well as in the parent Act for the declaring of anything as a monument of national importance is rather dilatory. Probably the drafting department of the Ministry concerned are under the misapprehension that under the Constitution the Statute it-

self must contain the list of the monuments of national importance. It cannot be done, it seems, according to their view, by mere notification. The appropriate item concerned with this is in List I and it speaks of laws made by Parliament. The word "law" in the accepted legal sense and even in its ordinary sense, includes not only a statute but also rules, regulations and notifications issued thereunder. I do not find anything in the context in which the word "law" has been used either in List I, List II or List III which indicates that all the items must be in the statutes itself. Law, I submit, includes rules, regulations and notifications as well. The process that is now suggested is a better process and it will not only be more expeditious but also less expensive. Hundreds of thousands of monuments are lying scattered all over India. India is one of the oldest countries in the world. I know in Bihar at least every village, every second or third village there a few miles apart, contains important archæological monuments. If Government have resort to legislation every time they have to declare a site as of national importance then I think the whole time of this Parliament would be taken up by that. I therefore feel that they should revise their views on the implication of the Constitution on this point and have a general law and declare monuments of national importance by mere notification or regulation. There is nothing in the Constitution, in my view, which prevents the adoption of this procedure.

I feel that the declaring of a monument as of national importance is not enough. The monument must also be properly maintained and kept up. I am reminded in this connection, of Buddha Gaya. Buddha gave light to the world. He got light himself at a secluded spot and then spread it. This happened at a place some six miles from Gaya. There is a temple at that spot and that temple and the land around it was taken over by the Archæological Department long ago. But there are still mounds round about the place which contain ruins of historical importance and I have found that on

those mounds buildings are coming up here and there. I had a talk with the Superintendent of the Archaeological Circle, Bihar and he feels that some action is necessary. Once the buildings are constructed then the work of excavation becomes impossible. Therefore I urge upon the hon. Minister to declare the whole area surrounding that temple, the whole precincts, as of national importance, as of historical importance, and thus prevent this unplanned building up of the place; the construction of houses thereon. After our attainment of Independence, Buddha Gaya has acquired additional importance not only for our own country but to many other countries of the world in South East Asia. It has become the object of pilgrimage for people from Tibet, Sikkim, China, Japan, Malaya, Ceylon and so on and so forth. But I am sorry to say there is not even a proper museum there. There is a small shed there in which some idols are kept, but that shed is always found locked. It is not opened and shown to the public and the whole shed and the idols are fully covered with dust—three inches thick. Therefore, in view of the importance of the place and in view of the importance of the visitors that this place attracts, I think a proper museum should be maintained there.

PROF. G. RANGA: At Gaya?

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA: No, at Buddha Gaya.

I would also like to add that there is only one rest house in the place and every year important persons like the Ambassador of Siam, the Chief Minister of Burma, the Chief Minister of Ceylon and others come there and even for them there is no proper arrangement for accommodation. These historical sites and monuments have also got an educative and sentimental value apart from their own intrinsic value and these educational and other values cannot be properly realised unless round about these places there are proper facilities for visitors to come and stay for a few days. I would, therefore, urge upon the Minister the desirability of pursuing this matter with the

Government of Bihar and make efforts to establish more rest houses or more dak bungalows there.

Moreover, there is no literature available there. I think the Department of Archaeology should issue proper literature on these places and if that is put on sale there I am sure there will be good sales. The venture will be self-supporting.

These are the constructive suggestions that I have to make. I am reminded of the plea put forward by my friend from Andhra—Shri Rama Rao—that the States should be deprived of all power in the matter of these monuments and that the whole thing should become the monopoly of the Centre. Let me point out, Sir, that this division of responsibilities and functions between the States and the Union is not peculiar to India. It has precedence in the Constitution of many other countries. Mr. Rama Rao also read out some reports of the first decade of this century wherein the opinion is expressed that the Centre and not the States should have everything to do with this subject and that the States should have nothing to do with the matter. May I point out that since those reports were written, a lot of changes have taken place in the country. In those days the States had no autonomous existence. They were only the agents of the Central Government. They were administered not by popular representatives but by permanent officials.

The Centre monopolised to itself most of the revenues and most of the functions. Now, there is a division, division of functions and division of powers. In most of the States or rather in all the States, there are popularly elected legislatures and popularly elected people are ruling over the States. It is rather hard on them to say that they have no proper appreciation of the ancient culture of India. If one were to cast his eyes on the States as well as on the Centre. I feel that one will come to the irrefutable conclusion that except with the exception of a dozen people here, the people who are in power in the States are in

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[Shri B. K. P. Sinha.]

no way inferior to others. They have as much of culture, as much of education, as much of a sense of urgency of the past as we here have. Men, Sir, suffer from a failing, the failing to arrogate to themselves and to the institution to which they belong the monopoly of wisdom and of culture. My opinion, before I heard the speech of the hon. Member from Andhra was that this rule of common failing had its exceptions and people of eminence or learning or culture were exceptions to this. I feel now, after the speech that there are no exceptions. I am reminded. Sir, in this connection of a story of a tiger and a man. The tiger and the man were friends. One day, the man took a picture of the tiger and said "Look at this picture". A tiger was dancing at the feet of the man. The tiger was being kept under control by the man. "Look at the superiority of the man". The tiger said "Oh! yes; if the picture had been painted by the tiger the man would have been dancing at the feet of the tiger". Pope said, Sir, "We think our fathers fools so wise we grow. Our wiser sons will think us fools also". We do not think well of the people of the States. They, in their turn, do not think very well of us. I feel, Sir that what is in the Constitution is rational. There are good people ruling the States. Before this Constitution came into operation, at least the Part A States had no machinery to run this department. I am extremely doubtful if, since then, they have built up a machinery but then the Constitution is not for the present times only; the Constitution lays down rules for all times to come. I am sure that after some time the States shall establish a department and shall be taking adequate steps and interest in this matter. In Patna recently, not the Centre I am sure, but the Patna University I suppose, started excavation of the ancient site of Pataliputra. It seems not that they are sleeping but that they are up and doing and in course of time they shall be discharging these functions properly. Moreover, monuments or sites of first rate importance are, under our Constitution itself, administered by

the Centre. There must be something for the States as well.

Then my hon. friend from Madhya Bharat, Dr. Raghubir Singh said that there is no provision in the law for Part C States. I feel that there is no necessity for separate provisions because the VII Schedule relates to Union and Part A and Part B States. So far as Part C States are concerned, the powers of this Parliament are as complete and as comprehensive as the legislative powers of the House of Commons, the British Parliament itself. Therefore, we do not require any declaration or any legislation for the Part C States; that can be done by a notification under the 1904 Act itself. I think that is a matter which is obvious to any lawyer and needs no investigation.

Sir, with these words, I support this measure.

SHRIMATI SAVITRY NIGAM (Uttar Pradesh):

श्रीमती सावित्री निगम (उत्तर प्रदेश) :

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस बिल (Bill) का पूर्ण स्वागत और समर्थन करते हुए मुझे बड़ी प्रसन्नता हो रही है। सचमुच ऐतिहासिक अवशेषों और यादगारों को सभी स्वतंत्र देश बड़े गर्व और सम्मानपूर्ण दृष्टि से देखते हैं और उनकी रक्षा की पूरी व्यवस्था करते हैं। क्योंकि कलापूर्ण प्राचीन इमारतें हमारे प्राचीन गौरव की जीती जागती तस्वीर हैं और उनको राष्ट्रीय महत्व दिया ही जाना चाहिये क्योंकि ये इमारतें और मूर्तियाँ राष्ट्रीय सम्मान और गौरव ही नहीं बढ़ाती और इतिहास में हमारा साक्षात्कार ही नहीं कराती बल्कि हमें अनेक प्रकार की ललित कलायें सिखाने वाली चतुर कलाकार भी हैं।

महोदय, यह तो आप जानते ही हैं कि विश्व सदा से दो पैरों पर चलता आया है, आविष्कार और अनुकरण। यह भी किसी ने ठीक हो कहा कि कलाओं का इतिहास थोड़ा बहुत नया रूप ले कर सदियों से दुहराता रहता

है। इसका प्रत्यक्ष सबूत अजन्ता की गुफाये और उनके आधार पर हिन्दुस्तान के शहर-शहर के स्कूलों में सिखाई जाने वाली अजन्ता पेंटिंग्स (Paintings) हैं, इसलिये ऐसे ऐतिहासिक महत्व के प्राचीन मन्दिरों, मूर्तियों और अवशेषों को सुरक्षित रखने के लिये सरकार को पूर्ण शक्ति लगा देनी चाहिये। इस दिशा में यह प्रयत्न सराहनीय होते हुए भी यथेष्ट और काफी नहीं है। इसलिए इस सम्बन्ध में मेरे कुछ सुझाव हैं। यद्यपि बहुत सी बातें कई सदस्यों द्वारा अनेक रूप में इस विषय में कही जा चुकी हैं परन्तु फिर भी मैं प्राचीन इमारतों के उद्धार के विषय में अवश्य कहूँगी। यूँ तो इन प्राचीन अवशेषों और प्राचीन स्थानों का उद्धार कार्य तो हो ही रहा है किन्तु इसके लिए एक विशेष रिसर्च बोर्ड (Research Board) बना दिया जाय और जिसका कार्य यह हो कि देश के सब से अनुभवी लोगों को एकत्रित करके उनके द्वारा जगह जगह खोज के काम प्रारम्भ कर दे जिससे शीघ्रातिशीघ्र वह तमाम प्राचीन अवशेष जो आज पृथ्वी के गर्भ में पड़े हैं, उनका पता लगाया जा सके।

दूसरी बात मुझे यह भी कहनी है कि जिन जिन प्रान्तों की इमारतों और अवशेषों को राष्ट्रीय महत्व का या नेशनल इम्पोर्टेंस (national importance) का माना गया है, वहाँ पर बहुत सी अनेक इमारतें और मूर्तियाँ छूट गई हैं। यह तो कहना मैं अनुचित ही समझूँगी कि जो लोग अपने प्रान्त के बारे में कुछ कहते हैं तो उनका कोई निजी स्वार्थ होता है या वे पक्षपात करते हैं। क्योंकि भारत के किसी कोने में अगर कोई राष्ट्रीय महत्व की मूर्ति या अवशेष है तो वह न सिर्फ उस प्रान्त के लिये ही महत्व की चीज है बल्कि वह सारे भारतवर्ष के निवासियों के लिए इज्जत और सम्मान की चीज हो

सकती है। लेकिन हर एक को अपने अपने प्रान्त के बारे में अधिक वाकफियत होती है, अधिक जानकारी होती है और उनका उनसे एक विशेष रिश्ता होता है, इसलिए यदि कोई सदस्य अपने प्रान्त के बारे में अधिक ध्यान दिलाने की चेष्टा करे तो उचित ही समझना चाहिये।

इसी प्रकार मैं यह कहूँगी कि उत्तर प्रदेश में भी बहुत से ऐसे स्थान हैं, बहुत सी ऐसी राष्ट्रीय महत्व की चीजें हैं, जोकि अभी तक इस राष्ट्रीय महत्व वाली लिस्ट (list) में नहीं आ सकी। मैं यह कहूँगी कि अगर इस कार्य को इतनी शीघ्रता से न किया जाता तो अच्छा होता। इस कार्य को करने के लिए एक कमेटी बना दी जाती जिसमें हर प्रान्त के लोग शामिल होते और उनके सुझाव लेने के पश्चात् हर प्रान्त की चीजों को, जो भी राष्ट्रीय महत्व की होती उनको शामिल कर लिया जाता।

इसके अतिरिक्त मुझे यह भी निवेदन करना है कि यद्यपि टूरिस्टों (tourists) के लिये, यात्रियों के लिए, कुछ सुविधायें दी गई हैं फिर भी सरकार इस दिशा में थोड़ा सा और ध्यान दे तो बहुत ही अच्छा होगा। जो कार्य वह स्वयं न कर सकती हो, अगर वह यात्रियों को, टूरिस्टों को प्रोत्साहन और सुविधा देना चाहती है, तो उसको प्रचार कार्य प्राइवेट एन्टरप्राइजों (private enterprises) को दे देना चाहिए, इससे सरकार को बहुत भारी मदद मिल सकती है। यह काम सरकार धीमी गति से कर रही है। अगर, वह इस कार्य को टूरिस्ट कंपनियों को दे दे तो वह इस काम को उन्नी तरह से सरलता और आसानी से कर सकेगी जिस तरह से कि विदेशों में इस तरह की टूरिस्ट कंपनियाँ कार्य कर रही हैं। मगर इसके साथ मैं यह जरूर कहूँगी कि सरकार को उनके कार्यों पर

[Shrimati Savitry Nigam.]
निगरानी और कंट्रोल (control) अवश्य
रखना चाहिए ।

12 Noon

इसके अतिरिक्त एक छोटी सी बात
और है कि हमारे इन्फार्मेशन और ब्राडकास्टिंग
(Information & Broadcasting)
विभाग को एक ऐसा पत्र शीघ्र ही
निकालना प्रारम्भ कर देना चाहिए
जिसके जरिये प्राचीन इमारतों के
महत्व और इतिहास पर प्रकाश डाल कर
उनका प्रचार हो सके और उनके अस्तित्व
का देश की जनता अच्छी तरह से लाभ उठा
सके ।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order,
order. I have seen Mr. Mahanty and
the hon. Minister crossing the line. It
is out of order.

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: I am very
sorry, Sir.

SHRIMATI SAVITRY NIGAM:

श्रीमती सावित्री निगम : इस प्रकार
का पत्र न केवल केन्द्रीय सरकार को ही
निकालना चाहिए बल्कि प्रान्तीय सरकारों
को भी अवश्य निकालना चाहिए क्योंकि अभी
हमारे यहां शिक्षा विभाग इतना संगठित नहीं
है कि हमारे विद्यार्थियों को, अपने प्राचीन
गर्व का स्मरण कराने के लिए, या अपने तमाम
देशवासियों को, यह बताने के लिए कि
देश का क्या इतिहास है, ऐतिहासिक महत्व
क्या है, क्या वस्तुएं दर्शनीय हैं, उसका पूरा
पूरा ज्ञान हो सके तथा वह लोग देख
कर उनसे लाभ उठा सकें ।

[For English translation, see Ap-
pendix IV, Annexure No. 110.]

DR. W. S. BARLINGAY (Madhya
Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I
rise to support this Bill and I shall only
make some suggestions. Several of us
here feel that it would have been
much better if this Bill had been draft-
ed in a different form. This Bill, Mr.

Deputy Chairman, has been brought in
only to amend some provisions of the
original Act in order that certain new
monuments may be declared monu-
ments of national importance.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That
point of yours has already been touch-
ed on by the previous speakers.

DR. W. S. BARLINGAY: I know that
that point has been raised by others
but I want to make one little sugges-
tion in regard to this. The point is
that every time we want a certain
monument to be included in the Sche-
dule it becomes necessary to bring an
amending Bill before Parliament. Now
several of us feel that that is not the
right sort of thing to do. I have been
discussing this matter with some of my
lawyer friends and I have been told
that there are certain provisions in the
Constitution itself according to which
there is no other alternative but to
bring an amending Bill before the
Parliament I refer to the Seventh
Schedule, to item No. 67 in List No. I
(Union List), to item No. 12 in List
No. II (State List), and to item No. 40
in List No. III (Concurrent List). Now,
Sir, I am aware that these are very
genuine constitutional difficulties. I
therefore humbly suggest to the hon.
Minister to consider whether in these
circumstances it will not be proper that
the Constitution itself should be suit-
ably changed by an amending Bill to
be brought to change the particular
provision in the Constitution itself in
this regard. I say this, Sir, because I
feel that every time that we bring such
a Bill before the Parliament it means
a lot of waste of time, of energy and
money too. Moreover it means that
the Government cannot take swift
action with regard to preservation of
ancient monuments. These provisions,
Sir, were perhaps all right in those
old days when such monuments were
supposed to be few and far between.
But when we have achieved indepen-
dence and when as a matter of fact
there is a movement in certain quarters
that the entire history of India should
be rewritten and rewritten from a
fresh point of view, discoveries of

ancient monuments assume a new significance.

As I said, Sir, I again make the suggestion to amend the Constitution on the lines I have suggested. With these words, Sir, I resume my seat.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I rise to support the Bill under discussion. I am sorry, Sir, that the suggestion that I made the other day with regard to the first article of this Bill regarding the title of this Bill or, for the matter of that, of other Bills in regard to their titles has not been given effect to.

Article 1 of this Bill reads: "This Act may be called the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains (Declaration of National Importance) Amendment Act, 1953."

Now, if we do not believe in the monstrosity of the meaning of words, certainly this title is not a short title. I had made a submission the other day that it should not be difficult for the Secretariat or for the Drafting Department to try and shorten it. I wonder what special love these draftsmen have got for this word 'Short'. The word 'title' alone will do and I hope that in future this thing will not be presented to us in this form.

Then, Sir, so far as the title of the amending Bill is concerned, to me, Sir, the word 'ancient' has got a different meaning. I condense it to mean the history of the last 50 years only of the old history of India. 'Historical Monuments' will in my humble opinion have the meaning that I want to put on them so that on that ground I may not be declared irrelevant. Sir, I have given you this interpretation of mine regarding the words "ancient and historical monuments" and then I believe I am right in putting the interpretation that I want to put. All honour to those who are engaged in this sacred work of archaeological explorations and excavations. I have no quarrel with them, but then, living as I do in a poor

country like ours, I want to leave for the coming generations a legacy that may be of use for them. For the last one thousand years we have suffered our ancient places of historical interest to the depredations of marauders and now we have some of them in a dilapidated condition being free from those marauders who looted our rich and ancient land. Perhaps due to our weakness then, we could not do anything to save our old monuments from these depredations. But then the time has now come to have monuments of our own to be left for our coming generations.

I might illustrate, Sir, by suggesting that the birth places of Mahatma Gandhi, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and Sardar Bhagat Singh should be left as historical monuments for the coming generations so that they may remember that it was these leaders of ours who made the slave country of ours a free country. I would like memorials to be put up for such valiant patriots who laid down their lives for the freedom of the country as Khudi Ram Bose, Chandrasekhar Azad and the brave Pathans of Peshawar who laid their breasts open and bare in order to meet the bullets and the bayonets of the British. These are the things that should have national and historical importance for us in the future.

Then, Sir, to our great national degradation our friends in the Punjab were made to crawl on their belly. That should be an eye-opener. There should be a memorial to say that it was those foreign people—the Britishers—who degraded us in this fashion when we were slaves, so that the youth of the future should in no way submit to the slavery of the country. The Jalianwalabagh is crying aloud for a memorial to be raised in that place. I know that the area has been acquired and a memorial is to be built there but it has not yet taken shape. Sir, in my own town of Lucknow there was a Kakori Dacoity case and four of our brothers were hanged. Ashfaq Ullah died with a Quran on breast; so did Ram Prasad and others die on the

[Shri H. P. Saksena.]
gallows similarly. The souls of all these brave fighters are crying aloud for a memorial. I am in the very happy position of having the hon. Minister as well as the hon. Deputy Minister of Education as my old comrades in arms and I hope that they will not find it difficult to raise memorials for the patriots.

Sir, we are now free from the calamities that we had to suffer especially those who went to the jails for the first time when things were different. The jails then were not places of sojourn as now.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am afraid this Bill does not apply to modern monuments.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: It will have to; otherwise the Parliament which is supreme and we can.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is beyond the scope of the Bill. The Bill refers to ancient monuments and historical monuments.

SHRI GOVINDA REDDY: For future generations these will become ancient monuments.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Future generations will take care of them. Please confine yourself to the Bill.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: If I am interested in the preservation of any monument in the country, it is the temple of freedom, and if there is one in the country I shall certainly give my support for the preservation of that temple. Unless that is inculcated in the minds of young men, there is no point in our passing this Bill. So far as ancient historical monuments are concerned, they have lived long enough. We have been, for thousands and thousands of years, worshipping graveyards, mausoleums and temples. Let us now worship in a joint and unified temple of freedom so that there may be left no distinction of caste, creed, community or otherwise.

AN HON. MEMBER: He is opposing the Bill.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: I am not opposing the Bill. I stated in my preface that I shall have an interpretation and meaning of my own so far as the words "ancient and historical monuments" are concerned. If my speech is not to your taste.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is not a question of taste. It is a question of the Bill before the House.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: If it comes to the preservation of old historical monuments, there is a famous tank about six or eight miles from my place known as the Bakshi ka Talab where a very important school for training workers for Community Projects is being held. It was the site selected by the Britishers for building an aerodrome. A large amount of scrap iron is still lying there. So I hope that this place will also be included in U.P. list for preservation of monuments.

SHRI B. RATH: Mr. Deputy Chairman, I think I should strike a different note to the discussion because I feel that this must be treated in its proper perspective, neither from the point of view of a journalist nor of an archaeologist nor of a student of history. It has to be studied in relation to the history of the past, in relation to the civilization of the past, which can only be done by the preservation of these monuments if not for ourselves but for the future generations to come. We know that when this Bill comes up, it comes up for addition to the list of national monuments of different categories, some maintained by the Central Government, some to be partially supported by the Central Government and some to be left to be maintained by State Governments. We have to ask ourselves whether this is as formal as was made out by the Minister while he introduced this Bill. It is high time, I feel, for us to see if these national monuments that have already been preserved are preserved as properly and as efficiently as possible. Those historical sites which have been exca-

vated have to be properly examined and let them tell their own story. And if we cannot interpret it, let it be properly preserved to be interpreted in the future. I am not interested if the funds of the Government do not permit of excavating places. Let them be taken up by the future generation. But those things that have come out must be properly preserved. That is what I want. And what has been lost by us also must be got back. We know that it was not today, nor was it the present Government, that started this maintenance of historical sites and excavation into the hidden history of this land. It has been done for the last 100 years at least. Many things have been left behind, and many things have gone out of the country. I would not object to their being preserved in some other museum in some other country, but I would submit that in order to read the history of the civilization of this country which has passed from phase to phase, which has changed from time to time, in order to interpret, it, it is but natural that those things which have gone out of the country must be brought back and must be linked up with those that were left behind. Therefore, I feel that those things that have gone out of this country must be brought back, and sincere and earnest and persistent attempts must be made with the foreign Governments to get them back and send them to their proper place. My hon. friend from Guntur tells me that when the Nagajyuna Stupa of Guntur in Andhra was excavated a large number of things were found. This was only six or seven years back—I do not know exactly when—it is within a period of ten years. They were taken to England in spite of the resistance of the people. I feel that this should not have been done. I request Government to make serious efforts to bring them back and put them at the place from which they were taken. Of course, I observed that when one Minister was enquiring the Naga Stupa, the other Minister made a gesture showing that he did not know about it. I feel that that is the attitude that reigns supreme when we talk about these ancient and

historical monuments and archæological sites.

Sir, I want to bring another case to the notice of the House, because I feel strongly about it. We cannot prevent the decay of monuments which are already under the protection of Government unless serious steps are taken to preserve them. I believe, you, Sir, and all the Members of this House might have visited the Red Fort. I will take you to the building which is known as Diwan-e-Am. If you go behind it, you will find the place stinking and you will try to go away from that place. Is that the way to preserve our ancient historical sites? Can we not maintain them with a little more labour and a little more money? Shall we allow the ground floor to remain in that broken-down condition, or shall we remove all the broken parts and try to see that the house is preserved in a neat and clean condition. I am referring to a place in Delhi itself where I can take the Minister to see the condition, because it would be very difficult for me to take him to places which are far distant, places where new buildings have been constructed in the neighbourhood of ancient places by the present Government, thus marring the beauty of those ancient places. I will take you to a part of Barabati Fort in Orissa. There we find that the remains of the seven-storied building has been completely eclipsed by the construction of new houses built by the Ministers so that they can live there and their officers can live there. The remains of the seven-storied building have been relegated to the background and the place has lost its historical importance.

SHRI M. P. N. SINHA: It has gained present historical importance.

SHRI B. RATH: Yes, for our friends.

So, what I want to impress upon our Ministers is that they should see that those monuments and sites which are now in their possession are properly maintained, and that the list should not be added to, nor new excavations undertaken. If you are going to use the little money that you have

[Shri B. Rath.]

for increasing the number of monuments, you are thereby going to reduce the quality of preservation of existing monuments. That is not the way how things should be done. A good housewife tries to sweeten the *payas*, when milk is not available, by adding more sugar. When we have a limited amount of money in order to preserve those that are already there, let us not add to the number. Let us not say that we are doing something which our culture demands of us, which our heritage demands of us, which future generations demand of us. Future generations will demand that those which are already in the list should be preserved, so that those generations can be taught properly. Therefore, I request the hon. Minister to see that proper justice is done to those monuments and archaeological sites which have been found. I am not in favour of adding to the list, as has been suggested by other friends. What I am interested in is that those which are in the existing list should be properly preserved. If we do that, if we preserve the monuments and sites properly, we can do the excavation and other things in future economically.

PROF. G. RANGA: Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am sure the House welcomes, as I do, the valuable contribution that has been made by many of my friends, especially by my hon. friend Mr. Rama Rao. I agree with him in all that he has said, except for the remark that he has made about the State Ministers, in regard to which I agree with the criticism made by my hon. friend from Bihar. I wish to make a few suggestions only, in view of the fact that I agree with most of the points made in regard to the need for including so many more places and also for excavating many other places in order to discover more secrets of our own history.

I would like, Sir, an experiment to be made by the Government to give permission to societies of historians, librarians and archaeologists in this country to take the initiative in ex-

ploring and also excavating as many places as possible so that they may be able to supplement the efforts that are being made by the Department of Archaeology. It is in this connection that I want the Central Department here to organise a training course for such of those societies and also personnel of the State Governments as are concerned with this responsibility, so that we can safeguard ourselves against any misuse of the privilege that we may be giving them and also against any destruction of some of the things that may be found through any possible ignorance of the latest scientific methods of exploration and excavation. I agree with the suggestion made by my hon. sister that steps should be taken by the Government to form a Board of Archaeologists and Researchers of this country just as they have this Ancient Historical Records Commission and appoint to it some eminent historians in different parts of the country as members. They should invite those who have taken interest in archaeology and historical research to become members of such a Board, as has been suggested, and I am sure if they were to invoke the aid of my hon. friend who gave us the benefit of his valuable experiences today in historical research, Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, and make him President of that Board, much good can really be done. It was a pity, Sir, that my hon. friend thought that he did not have so much time at his disposal and therefore, he did not give us a greater exposure of his own knowledge and also his conception of history and research and archaeology. As everyone knows, he is one of the few of those old historians in India who have made us all feel proud of our own ancient history. Years ago—more than 30 years I think—I came across his book “Local Government in ancient India”; I began to read it while I was at Oxford and I felt very much inspired indeed by the fact that even in ancient India we had institutions, self-governing institutions which functioned in some ways as those of Greece and in some other ways even better, and from that day onwards I kept up my interest not only in historical research, but also in the

studies of Indian history, especially of ancient and medieval times and the Government should only be too glad to take advantage of the experience of a distinguished historian like him who fortunately for us has placed himself at the disposal of the nation by being a Member of this House.

Sir, we are all grateful to those ancients, though British, who did so much for developing archæology in this country—from Lord Curzon to Lytton and Cunningham and various other people. A tribute has already been paid by Mr. Rama Rao to them and therefore I need not dilate on that. I want suitable power to be taken by my hon. friend the Minister in charge of this Bill to give power to the village *panchayats* to spend money on restoration of their own monuments when they find them there in their own areas. If he were to do it, it would be easier for them to restore as well as maintain those monuments, as otherwise the various Panchayat Acts in the different States might come in their way of incurring such expenditure.

Sir, much was said of how India continues to be the centre of South-Eastern Asiatic culture and how so many of the statesmen as well as cultural leaders of those countries were good enough to come over to our country not only in the past at the Sanchi function but also in earlier times to drink in the great pool of culture and studies and research of this country. But I would like also an effort to be made to develop cultural missions from our country to their countries in order to make them feel that we take pride also in their own achievements. There is a book in the Library "The Achievements of Bali in Dharma and Dance". If one were to read that, one would be able to see as to how much they have themselves developed on the foundations that they received from us, on the inspiration that they got from our country, especially the motifs from Ramayan and Mahabharat. It would be a very good thing indeed for us to try to learn something from their countries

and get some of their archæological finds either as a loan or as a gift to our country, just as now there is an effort being made to send our elephants to other countries and get some of their own rare animals to our country.

I am glad to learn from my hon. friend, the Minister, that the Education Department is trying to encourage our Village Panchayats, municipal councils and other local bodies to indicate at least the places which were visited by Bapuji and the sites from which he had made speeches or preachings. Surely if we are proud of all those things that Emperor Asoka had done in those days, we should also be equally proud, if not more, of all the great things that Mahatma Gandhi had done, especially of the places that he had sanctified by visiting them and also the sites from which he had given his messages. That would become.....

(interruption) I know that the establishment of monuments and museums is supposed to be a provincial matter and that was the reason why I could not make much progress in my project for Andhra museum. And therefore, I wish to repeat my suggestion which I have already made several times to the Government, that they should take up the responsibility of developing a number of regional museums and also establish a number of Central museums. One suggestion has already been made to establish a thing like that at Gaya and I hope it would be taken up very seriously; similarly at Mathura, Brindaban and many other places like that. In the same way these Centrally organised regional museums should come to be established in our country and the cult of museum-visiting has got to be developed by our Government. As a progressive section of our own programme for education, Sir, we need not be afraid of the financial side of it. If only the Government were to become not only historical-minded but also a little business-minded and were to develop tourism to all these historical monuments in our country by providing the necessary travel facilities and various other facilities that

[Prof. G Ranga.]

are needed, it would be possible for them to encourage our own people as well as the outsiders to go round all these places, contribute money in various ways and in that way not only enrich our country but also enrich the different departments and I am sure in course of time the Archaeological Department would be able to make it self self-paying.

The last suggestion that I would like to make has already been covered to some extent by some of our friends, and that is with regard to the guide books in regard to the finds, that we have got in different parts of the country. They should be published in plenty, we have so few at present. For example there is a book 'Vishwa-bharati' which is being sold here in the book stalls for annas eight only. It is a lovely book. Similar books ought to be brought out about various places of historical interest in our country. I mentioned for instance Gupteshwar. Any one who looks at that statue, will find it is marvellous, it looks so grand especially as it is chiselled out of that huge rock. It is all taken out of one rock, Sir. I saw it in South Kanara—Karkola. It is all one rock and every bit of it is chiselled out from that rock. It appears those people all of them, acted as one man as if he was a sort of a God. He did it all in such perfection. You go to a small temple. There is a small miniature copy of it. Perfect again and it is only not as big as the other one which is about 50 or 60 ft. All over the world I have roamed about and I have not seen the like of it anywhere. Such things we have. Should we not have some pamphlets about Nalanda, Taxila, Kanchi and about so many of the Universities we have had, similarly of Gomateshwar? If we were to popularise these things and spread them among our students, get some of these subjects introduced into our school-books, I am sure our people will come to be not only proud of their own culture, of their own country but they will feel proud of the contribution that our country has made to the cultural heritage of the whole world.

It is in this direction that I expect my hon friend to see that the Department flowers further.

SHRI C G MISRA (Madhya Pradesh).

श्री सी० जी० मिश्र (मध्य प्रदेश) :

उपसभापति महोदय, यह एक इतना महत्वपूर्ण विषय है जिसका भारत के इतिहास, धर्म, संस्कृति और भाषा से अत्यन्त घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध है और यदि इस विषय में हम पूर्ण अन्वेषण करके अपने प्राचीन काल के इतिहास पर प्रकाश डालें तो मेरा विश्वास है कि भारत की संस्कृति, धर्म और भाषा पर ही नहीं बल्कि विश्व की भाषाओं पर, विश्व के धर्मों और संस्कृतियों पर बहुत प्रभाव पड़ेगा। शोक की बात यह है कि कई कारणों से, जिनमें राजनैतिक, सामाजिक और धार्मिक कारण सम्मिलित हैं, हमारे देश में इन बातों पर पूरा ध्यान नहीं दिया गया। परन्तु अब समय आ गया है कि स्वतन्त्रता के प्राप्त करने के पश्चात् और भारतीय शासन अपने हाथ में आने के पश्चात् हम लोग इस पर पूरा ध्यान दे सकते हैं और हमको देना चाहिए।

आज का जो बिल है वह एनसियेट एन्ड हिस्टोरिकल मानुमेंट्स (Ancient and Historical Monuments) से सम्बन्ध रखता है और मैं समझता हूँ कि इस विषय का सम्बन्ध केवल पुरातत्व या प्राचीन बातों की खोज लगाने से ही नहीं बल्कि उनके विषयों के इतिहास के रवाध्याय करने से भी है। जब तक हम इन प्राचीन वस्तुओं से सम्बन्धित इतिहास को नहीं पढ़ेंगे और उनका अन्वेषण नहीं करेंगे तब तक उनका वह उपयोग नहीं होगा जो होना चाहिए।

एनसियेट (प्राचीन) शब्द बहुत महत्वपूर्ण है और हमें देखना चाहिये कि हमारे एनसियेट (प्राचीन) काल

का इतिहास और हमारी संस्कृति क्या है । मैं एनसियेंट (प्राचीन) काल उसे कहता हूँ जब से सृष्टि की उत्पत्ति हुई और सृष्टि की उत्पत्ति के विषय में अनेक प्रमाणों के आधार पर आज यह मानी जाती है कि वह करीब करीब दो अरब वर्ष पहले हुई और तभी से मनुष्य जाति में धर्म का प्रचार हुआ, भाषा का प्रचार हुआ और संस्कृति का प्रचार हुआ । यदि हम अत्यन्त प्राचीन वस्तुओं की खोज करना चाहते हैं तो हमें उस तह तक जाना पड़ेगा ।

मुझे शोक के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि जब हम प्राचीन बातों पर ध्यान देते हैं तो बहुधा हम यही सुनते हैं कि पांच हजार वर्ष के इधर क्या हुआ । उसका समय श्री कृष्ण महाराज से लिए जाता है परन्तु उसके पहले भी हमारे सामने रामचन्द्र जी का इतिहास मौजूद है और यह बात त्रेता युग की है, जिसको बहुत वर्ष हो चुके हैं । हमारे सामने आज भी रामचन्द्र और कृष्णचन्द्र के इतिहास हैं । ये इतिहास स्पष्ट रूप से हमारे सामने हैं और इसका पता पुराणों से लगता है जोकि भिन्न भिन्न पुरुषों ने तैयार किये हैं । यद्यपि पुराणों में सिद्धांत की कुछ ऐसी बातें हैं जिन हमारा मतभेद है किन्तु ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से देखने से पुराणों का बड़ा महत्व है । उसके पहले की चीज़ वेद है । वेद के सम्बन्ध में मुझे शोक के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि आज संस्कृति के विद्वानों को भी इसका बहुत कम ज्ञान है क्योंकि आज उसका अध्ययन नहीं होता है । यदि आप वेदों का अध्ययन करें तो आपको कई बातें ऐसी मिलेगी जो आपको संस्कृति और आपके धर्म इत्यादि पर नवीन प्रकाश डालेंगी । आज महात्मा गांधी के उपदेशों के बाद जिस दिशा में हम प्रगति कर रहे हैं उस सम्बन्ध में भी सब बातें वेदों में मिलेगी । जैसे कि जाति का विषय है,

जन्म-जाति का सम्बन्ध वैदिक काल में नहीं है । कुछ गलत बातें भी वेद के सम्बन्ध में प्रचलित हैं । जैसे किसी ने कहा है कि ऋग्वेद काल में विवाह होता ही नहीं था । यह अत्यन्त गलत है । जिस सज्जन ने वेद को देखा होगा वह कह सकते हैं कि ऋग्वेद में एक सूक्त ही विवाह का है और उसको देखने से मालूम होगा कि विवाह की कल्पना क्या है । लोग कहते हैं कि वेद में माईथोलोजी (mythology) है । मैं तो कहता हूँ कि माईथोलोजी का वेद में नामो-निशान तक नहीं है । वेद तो सिद्धांतों का वर्णन करता है । हमको वेदों का स्वाध्याय करना बहुत आवश्यक है । मैक्समूलर, जोकि संस्कृति का पश्चिमीय बड़ा पंडित कहा जाता है, यद्यपि वह साधारण विद्वान् ही था, ने स्वीकार किया है कि :

"Vedas are the oldest books in human library, and the religion, philosophy etc. which we meet in Vedas open vistas of the past which none can measure in terms of years."

यह एक पश्चिम के विद्वान के वचन हैं परन्तु शोक यह है कि हमारे यहां वैदिक काल के साहित्य का अध्ययन नहीं होता । मैं कहता हूँ कि विश्वविद्यालयों में भी इस पर कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता और यदि कुछ थोड़ा बहुत ध्यान भी दिया जाता है तो इस विषय की जो शैली है वह गलत है । जैसे कि सांख्य शास्त्र है जिसको कि कपिल मुनि ने लिखा था, एक बड़ा महत्वपूर्ण शास्त्र है परन्तु ईश्वरचन्द्र की लिखी हुई सांख्य कारिकाये ही पढ़ाई जाती है और दोनों में बड़ा मतभेद है, एक पश्चिम को जाता है तो दूसरा पूर्व को जाता है और उसके आधार पर पश्चिम के विद्वान कहते हैं कि सांख्य शास्त्रकार एथीष्ट (atheist) था । सांख्य शास्त्र में (atheism) नास्तिकवाद है, यह कहना बिल्कुल गलत है

SHRI V. G. GOPAL: On a point of order. He is not talking on the Bill.

SHRI C. G. MISRA: I am talking on the Bill. The historical monuments are connected with the history of archaeology, with the history of the people, with the history of the religion, with the history of their culture, with the history of the language. If you study them, you will come to know many things.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We are not concerned with the educational policy here.

SHRI C. G. MISRA: I am considering the historical monuments.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You are speaking about the study of philosophy.

SHRI C. G. MISRA: Unless we study the history of these ancient monuments in their proper perspective, it cannot be interpreted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We are not concerned with it here.

SHRI C. G. MISRA: Well, I will talk on that.

SHRI C. G. MISRA:

श्री सी० जी० मिश्र: मेरी सम्मति यह है कि हमको प्राचीन साहित्य के ऊपर ध्यान देना चाहिए और मेरा विश्वास है कि यदि हम अपने प्राचीन साहित्य को देखें और उस पर ध्यान दें तो जो बहुत सी धार्मिक साम्प्रदायिकता है, बहुत सी भाषाओं की बात है और जो बहुत सी संस्कृतियां प्रचलित हैं और जो इतना भेदभाव है वह बहुत कुछ कम हो जाय और हम जो देश में एकीकरण करना चाहते हैं वह हो जाय और इतने मतभेद न रहें जितने कि आज हो गये हैं। आज तरह तरह की भाषा है, तरह तरह की संस्कृतियां और तरह तरह के धर्म हैं और नाना प्रकार के प्रान्त बनाने की मांग की जा रही है। यदि हम वेदों का अध्ययन करें तो जो हमारे गलत

विचार हो रहे हैं वह दूर हो जायेंगे और यह शासन के लिए अत्यन्त सहायक होगा।

[For English translation, see Appendix IV, Annexure No. 111.]

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Kishen Chand, have you got anything more to add to what has already been said here?

SHRI KISHEN CHAND (Hyderabad): Just one thing, Sir.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, after so many eloquent speeches have been made on this Bill I have not much to say, except that I fully support it. In saying that I would like to invite the attention of the hon. Minister to one matter which though of importance is yet a matter of controversy. It is this. So far we have been talking of the preservation of these ancient monuments. I beg to submit that the stage has arrived when we should think of the restoration and reconstruction of these valuable monuments. Taking these things from their original place and preserving them in a museum does not convey the same idea of our culture as would be conveyed by them. To illustrate my point, if you go to any antiquarian museum, you will find images and idols disfigured by the severing of certain limbs, a foot missing here, a hand missing there, a nose chopped off or an ear chopped off. I can say with confidence that even in the famous caves of Ellora where you find the big Kailash Temple which is supposed to be the greatest monument in India, such disfigurement can be seen. Therefore when anybody goes and sees these things he sees not the original work of art but something else, not the creation of our genius, the genius of our race preserved in stone but those idols disfigured. I started by saying that it is a controversial subject and all hon. Members may not agree with what I say; but I think it should be possible with our plastic cement and other modern materials to reconstruct the torn out limb, the torn out portion so that visiting these things may not be a continuous reminder to

our young men of the vandalism that was perpetrated on these things during the thousand years of foreign domination. We do not want our young men to be reminded in season and out of season that these pieces of art were broken away. They were taken away from their original places and put up in some other place. I think 1 P.M. it is not very difficult to reconstruct.

Now, take the instance of the Ajanta Caves. Luckily for our country, they were recovered up with dust for nearly 500 years and thus they were preserved. If they had been opened up in the beginning, we will not have the Ajanta Caves today. About 1850 it was found that there is a relic of this type in that part of the country and it was opened up. In 1860 it was dug out and then left to itself. It became the haunt of dacoits who started cooking their food there. All the fine paintings on the walls, the frescos were covered up with soot. I must say that Sir Akbar Hydari of Hyderabad, when he was the Finance Minister spent a great deal of money to invite Italian experts. They studied the local conditions and then tried to reconstruct them by adding colour to the frescos. First of all, they washed the thing and then repainted some parts of it. That work has not been continued for the last fifteen years for lack of funds. May I submit, Sir, to the hon. Minister in charge of the Archaeological Department to take up this work where it was left by the Hyderabad Government for lack of funds. There are still a large number of caves where the frescos exist in a dilapidated condition. It will be a revelation if we can reconstruct those things in their original form. Not only those things, but I would ask the hon. Minister to go to Mehrauli, Kutub; he will see 3/4ths of arches standing. It is very difficult to preserve the arches in this condition. What is the harm if we build up the 1/4th of the arch and make it a full gateway? In this way, I will suggest to the hon. Minister that we should go on with the work of reconstruction, not only of preservation. In this way, we will be able to carry on

the heritage of our past. I fully support the Bill with this condition.

SHRI M. P. N. SINHA: Sir, although I sit on this side of the House, I do not want to join hands in the general condemnation of the Government and this Department for slackness. Sir, I have myself been to places of ancient glory where they are being repaired and looked after. It is also true that we should not lose sight of the fact that our country is so ancient and so big and that there are so many signs of so many civilizations some of 4,000 or 5,000 or 8,000 years standing that it is not possible for a newly formed Government to look after all those places or to discover all of them. But, Sir, it is also true that the amount which is placed at the disposal of this Department is rather low. I will not ask them to give Rs. 10 or Rs. 15 crores but I suggest, Sir, that this amount of Rs. 42 lakhs or Rs. 30 lakhs is pretty small for this kind of work in this country and for such a big job. I would therefore suggest, Sir, an increase of 70 per cent. or 100 per cent. under this head.

Then, Sir, in my own Province of Bihar, some excavations have been done at two or three places: they are places of great importance: one is at Nalanda University site, the other is Vaishali where the Lichavis ruled, which was one of the oldest democracies, and the third is in Patna itself. My regret is that the work that has been done at these places have been left at a stage where it should not have been left. For example, take the case of the site of Nalanda University. The old Nalanda University existed at a particular place. There were six or eight mounds, only three mounds have been opened up. There beautiful houses have come up. There is a big hostel of the university. I don't know if the hon. the Deputy Minister has visited that place; it is worth going there. You find big buildings with separate small rooms for each student who lived and studied there. There are stone beds and chowks for the students. In the middle there is a place for the Acharyaji

[Shri M. P. N. Sinha.]

where the students came by turn and were given lessons. I believe that if the other three mounds that have not been opened up are excavated, many new things will come to light. I do not know, Sir, why this was given up at that stage.

Then take the case of Vaisali. Vaisali has come into prominence in the course of last few years on account of primarily the interest taken by a young civilian, J. C. Mathur, I.C.S., who took a lot of interest when he was posted as S.D.O. of Hajipur in the district of Muzaffarpur. It was he who founded the Vaisali Sangh of which the Chief Minister of Bihar is the President, and I am also associated with it as Vice-President. We have done some work with a few thousand rupees which we had at our disposal. We wanted only ten thousand rupees more to do a good job there. I am very sorry to say that even that petty sum was not given by the Centre, Sir. There might be financial difficulty with the Centre then—and here I agree with those friends of mine who have suggested that this burden should be shared by the States as well—but the grants could be made by the Centre even now. So far the States are concerned it can be done by persuasion and it can also be done, in some States, by threats. But the point is that the States should also take interest in this matter. I also fully agree with the suggestion that there should be a Central Board, regional boards and committees. I know, Sir, there are lots of people who do take interest in these things but for want of information and guidance they are unable to do much. That is my general point, Sir.

Then coming to the specific case for the preservation of a mosque of great antiquity at Hajpur, which is in Bihar and which had great importance and which still has that importance. It has a mythology behind it also.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have your amendment regarding this mosque and while speaking on your

amendment you can speak on this mosque.

SHRI M. P. N. SINHA: What I was going to say was that even with the small sums of money, such places of importance could be further brought to light or preserved. I would therefore suggest that some more money should be given and the boards and committees should be formed as soon as possible. Of course, Sir, I reserve my right to speak on my amendment about that mosque at a later stage.

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir. I am very thankful to the hon. Members both of the Opposition and of our side for giving to the Government some new aspects of the archaeological problems which however are not very germane and not very relevant to the amending Bill that is before us today. On the other hand it is undoubtedly because of this Bill we had the opportunity to hear the views of so many hon. Members who are really interested in the subject of archaeology. I admit, Sir, that there are certain points which ought to have been looked into before this Bill was put on the Table of the House. For instance, I would have been really glad if an explanatory note could have been attached to the various items that are here proposed to be included in the Schedule of the 1951 Act.

But I would like to point out that this Bill is, as I said in the beginning, merely a routine Bill and I do maintain it and I want to explain why I said this is a routine Bill. The Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act, 1951, clearly laid down a long list for which according to the Constitution it was obligatory on our part to come before the Parliament. Now that Act was passed in 1951 and since then the Department of Archaeology has carried out periodical surveys and have found out many other items which need to be declared as monuments of national importance. Now this Bill only seeks to include those items in the list; nothing more, nothing less. In this connection I would like to refer to cer-

tain points raised by hon. friends from both sides.

There was a point mentioned about publication of journals. The journals should have been published, but because of the financial involvement in this huge task of publishing journals, periodicals etc. which are not generally much appreciated by many people, we thought of concentrating our efforts—whatever money, whatever resources we have—on much more important task of preservation, excavation and of running the organisation in order to keep up the entire Department of Archæology, rather than spending whatever little we had for publications, etc. But I do admit, Sir, that journals ought to be published and that periodicals and such reports ought to be before the public which will give them an indication as to the nature of the work and the quantum of work that we handle in this connection.

Then, Sir, about the budget, it has been said that the money allotted to the Department of Archæology is wholly inadequate. I entirely agree, but what to do? As I sat here this morning hearing the debate and the interesting points raised in connection with the mysteries of our history being unfolded before us, I thought I was getting converted to the view that the Department of Archæology was perhaps more important than the schemes

of irrigation or the opening of roads—hundreds of thousands of miles of roads where crores of rupees are being spent, and I started doubting whether it was wisdom to expand so gradually the Department of Archæology or it was not. But looking to the problems that face us—problems of hunger, economic problems and so on—I thought it is not reasonable to get converted to the above view. Therefore the activity of this Department must be limited from the point of view of resources that we have. I am afraid, Sir, that it is not very practical either to say that the activity of this Department can be expanded to the satisfaction of all historians who want all these monuments to be included in the list and declared to be of national importance at once.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think the hon. Minister will take some more time.

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: I would like to take about 15 minutes more.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We will continue on Monday. The House stands adjourned till 8-5 on Monday morning.

The Council then adjourned till a quarter past eight of the clock on Monday, the 20th April 1953.