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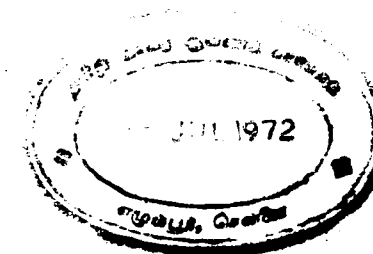
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K.C. Yadav	History of Revolt in Modern Punjab (India) during 1957-1958.	Do
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Dr. P.N. Ojha, M.A., Ph.D.	Some Aspects of North Indian Social Life (1556-1707 A.D.), Aspects of Mediaeval Indian Culture, Bharat Ka Naya Itihas (Hindi)-2 Vols, Aspects of Moghul Administration (in Press), Mughal Kaleen Bharatiya Sanskriti Kee Sahityika Pristhabhoomi (Hindi in Press).
Dr. S.N. Singh, M.A., Ph.D.	Secretary of State for India and his Council.
	<i>University of Rajasthan</i>
Dr. M.L. Sharma, M.A., D.Litt.	Kotah Rajva Ka Itihas, in 2 vols. (Hindi); Bhartiya Sanskriti Ka Vikas (Hindi)
Dr. V.P.S. Raghuvanshi, M.A., D.Phil.	Indian Nationalist Movement and Thought.
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Dr. G.C. Pande, M.A., D.Phil.	Origins of Buddhism, Buddha Dharma Ke Vikas Ka Itihas (Hindi).
Dr. Satish Chandra, M.A., D.Phil.	Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court (1707-1739).

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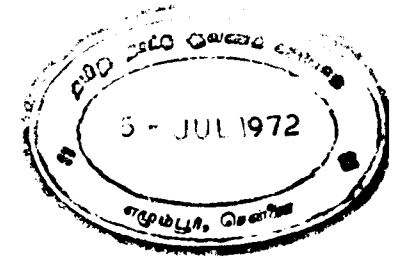
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EDITORIAL

The Third Year

With the present number, the *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies* steps into the third year. It is a matter of gratification for us that we have been able to maintain the standard and quality of the journal for two years. We do hope that we shall be able to continue it in future years too. We take this opportunity to offer our thanks to all History scholars and well-wishers, but for whose kind co-operation we could not have achieved the success we have done. The *Quarterly Review* has now won an established and assured position among historical journals of International reputation. It has already achieved the highest circulation, both Indian and foreign, among Indian historical journals. We are now looking forward to improving the record in future.

It is a matter of regret that we have not been able to bring out the numbers as regularly as we wanted. The reasons have been explained in the editorial columns of the earlier issues, the most important being the unfortunate delay in getting information from different Universities and research centres.

A Survey of Indian Historiography

The present combined numbers cover mainly the papers read at the Symposium on *A Survey*

of Indian Historiography, held on the occasion of the Annual General Meeting in October 1963. There were seven papers, by Dr. U.N. Ghoshal, Dr. D. C. Sircar and Mr. Kalyan Kumar Das Gupta for the Ancient Period; by Dr. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar and Dr. A. C. Roy for the Medieval Period; and by Dr. N. K. Sinha, Dr. Barun De and Dr. Ashim Das Gupta for the Modern Period. The collection of papers, dealing with various aspects of Indian historiography, will prove very useful as a reference work for all interested in Indian history. They deal with the history of Indian historical writing since the later part of the 19th century, including a list of historians and their principal works. They also analyse the methodology followed during different periods and the main trends in historiography. Finally, they indicate the gaps in the study of Indian history which have still to be filled up. It is indeed the first attempt at a brief survey of the entire range of Indian historiography, covering ancient, medieval and modern periods. Young research students, in particular, would be well advised to go through this survey very carefully before starting in their special field of investigation.

Besides the Symposium papers, the present combined numbers also include two talks given at the Discussion Meetings of the Institute,—one on *West Bengal State Archives* (Archival Material Series) by Mr. T. K. Mukherjee,

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EDITORIAL

University News:

In the present number we return to our normal feature, namely, giving an account of the progress of historical research at different Universities, including lists of research students, their Supervisors and subjects of research and comments by Supervisors. The Universities covered are Ranchi and Rajasthan. We hope to continue this feature so as to cover all the Universities and Research Centres in India, although from time to time we may have to depart from the normal practice and publish only Symposium or Seminar Papers.

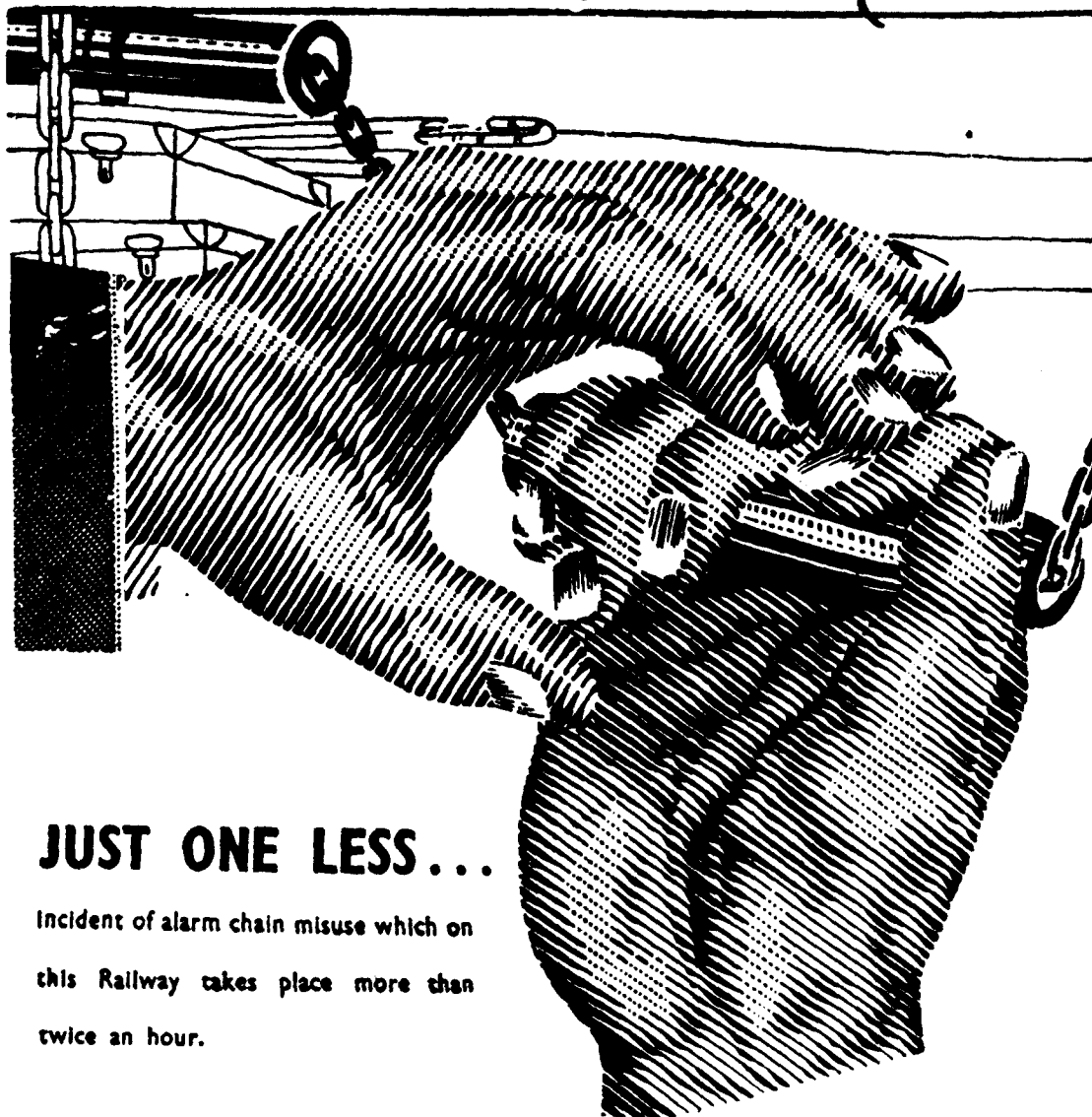
Expansion of the Executive Committee:

The Institute of Historical Studies is making steady progress and gaining in popularity and reputation. At the last Annual General Meeting of the Institute, an important constitutional amendment was adopted to suit the all-India composition and activities of the Institute. Since the Institute had been functioning as an all-India Organisation, with membership drawn from all the States and with activities at different centres in the country, it was felt necessary to enlarge the Executive Committee, so as to include representatives from all the major Universities and States. The constitutional change

adopted was to add twelve members to the Executive Committee to represent different Universities and regions.

The following persons were duly elected to the Executive Committee following the adoption of the constitutional amendment: Dr. K.K. Datta (Vice-Chancellor, Magadh University), Mahamahopadhyaya D.V. Potdar (Ex-Vice-Chancellor, Poona University), Professor Bisheshwar Prasad (Delhi University), Dr. S. Gopal (Director, Historical Division, Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi), Professor K.K. Pillay (Madras University), Professor G.M. Moraes (Bombay University), Professor Nurul Hasan (Aligarh Muslim University), Professor A.K. Narain (Banaras Hindu University), Dr. P.L. Mehra (Panjab University), Professor O.P. Bhatnagar (Allahabad University), Professor M.N. Das (Utkal University), and Professor H.K. Barpujari (Gauhati University).

All of them have kindly agreed to serve on the Executive Committee. It is to be hoped that the change in the composition of the Executive Committee will help us in getting more active co-operation from teachers of Universities and Colleges outside West Bengal. It is necessary to launch a countrywide membership drive so as to reach our immediate target of eight hun-



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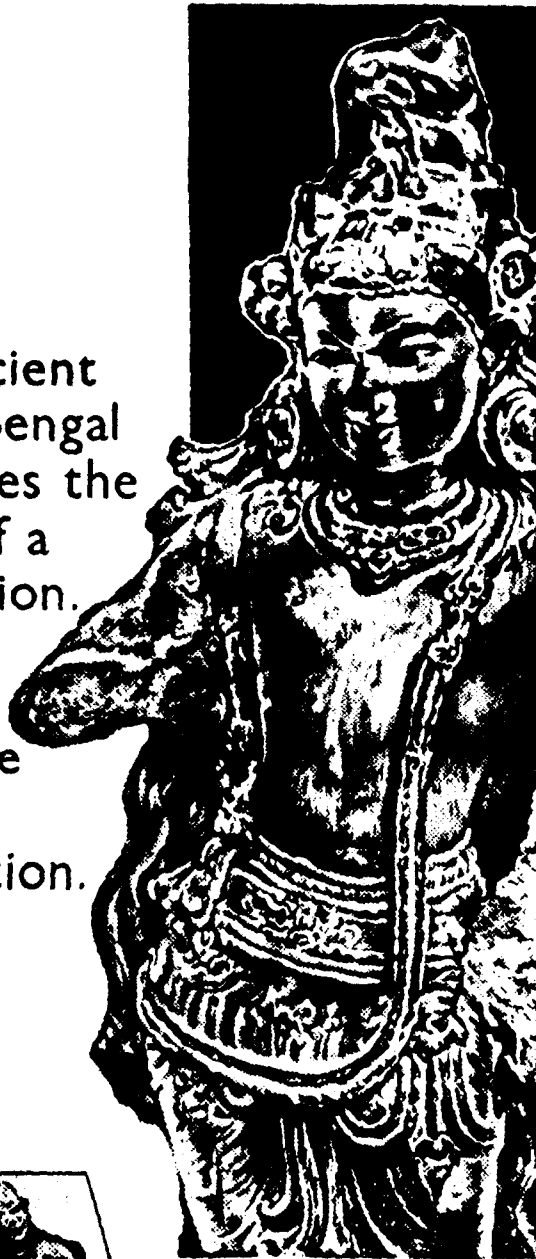
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idea of the volume of material available on his subject. He is naturally inclined to complete his work on insufficient data, collected from a few easily assessable sources. To do otherwise would involve an infinite amount of patience, labour, time and expense. If he has to make sure that he has not left unutilised any relevant material available in India, he has to travel extensively all over the country, spend months at each centre to scrutinise the nature of material available there, and then at the end find that he has simply wasted many years in the course of this blind search. Things would have been much easier for him if there had been a National Guide to Sources of Modern Indian History, scattered in the numerous repositories all over the country.

We are happy to learn that such a highly useful Project has been recently undertaken by the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, with the financial support of the Asia Foundation. The object of the Project is "to provide the steadily growing number of students of modern Indian history a basic reference work which will help them to locate such original materials as may have a bearing on the subjects of their studies". The proposed *Guide to Sources of Modern Indian History* will attempt "to classify and describe systematically all significant archives and manuscript collections available in India and pertaining to different aspects of modern Indian studies,

including political and diplomatic history, constitutional, administrative and institutional developments, socio-economic changes and changes affecting intellectual, cultural and religious life of the people".

The scope of the Project is confined to original and unpublished materials, belonging to the period 1750-1947, which are available in public repositories and institutions in India. Collections in foreign countries or in private possession in India will not be included. The Guide will cover the following classes of documents : (1) Archives of the Union Government available in the National Archives of India and other repositories; (2) Archives of State Governments including District Records ; (3) Records of High Courts; (4) Manuscripts and private papers in leading libraries and museums; and (5) Collections of well-known religious, social and political associations, learned societies and academic institutions.

The Project will take about three years. We are quite hopeful about its successful execution under the able guidance of its Director, Dr. V.C. Joshi. On behalf of students of Modern Indian History, we offer our grateful thanks to Dr. Joshi, to the Indian Institute of Public Administration and to the Asia Foundation for having undertaken a Project of this kind.

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL STUDIES ANNUAL REPORT (1962-1963)

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I have great pleasure in presenting the Annual Report of the Institute of Historical Studies for the year 1962-63. The progress of the Institute during the year under review has been very satisfactory, and it is a matter of pride for all of us that this two years old organisation has already established a high position among the great academic institutions in the country. The Institute's record demonstrates how much can be achieved by honest and hard labour and sincerity of purpose.

The Institute had functioned as an unregistered society and without any formal written constitution till December 1962. In January 1963 a formal written constitution was drawn up and in February the Institute was registered under Act XXI of 1860. The Constitution was intended to provide a simple machinery for the smooth and efficient working of a young, developing organisation. The objectives of the Institute, as set forth in the Constitution, are limited to what is really practicable under the circumstances, and at the same time wide enough to cover future expansion of activities. Membership qualifications are intended to keep the organisation compact and homogeneous, consisting of persons really interested in historical research. The institution of a special category of members, namely Fellows, is intended as a mark of recognition of distinguished scholars all over the country. The Executive Committee, consisting of office-bearers belonging to four Departments: Meetings and Seminars, Publication, Office and Finance, and Public Relations, is a small and compact body suitable for an infant organisation, where sustained and constructive work is more needed than time-killing committee discussions. While

the Executive Committee has been vested with effective powers for the day to day working of the Institute, the final authority vests in the general body of members. In order to avoid any discrimination between members from Calcutta and those from outside and thus to enable the Institute to function as an effective all-India organisation, the Constitution provides for postal ballot and expression of opinion by post on all measures and policies of the Institute. For purposes of election, Annual General Meeting, amendment of the Constitution and financial control, outstation or absentee members are in a position to exercise the same rights as members from Calcutta. Certain defects in the Constitution, as revealed by its practical working, have been sought to be removed by proposals of amendment which have been circulated among members. I hope their acceptance will ensure better and smoother working of the organisation.

During the year under review the Institute had 3 Life Members and 210 Ordinary Members. This is quite an encouraging record, considering the fact that membership drive was started after the registration of the society in February 1963. In view of the satisfactory response we have been getting, we can reasonably expect that the membership figure will reach 400 in 1963-64. What is particularly encouraging is the increasing number of members from outside Calcutta and West Bengal. In fact, there is not a single State or a single University in India from where we do not have at least a few members. That makes us feel hopeful about setting up a number of branch or affiliated organisations at different Centres in the near future.

The list of Foundation Fellows of the Institute

FELLOWS OF THE INSTITUTE

DR. R. C. MAJUMDAR (<i>Calcutta</i>)	DR. P. L. MEHRA (<i>Panjab</i>)
DR. N. K. SINHA (<i>Calcutta</i>)	DR. H. L. GUPTA (<i>Saugor</i>)
DR. N. R. RAY (<i>Calcutta</i>)	PROFESSOR O. P. BHATNAGAR (<i>Allahabad</i>)
SHRI N. K. BOSE (<i>Calcutta</i>)	DR. H. L. SINGH (<i>Gorakhpur</i>)
DR. A. C. BANERJEE (<i>Calcutta</i>)	DR. A. K. NARAIN (<i>Banaras</i>)
DR. B. C. SEN (<i>Calcutta</i>)	DR. S. P. SEN (<i>Calcutta</i>)
DR. D. C. SIRCAR (<i>Calcutta</i>)	DR. M. N. DAS (<i>Utkal</i>)
DR. P. C. GUPTA (<i>Jadavpur</i>)	DR. P. N. OJHA (<i>Ranchi</i>)
DR. H. R. GHOSHAL (<i>Bihar</i>)	DR. H. K. BARPUJARI (<i>Gauhati</i>)
DR. R. S. SHARMA (<i>Patna</i>)	MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA D. V. POTDAR (<i>Poona</i>)
DR. B. P. SINHA (<i>Patna</i>)	DR. U. N. GHOSHAL (<i>Calcutta</i>)
DR. K. K. PILLAY (<i>Madras</i>)	DR. SUDHAKAR CHATTERJEE (<i>Visva-Bharati</i>)
DR. M. RAMA RAO (<i>Tirupati</i>)	DR. H. K. SHERWANI (<i>Hyderabad</i>)
DR. G. M. MORAES (<i>Bombay</i>)	DR. SUKUMAR BHATTACHARYYA (<i>Delhi</i>)
DR. V. G. HATALKAR (<i>Bombay</i>)	DR. HOLDEN FURBER (<i>Pennsylvania</i>)
MM. DR. V. V. MIRASIH (<i>Nagpur</i>)	DR. ROBERT I. CRANE (<i>Duke</i>)
DR. K. K. DATTA (<i>Magadh</i>)	DR. C. H. PHILIPS (<i>London</i>)
DR. S. GOPAL (<i>Delhi</i>)	DR. A. L. BASHAM (<i>London</i>)
DR. BISHESHWAR PRASAD (<i>Delhi</i>)	DR. C. C. DAVIES (<i>Oxford</i>)
DR. NURUL HASAN (<i>Aligarh</i>)	DR. T. G. P. SPEAR (<i>Cambridge</i>)
DR. A. L. SRIVASTAVA (<i>Agra</i>)	DR. KRISTOF GLAMANN (<i>Denmark</i>)

Assistant Director of Archives; and the other one on *A. S. Altekar* (Eminent Indian Historians Series) by Dr. J. N. Banerjee—as also summaries of two theses presented at the Universities of Agra and Allahabad.

Discussion Meetings

Since the last issue of the *Quarterly Review* only three Discussion Meetings have been held. Dr. Edward C. Dimock (Chicago University) spoke on *Vaishnava Sahajiya Cult*; Dr. M. N. Das (Utkal University) on *Political Ideologies in Britain vis-a-vis Problems of Indian Empire: 1905-10*; and Dr. N. K. Sinha (Calcutta University) on *Historical Material of Indian Interest in the Soviet Archives*. They will all be published in our next issue. It is rather unfortunate that Discussion Meetings could not be held more frequently for the last few months. We have, however, drawn up a final programme of Discussion Meetings for the next six months, in which every month an eminent scholar from outside Calcutta will deliver a course of two lectures. We shall begin with the Medieval Period.

Annual Report (1962-63)

The Annual Report of the Institute of Historical Studies for 1962-63 is published in the present combined numbers. The Report, which gives a quite detailed account of the activities of the Institute during the year under review and the new Projects to be undertaken in 1963-64, shows a very encouraging picture of the organisation. Membership is not only increasing; what is more significant, it is becoming more and more All-India in character. There is a general recognition everywhere of the importance and utility of the Institute in co-ordinating research activities at different Universities and research centres.

New Fellows

At the last Annual General Meeting of the Institute in October 1963, the following new

Fellows were elected: Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar (Poona), Dr. U. N. Ghoshal (Calcutta), Dr. H. K. Sherwani (Hyderabad), Dr. Sudhakar Chatterjee (Visva-Bharati), Dr. Sukumar Bhattacharya (Delhi), Dr. Holden Furber (Pennsylvania), Dr. Robert I. Crane (Duke University, U.S.A.), Dr. C. H. Phillips (London), Dr. A. L. Basham (London), Dr. C. C. Davies (Oxford), Dr. T. G. P. Spear (Cambridge), and Dr. Kristof Glamann (Denmark).

They have all signified their kind acceptance of the Fellowship, and the Institute is proud of having on its roll of Fellows names which are of international reputation in the field of history.

It may be noted that under the Constitution, new Fellows are to be proposed and elected by the existing College of Fellows. It ensures maintenance of the distinguished character of the College of Fellows.

First Annual Conference

The Institute held its first Annual Conference in Poona on December 30, 1963. This was in implementation of the new programme of the Institute to hold a Conference every year at different University Centres by rotation, to enable a large body of historians outside Calcutta to participate in its academic activities. For the convenience of all members, it is proposed to hold such a Conference every year immediately following the Indian History Congress Session.

At the last Annual Conference there was organised a Symposium on *The Organisation of Historical Research in Indian Universities—Present Problems and Difficulties and How to Remove Them*. Papers were read by Professor Bisheshwar Prasad (Delhi University), Professor K. K. Pillay (Madras University), Professor A. L. Srivastava (Agra University), Professor A. K. Narain (Banaras Hindu University), and Professor R. S. Sharma and Professor B. P. Sinha (Patna University). The papers, which will be

published in full in our next issue, were highly interesting, pinpointing in a most candid and courageous manner the defects in the organisation of research in Indian Universities. Equally interesting was the discussion which followed for nearly three hours, in which a larger number of representatives from different Universities participated and spoke in the frankest manner possible in a professional gathering of historians and teachers. The discussion was methodical and pointed; and the constructive suggestions made by various participants were finally drawn up in the form of a set of concrete recommendations. These recommendations will be duly forwarded to the U. G. C., the different Universities and other research centres, and the Union and State Governments. It is to be hoped that the recommendations coming from such a large and representative group of Indian historians and teachers will be given the serious consideration they deserve.

Dictionary of Nationalist Biographies Project

The Dictionary of Nationalist Biographies Project is making good progress. A Project Committee of Research Supervisors has been set up, consisting of (i) Dr. S. P. Sen, Director (ex-officio) (ii) Dr. P. C. Gupta (Eastern Zone), (iii) Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad (U.P., M.P. & Rajasthan), (iv) Dr. P. L. Mehra (Punjab and Kashmir), (v) Dr. G. M. Moras (Western Zone), and (vi) Dr. K. K. Pillay (Southern Zone). A Supervisor for Maharashtra region will be appointed soon.

The Project Committee appointed the following as Research Fellows in December 1963: (i) Dr. Amiya Barat, (ii) Miss Sujata Ghosh (Eastern Zone), (iii) Mr. Emmanuel Divien (Southern Zone), (iv) Dr. D. P. Vohra (Western Zone), (v) Mr. L. Dewani (U.P., M.P. & Rajasthan), and (vi) Mr. D. L. Datta (Panjab and Kashmir). A Research Fellow for Maharashtra region will be appointed later. As the work proceeds, it will be necessary to appoint

a few part-time Research Scholars for linguistic regions not covered so far.

As we wrote in an earlier issue, to make the Project more popularly known and to enlist the co-operation of a cross-section of the society, it had been decided to set up Zonal Committees. Only the Committee for the Eastern Zone has been formed till now. Other Committees will be formed in the course of the next two months. The Committee for the Eastern Zone consists of: Dr. S. P. Sen, Director (ex-officio), Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose, Professor Priya Ranjan Sen, Professor P. C. Gupta, Mr. Y. D. Mulay (Librarian, National Library), Professor Pramatha Nath Bisi, Mr. Pulin Behari Sen (Journalist), Mr. Amitabha Chaudhury (Journalist), Dr. K. K. Dutta (Bihar), Dr. M. N. Das (Utkal) and Dr. H. K. Barpujari (Assam). The first meeting of the Zonal Committee was held in Calcutta on 12th April 1964. We thank the members for their kind co-operation and offer to help the Research Fellows in the collection of material.

In a later issue we shall publish the first Report on the progress of the Project work, and shall invite comments and suggestions from our readers.

Guide to Sources of Modern Indian History Project

One of the main difficulties for research in Modern Indian History is the scattering of records in more than two dozen public repositories in India, located in different parts of the country. Some of them have printed Catalogues or press-lists, but many of them, particularly repositories of judicial records, do not have any printed or even systematic hand-written lists. Besides, the manuscripts and private papers in leading libraries and museums or in the collections of important religions, social and political associations, learned societies and academic institutions, there are, except in a few rare cases, no satisfactory reference media. As a result, an average research student can form no adequate

again shows the all-India character of the body. The following are Fellows of the Institute:

Dr. R.C. Majumdar (Calcutta), Dr. N. K. Sinha (Calcutta), Dr. N.R. Ray (Calcutta), Shri N. K. Bose (Calcutta), Dr. A. C. Banerjee (Calcutta), Dr. B. C. Sen (Calcutta), Dr. D. C. Sircar (Calcutta), Dr. P. C. Gupta (Jadavpur), Dr. H. R. Ghoshal (Bihar), Dr. R. S. Sharma (Patna), Dr. B. P. Sinha (Patna), Dr. K. K. Pillay (Madras), Dr. M. Rama Rao (Tirupati), Dr. G. M. Moraes (Bombay), Dr. V. G. Hatakhar (Bombay), MM. Dr. V. V. Mirashi (Nagpur), Dr. K. K. Datta (Magadh), Dr. S. Gopal (Delhi), Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad (Delhi), Professor Nurul Hasan (Aligarh), Dr. A. L. Srivastava (Agra), Dr. P. L. Mehra (Panjab), Dr. H. L. Gupta (Saugor), Shri O. P. Bhatnagar (Allahabad), Dr. H. L. Singh (Gorakhpur), Dr. A. K. Narain (Banaras), Dr. S. P. Sen (Calcutta), Dr. M. N. Das (Utkal), Dr. P. N. Ojha (Ranchi), Dr. H. K. Barpujari (Gauhati).

New Fellows are to be elected by the existing body of Fellows. The names of the new Fellows elected this year will be announced at the Annual General Meeting.

During the year under review 24 Discussion Meetings were held. The first series of talks was on *Eminent Historians*. The speakers were: Dr. Benoy Chaudhuri (*R. Tawney*), Dr. Barun De (*L. Namier*), Dr. Prodyot Mukherjee (*G.M. Trevelyan*), Dr. Ashin Das Gupta (*Henri Pirenne*), and Professor Susobhan Sarkar (*Marc Bloch*). The next series taken up was on *Eminent Indian Historians*. The speakers were: Dr. P. C. Gupta (*Surendranath Sen*), Dr. Nilmani Mukherjee (*Ramesh Chandra Dutta*), Dr. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar (*Jadunath Sarkar*), Dr. Prodyot Mukherjee (*Shafaat Ahmad Khan*), Professor S.K. Saraswati (*Akshoy Maitra*), Dr. S. K. Mitra (*Haraprasad Shastri*), Mr. Kalyan Kumar Das Gupta (*Rajendralal Mitra*), Mr. Dilip Kumar Biswas (*Nani Gopal Mazumdar*), Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sircar (*Hemchandra Raychoudhury*), Dr. J. N. Banerjee (*A.S. Altekar*), Mr. Nalini Nath Das Gupta

(*D.R. Bhandarkar*), and Mr. Adhir Chakravarty (*Rakhal Das Banerjee*). The third series taken up was on *Archival Material*. The speakers were: Dr. Tapan Raychaudhury (*National Archives of India*), Dr. Parthasarathi Gupta (*British Archives*), and Mr. T. K. Mukherjee (*West Bengal Archives*). Outside the two series there were talks by four eminent foreign historians: Professor Robert I. Crane (Duke University, Durham) spoke on the *Nature of Historical Writing on the Indian Nationalist Movement*. Professor Holden Furber (Pennsylvania University) spoke on *Some Problems of Writing Indian History*. Professor Gilbert Fite (University of Oklahoma) spoke on *Writing of American Economic History*; and Professor A. B. Mrozek (Institute of International Affairs, Warsaw) on the *Study of Indian History in Poland*.

Some of the talks have already been published in the *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*. The rest will also be published in due course. It is also proposed to bring out in one volume all the talks on the *Eminent Indian Historians* series, as the first attempt to write a connected account of Indian historiography.

The Discussion Meetings were very well attended and it is gratifying to note the increasing interest among members in the weekly meetings. Besides the Discussion Meetings, there is a project under consideration of holding a regular six months Research Training Seminar at the Institute. We are hopeful about securing the co-operation of Research Supervisors and it is expected that the scheme may be put into effect early in 1964.

The Institute sponsored jointly with the United States Information Service, Calcutta, a Seminar on the Economic and Political History of the United States from the New Deal to the Present, from 10th to 13th January, 1963. The Seminar had eight Sessions, devoted to such aspects as *The Impact of Roosevelt and the New Deal upon American Institutions*, *Some Economic Problems of the New Deal Era*, *The Political and Economic Status of a Minority Group in American*

Life, *Economic Issues in American Politics*, *The New Deal: Reform in an Era of Inflation*, *Indo-American Relations*, etc. There were four American Visiting Historians participating in the seminar—Dr. Frank Freidel, Professor of History at Harvard University; Dr. Gilbert C. Fite, Research Professor of American History at the University of Oklahoma; Dr. Robert I. Crane, Professor of History and Chairman of Committee on South Asia Studies at Duke University, Durham, North Carolina; and Dr. Frenise A. Logan, Director of the Indo-American Society in Bombay. There were about forty participating Indian scholars from Calcutta, Jadavpur, Burdwan, Utkal, Patna, Bihar, Ranchi, Bhagalpur and Gauhati Universities. It was a very successful Seminar, and it is to be hoped that the exchange of ideas between American and Indian historians will give a fresh incentive to the study of American history at our Universities.

The *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies* is also maintaining its steady progress. It has won international recognition and popularity and has the largest circulation among Indian historical journals. Only two numbers of Volume II have been published, covering the following institutions: the Universities of Agra, Gorakhpur, Allahabad and Banaras, the Asiatic Society (Calcutta) and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (Poona). Nos. 3 and 4 are in the press. It is a matter of regret that the issues of the journal could not be brought out as regularly as one would have wished. The difficulty lies in getting necessary information from different Universities about the progress in historical research. We can only hope that Research Supervisors and students will appreciate the value and utility of the collection of research information and will supply all relevant particulars more promptly.

There have also been some additions to the collection of historical journals and books in our Library during the year under review. Lack of funds stood in the way of further acquisitions, particularly of foreign historical

journals. The recent grant from the Asia Foundation has removed that difficulty and we are now in a position to subscribe many valuable journals which we could not get by exchange.

The Research Service Bureau has also shown considerable activity during the year under review. Numerous research queries were answered, and in several cases the Bureau helped establishing contacts between research students working in different parts of the country in allied fields of study. Information was also supplied to foreign scholars interested in Indian history about research projects in Indian Universities and other research centres. To run the Bureau more efficiently, however, we need a whole-time salaried staff.

I have given you a review of the principal activities of the Institute during the year 1962-63. But I feel I ought to include in this Report a brief account of the development plans and Research Project we have been enabled to undertake from the year 1963-64 by two substantial grants from the Asia Foundation:

(a) General Support Grant—Rs. 40,500/- for three years, and

(b) Grant for the Dictionary of Nationalist Biographies Project—Rs. 1,44,000/- for three years in the first instance.

(a) The General Support Grant is intended to strengthen the Institute and enable it to tide over the initial difficulties of a new organisation of this kind. It will help us to undertake the following development projects:

- (i) To invite scholars from other Universities to give lectures at the weekly Discussion Meetings of the Institute or to conduct Seminars for Research Students;
- (ii) To improve the quality of the Journal;
- (iii) To increase the Reading Room facilities by subscribing all important historical journals, both Indian and foreign;

- (iv) To hold Annual Conferences in December at different University Centres by rotation. The Conference will include reading of papers on important themes of history, symposiums, public lectures and discussions on the co-ordination of research courses at different Universities and on the problems of research students and Supervisors. The fundamental object is to bring together all those actively interested in historical research for a fruitful discussion and exchange of ideas and information. It is aimed simply to supplement the work of the Indian History Congress and other such august all-India Historical Associations and not to set up a rival organisation;
- (v) To publish the proceedings of the Annual Conference and to draw the attention of Research Institutions to the problems discussed and recommendations made;
- (vi) To set up four or five Branches or Affiliated Organisations at different Centres. Regular Discussion Meetings and Seminars will be organised at these Centres and their proceedings will be published in the *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*. In this way the Institute may be developed into a great national organisation of all active workers in the field of historical research.
- (b) The Research Grant of Rs. 1,44,000/-, for three years in the first instance, is for compiling a Dictionary of Biographies of Indian Nationalist Leaders from the early part of the 19th century to the achievement of independence.

The objects of the Project are: (i) preparation of a badly needed reference work on eminent Indians of the nationalist epoch; (ii) putting biographical entries in a systematic fashion on a single basic format so as to make them as comparable as possible; (iii) training a number of young scholars in research techniques and methodology; (iv) making a valuable collection

of material, to be preserved in the National Library of India for the use of other scholars in future; and (v) making the biographical entries as comprehensive as possible and covering leaders at all levels and for all parts of India who were active in the political, cultural and social aspects of the nationalist movement.

The first three years will be spent only in collecting material, with the help of 7 whole-time Research Fellows and a number of part-time workers under the supervision of eminent scholars drawn from different regions of India. The second phase of the Project will be the preparation of the Dictionary in several volumes by a competent Board of Editors.

On the organisational side, the highest policy-framing authority is the Advisory Board consisting of 11 members, chosen by the Institute on an all-India basis and representing as much as possible the different linguistic and cultural regions of India:

- | | |
|---|---------------|
| 1. Director, Institute of Historical Studies, Calcutta. | } Ex-officio. |
| 2. Librarian, National Library, Calcutta. | |
| 3. Representative, Asia Foundation, New Delhi. | |
| 4. Professor Robert I. Crane, Duke University (U.S.A.). | |
| 5. Professor N. K. Bose, Director of Anthropology, Government of India, Calcutta. | |
| 6. Dr. K. K. Dutta, Vice-Chancellor, Magadh University, Gaya (Bihar). | |
| 7. Professor Bisheshwar Prasad, Delhi University. | |
| 8. Mahamahopadhyay D. V. Potdar, Vice-Chancellor, Poona University. | |
| 9. Professor K. K. Pillai, Madras University. | |
| 10. Professor G. M. Moraes, Bombay University. | |
| 11. Dr. P. L. Mehra, Panjab University. | |

Below the Advisory Board is the Project Committee consisting of the Director of the Institute as Chairman and six eminent scholars, chosen on an all-India basis, and representing

the different linguistic and cultural regions of India. The Project Committee will select Editors and Research Fellows and will provide regular and detailed supervision of the work of the Research Staff. The actual work of collecting material will be carried out by a staff of 7 whole-time Research Fellows and a number of part-time workers. There is also provision for taking the help of other scholars from time to time as consultants and for setting up Zonal Committees to arouse wider interest in the Project.

I take this opportunity to convey, on behalf

of the Institute, our sincere thanks to the Asia Foundation for its generous financial assistance. I have also to thank the Press for their kind co-operation at the several Press Conferences we had called and for the full publicity given to our development plans and Research Project. Before concluding, I thank the members and well-wishers of the Institute for their kind and active interest, and I do hope we shall continue to have their co-operation in future too.

September 20, 1963.
Calcutta-12.

S. P. SEN.
Director.

Survey of Indian Historiography (Ancient Period)

HISTORY AND HISTORIANS OF ANCIENT INDIA

Dr. U. N. GHOSHAL

I propose to take as the subject of my address at this meeting HISTORY AND HISTORIANS OF ANCIENT INDIA IN THE MODERN AGE. In carrying out a task of such magnitude within the limits of a single address, I have thought it necessary to impose upon myself certain restraints. I exclude from my review the histories of religion and philosophy, of language and literature, of art and architecture, and last but not the least, of Indian cultural and colonial expansion in ancient times. Again, while I have sought to give somewhat detailed notices of the works of historians separated from us in space and time, I have thought myself at liberty to deal somewhat summarily with recent works (especially those of my own countrymen), not only because these are sufficiently well-known, but also for the avoidance of personal controversies.

The subject of my discourse may be divided into two periods. These may be called, firstly THE AGE OF PREPARATION which extended roughly from 1780 to 1860; and secondly, THE AGE OF ACHIEVEMENT from 1860 to the present times.

In commencing with the first of the above periods I have first to draw your attention to the long and arduous apprenticeship which has been imposed upon its historians by the peculiar difficulties of their subject. In contrast with the great ancient civilisations of Egypt, Mesopotamia and China, India has preserved no dynastic annals or chronology sufficiently authentic to take us back almost to the beginnings of man's emergence from barbarism. As it was, interest in the remote past was confined even in learned circles in our country to the

stories and legends of the Epics and the *Puranas*, further enquiries being stifled by the dead weight of tradition. It was left to intellectuals coming from race-groups (one of which was well on its way to acquire dominion over our land), to start the modern movement for the recovery of our ancient history. Their stimulus proceeded in the first instance from that scientific curiosity about strange peoples and cultures which had been a characteristic of the Ancient Greek (as of the Chinese) genius, and which Western Europe had inherited from the classical world in the glorious epoch of the Renaissance. To this was added the interest derived from the momentous discovery of the affinity of Sanskrit with the classical languages of Greece and Rome and their derivatives, linking them all as members of a common Indo-European family of languages. Above all, there was the irresistible appeal of some branches of our ancient classical literature and philosophy to the minds of some of the foremost thinkers of the time, following the discovery of its treasures to the Western World.

I. Discovery of Sanskrit and its consequences:

The discovery of Sanskrit for the Western World lies principally to the credit of three British scholars who were closely associated with the Presidency of Bengal in the formative period of British rule in this country. Charles Wilkins's translations from the Sanskrit (*Bhagavadgita* 1784, *Hilopadesa* 1787) were quickly followed by the elegant versions of Sir William Jones (*Sakuntala* 1789, *Gitagovinda* 1793, and the *Laus of Manu* 1794), which were succeeded in their turn by the critical studies of Ancient Indian law, religion and philosophy, grammar

astronomy and arithmetic as well as preliminary studies of the Vedas by H. T. Colebrooke. The foundation of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta in 1784 by Sir William Jones, the greatest British Orientalist of his time and one of the greatest humanists of all times, was followed by that of sister societies in Paris (1822) and in London (1823). These activities were accompanied by the publication of very valuable texts, translations and studies. Thus while Burnouf in the forties of the preceding century laid the foundation of Vedic and Pali studies and of Buddhism in Europe, his great German pupil Friedrich Max Muller published his famous editions of the Rig-Veda with Sayana's commentary (1849-75) and other works, and another pupil Rudolf Roth with his colleague Otto Bohtlingk prepared the great St. Petersburg Dictionary (1852-75). Among the publications which were destined to be of immediate interest to the students of Ancient Indian history may be mentioned the following: the edition and translation of the *Mahāvamsa* by George Turnour (1837), a collection of the fragments of Megasthenes by E.A. Schwanbeck (1846), the translation of Fa Hien's *Travels* by Abel Remusat and others (1836), and that of Hiuen Tsang's *Records* by Stanislaus Julien (1853, 1857).

II. Rise of Modern Indian Archaeology

In the second and third decades of the last century the interest of the Western World was roused by the discovery of coins of Greek and "Indo-Scythic" (really Śaka, Parthian and Kushāṇa) rulers from the ruined Buddhist stupas in the Punjab by Ranjit Singh's foreign generals and from those in Afghanistan by Charles Masson. These predatory excavations of ancient sites were followed by the hunt for Buddhist sculptures in the Hellenistic style amid the ruins of ancient Buddhist monasteries in the land of Gandhāra stretching from the right bank of the upper Indus along the Kabul river to the surrounding hill ranges. This was accompanied by the discoveries of famous monuments and sites at Bharhut and Sanchi,

at Sarnath, in the Nepal Terai, at Ajanta and Ellora, at Amaravati and other places. The irreparable damage done to the ancient monuments by the amateur excavators in their mad search for antiquities was compensated to some extent by the extraordinary series of discoveries made mostly by James Prinsep and his associates related to the script, the age and the language of our oldest historical inscriptions in what are now called Kharoshthī, Brāhmī, Kushāṇa and Gupta characters.

III. Histories and Historians of the First Period

Of the early historians of this period properly so called, we can distinguish two important categories. To the first class belong a few distinguished British members of the East Indian Company's Services, who made up for their lack of formal academic training by a thorough knowledge of the country and its people gained during long years of uninterrupted residence in the country. Elphinstone, who rose to be Governor of the Bombay Presidency after the British annexation of the Peshwa's dominions, wrote a well-known *History of India* in 1839. As Professor Cowell observes in his preface to the fifth edition of this work, its chief merit lies in bringing to light a mass of authentic facts shorn of legendary matter, and likewise in the spirit of warm sympathy animating the author's comments. In contrast with Elphinstone's history the works of other British administrators of the time are confined to selected peoples. In the present context we are concerned only with the famous historical work of Lt. Col. James Tod entitled *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (2 volumes, 1829 and 1832).

To the second class of early historians to be mentioned in this connection belong a few scholars working in their libraries in the great centres of learning in Europe. The most important work under this head, namely *Indische Altertumskunde* by the learned German scholar Christian Lassen was published in four volumes, 1843-62. It is an encyclopaedia of data relating to geography, trade and com-

merce, as well as notices of Greek and Roman authors, and it surveys the history of the country from 319 A.D. to the Muhammadan conquest.

B. AGE OF ACHIEVEMENT

I. Progress of publication of texts and so forth

The first characteristic of this age is the immense advance of Indological studies in all their branches by the co-operative labours of Indian and foreign scholars. The systematic search for manuscripts by specialists and learned societies in and outside India was accompanied by the publication of valuable manuscript-catalogues in the most important collections. Discoveries were made of the Buddhistic literature of Nepal by Hodgson, and of Tibet by Csoma de Koros, while the vast Chinese Buddhist literature was analysed for the first time by Bunyio Nanjio (*Catalogue of the Chinese translations of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, 1883). Among the text-editions mostly by individuals and learned societies in India, special mention may be made of publications in the series *Bibliotheca Indica* and its successors *Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series*, *Gaekwad Oriental Series*, *Mysore Sanskrit Series* and *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*, not to speak of others in recent times. Reference may be made in the next place to the highly valuable and scholarly series of texts, editions and translations by the *Pali Text Society* under the distinguished direction of Professor J. W. Rhys Davids. I may also mention the very important series of translations of Ancient Indian literary texts in the *Sacred Books of the East Series*, the *Harvard Oriental Series* and so forth. A great Age in the history of text-editions has been inaugurated in India by the magnificent critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* which has been all but completed under the auspices of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona. This promises to find worthy successors in the critical edition of the *Ramayana* undertaken by the Oriental Institute of Baroda and that of the *Puranas* projected by the Kashi Raj Trust. My list will be incomplete without some account of works of encyclo-

paedic character under the present heading. Such are the *Catalogus Catalogorum* (1891-1903) of Theodore Aufrecht, the *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects* (1912) by Professors MacDonell and Keith, and so forth. To the same category belong the *Abhidhana-Rajendra* as well as the *Dharmakosa* and other *Kosās* prepared by our Indian scholars.

I may notice here a number of publications bearing directly upon my subject. I refer in the first place to the editions of royal chronicles of the poets Bilhana, Hemachandra, Padmagupta, Sandhyakara Nandin, Jayasimha Suri, Nayachandra Suri and others by various scholars. By far the most important work of this group is the edition and translation of Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* by Sir Aurel Stein in 1892 and 1900 respectively. Along with the above the writings of Greek and Roman authors on India became convenient of access in the translations of M'Crindle in six successive volumes (1882-1901). The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* found its scholarly translator in W.H. Schoff in 1912, and the portions relating to India in Ptolemy's *Geography* were critically edited and translated by Professor Renou in 1925. In the last place revised translations of the works of Fa Hien and Hsien Tsang appeared from the pen of H.A. Giles (*The Travels of Fa-Hsien or Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, 1923) and of Thomas Watters (*On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, 2 Vols. 1904-5).

II. Progress of Indian Archaeology

The period under review was marked by the steady advance of Indian archaeology. The systematic exploration and excavation of ancient sites and monuments was begun only in 1862 when an Archaeological Department was created by the Government of Lord Canning (the then Viceroy and Governor-General of India) and Sir Alexander Cunningham was appointed as its Director. The results of Cunningham's successive tours of exploration and excavation of the ancient sites are recorded in twenty-three volumes of *Archaeological Survey Reports* (1862-87).

Cunningham's monographs on the principal nonuments (*The Bhilsa Topes*, *The Stupas of Bharhut* and *Mahabodhi*), his work on the inscriptions of Asoka, and his numerous papers on Indian antiquities, besides his monographs *Ancient Geography of India* and *Book of Indian Eras*, justly earned for him the title of "Father of Indian Archaeology". A great age of archaeological discoveries began with Sir John Marshall's appointment as head of the Department in 1902. To the credit of Marshall and his colleagues belong the excavations of numerous Buddhist monuments (including the famous stupa of Kanishka outside the city-walls of Peshawar) as well as of the second city of Taxila in the land of ancient Gandhara. The remaining group of monuments at Sanchi, and above all the world-famed proto-historic sites of Mohenjodaro and Harappa and other sites in Sind and Baluchistan are included in the list of archaeological excavations by the same group of scholars. The results have been revealed to us in a series of magnificent volumes, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilisation* in 3 volumes, 1931 (edited by Sir John Marshall), *The Monuments of Sanchi* in 3 volumes, 1938 (by Marshall and Foucher with the collaboration of N.G. Majumdar), and *Taxila* in 3 volumes 1951 (by Marshall). A new life was breathed into the Department by Dr. (afterwards Sir) Mortimer Wheeler during his brief tenure as head of the Archaeological Survey of India (1944-48). To him is due not only the initiation of an advanced technique of excavation, but also the discovery of the first Roman trading station in India on the site of Arikamedu (2 miles south of Pondicherry) with its most characteristic relic, the imported rouletted pottery of the first century A.D. furnishing a datum line for associated indigenous cultures.

In contrast with the somewhat halting advance of field archaeology, the study of the inscriptions and coins of Ancient India during the present period has been marked by a continuous progress. This has been due in the first place to the efforts of a galaxy of distinguished epigraphists headed by G. Buhler and

F. Kielhorn (for the inscriptions of Northern India and the Deccan), J. F. Fleet and L.D. Barnett (for Kanarese inscriptions), and E. Hultzsch (for Tamil inscriptions). In the field of numismatics the valuable contributions made by scholars like Cunningham, Von Sallet, Rapson, Thomas, Elliot and Vincent Smith were followed by the publications of most useful catalogues of Ancient Indian coins in the collections of the great museums in and outside our country. To this category belong the *British Museum Catalogues of Coins* by Rapson (1908) and Allan (1914 and 1936), the *Indian Museum Catalogue of Coins, Part I* (1906) by Vincent Smith, and the *Punjab Museum Catalogue of Coins, Part I* (1914) by R. B. Whitehead.

I may indicate in this connection a special feature of the history of Indian archaeology during the period under review, namely the rise in ever-increasing numbers of a school of Indian archaeologists. Scholars like Bhagwanlal Indrajit and R. G. Bhandarkar, H. Krishna Sastri and R. Narasimhachar, who flourished in the eighties and nineties of the last century have been followed by an able band of successors in later times. The fundamental work of Buhler on Indian palaeography has been sought to be supplemented and brought up to date by Dr. G. H. Ojha, Dr. R. B. Pandey and Sri C. Sivaramamurti. A great project of publication of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* in six volumes has been taken in hand, of which one volume by Professor V. V. Mirashi has already appeared in print. In the field of numismatics pioneer workers like Indrajit have been followed by a line of Indian scholars specialising in the study of Ancient Indian coins. A red-letter day in this field dawned with the foundation of the *Numismatic Society of India* (1913) by a band of devoted scholars. In the branch of field archaeology Indian participation became possible only in the early years of this century when the British Indian Government, thanks to the initiative of Sir John Marshall, tardily opened a few superior posts in the Department to the sons of the soil. Even so, it has been possible for an office

like R. D. Banerjee to start the Department on the career of discovery of the Harappan civilization, while other officers like Daya Ram Sahni, D. R. Bhandarkar, N. G. Majumdar and Hirananda Sastri have carried out important excavations elsewhere. How well the high standards of the latest technique of excavation are being maintained at present by the officers of the wholly Indian-manned Department and the Indian members of various learned societies and museums participating in the excavations is proved by the high quality of their published works.

III. Histories and Historians of the Second Period

The immense progress in the publication of the literary and the archaeological source-material described above has borne fruit in the rise of a voluminous literature on Ancient Indian History during our period. It will be convenient to divide this subject under six heads, namely, (1) Proto-history including the history of the Vedic age, (2) Political history of the historical period, (3) Dynastic and regional histories, (4) History of special aspects (law and polity, social life and economic conditions), (5) General history of civilization as well as history of special culture-periods and (6) Co-operative histories.

(1) Proto-history including the history of the Vedic Age

In so far as the history of our oldest civilization is concerned, the fundamental work is still the one mentioned above, namely, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization* (edited in 3 volumes by Sir John Marshall, 1931). The results of later excavations on the sites of our oldest civilization have been published in such works as *Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro* (1938) by E. J. H. Mackay, and *Excavations at Harappa* (1940) by M.S. Vats.

As regards the Vedic period, the fundamental work is still that of Heinrich Zimmer entitled *Altindisches Leben* (1879). Based on a thorough study of texts from all the four *Samhitas* (the

Yajus Samhita being quoted in its *Vajasaneya*, *Taittiriya* and *Kathaka* recensions) and from four principal *Brahmanas* (*Aitareya*, *Satapatha*, *Taittiriya* and *Panchavimsa*) as well as *Nirukta*, it deals fully with the topics of climate and soil, popular occupations, dress and ornaments, war, family and morals, arts and sciences, death and funeral, life after death. A reconstruction of the royal genealogies and chronology of the Vedic age based entirely or partially on the Pauranic data has likewise been attempted by Pargiter (*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*), S. N. Pradhan (*Chronology of Ancient India*), H. C. Raychaudhuri (*Political History of Ancient India*), A. D. Pusalkar (in *The Vedic Age* pp.267-324) and P. L. Bhargava (*India and the Vedic Age*).

(2) Political history of the historical period

Under this head I have to notice in the first place the works of three Indian authors, which made their appearance in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Rajendra Lala Mitra's work, *The Indo-Aryans* (2 volumes, 1881), which is a collection of essays marked by astonishing erudition, deals mostly with topics relating to the social life of the Ancient Indians. Later in date are the two works of R. G. Bhandarkar, namely, *Early History of the Deccan* (1st edition, 1885) and *A Peep into the Early History of India, 322 B.C.—C.500 A.D.* (1900). The last name in the list of authors deserving mention in this context is that of R. C. Dutt. His *History of Civilization in Ancient India* in three volumes (1889-90) is notable for its complete account (illustrated with extensive quotations from the standard authorities) of law and polity, social and economic conditions as well as literature and art during successive periods of our ancient history.

I now come to the second group of works under the present head which deals with the whole history of our ancient period. V.A. Smith's work, *The Early History of India* (from 600 B.C. to the Muhammadan conquest), which ran into four editions between 1904 and 1924, established itself in no time as an indispensable text-book

for advanced students in this country and abroad on the subject. The next work to which I have to refer here is the comprehensive history of Ancient India (in French) in three volumes (1924-35) by the illustrious Belgian scholar Louis de la Vallée Poussin. The author's characteristically meticulous scholarship finds vent in his acute discussions of problems relating to general history (Asoka's religious policy, the results of Greek and other foreign invasions, and origin of the Buddha image), chronology (age of the Vedas, and the dates of Buddha, Panini, Patanjali as well as Kanishka) and administration (government of the Mauryas), besides those relating to religion, literature and art.

The third group of works which may properly be considered under the present head deals with special periods of our ancient history. First comes the learned and extensive work of C.V. Vaidya entitled *History of Mediaeval Hindu India, 600-1200 A.D.*, in 3 volumes (1921-26). Basing his account on a minute examination of the source-material, the author gives us the political history of the successive periods with accompanying notices of social and religious conditions, administration, state of literature and art and so forth. With the above work may be mentioned the well-known *Political History of Ancient India* by Dr. H.C. Raychaudhuri which has deservedly run into six editions since its first publication in 1923. The author's critical and exhaustive treatment of the source-material and discussions of current views have laid as firm a foundation as possible, under the circumstances, of the history of the period from C. ninth century B.C. to the end of the Gupta period. The work of Dr. H.C. Ray entitled *Dynastic History of Northern India* in two volumes (1931 and 1936), which gives us a very complete historical account of the North Indian dynasties from the downfall of the Gurjara-Pratiharas down to the Muslim conquest, may be regarded as a continuation and supplement of the last-named publication.

The fourth group of works to be considered

under the present head consists of those relating to races and ethnic groups that played a conspicuous part at different periods of our ancient history. The work, *Greeks in Bactria and India* (1st edition 1939, 2nd edition 1951) by W. W. Tarn is the first attempt based upon a close and critical scrutiny of the widely scattered literary (Greek and Roman, Indian and Chinese) material as well as the disjointed evidence of the mass of coins to reconstruct the whole history of the Bactrian Greeks and their Indo-Greek successors. Many of his suggestions have been criticised by an Indian scholar, Dr. A. K. Narayan, in his learned work *The Indo-Greeks* (1957). The monograph, *The Scythian Period* (1949), by Miss J. E. van Lohuizen de Leeuw deals critically and exhaustively with various problems relating to the genealogy and chronology of the Saka, Parthian and Kushana rulers of India. Out of the five volumes (1925-32) of Dr. Gaurishankar Hiranand Ojha's work *History of Rajputana* (in Hindi) prepared from the author's life-long study of the sources, Vol. I deals critically with the question of the origin of the Rajputs whom he believes (*contra* the earlier views of their foreign descent) to be derived from the Solar and Lunar races of the Epic and Pauranic tradition. It likewise traces their general history from the earliest to modern times.

(3) Dynastic and regional histories

The need for specialisation which explains the rise of works on special periods of our ancient history has led likewise to a third group of historical works, namely, those relating to different dynasties and regions. At the head of this list and still forming a model for subsequent workers to follow stands the work *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency* (1882) by the distinguished Indologist, J. F. Fleet. Since the beginning of this century almost all important ancient dynasties coming into power after the downfall of the Mauryas and the history of all important geographical regions have been studied by scholars (mostly among my countrymen) in

independent monographs. A work deserving special mention in this connection is the *History of Bengal*, Vol. I edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar and published by the University of Dacca in 1943. It consists of valuable contributions by a number of scholars to the history of the region from the legendary period down to the Muslim conquest, and likewise to its geography, administration, social and economic conditions as well as religion, literature and art.

(4) *Histories of special aspects*

The same need for specialisation of studies to which we have referred above has led to the preparation of a class of works dealing with special aspects of our ancient cultural history. The most important work of this class is the monumental *History of Dharmasastra* (of which five volumes have so far been published) from the pen of Mm. P. V. Kane. It gives us the fullest and the most comprehensive account (checked by extensive references to all other branches of our ancient literature as well as the evidence of inscriptions and foreign writings) of the topics coming within the range of our vast *Smriti* literature. Besides the above, useful studies have been made on the subject of our ancient law and legal procedure by Dr. Ludwig Sternbach and Dr. N. C. Sengupta in recent years.

In the parallel branch of works on polity, I may first mention the highly original work *Hindu Polity* (1st edition 1924, 2nd edition 1936, 3rd edition 1955) by Dr. K. P. Jayaswal. Other systematic works on the same subject have been published by Dr. Beni Prasad, Dr. N. N. Law, Dr. A. S. Altekar, Dr. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyanger, Dr. V. P. Varma and so forth, while selected periods and topics have been treated by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Dr. R. C. Majumdar and others. Mention may be made likewise of the present writer's three systematic works, *A History of Hindu Political Theories*, 1923, since issued in a revised edition under the title *A History of Indian Political Ideas* (1959), *A History of the Hindu Revenue System* (1929) and

A History of Hindu Public Life (1945), besides critical studies on numerous disputed points.

Coming to the branch of social history I have first to mention three fundamental works belonging to the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Senart's *Les Castes dans l'Inde*, 1896 (English translation by Sir E. Denison Ross, 1930) is an attempt to examine the origin of the Indian castes in the light of a critical survey of their present conditions and their past picture in the Brahmanical *Smritis*. The next work, *The Social and Military Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India as Represented in the Sanskrit Epics* (JAOS XIII, 1887) by E. W. Hopkins is a masterly survey of the subject in all its aspects under the above two heads. The third work which should be mentioned in this connection is *Die Social Gliederung in Nord-östlichen Indien zu Buddhas Zeit*, 1897 by Richard Fick (English translation under the title *The Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's time* by S. K. Maitra, 1920). It gives us on the basis of a critical study of the *Jataka* material a luminous review of the whole subject. Among recent works on social history, the first place should be given to Vol II Part I (1941) of Dr. Kane's *History of Dharmasastra* mentioned above, which gives us a complete critical survey of the *smriti* material on the subject. The work called *Sudras in Ancient India* (1958) by Dr. R. S. Sharma traces critically and exhaustively the whole history of this class from its rise in the early Vedic period through the successive changes in its status during the late Vedic, the pre-Maurya, the pre-Gupta and the Gupta periods. Among works dealing with special periods may be mentioned *Das Weib in Altindischen Epos*, 1915 by J. J. Meyer (English translation in 1952) and *Social Life in Ancient India, Studies in Vatsyana's Kamasutra* (1929) by Haran Chandra Chakradar.

In the branch of economic history India's trade relations with the Western World in the first two centuries of the Christian era have been discussed for the first time with scholarly thoroughness in the work *The Commerce between*

Roman Empire and India (1933) by E. H. Warmington. Useful additions have been made to our knowledge of this subject in the recent work of Sir Mortimer Wheeler called *Rome beyond the Imperial frontiers* (1954). As the discoverer of the first Roman trading station on the soil of India, he has traced the essentially Augustan organisation of this far-flung trade, while the discovery of the imported rouletted ware on this and other ancient sites in the Mysore tract and the Deccan plateau as well as along the Eastern Coast has led him to emphasize the wide range of this traffic. Among more general works under this head may be mentioned *The Agrarian System in Ancient India* (1930) by the present writer, in which an attempt has been made to give a connected account of North Indian land-systems from the earliest times down to the period of the Muslim conquest, and to discuss in this connection the question of State ownership of the soil. Recently a regional study has been undertaken on comprehensive lines by Dr. Atindra Nath Bose in his two-volume work *Social and Rural Economy of Northern India c. 600-B.C.—200 A.D.* (1942, 1945, 1961). The topics treated by him comprise agriculture, industry, trade and commerce, banking and currency, the popular occupations and the status of labour. *The Economic Life of Northern India in Gupta Period c. 300-500 A.D.* (1957) by Dr. Sachindra Kumar Maity may be regarded as a very useful supplement to the last-named work within more restricted limits.

(5) *General Histories of Civilisation*

Nothing is more striking in the branch of Indian historical studies in recent times than the publication of a number of standard works by eminent Western scholars on the subject of our ancient civilisation. Some of these, aptly enough, have been published in the background of world-histories. I give below a representative and fairly complete list of such works. These are: first, *The Antiquities of India* (1913) by L. D. Barnett; second, *L'Inde* (1930) by Rene Grousset, (being the second volume of the author's work on the Civilizations

of the East); third, *L'Inde antique et la civilisation indienne* (1933) by P. Masson-Oursel, Helena de Willman Grabowska and Philippe Stern in the series called the *Evolution of Humanity* (translated into English under the title *Ancient India and Indian Civilisation*); fourth, *L'Inde Classique* by L. Renou, Jean Filliozat and others in three volumes (1947, 1953 and 1956); fifth, *La Civilisation de l'Inde ancienne* (1954) by Louis Renou; seventh, *The Wonder that was India* (1956) by A. L. Basham. While it is not possible for me to sit in judgment upon the above works by authors whose very names are high guarantees of their scholarship, it may be permissible to notice a few of their general characteristics. They give us an admirably comprehensive survey not only of the history (including in some cases prehistory and proto-history) during the whole or greater part of the ancient period, but also authoritative accounts of the State administration, the social and economic conditions as well as the geography, religion, philosophy, literature and art during those times. An Indian parallel to the above series of works is *The Cultural Heritage of India*.

I may notice in this connection two recent works by Indian scholars which seek to interpret the whole history of our ancient civilization from a diametrically opposite standpoint. These are *A History of Indian Civilisation* (1956) by Dr. Radha Kamal Mookerjee and *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History* (1956) by Professor D. D. Kosambi. In the first work the author attempts an integrated study of Indian historical and cultural movements and the process of social evolution through the centuries in the light of the metaphysical, the mystical and the aesthetic basis of our civilisation. The author of the second work, in deliberately applying the Marxian philosophy of dialectical materialism to the study of Indian history, discovers its key in the development, in chronological sequence, of the means and relations of production.

Apart from the general histories of our

civilisation above mentioned, I may refer here to a number of works mostly written by Indian authors on specific culture-periods. The more important works of this class are listed below. These are: firstly, *The Vedas* (1957) by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja; secondly, *India of the Vedic Kalpasutras* (1959) by Dr. Ram Gopal; thirdly, *Social and Religious Life in the Grihyasutras* (1939) by Dr. V. M. Apte; fourthly, *Pre-Buddhist India* (1939) by Dr. Ratilal N. Mehta; fifthly, *Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jaina Canons* (1947) by Dr. Jagdish Chandra; sixthly, *India as known to Panini* (1953) by Dr. V. S. Agarwal; and seventhly, *India in the Time of Patanjali* (1957) by Dr. B. N. Puri.

(6) Co-operative Histories

The last class of works falling within the scope of my address consists of histories of Ancient India planned on the comprehensive lines with which we have been familiarised by the *Cambridge Ancient, Medieval and Modern History* series. The list is as follows:—

(1) *Ancient India* edited by E.J. Rapson (1922). This is the first volume of the *Cambridge History of India* planned in six volumes. It covers the history of the period from the earliest times to the middle of the first century A.D.

(2 & 3) *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas* edited by K.A.N. Sastri (1952), and *The Vakataka-Gupta Age* edited by R.C. Majumdar and A.S. Altekar (1946). These works comprise Vols. IV and VI of a *New History of the Indian People* planned by the *Bharatiya Itihas Parishad*.

(4) *The Mauryas and Satavahanas* edited by K.A.N. Sastri (1957). This is Vol. II of *A Comprehensive History of India* planned jointly by the Indian History Congress and the *Bharatiya Itihas Parishad*.

(5, 6, 7, 8, & 9) *The Vedic Age, The Age of Imperial Unity, The Classical Age, The Age of Imperial Kanauj* and *The Struggle for Empire*, edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar (1951-1957).

These are Vols. I—V of *The History and Culture of the Indian People* planned by the *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan*.

Without going into the details of any of these works, I may notice in accordance with my plan some of their general characteristics. They deal critically and exhaustively with the different aspects of the ancient history and culture of our land: they involve the discussion of numerous problems both old and new, in an objective spirit, and they are enriched with useful bibliographies, maps, plans and charts, as well as genealogical and chronological tables of the ruling dynasties.

Concluding Remarks

Let me conclude this brief survey of the progress of Ancient Indian Historical studies in an optimistic note. The recent publications of works like *Angavijja* and the *Subhashita-ratnakosa* is a pointer to the fact that the days of great literary discoveries of source-material for our ancient history and culture are not over. A more important volume of such material is expected from the archaeological explorations and excavations now being carried out in our country under the competent guidance of the Archaeological Department of the Union Government and its associates. The excavations of prehistoric sites, in particular, are expected to unlock the secret of the rise and fall of the Harappan civilisation and of its mysterious script. The simultaneous work on our ancient historical sites is helping to fill up the gaps in our knowledge of periods for which we had to depend so far almost wholly upon the literary material. Great results are expected from the activities of the Italian Archaeological Mission now at work on the ancient city-sites of Afghanistan and Swat, a premonition of its success being the recent discovery of the bilingual inscription of Asoka near old Kandahar. Along with the above prospects for the accession of fresh source-material may be mentioned the big schemes which have been undertaken by international agencies in very recent times for

the interpretation of our ancient history and culture. A board of scholars from different European and American Universities has undertaken the project for an *Economic and Social History of the Orient* in thirty volumes, and has started as a preliminary measure a *Journal* with the same title, of which two volumes have already appeared in print. The plan of the sponsors of the project is to cover the history of the wide area stretching from the Ancient Near East and North Africa to Indonesia and Japan during the entire period from pre-history to the nineteenth century. Another ambitious

literary project in the shape of *A History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind* in six volumes is in course of completion under the guidance of an International Commission set up by UNESCO for the purpose. It aims at tracing the history of all nations of the world with a recorded history to their credit from the earliest times down to the twentieth century. With the pointed mention of these schemes which signify the merger of Indian historical studies in those of the rest of Asia and of the civilised world, I may fittingly bring my address to a close.

Survey of Indian Historiography (Ancient Period)

DETERIORATION IN INDIAN HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP

DR. D. C. SIRCAR

Formerly we had no written history of ancient India. But the labours of a large number of scholars have succeeded in reconstructing, to an appreciable extent, this lost history of the remarkably glorious period of our annals when the makers of our wonderful prehistoric cities, the authors of the Rigvedic hymns, the great leaders of thought like the Buddha and Asoka and many other illustrious sons of India flourished and India's contribution to the civilization of the world was the most conspicuous.

The spade work in the barren field of ancient Indian history began soon after the British occupation of parts of our country in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The first notable work on early Indian history incorporating the results of that work, viz., V.A. Smith's *Early History of India*, appeared about the beginning of the present century. The conspicuous progress in the work of reconstruction can be realised if one compares a school text-book on Indian history written about the middle of the nineteenth century with another produced a century later. We have seen a book of the first category dealing with our history from the earliest times down to the days of Lord Canning. It contains 466 pages, out of which the ancient, medieval and modern periods cover respectively 18, 111 and 337 pages. In the account of the early period in 18 pages, the author deals with the Non-Aryans the Rigveda and Manusmriti, the stories of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata and the history of Alexander's invasion and of Chandragupta Maurya. In contrast, we may refer to another book of the same type published before World War II, which is written in 414 pages, dealing with the said periods respectively in

119, 169 and 124 pages. This would indicate the result of the spade work and reconstruction already done, though both the works are still continuing and are sure to go on for many years to come.

It is well known that the reconstruction of the lost history of ancient India is primarily based on information gathered from a variety of sources such as literary, archaeological, epigraphic and numismatic. As already indicated above, in all these fields, our search and study are by no means complete, and while new manuscripts, inscriptions and coins are still cropping up, hundreds of new sites have yet to be excavated.

The collection of data on ancient Indian history and their study were initiated by Western enthusiasts and, for some time, there were no successful Indian participants in the work. Indian scholars gradually entered the field and a few of them produced some good works. But the Indian performance was in many cases negligible in volume. By way of illustration we may refer to the work done by foreign and Indian scholars in the field of epigraphy.

Credit for the initial work in this field, including the decipherment of the Brahmi and Kharoshthi alphabets and the early derivations of the former, goes to the Western scholars, while the credit for a very small percentage of the inscriptions studied and published between the middle of the 19th and that of the 20th century can be claimed by Indians. A rough idea about the position can be formed from a glance at the contents of the *Epigraphia Indica* from Vol I published in 1888-92, to Vol. XXVIII relating to the years 1949 and 1950.

We are disinclined to refer to the later volumes of the periodical since most of their pages are covered by the writings of a single Indian who would better be omitted in this context. In the said 28 volumes of the *Epigraphia Indica*, the largest number of articles from the pen of individual scholars are those from Europeans, e.g., F. Kielhorn—122 articles in Vols. I—IX, E. Hultzsch—111 articles in Vols. I—XVIII, L. D. Barnett—51 articles in Vols. XII—XIX, G. Buhler—42 articles in Vols. I—V, Sten Konow—30 articles in Vols. IX—XXIII and J.F. Fleet—28 articles in Vols. I—XIII. This record may be compared to that of the Indians, amongst whom V.V. Mirashi contributed 45 articles in Vols. XXI—XXVIII, R.D. Banerjee 32 articles in Vols. IX—XXII, and Hiralal 30 articles in Vols. VIII—XXI. It has also to be admitted that some of the papers of the Indians are not of a high standard in spite of revision by the editor of the periodical and his staff.

For various reasons, European interest in epigraphy as in a number of other Indological subjects has diminished during the last few decades, so that their work in the field of epigraphy today is not very considerable. As a matter of fact, the standard of Indological scholarship in Europe has deteriorated and recent issues of periodicals like the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* can hardly be compared, in weight, with their old numbers. This seems to have led to the increase in the Indian interest in the subject. But the result is unsatisfactory.

Among Indian epigraphists who have done valuable work, mention may be made of D.R. Bhandarkar and N. G. Majumdar. Bhandarkar explored wide areas of Western India and examined a large number of inscriptions, the results of his studies appearing in short notices in the Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India. But the number of inscriptions he studied and published in scientific journals is small. Majumdar also edited a small number of inscriptions. But his treatment of the records exhibits a high standard of scholarship.

The wider and deeper one's knowledge of a subject including allied matters is, one is capable of dealing with it more successfully. In both width and depth, an Indian scholar is generally inferior to a European who is also usually more laborious and devoted to his subject of study. The European can often utilise his study and knowledge of such languages as English, French, German, Sanskrit, Pali and the Prakrits and sometimes also of Chinese and Tibetan, while very few Indians can boast of such a wide background. That is why very few Indians have written an article like Sylvain Levi's short but brilliant dissertation on Gonarda. Since successful research work depends as much on intelligence as on labour, it is not easy for an Indian to write anything like H. W. Hopkins' wonderful article entitled the *Social and Military Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India*. If N. L. Dey's *Geographical Dictionary* is compared with Macdonell and Keith's *Vedic Index*, the weakness of Indian scholarship becomes evident. Among works of Indian authors, few like P.V. Kane's *Dharmasastra* may be regarded as monuments of labour.

Some of the important Indological works produced by Indians down to the middle of the 20th century are: R. G. Bhandarkar's *Vaishnavism, Saivism and other Minor Religious Sects*, R. P. Chanda's *Indo-Aryan Races*, H. C. Raychaudhuri's *Political History of Ancient India*, H. C. Ray's *Dynastic History of Northern India*, K. A. Nilakantha Sastri's *The Cholas*, T. A. Gopinath Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, V. V. Mirashi's *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era*, A. S. Altekar's *Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard*, J. N. Banerjee's *Development of Hindu Iconography*, etc. Among books of the type of the *Cambridge History of India*, the *Dacca University History of Bengal*, Vol. I, edited by R. C. Majumdar deserves praise. But only some of the chapters in the different volumes of Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan's *History and Culture of the Indian People* are well-written, some of them like the Chapter on the

Imperial Rashtrakutas in Vol. IV (Age of Imperial Kanauj) being more or less a poor show.

The activities of a large number of foreign scholars in the field of Indological studies had a beneficial influence on the standard of Indian scholarship. Just as some Indian officers did brilliant work when there were a few foreigners in the administrative services and the efficiency of our administration deteriorated with the departure of the Europeans, the standard of our scholarship is gradually going down partially due to the paucity of foreign competition in the field. Although any rubbish could appear in the Indian periodicals even in the earlier epoch, the element of nonsense seems to be overflowing now-a-days. The number of writers like K. Venkatachalam, Swami Sankarananda and D.S. Trivedi is on the increase.

A serious cause of the present deplorable state of Indological research is of course the gradual fall in the standard of education in our country, which is primarily due to the fact that we have no competent and efficient teachers, who have accepted their profession seriously and try to do their work to the best of their ability at any of the stages, viz., primary schools, secondary schools, colleges and universities, the number of all of which is however increasing day by day. The effect of this on the standard of research is naturally disastrous.

The position today is that, by cramming the prepared answers of a very small number of questions cleverly selected out of the past few years question papers of the university in an Indological subject, an M.A. candidate may get even First Class in the university examination, although by this naturally he does not acquire any general knowledge of the subject. There is also the tendency of the teachers in certain subjects to over-marking to hide their own defects in teaching and to attract students to unpopular subjects. If the candidate obtained his B.A. degree in the Pass Course and had therefore studied his subjects then in his mother tongue, his knowledge of English is likely to be

extremely poor. Of course, a First Class M.A. now generally gets a job much quicker than before, so that he comes to do research work only when he gets one of the many research scholarships which are quite easily available today, owing to their number being much higher than that of deserving candidates. In case he does not get a suitable job, he may stick to the scholarship and register himself for the lower Doctorate degree to work under the supervision of a university teacher. A subject for his thesis is thrust upon him, though a person having so little knowledge about ancient India can really do no justice to any subject, because he is deficient in both collecting the data and marshalling the facts and his supervisor can hardly collect the data for him. Thus even under the best supervision, he cannot produce a first rate thesis. But owing to the dearth of efficient, dutiful and sound Indian scholars in all fields, most departments of most of the universities are run by mediocre people, and the supervisor of our young friend usually does his work with a limited knowledge even if he is serious about it. If the subject of the thesis is Foreign Relations of Ancient Indian States, the research scholar may be advised to read a few secondary works on the ancient Indian State as well as the translations of certain sections of the *Kautiliya Arthashastra*, *Mahabharata*, *Manusmriti* and *Sukranitisara*, and he ultimately completes his thesis without realising that valuable information on the subject is scattered over a vast field of literary and epigraphic records in various languages. But the examiners of the thesis being the supervisor and two of his friends, the award of the Doctor's degree is almost a certainty. The young Doctor then aspires to serve as a lecturer in one of our numerous universities. Of course, if he is luckier, he may secure one of the many scholarships of today to go to a foreign university from which nobody returns without a Doctorate. It is needless to say that a foreign Doctorate makes his chances to become a university lecturer all the brighter. A large number of the teachers in our colleges and universities are of these two categories. It is thus intelligible why

our standard of education and research is specially poor today and why the majority of articles appearing in the Indian periodicals exhibit many defects, including lack of comprehensive knowledge of the subjects in question.

This is the disease as I have diagnosed it. The remedy apparently lies not only in raising the standard of our education and scholarship but also in removing some serious defects in our national character. This, however, seems to be extremely difficult under the present circumstances. Like a foolhardy young man, our young nation, is madly carrying on new experiments in many fields including that of education and research and the disastrous results are obvious. We have lost whatever small respect we formerly had for education and devotion to study and research, and it is not easy to revive them in the present situation, which is making us day by day more and more selfish and materialistic and devoid of idealism.

Education is one of our main problems and another is the defects in our national character. We require idealists ready to dedicate their lives to the cause of education and research, but, as indicated above, it is difficult to get such young men under the present circumstances. We, therefore, consider it an idle talk to suggest this or that subject in which work requires to be done or not. Formerly political history was a popular theme with research workers. But cultural history seems to have been gradually popular, apparently because most suitable topics on political history are believed to have been already worked out.

As a matter of fact, however, most of the works on cultural history that have recently appeared have been written with imperfect knowledge of the subjects concerned and fresh theses can be written on them. Moreover, our knowledge of various subjects relating to ancient India is growing year by year, so that even the best book published today often becomes antiquated after a few years. Thus the Dacca University *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, was the best work on the subject when it was published about two decades ago. But today we have much new material relating especially to the political history of ancient Bengal and a fresh work is a desideratum. Above all, a widely read person having some training in historical research and enough critical acumen can always throw new light on particular Indological topics, especially in matters of interpretation of the data. In that way, ancient Indian history is still an inexhaustible source for theses for doctorate.

It is often said now that much youthful energy is spent for nothing when several persons belonging to different universities take up the same subject for their theses at the same time. But we do not consider it useless. Since none of the persons is expected to be capable of producing a first-rate work, it seems to us better that the same subject is tackled by different persons in their own way according to their individual capacity. It is possible that some fresh data and interpretation in respect of the subject will be available to the world of scholars from the collective work of the different youngsters.

Survey of Indian Historiography (Ancient Period)

EARLY INDIAN HISTORIANS

MR. KALYAN KUMAR DAS GUPTA

Historiography in modern India is of comparatively recent growth. It may be said to have started on January 15, 1784 with the foundation of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta by Sir William Jones. Like 1784, the year 1837 constitutes another landmark in Indian historiography, since it ushered in a new era with the epoch-making decipherment of Asokan Brahmi script by James Prinsep. Between 1784 and 1837 research activities in Indology were mainly confined to the language and literature of our country. Since 1837, with the widening of Indian history in nature and scope, archaeological source-materials together with old literary records came to be handled by scholars for the purpose of the reconstruction of our ancient period. Such enquiries in archaeology and literature began to produce satisfactory results. The outline of the ancient period of Indian history was becoming steadily, though slowly, clearer than before.

In building up this picture of the people of ancient India, greatest services have been rendered by Westerners. However paradoxical it may appear, the way for Indian historiography was paved by them. Sir William Jones and his followers—Wilkins, Colebrooke, Lassen and Prinsep, to mention a few among them—by their untiring efforts shed light on many a dark corner of ancient Indian history. Resultingly, Indians were gradually becoming conscious of their heritage. A self-conscious Indian intelligentsia was slowly emerging. Representatives of this class were coming forward to share responsibilities of unravelling India's past with their European friends.

The *avantguard* of these Indian historians was

Rajendralal Mitra. His close connections with the Asiatic Society, first as its Librarian and Assistant Secretary and subsequently as its first Indian President, were fruitful in his scholarly career. Here he came into contact with some Western celebrities and received a training in Western methodology. His inquisitive eyes found almost an unexplored field in ancient Indian literature. He came across a large number of manuscripts, information of which he has recorded in his nine volumes of *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*. It is in connection with his study of old manuscripts that he undertook a thorough and analytical study of a bunch of valuable manuscripts discovered by Hodgson in Nepal. The result of that study is his monumental work *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal* which has unlocked a hitherto hidden chamber of religious and cultural history of India.

The mantle of Rajendralal fell on his worthy disciple Haraprasad Sastri. In the line of his master Sastri hunted up old literary texts and his enthusiasm and zeal enabled him to collect more than 8000 manuscripts. Some of them are unique and the antiquity of some of them goes as far back as the ninth century A.D. Haraprasad's conviction that literary records being mirrors of the temper and character of the age to which they belong can be profitably utilised by historians was ably demonstrated by his discovery. But for a number of works recovered by him, the various offshoots of the Mahayana system of Buddhism, like the Vajrayana, Mantrayana and Kalachakrayana would have remained names only. Again it was Haraprasad who by his epoch-making discovery of a bunch of poems, technically

called the *Charyas*, in the Darbar Library of Nepal pushed back the antiquity of Bengali language and literature to a thousand years. Thus though Haraprasad and his predecessor Rajendralal evinced interest in archaeology—and Haraprasad edited a number of inscriptions too—their methodology, in the main, related to literary records of ancient India and their fame chiefly rests on their contributions in the field of literary-cum-historical research.

Partially inspired by the examples of these two great scholars, perhaps, Saratchandra Das decided to unveil the forbidden land of Tibet to the scholarly world. This indefatigable scholar, to whom history and culture was of no significance without a vital reference to Tibet, has widened our historical ambit by his pretty number of papers on Tibetan history and culture and colossal and enduring works like the *Tibetan-English Dictionary* and *Indian Pandits in the land of Snow*. Tibetan studies, mainly due to political difficulties, have not sufficiently advanced. The tradition of Saratchandra Das, to a certain extent, was continued by Rahul Sankrityana who died only a few months ago.

Archaeology for its normally authentic character drew the attention of Indian scholars from the beginning. Systematic archaeological studies in India started with the establishment of an Archaeological Department by the Government of India in 1860 and the appointment of Alexander Cunningham as the first Archaeological Surveyor of India. Thorough and critical studies of archaeological materials in the shape of inscriptions, coins and monuments were made by both European and Indian scholars. Western epigraphists and numismatists like Cunningham, Bühler, Kielhorn, Sewell, Smith, Rapson and Allan found followers and fellow workers among the Indians, such as Bhagwanlal Indraji, Bhau Daji, Akshayumar Maitreya, Rakhaldas Banerji, D.R. Bhandarkar, Nanigopal Majumdar, Beninadhav Barua, A.S. Altekar and a host of others. To this list may be added the names

of R. P. Chanda, N. K. Bhattasali and S.K. Chakraborty. The last named scholar was a devoted student of ancient Indian numismatics.

Like inscriptions and coins, monuments and a variety of art objects have also constituted a subject of intensive study. And in this field of study also Indian scholarship has attained a high level. Works of earlier Western authorities like Fergusson, Burgess, Birdwood and Smith have in most cases been supplemented and improved upon by Indian scholars. This supplementation and improvement, it is interesting to note, were done in the life-time of those Western celebrities. Rajendralal's controversy with Fergusson on the issue of the origin of Indian architecture and the latter's modification of the view that the Indians learnt the art of building from the Greeks, signifying a victory of Indian scholarship is a case in point. With the exception of Havell who studied Indian art in its proper perspective and whose name is intimately connected with the revival of Indian art, it was the Ceylonese-born Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy who for the first time made a systematic and scientific study of Indian art, as will be illustrated in numerous articles, monographs and his two enduring books *The Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon* and *The History of Indian and Indonesian Art*. It was Coomaraswamy who justly pointed out that the essential requisite to a proper appreciation of Indian art was a thorough understanding of the fundamentals of Indian philosophy. And thus placing the art of India against a background provided by her philosophy, Coomaraswamy made a true approach to Indian art. His later writings are, however, coloured by religious biases, but many of his works, especially the earlier ones, are still unsurpassable for massive and penetrating scholarship of their author. In the field of Iconography also Coomaraswamy is a pioneer. In this connection the memorable name of T.A. Gopinath-Rao comes to mind whose *The Elements of Hindu Iconography*, published in four volumes, is a splendid combination of labour and erudition.

Thus materials for history have been extracted from archaeological remains in all possible ways. Indian historians, to achieve their objective of reconstructing the history of the ancient period of their country, have always tried to co-relate and integrate the information gathered from archaeology and literature. And in performing this task they have not hesitated also to take the help of evidence of corroborative value like tales, traditions and romances. One of our pioneers, Rajendralal Mitra, at least, attached some importance to them since he believed that such things must take their tone and character from the state of society in which they were developed. But that he was always on guard in handling literary records for the purpose of history is manifest in his works.

1909, the year of the discovery of the unique manuscript of the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya by Shama Sastri, is another milestone in Indian historiography. The discovery has opened up a new vista of research and has advanced our knowledge of the material life of ancient India beyond measure. Besides the detailed studies in the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya done by various Indian scholars including Shama Sastri himself, a picture of social life of ancient India has been attempted to be sketched with the materials gleaned from other old texts such as Vatsyayana's *Kamasutra*. H.C. Chakladar's *Social life in Ancient India* based on the studies in the *Kamasutra* is a case in point. Literary records like the *Arthashastra*, *Nilisara* and a variety of other texts together with archaeological materials have been utilised for the purpose of an evaluation of the political theories and their application in the structure of different governmental forms, as will be seen in the works of R.K. Mookerji, Beniprasad and Jayaswal. Enquiries into the economic life of the peoples of ancient India resulted in the publication of such works as *The Social and Rural Economy of Northern India* by Atindranath Bose. Turning to Buddhism, Jainism and the principal and minor religious systems of Hinduism, we find a happy picture of Indian scholarship. How protean the

diversity of patterns of our age-old culture has been amply demonstrated in a number of articles and works of the Indian scholars as well as those of earlier European writers like Wilson and Barth. Thinking it to be a futile attempt to write a history of India in political terms only, some of the Indian historians engaged themselves in weaving the facts relating to the various religious systems, Brahmanical as well as non-Brahmanical, in a pattern grandly conceived. Barring the sustained researches of R. G. Bhandarkar and Haraprasad on Hinduism and Buddhism respectively, one has to remember the *magnum opus* of Akshyayakumar Datta, a noted Bengali writer, *Bharatavarshiya Upasaka Sampraday*. Lately, P.C. Bagchi appears to have carried the tradition of Haraprasad in his notable contributions on Buddhism and various Tantric cults. Arthur Avalon's Tantric studies deserve remembrance in this connection.

Understanding of Indian history and culture is destined to be incomplete unless notice is taken of the various racial strains that have produced a rich culture complex, so believed some of our earlier historians. Hence their methodology was mainly concerned with ethnology and anthropology. Though the impetus to the anthropological studies came from the Westerners like Risley, Dalton and Hutton, Indians have made no less significant contributions to the subject. Researches of D.R. Bhandarkar, S. Roy and R. P. Chanda are illustrations on the point.

The highlights of Indian historiography connected with the ancient period, as referred to above, will, I believe, establish three points. First, historiography in India was initiated by Western scholars; second, 'historical sense' was mainly generated among Indians by them; and third, notwithstanding the impetus and inspiration derived from the foreigners, Indian historians of note and eminence have in most cases displayed a spirit of enquiry, scientific objectivity, critical outlook and above all a wonderfully wide vision. An analytical study

of their works will substantiate this point. For instance, Rajendralal Mitra demonstrated his inquiring mind and critical outlook when he intended to notice prominently such points in *The Antiquities of Orissa* as were calculated to throw any special light on the social history of the ages to which they referred. And, further, he made a laudable attempt in studying Orissan art in a broader context of world art. Against Prinsep's contention regarding the historical value of old Pali records, Rajendralal raised objections that 'plausibility is no proof in law, nor can it be in history'; and if the reverse of the position is admitted then 'all the society novels and stories of the day' are to be accepted as history. Such a view of Rajendralal is a testimony to his critical outlook and scientific disinterestedness. Again, take the case of Akshyakumar Maitreya. This profound and sparkling scholar gave evidence of his spirit of enquiry and a wide historical vision when he emphasised the necessity of studying Indian art in relation to the art activities of Indian settlers in South-east Asia. By his historical insight Maitreya said as early as 1912 that some of the monuments of South-east Asia must be taken to be an extension of the art idiom of Eastern India, to which he applied the appellation *Varendri* style. And happily for this excellent scholar, his view was subsequently confirmed by the discovery of the monument at Paharpur in Rajshahi. Maitreya's critical, in other words historical, outlook was also manifest in his statement that since every art object has a time complex, it is unscientific to periodise the history of Indian art on the basis of religion or any such criterion. And like a true historian, on more than one occasion, he asked his fellow workers and disciples to inculcate a spirit of enquiry and to ascertain the causes of a historical phenomenon with a scientific outlook and objectivity.

One should not deplore that our eminent predecessors have failed to produce a tolerably systematic account of ancient India of the nature of Smith's pleasant reading *Early History Of India*. It is to be remembered that they were

essentially research workers and their main objective was to fill numerous gaps in ancient Indian history. To this end they devoted almost the whole of their energies. The fact about our eminent historians that is highly admirable is that when they decided to specialise in a particular field, they did it superbly. As a result, even after so much advance of knowledge of different aspects of ancient Indian history, there are works of these earlier scholars which still hold the ground. For instance, a student of Orissan history and archaeology cannot do without Rajendralal's *The Antiquities of Orissa* and Rakhaldas's *History of Orissa*. Similarly, one interested in Hindu religious systems has to go through R.G. Bhandarkar's *Vaishnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems* and H.C. Raychaudhuri's *Early Vaishnava Sects*. In the same way, an enquirer in the ethnology of India will have to take help from D.R. Bhandarkar's *Foreign Elements in Hindu Population* and R.P. Chanda's *Indo-Aryan Races*.

If the works of our predecessors suffer from defects, they are mostly due to the handicaps of those authors in the matter of availability of sources as well as the limitations of the scope of their investigations. Thus we are to remember these factors while we sit down to assess their contributions to ancient Indian history and culture. On the other hand, it is a satisfactory thing to note that the majority of eminent Indian historians in spite of their admirable specialisation in particular fields did never lose sight of the main currents of Indian and world history. This will be evident from the fact that an eminent epigraphist and writer on ancient Indian art like Akshyakumar Maitreya could easily move from his favourite domain to the modern period of Indian history as his *Sirajuddoula* and *Firingi Banik* will show. R.P. Chanda, another eminent historian, proved that he could deal with problems relating to the *Beginnings of art in Eastern India* with the same mastery with which he tackled socio-ethnological problems in his *Indo-Aryan Races*.

Successors of all these eminent historians

usually boast that they live in an age of specialisation and compared to the earlier historians they are more historical minded. But unfortunately they sometimes become oblivious of this simple fact that specialisation is of meaning and significance only in the context of wider issues. Perhaps this accounts for the fact as to why a dangerous tendency among the historians of India, especially those of Bengal, to look at Indian history in watertight compartments is slowly appear-

ing. Resultingly, every year ill-digested mass of materials derived from the so-called 'scissor and gum bottle type of research' are found to have been presented in a slipshod style by many of our historians. And if resurrection of Akshyakumar or Rakhaldas takes place, they will find to their utter dismay that while history has lengthened, deepened and widened in nature and scope, the vision of their successors has shortened, and segmented, and is coloured by a variety of prejudices.

Survey of Indian Historiography (Medieval Period)

TRENDS IN MODERN HISTORIOGRAPHY ON MEDIEVAL INDIA

DR. ATUL CHANDRA ROY

The trends of modern historiography may be described in three words—Piety, Glorification and Reconciliation. In the writings of the British historians on medieval Indian history one may sense a note of piety, in those of the Muslim historians a note of glorification and in those of the Hindu historians a note of reconciliation.

The purpose of this paper is to analyse, in brief, these trends of modern historiography on medieval India. The mid-19th century marks a great shift in the methodology of writing history of India from the traditional way as pursued by the Muslim chroniclers of the medieval period. In fact, from the time of the foundation of Muslim rule in India until the second half of the 19th century, the study of medieval Indian history has been primarily the study of historians by historians. In order to understand the trends of modern historiography on medieval India, it would not be out of place to say a few words about the methodology as pursued by the Muslim historians like Minhaz, Barani, Afifi, Isami, Sarhindi and Amir Khusrau and the like, whose works constitute the main historical sources. In a general way, these Muslim historians followed or rather adopted a simple way of writing history without bothering for source-materials. According to Barani's methodology of writing history, there is no written proof of historical traditions and the readers can only put trust upon what the historian says. Barani says that the source material of history is what has already been told by others before. As regards the duty of the historian, Barani prescribes that historians should be frank and honest and must write without fear or favour. In fact, the metho-

dology of writing history as advocated by Barani was more or less followed by other Muslim historians of the medieval period. The methods of Muslim historiography during this period were something analogous to those of Hadith-study—i.e., history is what reliable reporters have already stated. Observing on the methods of Muslim historiography as developed in the medieval period, Dr. P. Hardy writes, "The historian is a scribe rather than a researcher; his work is one of transmission rather than creation" (*Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*—p. 125). Sir Henry Elliot pointed out long ago that most of the Muslim historians of the medieval period recorded the actions and commented upon the deeds of the nobles, ministers and sovereigns. Little or no place was provided in their histories for the common people, their aspirations and sufferings. The same methodology is evident in the treatment of history in the Mughal period. The Mughal period was rich in historical writings, no doubt, but generally the historians of this period do not seem to have developed or expounded any better methods of historiography. Of course, there are exceptions. For instance, Abul Fazl (the Mughal court chronicler) and Ali Muhammad Khan, the diwan of the province of Gujarat and the author of *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (1748) had access to state papers and hence their narratives are based not exclusively on the writings of the past but on state papers. But on the whole the historians of this period failed to provide any workable interpretations on their evidences.

Let us now examine the modern writings on medieval India. In the eighteen-sixties, under the patronage of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Indo-Persian chronicles of the

medieval period were printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica* Series. Then began the abridged translating and editing of the works of these chroniclers by Elliot and Dowson, under the title *History of India as told by its Historians*. The very title of this work clearly reveals that Elliot and Dowson only compiled the history of the historians. In fact, the 'history of the historians' methodology of writing history was the most characteristic feature of the historical works written by the earliest English historians. Prior to Elliot and Dowson's works, the English historians like Mill (*History of British India*—1817), G. R. Gleig (*History of British Empire in India*—1830), Elphinstone (*History of India*—1841) based their accounts of the Muslim period of Indian history upon the English translations of Ferishta by Daw and Briggs. The English historians of the early 20th century like Lane-Poole (*Medieval India under Muhammadan Rule*—1903), Smith (*Oxford History of India*—1919), and the *Cambridge History of India* writers do not appear to have in a marked way made any advance upon the form and technique of historiography as adopted by the medieval chroniclers. The source-materials being almost the same, their treatment of political history was almost identical. Although at the same time many useful works on archaeology (works of Cunningham and Marshall), on numismatics (works of Thomas and Wright) and on devotional literature were being produced, the English historians of the early part of the 20th century do not appear to have taken any serious view of these works while composing the political history of medieval India. In their narratives one could clearly note the same kind of descriptions viz., battles, rebellions, rise and fall of ruling houses and the achievements of Muslim adventurers. They do not seem to have appreciated that social and economic factors constitute the life and flesh of history. They appear to have developed a peculiar notion that society or all aspects of the life of the people of a country have to be studied separately or independently of political history.

Of course, the exception to this rule is found

precisely in Moreland who gave a new turn from medieval to modern technique of writing medieval history of India, though partially. I use the word "partially", because although Moreland had a higher conception of historiography, he was much influenced by the civil service temperament of the British officials looking at the history of India through a coloured glass. In preparing the monographs on *The Agriculture of the United Provinces* (1904) and *The Revenue Administration of the United Provinces* (1911), Moreland was guided by the prime necessity of transmitting his experiences to his junior officers. In *India at the death of Akbar and India from Akbar to Aurangzeb*, Moreland's purpose of illuminating the present by the past is clearly evident. His vision of Indian history was doubtless influenced by one factor—economic, and one standard—the British administration. Moreland in most of his writings has attempted to vindicate the British Government in India—its economic and industrial policy as well as its administrative set-up. He has attempted to visualize the economic factors as affecting the life of the people, but unfortunately, he has used his vast fund of information in presenting one side of the picture with the object of bringing into bold relief the contrast between the poverty of the Mughal period and the so-called prosperity and affluence of the British period of Indian history. Although Moreland's view of medieval Indian history appears to be partial, he struck a new note in modern historiography by advocating that political history should be studied against the background of physical and economic factors.

Besides Moreland, other English historians like Lane-poole, Sir Wolseley Haig, William Irvine, Sir Alfred Lyall, mainly worked on the basis of the ready-made source-materials already compiled by Elliot and Dowson, confining their aim to the writing of one form of history—the political. They based their writings on one particular hypothesis—that is, the superiority of British rule in India to the medieval Muslim rule. Although the English historians of the

early 20th century assumed the role of propagandists and the contemporary political interests made them biased, it can be said to their credit that they improved the method of writing political history of medieval India by a comparative study of the various Persian sources and by editing them more systematically.

Let us now turn to the modern Muslim historiography on medieval India which had its beginning with Sir Saiyid Ahmed Khan and the Aligarh School in the second half of the 19th century. Modern Muslim historiography was influenced by the idea that history is a form of critical enquiry into the past and not merely a repetition of evidences or authorities. The Aligarh school of historiography as started by Sir Saiyid Ahmed Khan was more religious than political. This school of historiography, in fact, attempted to interpret Islam of the 19th century liberal values and to treat Islam more as a system of thought than a way of life in history. Sir Saiyid Ahmed, Khuda Bakhsh and later on Amir Ali, all viewed the past as more Islamic than Indian and were more interested in Islam outside India than the Islamic rule and its achievements in India. Khuda Bakhsh in his *Essays Indian and Islam* (1912) went so far as to suggest the banishment of history and politics from Muslim religious activity. The academic leaders of Aligarh were perhaps under the impression that after the banishment of the Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah from the country, the Muslim community in India required the sympathy and support of both the Hindu community and the British government. Hence instead of probing into the medieval Muslim history of the past which had the possibility of rousing antagonism of the British rulers and apathy of the Hindus, the Muslim academicians of Aligarh thought it wise and prudent not to dabble in history and politics. Rather they preferred to glorify the Muslim achievements in art, literature, science and religion. Hence their writings assumed a tendency more of glorification of Islam than giving a real history of Islam. This tendency of glorification of

Islam, as came out in the writings of the Aligarh historical school ultimately gave birth to the cry of Pakistan in the days of national movement during 1930's.

Between 1920 and the out-break of the second world war, many modern Muslim historical writings on medieval India appeared. These may be classified as those justifying the policies and actions of the Muslim rulers of Delhi, those condemning or glorifying only particular monarchs and those ignoring the early conflicts between Muslims and Hindus and laying stress only over those relations which were friendly between the two communities. Illustrations may be cited. Professor Habib in his *Mahmud of Ghazni* (1927) has condemned Sultan Mahmud for his un-Islamic activities in India and has described him as a foreigner not to be revered by the Muslims of India. He has further lamented for the deterioration of the national and democratic spirit of Islam. The spirit of Aligarh historiography is abundantly evident in this monograph. Professor Habib in his introduction to a reprint of Elliot and Dowson's *History of India* (1952) again has attempted to glorify Islam as a true social revolutionary religion based upon the principles of brotherhood. As he observes, "In the thought of the Prophet of Islam as revealed in the Quran and the Hadis two basic ideas stand out—the principle of unity in the cosmic order and the principle of the brotherhood of those who believed in (the Prophet's) creed. Islam wrought one of the most vital and the most bloodless revolutions in human history" Against this assertion of Professor Habib, it can be said that the Quranic ideal of 'unity' could have been possible had the entire people of the universe accepted Islam as their religion. Secondly, the claim that Islam wrought bloodless revolutions in human history cannot be sustained by the facts of history. It was only under certain circumstances that Islam produced its peaceful impact upon other religions. In this introduction one may note the 'Socialistic-Pattern of Society'—view of Professor Habib, because he has praised the abolition of

intermediaries in land by the present Government of India as attempted by Alauddin Khalji centuries back. He has made an attempt to find a parallel between the land-revenue reforms of Alauddin Khalji and the present Indian Government. It should not be forgotten that this 'Introduction,' has been dedicated to our Prime Minister Nehru. K. M. Ashraff in his *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan* (1200-1550 A.D.) has put much emphasis on Hindu-Muslim unity. He does not believe there ever was cultural conflict between these two communities. He concludes that the introduction of Islam was never a "fundamental revolution in the basic conditions of Indian life". Ashraff appears to have been convinced as early as 1930's when the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League were at variance over the proposed Indian constitution, that India's problems were mainly social and economic, not religious or communal. Ashraff advocates a nationalist sentiment as against communalist sentiment.

Muhammad Nazim's *The Life and Times of Mahmud of Ghazna* (1931) reveals not only the author's Muslim sentiment more than any Indian nationalist sentiment but also the continuation of earlier Muslim historiographical tradition. He believes in the fundamental and irreconcilable differences between Islam and Hinduism and hence Nazim's tone of communalism is evident.

The tone of such communalism is also evident in Qureshi's *The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi* (1942). Dr. Qureshi regards the Sultanate of Delhi more Islamic than Indian in character. He claims that the Sultanate government was more efficient and benevolent than the contemporary Hindu governments, and unlike the Hindus, the Muslims were free from racial prejudice. In the context of the communal agitation of the Muslim League during 1940's, Dr. Qureshi's hypothesis is easily understandable.

Two other modern Muslim historical writings

on medieval India may be cited to reveal the communalist approach to the medieval Indian history. Faruki in his *Aurangzeb and his Times* (1935) has idolised Aurangzeb as a true and perfect Muslim sovereign and has censured the Hindus for antagonising the emperor. The adoration of Islam and of the Muslim rulers of India reached its zenith in S. M. Jaffar's *The Mughal Empire from Babur to Aurangzeb* (1936). Jaffar asserts that the wrong interpretation of Muslim rule in India has done more harm to the cause of national unity and inter-communal amity in India. He believes that the teaching of wrong history (meaning Muslim history in India) has been responsible for the recurring communal riots. He is quite frank when he writes in his preface, ".....As things stand at present, communal harmony without correct history is a dream which cannot be realised." Doubtless, Mr. Jaffar has made an attack upon the trend of modern Hindu historical writings on medieval India which in his opinion is communal in approach. There can be nothing more absurd than the accusation of Mr. Jaffar. The Muslim League approach to India's political problem as prevailed at that time is quite apparent in Mr. Jaffar. And this attitude is a violent departure from the Aligarh tradition of the 19th century.

As against this communalist approach, Dr. Habibullah strikes a different note. In his *Foundation of Muslim Rule in India* (1945) Dr. Habibullah has put much emphasis on the religious and cultural aspects of the Muslims in India. He never believes that under Muslim rule, Indian traditions and culture got a rude shock; rather, in his words, "underlying the new values was the continuity of Indian institutions and ways of life which the new rulers had little capacity or desire to alter drastically" (Preface). Habibullah belongs to that group of Indian historians who believes in "the unity in diversity" view of Indian history. He has raised doubts about the Islamic or ethical conception of State so loudly propounded by Barani and other Muslim chroniclers of the Sultanate period. Writing nearer

to the partition period of Indian history, Dr. Habibullah suggests that medieval Indian history should be written against Indian background and not against Islamic background.

So the modern works on medieval Indian history by Muslim scholars are marked by two trends—one religious and the other political. The Aligarh school of historiography put much emphasis on the interpretation of Islam and its achievements in socio-economic field. But since 1930 the Muslim historical writing was under the influence of political considerations.

There is another side of the modern historiography on medieval India as has been followed by Hindu scholars, of whom mention may be made of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Professor Ishwari Prasad, Professor A. L. Srivastava, Professor K. R. Qanungo, Professor M. L. Roy Choudhury, Professor P. Saran, Professor R. K. Tripathy, Professor N. K. Sinha, Dr. Tarachand and Dr. Hodivala. Three distinct trends can be noted in the writings of these eminent scholars in a general way—Political, Administrative and Socio-religious.

In the field of political history of medieval India, Sir Jadunath Sarkar occupies the highest place. He was a contemporary of Moreland, Irvine and other noted British historians and hence his methodology of writing medieval Indian history needs careful scrutiny. As regards the aim of the historian, Sarkar observes in his *India through Ages* (1928), "It is the duty of the historian not to let that past be forgotten. He must trace these gifts back to their sources, give them their due places in the time-scheme and show how they influenced or prepared the succeeding ages and what portion of present day Indian life and thought is the distinctive contribution of each race or creed that has lived in this land" (p.2). Sir Jadunath seems to differ from his contemporary early British historians on a very vital point—viz., the aim of the historian. Of course, Sir Jadunath himself at the same time feels the difficulty of achieving this purpose, as

he says, "Such an analysis in the present state of our knowledge cannot be expected to be mathematically accurate or documented in every detail. It requires the highest historical imagination to reconstruct our past in this light..... But the attempt has to be made if we are ever to rise above the level of our school text books of Indian history" (p.2-3). It is to be noted that the histories that were written by the Indo-European scholars till 1928 were looked upon by this great historian as no better than school 'text-books'. His notion of the historical works as done by Indo-European scholars seems to have remained unaltered even as late as 1951 when the 4th edition of Sarkar's monograph cited above appeared. According to Sir Jadunath a proper study of "India's inner life and outer growth" should be the right way of assessing India of the past. It cannot be disputed that Sir Jadunath has given a new orientation to historical studies and in dealing with the Muslim history and institutions he has laid much emphasis on the importance of Persian sources as well as on Indian literature. The chief characteristics of his writings are accuracy, mastery of details, elegance of diction and a scrupulous desire to express the truth. *History of Aurangzeb* in 5 Volumes and *The Fall of the Mughal Empire* in 4 Volumes are among his noteworthy contributions. Sir Jadunath's subject, no doubt, was difficult; it was Alamgir, the most bigoted of Mughal monarchs whose history was likely to arouse prejudices and offend susceptibilities, but he handled his theme with great dexterity. But like the British historians, Sir Jadunath's conception of history was limited as is evident from the fact that he confined himself merely to political and military history of medieval India. His too much reliance upon Persian sources and his orthodoxy about the same may appear to others as no better methodology than what was adopted by the Muslim chroniclers of the medieval period with an urban outlook.

As late as 1925 the direction of modern Hindu historiography on medieval India did not differ appreciably from the traditional historical work

of the English historians. And it is evident in Professor Ishwari Prasad's *History of Medieval India* where he admits, "In preparing this volume....I am not so presumptuous as to think that I have improved upon Elphinstone and Lane-Poole, to whom I must gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness....." Yet Professor Prasad appears to have been conscious about social and religious aspects of medieval Indian history as he observes in the preface of this monograph that ".....the History of Medieval India is not merely a story of court intrigues, and palace conspiracies, but a record of brilliant achievements in the field of conquest and administration and a great social and religious movement." In this monograph, Professor Prasad has made it clear that inspite of differences between the Muslim rulers and their Hindu subjects, the latter looked upon the former as Indians and not foreigners like the British. So a tone of reconciliation between the Hindus and Muslims during the medieval period is evident in Professor Prasad's monograph. Hindu writers' liberal view of the Muslim rulers is also evident in Professor Qanungo's *Sher Shah and Dara-Shiko*, Professor Ishwari Prasad's *The Life of Humayun* and Professor N. K. Sinha's *Haidar Ali*. As I have noted elsewhere, the most recent tendency among the Hindu scholars is to pass over or ignore the early conflicts and lay stress only over those relations which were cordial between Hindus and Muslims during that age. It can be best seen in Dr. Tarachand's *Impact of Islam on Indian Culture*. It is to be noted that during the period when the Muslim scholars had been endeavouring to justify to their non-Muslim contemporaries the historical records of their community in India, the Hindu scholars did not lag behind in discovering the points of cordiality between the Muslim rulers and their Hindu subjects. It is beyond the pale of the true academician to read modern ideas into the past and to mould historical treatment, so as to serve certain objects in view, however commendable they might themselves be in an absolute sense.

Although there is a general tendency among

the Hindu scholars to prepare monographs on political history, their interest in constitutional history of the medieval period is not entirely absent. In this connection Sir Jadunath's *Mughal Administration*, Professor R. P. Tripathi's *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, and Professor P. Saran's *Provincial Administration of the Mughals* may be mentioned. Excepting Sarkar's *Mughal Administration* all the other monographs on administration are but descriptive accounts of the Governmental departments and the duties of the various functionaries—as detailed in the Persian accounts. None of these accounts give sufficient hints about the effects of the administrative system in actual operation.

After the second world war modern Hindu historiography on medieval India has taken a new turn. There has been a growing tendency to write social and cultural history of medieval India. More emphasis is being given on writing history of the Indian people of the medieval period. Following Elliot and Dowson, the British historians never believed that the people under the Muhammadan rule ever constituted any political entity or a force to be reckoned with. Sir Elliot in his preface to the *Historians of Muhammadan India* has stated that his object in undertaking the task of writing Indian history was to show to India's educated gentry that never in Indian history had the Indian people any voice in shaping the destiny of the country. Attempts are being made to understand the people of that age and their reactions and attitude to the Muslim rule. Very recently a monograph on this subject has come to light, written by Mr. A. K. Sen under the title *People and Politics in Early Medieval India* (1963). The author has made an earnest effort to show the influences that the common people used to exercise on the statesmen and rulers of medieval India. He has cited a number of popular risings against the Central Government—like that of Malik Chhaju against Jalaluddin, Mughisuddin Tughra in Bengal against Balban, the peasants of the Doab against Muhammad Tughluk and the like. Doubtless,

in medieval times popular consciousness was at a low ebb. Nonetheless, the popular resistance to the government, either central or provincial, constituted an important factor in the Sultanate politics. This aspect has not been properly examined by the Indo-European scholars

in the field of medieval Indian history. Although one may differ from the author's observations on some points, it cannot be disputed that a new interest has been created in the field of political history of the early medieval period which needs careful investigation by our researchers.

Survey of Indian Historiography (Modern Period)

INDIAN HISTORY WHICH IS EMERGING TODAY

DR. N. K. SINHA

A life time of toil in the field of modern Indian history gives me some right to speak about work in this field. I am almost a dilettante in Indology and in medieval studies. I therefore confine myself to modern Indian history in my observations.

Indian history of the modern period was full of meaning for British historians in the first half of the nineteenth century. The magnificent success of the British inspired but did not intoxicate them. The history of those Indian powers who failed in the clash of arms with the British was described by them with some understanding. Mark Wilks, Grant Duff, John Malcolm, Mountstuart Elphinstone, Joseph Davey Cunningham can each claim for himself the merits of patient and laborious investigation and of original and independent judgment. Very naturally, they wrote political and diplomatic history only. They had each of them an inspiring theme and an enlarged perspective. But England's work in India lost its first fine rapture after 1857. In the later years of the nineteenth century a rather narrow self-sufficiency became the characteristic feature of British writing on Indian history. The 'fulfilment' of British power in India could not be such an inspiring theme as the rise of it. Significance was now very naturally attached to the development of British Indian administration. Indian history of the modern period became very much Anglo-centric. Just as Britain preferred to play in India a major role in an under-developed economy rather than a lesser part in an economy growing more rapidly, so in the field of history writing British historians became more concerned with the part played by Englishmen in India, and Indian India remained an under-developed field of historical investigation. Those among us who are working on the period,

1757-1947, should not have the feeling that we have gathered after the reapers. The climate of values, ideas and opinions is now so very different that Indian historians could write India's history anew.

As editor of the *Bengal Past and Present*, I had to study Anglo-Indian historical mind in the back issues of the Journal, 1907-1947. This history is intimate and personal, based on memoirs and letters. We catch only here and there remote glimpses of the obscure Indian. *Rulers of India* series should be regarded as the most typical co-operative British endeavour in the field of Indian history writing during its jingo-jubilee phase. Even about Hunter's *Annals of Rural Bengal*, published in 1868, the *Hindu Patriot* was constrained to remark that though it was a very competent piece of work, it did not convey a very correct impression of rural realities. In more recent years this Anglo-centric character has become even more marked. I read Dr. Ballhatchet's book *Social Policy and Social Change in Western India*. It reads more like administrative than social history. *Utilitarians in India* by Professor Eric Stokes is 'a study of English political mind in the nineteenth century as it was found to be at work in the administration of India'. We meet the Indian very casually in this analysis. It is a projection of English history on British Indian affairs. The *East India Company* by Professor Philips, the *Central Administration of the East India Company*, a research study inspired by British example, *Charles Grant and British Rule in India*, a work of American scholarship on English model, continue to show the same trend of history writing on the growth of Britain in India. Indian India is almost on 'the other side of the river'.

method has been abandoned by historians almost everywhere. They are now carried away by a strong current towards social and economic history. As Marc Bloch puts it, "The good historian is like the giant of fairy tale; he knows that wherever he catches the scent of human life, there his quarry lies". History is now more concerned with the ordinary than the exceptional man. The subject which is emerging today is very much more difficult than our fathers and grandfathers found it. Indian historians are also following this trend. We are also in a much better position now to write about India's loss through England and India's gain by England. We can now analyse almost with clinical detachment India's roots of togetherness as also roots of tensions.

I hope I would be excused if I mention some of the research subjects which I myself or my colleagues have chosen because this list illustrates new possibilities. Books which have been recently published and books that are being written are only mentioned in this context—Economic-Social history of Bengal, Urban and Rural, from Plassey to the Permanent Settlement; Commercial Agriculture in Bengal and Traditional Agriculture in Bengal in the Nineteenth Century; Ryotwari System in Madras; Malabar in Asian Trade; Urbanization of Calcutta etc.

In the field of political history, under the stimulus of newly acquired freedom, we would expect a historical amplitude, an outburst of great research activity. But no work on our freedom struggle, whether published by the different state governments, or by the central government or by private agencies gives to future generations the atmosphere of this struggle. In most of these publications there is a mere assemblage of details, many of them trivial and insignificant. Nowhere do we find this inspiring theme suffused with sympathy and warmth, not even a balanced presentation, or an analysis or synthesis of any significance. What is the reason? We have one great handi-

cap. Our literary style in English is so undistinguished, and style matters very much in history. But have we anything in Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, Punjabi, Tamil or Telugu in which we have written what future generations will cherish? This epic theme is yet to find a historian like R.C. Dutt or J.N. Sarkar who is capable of giving to future generations the thrills of the history of our struggle in which great men led and small men fought with a devotion which ennobles both great and small.

Patient and exhaustive research has been undertaken in almost all the Universities. An unplanned collective effort is going on. But that is perhaps much better than too much planning. As a historian, I dislike the idea of a school of historians. The stamp of the age will be there all the same. But certain disquieting features should be noted. In the first place, there is the flourishing of jargon, particularly in economic history. Economics is now the prestige subject. It is dominated by Western categories which cannot be absolutized and rationalized and in many cases they are far away from historical reality. There is an area in which theory perhaps works and there is an area where it does not. This is forgotten and the ascendancy of jargon gives a falseness of touch to economic history written by many of our young research workers. The key phrase in Pare's approach to history—'more complicated than that'—must not be forgotten. There are also young Indian historians who write history according to a theory—Marx-Engels or Toynbee. They can link unrelated phenomena in a synthesis. They have little difficulty in collecting, arranging and dissecting their subject matter. Everything rolls on to a pre-destined end. Some again appear to be very much impressed by the claims of newer social sciences. Data from other disciplines might deepen but not determine our historical discipline.

There are now two sectors of modern Indian historical production—public and private. Of the recent public sector productions, S. N. Sen's *Eighteen Fifty-Seven* is perhaps the only work

which the private sector would judge as a worthy performance. In this context, I should refer to the state gazetteers recently published or prepared for publication. They are uniformly of a poor quality compared to the remarkable productions of the early years of the twentieth century, for which British administrators were in the main responsible. I tried to find an explanation. Those British officers who wrote our early gazetteers felt a pride in the achievements of British administration and they wanted to put this on record. But Indian administrators have also a compensatory advantage over their predecessors. They have, or at least they should have, a much better social consciousness. Does our welfare state make too much demand on their energies? Does too much paper logging in the secretariat make it difficult for them to brace themselves for a task which is perhaps to a large extent academic? To put it in a different language, the official lay mind, in spite of its know-all-ness, cannot rise to the level of the professional. In any case, I should put on record my awareness of the fact that the new gazetteers that are being published will not be of the same use to future historians as the old gazetteers were to us.

Namier describes very vividly the "plight of the isolated historian without even a secretary or research assistant, compelled to earn his living by teaching, drawing lonely furrows

with a wooden plough". The plight of the Indian historian, a College or University teacher, was perhaps much worse. Mechanical aids were nonexistent until very recent times. We did not enjoy research grants when we needed them most. The state of things has improved to some extent in recent years. Without haste—the public sector pretty often insists on a time limit which is not always reasonable and which detracts from the quality of the work—but without rest, the Indian historians should now try to evaluate influences, disentangle political trends, depict the slow rhythm of the countryside and moods and ideas at all levels of society. Let all this be scientific history, complete with reference and statistics, with research among documents but eminently readable. They should depict traditional India but also changing India—changes brought about by education, urbanisation, changing patterns of caste structure, a new wealth structure—with the broad outlook characteristic of modernity. I sometimes visualise those days of old in which Indian India appeared to be at her best under the British Raj. I think of the fine dignified Indian of the Indian Renaissance who was equally at home in the classics of his own faith and in the concepts of western culture, equally tolerant of both. I wish Indian historians of the coming decades would be like our forbears of that age with a deeper social consciousness.

Survey of Indian Historiography (Modern Period)

A PRELIMINARY NOTE ON THE WRITING OF THE HISTORY OF MODERN INDIA

DR. BARUN DE

I consider myself privileged to have been asked by Dr. Sen to speak to you today. If what I say sounds sketchy, I will ask this gathering to be forgiving, for it is manifestly impossible to generalise on the writing of the history of modern India in the time allotted to me, or in the span of my capacity for generalisation. Instead of giving you a conspectus, I propose to raise a problem that has been bothering me.

The general problem, briefly, is this. What was the nature of historical thought about India in the period of the dissolution of the Mughal empire and the initial establishment of the British in India? This, of course, is a very small fragment of time in Modern India. May I ask for Dr. Sen's indulgence in, so to say, picking this small fragment apart.

There is a common belief that Indians wrote no history before the British came. I do not have the time to go into the detailed assumptions of that belief. But you were told last year on this occasion by our most eminent historical controversialist that if we Indian scholars had learned to think historically, it was because our British masters taught us to think that way; and that this was one of the major benefits of British rule in India. Are we justified in accepting this evaluation without further thought? Can we not go into some of the presumptions of some initial writers?

If we do, we will find that they influenced conservative and not progressive elements in

the modern outlook of India. The outlook of progress and even radicalism came generally as a violent reaction against continual re-statements of the conservative premises that I propose to uncover before you today.

II

We may first take up the question of pre-British writing of history in the period when medieval India was changing into modern India. Many chronicles and accounts of the glory of individual Indian rulers existed before Europeans began to think systematically about Indian society. In this category may be grouped the spate of chronicles which were written by both Hindus as well as Muslims in the years from 1707, the death of Aurangzeb, to 1757, the battle of Plassey. These chronicles certainly tell the reader of Persian about the activities of some members of the elite in different regions or provinces of the decadent Mughal Empire. Sound history may be reconstructed from these accounts: for instance, Irvine, and even more notably Sir Jadunath Sarkar, have reconstructed the factual details of politics at the Mughal Courts from many of these accounts. Very recently in 1959, Dr. Satish Chandra has published his *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court, 1707-1740* from Aligarh University. This book has analysed the main forces that operated in politics and in the attempts to revive administrative consolidation and economic stability in the years from 1707 to 1739. Dr. Satish Chandra has done this on the basis of what he calls chronicles, documents and letters. None of the sources which have been quarried for this period really have the nature of historical

thinking, apart from the factual enumeration of dates and the equally factual statement of events. In the Subahs and breakaway Nawabi States, too, chronicles of this type were written, e.g., in Bengal, the set published for the Asiatic Society by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in his collection called *The Bengal Nawabs* or the accounts written in Awadh, or in the Punjab or the unique *Karnataka-Rajakal-Charitam* in Tamil, chronicling the acts of the semi-independent early 18th century Nawabs of the Carnatic.

Two things stand out in the chronicle writing of the first half of the 18th century. Firstly, books like the *Ibrat Namah* of Qasim Lahori are mere accounts of what happened to the Mughal dynasty. Other books give details of the events in the life of notable officials, including Hindus, in the provincial courts. But such accounts did indeed contain generalisations about the nature and causes of particular events; as for instance, Bhim Sen Burhanpuri, the author of the *Nushka-i-Dilkhusa*, speaks of the Maratha risings from the reign of Aurangzeb onwards, as if they were the result of administrative exploitation and unnecessarily severe measures wrecked on the innocent peasantry in districts neighbouring the Maratha lands—and goes on to point out that these policies drove cultivators who were otherwise normally loyal to the Mughals into an alliance of desperate necessity with the “*Na-Sardaran*” (leaders, who are no leaders at all) among the Maratha Deshmukhs and Senapatis. This is a generalisation about history in India which has been borne out by Dr. Irfan Habib. Generalisations scattered over the chronicles may represent the primitive existence of an analytical historical outlook among writers like Bhim Sen.

These generalisations were of course about individual events in their particular context. There was no attempt to compare events such as the Marathi uprisings in Khandesh with the later Bundela uprisings or to contrast them with the Rajput *Zamindari* revolts. Out of such comparison and contrast alone can one get a

sense of dynamism in history; and indigenous Indian historical thought before Macaulay lacked this sense of dynamism. We urgently need a student of history, who can read Persian, to analyse the views and arguments of the chronicles mentioned in the bibliographies of later Mughal History, since the attitude I have described above must have grown in scale throughout the 18th century. All the same, though historical consciousness was incipient, there was certainly no clarity of historical outlook (as we understand it today) in early 18th century India. The diarists, too, like Ananda Ranga Pillai in the South, unlike John Evelyn, his elder contemporary in England, or De Grammont in France, or the Cardinal De Retz, did not think historically, i.e., in the context of the past, but were concerned, like Samuel Pepys, rather with events from day to day.

Secondly, historical writing before the origin of British power in India seems to have been remarkably secular. I have no knowledge of Persian, but the detailed translations of accounts of Mughal History and of risings led and recruited from the Hindu community, whether by the Satnamis, the Marathas or the Sikhs, which have been written by Hindu historians, show a feeling of orthodoxy. Isardas Nagar, the Gujarati revenue official, who wrote the *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri* speaks in tones of disgusted contempt about the heterodox religious and social practices of the Mundiya (crop headed or “Roundheaded”) Satnamis of the region around Delhi in Narnaul and Mewat who flouted barriers of food restriction and consanguinity which are inherent in caste. Other writers also show similar echoing of distaste for the egalitarian practices of Hindu rebels against Mughal authority. It seems that they found that the Mughals maintained the caste orthodoxy of medieval Hindu India by giving those who paid revenue to the Mughal State, immunity from Muslim Quranic law. Therefore, they saw in rebellion against Mughal authority, the breakdown of protection for hierarchical Hindu caste society, and there was little sym-

pathy between the official Hindu historians of the later Mughal period and social reformers who were equated with political sedition (a tendency to be found even in modern academic thought—Radicalism being equated by timorous and suspicious people with Communism).

On the other hand, Muslim dissidents against official policies found—because of their orthodox Islamic attitude—many points with which they sympathised in the social practices of Satnamis or Sikhs. Khafi Khan, the author of the *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, speaks appreciatively of the social community, mercantile enterprise and courage of the Satnamis, whereas the author of the *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* shows a very acute understanding of Sikh theology. Secularity was the general attitude of all but orthodox people and fanatics. Both these latter types comprise large sections of India's population, but late Mughal historiography cannot be identified completely with either orthodoxy or fanaticism. The orthodox Hindus hankered for the maintenance of the *status quo* and of *de facto* rule; they were as anti-heterodoxy as they were against contamination of their Hindu race. The Muslims, on the other hand, may sometimes have been orthodox, but research will show, I am sure, that numbers of them in the early 18th century were beginning to break away from that religious fanaticism which Dr. Peter Hardy with such one-track mind has tried to identify with Islamic thought throughout its history.

Thus, even before the British built up their power, faint glimmerings of what the nationalist generation called the modern Indian outlook was present in Indian historical thought.

III

The writing of history in India before the English attained power was therefore of the nature of chronicling, but some primitive form of historical analysis had nonetheless come into existence, and it was as secular in its assumptions about Indian society—or at any rate reflected

as much of the material hierarchical structure of the caste system, and of the non-interference policies of Muslim rule—as could be expected. When we come to the early British writers, we enter a sphere of thought which is completely different from these Indian historical developments.

The early British writers were interested, not so much in chronicling British conquest, as in analysing the nature of the society which had fallen victim to the arms and money of their merchants and military leaders. They tried to lay bare what they considered a decaying society, so that they could find out what traditional elements could be maintained in their own interest. They tried to see how, what they considered, the foreign, rule of the Muslims had been maintained. It would not be until the early 1780s that people thought in terms of transplanting British culture to India. The value of the earliest writers is in the picture that they drew of 18th century India, impregnated though the picture was by their own biases.

The earliest writers were Company's Merchants who had been raised to positions of prominence by Clive's victory at Plassey. The raising of Mir Jafar to the *masnad* of Murshidabad gained the servants of the East India Company insight and experience of the working of Indian politics. They had indeed had an opportunity for this since the beginning of the 18th century, when factories were established at Kasimbazar near the capital of Bengal, to trade in the silk of the region and carry on commercial diplomacy with the Nawabs. From the accounts of such people and from the experience of trading in the hinterland villages—we know that Warren Hastings spent his apprenticeship near Beldanga, and most Company's servants in this period must have gone into villages to some extent, looking for textiles, and supervising the advance of cash—it is evident that these people had first hand experience of small segments of agrarian life, as well as considerable *expertise* in Indian mercantile practices.

One of the first writers was Luke Scafton who was brought from the Madras Coast by

Clive to meet the needs of growing business after Plassey. He was one of the first official Residents at the Darbar of Murshidabad, concerned with diplomatic relations between the Company and the Nawab. He returned home a rich man—in fact one of the prototypes of the fabled Nabobs. His *Reflections on the Condition of Hindustan* written in 1763 was a defence of the activities of Clive, precedent to the establishment of Mir Jafar. His account of the happenings in 1757 are of some interest as a near-contemporary source. But what is far more interesting is his summary of general conditions in India, including some amount of interpretative sociology with which he prefaced his account. His theme was that the Indians were by nature servile; that the ruling classes had not been servile, but that the climate had slowly brought them to the condition of their subjects; and that a clear distinction of subjects and ruler could be made between Hindu and Musalman, except in the south and the south-west. The Hindu subjects, he thought, were long-suffering by nature, and if left to cultivate, and in their leisure to copiously procreate, they were quite happy to leave the business of government to other races. Scrafton is not clear whether the term, race, is identical with religion or whether it overlaps; and in fact in a later century the distinction between ethnology and beliefs was to make his racial distinction between Hindu and Muslim invalid—for it might have then been pointed out to him that the Muslim peasantry shared the habits he attributed to Hindus. But his analysis is more interesting than the truth of his generalisations. Given his premise, he argued that the rulers, who had succumbed to the habits of the subjects, had taken to the pleasures of the Harem. More concerned with leisure and exploitation, they left the business of government to their Hindu subjects, who as Naibs took to controlling the affairs of administration, and as the lusty Muslim Nawabs became degenerate, so the Hindu Naibs or Dubashes (interpreters) became more experienced in the business of government. This led to conflict, and conflicts in the Coromandel and in Bengal led to war. War was inevitable, and—a conclu-

sion inevitable in the days of Frederick the Great—victory in war justified the victors.

There are many other interesting conclusions. The monotheism of the Hindus is referred to—polytheism is stated to be only a popular phenomena. The Hindus are supposed to be people endowed with an old and traditional sense of culture which was so ingrained in them that they could no more take the initiative in habits of action. There is much more to this effect.

One can recognise in Scrafton's reflections the note of patronage and slightly weary contempt for people of an older, more effective culture which are echoed by hustling merchants and administrators all over India, particularly in the late 19th century and throughout the period of the Independence struggle. The presumptions of Scrafton have been repeated by generations of administrators. We do not often recognise the social outlook beyond such presumptions, and have often repeated them as compliments paid to India by a foreign power. Put together as part of a general outlook on life—a *Weltanschauung*—the views which Scrafton postulated very early in British rule represent an attempt to rationalise Indian history as a record of culture rising with the decline of political power, and Scrafton suggests that this is all for the best, given things being what they are, and that which is, must necessarily be right. Speaking unobjectively for a moment, I would like to disagree completely with this strain of thought, which represents stagnant conservatism. I believe that conditions certainly were as Scrafton described them in the early 18th century, but that it is also debatable that culture was not concomitant to an urge for independence or a desire for economic growth. Such desires existed in Japan at the same period, and when one thinks of mid-18th century values in India, one is tempted to translate the Bengal doggerel nationalist song of the late 19th century; "Japan, she too is independent, she too leads; will India alone lie asleep?"

It will be useful to look at some administrators

in Bengal who said much the same thing as Scrafton. Vansittart—who, as Governor of Bengal, was responsible for beginning the policy of Indirect Rule, divesting only administrative responsibilities on Mir Kasim, and who was forced to leave Bengal in disgrace when Frankenstein turned on his master, the Company—wrote a defence of his transactions in Bengal, which represents many of the Scraftonian presumptions about the Indian people, and put recent events in a framework of Indian acceptance of the superior initiatives of the British.

The accounts of Clive, Vansittart, and Verelst were attacked by a merchant in the service of the Company, William Bolts, whom these people had not permitted to carry on illicit private trade at the expense of the merchants and indigenous administration of Bengal. Bolts' *Considerations on Indian Affairs* was the first and possibly clearest and most rational indictment of British rule on the coast of the Bay of Bengal. He stated, in logic which rings out like a hammer, that the so-called legal position of British power in India was based on fraud and fiction; that it was force which was being masked by forms such as the treaties with Mir Jafar and Mir Kasim, or the Diwani of 1765 which the Company had bought from its client, the Great Mughal Shah Alam; that the servants of the Company worked the Diwani of Subah Bengal in their own interest; and that the profits of the Investment which was financed by the surplus of Diwani flowed into the dividends and capital funds of the Company in London. All these things Bolts proves by letters taken from the public correspondence of the Company, and his book is a model for contemporary accounts which sought to justify their hypothesis by reference to copious appendices of "facts" at the end. This practice was followed by successful writers on Indian conditions as well as by the Parliamentary Committees which investigated Indian administration in the 1770s and 1780s; and the appendices remain untapped since the days of Romesh Chandra Dutta and his critics. If historians take recourse to them, they can find out for themselves whether Bolts

was correct in his criticisms, or whether Verelst was right in suggesting that there was nothing wrong in the measures of administrators in Bengal after 1765, and that Bolts was simply a liar. At any rate, in his justification of his measures in India Verelst repeats the statements about Indian social history that we have pinpointed in Scrafton. He brings in a new note as well.

The Indians, he says, are docile and subservient subject races who are not interested in who governs them, so long as they are left alone to enjoy their caste system, their primitive subsistence agriculture, their primitive methods of economic profit, and their traditional ways of family life, shut away from the friendly eyes of strangers. Maintain these things, he says, and they will blindly follow their practices. What matters it to them, is the implication of Verelst, if they are governed by fraud and fiction, or by legal right—so long as they are happy? Bolts in his championing of the Indian people is motivated by his own private self-interest and such "radical agitation"—as it would have been called by 20th century administrators—could only harm the happiness and welfare of the traditional Indian society.

Here we see a step forward in the historical background of imperial rationalisations. It is, of course, true that in the age of Enlightened Despotism in Europe, the distinction between the actual happiness of the common people and the arbitrary decisions by the rulers that the common people *were* happy, was very vague and could be slid over. Such fine distinctions were never made by merchants who were being forced to turn administrators. Condemnation of Verelst according to such fine distinctions would be unrealistic. At the same time his argument is a clear defence of the imposition of what the 19th century has called imperialism. Such a defence was justified by the use of generalisations from Indian social history; and these generalisations were based on an interpretation of conditions in Bengal only since the last half century.

I have elaborated on these writers because they are quite well-known, both as sources for the early history of British India, and as examples of early historical writing. What I wish to emphasise is the fact that their knowledge of Indian history was not only meagre—it was restricted to the past fifty years and Sraffon's generalisations are true only for that period—but they also implied a general point of view which amounted to a rationalisation of British rule in India. Following the categorization of the French historian Tocqueville, by Albert Mayer, we may call the early British historians sociological historians; in so far as they saw society as the result of general trends in historical development, capable of being analysed, and of yielding truths which were in some sense abstractly true, as distinct from the individual desires and actions of the participants. To put it simply, the history of these people implied certain presumptions about motives of people in India which need not be participated in by each individual Indian but could nevertheless be imputed, in a sort of metaphysical way, to all. Now this form of history writing is often suggested by ignorant critics of Marxism to be what the Marxists do. They call it determinism. That identification is of course incorrect, for Marxists admit the significance of contingency and accident in the development of laws of history, at least more than Westernised positivists do. But, the writings of the historians I have just described can certainly be called rationalist determinism in its early stage, in so far as it was pre-supposed that Indians were subject to the government of inevitable trends, according to which Hindus would always remain subject to stronger foreign races, Muslims would always react to conquest and power by being assimilated to the habits of the conqueror, and stable government would always be ensured by the maintenance in a fossilised form of the social values of the Hindu caste system. But the diagnosis of the Indian situation in the 18th century by Sraffon and Verelst and their deductions from their primitive knowledge of Indian history was borne out by a century and a half of British rule in India. When opposition

came forward against the outlook of their successors, this opposition did not in the last resort come from the traditional society that they as foreigners had patted on the back. It came from the Westernised sections of the people, who accepting the ways of thought of the rulers transformed themselves into an elite, and fought imperialism with the doctrines of revolutionary democracy and 19th century radicalism. To this extent the early British historians were correct in their interpretations of the traditionalist outlook in India.

IV

All readers of Miss Lucy Sutherland's book know that Adam Smith got his ideas on the nature of the Company's mercantilist policies in India from Bolts. His section on "Colonies" in *The Wealth of the Nation* is an elegant statement by an economist of the basic argument of Bolts, that if a merchant is an administrator at the same time, then the result in dual government can only be in the profit of the merchant and not for the welfare of the subjects. Smith specifically mentions Bolts in his footnotes. The two writers together influenced not only Edmund Burke's indubitably biased, but nonetheless essentially correct condemnation of the nature of administration practised by Warren Hastings and his subordinates; they also influenced defenders of the Establishment in Great Britain like William Pitt and Henry Dundas, who upheld the British power in India. So much so that at the time of the framing of the Charter Act of 1793, we find Pitt's economic adviser, the Indian and American financier, Francis Baring, writing copious memoranda based on a study of Portuguese imperialism with which to disprove the anti-mercantilist theories of Adam Smith. Cabinet Ministers like Dundas were never entirely convinced by those arguments, and it is possible to draw a chain of succession from the arguments of Bolts to the relaxation of the monopoly in Indian trade, which was imposed on the Company by the year 1813. Conversely, it is even more possible to draw a chain of succession from

Verelst to the administrative outlook implicit in the legislation of Dundas which is to be found in Pitt's Act of 1784; and the implementation of that Act by Cornwallis, Shore and Charles Grant was guided by principles which are recognisably similar to those I have elicited in Sraffon and Verelst. In the next session of the History Congress, I plan to show the family likeness as well as the genealogical succession between the presumptions of Sraffon, the directive principles which guided the framing of Pitt's India Act, and Grant's *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain*. Grant is often taken to be the founder of the evangelical outlook in British historical thought. But his basic presupposition that both Hindus and Muslims were sunk in deep superstition, and that it was good for them to be pulled out of this with the aid of the Word of God is only an elaboration of the belief of Sraffon and Verelst that subject people were at a lower level, and an active ruling elite could do what it should in making the subjects happy. The novelty of Grant lies in his imputation of Divine Right to the Conquistadore spirit of the earlier writers. But he was a Conquistadore no less than they were.

By the end of the 18th century, in the ideas of such dissimilar people as Grant and David Scott and—my Brahmo co-religionists will forgive me if I mention him in the same breadth—Rammohan Roy, there may be found a sort of mixture, in varying doses, of the fossilising conservatism of Sraffon and Verelst, and the anti-mercantile radicalism of Bolts and Adam Smith. Grant stands on the extreme right and Rammohan, the father of the Indian nation, on the middle left in this scale. But they were all inspired in more, mixed, or less degree by the ideas I have elicited above.

It seemed in the early 19th century that the ideas of the pre-British indigenous histories had been lost. Certainly the intellectual upholders of Mughal values were the seminarists of Delhi who belonged to the Waliyullahi tradition. Dr. Habib has recently shown that this tradition had

moved far away from the secular realities of Indian politics in the 18th century, and Dacca historians like Muinuddin Ahmed Khan are showing that they idealised a theoretical communal separatism which was propagated in exaggerated forms by the Wahabi mullas. The Wahabi propaganda—and in Bengal the propaganda of the Faraizis of Bakargunge—did much to convert the Muslim masses to a sense of pristine separatism from the Hindus. But this sense of separatism should not be necessarily identified with Indian historical outlook in the early 18th century. That was materialist; this was idealist and verging on escape from reality. When the New Historical Thought developed in the 19th century—let us take for an example, Bengal—it was certainly based on an imitation of English models. There is a question that I want to leave before you today. Did this thought derive its inspiration only from the fossilising conservatism of the majority of British writers in the 18th century, and also the more democratic historians of England itself, Hume, Burke, Mill above all, even the Periclean Macaulay himself? Or can it partly be traced back to the chronicles of the 18th century, since many educated men in the first sixty years of the 19th century could read Persian. If research students are to begin the assessment of nationalist history writing, then I would like to see them delving into the books of the early nationalist in detail and working out the intellectual genealogy of the ideas contained there. How far, for instance, was the *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, written under British patronage in Malda, influenced by British style, and how far was it influenced for instance by the *Siyar-ul-Mutakhkhirin*, or by Sujan Rai's *Khulasatut-Tawarikh*? Such detailed studies are necessary for making generalisations about intellectual influence.

Unless this sort of detailed work is carried out, I for one will not accept the sweeping statement that Indian thought is wholly in the image of the British stamp. That stamp has certainly been put on us; and each one of us bears the marks. But this need not lead us to forget the incipient emergence of a modern outlook even before the British took up power in India.

It need not lead us to think that Hindu-Muslim communal rivalry is eternally inherent in our history. It need not lead us to forget, either, that the great dead-weight of the caste system had begun to crack even before the British came to India. And, to deliver a parting provocation,

it may well be that the removal of the dead-hand of caste separation was prevented only because the British established themselves in India, and were convinced by their early historians that the maintenance of traditional values was the best way of maintaining British profits.

Survey of Indian Historiography (Modern Period)

DUTCH MATERIALS AND MODERN INDIAN HISTORY

DR. ASHIN DAS GUPTA

It is a much lamented fact that the writing of Modern Indian History still continues to turn, very largely, in its old grooves. This happens in spite of a very real desire among historians to break through to new topics and fresh interpretations. The reason, to a great extent, lies in the paucity of fresh materials—an absence of new sources. You cannot suddenly write new history if you continue to use the known old stuff. It is in this context that the Dutch materials for writing Indian history become peculiarly valuable. I wish to speak to you first about the nature of this material and then about some of the uses already made of this source and others which can be profitably attempted.

But before I begin all this, I wish you to be clear about the conception of 'a new history of India'. The expression comes rather glibly and if we are not on our guard, it can trick us into a platitude. The idea here is simply to get away from political history written along traditional lines. Instead, our attention should centre on economic development, the social institutions and the evolution of thought. There is one additional item. As far as possible we shall have to see all these as aspects of Asian developments. Indian history will be fully intelligible only when it is recognized as part of Asian history.

Now let me turn very briefly to the nature of the Dutch materials we can use. Very largely these are the documents of the United East India Company of the Netherlands and they take us from the beginning of the 17th century to the beginning of the 19th. There is one other kind of material: that is travellers' accounts and contemporary writings. If you wish to concentrate on social institutions and Indian thought, then this source will be of greater help. As illustration I shall cite the 17th century account of Philippus Baldaeus called *Naauwkeurige*

Beschryvinge Van Malabar en Choromandle, Darzelver Aagrenzende Rijken, en het Machtige Eyland Ceylon (Detailed Description of Malabar and Coromandel, the Kingdoms adjoining them and the powerful Island of Ceylon). The third volume of this work has been published separately and deals exclusively with the state of the Hindu religion along the Indian coasts. One other illustration would be the eighteenth century letters written by the Dutch priest J. Canter Visscher from Malabar. They have been printed under the title *Mallabaarse Brieven* (Letters from Malabar) and deal mostly with the coastal society. This is the kind of thing that Dutch Company documents do not do. They deal mostly with the trade and politics of the Indian coasts. A very great deal of material on these two topics is available at the *Algemeen Rijksarchief* of the Hague. What is more, the documents of the Dutch East India Company steadily keep an Asian perspective before your eyes as you pursue the Indian developments. Thus if you wish to break away from traditional history writing, it is an excellent idea to go Dutch.

Now let me turn to my main business today—a brief survey of some of the work done on Dutch materials in connection with India. This is best done if we consider the relevant books as falling into certain groups. First there would be a group of Indian books professedly written about the Dutch in India but not drawing upon Dutch sources. Second would come a class of books mainly by Dutch writers which utilise Dutch source but confine themselves either quite strictly to the Dutch Company or to political developments. Third I shall talk about a few writers who deal in the main with Asian developments but incidentally explain the Indian structure. Fourth and last would come the writings on Indian social economic history which draw upon Dutch sources.

a casual manner she passes on valuable information about, say, the Portuguese impact on Asian trade. All this is very encouraging and one only regrets that there was not more of it. But then that is the characteristic of this group of books. They have the right materials but not what we would call the right spirit. But before I leave them I should like to mention the work of an Indian scholar, little known but of sufficient merit. The book I have in mind is called *A Survey of the Rise of the Dutch Power in Malabar* and the writer is Mr. T.I. Poonen. Mr. Poonen knew Dutch and used all the materials he could find in print. In his attempts at honest fact-finding he recalls Kalikinkar Datta. Thus, he prints in extenso a series of letters from the Indian merchants of Malabar to the Dutch Supreme Council at Batavia. These letters form a valuable supplement even to the work of Mrs. Meilink. Unfortunately for us, Mr. Poonen had no access to the archives at the Hague, nor was he interested in writing what we would call a new history of India.

This leads us to a third category of books which I introduce with some diffidence. They do not deal with Indian history directly but the way they approach Asian developments is of great importance. The most outstanding name on this list is that of Jan Van Leur. In the early thirties he presented his doctoral dissertation on *Oude Aziatische Handel* (Old Asian Trade) at the University of Leiden. This early work and some later writings are now available as one book in English called *Indonesian Trade and Society*. The name is deceptive because Van Leur's field is the whole of Asia. He examines the nature of the trade which flowed from one Asian port to another with provoking brilliance. This is not the place to go into the limitations of this work—of which there are quite a few—but to note the lesson that Asian trade from Nagasaki to Constantinople is all one piece. If you wish to discuss the development of Indian trade you must fit it into the Asian structure. This is further re-inforced by the work of Professor Bernard Schrieke. His major writings are now available in English,

called *Indonesian Sociological Studies*. Again this is a deceptive title. There are two volumes to this work, and in the first volume there is an illuminating discussion on the nature and development of medieval Asian trade. The Indian researcher will have plenty to learn here. To mention only one thing: Professor Schrieke brings out carefully the close connections between Guzerat on the one hand and Malacca on the other. To read a work of this kind is to be convinced of the futility of attempting to write national histories in isolation.

It is pleasing to see that the lesson of Van Leur is already being learned. To prove the point I shall mention the book of a young Ceylonese scholar published in 1958. The name of the book is *The Dutch Power in Ceylon*, 1658-1687, and the author is Dr. S. Arasaratnam. It would be wrong to think that Dr. Arasaratnam's main interest lies in economic-social or cultural development. For the most part he writes of political developments in a way which will gladden a traditional heart. This is why it is all the more significant that he devotes a substantial chapter to Ceylon's trade, in which he describes Ceylon and Southern India as one economic unit. This precisely is the kind of recognition which will give a new direction to our history-writing.

But even this is not enough. The three kinds of books we have looked at will all help us a little in writing what we have called a new history of India but none of them will do it for us. To write about the development of Indian trade and society it is necessary to utilise the Dutch sources but it is also necessary to forget the Dutch East India Company. Then if we can place it in an Asian perspective we shall achieve a real departure from traditional history. It is not very easy to speak of books which have actually done this. But it is possible to mention a few which are inclined this way. I shall definitely place Moreland's work in this context. His books are too well-known to you and I shall not enumerate them. But I wish to draw your attention to one vital aspect of

In the first group would come the books of Dr. Kalikinkar Datta and Mr. K. M. Panikkar. Dr. Kalikinkar Datta published his modest volume called the *Dutch in Bengal and Bihar* in 1948. He catalogued his exclusively English sources with strict fairness and confined his attention to the period 1740-1825. There were two obvious disadvantages. The wealth of material on Bengal which the Dutch archives could have yielded was necessarily absent. Moreover, the period selected was one of Dutch eclipse. This was the time when Indian trade collapsed in face of British political advance. The Dutch were fellow sufferers and spent their time moaning their own misfortune. In spite of all this, however, this little book was valuable. It enabled us to have a glimpse of the kind of local details which Dutch sources could supply. Thus, Dr. Datta wrote about the monopoly in saltpetre which Haji Ahmad, Alwardi's brother, had established and which he ran with the help of Khwaja Wajid whom Dr. Datta described as 'a principal merchant of Bengal'. Dr. Datta also referred to the attempt made by Amerchand and Deepchand in 1746 to buy up these monopoly rights. These details in themselves do not add up to much but they indicate what can be obtained if Dutch records are explored. The other merit of this essay was the way it underlined the nature of the British take-over from the point of view of the Dutch. This was important though not always impartial testimony covering the second half of the 18th century.

The books of K. M. Panikkar stand almost in a class by themselves. They have this much in common with Dr. Datta's effort that the reader discovers no trace of original Dutch evidence in them, though unlike Dr. Datta, Mr. Panikkar seems unwilling to admit this. The virtue of K. M. Panikkar is his Asian awareness. The book with which we are most concerned—his *Malabar and the Dutch*—unfortunately does not emphasise it. It is a fairly straight-forward treatment of political developments with a couple of chapters on society and trade thrown in almost as an afterthought. But even here there is

an attempt to see Dutch activities in Malabar as part of an Asian pattern. The book, however, tells us virtually nothing of the great merchants of the Coast about whom Dutch records are known to be prolix.

The fault of course lies in the handling of second hand and indirect materials for writing about the Dutch. And that brings us to the second group of books written directly from Dutch sources. Dr. H. Terpstra was the pioneer in this. Before his time Dutch scholarship had, somewhat naturally, concentrated upon Indonesia. In 1911 came his book *De Vestiging der Nederlanders aan de Kust Van Koromandel* (The Establishment of the Dutch on the Coast of Coromandel), and it immediately established the importance of India for the Dutch scholar. Terpstra followed this up with *De Opkomst der Westerkwartieren van de V.O.C.: Suratte, Arabie en Perzie*. (The Rise of the Western Regions of the V.O.C.: Surat, Arabia and Persia) and this book came in 1918. Both these books were slender to look at. The one about the Western Regions was in fact partly a collection of documents. Further Terpstra kept himself confined almost exclusively with Dutch dealings, India figured only as a somewhat shadowy background. A real improvement in this came with Mrs. M.A.P. Meilink's book *De Vestiging der Nederlanders ter Kuste Malabar* (The Establishment of the Dutch on the Coast of Malabar) published in 1943. In many ways this is an important book and calls for a few comments. First of all, Mrs. Meilink, who knows the V.O.C. archives better than anybody else now living, is astonishingly thorough in her treatment. After her book, one can say that Dutch activities in Malabar up to 1663 is now a closed subject. Second, while it is quite true that the major part of this work is devoted to political relations, there is also a very real awareness of the Indian society and its problems. Thus Mrs. Meilink writes her first chapter on 'Land and Peoples of Malabar' and goes on to a discussion of trade which has much information for all interested in Indian commerce. Third, the Asian perspective is not altogether absent. In

a casual manner she passes on valuable information about, say, the Portuguese impact on Asian trade. All this is very encouraging and one only regrets that there was not more of it. But then that is the characteristic of this group of books. They have the right materials but not what we would call the right spirit. But before I leave them I should like to mention the work of an Indian scholar, little known but of sufficient merit. The book I have in mind is called *A Survey of the Rise of the Dutch Power in Malabar* and the writer is Mr. T.I. Poonen. Mr. Poonen knew Dutch and used all the materials he could find in print. In his attempts at honest fact-finding he recalls Kalikinkar Datta. Thus, he prints in extenso a series of letters from the Indian merchants of Malabar to the Dutch Supreme Council at Batavia. These letters form a valuable supplement even to the work of Mrs. Meilink. Unfortunately for us, Mr. Poonen had no access to the archives at the Hague, nor was he interested in writing what we would call a new history of India.

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Moreland's work. He draws upon different European sources, the Dutch included, quite liberally but seldom deviates from his aim of writing about Indian developments. There is a lesson here for those of us who decide to write about the English East India Company because we happen to be working with English documents. There is one other quality of Moreland's work which deserves commendation in this context. Whenever he deals with trade, Moreland is keenly aware of its Asian character. You will find the best evidence of this in a paper which Moreland published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1939. It was called 'The Ships on the Arabian Sea about 1500 A.D.' and the structure of Asian trade which Moreland suggested in this paper has been more or less accepted. Unfortunately in his major works, this aspect is not suitably emphasised. The reason lies in his failure to explore the Dutch archives properly. Moreland

only skimmed the surface of Dutch records but did not work with them in any systematic manner. The success he achieved indicates the measure of achievement which is possible.

You will find one concrete evidence of this in Dr. Tapan Raychaudhuri's recently published book called the *Jan Company in Coromandel*. This book is the last on my list but it is the one about which I feel the most enthusiasm. Dr. Raychaudhuri deals with the developments in Coromandel with a thoroughness reminiscent of Mrs. Meilink and possesses an awareness of economic thinking which goes well beyond Van Leur. This combination is extraordinarily difficult and I shall not maintain that in this book it has always worked happily. Nevertheless Dr. Raychaudhuri's book has brought us the most articulate assurance that a new departure in the writing of Modern Indian History is possible if the Dutch records are properly handled.

Survey of Indian Historiography (Mediaeval Period)

HISTORY AND HISTORIANS OF MEDIAEVAL INDIA

DR. JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR

1. INTRODUCTION

The Director of the Institute of Historical Studies, Calcutta, commissioned me to write a survey of Indian historiography for the mediaeval period, reviewing briefly but critically Indian historical writing, bringing out the general trends and indicating the fields which have not been covered adequately so far. The survey could have been made a cruise along the indented and indurated coastline of mediaeval Indian historiography, along its creeks, inlets, bays and havens, by discussing printed works of individual scholars, the periodical literature and the valuable contributions of different societies, memorial series, works on source materials (either editing, or translation or bibliographical), standard histories, dynastic chronicles, biographies of kings, ministers or generals, monographs on special aspects of policy—imperial, religious, or social,—studies on government and institutions, military history or art of war, agrarian or industrial systems, economic history, social, religious or cultural aspects, religious or political thought, corpuses etc. which bands of scholars, European and Indian, dead and alive, have contributed during the last 200 years or so. But there is neither time nor space for such a treatment. The survey could also have been in the nature of a bird's-eye view of only the high mountain peaks linked in an unending chain, excluding the smaller ranges, the rising slopes or mediate valleys, all of which together constitute the range. But this will perhaps give a distorted or one-sided picture, and never for a moment can one minimise the magnitude and the importance of the exploratory studies and the value of the vast storehouse of knowledge of this period garnered by strenuous efforts and selfless devotion of successive generations of

scholars. In either case, however, the picture will be a still picture lacking the rhythm of life. On account of the enormous variety and scope of the subject, the survey can neither be exhaustive or definitive, however comprehensive it is sought to be made. I am conscious of the difficulty inherent in the task. I am no less aware of my limitations and inadequacies in sketching the history of and assessing the nature and trends of mediaeval Indian historiography within the limited space. What I shall do, therefore, is to place a few thoughts before this august assembly,—for being tested by my superiors and peers, old and young¹. The period covered here is approximately 750 years (c.1000-1757 A.D.). The survey is mainly of books written in English language, and does not cover periodical literature.²

2. THE FOUNDATIONS: THE MEDIAEVAL INDO-MOSLEM BASIS

Modern Indian historiography on mediaeval period is the product of the contributions made by British, non-British and Indian scholars during well nigh two centuries on a mediaeval base i.e. Indo-Moslem source materials. A survey of this development indicates not only changing conceptions of history but also a significant transformation in the direction and methodology of historiography.

It is almost a platitude to say that the Turks introduced historiography as a form of culture into India. The plethora of historical chronicles in mediaeval India (even excluding those that have been lost for ever) is in striking contrast to their paucity in the earlier period. "The advent of Islam", writes Dodwell, "begins a great series of Indian chronicles. Whereas

Hindu history is a matter of archaeology, scrappy and almost incoherent, Muslim history possesses a wealth of documents which render it, if not complete at least intelligible....But the Muslim chronicles are far superior to our own (English) mediaeval chronicles. They are written for the most part not by monks but by men of affairs, often by contemporaries who had seen and taken part in the events they recount...the Muslim period is one of vivid living men whereas the Hindu period is one of shadows."³

Mediaeval Muslim historiography reflected two distinct traditions of history writing. The Arab historian's historical conspectus was very wide, covering the entire range of society, politics, institutions and culture. He was not an official historian and his method was to write the history of the age. On the other hand the outlook of the Persian historian was narrower, being limited to the Court, and he aimed at writing the history of rulers, and at equating this with the history of the age; he tended to become a courtly flatterer of his royal patron.

Early Mediaeval Indian historical writings largely bear the impress of the Persian traditions, the authors being either connected with the royal courts or solicitous of royal patronage.⁴ The works of the 13th to 15th centuries have been grouped in four broad categories:

- (i) General history of the Moslem world (like those of al-Yaqubi, al-Dinawari and al-Tabari), e.g. *Tabaqat i Nasiri* by Minhajuddin us Siraj (1259-60) and *Tarikh i Mubarak Shahi* by Yahya ibn Ahmed Sirhindi (1428-35) which are two general histories of Islam; while the *Tarikh i Muhammadi* by Muhammad Bihamad Khani (a member of the military governor class) (1438-39), is a regional history of Islam in North India.
- (ii) the *Manaqib* or *Fazail* history i.e. prose eulogy of individuals, not necessarily of

a ruler, e.g. *Tarikh-i-Yamini* of Al-Utbi (1020-1) in honour of Mahmud of Ghazni; *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* by Shamsuddin Siraj Afif (c. 1398-9) and *Sirat i Firuz Shahi* by an anonymous author (c.1370)

- (iii) The *Furstenpiegel* *Didactic history*; i.e. regarding history to be a branch of ethics and twisting facts for moral reasons: e.g. the *Tarikh i Firoz Shahi* of Zia ud din Barani (c. 1358) with his religious philosophy of history (i.e. history, an element of divine truth, to be written only by orthodox Sunni Traditionists)
- (iv) artistic forms of history, i.e. poetry and rhymed prose (from 10th c. A.D.)—panegyric notices of masters by officials. It was used by Hasan Nizami (*Tajul Ma'asir*), Amir Khusrau (1253-1325) (5 poems and one prose work) and Isami (*Futuh us Salatin* 1349-50).⁵

The original sources on Mughal India (16th-18th centuries) have been divided into 12 categories.

- (i) official records e.g. *Akhbarat i darbar i Mu'ala*
- (ii) official histories e.g. *Akbarnamah*, *Padshah-namah*, *Alamgirnamah*
- (iii) Royal autobiographies e.g. *Tuzuk-i-Baburi*, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*
- (iv) Non-official histories e.g. *Tarikh i Sher Shahi*, *Tabaqat i Akbari*, *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh*, *Tarikh i Ferishta*, *Fatuhat i Alamgiri*, *Nushka i Dilkusha*, *Muntakhab ul Lubab*
- (v) Provincial or local histories e.g. *Basatin us Salatin*, *Mirat i Ahmadi*, *Baharistan i Ghaibi*
- (vi) Biographies, biographical dictionaries and memoirs e.g. *Ma'asir ul Umara*, *Ma'asir i Rahimi*

- (vii) Gazetteers e.g. *Ain i Akbari*, *Haft Aqalim*
- (viii) Private Letter Books e.g. *Ruqa'at i Abul Fazl*, *Ruqa'at i Shah Abbas Sani*
- (ix) Administrative Manuals e.g. *Dastur ul Amals*
- (x) Literary works in Persian, Sanskrit and local languages
- (xi) Foreign writers
- (xii) Archaeological, epigraphic, numismatic.⁶

About the value of Indo-Muslim mediaeval historical writings, however, opinions have differed. An ardent apologist of British rule, Sir Henry Elliot (1808-53) did not possess any high opinion of these, and held these to be "for the most part, dull, prejudiced, ignorant and superficial", and "deficient in some of the most essential requisites of History". On the other hand, Major N. Lees held that notwithstanding some limitations of these he did "not coincide in opinion with those who estimate as of little worth the large body of historical works...".⁷

3. BRITISH ORIGINS AND NON-BRITISH CONTRIBUTIONS

The modern study of mediaeval Indian history may be said to have owed its inception to the need felt or curiosity entertained by the British administrators, statesmen or generals of knowing the past history, strategic areas, institutions and administration of the country they had come to acquire. Quite naturally they had books written by Indians and their attention was drawn to source books of history of mediaeval India, recent or old, and these were translated into English. It was at the order of Henry Vansittart, Governor of Bengal (1760-64), that Salimullah wrote his *Tarikh-i-Bangala* (History of Bengal from 1107-1169 A.H. till the death of Alivardi). It was translated into English (incompletely and incorrectly though) by Francis Gladwin in

Calcutta under the title of *A Narrative of Transactions in Bengal*. In 1776 Joseph Tieffentaller published in his *Description Historique et Geographique de l'Inde* (3 vols.) long extracts from the rent roll of *Ain i Akbari*. In 1783 Francis Gladwin dedicated his *Ayeen Akberi* to Warren Hastings. In 1788 he wrote his *History of Hindostan during the reigns of Jehangir, Shahjehan and Aurangzebe*. Chief Sheristadar Grant used the former for his Report on Indian finances. Captain Jonathan Scott employed (1776) Murtaza Husayn (Allah yar Usmani Balgrami) as his *munshi* and requested him to write his *Hadiqat ul Aqalim*, a work on geography, but containing historical, biographical and literary references of value. Again, *munshi* Ghulam Husain Salim of Maldah wrote his *Riyaz us Salatin* (1786-7) at the request of Mr. George Udni, his employer. An English translation of the Patna historian Ghulam Husain Tabatabai's *Siyar ul Mutakherin* (completed 1782 A.D.), giving a detailed account of Bengal affairs from 1738 to 1780 was prepared in Calcutta in 1789 by a French convert to Islam, Haji Mustafa. Robert Orme wrote his *Historical Fragments of the Empire* (London, 1782) and his *History.....Hindustan* (4th edn., I. London 1803). Major James Browne translated in his *India Tracts* (1788) a Persian ms. written by two Hindus at his own desire. Major James Rennell wrote his *Memoir of a map of Hindustan* (1793). Charles Stewart's *History of Bengal from the first Muhammadan Invasion until the virtual conquest of that country by the English A.D. 1757* (London, 1813) was "the first attempt to write a modern history of Bengal". Sir John Malcolm wrote his *Memoir of Central India* (2 vols) in 1823. James Grant Duff wrote his *History of the Mahrattas* (London, May, 1826) to fill up "the want of a complete history of the rise, progress and decline of our immediate predecessors in conquest, the Maharattas" and to "fully understand the means by which our own vast empire in that quarter was acquired" (preface). These were followed by G. R. Gleig's *History of the British Empire in India* (1830), Gen. Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs* (1840/1918) and T.B. Jervis's *Geographical & Statistical Memoir of the Konkan* (1840).

Modern Indian historiography on the mediaeval period could not for long shake off the impress of this circumstance of its origin. Firstly, the earliest British historians on mediaeval India buttressed a pre-existing Indian historiographical tradition of close dependence on previous historians. Nizam ud din Ahmed, the author of *Tabaqat i Akbari*, which set a new precedent in which India alone formed the subject matter to the exclusion of other Asiatic countries, borrowed from al-Utbi, Minhaj ud din us Siraj and Zia ud din Barani. Similarly Badaoni acknowledged his indebtedness to Nizamuddin for facts up to 1593 and called his work an abridgment of the *Tabaqat*. Ferishta found the work of Nizam ud din to be the only one history complete of all histories consulted by him and used it much. Following the footsteps of these Indo-Moslem historians, the British pioneers also, rightly or wrongly, depended on them to a greater or less degree. W. Erskine (*A History of India under Babur and Humayun*, 1834) considered Nizamuddin to be perhaps the best historian of the period. Ferishta was also regarded as a classic by older European writers. Thus the mediaeval history portions of James Mill's *History of British India* (1817), Gleig's *History of British Empire in India* (1830) and Mountstuart Elphinstone's *History of India* (1841) were mostly based on Ferishta as translated by Alexander Dow (1768-72), Jonathan Scott (1794) and John Briggs (1829). Thus mediaeval Indian history became 'a history of historians', or 'a chronicle of chronicles, a chronicle of emperors'.⁸

Secondly, this traditional dependence on one class of source was reinforced by two developments in mediaeval Indian historiography, pregnant with significant consequences: (a) The Asiatic Society of Bengal began (since 1860) the *Bibliotheca Indica* series, the valuable work of editing and translating texts of mediaeval histories, relating to Turko-Afghan and Mughal periods.^{9a} (b) During 1867-77 were published eight volumes of Elliot and Dowson's monumental *History of India as told by its own historians*, containing translations (or in extracts) of Persian

and Arabic Indo-Moslem historians and Arab travellers (from c. mid 8th—mid. 19th century) into English. Modern historiographers of Mediaeval India, European or Indian, from Lane-Poole to Haig, have naturally looked upon these two arduous and scholarly compendia as mines of information for their craftsmanship. Lane-Poole (*Mediaeval India under Mohammedan Rule*, 1903) observed, "To realise Mediaeval India there is no better way than to dive into the eight volumes of the priceless History of India as told by its own historians..... a revelation of Indian life as seen through the eyes of the Persian court annalists". V. Smith's *Akbar the Mogol* (1917) and *Oxford History of India* (1919), Pringle Kennedy's *A History of the Great Moghuls* (1905, 1911), Ishwari Prasad's *History of Mediaeval India* (1925) and the *Cambridge History of India* vols 3 (Turks and Afghans, 1928) and 4 (The Mughul period, 1937) are notable examples of dependence on these professedly political works (of B.I. series and E & D).^{8b}

Thirdly, this led the British pioneers to write history in one form, which was predominantly political in character and in one mode, the narrative.

What were the causes of the political bias of modern historiography on medieval India? The first reason is to be traced to the natural human motive of economising labour. The early writers followed the line of least resistance in historiography. They found ready made historical evidence in the Indo-Moslem chronicles, written by authors who were considered to be reliable, on account of their proximity to men in authority. Hence it was easier to draw upon such writings than to search for materials in other quarters and use them only after the difficult process of historical purification. The second reason was the influence of contemporary British historiography which was essentially political (and constitutional) in spite of Buckle and Lecky. The British pioneers in Indian historical studies on Western lines (James Mill, his competitor Elphinstone, Sir William Hunter,

and Alfred Lyall and others) naturally modelled them on the lines of writers like Creighton, Froude, Freeman, Gardiner, Macaulay, and Seeley. They were not generally influenced by the continental historians (like Riehl, Freytag and Burckhardt) who endeavoured to widen the horizon of historical studies beyond the political. The third was yet a stronger reason, namely British imperial pride and complacency about the blessings of British rule. The author of the first comprehensive history of India, James Mill, wanted to apply utilitarianism in the government of India (especially judicial) and hence desired to portray a dark picture of India's past. Then writers like Sir Henry Elliot, Sir William Wilson Hunter, Dr. V. Smith and Sir W. Haig took pride on the political achievement of Britain in India. To Elliot, who had a deep disdain of Muhammadan rule, comparable to Mill's contempt for Hindu rule, 'who did more than anyone else to perpetuate the Mill tradition in writing on Indian History,' the works of the mediaeval historians illustrated the superiority of British rule, because "we have already, within half a century of our dominion, done more for the substantial benefit of the people than our predecessors, in the country of their own adoption, were able to accomplish in more than ten times that period; and drawing auguries from the past, he will derive hope for the future." About Elliot a modern writer observes: "He strikes a note which was to be caught by John Strachey in the field of administration, by Fitzjames Stephen in law and political thought, by Kipling in literature, by Sir John Seeley in history and by Curzon in government. They were all agreed that the happiness of the governed which might be ensured by strong executive government and the rule of law was more important than self-government; their influence overbore Macaulay's and John Stuart Mill's attempts to liberalise the utilitarian views of James Mill and also Ripon's experiment in training Indians for self-government." V.A. Smith, who combined his own researches in Ancient India with those of Elliot and Elphinstone and others on Muslim India, and of Mill, Wilson, Hunter and others in British period, and W.

Haig held that mediaeval Muslim society was morally inferior and that mediaeval Indian History was nothing but a prelude to or a preparation for British conquest.⁹ Fourthly, many of the British pioneers were primarily officials and not academicians and they approached the problems of Indian history from the administrative point of view.

While they enjoyed certain advantages and facilities, this had some baneful consequences on historiography. Firstly, it delayed the penetration into Indian historiography of 'wider concepts of the nature and scope of history', evidenced in the writings of British scholars like Professors R. H. Tawney, G. M. Trevelyan, Sir Lewis Namier, Sir John Clapham, Sir George Clark, R. G. Collingwood and Sir Frank Stenton.¹⁰ Secondly, by utilising one form of literary evidence mainly, the standard writers like Lane-Poole, V. Smith and Sir Wolsley Haig have helped to harden the tendency to depict the political history of mediaeval India,—a story of kings, wars, rebellions, without reference to socio-religious aspects, without utilising works on Indo-Muslim religious observance, jurisprudence, mysticism, political thought, *belles-lettres* and poetry (available in India Office Library, British Museum or A.S.B. library) or archaeological, epigraphic and numismatic materials supplied by Gen. Cunningham and Sir John Marshall, Horowitz and Thomas, Lane-Poole and Wright respectively or devotional literature (as utilised by writers like Carpenter, Westcott, Keay and others).¹¹

What is worse, mediaeval Indian history came to be compartmentalized, some writing on political history, others on religion or society, but a comprehensive view of history was not taken. Mediaeval society was not studied as an integrated whole; political turmoil has been stressed but no attempt has been made to study the social forces which help to explain it. Perhaps, a different picture of mediaeval history would emerge if the modern principle of studying society in all its aspects, interconnected and interdependent, is applied to this period.

Another feature of mediaeval Indian historiography, arising from its British origins, is that writers on mediaeval Islamic history in India have not correlated it with Islam outside India, in its political and religious aspects or as a system of thought. The British scholars working on mediaeval Indian historiography not only showed a lamentable apathy to the illuminating works and advanced methodology of European scholars (like Wellhausen, Goldziher, Snouck Hurgronje, de Goeje and others) on Islam as a civilisation, but even did not evince any interest in the valuable studies on mediaeval Islamic world by other British scholars like Sir Thomas Arnold, E. G. Browne, R. A. Nicholson, Sir Hamilton A. R. Gibb or Professor Arberry.¹² To take a few examples. The decline of the Arab power in Sind cannot be understood without reference to the decline of the Umayyads or the fortunes of the Abbasides.¹³ The role of the Arabs as a conduit between India and world culture can never be understood without reference to the civilizations of Bagdad and Muslim Spain.¹⁴ Babur's achievement in India can never be understood without reference to the extra-India circumstances in Transoxiana, Afghanistan and Persia.¹⁵ Smith's denunciation of the *Din i Ilahi* was perhaps due to his failure to study it in the background of the religious reformation movements in and outside India, to explain what constituted orthodoxy or unorthodoxy, and to appreciate the *Mujaddid* conception.¹⁶ Even Aurangzeb's Deccan policy cannot be properly understood without reference to the relations between the Shah of Persia and the Deccani Sultanates of Bijapur and Golkonda.¹⁷ In fact the study of Indo-Persian relations during the age of the great Mughals is a subject of absorbing interest. Examples can be multiplied.

From the second half of the 19th century to the first half of the 20th century a handful of scholars pursued the study of mediaeval Islam as a civilization and/or religious and cultural aspects of Muslim rule in India. With the exception of Sir Thomas Arnold, W. Crooke, J. C. Oman, Sir John Marshall, R. Levy,

E. G. Browne, J. Arberry, and H. A. R. Gibb, the majority of the scholars were non-British,—French, Dutch and German.¹⁸ If Quatremere dwelt on Fine Arts (1837), C. Defrémery showed his interest in Travels (Ibn Batuta, 1853-88), Carl E. Sachau edited the *Kitab ul-Hind* of Abu Raihan Al Biruni, who is regarded as the first Muslim Indologist. E. Rehatsek wrote on architecture and literature, Snouck Hurgronje of Leiden on Islam and de Goeje on Arabic studies. Then came, among others, Adam Mez (*Renaissance of Islam* 1922), Carra de Vaux *On Islam* (1921-26), Wensinck (*Early Muhammadan Tradition*, Leiden, 1927; *Muslim Creed, its genesis and development*, 1932), J. Sauvaget (*Introduction a l'histoire de l'Orient Musulman*, 1943) G Von Grunbaum (*Mediaeval Islam*, Chicago, 1946; *Islam*, London, 1955; *Muhammadan Festivals*), F. Rosenthal (*The Technique & Approach of Muslim Scholarship*, 1947), B. Spuler (*Iran in Fruh-Islamischer Zeit*, 1952)¹⁹

Generally speaking, however, the pre-1914 period may be said to have been dominated by studies of British luminaries like Lane-Poole, James Burgess, Henry Beveridge, V. Smith, E. Dension Ross, E. B. Havell and W. Haig in historiography and Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Sir George Grierson, D. C. J. Ibbetsen and H. J. Rose in the fields of folklore, language, religion and anthropology.²⁰

But after World War I, while valuable work in numismatics and archaeology was being done by British scholars, their enthusiasm in Indian religion and culture waned. With the possible exception of Moreland in economic history, no outstanding British scholar wrote on religious, social and cultural aspects of Indian Islam. The earlier traditions of social studies were, however, maintained, by non-British scholars, viz., the White Russian, W. Ivanow (1927), and the American, Dr. Murray Titus in the field of religion; the Jesuit Father Heras in the field of South Indian History and Culture (1926-33); and the German H. Goetz in the field of Art (1937-50).²¹

4. GROWTH OF INDIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY ON MEDIAEVAL INDIA

Meanwhile Indian historical scholarship, inspired by the principles of 19th century European historiography, was slowly but steadily growing up during the age of British dominance in historiography, as a reaction against it. As a matter of fact, Indian historiography came to challenge British historiography with the latter's own weapons. Towards the end of the 19th century a revolt against the accepted British histories of India (e.g. of Elphinstone, Duff and others) started in Maharashtra and Bengal. The earliest and the best products of this movement or reaction were Rajwade (1864-1926)²² and Sir Jadunath Sarkar (1870-1958). Jadunath may well be regarded as the father of modern scientific historical scholarship in mediaeval and early British periods in Indian history. When in 1891 he began his "apprenticeship in the history workshop" and "set his hand to the plough" with a study of Tipu Sultan on the basis of printed English books, four years before Akshoy Kumar Maitra's *Sirajuddaulah* (1895), seven years before Rajwade's first volume of historical letters (1898) and fourteen years before Hill's *Bengal in 1756-57*, there was, he himself admits, "no original Persian or Marathi authority", and "research (except in Sanskrit) meant only the pirating or translating of modern English or French books". Jadunath set an example. A tradition grew up as a result of his steadfast devotion to Clio for more than six decades. By his proverbial insistence on the use of first-hand original documents, which he traced wherever found, and on learning the language of the source, by his wide travels, by his strict principles of testing evidence, by his meticulous care in checking details before composing 'a single page' of his narrative, by making his works "readable for the excellence of its manner of presenting facts and of its style", by setting his face against 'scissors and gumbottle' type of research, by rigidly adhering to the unity of conception, theme and action, and condemning narrow specialisation, Jadunath applied the

critical and scientific methodology of Ranke and Mommsen to Indian history and could only cover 150 years of its history in 50 years. The range of his subjects is also varied and vast, covering Topography and Statistics, Biography and History, Government and Economics, Essays and Surveys, Religion and Art, Corpuses and Military History,—every work bearing the finish of a skilled artist. His historical works of three categories,—the Mughal studies, the Maratha studies, and chips from his main workshop—were models of exact scholarship, impartiality and critical acumen and were examples of 'honest history', an epithet applied by V.A. Smith to his *Aurangzib*. The historian of the Mughal Empire from Shahjahan to Shah Alam II was also the historian of the Royal and Peshwa periods of Maratha history. His *Shivaji* (1919) was acclaimed by Beveridge to be "the best" of his books. While portraying Shivaji as a ray of hope for Hinduism, he did not magnify national history i.e. he did not confuse the virtue of patriotism with the science of history. In fact, the apotheosis of modern critical Indian historical scholarship was seen in Sir J. N. Sarkar.

With the lapse of time Jadunath's conception of history underwent a slow but silent transformation. In 1957 he distinguished between two types of research: first, the general type, an exhaustive study of a king or a general; and second 'studies of the supreme type', which (comparable to Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*) "have not been produced in India as yet", as he wrote. But he had the supreme satisfaction of a patriarch to witness in his life time a change, and advised the young research workers to write on the philosophy of history, as in his last inspiring message (1958).²³

During the thirty years following World War I (c. 1914-47) we find quite a large number of Indian scholars, both Hindu and Muslim, producing monographs or general histories on mediaeval India. Most of them were products of different Indian Universities, but a few had drunk at the founts of Western

intellectual potions. Their works were either discovery of new materials, or attempts to write a synthetic history on the basis of available sources, or interpretation of known or new facts. Some of these related to political history, while others, a far less number, dealt with non-political aspects of the period. Indeed the period witnessed the blossoming of Indian historiography on mediaeval India.

To take a few outstanding examples. The *Banglar Itihas* (i.e. the History of Bengal vol. 2, ending with its conquest by Akbar 1575-1917) by Rakhal Das Banerji was hailed by Sir Jadunath Sarkar as "a landmark in the growth of our historical knowledge since the days of Stewart". His *History of Orissa* is also another important work. The main interest of Diwan Bahadur S. K. Aiyangar (*South India and her Muhammadan invaders*, 1921) was in political history of the Turko-Afghan period and a study of European factory records of Mughal India, apart from his Hindu India studies. Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan showed his interest in discovering new materials on the origin of British power in the seventeenth century (1921-39)—*Anglo-Portuguese negotiations* (J.I.H. 1921-2; separately 1923); *East India Trade in the 17th century* (1923); *Sources for the history of British India in the 17th century* (1926); *John Marshall in India; notes and observations in Bengal 1668-72* (edited 1927); *History and Historians of British India* (1939). Dr. S. N. Sen chalked out new lines of enquiry in Maratha history (1920-49). K. R. Qanungo (1921), Beni Prasad (1922), Ishwari Prasad (1925), Md. Habib (1927, 1931), Muhammad Nazim (1931), A. L. Srivastava (1933), K. M. Ashraf (1935), R. P. Tripathi (1936), Ibn Hasan (1936), S. R. Sharma (1940), B. A. Faruqi (1940), I. H. Qureshi (1942), H. K. Sherwani (1942, 1953), Abdul Aziz (1942, 1946, 1947), A. B. M. Habibullah (1945), and others entered the arena of mediaeval Indian historiography with their respective contributions.²⁴

But this was also a period of great political

struggle, tension and turmoil in India, characterised by a twofold effort,—to achieve India's independence from British domination through Hindu-Muslim unity, and also to save the freedom of the Muslims from possible Hindu domination. The political circumstances of the age seem to have cast their shadow over historical writings on medieval India. The subject requires a detailed study before the extent of the influence of political factors on contemporary historiography can be definitely assessed. But certain general traits seem to point to the influence of such tendencies on several historical writings on medieval India. To take a few examples.

- (a) During the twenties of this century appeared some works stressing the community of interests and cultural intercourse between the Hindus and the Muslims, e.g.
 - (i) Yusuf Ali's *Making of India*, 1925, is a study in interpretation. Though he takes pride in saying that the Muslims 'brought a better organisation and a manlier culture into India' (p.81), his outlook is liberal-nationalist, stressing the secular aspect of Mughal rule, and doubting the accuracy of reports of past atrocities as likely to disturb communal friendship. He looks upon "history as a whole, and not in water-tight compartments." (preface, v).
 - (ii) Ishwari Prasad (*History of Medieval India*, 1925) views political problems of the period in the light of Hindu-Moslem relations and takes pride in Hindu resilience under Muslim rule but as the Muslims made India their home, their rule was considered better than that of the British who drained her wealth.
 - (iii) Muhammad Habib (*Mahmud of Ghazni*, 1927) regards his hero not as a saint but merely as a foreign imperialist of the old Persian type and not a *mujahid*, distinguishes between religion as a 'social' force and

religion as a personal matter, emphasises that private differences in religion are to be subordinated to the larger unity of India, and concludes that "Islam's worst enemies have ever been its own fanatical followers".

- b) During the 1930's appeared certain works drawing attention to the religious and political differences between the Hindus and Muslims but emphasising that their political co-operation had been and could be secured.
 - (i) Muhammad Nazim (*Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*, 1931) seeks to exonerate his hero from the oft-levied charge of fanaticism,—as he never demolished a temple during peace time and punished Hindus merely as they were dissenters,—and to prove that his conquests were not predatory but well-planned. He asks the Muslims to look upon him as a hero.
 - (ii) K.M. Ashraf (*Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan*, 1935) attempts to delineate the life and conditions of the different classes of people in mediaeval India in economic terms, not on religious lines. With a secular, nationalistic and non-communal approach, he considers the *Ulama* as worldly and the Sultanate as un-Islamic and concludes, after some hesitation that Islam did not usher in a fundamental revolution in Indian life, that the Hindus and the Muslims had no cultural conflict, and that rather the cultural forces rapidly led to a fusion.
 - (iii) Z. Faruki (*Aurangzeb and his Times*, 1935) is an apologist for Aurangzeb against Sir J. N. Sarkar's interpretation of his intolerance, and asserts that the anti-Hindu policy of his hero was due to political and not religious causes.
 - (iv) S. M. Jaffar (*The Mughal Empire from Babur to Aurangzeb*, 1936) aims at fostering

communal harmony (Preface viii), regards Akbar as a liberal-nationalist and progressive and Aurangzeb as a defender of Muslim political supremacy against Hindu forwardness.

- (v) Ibn Hasan (*Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, 1936) adopts a secular and dispassionate attitude.
- (c) During the 1940's some writers emphasized separate political achievements and destiny of Muslims in South Asia. I.H. Qureshi (*Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, 1942) regards the Delhi Sultanate as a representative of general mediaeval Islamic culture, to which its Indian character is subordinate, and praises the political achievements of Islam in establishing a welfare state, providing tolerance, benevolence and efficiency. According to him "The Hindu population was better off under the Muslims than under the Hindu tributaries or independent rulers. The Hindu was not branded with any social stigma; it was Hinduism which protected itself beneath the strong armour of exclusiveness."²⁵

Thus while historians like Habib, Abdul Aziz, Ashraf and Ibn Hasan displayed an academic interest and adopted a nationalist or sober attitude, the point of view of certain other writers was somewhat different, as they served apologies either for their heroes or for the activities of Muslim rulers, the defence being either political or religious grounds.

As in British historiography, the dominating trait of modern Indian historiography on mediaeval India at first continued to be political history or biography writing. But gradually the study of non-political features of mediaeval India,—Islam as a civilization and religious and cultural aspects of Muslim rule in India—began to attract the attention of a few Indian scholars, in the wake of Europeans and more in the tradition of Continental than British scholars.

5. POLITICAL HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY (1000-1757)

(a) *Turko-Afghan Studies*

[From Mill (1817) to Mahdi Husain (1963)]

Thanks to the large number of historical chronicles of the period (1000-1526), supplemented by quasi-historical works of contemporaries and accounts of foreign travellers, it has been possible to write the political history of the Turko-Afghan period during the last century and a half,—from Mill to Hameed ud din. The labours of British scholars like Mill (1817), Elphinstone (1841), Elliot and Dowson (1867-77), Thomas (1871), Lane-Poole (1894, 1903), V. Smith (1920) and W. Haig (1928) in reconstructing the dynastic history of the Turks and Afghans have been followed by S. K. Aiyangar (1921), Ishwari Prasad (1925, 1936), G. H. Ojha (1926), M. Habib (1927), M. Nazim (1931), Mahdi Husain (1938, 1963), N. Venkataramanayya (1942), A.B. M. Habibullah (1945), K. S. Lal (1950), A. L. Srivastava (1953) and Hameed ud din (1960).^{25a}

To the history of the provincial kingdoms, several scholars, European and Indian, have made notable contributions.²⁶

(b) *Mughal Studies*

[From Gladwin (1788) to Srivastava (1962)]

The house of Mughal history has been built up during an approximate period of two centuries by patient and painstaking efforts of devoted scholars, as a result of which it may be said that the main thoroughfare of political and administrative history of the Mughals in India has been levelled and straightened up, the dynastic chronicles and chronology have been fixed, and a fairly detailed and accurate picture of the administrative institutions, civil and military, has been drawn. The period from 1526 to 1707 has mostly been covered, apart from Elliot & Dowson, Lane-Poole (1902), Kennedy (1904) and Burgess (1913), by bio-

graphers of the rulers during almost 200 years spanned by Gladwin to Srivastava. The romantic adventures of Babur have supplied the theme to Leyden and Erskine (1826), R.M. Caldecott (1844), W. Erskine (1854), S. Lane-Poole (1899), L.F. Rushbrook Williams (1918), Mrs. Annette S. Beveridge (1921), Sir Lucas King (1921), S.M. Edwardes (1926) and F. Grenard (1930). The career of the opium-eater Humayun has been studied by Erskine (1854), S.K. Banerji (1938), S. Ray (1948) and Ishwari Prasad (1955). Sher Shah, the sturdy nationalist precursor of Akbar, and his successors have attracted the attention of K.R. Qanungo (1921), N.B. Roy and A.L. Srivastava (1950). The greatest liberal ruler of mediæval India, Akbar, has been a source of inspiration to Count von Noer (1880, 1885), Col. Malletson (1890), J.J. Modi (1903), V.A. Smith (1917, 1919), L. Binyon (1932), Sir E. Maclagan (1932), S.R. Sharma (1960) and A.L. Srivastava (1957, 1962). The 'Wet' Jahangir has been the hero of F. Gladwin (1788) and of Beni Prasad (1922). B.P. Saxena has so far been the sole recipient of the magnificent benevolence of Shahjahan. Lane-Poole's *Aurangzeb* has been followed by Sir J.N. Sarkar's *History of Aurangzeb* (5 vols.) (1912-24), virtually a history of North India for nearly a century. If Aurangzeb was the defender of the faith, Faruqi has stepped in as an apologist or defender of Aurangzeb.²⁷

Among recent general histories of the Mughal Empire are R. P. Tripathi's *Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire* (1956), A. L. Srivastava's *The Mughal Empire* (1957), S. R. Sharma's *Mughal Empire in India 1526-1761* (1935) and *Making of Modern India* from 1956 (1951).

The period of the fall of the Mughal empire has been studied by H.G. Keene (*Fall of the Moghul Empire*, 1876), Owen (*Fall of the Mughal Empire*, 1912). But the first critical study of the period 1707-38, based on Persian sources mainly, was made by W. Irvine (*Later Mughals* 2 vols. edited by Sir J.N. Sarkar, 1922, with some additions from other classes of sources) and then by Sarkar's *Nadir Shah* (1922), and *Fall of the Mughal*

Empire, 4 vols. (1932-50). This was followed by Dr. H.R. Gupta's *Studies in Later Mughal History of the Punjab, 1707-93* (1944), P. Spear's *Twilight of the Mughals* (1951) and Ganda Singh's *Ahmad Shah Durrani* (1959). The role of the Mughal nobility in the first half of the 18th century has been critically and analytically studied by Dr. Satish Chandra in the *Parties and Politics in the Mughal Court, 1707-40*, (1959). The history of the independent Kingdoms of Oudh, Bengal and Hyderabad has been dealt with by A.L. Srivastava (*First two Nawabs of Oudh*, 1933 & *Shuja ud-daulah* 2 vols), Wilson (*Early Annals of the English in Bengal, 1895-1917*), K.K. Datta (*Alivardi and his Times*, 1939/1963), B.K. Gupta (*Sirajuddaulah* 1962), Abdul Karim (*Murshid Quli Khan and his Times*) and Yusuf Husain Khan (*Nizamul mulk Asaf Jah I*, 1936/1963). To S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar we owe our knowledge of the sources of the history, of the Nawabs of the Carnatic (*Tuzak i-Walahjahi* of Burhan Ibn Hasan. Eng. Tr. Pt.I. 1934).^{27a}

(c) *Maratha Studies*

[From Duff (1826) to Brijkishore (1963)]

The seventeenth century witnessed the beginning of historical writing in Marathi. Efforts were made to know details of the Marathas in the eighteenth century. Malet, the British Resident at the Peshwa's court, planned to write a history of the Marathas. Histories of the Marathas were published by Springel, a German (1781), and E. Scott-Waring (1810). But modern historical research started from Captain J. G. Duff (1826). We have, however, travelled a long way from the 'mass of gossiping bakhars and gasconading twariks' which formed a stumbling block in the path of Duff. His *History of the Marathas* was criticised by Kirtane (1867), while the journal *Kavyetihas Samgraha* (1878-90) and Chiplunkar's *Nibandhamala* revived the fading interest in historical studies in *Bakhars* (Chronicles). As early as 1888 the Maratha historian Vishwanath Kashinath Rajwade (1864-1926) thought of correcting the "thousands of errors" in Duff's work by undertaking research among the original

sources which he collected after untiring labours,—in striking contrast to the older generation of scholars like Dr. Balchandra and Justice M.G. Ranade (*Rise of the Maratha Power*, 1900), who depended on "unauthentic chronicles, formal histories and later narratives". The 22 volumes of his *Marathanchi Itihasanche Sadhanen* (Original Materials for the History of the Marathas) cover documents from Shivaji's time to the last Peshwa. He also planned to publish a Corpus of original historical documents.

Where Rajwade sowed, others reaped. Works on Marathi sources on Shivaji were done by Kashinath Narayan Sane (1851-1927), editing Sabhasad Bakhar,—*Shiva Chatrapati—chen Charitra* of Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad (4th edn. 1923), by D.V. Apte and S. M. Divekar (editing *Shivacharitra Pradip* 1925), by V.S. Wakaskar (editing 91 Qalmi Bakhar, 1930, by Joshi and Chandorkar, 1934).

Mention may also be made of Vasudev Vaman Shastri Khare (1858-1924), whose *Lekha Sangraha* (1739-1800) or Collections of Historical Letters with concise and to-the-point introductions will stand, according to Sir J.N. Sarkar, "as a model for other workers among historical archives and editors of documents". Rao Bahadur D.B. Parasnis (1870-1926) proved a double benefactor to students of Maratha history not only by collecting invaluable original documents but also by printing them in his two journals, (*Bharatvarsha* and *Itihas Sangraha*, 7 vols.). But "he lived and died a collector and publisher and not a historian, not even a reliable editor....." (Sarkar). C.A. Kincaid wrote his *History of the Marathas*, 3 vols. (1918-25) in collaboration with Parasnis.

Valuable work on Maratha history in the 17th, 18th and early 19th century was done by Dr. G.S. Sardesai, described as 'the greatest living historian' in his days by Sir J.N. Sarkar, in the *Main Currents of Maratha History* (1926), and *A New History of the Maratha People* (3 vols. 1946—1948). Sardesai also deserves credit for his valuable

corpuses—*Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar* (45 vols, 1933), the *Poona Residency Correspondence* series (ed. by Sarkar and Sardesai), *Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagire Lekh* (ed. by Sardesai and others, 2nd ed. 1930), the *Kota Daftar* of Sardar Gulgule, the *Aitihasik Patra Vyavahar* (ed. by Sardesai and others, 1933). His *Marathi Riyasat* 8 vols. (1915-22), the standard history of the Marathas in Marathi, however, throws no light on society and culture.

Sir J.N. Sarkar has made his outstanding contributions to Maratha history of the Royal and Peshwa periods, on the basis of scientific and critical scholarship by a synthetic use of different classes of sources some of which were formerly unknown or unutilised, in Marathi, Sanskrit, Rajasthani, Persian, English, Dutch, Portuguese and French, in his *Shivaji* (1919), *Aurangzib IV*. (1919), *House of Shivaji*, (1940), *Bihar and Orissa during the Fall of the Mughal Empire* (1932) and the *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, 4 vols. (1932-50).

H.G. Rawlinson has made some contributions to Maratha history. Dr. S. N. Sen covered new paths in his valuable and learned *Shiva Chatrapati* (1920), *Administrative System of the Marathas* (1925), and *Military System of the Marathas* (1928), *Foreign Biographies of Shivaji* (1927) and the works on the Marathi Navy (J.I.H; *Early career of Kanhoji Angria & other Papers*, 1941).

The chain of research in Maratha history has been continued by the critical and useful works of H.N. Sinha (*The Rise of the Peshwas*, 1931), Bal Krishna, *Shivaji the Great*, 1932, Dighe (*Peshwa Baji Rao I & Maratha Expansion*, (1944), C.K. Srinivasan, *Baji Rao the First* (1961), *Maratha Rule in the Carnatic* (1944), Brijkishore (*Tarabai and his times* (1963) and other scholars.²⁸

(d) Sikh Studies

[From Polier (1780) to Ganda Singh (1950)]

Modern history writing on the Sikhs began with the efforts of the Swiss engineer Col. Antoine Louis Henri Polier (1780) and some British officers like Major James Browne (1788) (who wrote the "First regular treatise on the

Sikhs written by an Englishman"), Rennell (1793) and Lt. Col. John Malcolm (1812). But the earliest attempts to write a connected history were made by Dr. W.L. McGregor (*History of the Sikhs*, 2 vols, 1846) and by Murray (*Papers on the History of the Sikhs*, William H. Allen & Co., London, 1846). The latter were based on Malcolm. The standard work on Sikh history, however, is still that by Capt. J.D. Cunningham (1853), though its earlier chapters have now become mostly out of date. Dr. Trumpp translated the *Adi Granth* in 1877. In the 19th century two books were composed by Indians, one by Sirdar Sir Attar Singh, Chief of Bhadaur (*Sakhi Book*, 1873), while the other by Sayyid Muhammad Latif (*History of the Punjab*, 1891) was inadequate and evinced an anti-Sikh bias.

Some sources of the history of the Sikhs were long ago noted by William Irvine (*Later Mughals*, ed. Sarkar, I. 121-4) and its principal value lay in the list of the Persian sources.

The period (1469-1708) from Nanak to Govind has been covered by the monumental work of Macauliffe, *Sikh Religion*...., 6 vols. (1909) and F. Pincott's article in the *Dictionary of Islam*. While competent critics regard Gokulchand Narang's *Transformation of Sikhism* as superficial and Khazan Singh's *History and Philosophy of Sikh Religion* to be uncritical, the contributions of Teja Singh (*Sikhism, its Ideals and Institutions* (1938), the *Japji* (1956), *Growth of Responsibility in Sikhism* (1957), and English translation of *Asa di Var* (1957), dealing with the growth of the Sikh organisation are considered to be useful. The earliest phases of Sikhism are also discussed in the *Gurudwara Reform Movement and the Sikh Awakening*.

Sir J.N. Sarkar's treatment of the subject in his *Aurangzib* (vol. 3) is necessarily brief and has sometimes been regarded as unnecessarily offensive to Sikh sentiment. Dr. I.B. Banerji's *Evolution of the Khalsa* (Vol I—1936; Vol II—1947) is a remarkable example of patient and critical and yet a sympathetic study of a highly controversial subject. By utilising certain new

sources and criticising some of the views of Cunningham, Irvine and Sarkar, he has produced a standard work of reference on Sikh history up to the time of Guru Govind.

For the period 1708-16 we have Dr. Ganda Singh's *Life of Banda Singh Bahadur* (1935), based on Persian, Urdu, Gurmukhi, Hindi and English sources. The history of the Sikh struggle for independence in the 18th century and Sikh rule in the Punjab before Ranjit Singh i.e. the period 1716-99 has been covered both by Dr. N.K. Sinha and Dr. H.R. Gupta on a synthetic study of different classes of sources. Dr. Sinha's work (*Rise of the Sikh Power*, 1936), a brilliant study in interpretation, is a model of brevity. Dr. Gupta has covered the period in 2 vols; Vol. I, 1739-68, (*Evolution of the Sikh Confederacies*, 1939); Vol. II, 1769-99 (*Cis-Sutlej States*, 1944). About Vol. I Sir J.N. Sarkar has written that it is "a work of outstanding merit which completely fills up a gap in our knowledge of modern Indian historyone period of Panjab history, and that of the Delhi Empire too, has thus been set up on a granite foundation".

Dr. Ganda Singh and Tej Singh have claimed to have made "the first attempt to write a history of the Sikhs from a secular standpoint" in *A Short History of the Sikhs* Vol I (1469-1765), 1950. It contains a valuable bibliography on Sikh history in Panjabi, Persian, Urdu and English.²⁹

(e) Rajput Studies

[From Tod (1829) to Banerji (1962)]

Mediaeval Rajputana found in Muhnot Nainsi (1611-71) of Jodhpur 'the only one bona fide historian', who has been regarded as 'the Abul Fazal of Rajputana'. The pride of place among modern historians of Rajputana goes to Col. Tod. His book, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (1829-32, 2 vols. London) "is a voluminous work, covering 1835 pages in Crooke's three-volume edition. It deals with many matters which usually find no place in any historical work. It is an encyclopaedia on

Rajasthan and the Rajputs.... Pure political history can never reveal the national characteristics of a people.... To understand a people one must know something about the geography of their homeland, their economic resources and political system, their social organization as also religious ideas and practices, their cultural traditions and heritage. Tod took up his pen with a view to presenting the Rajputs to his countrymen against such a comprehensive background". He had pro-Rajput sympathies.

Mention may be made here of some modern writers on the history of Rajputana, —the poet-historian Surajmal Mishan of Bundi (c. 1816-1859), Kaviraj Shyamaldasji of Mewar (1837-93), Munshi Devi Prasadji of Jaipur (1848-1923), Ramnarayan Dugar of Udaipur (1857-1931), Jwala Sahai Mathur of Alwar (1830-1918), Pandit Gauri Shankar Ojha of Sirohi, regarded as "the last and the greatest historian born in Rajputana" and author of *Mewar Ka Itihas*, 2 vols, (1931), Rao Bahadur Harvilas Sarda and Babu Bisheswar Nath Reu.

Dr. Mathura Lal Sharma (*Kota Rajyah Ka Itihas*, 2 vols.) is a promising worker in Rajput history. Dr. Raghuvir Singh, descended from the stock of Rao Ratan Singh Rathor, is an author of repute (*Malwa in Transition*, 1936). Rao Bahadur G.S. Sardesai and Sir J.N. Sarkar have treated Rajput history in relation to the general history of the Mughals and the Marathas. Dr. Gopinath Sharma's *Mewar and the Mughal Emperors*, 1954, is an example of a scientific and critical study of the relations of the tiny state of Mewar with the Mughals on the basis of Persian chronicles, letters, *farmans*, inscriptions, Rajasthani sources (letters, literature and Khyats) and paintings. Sri Ram Sharma's *Maharana Pratap* (1954) is based on Sanskrit, Persian, and Hindi sources, foreign travellers' accounts, inscriptions and paintings. Dr. K.R. Qanungo's *Studies in Rajput History* (1960) is a collection of valuable essays. Dr. A.C. Banerji has attempted to "assess the role of the Rajputs in Indian history" in different periods, ancient, mediaeval and modern, in his

Rajput Studies (1944) and *Lectures on Rajput History* (1962).³⁰

(f) *Ahom Studies*
[[c. From Buchanan to Bhuyan]]

Dr. Francis Hamilton (Buchanan) compiled an *Account of Assam* in 1807-14. A century later Sir Edward A. Gait published his *History of Assam* (1906), which has since then held its own as a standard work of reference on the subject. Valuable work has been done under the auspices of the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies of the Assam Government and the Kamarupa Anusandhan Samiti in editing, publishing and translating various *Buranjis* or Assamese chronicles (1228-1826). Still there are many more lying unedited and unpublished. The *Buranjis* are "contemporary Assamese chronicles compiled under the supervision of state officials from records deposited in the government archives". Their value has thus been described:

"They primarily deal with the reigns of the Ahom rulers of Assam who exercised their domination for six hundred years, from A.D. 1228 to 1826. But they also afford glimpses of Shan rulers and princes prior to their advent to Assam. There are chronicles also of those countries and powers with which the Ahoms came into conflict or with which embassies were exchanged or the knowledge of whose customs and manners, court usages, and warcraft and strategy was necessary for the successful conduct of diplomatic negotiations or belligerent operations....." (Bhuyan)

Among individual scholars who have written historical works or edited and/or translated these chronicles are Haliram Dhekial Phukan (*Assam Desher Itihas*, 1829), H.C. Goswami, Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, G. C. Barua, S. K. Dutta and others.

Mention must also be made of Dr. S.N. Bhattacharya's *History of Mughal North Eastern Frontier Policy* (1929), Dr. M.I. Borah's English

translation of the *Baharistani Ghaibi* (2 vols, 1936), dealing with the conflicts of the Moghuls with Assam, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in early seventeenth century and of Dr. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar's *Life of Mir Jumla* (1951).^{30(a)}

6. NON-POLITICAL ASPECTS OF MEDIAEVAL INDIAN HISTORY

The urge to know more and more about India stimulated a parallel tendency in the historiography of the period, both in books and periodical literature, of studying non-political aspects of mediaeval India.

(i) *Archaeological, epigraphic and numismatic*
[c. From Fergusson (1854) to Ghosh]

In archaeology and art the substantial works of A. Cunningham (1865-77), J. Fergusson (either alone or with T. Hope and P.D. Hart, 1854-5, 1859, 1865, 1866), H.H. Cole (1872, 1881-4), T.H. Thornton (1873), Stephen Carr (1876), N. Simakoff (1883), F.S. Growse (1883), A. Fuhrer (1889, 1891), G. Le Bon (1893), W. Griggs (1896), J. Burgess (1896, 1900-05), S.M. Latif (1892, 1896), H. Cousens (1897, 1905, 1906, 1916, 1926, 1929, 1958), E.W. Smith (1896, 1897, 1901, 1909), Maindron (1898), F. Sarre (1901), E. Barnes (1902), H.C. Fanshawe (1902), Olfusen (1904), H.G. Keene (1905), M. Moinuddin (1905), H.C. Hearn (1906), S. Carr (1906), H. Saladin (1907), Migeon (1907), J. Fergusson (1910), V.A. Smith (1911), R.N. Munshi (1911), E.B. Havell (1903, 1912, 1913), M. Zafar Hasan (1916-22), A.H. Longhurst (1917), G.T. Rivoira (1918), F. Wetzel (1918), J.Ph. Vogel (1920), E. La Roche (1921), H. Sharp (1921), O.V. Niedermayer (1924), P. Brown (1924), E.H. Hankin (1925), E.T. Richmond (1926), Sir John Marshall (1902-1930), Mortimer Wheeler, A. Ghosh, A. Goswami (1953) and S.K. Saraswati, indicate that scholars of different nationalities, British, French, Dutch, Belgian, Danish, German, Russian and Indian have attempted to study the art and architecture of mediaeval India either exclusively or in relation to general

Moslem art, during the last one hundred years after Fergusson.³¹

While the epigraphic and numismatic sources of this period are less important than those of the Hindu period, they are nevertheless of considerable value in fixing chronology, correcting lists and dates of kings and ascertaining the approximate extent of their kingdoms. The inscriptions of Hindu Orissa, the Deccan and South India are specially important. As early as 1882-84 Robert Sewell published his *List of Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras with a List of Inscriptions and a Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India* (2 parts). The inscriptions have been mostly studied in *Epigraphia Indica*, *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemaica* (ed. by Horowitz and Yazdani) and *Epigraphia Carnatica* and other periodicals like J.A.S.B. Recently V.S. Bendrey has published the inscriptions of the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemaica* (1907-38) with their summaries in *Studies of Muslim Inscriptions* (1944). Professor S.H. Askari and Dr. Qeamuddin Ahmad of K.P. Jayaswal Institute, Patna (and an old student of mine) have been studying the mediaeval inscriptions of Bihar.³²

In the field of numismatics, monumental studies have been made during the hundred years spanned by S. Lane Poole (1844, 1892), E. Thomas (1871), Eugene Legget (1885), C.J. Rodgers (1894), G.P. Taylor (1902), O. Codrington (1904), L. White King (1904), H.N. Wright (1907-1936, 1908), R.B. Whitehead (1914 and 1934), C.J. Brown (1920), A.W. Botham, N.K. Bhattasali (1922), S.M. Hodivala (1923) and C.N. Singhal (1935, 1952). The importance of coins as a source of this period was pointed out clearly by Lane Poole (*Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum: The Sultans of Delhi*, vii):

"As a rule we may look upon Muhammadan coins as the surest foundation for an exact history of the Dynasties by which they were issued. The coins of a Muslim ruler generally go far to establish those outward data in regard to his reign which oriental historians too often

neglect or mistake. The year of accession, the extent of his dominion, his relations with the neighbouring powers and with the spiritual chief of his religion are all facts for which we may look with confidence to his coins."

Thomas's *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, a standard work, has been supplemented by the catalogues of coins in different museums. About the work of N.K. Bhattasali (*Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal*), the late Sir Jadunath Sarkar recorded a wish "that well trained students of Bengal Muslim numismatics should carefully study the dates and names on the coins of the early Sultans of Bengal, of which only defective specimens are to be found in India, but much more complete and legible examples may be preserved in the coin cabinets of the British Museum and the India Office in London. Thus only can we hope to get decisive information where Dr. Nalini Kanta Bhattasali has been baffled in his reading of the coins preserved in India or has drawn wrong inferences. The new light may entail a revision of our earlier chapters."³³

(ii) *Administrative Institutions and Political theory*

In the domain of Islamic political theory, administrative organisation, law and legal institutions, substantial work has been done but much remains to be done.

(a) *For the Turko-Afghan* (and Mughal) period, no student can afford to ignore the standard works of reference by Nicholas Aghniides (*Muhammadan Theories of Finance*, New York, 1916) and W.H. Moreland (*Agrarian System of Moslem India*, Cambridge, 1929). Among works by modern scholars, special mention has to be made of Dr. R.P. Tripathi's *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration* (Allahabad, 1936, 1956), Dr. M. Husain's *Le Gouvernement du Sultanat de Delhi* (Paris, 1936), Dr. I.H. Qureshi's *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi* (Lahore, 1942/1944) and Muhammad Aziz Ahmed's *Political History and Institutions of the Early Turkish Empire of Delhi* (Lahore, 1949). As regards law and

justice there are three books, viz., by Muhammadullah Jang (*A Dissertation on the Administration of Justice and Muslim Law*, Allahabad, 1926), W. Husain (*Administration of Justice during Muslim Rule in India*, Calcutta, 1934) and M.B. Ahmad (*Administration of Justice in Mediaeval India*, Aligarh, 1941). Habib's *Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate* (including a translation of the *Fatawa i Jahandari*) written in collaboration with Afsar Umar Salim strikes a new line of enquiry as distinct from the political. *The Laws of War and Peace in Islam* constitutes the theme of Khaddari Majid (Luzac, 1941). A.A.A. Fyzee wrote on *Outlines of Muhammadan Law* (1955). U.N. Day has written on the *Administrative System of Delhi Sultanat* (1206-1413) (1959). Dr K.A. Nizami's *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the thirteenth century* (Aligarh, 1961) has been described by Prof. Habib as 'the best work..... on all aspects (including the political) of Indo-Muslim life in India during the thirteenth century'. There is also a growing periodical literature on the subject.

For Vijayanagar we have the works of T.V. Mahalingam (*Administration and Social life under Vijayanagara Empire*, Madras, 1951; *Economic Life in the Vijayanagara Empire* 1951. *South Indian Polity*, 1955) and Saletore (*Social and Political Life under the Vijayanagara Empire*, 2 vols.)³⁴

(b) *The Mughals and the Marathas* (1526-1761)

For the administrative history of the Mughals we have Sir J.N. Sarkar's excellent work on *Mughal Administration* (1920), which, notwithstanding its brevity, still remains the standard work of reference on the subject and has run to four editions. Most of the other books are limited in scope, content or chronology. This was followed by R.P. Khosla's book, *Mughal Kingship and Nobility* (1934). Dr. R. P. Tripathi's *Some Aspects of Moslem Administration* (1936) covers new ground but is limited to the institutions of Kingship, Vikalat and Wizarat and comes down to Akbar only. Ibn Hasan's analytical and dispassionate study of *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire and its Practical*

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There are ample materials for social and economic history of the mediaval period of Indian history in the accounts of foreign travellers who visited this country during the Turko-Afghan and Mughal rule, and whose accounts have been made available to the curious researcher and eager inquirer by the devoted labours of scholars.

(a) *Turko-Afghan Period*

[From Major (1857) to Mahdi Hussain (1953)]

As early as 1857 R.H. Major wrote his *India in the fifteenth century*, containing such accounts as of Nicolo Conti, Athanasius Nikitin and others. This was followed by Yule and Cordier's editions of (i) *Cathay and the Way Thither*, 3 vols, 1866/1915-6, containing accounts of John of Monte

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[From Purchas (1613) to Sen (1949)]

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justice there are three books, viz., by Muhammadullah Jang (*A Dissertation on the Administration of Justice and Muslim Law*, Allahabad, 1926), W. Husain (*Administration of Justice during Muslim Rule in India*, Calcutta, 1934) and M.B. Ahmad (*Administration of Justice in Mediaeval India*, Aligarh, 1941). Habib's *Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate* (including a translation of the *Fatawa i Jahandari*) written in collaboration with Afsar Umar Salim strikes a new line of enquiry as distinct from the political. *The Laws of War and Peace in Islam* constitutes the theme of Khaddari Majid (Luzac, 1941). A.A.A. Fyzec wrote on *Outlines of Muhammadan Law* (1955). U.N. Day has written on the *Administrative System of Delhi Sultanat* (1206-1413) (1959). Dr K.A. Nizami's *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the thirteenth century* (Aligarh, 1961) has been described by Prof. Habib as 'the best work..... on all aspects (including the political) of Indo-Muslim life in India during the thirteenth century'. There is also a growing periodical literature on the subject.

For Vijayanagar we have the works of T.V. Mahalingam (*Administration and Social life under Vijayanagara Empire*, Madras, 1951; *Economic Life in the Vijayanagara Empire* 1951. *South Indian Polity*, 1955) and Saletore (*Social and Political Life under the Vijayanagara Empire*, 2 vols.)³⁴

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(iii) *European records*

For the study of European records of the period there are monumental contributions (in English language) by David Macpherson (1782, 1805), John Bruce (1810), Frederick Charles Danvers (1888-1894), Sainsbury () and his daughter Ethel Bruce Sainsbury (1907-38). The *Calendars of State Papers*, East Indies (published down to 1892) came up to 1634. This was followed by the *Court Minutes of the East India Company* from 1635-79, edited by E. B. Sainsbury (during 1907-1938). The story of initiation of British commerce with India is described in the *Letters Received by the East India Company from its servants in the East 1602-17* (published 1896-1902). The narrative was continued by the *English Factories in India* edited by Sir William Foster (from 1618 to 1669 in ten vols 1906-27) and by Sir Charles Fawcett (from 1670 to 1677, New Series, 2 vols. 1936-52 and by Sir Patrick Cadell from 1678-80). C.R. Wilson has left a masterly survey of the

Early Annals of the English in Bengal (1895-1917). The *Diary of William Hedges* (1681-87) was edited by R. Barlow and Col. H. Yule and the *New Account of The East Indies* by Capt. Alexander Hamilton (1727) by Sir William Foster, both just after two centuries of their respective compositions, while the *Diaries of Strynsham Master* (1675-80) were edited by Sir Richard Carnac Temple (1911). Col. Henry Davidson Love wrote his *Vestiges of Old Madras* (1640-1800), 1913.³⁸

On Portuguese activities in India and the Indian Ocean there are three general histories in English, by F.C. Danvers, K.G. Jayne and R.S. Whiteaway, besides the Cambridge History of India. These rest upon mainly five Portuguese historians, viz., Joas de Barros, Diogo do Couto, Antonio Bocarro, Fernao Lopez de Castanheda and Gaspar Correa. Besides these, there are special monographs by Sir Denison Ross, M.L. Dames, J.J.A. Campos, P.E. Pieris, G.W.F. Stripling, C.R. Boxer, C.H. Payne and others. Mention must be made of the eminent contributions of Pandurang Pissurlencar of Goa.

Among the Dutch writings on South Asia are the quasi-historical *Remonstrantie* of Van Ravestyn and of Pelsaert (1620-26), the V.O.C. (1646), Abraham Rojermis (1651), Philippus Baldaeus (1672), Daniel Havart (1693), Francois Valentyn (1724-6), Pieter Van Dum, W. Damast van Limberger (1757). But they mainly emphasized on Malabar, Coromandel and Ceylon. Then came William Van Geer (1895), George Nypels (1908), H. Terpstra (1918), J. Aalbers (1916), N. Macleod (1927), W. Zwier (1927), F.W. Stapel Van Leur (1934), M.A.P. Roelofs (1943). The Dutch records are contained in the *Hague Transcripts* and the *Batavia Dag Register*.

French historical writings on European activities in India began from the last quarter of 19th century viz. H. Castonnet des Fosses (1887), Col. G.B. Malleon (1867), J. Barbier Abbe Raynal and others.

As compared to Dutch and the English, Danish historical writing is very modest. A Danish East India Company was established in 1616 but in 1732 it was reorganised as the Danish Asiatic Company. There are accounts among others of expeditions of Admiral Ove Gjedde (1618 to India), Icclander Jon Olafsson (1922 to Tranquebar), of Adam Olearius's mission to Persia (1647), of the experiences of Frederik Bolling (1678), J.P. Cortemundo (1672-5) to the East Indies, and of the diary of Tobias Wigandt.³⁹

7. RECENT TRENDS IN HISTORIOGRAPHY ON MEDIAEVAL INDIA

(a) *Increasing interest in socio-economic & cultural history*

The last forty years or so (c. 1923-63) have witnessed a major change in the direction and methodology (form, technique and scope) of mediaeval Indian historiography, viz. an increasing interest in socio-economic, religious and cultural history of mediaeval India. That history is no longer to be confined to political history, story of kings and wars, but has to be a story of the people as well, has now become almost an axiom. But this conception has not grown in a day.

The interest in the study of socio-religious aspects of mediaeval India, the growth of which is very much posterior to that in political history or biographical studies, may be of two kinds: *first*, exclusive study of socio-religious subjects; *second*, interlinking of such studies *inter se* and with political aspects. Of these again, the latter is a more fruitful tendency but it has not yet developed completely. True, the idea that society is an organic unit was known to Arab historians, especially Ibn Khaldun. But history came to be regarded by medieval Muslim historians as something emanating from divine inspiration or flowing from the throne.

Mediaeval Indo-Muslim historiography was

a mirror of the prevailing political-religious-cultural life. History, tied to the apron-strings of religious science and *hadith*, was not a part of educational curriculum. It occupied a subordinate place in intellectual life, though princes had to read it for polite education. The methods of study of history were comparable to the study of *hadith*,—written from authority. It was a repetition of 'authoritative' known material, not a discovery of unknown data. The historian became a conduit, not a creator; he accepted without question; he transmitted information but did not transmute it in his own mind. He presented a succession of events and acts of and about the great and the high (sultans, officers, saints) but not of 'the base and lowly'. To the Indo-Moslem historian, society was not organic but atomistic, or individualistic, the individuals living together but un-related, clashing but not interacting. God, who is responsible for historical events, works through individuals, not classes. There was no room for the 'social forces' or 'spirit of the age'. The present succeeded the past, but did not grow out of the past. In the ultimate analysis early medieval Indo-Muslim historiography was "theocratic rather than humanist". (Peter Hardy)⁴⁰

Indian writers on mediaeval India came to realise the need of 'social' studies nearly a century after the West. The delay was partly due to the British origins of mediaeval Indian historiography. Lord Acton (1834-1902) in England and Berr (1863-1954) in France emphasized the urgency of historical synthesis. Robinson (1863-1936) and Beard (1874-1948) respectively formulated the principles of New History and Historical Relativism in America. Friedrich Meinecke (1862-1954) pointed out the problems of historicism, while J. Huizinga (1872-1945) emphasized historical conceptualization. G. Unwin (1870-1925) and Sir John Clapham (1873-1946) urged the importance of Economic History, while Charles Cochran (b. 1902) and Richard Hofstadter (b. 1916) showed the interrelation between History and Social Sciences. Sir Lewis Namier (1888-) emphasized the relation between History and

Political Culture and Jacques Martin Barzun (1907) showed the importance of cultural history as a synthesis.

(i) *Socio-economic history*

After the two volumes of Edward Thomas (*Coins of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, 1871, and *Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire in India from A.D. 1593 to 1707*, 1871) there is a long gap of nearly fifty years before any book on economic aspects of the history of the period was produced. W.H. Moreland's two companion volumes (*India at the Death of Akbar*, 1920 and *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 1923) give a picture of economic life of Mughal India up to the end of Shahjahan's reign while his *Agrarian System of Moslem India* (1929) attempts to study the land revenue administration under Muslim rule. *The Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics* by S.A. Hodivala appeared in 1923. K.M. Ashraf's admirable book on the Turko-Afghan period, *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan, 1200-1550* (1935) was followed by Dr. Radha Kamal Mukherjee's *Economic History of India (1600-1800)* and Dr. Sukumar Bhattacharya's *The East India Company and the Economy of Bengal 1704-40* (1954) and B.P. Mazumdar's *Socio-Economic History of Northern India, 1030-1194* (1960). Dr. U.N. Ghosal's chapter on the *Economic condition in Delhi Sultanate* (1960) is an illuminating study. Dr. T. Raychaudhuri broke new ground in his *Bengal under Jahangir and Shahjahan* (1953) and he was followed it up with *Jan Company in Coromandel 1605-90, (1662)* while the latest book on economic history of Mughal India is Dr. Irfan Habib's *Agrarian System of Mughal India* (1963).

(ii) In *social and cultural history* we have Abdullah Yusuf Ali's *Mediaeval India: Social and Economic Conditions* (1932); Yusuf Hussain's *Glimpses of Mediaeval Indian Culture* (1957/59); S.M. Jafar's *Education in Moslem India* (1936) and *Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India* (1939); Muhammad Yasin's *Social History of Islamic India from 1605-1748* (1958); P.N. Chopra has written on *Some aspects of Society and Culture during the Mughal age* (1955) and *Social*

Life during the Mughal Age; Srivastava on *Medieval Indian Culture*; P.N. Ojha's book on *Some aspects of North Indian Social Life, 1556-1707* (1961) is based mainly on literary, Persian, sources and foreign travellers' accounts.⁴¹

(iii) *Religious Aspects*

Foremost among the scholars, interested in the mystic saints and religious aspects of mediaeval India stands Muhammed Habib. His *Hazrat Amir Khusraw of Delhi* (1927) and *Shaikh Nasir ud din Chairagh of Delhi* (1946) indicate the importance of the study of Sufi mysticism and mediaeval Indian culture growing out of the synthesis of Hinduism and Islam. Prof. A.H. Gibb writes (1955) : "No adequate history of Islam can be written until it (Sufi movement), with all its causes and effects, has been studied patiently and with scholarly integrity. . . Here (in India) the significance of Sufism in the life of the Muslim community was redoubled by its significance in the non-Muslim environment. . . . No further argument is needed to demonstrate the importance of the studies now being directed by a small band of Indian scholars into the heart of the problem nor to underline its timeliness." B.A. Faruqi has written on *Mujaddid's conception of Tauhid* (1940). A.A.A. Fyzee has several books dealing with Islam (*A Shiite Creed*, 1942, *Islamic Culture*, 1944). Mirza Bakar Ali's *Hindu-Muslim Problem* (1944) grew out of his lectures in the Patna University (1938). Dr. Tara Chand's *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture* (1946) attempts to study the interactions between Islam and Hinduism. K.A. Nizami has been usefully following the lead given by Professor Habib in his *Life and Times of Shaikh Farid uddin Ganj i Shakar* (1955) and *Studies in mediaeval Indian history* (1956). The late Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was interested in the study of Islam, as illustrated in his *Basic Concepts of the Quran* (1958) *Spirit of Islam*, (1958) and *Quintessence of Islam*, (1960)

The interactions between politics and religion have been studied in such works as S.R. Sharma's *Conversion and reconversion to Hinduism during the*

Muslim period, Religious Policy of Mughal Emperors (1940), M.L. Roy, Chaudhuri's *Din i Ilahi* (1941) and *The State and Religion in Mughal India* (1951) and Nizami's *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteenth Century*, (1961).⁴²

There is a growing literature on socio-economic and religious aspects of the period in periodicals and several doctoral dissertations are under preparation.

(iv) *Compendia*

Apart from the interest evinced by scholars in these socio-economic and cultural aspects, there is also the question of weaving such individual studies into a compendium of information into standard histories. This tendency can be seen in the *Cultural Heritage of Pakistan* (1955) ed. by S.M. Ikram and Dr. Spear (on the lines of the *Legacy of Islam*) as well as the Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan's *The History and Culture of the Indian People* (Vol. 5: *The Struggle for Empire* 1957; vol. 6 : *The Delhi Sultanate*, 1960). In *The Cultural Heritage of Pakistan* (1955) S.M. Ikram sees the attitude of Hindu revivalism "which ultimately gave rise to the demand of Pakistan, a state where the majority of Indian Muslims could live and build up a society according to their own values and traditions. Pakistan is, therefore, in its very nature an heir to all the cultural traditions and achievements of Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent". (Introduction, ii-iii). If the *Cambridge History of India* remains "the standard and by far the most solid work of British historical scholarship in India"⁴³ the Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan's *History and Culture of the Indian People* edited by the veteran scholar, Dr. R.C. Majumdar, stands now as the most solid work of Indian historical scholarship on a co-operative basis and indicates its maturity.

(b) *Effects of India's partition on mediaeval Indian historiography*

The partition of India has adversely affected

mediaeval Indian historiographical studies in various ways. In the first place, many distinguished scholars of India conversant with Persian are now in Pakistan and this has caused both a qualitative and quantitative decline in Indian historiography.

The second effect is not so simple as the first. It has been suggested that "1947 has tended to produce two historiographies based on territorial differentiation"⁴⁴ with a warning that it may be an "oversimplification" and that it requires further study. Richard Symonds writes in his *Making of Pakistan* (1949) "In any discussion of the origin and nature of Pakistan some delicate ground has to be covered. In traversing this, I may be considered by the reader to have been biased by some particular experience." It contains an appendix on "*The Culture of Pakistan*" by Ahmed Ali, who makes the following observation : "The word 'India', now adopted as the official name for the new Indian Dominion by the Congress Government, is misleading. If any country, it is Pakistan that could be called by this name. The word 'India' is derived from 'Sind', the name by which the Indus river is even now known in Urdu, which changed to 'Hind' in Iran and the Arab countries and to 'Ind' in Greece. . ." (p. 197). Here there is an attempt to escape from 'Indianness'.

This approach may be compared with that of *The Indian Heritage* by Humayun Kabir: "India sought to reconcile differences without suppressing individual points of view. She built up a unity of spirit which has survived without the aid of physical compulsion. We can serve India and humanity best if we seek to discover that unity and base on it our attempts and create a new India out of old values and traditions." (1946, Preface, p. viii). S. Abid Husain in his *The National Culture of India* (1956/'61) argues that the various races and religions have contributed to a common spiritual outlook on life (Radhakrishnan) and opines that "India's cultural history of several thousand years shows that the subtle but strong thread of unity, which runs through the infinite multi-

plicity of her life, was not woven by stress or pressure of power groups but by the vision of seers, the vigil of saints, the speculation of philosophers and the imagination of poets and artists and that these are the only means which can be used to make this national unity wider, stronger and more lasting." The meaning of Muslim culture has been sought here within the 'unity in diversity' principle of Indian history and culture.

(c) *Decline of historical scholarship in mediaeval India*

At the same time it has to be ruefully admitted that there has been a marked quantitative decline in mediaeval Indian historical scholarship. This can be borne out by statistics, the barometer of conferences and journals, i.e. by making an analysis of the number of papers on different periods of Indian history, submitted in various conferences and journals. There seem to be three contributory factors why mediaeval Indian history is now a less frequented path of research as compared to ancient or modern periods of Indian history, viz., the partition of India, the dearth of scholarship in Persian and the gaping void caused by the passing away of the giants of old. Research being an incessant progression, their mantle has now fallen on us. It is a happy sign that the enrolment for research degrees in different Universities⁴⁵ is increasing, though it remains to be seen how many will stand the test of time.

(d) *Aligarh studies in mediaeval India*

In the midst of this decline, Aligarh is pursuing the study of mediaeval Indian history steadfastly. Mention must be made of the *Mediaeval India Quarterly* and the different books published under the Aligarh University series and the studies on Sufi saints. Certain tendencies in Aligarh studies point to Marxist influences.⁴⁶ The revised edition of Elliot and Dowson's Vol. 2 by Professors Habib and Nizami contains a long introduction on Dialectical materialism and materialistic interpretation of History.

In his recent outstanding book Dr. Irfan Habib writes in the Preface that he has undertaken this study in the belief that "a clarification of the problems of agrarian history would generally help in improving our understanding of the general, specially political history of the period." He concludes that the Mughal Empire was destroyed in an agrarian crisis (Ch. IX).

8. SUGGESTIONS FOR FILLING UP GAPS

(a) *Political history*

It is sometimes said that the biographical phase of mediaeval historiography is over and that the time for having a comprehensive well documented general history of mediaeval India has come. While one may be inclined to accept the second part of the above view, there is still need for having biographies of all important personalities. In the Turko-Afghan period only the Khalji and the Qaraunah Turks have so far been covered in special monographs. The Ilbari Turks, especially Qutb-ud-din, Iltutmish, Raziyya, Nasir ud din, Ghiyas ud din Balban, the Sayyids, and the Lodis require separate studies. Even the need of revising the existing monographs and biographies on the first six Great Mughals, on Sher Shah Sur and on his successors has been emphasized in different sessions of the Indian History Congress. Descending down the scale, it is desirable to have biographies or biographical notices of all important personalities—like imperial princes and nobles, *wazirs*, ministers and statesmen, generals, (e.g. Todar Mal, Birbal, Abdur Rahim Khan i Khanan, Jai Singh I, Jaswant Singh, and others) *subahdars*, *qazis*, *sadrs*, *ulemas* and even local officers, if possible, and famous ladies, both during Turko-Afghan and Mughal periods, in the Deccani kingdoms and Vijaynagar, among the Rajputs, the Sikhs, the Marathas (e.g. Balaji Vishvanath, Mahadji Sindhia), Jats and Bundelas, the Agents, the Residents and governors of the various foreign companies, the principal merchants or business magnates (e.g. Virji Vora) religious preachers, saints, writers and poets, artists, painters, musicians, architects

and others. Though the value of all such notices will not be uniform, this will form the nucleus of a detailed and up-to-date dictionary of Mediaeval Indian Biography.

Then there is the need of having detailed regional histories. So far as the mediaeval period is concerned, I think areas like Gujarat, Khandesh, Malwa, Jaunpur, Bihar, Sind, Multan and the Rajput states first deserve to be covered before revisionist studies on certain regions like Bengal, Orissa and Assam are attempted. Similarly the relations of the Delhi Sultanate/Mughal Empire with different areas or provinces, as well as their changing boundaries (i.e. political geography) require to be studied.

(b) *Administrative organisation and theory*

Notwithstanding the existing valuable studies on the subject, there are gaps to be filled on the basis of a synthetic study of all classes of authorities. These are briefly summarised below :

(i) Analytical study of all external influences on Turko-Afghan and Mughal administrative institutions, civil and military,—Persian, Muslim, Indian and Central Asian (both Turkish and Mongol) etc.

(ii) Role of the Sultan/Mughal Emperor,—constitutional and practical,—his relations with the nobility, the Church and the Ulema and contemporary potentates and his influence on the life of the people.

(iii) Turko-Afghan and Mughal nobility as a political factor of the highest importance, holding the balance in political crises and playing the role of kingmakers, as a part of the civil-cum-military administrative machinery and of the social structure, occupying the upper slopes of the feudal pyramid and, as an economic factor, forming collectively the most important consuming class, controlling and influencing production and distribution and as a cultural force, and finally its bankruptcy in the 18th century.

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(iv) The system of government and the working of institutions, civil and military, during the long reign of Aurangzeb and the changes, if any, introduced by him or occurring in his time as a result of the application of Islamic principles, the political and military developments and their effects, economic and social, mentioned in a general way by Sir J.N. Sarkar and Faruqi. The gradual deterioration in the working of the administration during the first half of the 18th century also requires to be studied.

(v) The system of police administration in theory and practice in mediaeval India under the Turko-Afghans, Mughals, and the Maratha, Vijaynagar and Deccani governments.^{46a}

(vi) Espionage in theory and practice (including the operation of *dakchauki*), under the Mughals, Sikhs, the Deccani Sultanates, Vijaynagar and the foreign companies in India including references to inter-State espionage, if available.

(vii) Injudicial and executive administration, the role of the Sultan/Emperor, the *Qazi*, the *Sadr*, *Mir Adl* (and their relation *inter se*), the *shiqdar*, *munsif*, *subahdar*, *diwan*, *faujdar* and *kotwal* requires further study.

(viii) Attention should also be devoted to legal studies of the period with special reference to secular law, administrative law and administrative justice. The Central Asian and Chinese legal heritage should be carefully studied with reference to the *Tureh* or *Yasi* or the institutions of Chenghiz Khan (to which Babur frequently alludes in his memoirs) and to the civil, criminal and military regulations of the Institutes of Timur. Reference may also be made to the administrative laws and *qanun i shahi* of Sher Shah and Islam Shah. Objection is sometimes made to the statement that Sher Shah's aim was to create a secular spirit in the state and keep religion in the background on the ground that the idea was far too advanced for him. But is it not a fact that under him talented men

were appointed judges and that civil judges were not necessarily *ulemas* and *faqih*s? Abbas tells us that the laws of Sher were made "both from his own ideas and extracting them from the books of the learned." This phase of substantive legislation of Sher developed further under Islam Shah. Badaoni refers to a code of regulations extending to approximately 80 sections of paper containing directions for every case of difficulty and which all were obliged to follow rigidly. Further Islam Shah sent "written orders to all the Sarkars containing comprehensive instructions on all important points of religion and all political and civil questions entering into the minute and essential detail and dealing with all regulations which might be of service to the soldiery and civil population, to the merchants and other various classes and which the authorities were bound to follow in their jurisdiction." Badaoni further significantly observes: "All these points were written in these documents, whether agreeable to the religious law or not, so that there was no necessity to refer any such matter to the Qazi or Mufti, nor was it proper to do so". What is this if not secularisation at least in a limited field? The subject really requires a thorough study.

(ix) The political and social ideas of the various authors and the conceptions of the principles of public administration require to be studied.

(x) The art of war in this period, with emphasis on the organisational side, tactics and strategy in Central Asia and India, as compared to other contemporary armies, Indian and foreign.

(xi) The conception of history of the Indo-Muslim writers during the whole mediaeval period may be fruitfully and critically studied.⁴⁷

(c) *Socio-economic*

The social and economic aspects of the mediaeval period of Indian history have not attracted as much attention of scholars as

they should have. Social history is a link between political and economic history. Long before Montesquieu and Buckle, the mediaeval historian Ibn Khaldun had fully grasped the significance of this interrelation and emphasized the need of studying the social environment. But his words of wisdom seem to have been wasted on the mediaeval Muslim historians. Since modern historiography of mediaeval India is, for reasons already explained, largely a study of older historians by modern historians, political history had monopolised the attention of scholars with little reference to the social environment and conditions. It is high time to pay greater attention to the study of socio-economic aspects of mediaeval India in order to redress the balance of the old state of affairs. Further, in a dynamic age of conscious national awakening and regeneration, reconstruction of history requires, among other things, a reorientation of outlook on the part of the historian, a change in emphasis and in interpretation of the facts of history. The historian must also probe into the working of the mind and the *manus* of the common man.

Dr. K.M. Ashraf's admirable work (*Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan 1200-1550 A.D.*) excludes "all references to civil administration, land revenue, army, transport, education, development of literature or even religious life". His treatment of the economic aspects of the period is, therefore, not as comprehensive or thorough as one would have liked. The chapter on Economic condition (XVIII) by Dr. U.N. Ghosal in *The Delhi Sultanate* (in *The History and Culture of the Indian People* Vol. VI, 1960) indicates the possibility of writing a detailed economic history of the period on the basis of all classes of known sources. This must also include the hitherto unutilised *mal'fuzat* or religious literature of the period.

Similar is the imperative necessity of writing a correct and comprehensive economic history of Mughal India. Broadly speaking, the two companion volumes of the late W.H. Moreland, written respectively in 1920 and 1923, represent

even now the last word on Indian economic history of this period. With all deference to Moreland's scholarship and research acumen, it has to be admitted, firstly, that his approach is not dispassionate. In the preface to *India at the Death of Akbar* (1920) he admits that he has tried "to state the past in terms of the more familiar present" and that in giving numerical estimates he is "not so sanguine as to hope" that he has escaped "all the dangers attendant on this form of political arithmetic". Moreland's thesis, indeed, was to prove certain points of view. Secondly, the scope of the two works is limited; they come down to 1658 only. The economic development of the whole momentous reign of Aurangzeb of fifty years, marked by significant developments—the greatest extension of the Mughal empire, the rise of the Marathas, the long Deccan wars, the consequent beginnings of administrative decline, the growing interest of foreign merchants in territorial settlements (the Dutch in Malabar, the English in Bombay and Bengal, the French in Pondicherry) have been left untouched. Thirdly, the sources utilised by him were also limited. He himself admitted that his two works were sketches rather than definitive treatises or finished products, because he had not utilised the records of the Portuguese administration and the Jesuits, the Vernacular literatures and the collections in Indian Libraries. In 1923 he observed, "There is still a wide scope for research in the history of this period, not only among the Dutch records, but in literature which is within the reach of Indian students and which they are in the best position to interpret". Since then fresh materials have been discovered, in the light of which even Dr. R.K. Mukherji's *Economic History of India, 1600-1800* requires revision. But Moreland's call has not yet been answered. The preparation of a comprehensive and objective picture of economic conditions of India during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries (roughly c. 1498-1757) should no longer remain the despair of Indian scholarship. The writing of economic history need not necessarily be only on an all-India plane. It may and should also be on the regional plane. Indeed the

preparation of a comprehensive economic and social history of India and that of regional and local histories must go on simultaneously on parallel lines.⁴⁸

The literary sources of the period should be laid under contribution for throwing light on the social problems of the age, not only exclusively, but along with, other classes of sources for getting a proper perspective. A literary history of the period and a history of different languages and literatures remain a desideratum.

Finally there are the factory records. Though these constitute a mine of information for political, social and economic conditions of the country, they have not yet been fully laid under contribution. In a revealing passage Sir William Foster brings out their importance as follows:

"There are valuable details, for instance, regarding the economic state of India at this time—its chief products and manufactures, their principal centres, and the prices they commanded; the means of distribution and cost of carriage; the weights and measures in use in various parts; the current coinage and the mechanism of exchange by means of bills. Much light is thrown on the general condition of the country. We note the poverty and conservation of the weavers, the bad state and insecurity of the roads, the weakness of the central government, the tyranny and venality of the local officials. On the other hand we discover at times in the Emperor and his leading nobles evidences of a painstaking desire to act fairly by all and to consider the welfare of those under them; and we have (p.14) Sir Thomas Roe's declaration that 'their justice is generally good to strangers', and that many of the troubles of which the English complained loudly were caused by their own disorders. Further, there is no trace of intolerance or persecution of any man on account of his religion—a statement which could scarcely be made of any European country at the same period."⁴⁹

(d) *Religious*

The study of the religious history of various sects and saints, Hindu and Muslim, as well as mediaeval religious literature, Hindu and Muslim, is imperatively necessary for a correct appreciation of the general history of the period. Much work has been done on the subject but special mention must be made of the need of studying the *mal'fuzat* literature. While the contemporary works on *tafsir*, *hadis* and *fiqh* are not of much historical value, except giving a vague idea of the trend of the Muslim mind, the mystic literature, including *mal'fuzat* and general works on mystical topics, is of considerable historical value. It gives "a glimpse of the mediaeval society.....the moods and tensions of the common man, the inner yearnings of his soul, the religious thought at its higher and lower levels, the popular customs and manners and the problems of the people. There is no other type of literature through which we can feel the pulse of the medieval public..... this literature acts as a corrective to the wrong impressions created by the contemporary political chronicles..... Besides extremely valuable biographical details about leaders of ideas and religion, we get in this literature interesting information about the religion, ideas and institutions, superstitions and attitudes of the period. How the common man lived and thought? What were his reactions to different situations of mediaeval life? If any literature of mediaeval India give us any idea about these problems, it is certainly the mystic literature of the period." Notable examples are:

(i) *Fawa'id u'l Fuad*, containing the conversations of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya (1307-1322) compiled by his disciple, Amir Hasan Sijzi

(ii) *Sarur us Sudur*, the sayings of Shaikh Hamid ud din Nagauri and his son Shaikh Farid ud din Mahmud (compiled by the grandson of the former in the time of Muhammad bin Tughluq)

(iii) *Khair u'l Majlis*, the conversations of Shaikh Nasir ud din Chiragh Dehlavi (mid 14th c.) compiled by his disciple, Maulana Hamid Qalandar. It has been used as a source book by almost all hagiographers of this period.

(iv) *The Siyar ul Auliya* of Amir Khurd (Kirmāni) which has been regarded as "a mine of information for the religious and cultural life of the Sultanate period", especially 13th century *Khanqah* life.⁵⁰

On a synthetic and critical use of all classes of sources, available in different languages, a comprehensive picture of socio-economic conditions of mediaeval India as a whole,—pre-Mughal and Mughal society—is to be drawn. This will cover social classes, their manners and customs, dress, food, amusements and festivals, pastimes, language and literature, Hindu-Moslem relations and cultural contacts, land, labour, capital, organisation,—agriculture, industry and trade, means of transport and communication, growth of towns, town and village life, process of urbanisation, guilds and corporate life etc. Thus would the changing pattern of society during the period be portrayed.

(e) *General*

Finally, the student of mediaeval Indian history has got to be a student of world history and a linguist. He must be conversant with at least Persian and English and, if possible, with Dutch, Portuguese and French, besides the regional languages of different areas of India, where necessary. The Government and the Universities have to come to the rescue of the lone researcher. The Government of India may procure transcripts or photostat or micro-filmed copies of all Persian MSS and Dutch, Portuguese and English records relating to India available in England and Europe according to a planned programme. Then a corpus Indo-Moslemaica, duly catalogued and classified, may grow. If the Government does not do this, the Universities may procure records required by their respective scholars. The next

step would be a planned programme of authentic editing and translation of different sources of the mediaeval period e.g. Persian MSS, European records, Rajasthani Khyats, Maratha Bakhars, Ahom Buranjis etc.). Attention should also be turned towards the work of re-editing and republishing existing editions of source materials e.g. revision of Blochmann and Jarrett's edition of *Ain-i-Akbari* by Dr. Phillot and Sir J.N. Sarkar, of Elliot and Dowson's *History of India as told by its own Historians* by Mr. Hodivala and Prof. Habib. Similarly rare and out of print books need to be re-issued, while annual or periodical bibliographies of the mediaeval period, both in special monographs, general histories and periodical literature would be a great fillip in the cause of historical research in the period. Attempts should be made to discover and salvage, if possible, valuable source materials—records, *farmans*, *sanads*, chronicles, correspondence, *bayaz*, or scrapbooks, etc., coins, inscriptions and monuments, lying hidden or uncared for in every nook and corner of this vast country; private or unknown libraries and collections lie unnoticed,—all awaiting slow but sure destruction from ravages of time, climate, insects, pests and human vandalism. All this requires intensive regional surveys of records of all kinds—MSS., monuments (temples, mosques, churches, cemeteries and their respective records), epigraphs and coins.

Thus, though much has been done to build up and enrich mediaeval Indian historiography, much spade work yet remains to be done. Nevertheless, a time has come, with the accumulated treasure of the past few centuries, to write a general survey of the period, incorporating up to date researches and studies. As Sir Jadunath Sarkar observed in *A word to Research workers in India*: "Studies of supreme type (the classic example being the *Holy Roman Empire* by J. Bryce) have not been produced in India as yet..... But works of this class alone will endure, they push human thought miles ahead". In his last inspiring message to Indian historians (1958) he again advised them to "work in the right way, for the means are ready to hand, and the reward sure."

Modern Indian historiography on mediaeval period was British in inception, utilitarian in conception, and reared up on an Indo-Moslem basis with Western methodology. Nurtured by contributors of different nationalities, Indian historical writing on mediaeval India reached the age of efflorescence and maturity by the forties of this century. Its character has now largely changed,—from being exclusively 'political', it is assuming a 'social' or 'sociological' colour. It remains to be seen whether it can steer clear of unacademic outlooks of communal considerations or of interpreting history in a particular way.

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- ⁵⁸ (a) *Mughal Studies: India of Aurangzib* (1901); *History of Aurangzib* 5 vols (1912-24); *Later Mughals* (ed. 2 vols. 1922); *Nadir Shah in India* (1922); *The Fall of the Mughal Empire*, 4 vols. (1932-50); *Mughal Administration* (1921)
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- ⁶¹ The works of these writers have been mentioned in different sections below.
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- ⁷⁸ (vii) for Mithila—S. Levi (*Le Nepal*, 3 vols. 1905), L. Petech (*Medieval History of Nepal*, 1958), S.N. Singh (*History of Tirhut*, 1922), U. Thakur (*History of Mithila*, 1956).
- ⁷⁹ (viii) for Nepal—Col. Kirkpatrick (*Account of the Kingdom of Nepal*, 1811), D. Wright (*History of Nepal*, 1877), S. Levi (*Le Nepal*, 1905), Percival Landon (*Nepal*, 1923), L. Petech (*Medieval History of Nepal*, 1958)
- ⁸⁰ (ix) The Bahmani Kingdom has been ably surveyed

by H.K. Sherwani (*Mahmud Gawan*, 1942, *The Bahmani Kingdom* 1947), *The Bahmanis of the Deccan*, 1953 followed by S. Husaini, *Bahman Shah* (1960).

- (x) Vijayanagar has supplied the theme for devoted efforts of R. Sewell (*A Forgotten Empire*, 1900), S.K. Aiyangar (*Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 1919), H. Heras, *Beginnings of South Indian History*, (1934), B.A. Saletore (1934), S. Sri-Kantya (*Founders of Vijayanagara* 1938), K.A.N. Sastri (*Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, 2 vols, 1946) and N. Venkataramanayya (*Origin of the City and the Empire*, 1953).
- (xi) Malabar and the Portuguese have been dealt with by F.C. Danvers (*The Portuguese in India*, 1894), R.S. Whiteway (*The Rise of the Portuguese Power in India*, 1899), K.G. Jayne (*Vasco da Gama and his successors*, 1910) and K.V. Krishna Ayyar (*The Zamorins of Calicut*, 1938).

²⁷. *Proceedings of Indian History Congress* (1955), Presidential Address; section IV (Mughal India) by Jagadish Narayan Sarkar; Srivastava, *Akbar the Great*, vol. 1 and *A Short history of Akbar the Great*.

Works on Humayun by late Dr. Avasthi and on Sher Shah by S.C. Mishra have not yet been published.

²⁸. Sir J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji*; Preface and Bibliography; *House of Shivaji*, 276-321, *passim*; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*; *Tikekar, Jadunath Sarkar and Sardesai* (in Marathi).

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²⁹. For Polier's account (*A Narrative of the Transactions at the Court of Delhi from the year 1771 to the Present Time*, Delhi 15 Aug. 1779) Dr. P.C. Gupta, *Shah Alam II & his Court* (1947) and Dr. Ganda Singh, *Early European Accounts of the Sikhs*, 1962.

Mention may also be made of George Forster (*A journey from Bengal to England*), 2 vols. 1798, and Lt. Col. J. Briggs (Edn. of the *Siyar ul Mutakherin*, 1832), and the article of C.J. Rogers in JASB vol LVII (1888).

Dr. N.K. Sinha's *Rise of Sikh Power* is based on Persian, Gurumukhi, I.R.D. records, Marathi & English.

Dr. H.R. Gupta's two volumes of History of the Sikhs are based on Persian Akhbarat, Br. Museum, India Office, Bodleian Library, Salar Jang Collection, Persian letters received (I.R.D.), Mss. Persian works, Marathi, English (I.R.D.), Gurumukhi, Urdu.

³⁰. For a critical estimate of Tod, Dr. A.C. Banerji, *Lectures on Rajput history* (1962). For Muhnot Nainsi and modern Rajput scholars, Dr. K.R. Qanungo, *Studies in Rajput history* (1960).

(a) Surajmal Mishan: author of *Vamsa bhaskar* (4 vols., 4043 pp.) a collection of historical sources for mediaeval Rajput society. His commentator was Sri Krishna Singh Varma, a Charan scholar. According to Dr. M.L. Sharma *Vamsa bhaskar* (parts 3 and 4) are valuable not only for the history of Kotah, Bundi and other Rajput states but also for Indian history in general.

(b) Shyamaldasji: (author of *Virvinod* or history of Mewar in Hindi, 5 vols.), though of Charan stock, introduced modern research methods in Rajputana, his work being based on inscriptions, coins and historical works in Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic and English besides official letters and documents.

(c) Munshi Devi Prasadji worked in Marwar, for which he collected valuable information and wrote fragmentary contributions. He tried to popularise Mediaeval history through Hindi, by translating the Persian court histories of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb into Hindi.

(d) Babu Ramnarayan Dugar: "perhaps the greatest

authority on Dingal in which bardic chronicles were written". He translated Nainsi's *Khayat* (in Dingal) into Hindi.

(e) Babu Jwala Sahai Mathur: *Waqai Rajputana* (3 vols.) based on Tod, but supplemented it with official records in English.

(f) Rao Bahadur Harvilas Sarda (biographies of Kumbha and Sanga and Ajmer, *Historical and Descriptive*).

(g) Babu Bisheshwar Nath Rieu (*History of Jodhpur* in Hindi 2 vols.).

^{30a}. Buchanan's *Account of Assam* was edited by Benudhar Sharma (1927). It has recently been revised and enlarged by B.K. Barua and H.V.S. Murthy (1963). For unpublished Buranjis see *A Descriptive Catalogue of Assamese mss.* by Hemchandra Goswami (S.D.O. Dibrugarh) and bibliographies given by Dr. Bhuyan in his *Lachit Barphukan* (219ff), *Ata Buragohain* (pp.349-54). For their value see Bhuyan, *Ahom Buranji* found in the family of Sukumar Mahantha xxxv-xlii; *Assamese Historical Literature* (IHQ, Sept. 1929).

S.K. Bhuyan-History of the reign of Swargadeo Rajeshwar Singha (1751-69) in the *Banhi* xv-xvi (1925-26); *Padshah Buranji* Ed. 1935: Eng. Tr Islamic Culture 1933-34; published 1947.; *Tungkhungia Buranji* (1933) (Assam 1681-1806); *Biographical History of Lachit Barphukan* (proc. I.H.C. 1935); *Anglo-Assamese Relations* (1938); *Military System of the Assamese People* (1941); *Assam Buranji* (Ms. found in the family of Sri Sukumar Mahantha of North Gauhati edited and with abstract notes and analysis in English (1945); *Lachit Barphukan and his times* (1947) or a History of Assam-Moghul conflicts of the period 1667-1671; *Atan Buragohain and his times* (1957).

H.C. Goswami-Purani *Assam Buranji* ed. 1922.

G.C. Barua, *Ahom Buranji*, ed and Eng. tr. (1930)

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³¹. Vide Philips, *op cit* 241-259, for the essay on 'Ideas of History in Indian archaeological writing': a preliminary study by F.R. Allchin.

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³². vide *Current Studies* issued by Patna College.

1. S. Lane-Poole, *The Coins of the Sultans of Delhi* (vol. 1 of catalogue of Indian coins in Br. Museum, London, 1844: Cat. of Mughal coins in Br. Museum, 1892. *History of the Moghul Emperors of Hindustan* illustrated by their coins (1892)

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6. O. Codrington, *A Manual of Musalman Numismatics* (London) 1904.

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3. *The Sultans of Delhi*, 1936.

9. R.B. Whithead, *Cat. of Mughal coins at Lahore Museum* (1914); *Coins of Nadir Shah and the Durrani Dynasty* (1934).

10. C.J. Brown, *Catalogue of Coins in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow*, vol I—Mughal Emp. 2 vols, Lucknow (1920); *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*.

11. The first Indian scholar,—N.K. Bhattasali, *Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal* (Lond. 1922).

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³³. *History of Bengal*, II. 502.

³⁴. Vide R.C. Mazumdar, *Delhi Sultanate Bibliography*.

³⁵. Section IV: Proc. Ind. Hist. Congress 1955: Presidential Address.

³⁶. *Cambridge History of India*, vol 3. Bibliography, *Delhi Sultanate* (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan), (Bibliography)

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³⁹. See Philips, *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, for the ff. essays.

1. *Five Portuguese historians* by J.B. Harrison (pp. 155-169)

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⁴². The study of Hindu-Moslem relations and cultural contacts in Mediaeval India is a subject of engrossing interest and requires a synthetic study of all classes of sources. vide Essay of Abdur Rashid, *The Treatment of History by Muslim Historians in Sufi writings* in Philips, *op. cit.*, 128-38.

⁴³. Philips, *op. cit.* 228-9.

⁴⁴. Philips, *Historians of India, Pakistan & Ceylon*, 323.

⁴⁵. *Proceedings of Indian History Congress* (1955) Presidential Address, Section IV. by Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, My talk in Institute of Historical Studies, Calcutta, *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, 1962.

⁴⁶. Hardy, *Historians of Mediaeval India*; Philips, *op. cit.*

^{46a}. vide my article on *The Police System in Medieval India in Theory and Practice* in Bihar Police Magazine, 1954. vol 2.

⁴⁷. vide *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Calcutta (1955) Section IV (Mughal India, Presidential Address);

⁴⁸. Ibid Proc. I.H.C.; also Aligarh, 1961 (Part II; Symposium). My talk in *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol. I, No. 4, 1961-2. pp. 161-3.

For Moreland as historian, see the essay of J.B. Harrison in Philips, *op. cit.* 310-18

⁴⁹. Sir W. Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1618-21, p. xlv.

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DISCUSSION MEETINGS

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

Archival Material Series

Subject: WEST BENGAL STATE ARCHIVES

Speaker: MR. T. K. MUKHERJEE

I thank you, Mr. Director, for inviting me to speak on the West Bengal Archives this evening. It is a subject, about which, I should confess, I know very little. Last year I was placed in charge of this Department which had become almost defunct. Since then I have been engaged in carrying on the work of reorganising it. I have not been able to make a detailed study of the nature and contents of our archival holdings. I may therefore tell you what little I have been able to learn during one year and a half about archives and their management. I do not think it necessary to discuss over again the general principles of archival administration. They have been explained to you by Dr. T. K. Roychoudhury in the first talk of this series. I will first trace the evolution of the archival policy of the Indian Government in the last century and then tell you how we got our State Records Repository which is now called West Bengal State Archives.

As early as 1820, the Bengal Government felt the need for the maintenance and preservation of their records. The Presidency Committee of Records was set up to supervise the records repository at the Presidency and to lay down general policies in respect of the district records. The Committee was dissolved in 1829. We have a few records of this Committee in our archives.

Next, General Record Office in the General Treasury Buildings was established. The records of the different departments of the

Secretariat were preserved there. The charge of this office was shifted from the Presidency Committee to the Chief Secretary under the Territorial Department.

In the early days the records of the Government of India and those of the Government of Bengal were identical, although for some time, until 1834, the two Governments functioned in the same Secretariat. It was in 1834 that the Central Secretariat was completely separated from the Bengal Secretariat. The division of Bengal records appears to have been effected at this time. There was however no separate Record Keeper for the Imperial Records in Calcutta till 1892.

Meanwhile, the growth of records beyond the storing resources of the Government created a problem for them. In 1902 S.C. Hill advocated the centralisation of records of the Central and Provincial Governments prior to 1858 in a single building in each of the Presidency towns. In 1904 Muddiman was placed on special duty to report on the condition and preservation of these records. His report is important as it has been the basis of action taken with regard to Historical Records since then. Muddiman recommended that the Pre-mutiny records of the Bengal Secretariat and Board of Revenue should be amalgamated and that the records should be made accessible for the purposes of research. Officers on special duty were appointed to deal with Bengal records. In 1909 the Secretariat Record Room was reorganised and the post of the Keeper of Records was created in 1910. There was a proposal of the Government of India for the amalgamation of the Pre-mutiny records of the Bengal Government with those of the Government of India. Fortunately for us that proposal was dropped. The Pre-mutiny records

of the Bengal Secretariat and the Board of Revenue were amalgamated in 1915 and deposited in the Bengal Historical Record Room.

Then followed a period of fruitful activity. Most of the Calendars, Press-lists and printed records which you find today in our archives were produced during this period. We owe this entirely to the energy and ability of Rev. W.K. Firminger. The progress in archival work, however, received a set-back in 1924 when the Record Room staff were reduced as a measure of economy. On the advice of Prof. Ramsbotham, who was adviser on records during 1926-27, printing of records in extenso was discontinued. In 1939 the Record Room took back the retrenched posts, but this did not improve matters. In 1941 the old records were shifted to Berhampore. They were brought down to Calcutta in 1953-54. In 1959-60 the two storeyed building was acquired in Bhowaniutta Lane and the Historical Section was shifted to that premises.

The State Archives is now divided into two sections, Current and Historical. This is very misleading; records are either current or non-current, active or inactive. It would be wrong to describe the non-current and inactive records as unhistorical. We have to make this division for administrative convenience. In the Historical section we have all the records prior to 1901. Records from 1902 onwards are preserved in the Current Section. It is located at the Writers' Buildings.

Records preserved in the State Archives are mainly of two types, Proceedings Volumes and bundles of Original Consultations. The importance of these records is due to their relevance to many subjects and areas beyond West Bengal.

Our Archives we have no political records. They were lost to Calcutta when the Imperial Records Department was removed to Delhi from 1826-37. We have, however, the revenue and judicial records of a considerable part of India. In these records you can see the beginning of the British Revenue Administration in Bengal.

There is another important series of records, namely, the Board of Trade papers. They run into many Volumes.

There are one volume of records of the Reporter of External Commerce under Board of Trade, 1802-19, and ten volumes of weekly publications of the Exchange Committee containing the price current of the staple articles of Bengal, China, Java, Sumatra, Malabar Coast, Persian Gulf, Europe and America, 1820-58. They may throw light on the external trade of Bengal during that Period.

Besides these, we have Bengali and Persian records. The Persian records date back to the year 1624. There are stray Dutch and Danish papers relating to Chinsurah and Serampore respectively. Records relating to Chandernagore were given to the French Government.

I conclude my talk with a few words on the manner in which these records are to be handled. They, you all know, were created for administrative purposes. Only indirectly they have become source material of our country's history. As such they have their limitations. They are not arranged subject-wise, and the information that you want to glean from them may not be found in one series of records but may be scattered in different parts of the same series or of several series. So before you start handling them, you should consult all the available finding aids. Here the archivist comes to your help; he supplies you with the reference media in the forms of catalogues, indexes and press-lists. It may so happen that after a prolonged and laborious search you may not get sufficient material to write a book or to build up your thesis. That will be very disheartening indeed.

The archivist arranges and preserves the records for you. It is for you to unearth the truth that lies buried in them. The quality of your work will depend on how patiently and judiciously you use them. Slipshod and ineffective use of records may do harm to the cause of historical research.

The archivist is primarily concerned with the preservation and maintenance of records. He also prepares the various finding aids for those who consult them. He has another very important function to perform. In the archives there is such a thing as weeding of records. Now-a-days records have a tendency to grow in bulk. It is not possible to preserve all of them. The papers which are considered unimportant are destroyed. The archivist is called upon to decide which items, out of a vast mass of material, are most likely to be of interest in the years to come. There is no fixed criterion for judging the permanency or otherwise of a record. The archivist has to rely on his own knowledge and judgement. Imagine how responsible his assignment when valuable paper is destroyed, and the entire series of records becomes an inadequate source of history.

The archivist often finds himself in a very unenviable position. The historian insists that the archives should be made freely available. The archivist cannot relax the rules governing the use of records. It is the record creating agency that determines the manner and extent of the use of records by the public. The archivist is to see that the restrictions imposed on their use are not violated. Restrictions are sometimes imposed as a matter of expediency. They are, however, temporary and the historian should not resent them.

Eminent Indian Historians Series

Subject: A. S. ALTEKAR

Speaker: DR. J. N. BANERJEA

To an old man like me reminiscences are a source of pleasure. And specially when such reminiscences hover round the memory of a dear friend, they become more pleasant indeed. It, therefore, gives me pleasure and at the same time pain—pain since he is no more—to speak about the life and activities of my friend Anant Sadashiv Altekar. Altekar was a good friend of mine for a score of years.

Anant Sadashiv Altekar was born on August 30, 1898 at a village called Kagal in Kolhapur. The Deshastha Brahmin family, of which he came was a learned and distinguished one. His father, Sadashiv Khandoba Altekar, was a member of the local bar and earned renown as a litterateur. The second child of his father, Anant Sadashiv, passed the Matriculation Examination in 1915. Thereafter he passed the I.A., B.A., and M.A. Examinations, and in each of these examinations he displayed his brilliance. For his brilliant performance in the B.A. Examination, he was awarded the much coveted Bhau Daji Prize. He took his M.A. degree in Sanskrit and stood first in first class, winning the still more honourable Chancellor's Medal of the Bombay University. The story goes that Father R. Zimmerman, one of the examiners of Altekar in his M.A. Examination subsequently remarked that "the candidate was endowed with exceptional talents and possessed an erudition beyond his age".

After such a uniformly brilliant academic career, Altekar joined the Banaras Hindu University as a Lecturer in the newly opened Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture in 1923. Rakhaldas Banerji, a name to be conjured with, was in charge of the Department at that time. Altekar, a true learner as he was, did not lose any time in building up his scholarly career under the guidance of this doyen of Indian history and archaeology. Within a few years he completed his thesis on *The Rashtrakutas and their Times*, for which he was awarded the D. Litt. degree of the Banaras Hindu University in 1928. In the same year he was promoted to the post of Professor of Ancient Indian History in his Department, and in 1930 he succeeded his guru Rakhaldas Banerji in the Manindra Chandra Nandi Chair, and also became the Head of the Department.

Altekar served the Hindu University in the aforesaid capacities till 1948. In 1949 he joined the Patna University as the Professor and Head of the newly opened Department of Ancient

Indian History and Culture. Shortly afterwards he began systematic archaeological excavations, first under the auspices of the University of Patna and then under the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute in various places of Bihar, like Kumrahar near Patna city, Vaishali, Sonapur etc. He was made the first Honorary Director of the above Research Institute, while he was still in the service of the University. On his retirement from the University in 1957 due to super-annuation, he was appointed the whole-time Director of the Institute. He served in that capacity till his sudden and untimely death in November, 1959.

2

Very few fields of Indology remain uncovered by the works of Altekar. His first dissertation, *A History of important ancient towns and cities in Gujarat and Kathiawar from the earliest times to A.D. 1300*, written in the early twenties, invited the attention of the scholarly world. Thereafter he published his second work, *A History of the Village Communities in Western India*. These two monographs raised Altekar to renown and helped him to get his appointment as a Lecturer in Ancient Indian History and Culture in the Banaras Hindu University. Hindu University phase of Altekar's career witnessed the publication of a number of works, some of which are enduring indeed. These include: *The Rashtrakutas and their Times* (1934), *Education in Ancient India* (1934), *History of Banaras* (1937), *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation* (1938), and *The State and Government in Ancient India* (1942). In 1946 came out *The Vakataka-Gupta Age*, Volume VI of the series of 'The New History of the Indian People', which he jointly edited with Professor R. C. Majumdar.

The above list of works is thus a testimony to Altekar's proficiency in such branches of Indology as political, social, constitutional and educational history of ancient India. Besides these works, he also contributed numerous original and thoughtful articles to various Indological journals. Among these mention may

be made of his articles on ancient Indian epigraphy. In this connection it is to be noted that he critically edited as many as 15 important inscriptions. But some of his commendable articles and works, I think, are on ancient Indian numismatics. His articles on 'the attribution of Chandragupta—Kumaradevi type of coins to Chandragupta I', published in the *Numismatic Supplement of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, for example, is an excellent piece of research work. Two of the outstanding publications in the field of ancient Indian numismatics, specially in its Gupta section, are the *Catalogue of the Gupta Gold coins in the Bayana hoard* (1954), and the *Coins of the Gupta Empire* (1957).

Literature also occupied his interests. While he was connected with the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, he recovered the Tibetan manuscript of a biography of a monk-pilgrim. The pilgrim, who was in India from A.D. 1232 to 1241, has left to the posterity an account which is important in many ways. Hitherto unknown, this account, thanks to the efforts of my late lamented friend, has enabled us to get valuable glimpses into the condition of India during the period when its author stayed here.

Last, but not least, mention is to be made of the fieldworks of Altekar, which have incidentally been referred to above. The excavations conducted by Altekar at Patna have yielded some encouraging results. As an illustration, the discovery of some highly interesting objects such as the square base of a round Mauryan pillar, a type hitherto unknown, may be cited here. Altekar also undertook excavations at Sonilpur and Sonapur, which he could not finish due to the sudden interception of death.

3

Altekar's many-sided activities and his valuable contributions to Indology brought for him laurels in India and abroad. He was elected twice the President of the Numismatic Society

of India (1946-and 1947), and remained its Chairman until his death. He was made one of the corresponding members from India of the International Commission for the History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind (UNESCO). He was elected the General President of the Delhi Session of All India Oriental Conference in 1957, and the General President of the Indian History Congress in 1959 in its Gauhati Session. Unfortunately he did not live to preside over the latter, the address written by him was read by one of the Vice-Presidents.

Besides these honours, the Union Government of India commissioned him to visit West Indies in 1954 for delivering there a course of lectures on Indian Culture. He also visited the U.S.A. the same year, and was invited by the German Federal Republic (West Germany) to advise the authorities there in the matter of Oriental Studies and research. A number of Boards and Committees connected with Indian Culture and Archaeology used to seek his advice. And from my experience, I can say that his contributions to their deliberations in the periodical meetings were really very helpful. It is a pity indeed that these Boards and Committees have lost a good friend and guide like Altekār.

4

Quantitatively as well as qualitatively, the works of A. S. Altekār mark him out as a leading figure in Indology, or for that matter in Indian history. To a good many branches of Indology—political, social, constitutional and educational history of ancient India—Altekār made some solid and distinct contributions. It was Altekār who first undertook a systematic study of the history of the Rashtrakutas who for nearly two centuries ruled with glory over the Deccan and whose contribution to Indian art and literature is now a well-known fact. A student of both epigraphy and literature, Altekār succeeded in going deep into his subject and after collecting all sorts of information from various sources,

available at that time, produced a comprehensive and enduring work on the subject—*The Rashtrakutas and their Times*. Again, as a devoted student of epigraphy, he brought to light some important inscriptions and ably edited them. For instance, by editing the *Xupa* inscriptions found at Badva in the former Kotah State in Rajputana he revealed the existence of a Maukhari line, different from the imperial Maukhari, and showed that this line flourished in Rajputana in the third century A.D. By publishing the thirteenth century Tibetan account of the monk-pilgrim, mentioned above, he has widened our knowledge about India of that century. Similarly by the discovery of interesting antiquities like the square base of a Mauryan pillar, he has served the cause of Indian art and archaeology.

But Altekār's eminence as a historian, I think, rests solidly on his numismatic studies. Some of his definite and distinct contributions to Indology relate to ancient Indian numismatics. I may recall here one of his outstanding articles—Attribution of Chandragupta—Kumaradevi type of coins—published in the Numismatic Supplement of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. These coins, attributed by John Allan and others to Samudragupta, were, according to Altekār, issued by Chandragupta I himself in commemoration of his marriage with the Lichchhavi princess Kumaradevi. Altekār succeeded in proving his theory, I believe, very convincingly, though there still may be scholars disinclined to accept his theory. Besides his numerous articles on ancient Indian numismatics, most of which were published in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society*, Altekār produced two of his most outstanding works—*The Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana hoard* and *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*. They will be considered as standard works on the Gupta numismatics in the years to come. The Bayana hoard, largest in kind, discloses a number of types and varieties of Gupta gold coins, so far unknown, and the masterly handling of the coins of this hoard by Altekār is manifest in the *Catalogue*. Altekār has noticed

1821 coins and has spared no pains to describe them accurately. The second work gives a general survey of coins issued by the Gupta emperors, known till the date of its publication. It forms Volume IV of the Series of Corpora of Indian coins and the series, it may be noted here again to show Altekār's sincere devotion to Indian numismatics, was planned by Altekār himself aiming at the systematic narration of the numismatic history of India, from the earliest times to the present day. Altekār was not only a numismatist, but a great organiser of numismatic studies too. He reorganised the Numismatic Society of India (founded in 1910) in its present form. The Society made immense progress under his fostering care. He was, as it were, its life and soul. His death, I think, is a great loss to the society and this loss is hardly reparable. It is a pleasure to learn that the building of the Society inside the grounds of the College of Indology in the Banaras Hindu University Campus is named after him—“Altekār Bhavan”.

5

Some of the theories of Altekār (e.g., undue greatness attached to the Vakatakas) will not find favour with many of us and in fact, on many occasions, I disagreed with him. But this does not in any way reflect on the scholarship of Altekār. No one ever denies, at least I do not know, the soundness of his scholarship. Himself a good student of epigraphy and Sanskrit, Altekār seldom betrayed any carelessness in the execution of his work. He was himself unsparing in his criticism of perfunctory and slipshod work. If one finds some of his views unacceptable, the reason of the untenability is to be sought not in his scholarship but in the human aspect of his historian entity. After all historians are human beings and to err is human!

Altekār was a deep student of Indian literature. He developed interests in field archaeology in later days. Consequently one may expect to hear from him about a methodology which puts emphasis both on the literature and archaeo-

logy as sources of history. Like Pargiter he did not solely rely upon literature, while like Wheeler and Piggot he never did brush aside literary evidences. An idea of his approach will be manifest from his observations on the Aryan problem: “For getting a correct solution, however, we must try to harmonise the archaeological evidence with the traditional procedure which is described as perfectly justifiable by Sir L. Wolley”.¹ And by adopting the procedure, he conjectured that the Aryans came into India by C.2000 B.C. and were living together with the Harappans for about five or six centuries.²

Though he was a student of Indian history and wrote mostly on Indian history, he was, like a true historian, interested in the history of other countries too. And from his long experience as a teacher of history, he felt the necessity of undertaking history of other countries, specially of those in our neighbourhood. He urged the University Grants Commission to set up centres of higher research in History as well as in other subjects such as Geography, Sanskrit and allied languages, Arabic and Persian, Economics, etc.³ He also suggested that such centres, in addition to giving facilities for researchers in Indian history, offer facilities for higher work in Indo-Chinese, Indonesian, Chinese, Japanese, Western Asian, Central Asian and Egyptian history. He asked his fellow workers, “As historians of free India, let us be resolved to do our duty in the wider sphere that is now open before us”.

Altekār was thus more than a mere Indologist. He was a historian in the true sense of the term. And he was surely an eminent Indian historian, for he devoted his life to the reconstruction of the history of our country with the help of materials, culled with patience and diligence, from a variety of sources, tapped or untapped.

¹ Presidential Address, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress 1959* pp. 14-15.

² Ibid. p.15f.

³ Ibid. p.33.

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THESES PRESENTED (1958-63)

(i) *Agra University*

ANCIENT KASHMIR UP TO 940 A.D. (POLITICAL & CULTURAL)

DR. BHARAT SINGH

The Valley of Kashmir is surrounded by three ranges of the Central Himalayas—the Zaskar and the Dhauladhara, including its sub-branch, the Pir Panjal, which extends from the Banihal to the Valley of the Vitasta. The second mountain running from the north-west to the north, the Harmukha, is the highest. The eastern side of the vale is enclosed by the third mountain which meets the Banihal in the south and Durghaghat in the north. These contain passes and centres of pilgrimage. They have played an invaluable part in determining the life and history of Kashmir. The Kashmiris felt secure on account of high mountain walls and well guarded passes. However, people remained isolated for long. Socially the people were narrow-minded and backward. Economically, it could not develop progressive commercial relations with other countries. In the sphere of religion, the mountains developed beliefs in sorcery, magic, animism and Tantric practices. Because of charming natural scenery of the land, the Kashmiris possess a high aesthetic sense.

The two river systems—the Indus and the Vitasta—provide irrigational facilities and present a picture extremely fascinating. The Vitasta system is rich in fertility and produces cereals, fruits and flowers. Because of her comparative wealth, it has always been the scene of political activities and, secondly, has made the people less ambitious, with the result that they made no headway in foreign competition for trade. In spite of causing flood at times, the Vitasta system has supplied easy means of communication for internal trade.

The temperate and pleasant climate of Kashmir has produced in the character of the Kashmiris dominant traits like intellectual superiority, keenness of perception, clearness of mind and ingenuity.

The Karewas are rich in forest, which supply cheap wood for building purposes.

Thus Kashmir is politically, socially, economically and culturally what the Himalayas made her.

Sources of history : The sources of the history of Kashmir may be classified under Indian literary sources, traditions, foreign sources, archaeology and Kashmirian literary notices. Indigenous sources are fruitful in recording history. Among them, the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhan cannot be neglected for the sake of dynastic history and the geographical and cultural development of Kashmir. Other evidences, besides the *Mudrarakshasa*, the *Kathasaritasagar* and the *Gandvaho*, serve to verify things of cultural importance.

Chronology of ancient kings : The chronology of Kashmir, adumbrated by Kalhan is not reliable. He has omitted the dates of the Nagas, Pishachas and the Aryan migration in Kashmir and connected the chronology with astronomical calculations and traditional kings. He recorded one reign of three hundred years and was confused with Mihirakula and Vikramaditya.

It is suggested that the Nagas and the

Pishachas reached Kashmir in B.C.2000, the Aryans established there permanently in between 1600 to 1500 B.C.; the Mahabharata War took place in B.C.1400 and the dark period of Kashmir was governed by Uttarakurus, Uttaramadras, Gandharas, Persians, Abhisares, Puskaraksha, Chandragupta, Bindusara, the Indo-Greeks, the Sakas, the Pallavas, the later Kushans, the Kidara-Kushans and the Hunas. The correction of twenty-five years is essential in the Karkota chronology. Kalhan or his predecessors made a deduction of twenty-five years in the pre-accession of Lalitaditya in Karkota period and increased the same in the longer reigns after 724 A.D.

Therefore, the date of Lalitaditya, Jayapida-Vinayaditya and Chhippata Jayapida should be from 724 to 755 A.D., from 767 to 783 A.D. and from 806 to 813 A.D. respectively. The chronology of the post-Karkota period has been accepted as reliable if the initial year of Avantivarman is accepted as 855-56 A.D. and the closing year as 883 A.D.

Early Kashmir : The earliest inhabitants of Kashmir were the Nagas, the Pishachas (Darads) the Khasas, the Kiratas and the Aryans. Their dynastic history is shrouded in mystery. It is the dark period of the history of Kashmir. The Mahabharata War gives us a faint light on the history of Kashmir, but again history ushered in a dark period. We have no record; but probably the Uttarakurus, the Uttaramadras, the Gandharas, the Persians, the Greeks through Abhisares I and II, the Pauravas through Puskaraksha, and the Mauryas comprising, Chandragupta and Bindusara as well, ruled the Valley of Kashmir. After them, the third dark period commences in the period between 185 B.C. and 78 A.D. Kalhan is silent, but probably the Indo-Greeks, the Saka-Pallavas, and the founders of the Kushan dynasty were the rulers. Among the Gonandas, who succeeded the Kushan kings (78-180 A.D.) some of the Scythians in Hinduised names are present. The later Kushans, the Sakas, the Kidarites and the Hunas ruled among the Gonandas

in their Hindu names from 180 to 625 A.D.

After Abhimanyu, Gonandas, comprising Gonanda III, Ravana I and II, Indrajit, Vibhisana, Nara and Siddha were rulers up to 220 A.D. After them, fourteen rulers of the Turuska (Scythian) dynasty, according to the *Visnu Purana*, occupied Kashmir. They were the Sakas, the later Kushans and the Kidarites, who adopted probably Hindu names, which Kalhan gives in the names of the Gonanda kings. After them, the Vikramaditya sponsored line of kings named Pratapaditya, Galaukas, Tungina (died in 396-397 A.D.), Vijaya, Jayendra and Samdhirman were the kings of the land. In 443, a Chinese invasion occurred in Kashmir, from northern frontier, against a Buddhist king named Meghavahana. The invasion was ineffective; Meghavahana under the name of Gandhara Gonanda line became king and his successors continued to rule up to 625 A.D. During the time, Toramana and Mihirakula invaded Kashmir when Hiranya—Toramana were ruling the land. Toramana was the vassal of Toramana the Indian emperor and after him, he became independent ruler and remained till 528 A.D.

The Karkotas and Utpalas : The kings of the Karkota dynasty (625-855-56 A.D.) are authentic and they were probably sixteen. The year 855-56 A.D. saw the elevation of the Utpala line of kings—ten in number. The careers of Durlabhavardhan, Chandrapida, Lalitaditya and Jayapida among the Karkotas and those of Avantivarman and Shankaravarman among the Utpalas were brilliant either in peace or war.

Administration :

The form of government was monarchy and it came into existence in times of war. The republican form of government was not found.

Kingship in ancient Kashmir was generally hereditary, despotic but limited. Divinity was ascribed to the institution but not to the person who went against the traditional law of the

land. Queens, ministers, lords and Brahmans exercised some influence on the State. On occasions they checked the arbitrary power of the king. On the failure of male issue and in the case of weak and tyrannical rulers, the voice of ministers and Brahmans was important. But heredity was not always the sole contention on which king could get the throne. The popular control was conspicuous by its absence. Any idea of organising a rising was a sacrilege. Succession was generally confined to the members of the royal family. In spite of some bar, female succession was not unknown. Coronation was the most important ceremony for royalty.

The king was recognised as the head of the State, with executive, military and judicial authority. He was the source of law. However, traditions of Dharma, customs, and conventions were binding upon him. His duties were the protection of the land, the promotion of the well-being of the people, the maintenance of law and order, the preservation of moral laws and traditional castes, the administration of impartial justice, the protection of the Brahmans and giving Agraharas and charity. The Patriarchal element was emphasised in the nature of royal office. However, moral traditions were powerless to stop the kings from following the path of tyranny.

Kings adopted names and titles. Abdication and deposition of kings were current practices.

The administration was carried on through central, provincial and local governments. The king at the centre was aided by ministers and departmental heads. The departments were added according to needs. Provinces were governed by 'Prantapatis' and cities by 'Nagaradhyps'. The entire machinery, except for brief periods, was rotten. Bribery and corruption, accentuated by the low tone of morality, were prevalent.

Justice was primitive and depended on the personality of the king who regulated procedure

and interpreted law and tradition. There were no written laws. At times, judicial decisions were guided by ideas of theocracy or by divine intervention. The king was the 'highest court of appeal. The guilty, except the Brahmans, were punished according to their guilt. Thus equality before law did not exist. The Brahmans were not given capital punishment. Below the king's court, were the courts of Dharmadhyaksh (=Dharmadhikarin or Rajasthana). Tantrapati and his subordinate judges (Rajagrhyas) were responsible for the administration of justice. Petty cases of land disputes were decided by local Kayasthas, officers and village headmen.

Ancient Kashmir possessed the traditional four-fold army. Special care was devoted to forts for defence. The army was gigantic and efficient, provided that there was no desertion and disloyalty. Below the king, were the minister of war and peace, the commander-in-chief (Kampanadhipati), the commander of the army named 'Kampana', Dvaradhipa and drangdhip etc. All classes from the Brahmans to the Dombas followed the profession of arms. Weapons used were old fashioned.

Economic Condition: The majority of the people depended upon agriculture. Rice, pulse, barley were grown. Pears, apples, peaches, apricots and grapes were the principal fruits of the land. Saffron, medical herbs and perfume plants were also grown.

Industry was the next calling. Some of the industries were textiles, smithery, leather work, wood work, pottery, stone-work, preparation of drugs and wine, perfumery, making of lamps and mirrors, making of musical instruments, and ornaments and the like.

Some of the Kashmiris depended on trade and commerce. However, the trade was unstable on account of the policy of the State. Inland trade was brisk. The Vitasta was the most fruitful means of traffic. Kashmir was connected for this purpose with Central Asia,

China, Gandhara, Kamboja, Tibet, and other parts of India, specially Bengal, Varanasi, Pataliputra, Mathura, Avanti, Ceylon, etc. Saffron, aromatics, birch-bark, medicinal plants, musk, shawls, sandal wood, raw-wool, crystal lense, grapes and its syrup, dragon-horses were its exports; and gold, silver, salt, spices, asofoetide, vermillion, coral, Ceylonese cloth, animals like horses and elephants, fruits like pears, peaches and plums were its imports.

The Alawat-Vijjemarg, the Srinagara-Ladakh, the Banihal, and the Pirapanjal were some of its important routes.

Besides the above, the state employed a large number of people in services. Teachers, astrologers, physicians, wood-cutters, spirit distillers were some of the professional classes.

The currency of Kashmir consisted of metal coins, gold, silver, copper and electrum. In the earliest times, daily transaction was carried on by barter. Dinaras became current in later times.

The economic condition of the land was good.

Social life: Society was fragmented into four traditional 'varnas' and the individual's life into four-fold division—the 'Brahmacharya', 'Grihastha', 'Vanaprastha', and 'Sanyas'. Social behaviour was based on caste-groupings, but caste was seldom an index of a vocation or social relationship. The family was joint. Hospitality was a great virtue of the family.

The Brahmans in the society dominated the population intellectually as well as numerically; they were a highly honoured class. Some of the other honourable classes were the Kshatriyas, the Damaras, the merchants, the ministers and civil servants.

The society was superstitious and backward. Evil practices like 'Devadasi', 'Sati', slavery, prostitution, sacrifices of men and animals were flourishing. People believed in spells and magic;

penances were performed and pilgrimage were made.

Women were educated in high circles and they, as a class, enjoyed much social liberty and equality. Monogamy was the rule; polyandry was unknown. Intercaste marriages were in vogue. Girls were married at a mature age, but child-marriages were also known. Widows were tolerated in society; they led a pure life and did not remarry. The position of women was good. Purda-system was seldom known. However, law of morality was lax.

People had diversified amusements. On the whole people were cunning and given to cheating.

Religious life: Side by side with the worship of evil spirits, the adoration of the Nagas, and that of the Vedic gods and goddesses were current. The Brahmans were the beloved of the gods. Brahmanism, Saivism, Vaisnavism, Buddhism were the religious beliefs of the people. However, the Trika form of Saivism was confined to a few intellectuals. Trika is noted for new monoistic trend in philosophy.

Literary life: Kashmir was a renowned centre of education. Many poets flourished in the times of the epics. Purity of Sanskrit speech was found there. During the Mauryan and the Kushan periods, it was famous for scholars like Parshva, Vasumitra, Ashvaghosh, Kalyaniputra, Nagarjuna, Charak, Sudarsan and others. After the Kushan time, scholars like Chandracharya, Chandak, Ugresh, Ishan, Bhattrimenth, Matrigupta, Sanghabhadra, Skandhila, Bodhila, Vasuvandhu (II) Dharmatrata, Vishudhsimha, Jinabandhu, Sugatmitra, Suryadeva, Jinatrata, Kanakvatsa were noted scholars. Asanga, Vasuvandhu and Kumarajiva were reputed students of Kashmir. Some of the Karkota and the Utpala kings were poets and patrons of scholars. During all the periods, Kashmir was noted for intellectual brilliance and philosophy.

Education: Education was given in the templ-

es, Viharas and homes of teachers. At times private tutors were employed. Teachers were honoured. Education was financed by gifts and charity. Reprimand, excommunication and boycott were punishments given for indiscipline or misbehaviour.

Subjects like Dharma, Abhidharma, Vibhasa, philosophy, grammar, languages like Sanskrit and Pali, and fine arts like architecture, sculpture, painting, drawing and so on, were taught in the Viharas. The Vedas, Vedangas, Mahabhasya, Kaiyat's commentary on the Mahabhasya, Chandak's grammar, logic, medicine, astrology were other subjects taught in temples and the homes of teachers. In the ninth century the curriculum of studies was wider.

Tirthas: Kashmir has been a place of pilgrimage. Its peaks in the mountains have been called the haunts of the gods and goddesses and attract the pilgrims even to-day. The Vitasta wears a halo of sanctity, side by side with other sacred places.

The spread of Kashmiri culture abroad: The contribution of Kashmir is great in the spread of learning and Buddhism abroad. Khotan, Balkh, Kutchi, the Tarim basin and other centres in Central Asia, Ceylon, Indonesia and China are indebted to Kashmiri missionaries and Kashmiri educational centres.

Kashmir was the most flourishing centre of Buddhist learning—Sarvastivada. It sent its learned children like Sanghabhuti, Punyatrata, Dharmayash, Vimalaksh, Buddhajiva and others for their collaboration in the translation work undertaken by Kumarajiva, and for Buddhist missionary work. However, the contact with China, Central Asia and Ceylon was not one sided. Many Chinese pilgrims like Fahien, Hiuen Tsang, Ou-kong and a Ceylonese missionary, as referred to in the Nagarjuna Kond inscription, came to Kashmir for studies, pilgrimage and for energising Buddhism.

Gunavarman went to Ceylon and reformed

there some primitive customs. Then he went to Java and through his missionary efforts, Buddhism became not only the religion of the king but of the majority of the people also, in Java and other islands.

Kashmir was also connected with Tibet. Under the patronage of its king Srong Btsan-Sgampa, a Tibetan delegation headed by Thon-mi-Sambhoti visited Kashmir and chose its Sarada script as the script of Tibet in a modified form. A Kashmiri scholar Tuna went there on invitation for translation work of sacred books in Tibetan language. After a set back of fifty years in the relation between Tibet and Kashmir, another Kashmiri Pandit Ananta renewed the translation in Tibetan and served as interpreter between the then Tibetan king and the Nalanda scholar Shantisakshita. The final completion of missionary work was left to Padma-Sambhava who established in Tibet the Tantric form of Buddhism. Again Kashmir tried, through its scholars, to help Atish in curbing Tantric form.

Tibetan Tantricism was largely influenced by the Saivite and the Hindu religious ideas in which Kashmir—a land of Tantras—could not have remained inactive.

Fine Arts: The history of fine arts in Kashmir may be classified into three periods; the first terminating with the beginning of the first century; the second extending up to sixth century, and the third period ending by A.D. 939.

As regards the first and the second period, Kalhan is our only authority. Only a few monuments have been found at Ushkur and Harwan and these belong to the third or fourth century. At Ushkur, the remains of a stupa, terracottas, and stucco fragments have been unearthed; they carry us to the period of the later Kushans. The style of the building resembles the diaper masonry at Taxila of the second century A.D. The art is Buddhist—the heads of Buddha and Bodhisattvas are depicted. At Harwan, many broken images,

toes of terra-cotta, figures of Buddha and a miniature stupa are found. The influence of Gandhar is traceable there. The style of walling is diaper masonry with a slight difference. According to Percy Brown, the remains of the terra-cotta plaques indicate memorable pact of diverse historical cultures.

As regards the monuments of the third period, some of the Buddhist and Hindu remains have been found at Parihasapura and Pandresthana. At Parihasapur a stupa, a monastery and a chaitya-hall are three Buddhist buildings unearthed. The stupa was probably built by Chanakuna. The chaitya is unique in style. At Pandresthana, may be mentioned images of standing and seated Buddhas, Avalokiteshvara, a Lumbini garden nativity in Sarnath style and two crowned Buddhas in the monastic robes.

The oldest remains of Hinduism are two temples in a village named Loduv, belonging

probably to the seventh century. The next stage of architecture is to be found in the temples of Sankaracharya built on the Gopahill. The third stage in style approximating that of Martand is the temple of Narasthan. It was built prior to the Martand-temple of Lalitaditya. The temple of Martand is the architectural jewel of Kashmir. It is the finest and the most typical of Kashmiri style and is dedicated to the sun. The temple is built of stone and is shaped like a pyramid. According to S.C. Ray, the sculptures of the Karkota period have some traces of the Gupta art. The remains of the two temples—one of Shiva and the other of Visnu—probably built by Avantivarman have been unearthed at Avantipura. They represent the culmination of Kashmiri style, begun at Martand. The ruins at Pattan, two Shiva temples built by Shankarvarman,—represent a style, in plan, shape and elevation, similar to the architecture at Avantipur. Pandresthana has also a Hindu temple belonging to the tenth century.

(ii) Allahabad University

HISTORY OF THE SUBAH OF ALLAHABAD UNDER THE MUGHALS FROM 1526 to 1707

DR. SURENDRA NATH SINHA

INTRODUCTION

Presents a bird's-eye view of the Subah of Allahabad under the Great Mughals.

Map of the Subah of Allahabad
1580

CHAPTER I

THE REGION ON THE MUGHAL CONQUEST

(a) *Physical Features*—Topography, Rivers, Climate, Forests, Crops, Vegetables, Fruits.

(b) *Political background*, Jalal Khan at Jaunpur,

Second mission to call back Jalal Khan, Jalal left Jaunpur for Kalpi, Jaunpur given to Darya Khan Lohani, Azam Humayun Sarwani called to imperial court, Rebellion at Kara, Ahmad Khan the new governor of Kara, the entire region apprehensive of Ibrahim's attitude, Region under the Lohanis, Bandhugarh under Ibrahim Lodi, the rising power of the Lohanis.

CHAPTER II

THE PERIOD OF STRUGGLE (1526—1561)

Unconquered areas of the Region assigned by Babar, Mughal penetration in the region,

Mughal army at Jaunpur, Afghan opposition to the Mughals, Jaunpur lost and regained by the Mughals, Babar proceeded towards the east, Mughal-Afghan struggle, Expansion of the Mughal authority, On the eve of Humayun's accession, Capture of Kalinjar, Afghans occupied Jaunpur, Chunar slips into the hands of Sher Khan, First siege of Chunar, the treaty of Chunar, the region after Humayun's return to Agra, the second siege of Chunar, Sher Khan expelled Mughal Officers, Humayun left Gour for Agra, Imperial army at Chausa, Debacle of Chausa, the Mughal defeat at Chausa, Mughal army left for Agra, the region after the debacle of Chausa, Death of Sher Shah at Kalinjar, Accession of Jalal Khan at Kalinjar, Islam Shah seized the fort and treasure at Chunar, the Region after the death of Islam Shah, the rebellion of Taj Khan Karrani, Ibrahim Khan pursued, the rise of Baghelas, Jaunpur under Muhammad Shah of Bengal, the region on the eve of the second battle of Panipat, Mughal penetration in Jaunpur, Jaunpur attacked by the Afghans, Peace restored.

CHAPTER III

THE UZBECK REBELLION (1561-1567 A.D.)

The rebellious attitude of Khan-i-Zaman, Akbar at Kara, Surrender of Chunar to the Mughals, Mughals and the rulers of Bandhogarh, Asaf Khan invades Garha Katanga, First rebellion of Khan Zaman at Jaunpur, Kara-Manikpur attacked by the Uzbecks, Akbar's second entry in the Region, Flight of Asaf Khan from Jaunpur, Reconciliation between the Uzbecks and the Mughals, Ali Quli met Munim Khan near Chausa, The rebel Uzbecks presented to the Emperor, Akbar visited Benares and Chunar, Ali Quli's second rebellion, Emperor chastised the Uzbek Chief, Bahadur Khan attacked Jaunpur, Emperor's return to Jaunpur, Ali Quli sought pardon of Emperor at Kara, Akbar's effort to crush the Uzbecks, Orders of Asaf Khan's arrest, Asaf Khan joined the rebel Uzbecks, Asaf Khan pardoned, the third rebellion of Asaf Khan, Akbar proceeded

to rout Khan Zaman, Akbar attacks the rebels, Khan Zaman in his last phase, Uzbek forces routed, Defeat and death of Ali Quli Khan, Akbar at Benares and Jaunpur, Emperor at Kara, Seditious persons punished, Munim Khan arrived at Kara, the region after Uzbek rebellion.

CHAPTER IV

THE ERA OF CONSOLIDATION (1568-1583)

The conquest of Kalinjar, Uprising of the Karranis, Karranis attacked, Zamaniya, the retreat of the Karranis, Akbar's arrival at Prayag, Akbar moved towards Jaunpur, the formation of the Subah (1580), the rebellion of 1581 and the Subah of Allahabad, Rebellion of Massum Khan Farankhudi, Rebellion of Niyabat Khan, the homage of the Baghela Chief.

CHAPTER V

THE SUBAH UP TO THE REBELLION OF SHAHJAHAN (1584-1624)

The Mughal relations with Baghela Chief till 1599, Qulij Khan Andijani at Jaunpur, Daniyal as Subedar of Allahabad, Rebellion of Salim at Allahabad, Mission of Prince Muhammad Sharif, Salim's second rising at Allahabad, Arrival of Sultan Salima Begam at Allahabad, Khusrau's mother died at Allahabad, submission of Salim, Rebellion of Vikramaditya Baghela, Mirza Chin Qulij's rebellion at Jaunpur, Parvez Subedar of Allahabad, Why burial of Khusrau at Allahabad? Rebellion of Shahjahan, its impact in the Region, the rebels occupied Jaunpur, Allahabad fort besieged by rebels and their subsequent retreat to Jhusi, the battle of Jhusi, the battle of Tons (1624).

CHAPTER VI

THE SUBAH IN TRANSITION (1624-1659)

Mughal-Baghela relations, Rebellion of Khan

CHAPTER IX

THE ECONOMIC CONDITION

Agriculture, main crops, Rabi crops, Kharif crops, crop pattern, cash crop, average agricultural efficiency of the Subah, Revenue rates during Akbar's reign, Zamindars, Trade and Commerce, Industrial towns, Bills of Exchange, Industries, Trade routes, Mines, Minerals, Mints, Prices, Customs and Taxes, Natural calamities, Famines, Rich harvests.

CHAPTER X

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE PEOPLE

The Hindu society, the Muslim society, the Zamindars of the various castes in Subah, the gradation of the society, Meals, Dresses, Position of women in the society, use of ornaments, the vices of the society, social ceremonies, Professions, Fairs and Festivals.

CHAPTER XI

RELIGION

(a) *Hinduism*—Nirgun school, Bawari-Pant, Satnamis, other saints of the Subah, the Sagun school, Ram Bhakti cult, Krishna Bhakti cult, other religious sects of the Subah, Nathpanthis, Pranami or Dharmi Sect, the Shaktas, Buddhism and Jainism.

(b) *Islam*—The orthodox section, Mahadavi movement, Fatwa of Sadr of Jaunpur, the liberal section—Sufism, Different Sufis of the Subah.

CHAPTER XII

LANGUAGE, LITERATURE AND ARTS

Languages and dialects spoken in the Subah—Bhojpuri, Awadhi, Bagheli; the literature produced in the aforesaid languages.

Architectural monuments—Allahabad fort,

Jahan Lodi, Khan-i-Jahan reached Kalinjar, the battle of Sihonda (1631), the minor uprising, the Baghela territories attacked, the war of succession and the Subah, the battle of Bahadurpur, Shuja's camp plundered, Sulaiman's retreat to Allahabad, Khan Dauran sent to Allahabad, Shuja's second arrival in the Subah, Shuja's assumption of authority over the Subah, reached Khajua, the battle of Khajua, Treachery of Jaswant Singh, Shuja chastised, Shuja reached Benares, Retreat to Bihar.

CHAPTER VII

THE ERA OF DISQUIET (1659-1707)

The post-Khajua development in the Subah, Shivaji at Allahabad, Pandas of Benares received money from Deccan, Uprising at Benares, the Bundela uprising of the Subah, Bundela defeated at Shandipur, Bundelas occupied, Mandha, Mahoba and Sihonda, Kalinjar occupied by Chhattarasal, Effective Bundela operation in Kalinjar, Revolt of soldiers at Allahabad, Baghelas during the reign of Aurangzeb, the period of local disturbances in the Subah (1684-1703).

CHAPTER VIII

THE ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY

In this chapter details of administration have been worked out on the basis of its actual working in the Subah.

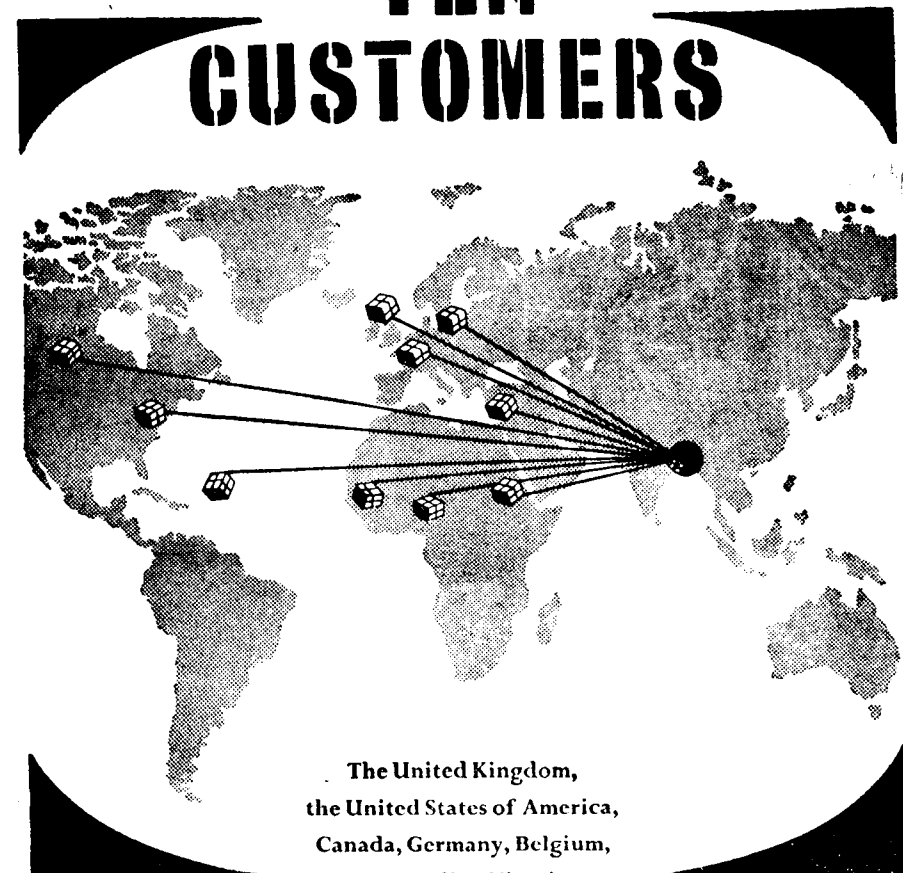
Extent of the Subah, *General administrative machinery*, Subedar, Mufti, Qazi and Sadr, Bakshi, *Territorial divisions*, Sarkars, Faujdars, Faujdari areas, Kotwal, *Mahal or Pargana*, Amil or Amalguzar, Chowdhary, Tenure of appointments, Jagirdari land, Zamindari Land, Khalsa land, Madad-i-Maash, Procedure of granting Madad-i-Maash, Nature of grant, Mode of assessment, Dastur-ul-amals, Dasturs, Revenue of the Subah.

Khusrau Bagh, Jaunpur bridge, Paintings, Music.

APPENDICES

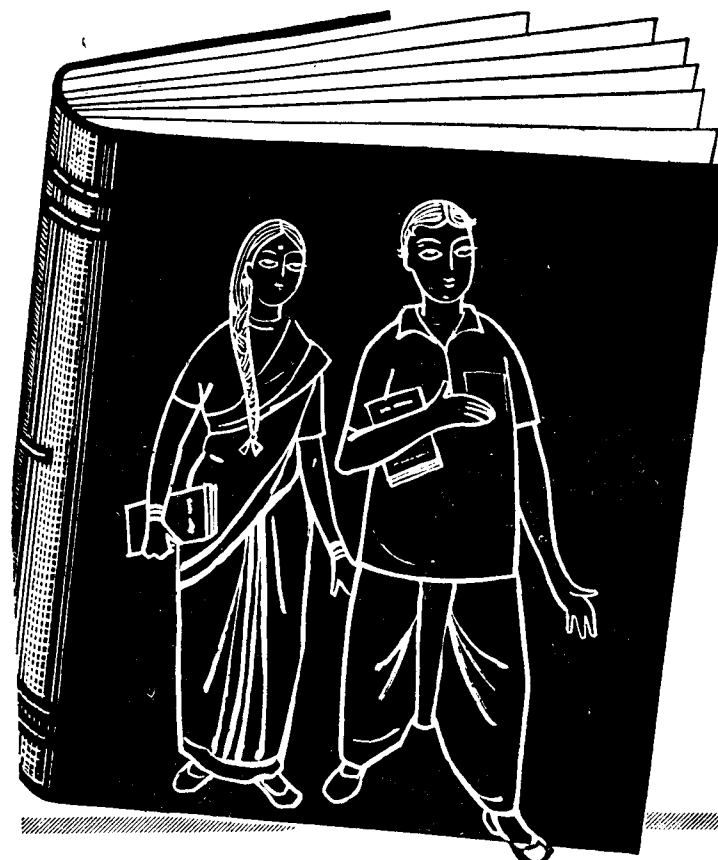
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|---|--|
| (a) Why was Vikramaditya Baghela deprived of his accession to the throne of Bandhugarh? | (e) List of Jagirdars |
| (b) List of Subedars. | (f) Average Agricultural efficiency of the Subah. |
| (c) List of Faujdars | (g) Indicator of the average agricultural efficiency of the Subah. |
| (d) List of Qiledars | (h) The territorial limits of the Dasturs of the Subah of Allahabad. |
| | (i) Copy of a few Sanads. |
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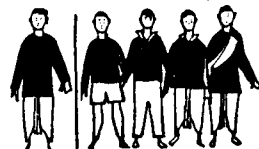
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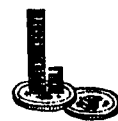
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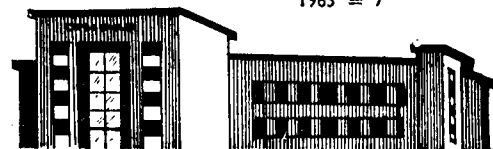
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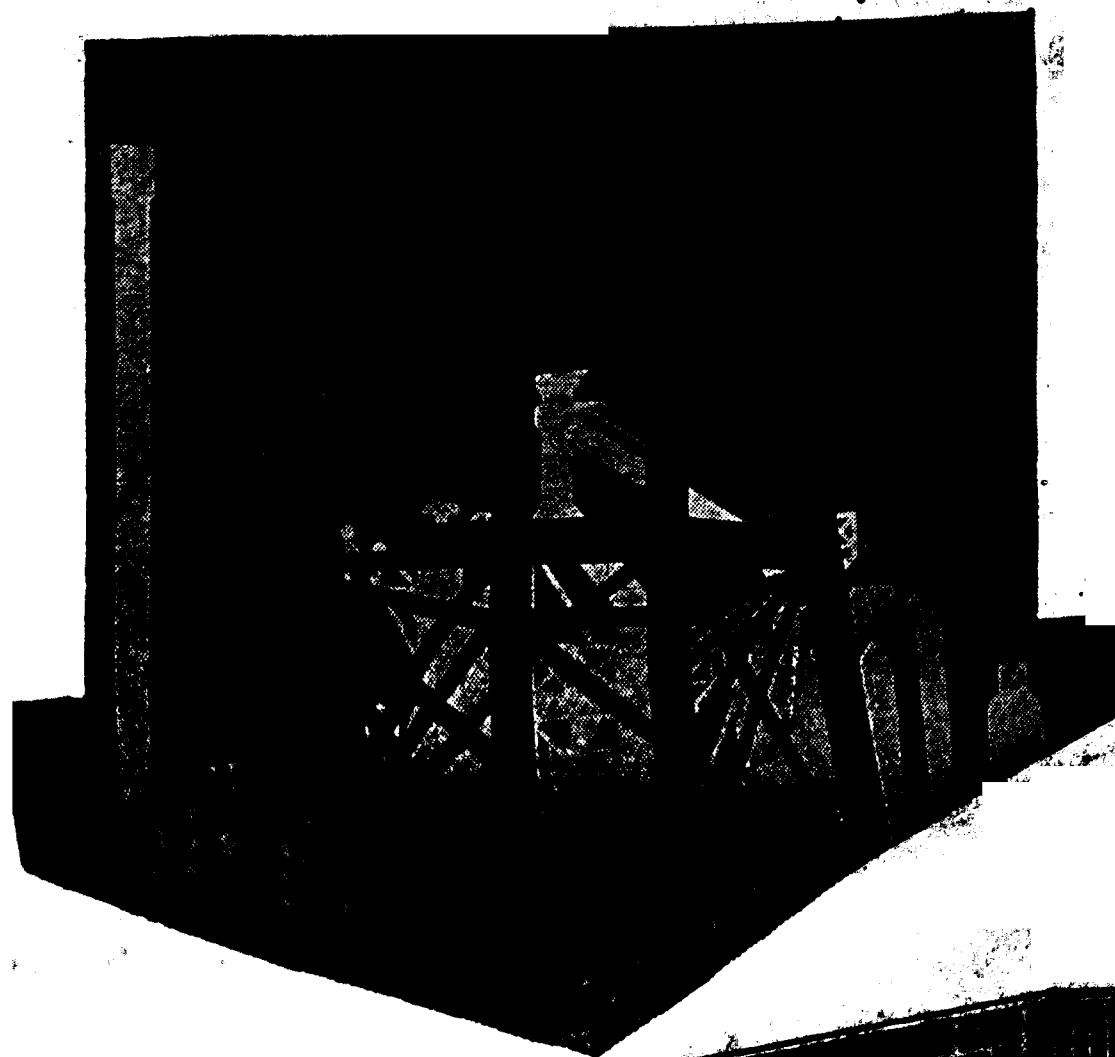
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EDITORIAL

Symposium on the Organisation of Historical Research in Indian Universities :

In the present number we are publishing six papers read at a Symposium on *The Organisation of Historical Research in Indian Universities* held at the Annual Conference of the Institute in Poona in December 1963. The papers were read by Professor Bisheshwar Prasad (Delhi University), Professor K.K. Pillay (Madras University), Professor A.L. Srivastava (Agra University), Professor A.K. Narain (Banaras Hindu University), and Professors R.S. Sharma and B.P. Sinha (Patna University).

The problems posed by the different speakers may be divided into seven categories, relating to (i) Students, (ii) Supervisors, (iii) Organisation of research, (iv) Publication, (v) Inter-University co-operation and co-ordination of work, (vi) Advanced Centres of research, and (vii) need for a research outlook in the Universities. These are all fundamental problems, felt by every one connected with the conduct of research in Indian Universities. But this was for the first time that a group of Professors, representing different Universities, sat together, analysed the problems in a most frank and business-like manner and sought to find out

solutions in common and on a national basis. From that point of view the Symposium was of particular significance.

The salient features of the problems posed may be referred to here very briefly. Concerning students, the fundamental difficulties are: poor intellectual quality in general, lack of linguistic equipment and of training in methodology of research, and leisurely way of working. Regarding the first, nothing can be done overnight. It will take time to create conditions in which a research career in history may be made sufficiently attractive to the brighter type of students. Not that it is altogether impossible, but it requires a change of values of academic careers in general compared to administrative services and executive positions in commercial firms. The other difficulties, however, can be removed by organisational measures, e.g. by prescribing pre-research training and insisting on steady and regular work on the part of research students.

About Supervisors, the main difficulties are: the unwieldy number of research students (sometimes as many as 20) working under one Supervisor at many of the Universities, the heavy teaching load of Supervisors leaving them little time to pay attention to research students, the

absence of any provision in the time-table for supervision of research work or for holding seminars, and the lack of any compensatory facilities for the trouble taken in guiding research students. The difficulties can be removed by reducing the number of research students by imposing a reasonable standard of admission requirements, so as to ensure that only those who are serious about research are enrolled. Reduction of teaching load in proportion to the number of research students under each Supervisor is also feasible, even with the present limited number of teachers in a University Department, by adjusting the nature and number of class lectures, which in the existing system are unnecessarily too numerous, and can easily be cut down without impairing the standard of teaching. Reduction in teaching load will allow provision in the regular time-table for supervision of research work and holding seminars for research students. It is also not impossible to provide compensatory facilities to the Supervisors for the trouble taken in guiding research work, either by giving them a part of tuition fees payable by research students or by giving them special leave for doing their own work.

About organisation of research, there is scope for great improvement even under the existing circumstances. As all the speakers at the Symposium strongly emphasised, if research is considered really desirable there must be more order and system in place of the existing laxity of conditions, in which everything is left to the sense of responsibility of the research student and the generosity of the Supervisor. In fact, research work must be institutionalised as much as B.A. and M.A. courses. There must be more rigid requirements for admission to the Ph.D. course, insistence on attending research seminars and regular contact with the Supervisor. In short, a research student must not be considered as a free-lancer, but as much a regular student of the University as a B.A. or M.A. student. The Universities also should have a sense of responsibility for those whom they enrol as Ph. D. students, and should not treat them as casual stu-

dents who are just suffered to use the University library or to tax the time and energy of University teachers.

About publication of research theses, the problem is not so insuperable as it looks. Many of the Universities have their own printing presses, and instead of concentrating on administrative and examination forms they may easily be used for a part of the year for printing research theses. In the case of smaller Universities, they may pool their resources in each zone and have a printing press in common. The problem really is not financial but administrative. Even at Universities where the U.G.C. provides funds for the publication of theses, the formalities are so time-consuming that nobody who wants his thesis to be published in his life time would care to hand over the manuscript to the University.

All the speakers at the Symposium stressed the need of Inter-University co-operation and co-ordination of work. This is needed not only to avoid working on the same topic at two or more Universities, but also to ensure proper utilisation of the limited resources in money, library facilities and Supervisory personnel of Universities. It is more economical if half a dozen Universities in each zone pool their resources in these respects, and divide special periods or special aspects of history among them according to the facilities and personnel available at each, allow interchange of students and set up a co-ordinating body of the Supervisory staff. There is also need for an all-India Inter-University agency to collect and disseminate information on research activities at different centres, and in this connection the work being done currently by the Institute of Historical Studies and its organ *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies* was noted with great approbation by all the speakers at the Symposium. This type of work does not, of course, require the official recognition of the U.G.C. or the different Universities. But it is to be hoped that in view of the useful work done by the Institute of Historical Studies, it will get due recognition as the only all-India agency for Inter-

University co-operation and co-ordination in the field of historical research.

Many of the speakers at the Symposium also urged the necessity of establishing a few Centres of Advanced Studies, which is also a favoured plan of the U.G.C. The idea is to have a few centres of Research in History which will have resources to provide facilities comparable to those at any of the first-grade Universities in Europe or America. Unfortunately, the implementation of the plan has been very slow. Although the plan was first mooted in 1962, while Centres of Advanced Studies have been set up in several other subjects, so far as History is concerned only one centre has been approved by the U.G.C. till now, at the University of Calcutta, and that also only for Ancient Indian History. Decision has yet to be taken on Medieval and Modern Indian History. Some time ago the U.G.C. set up a committee to find out gaps in the writing of Indian History. This committee listed the major gaps and recommended the allocation of the task of filling up these gaps to some particular Universities. It is to be hoped that this will be the beginning of setting up some Advanced Centres in Medieval and Modern Indian History.

The difficulty in implementing the plan of Advanced Centres lies not only in the tardy pace of work of the U.G.C. but also in the lack of perspective and imagination of the Universities. Only a few Universities, two or three at the most, have forwarded plans of Advanced Centre in History, and not one of them cared to go beyond Indian history and include the history of other parts of the world. In fact, the plans submitted so far by the different Universities only indicate a desire to slightly expand the existing History Department with the addition of two or three teachers. There is no conception of what an Advanced Centre really ought to be and on what a large and ambitious scale it should be planned and organised if we really want it to offer the same facilities in historical research as any first-grade University in Europe or America.

The need for changing the general academic outlook of Universities and to make it more research-oriented was also emphasised at the Symposium. As at present, B.A. and M.A. teaching is considered as the most important academic function of a University, research being taken as something additional, something in the nature of an academic luxury, which can be indulged in only when some enthusiastic teachers are prepared to spend their free time and devote their surplus energy for this purpose, without any expectations, financial or otherwise, from the University authorities. This is an unfortunate state of affairs, very depressing even to enthusiastic scholars who may begin with a noble zeal and a sense of idealism. To remedy the situation, the Universities must change their academic outlook and give proper priority to research in their programme. A University's reputation should depend not on the number of B.A. and M.A. students it turns out but on the contribution to knowledge that it makes through research.

U.G.C. Seminar on Post-Graduate Teaching and Research in History

The University Grants Commission also held a Seminar on Post-Graduate Teaching and Research in History in Indian Universities from 11th to 14th January 1964. It provided an opportunity for a detailed analysis of the present day conditions and a discussion of how to improve them. The U.G.C. Seminar was in a way complementary to the Symposium of the Institute of Historical Studies. While the latter concentrated entirely on research, the former devoted most of its time to problems of Post-Graduate teaching. The problems taken up for discussion included: (i) objectives of Post-Graduate studies in History (ii) content of Post-Graduate teaching in History, including syllabus, examination system etc., (iii) role of the teacher, including nature of class lectures, utility of seminars, preceptorials and tutorials, work-load, inter-disciplinary co-operation etc. Regarding research, discussion centred on two questions: (i) Prior training before

admission to the Ph.D. course; and (ii) Organisation of instruction for the research course, particularly the need for institutionalising instruction at the research level.

The U.G.C. Seminar was very well organised, thanks mainly to Dr. Sukumar Bhattacharya, himself a noted historian. The discussions were also very valuable and practical, resulting in some concrete recommendations. If these recommendations are implemented by the different Universities, it would go a long way in improving the present system of Post-Graduate teaching and research. We are looking forward to the early publication of the discussions at the Seminar and the recommendations drawn up. Universities in this country are very sensitive about their autonomous rights, but it is to be hoped that these recommendations coming from an expert group of University teachers, will be accepted with good grace and in the spirit in which they were made.

Discussion Meetings:

Since the publication of our last issue, eight Discussion Meetings were held at the Institute of Historical Studies. Dr. Richard L. Park (then Representative, Asia Foundation, and now Dean of Social Studies, Pittsburg University, U.S.A.) spoke on the *Dictionary of Nationalist Biographies Project*. Dr. S. R. Mehrotra, Lecturer in History, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, spoke on *The Early Organisation of the Indian National Congress*. Dr. A. L. Srivastava, Professor Emeritus, Agra University, gave two talks on *Some Problems of Medieval Indian History* and *A Survey of India's Resistance to the Invaders from the North-West in the Early Medieval Age*. Professor Walter Hauser (Virginia University, U.S.A.) gave two talks on *The Nature of Historical Resources in an Indian State (Bihar)* and *The State of Indian Studies in the U.S.A.* Dr. K.S. Lal, Reader in History, Delhi University, also gave two talks on *The Pro-Hindu and Pro-Muslim Schools of Medieval Indian History* and *Early Medieval Indian Society (1200-1500)—A Dynamic Society*.

Dictionary of Nationalist Biographies Project:

The Dictionary of Nationalist Biographies Project is making good progress. Bibliographies of biographical material and lists of leaders for the different zones have been submitted by the Research Fellows. The lists were scrutinised at a meeting of the Advisory Board in New Delhi in June last, and a selection was made from the names in the lists on a priority basis. Research Fellows in different parts of India are now collecting data on leaders in category 'A'. Completed Folder Files and Entry Cards have already started coming in from different centres, and it may be reasonably hoped that the volume of this flow will steadily increase in the next few months. It is yet too early to prophesy the number of leaders to be covered by the Dictionary, but the present indications are that it will definitely reach the 3000 figure. In our next issue, we shall publish a detailed Annual Report on the progress of work on the Dictionary Project. One very happy sign is the offer of co-operation we are receiving from Universities, other learned institutions, Political Associations, Libraries, Governments, Archives and prominent public figures in each zone.

Library:

To facilitate the Dictionary Project, we are trying to build up in our Library a good collection of books, pamphlets reports etc., bearing on the Indian Nationalist Movement in the 19th and 20th centuries. These are meant primarily for the use of the Research Fellows, but they can also be used by other members of the Institute. As many of these books, pamphlets etc., are rare and long out of print, it will take quite some time to build up a really satisfactory collection. We would appeal to our readers to kindly help us in this task by supplying necessary information about the availability of whatever publications of this nature they may know of.

Symposium on Historical Research in Indian Universities

THE ORGANISATION OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH IN INDIAN UNIVERSITIES

Paper Read by

DR. BISHESHWAR PRASAD

Professor and Head of the Department of History, University of Delhi.

Historical research in India has passed through its period of infancy and is now attaining maturity. A large number of scholars are engaged in this pursuit at the various Universities and every year a few theses are adjudged of sufficient merit to justify the award of doctorate degrees. Another type of work also is carried on which finds a place in the journals or the transactions of historical associations. Most important aspect of it is the awareness in the country of the place of historical research in the scheme of education as well as an aid to administration. Since independence, sources of information have also been finding an outlet and the governmental archives have been organised and opened for use by scholars. A welcome sign is that both the state as well as private agencies have grown conscious of the value of their hoardings and are prepared to preserve them adequately and even allow them to be used for purposes of historical research. These are symptoms of health and augur well for the development of research. It is now for the worshippers of Clio to exploit the favourable climate and use the available facilities to place historical research in India on a sound footing, comparable with the stage reached in the Western countries.

It may be pertinent at this stage to review the character of work done so far. One phase of achievement is the discovery of source

material which has been unearthed to a degree of near finality in relation to many periods and aspects of the history of India. There are still many gaps, though the chasm is not very wide. For the ancient period archaeology has yet to yield much to present a vivid picture of social life and economic organisation as well as to provide chronological fixity to political history and to determine the sequence of cultural strata. Literary evidence has been, it appears, largely explored. The situation as regards the later centuries may not be as optimistic, for no concerted effort has yet been made, except for the Maratha history, to collect the scattered source material, which is still quite abundant. Much of it is to be found outside India, and no scholar pursuing research in medieval history, or for the matter of that, even in modern history, can be sure that he has examined all or even nearly all the sources of information. For modern history, the problem is more complex, for the variety and extent of such material is immense and that may be spread over so many places, including England and other foreign countries. Archival material is also distributed over London, New Delhi and the State capitals, leaving aside the vast quantity of district and other records to be found in every area. The non-official sources, the periodical literature and so many other bits of information have yet not been gathered. All this makes the task of a researcher extremely difficult and

creates a sense of frustration. There is, however, a hopeful sign that the Government and others are conscious of this limitation and some efforts are being made to obtain documents from abroad. The process will take long to complete, if it will ever be completed. But no endeavour seems to be there to trace the other source material in India or to bring it at one central place, easily available to the researchers. In the absence of such aid, research in Indian history must suffer from a severe handicap.

Another field of endeavour has been political history, largely viewed from the angle of the rulers and dynasties. Some scholars have directed their search-light to the imperial houses, while others have traced the histories of local states which had broken away from the central organisation and which in their turn got merged again into a bigger unit which developed into an imperial state. To a large extent this process of integration, disintegration and re-integration has been mapped out. There are two important features characteristic of this type of research. First, that largely the approach has been narrational and the output is more a chronicle of events within a chronological framework, in the fixing of which considerable ingenuity has been displayed. Very rarely have the narrators outstepped the routine to delve into the forces which had impelled the growth of these states. Wars have been described but without either a clear notion of strategy or the stage of technological development which played a major role in the determination of results. Of course, the influence of socio-economic forces on political history has not been traced generally and many did not see any ostensible relationship between the two. Local or provincial history has engaged largely the attention of the residents of those areas who considered it an act of patriotism to depict in the most glorious light the achievements of their people and often the term 'nation' or 'national' has been used for such sectional and local recalcitrance. Religious or sectarian biases have found full play in most of these

attempts, and local rebels and religious fanatics have been painted as national heroes.

In the last few years, happily, a new ground has been broken and some valuable works have been produced on economic aspects, administrative organisation or social life. Their number is small and in their nature they are sectional and piecemeal studies in which a synoptic view is lacking. There is, however, little in the shape of a study of movements, religious or social or even economic, and nothing has been done to integrate these with political changes and developments. There is scarce little which might give an insight into the life of the people. So far no endeavour seems to have been made to analyse the trend of ideas which motivate human action and whose role in making history has been so fundamental. In respect of recent history a great desideratum is the analysis of forces and factors which were responsible for the emergence of the Indian National Movement. Even Gandhi's role in Indian life has not yet found a historian. Military history and the course of technological development have been almost completely neglected. Historians have not had time or inclination to turn to these aspects, with the result that historical research has failed to find an answer to many of the problems which intrigue both the layman and the professional historian.

It has been necessary to enter into this long analysis of the range and nature of historical research in India to determine the task which lies before the Universities, for only in that context is it possible to examine the organisation of historical research in them and to view the difficulties which beset them. It will be clear from the preceding brief survey that the two basic limitations have been the non-availability of, or inaccessibility to, source material and the narrow view of history and inadequate appreciation of the character of historical research which is fast developing in the Western countries. The existing organisation of historical research in the Universities has developed within these two limitations and a

solution of these will help to improve research in the Universities, which remain so far the main centre of advanced studies in India.

An essential objective of research in India is the quest for research degrees, Ph.D. or D.Litt. In some places there is a preliminary degree known as M.Litt. also, but the lure of a doctorate is the chief attraction of research. To be eligible for research the Master's (M.A.) degree is the minimum qualification. Normally an M.A. registers himself for the higher degree immediately after taking his degree, but in many cases teachers, or even some others, may do so after the lapse of some years. It is not common to insist on a higher division or some research experience for registration, and generally one meets with fresh graduates struggling to find their way through the intricacies of research, often left to their own resources. On registration a scholar is attached to some supervisor under whose guidance he has to complete his work within a limited number of years. Many Universities have Committees or Boards of Research which approve such admissions and it is their job to fix the subjects and the supervisor, and even to ask for periodical reports of the scholar's progress. With this formality completed, the research scholar gets a stamp and recognition of his being the worshipper of Clio, and when he completes his dissertation, he submits to an examination which may involve an assessment of his so-called thesis and a *viva-voce* test, which was, however, not obligatory everywhere till very recently. On favourable reports of his achievement, he is awarded the degree and admitted into the ranks of the privileged few.

The mechanism of registration, supervision and assessment conforms to the standard regulations prevailing in many Western countries and has intrinsically nothing wrong about it. But it may not be the same so far as the capability of the scholar, the selection of the subject and the worthiness of the super-

visor are concerned, in many Universities. Taking first the student, it is not always the best who take to this path: rather, on the contrary, generally the poorer quality are drawn towards research, for their acquirements might not have qualified them for administrative, business or even teaching posts, and having failed to be absorbed anywhere they gravitate towards research to improve their qualifications, or, as some say, to wash out the stain of the third class, to get a lecturer's post later. Some join research for they have failed to get a position in the administrative service competitions. It is generally found that the basic attainments of such scholars are low, for they had not read even some standard works or monographs at their M.A. stage and their understanding of the subject is, to say the least, extremely paltry and disappointing. Such a student joins research and gets admission, for otherwise the University Department may have none on its rolls and may suffer humiliation in comparison with others. The value of a Department depends these days on the number of research scholars and the output of Ph.D.'s and there seems to be a race going on between various disciplines and even Universities to secure the position of prestige. In one or two Universities teachers are paid some allowances or a lift in salary on the basis of the number of scholars working under their supervision. This acts as an incentive to increase in numbers and admission of all and sundry, irrespective of their capacity, attainment or aptitude for research.

Then comes the stage of selection of subject. It must be the common experience of senior teachers being approached to suggest subjects and to fix them not only for their students but for others also. In many Universities it is customary for the scholar to mention his subject, rather precise subject, and submit a synopsis along with his application for enrolment. This subject, in the context of the synopsis, becomes final. A precondition for research to be an original contribution to knowledge is that the problem must be new

and the investigation must be based on a deep study and a genuine inquisitiveness to find the solution. No fresh graduate can ever be competent, in the present stage of M.A. instruction, to acquire that craving for answers, because his knowledge is neither extensive nor analytical. It is doubtful if many teachers who are entrusted with the care of scholars have themselves gone through such a discipline and have the leisure or the means to get that depth and critical approach. The inevitable consequence is that the subjects are narrational in character and very often much work has already been done on them. The research boards are also not in a position, if they have time to scrutinise, to mend matters. This explains the phenomenon of the recurring chronicles of local dynasties or of wars, diplomatic relations and administrations of rulers or governors. Even if fortunately a suitable subject is hit upon, the scholar does not have that effective guidance which will enable him to frame an analysis of his subject or later to develop the synthesis inherent in historical research. Owing to this lack, which results from ignorance of methodology and absence of helpful advice, the scholar is unable to utilise the source material and take proper notes from it. Indexing and docketing of information are arts unknown to him. Ultimately he is unable to present a comprehensive picture which may bear the impress of critical acumen and judgement. During the stage of collection of material, discretion is most often missing. For all this, the responsibility lies with the supervisor, who, in a large number of cases, is neither trained for his task nor has the time and inclination to get equipped to handle it successfully. The present day tendency for the expansion of numbers and entrusting research guidance to teachers not on grounds of merit or capacity for the work, but other considerations, is a glaring defect of the existing organisation. Specialisation in some field is not what is demanded, for there are instances where an indifferent scholar of ancient Indian history had taken up guidance in medieval and modern Indian history, for the particular University

did not have any other person to take charge of research guidance.

The greatest handicap, however, is the inaccessibility of source material and the paucity of well-stocked libraries within the easy reach of research scholars. No University in the country has more than a few scraps of source material and most of them are poor in their library hoardings. The consequence is that the scholar has to move from place to place in search of manuscripts, documents and records, and scholars of many Universities have to spend long periods extending over years away from their supervisors and do not have the benefit of their guidance in the crucial stage of material collection when ideas are formed and problems emerge seeking solution. Even for secondary works they have to visit metropolitan towns, where alone, in national or large public libraries, there are any adequate collections of books. Research involves constant discussion, what may be called 'clash of minds.' The scholar imbibes the best in his supervisor. But in a condition as prevails in Indian Universities this necessary element is non-available and hundreds of scholars have to depend on their native genius or seek help from questionable sources. In the nature of things, it is impossible for all Universities to have this facility, and everyone of them cannot hope even in the best of situations to be rich in every field of research. Yet without the library resources and archival hoardings being within easy approach, one cannot imagine the Universities following a programme of historical research.

A pertinent question arises whether the Universities are serious about historical research. It will be difficult to answer this question in the affirmative. Some heads of departments may be keen on developing research, or some enthusiastic young teachers may be led in their zeal to raise a voice in its favour. But apart from such individual ebullitions, an examination of the state of affairs leads to pessimism. Beginning with the allocation of funds for libraries, appointment of staff on grounds other than re-

search and grant of fellowships or scholarships for research and coming to the encouragement and financial support of research, an attitude of negligence, indifference or even scorn is apparent in the Universities. The University Grants Commission and the State Governments also have not shown appreciable interest in this direction, and while under certain pressures their munificence is generous, even to the extent of extravagance in respect of research in natural sciences and technology, history has failed to find favour with them. In the absence of patronage by these authorities and owing to illiberality in the matter of finances, there are few research fellowships and the Universities are unable to attract the deserving students to this branch, where it takes at least three to four years to prepare a satisfactory dissertation. The teachers have no facilities to visit libraries and archival repositories or even to get leave to pursue research, which is considered by many as a useless pastime. There are no projects of research in history undertaken by any University which have been financed by the Government or the University Grants Commission, though assistance is not lacking for economics or sociology. There is a certain prejudice among employers against research, and very often a Ph.D. is passed over in favour of a mere M.A., either on the ground that a first class M.A. is better than a mere doctorate or on the basis that a Ph.D. is too highly qualified to stick to a lecturer's post in a college. In this climate of indifference or positive hostility to research, it is not surprising that teachers qualified to guide research are not available and the output of research is generally poor.

Is there a way out? Yes, if there grows a consciousness of the utility and value of historical research, not for the individual, but for the nation. That can arise only if the stream of historical research merges with the national requirements and the discoveries of historians can solve the problems which the administration may encounter and provide the means for national development. It is not necessary to enter here into the age-old controversy whether research

should be utilitarian or it must merely serve the interest of knowledge in the absolute. State support can come forth and public enthusiasm generated only for schemes of national welfare, material, intellectual or emotional. It is for historians to consider whether they can become active agents of national development, and then to orient their research projects in that direction.

This imposes a new obligation to organise research on a corporate basis and not let it be the function of mere individuals to plough their lonely furrows. The selection of projects and allocating them to the Universities, Institutes or groups of scholars has to be made by some organisation which may be appointed by the University Grants Commission or by the Universities jointly. It may also involve a project being pursued by a certain University or the establishment of research institutes in close association with the Universities. Such research cannot be left to the fresh scholars, but has to be conducted on a collective basis by the senior researchers in collaboration with junior and fresh scholars, and very often as an inter-disciplinary programme. Perhaps the scheme of advanced centres of research which the U.G.C. contemplates may serve this object. It may be hoped that this scheme will soon materialise and work will be taken up on real scientific lines with adequate resources in men and source material.

Closely related to this is the need for some rationalisation in research and allocation of certain fields to the various Universities. For quite a long time to come every University will not have adequate means to undertake research in every period, field or aspect of Indian history. At the moment research on other countries is inconceivable. Therefore what follows is that every University should not indulge in this luxury, but should send deserving students to other Universities or centres where facilities are available and may grant fellowships to them. In the case of better placed Universities also who may have adequate supervising staff and

workable libraries, it will be necessary to select a limited field for operation. Such rationalisation may involve some Universities taking up research in the ancient period while others may take to medieval or modern period, depending on feasibility. At this stage colleges should not be entrusted with research functions, and concentration of research should only be at important University centres where library, archival and supervisory facilities are available. Also there is need of some limitation being imposed on eligibility for acting as supervisor. Every teacher or every Ph.D. is not competent to do this work, and in no case a person who has never had any acquaintance with research himself and who has not had adequate training in methodology should be permitted to undertake research guidance. This is essential to save a lot of waste and for the improvement of quality.

For the fresh researcher a condition of his aptitude and sufficient background knowledge of the subject should be insisted upon before enrolment. It will be more desirable that the University Departments may admit a student and, for a year or more, as necessary, may give him guidance in respect of general reading, deep study of the field and allied subjects before assigning the problem of research. A course in methodology, historical writing etc. must also be given to him. When he has passed through such a discipline and has developed an insight into historical processes and has sufficient width of knowledge to be able to interpret facts, then, either after a test or on the teacher's report, he may be assigned a subject which must be approved by the Research Board of the University and must conform to the general pattern of research which may have been prescribed by the organisation suggested earlier.

Perhaps, there will be need to instruct the instructor as well, and the Universities should devise some method by which a number of supervisors should be trained to carry on the work. The best discipline for them is continuous research under the advice of a senior researcher

and encountering the criticism of reviewers and readers. Even a set course for this purpose may be prepared.

The most important reform will be to build up libraries well stocked with books and copies of source material for which necessary funds must be found. As the finances for long will be limited, the various Universities will have to choose fields in which alone they can hope to collect the necessary apparatus.

To sum up, it must be admitted that the present set-up for research is inadequate and has numerous failings and must be remedied soon if historical research has to be meaningful. What is required is that deserving researchers should be given financial aid and best students encouraged to take to it. Otherwise it will be difficult to find suitable teachers for University teaching and the whole structure of post-graduate instruction will crumble. For such scholars, well-equipped and properly trained supervisors should be provided, and these should have the impetus and facilities to remain constantly engaged in research. Libraries should be built and source material obtained in microfilm or other methods so that the scholars may work in close contact with their guides for a considerable part of their period of research. In addition to such guided research, Universities should undertake projects of research on a cooperative basis and there may be a board to determine such subjects in the interest of national requirements. Advanced centres of research must be started early and institutes of historical research should be established in close association with the Universities. There is need to increase the cadre of Research Professors who may provide the inspiration and promote fruitful research. The greater need is to build up the human resources on which will depend the character and output of research. The Universities have great responsibility in this matter and they have to fulfil their role of being the bearers of the torch of knowledge. If they fail in it, the future must remain dark.

Paper Read by

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It is well known that the three early Universities of India, established in 1857, were organised on the model of the London University. Consequently they were at the outset primarily affiliating and examining bodies. There was no provision for research or advance of original knowledge. By about the end of the last century, certain educationists expressed their dissatisfaction with the position and therefore it was felt necessary to provide facilities for research. Early in this century the Government of India bestowed certain grants of money on the three Universities for the purpose of encouraging research, and one of the subjects chosen for the provision of advanced study was History. Thus, for example, in the University of Madras, a Professor of Indian History and Archaeology was appointed in 1914 with the help of the special grant given by the Government of India. Studentships were instituted and good work was done.

Since then, there has appeared an expansion of the Departments of Indian History in the older Universities, while the large number of new Universities that have arisen during the last thirty years or so have opened Departments of Indian History, which provide scope for teaching and research. Some Universities like Andhra and Kerala concentrate primarily on the teaching of history. In others, while commendable work is being done in the field of research, there are several shortcomings which demand attention.

In the first place, historical research is not assigned the place it deserves in the scheme of advanced study. The ever-increasing craze for science in recent times has had a repercussion on the importance attached to humanistic studies in general and to history in particular. This circumstance has affected the proportion

of funds spent on the organisation of the Department of History, its staff, library, research fellowships, etc. The comparative neglect of History as a subject of study and research is perhaps more conspicuous in South India than in the North.

A basic factor to be noticed in this connection is that the better type of students is not generally drawn to history. This is partly due to the glamour of Applied Sciences and the greater scope of employment afforded for students offering other subjects in the Humanities section. This tendency has to be arrested and it is suggested that, other things being equal, candidates well grounded in History should be given a preference in administrative and secretarial services.

There has been a conspicuous lack of appreciation of advanced study and research in historical subjects. This is not perhaps surprising; even in Europe it was long before History was given its legitimate status in the educational field. Classics, Philosophy, Mathematics and the Natural Sciences occupied the dominant place. Roman and Greek histories were studied only as adjuncts to the Classics. The 19th century witnessed in Europe a real enthusiasm for history and historical writing. Many outstanding historical works of permanent value were produced during that age. As Gooch observes, the nineteenth century can be regarded as the 'Golden Age of Historical Writing'. The philippic thus given to the subject has exerted a great influence on the Universities of the West, and today, even though great strides have been made in the study of sciences, history, like other humanities, is by no means relegated to the background.

In India, history was a neglected pursuit

for ages. There has been an inexplicable lack of earnestness about historical writing. No historian worth the name appeared in this great land of ours until Kalhana wrote his *Rajatarangini*. He emphasised the need for impartial veracity in historical writing and held that 'the historian, like a judge, must be free from likes or dislikes in narrating the events of the past'. In actual practice, however, he fell far short of the ideal historian, because he repeated the legends and stories of the past in respect of ancient history. His credulity is such that, without comment, he tells us that King Ranaditya ruled for three hundred years and that Meghavahana conquered Ceylon by the grace of the God Varuna who made the sea rigid so that the Kashmir troops could cross it on foot. But he adhered to right canons of historical writing in respect of the later period. However, Kalhana was not followed by other scholars worth the name, with the result that history continued to be a neglected field. 'In the whole range of Sanskrit literature there is no other historical text which makes even a near approach to Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* or may be regarded as history in the proper sense of the term' (R. C. Majumdar). Several explanations have been offered to account for the absence of historical spirit in India. The importation of religious ideas and beliefs into the study of the past as well as the congregation of scholars in courts where critical historical writing was hardly encouraged were some of the factors responsible for a lack of progress in this field.

No wonder that in modern times, too, historical research has not made much headway in our Universities. The problem has therefore to be tackled with great care.

Staff:—In the first place, the organisation of well-staffed Departments of History in all the Universities is a basic requirement. It is preferable to have two sections, as in the Universities of Calcutta, Lucknow, Allahabad and Nagpur, one devoted to Ancient History and Culture, another to Medieval and Modern

History. Since there is a vast difference in the type of sources for medieval and modern history of India, it would be desirable to have three departments, Ancient, Medieval and Modern in the History sections of all the Universities. This would help intensive specialisation.

Each one of these Departments should have at least three members on the staff, a Professor, a Reader and a Lecturer. It is suggested that besides these, a well-qualified Research Assistant should also be attached to the Department. His services, if properly directed, would help save considerable time in the mechanical work of collecting and arranging source materials.

Whether the staff of the Department should be exclusively devoted to research or should combine their research with teaching is a question often discussed in academic circles. It is obvious that a certain measure of post-graduate (M.A.) teaching by the members of the University Department would be desirable. This helps not only the students but also the teachers who are able to realise the difficulties of others. But overburdening the staff with routine lecturing work, as is done in several of the South Indian Universities, is by no means a healthy practice. Little time would be left for the arduous task of research under such conditions.

The qualifications needed for the staff are well known, but are not always found to exist in practice. Recently there has been an insistence on Research Degrees as essential qualifications for recruitment. These do not always yield the expected result. In actuality a well-established reputation through published works and papers should be the criterion. Other factors like caste, religion and nativity of the region are irrelevant considerations, but more often than not they prove decisive.

Nor is it out of place to stress the fundamental virtues needed of historians and those who

guide research. The most essential attribute of the historian is unflinching respect for accuracy and truth. There must be absolute freedom from prejudice of any kind. In actual practice, however, this is not always achieved. It may be contended that even great historians of the past, like Thucydides, Tacitus, Gibbon and Mommsen, were not above board in this respect. V.A. Smith claimed that his object was to 'relate facts with impartiality and to discuss the problems of history in a judicial spirit'. But he admits that some measure of subjectivity is inevitable. He says: "Nor is it possible for the writer of history, however great may be his respect for objective fact, to eliminate altogether his own personality". Though he adds that he has 'endeavoured to exclude the subjective element as far as possible', he has lamentably failed to achieve it in several places.

Among Indian writers it is not infrequently found that there has appeared a tendency to exalt the past and read into the sources more than what is warranted. Regional and communal loyalties have vitiated a correct approach to questions. This is particularly true of the early period of Indian history, though even in respect of the medieval and modern periods too, these drawbacks have continued to appear. Despite all these shortcomings it cannot be held that the ideal is unrealisable. Writing and re-writing, corrected by frank and unbiased criticism, are bound to reveal the truth ultimately. In fact, among European historians, Ranke and his pupil Lord Acton did achieve a commendable measure of accuracy and truth. Lecky attained a conspicuously high standard in his *History of European Morals*.

It is also important to observe that members of the staff should have a wide background of historical knowledge. Not infrequently specialists become too rigidly immersed in their narrow field of study. This is unsound. The specialist in the modern period of Indian History, for example is better suited to tackle

his work if he has a good grounding in British and European History. It is necessary for a researcher in Early Indian History to have a knowledge of Sanskrit and the regional language or languages, besides epigraphy, numismatics and similar branches of study. A knowledge of the allied social sciences like ethnology, anthropology, philosophy, psychology, political science and economics would prove helpful to researchers in History. Which of these subjects and what aspects of them would prove useful to the specialist in History would depend on the particular subject chosen for research.

In this connection it is important to emphasise that there should be coordination and cooperation between the various Departments of the University. Conditions in Indian Universities leave much to be desired. The mutual relations between members of various Departments of study are not what they should be. In several cases, mutual jealousy and ill-feeling are found to mar the healthy relations between intellectuals. There is not always the realisation that all are devotees striving for truth and knowledge. Much can be learnt in these matters from Western Universities.

Research Students:—It is equally important to have the proper type of research students. As found in some of the Universities there can be two categories of research workers—research students and research fellows, the former mostly younger pupils who have just finished their M.A. course and the latter, either those who had already taken a preliminary research degree like the M. Litt or B. Litt., or teachers of some experience who turn to research. Generally speaking there is more to be said in favour of encouraging researchers of the latter category, because, presumably they have a better grounding in History and have a better chance of bringing to bear a critical outlook on their researches.

The selection of the best candidates is of supreme importance. Normally the merit of the

candidates as revealed by their previous educational career can be the basis of selection. But it does not always yield the best result. A selection by the supervisor or Head of the Department assisted by other experts may prove helpful. It is hardly necessary to repeat that irrelevant considerations like religion, caste and personal affiliations should find no place in the selection of suitable candidates. In addition to the previous academic record, special equipments, particularly knowledge of languages, should be taken into account. For instance, those intending to do research on topics in Early Indian History should preferably have a good grounding in Sanskrit and the regional language or languages. It is suggested that for research fellowships or studentships in Early Indian History, M.A.s. in Sanskrit or any regional language can be chosen and subsequently given a training in historical method. As an alternative, those who have taken the M.A. Degree in History may be given a grounding in the languages necessary for their research. Similarly those choosing the Medieval period of Indian History would find scholarship in Persian, Turkish and Urdu languages helpful. Candidates taking up Modern Indian History would do well to have a good grounding in modern European and Asian History. For certain subjects pertaining to the modern period a knowledge of foreign languages like French, Portuguese or Dutch would prove helpful.

In this connection it may be suggested that some of the Universities in India may specialise in particular themes or subdivisions of a period. One or other member of the staff may have specialised in certain branches, and students from any part of India may go to such Universities. For instance some University may specialise on the French period or Portuguese period of Indian History. It is time that Universities in India, besides providing for general research, establish a reputation for specialised research. In this connection it may be mentioned that a Department of South East Asian History may be organised in any one of the South

Indian Universities. The cultural expansion over South East Asia from South India deserves to be fully explored. A Department of Far Eastern History may be started with advantage in one of the North Indian Universities.

Choice of the Subject:—It is hardly necessary to stress the importance of choosing the proper subject for research. More often than not, the candidate wants the Supervisor to suggest the subject of his research. Though there might be several extenuating circumstances responsible for this tendency, it is by far better for the student to explore and discover his own interest and choose a subject suited to it. The exact nature of the subject may be finally decided upon in consultation with the Supervisor after an initial period of exploration.

The question of choosing the subject is closely connected with the range or scope of historical research. Political history has so far dominated the field. The scope of history is really much wider than the study of kings and ministers, wars and treaties. The history of the common men, of their social and religious life, of their culture and civilisation constitutes an important aspect of the history of a people. As Cohen put it: "Instead of the old restriction to the study of kings and dynasties, warriors and the like, there came also a more human conception of the proper province of history, to include ordinary social functions, such as games, social manners, every day business transactions, all the things which constitute the substance of the daily life of men, women and children". More or less the same idea is emphasised by the American historian, Macmaster. He says: "The history of the people shall be the chief theme. At any stage of the splendid progress which separates the America of Washington and Adams from the America in which we live, it shall be my aim to describe the dress, occupations and amusements, literary canons of the times, to note the changes of manners and morals, to trace the growth of that humane spirit which abolished punishment for debt, re-

formed the discipline of prisons and jails, and which has, in our own times, destroyed slavery and lessened the miseries of dumb brutes".

As themes of social history, for example, the history of particular castes can be explored with advantage. South India, in particular, offers a fertile field of investigation in this respect. Equally important is the study of the great temples in the land. The temple was the pivot around which the life of the region developed. "Separate monographs on different temples will have to be written and written with care and discernment before we can attempt the general study of the rise and growth of the temple, and its place as a religious and social institution in South India". (K.A.N. Sastri).

Supervision:—It need hardly be mentioned that supervision of research is very important. Generally speaking, conditions in Indian Universities in this respect leave much to be desired. It is not merely the indication of the subject, the bibliography or the lines of research or even the correction of the written matter that the Supervisor should be content with undertaking. On the other hand, supervision is really the provision of opportunity for mind moving with mind, a 'collision of heads' as it has been called. We often hear the personality and scholarship of the Professor exercising a subtle but profound influence on the student. But by and large in India this remains all but a theoretical maxim. I have had opportunities of knowing something of the pattern of supervision provided in Madras as well as that in vogue in Oxford and London. To put it in a nutshell, there is ample scope for improvement in this field in India.

Regular meetings of the Supervisor and the student at stated hours is desirable. Free and frank discussions and a helpful attitude on the part of the Supervisor are of supreme importance. Seminars attended by the members of the Staff as well as all the Research students

of the Department can be occasionally organized which may discuss primarily questions pertaining to the methodology of research.

During the early stages of the research the candidates may be made to read certain outstanding books on the methodology of historical research. For example, Crump's *History and Historical Research*, Garraghan's *A Guide to Historical Method*, George's *Historical Evidence*, Oman's *On the Writing of History*, Thompson's *A History of Historical Writing* are some of the books which can be read with profit.

This brings us to the use of the libraries. Several of our Universities have lending libraries. It is not always that students are able to refer to particular books at the needed time. Either Departmental libraries can be established where almost all the technical books would be made available or the entire library in a University can be reconstituted as only a Reference Library.

Facilities for researchers in the Record Offices of the States and the Centre can be improved in a large measure. In the first place, the Curator or the Head of the Record Office should be at once competent and sympathetic. The officer must be preferably one who has had a good record of research to his credit in History or allied subjects. At times Revenue Officers are appointed as Curators, they have little concern for or interest in research. Secondly, there ought to be proper facilities for guiding researchers, particularly in the matter of enabling them to obtain the suitable records for scrutiny with the least delay. Competent assistants can help the researchers in this matter considerably.

The offices of the Government Departments of Archaeology, Epigraphy and Numismatics should provide help for those working on subjects in Early Indian History. In several States the inscriptions copied fifty or sixty years ago have not been published yet. The Government must undertake the speedy publi-

cation of these epigraphs. Meanwhile facilities must be afforded for the consultation of unpublished inscriptions.

Writing of Theses:—After the matter has been collected with discrimination and care, and sifted and analysed, there comes the final task of presenting the matter in a cogent and readable manner. The assistance of the Supervisor is particularly needed in this matter. Confused thinking, verbiage, and exaggerations have to be carefully avoided. It cannot be ignored that more often than not, a thesis is estimated on the basis of the style and presentation of the matter.

In this connection we are faced with the question of the language in which theses in History are to be written. With the un-

fortunate deterioration in the standard of English of our University products on the one hand and with the increasing cry for the adoption of the regional language as the medium of higher education on the other, the case for the adoption of the regional language for writing theses seems to be strengthened. Moreover, with some the question has become a matter of sentiment.

Despite these circumstances, I feel that our Research theses must continue to be written in English, at least for some more time to come. It is my conviction that for securing accuracy of expression and well balanced presentation the continuance of English is essential. At present no Indian language is so well developed as to facilitate its employment in the writing of research theses.

Paper Read by

DR. A. L. SRIVASTAVA

Professor Emeritus, University of Agra

Historical research in most of our universities is a matter of individual interest and activity. Some university teachers who are deeply interested in research spend their leisure, spared from teaching work, in the work of enquiry, investigation and research. Hardly is any credit given or facilities provided for research work in some of our universities. These universities have fixed minimum and maximum numbers of teaching periods. For example, the Agra University has fixed 18 periods' teaching work by the head of a post-graduate department and 21 for others. The university does not care whether the head or some other teachers devote their leisure hours to research or not, but they must teach the prescribed number of periods a week. This is true of several other universities in the country. It means that the vice-chancellors of our universities and principals of first-grade

colleges are not so much interested in research activities of the teachers as of their teaching activities in post-graduate and degree classes. Historical research in our universities is thus largely a matter of personal concern of the professor of history. When the professor retires the post is not filled by the appointment of an equally able successor, and very often the successor is a specialist in a different period of Indian or European history. The result is that no solid and lasting tradition of scholarship in a particular branch is built up. The new entrant ignores the tradition established by his predecessor and encourages research in a different field. And as it happens, in some cases the new professor is not a life-long researcher and is inferior in qualifications to some of his colleagues and is jealous of them. This produces friction and research activity is either marred or comes to a dead end.

Under these circumstances the pursuit of research depends upon the personality, learning, ability and ambition of the professor. If the professor happens to be a lifelong scholar and researcher and a man imbued with a desire to advance the horizon of knowledge, he organises the research activity of his department and inspires and encourages his colleagues and research-scholars to carry on research, to write papers and produce research monographs. He chalks out a programme of research, allots subjects, prepares synopses and bibliographies, sometimes in consultation with his colleagues and research workers, but very often solely by himself. He sends out his research scholars to various manuscript libraries in the country to collect material for their theses. He supervises and guides his researchers and corrects their theses. In short he is not only the motive force of all research activities in his department but is also the principal participant in all those activities. The vice-chancellor or the principal is not concerned. But if a vice-chancellor happens to be a man of broad sympathies, he might assist the professor in procuring loans of manuscripts or getting some books of reference from the National Library or the National Archives. Sometimes he might even provide money for the purchase of standard and reference books. But this is not always done and the professor has to fall back on the resources of the department or his personal resources in order to see that research work continues. Thus the organisation of historical research in many of our universities is not what it should be.

Barring a few fortunate universities like Calcutta, Patna and Delhi—and Bombay and Madras to a lesser degree—which have the advantage of first-rate Ms. libraries and archives, our universities do not only lack adequate research facilities and equipment, but they do not have proper human material or personnel. Our brilliant students have been for the last several years going to the Science Faculty. We have second rate and sometimes third-rate students and these make poor researchers.

In my university we have had generally second class M.A.s that come to us for research in history, and many of them are teachers employed either in Degree or Intermediate colleges. Our first class M.A.s go in for I.A.S. and other all-India services, and if a first divisioner comes for research he, all the time, has his eye on administrative services or a lectureship in a university. Secondly, our youngmen do not possess proper linguistic equipment, such as, a good working knowledge of Sanskrit, Persian, Medieval Marathi, Dingal, Portuguese or French. Almost cent per cent of those who come for research in Medieval Indian history are ignorant of Persian and old Marathi. The result is that they have to depend upon English translations of Persian Chronicles. But there are no English translations of Marathi documents. The research scholars have, therefore, to work on imperfect source-material. In one or two universities where specialization is done in Medieval Indian history, both the teachers and the research scholars work on Persian sources only, and do not care to have access to copious material available in Sanskrit, Rajasthani, Marathi and even Hindi or Bengali. One can easily imagine the type of work that is being done in those centres of learning.

Supervision of research work in most of our universities and particularly in post-graduate colleges is far from satisfactory. Some of the research guides either cannot or do not supervise the work of their research pupils. They do not suggest the bibliography, they do not discuss intricate problems with their research students, and do not go through their theses to suggest improvement. Sometimes these theses remain lying with the supervisors for months together. What these research guides want is to get credit for having produced so many Ph.Ds. or that for having so many registered research workers under them. It happens sometimes that the guides do not possess special knowledge of the subjects which they seek to guide, and in some cases they have not had any experience of doing research themselves. Our affiliating universities have Research Degree Committees

with one or two experts, who approve subjects for research. This is all that such a university does in the matter of research work of the students registered on its rolls. Thereafter the University does nothing except to make arrangements for the examination of a thesis, when it is submitted. Nor do teaching universities have a better arrangement for the supervision of the work of research scholars. It is not necessary in some teaching universities for a candidate to submit a synopsis of his proposed thesis. It is enough that the professor certifies that the subject is suitable for research and it is approved by the relevant university bodies. I know of several university professors of history in our teaching universities who not only do not actively supervise the work of their students, but also do not go through the drafts of their theses when they are ready. The question of correcting the second, third, fourth or fifth drafts of a thesis does not arise. The supervisor in a teaching university has the right to suggest the names of the examiners and very often they are amiable people.

It will appear from the foregoing discussion that the organisation of historical research in our universities is highly unsatisfactory. The main defects are (i) lack of organisation, (ii) linguistic ill-equipment of researchers, (iii) lack of proper library facilities, (iv) inadequate and uninformed supervision, (v) absence of co-ordination among the History Departments of our universities.

It is not an easy thing to suggest remedies. But if one has to make an attempt one must begin from the top. Our universities should have vice-chancellors who themselves have been life-long scholars and understand the difference between research publications, ordinary books, text books and bazar notes. I know of some vice-chancellors to whom all books are alike, whether they be research monographs or bazar notes. Vice-chancellors of this type are incapable of inspiring and helping research, whether it be in History, Chemistry or any other subject. In free India

the practice of late has been to appoint politicians or retired judges and sometimes even those who have not crossed the threshold of a university after taking their first degree, as vice-chancellors under the plea that the administration in a university required one who is not a scholar, but an administrator. The result is what we see in the universities now a days—confusion in the organisation and pursuit of honest research.

An equally indispensable reform is that of the appointment of right kind of teachers, not only professors but also lecturers. I would rather say that appointment of a right type of lecturer is equally important, for it is the lecturer who in course of time becomes the professor. It is however, said at the time of the appointment of a lecturer that it is a junior post and therefore it is not very necessary to insist on research qualifications. In course of time, however the lecturer reaches the post of the head of the department, although he might not have done first rate research work during twenty or twenty five years of his service as a lecturer and Reader. The claims of age and experience and length of service are difficult to be ignored. The Radhakrishnan Report's recommendation that a teacher should always be in a position to compete with other scholars is not applicable anywhere. The most essential qualities in the professor should be the habit of lifelong research, encouragement and patronage of research and liberality and broad-mindedness.

I would suggest that there should be continuity of tradition of scholarship in particular branch of history at a university. At the time of the retirement of the professor it should be seen that his successor is a specialist in the same branch so that continuity of scholarship in that branch could be maintained and developed. At present this is unfortunately not done, and very often if the professor is a specialist in Ancient Indian History, he is succeeded by one who is a specialist in Medieval Indian History. This causes interrupti-

and leads to deterioration in the standards and reputation of learning.

It is desirable that there should be a statutory regulation making it obligatory for the professor to produce an authoritative research monograph every five or seven years and to guide successfully at least one or two research scholars during the period. At the end of five or seven years the research output of the professor should be scrutinised by a high power committee of specialists. I am aware of the difficulties in the implementation of this suggestion. But to my mind there is no other way of making a professor pursue research as long as he is a professor. The unfortunate tendency at present is that the professor ceases to be a scholar and researcher after he has reached the top. There are no doubt a few honourable exceptions, but the tendency in most cases is to fall into sloth and not to do his main work but to take interest in university politics and other non-essential matters. It will be good if the same rule applies to readers and lecturers in a lesser degree. If it is not possible to combine teaching and research, each university should have a research director whose main function should be the organisation of historical research, guidance and supervision of research scholars and also himself undertaking research. For him too a minimum output of research in a fixed period should be made obligatory. There should be no retirement or superannuation for the professor or the research director of this type as long as he is fit to work and fulfil the conditions of his appointment.

As regards enrolment of research scholars, only those should be registered who not only show patience and capacity, but are also well-equipped with a knowledge of the languages in which the source-material of their proposed theses is available. I have invariably observed the rule of keeping my research scholars for one or two years on the waiting list before getting them registered by the university, but making them work during the period of their waiting by allotting to them subjects, giving

each of them a tentative synopsis and a list of the source-books or manuscripts that he or she might have to study. I have found this practice salutary. Most of them who are not serious scholars get tired and leave and only genuine workers remain and they are then properly registered in the university. Besides, the guide should be appointed by the university and not chosen by the candidates as is the practice at present. There should be a board or committee of advisers for each candidate. The advisers should possess knowledge of the sources, in the original. They need not all be history men and may be professors or readers of Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Portuguese, French, etc., but devoted scholars of wide interest and sympathy. The candidates should have free access to them and derive benefit from their learning and experience.

It is not possible for every university on account of distance and lack of accommodation and other facilities to derive equal benefit from the National Archives, the Asiatic Society Library, the Khuda Bakhsh Library, the National Library etc. But each university can and must have at least all available published raw-materials in Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Marathi, etc. It can and must attempt to secure transcripts of manuscripts. Above all every university must have works of reference, such as *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, other Encyclopaedias, Kammu Swami Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, Survey of India Maps on a scale of 1" a mile, *Epigraphia Indica*, learned journals, and other works of reference, so that at least for these a candidate may not have to roam from place to place. In this country historical raw-materials are scattered at various places, and no attempt has yet been made to establish an institution of the kind of British Museum. It is desirable to simplify the work of research scholars by making standard published works available at every university so that they may not have to undertake long journeys to all the Ms. libraries in the country.

•It may be pointed out in this connection that

there is no effective coordination of historical research pursued in our universities. The result is over-lapping and useless waste of time, energy and money. More than one university has very often been carrying on research on one and the same aspect of a topic. It is, therefore, essential to have a coordinating body to scrutinise the subjects to eliminate over-lapping and waste of effort.

An equally important problem connected with research is the difficulty of publication of research productions. There is hardly any machinery in our universities to publish Ph.D.

and D. Litt. theses or even to give a grant-in-aid for the publication of theses of outstanding merits. Researchers of Calcutta University are, however, lucky as that university publishes scholarly research productions of their teachers and alumni. It will be good if other universities follow the lead of the University of Calcutta in this respect. It is heartening to learn that the University Grants Commission have agreed to finance the publication of theses approved by the University of Delhi. May we hope that this privilege will be extended to other universities as well.

Paper Read by

DR. A.K. NARAIN

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Recent progress in historiography and historical thinking, and the growing demand of increased coordination between allied fields of historical studies make a discussion on the organisation of historical research in Indian Universities an imperative task. Even after a century and a half of historical research in India, I doubt, if we have succeeded in evolving the proper methodology for utilising the varied source material, and certainly I feel there is sufficient scope of improvement in our historical thinking, writing and techniques. We have yet to form a composite picture of history with various elements, such as social, economic, religious etc., dovetailed together properly. It is against this background and with special reference to ancient Indian history that I discuss below the problems and difficulties in the organisation of historical research in Indian Universities. These are grouped under the following heads:—

(i). Selection of topics for research, (ii). Research students, (iii). Supervisors, (iv). Library and Seminar, (v). Planning and coordination,

I. Selection of Topics for Research:

A perusal of research topics for Doctoral dissertations in ancient India indicates that, on the one hand, there is an apparent dearth of topics and on the other there is still an emphasis on the descriptive exposition of data, relegating interpretation aspect to a subordinate position. Most theses fail to give an adequate idea about the technique employed in them for tackling the sources. The result is that several candidates work on the same subject in different institutions with hardly any difference either in source material or in their angle of vision. Descriptive theses indeed give us some information. But due to lack of critical and comparative treatment they do not prove conducive to a real advancement of knowledge. Moreover, we very much feel that Ph.D. is specially meant for equipping a trainee with the technique of research, and therefore, however interesting the new facts in a thesis may be, if a researcher fails to give a clear proof of the acquisition of necessary research equipments in the form of

capacity to evaluate his sources and to interpret the data culled out from them he hardly deserves the award of Ph.D.

It is strange indeed that though the amount of indigenous literature and historical material do not compare unfavourably with those of any other contemporary civilization, and the nature and number of problems pertaining to ancient Indian history are simply astounding, we should find the dearth of suitable topics of research causing unnecessary duplications. It is not because of the paucity of material or the dearth of interesting problems, that researches in ancient history of India are veering round a few outstanding problems, but is mainly due to a lack of planned research, and what is more, the unimaginative character of the researcher. Further, if we keep ourselves in touch with developments in ancillary and allied fields, new and significant topics may be added to our list.

It is true that the attention of historians for some time was focussed on political history, and other spheres were comparatively neglected. But even there we have overlooked such aspects as military history, diplomatic history etc. We have yet to take up work on smaller and relatively obscure but nonetheless important ruling houses falling in the water-shed of major dynasties, e.g., the history of the dynasties like that of the Kachchapaghatas.

In the sphere of social history inter-disciplinary cooperation will be considerably useful. It is agreed that different disciplines have their different orientations and it is not always possible to coordinate their findings. But allied disciplines, such as social history and sociology may well derive benefit from one another's technique of research. Also, a particular technique in a subject should be applied for a long period of research and allotted to different research students working under one Supervisor. Such a subject as the nature and structure of a family may be studied in four sub-periods: (a) Vedic Age, (b) Age of the Mauryas,

(c) Age of the Guptas, and lastly (d) The Early Medieval Period from 700 to 1200 A.D., by four students under one Supervisor. This will be useful firstly, because a particular technique will be experimented for the reconstruction of the history of an institution for a sufficiently long period. Secondly, it will provide group thinking based on the exchange of material and ideas from respective periods among the research students, and with the help of a Supervisor these students will contribute to social history in a comparatively more effective manner.

Scientific archaeology in India is opening new problems which can be taken up with advantage by historians. Various aspects of material culture can be investigated into and so many details lacking in the history of our people—the life they lived—may be filled up. The sequence of stone, bronze and iron may be studied with a view to understanding the changing pattern of Indian history. Thus it appears that the introduction of iron made possible the extension of civilization to the Ganges valley. This may or may not be true, but certainly this sequence in the discovery of the metals may be pursued to find new lines of investigations and it may prove fruitful for the understanding of Indian history. Similarly, if we interpret our history in terms of technological advancements and means of economy, we will find many new research topics coming up for consideration. It has been argued that the spread of irrigation and the other techniques for the improvement of agriculture, qualitative and quantitative, synchronizes with the local surpluses in produce and increased populations. Such local surpluses, which when concentrated in the hands of a samanta, resulted in disruption, revolt and secession. This tendency seems to grow steadily from the Mauryas to the 12th-13th centuries with the result that empires became gradually smaller, and local dynasties more ineradicable and more numerous. The same trend manifests itself in the regional ramifications of Indian culture. New vista of historical research will open if we study the

progress of navigation and the consequent trade connections with South-East Asia and with Western Asia and Europe. The connection between political geography and economic geography is so irresistible that the importance of "key economic areas" in the determination of the physique of empires and the multiplicity of states need to be studied thoroughly.

Recent studies in historiography show how useful it is to study the nature of ancient historical writings, and the development of historiography in ancient India, as a guide to the interpretation of textual sources. By analysing the ancient methods of historical organization and inference, based upon the concept of past, expressed or implied in early writings of Banabhatta and others, my colleague Dr. V. S. Pathak, in his work entitled *Ancient Historians of India*, has tried to develop a critical apparatus for utilising historical biographies in Sanskrit literature for reconstructing political and cultural history. Similar studies analysing the literary and non-literary sources may be taken up for research. We have yet to study the Puranas critically and prepare a critical apparatus for this mine of historical and cultural information.

Chronology is indeed a desideratum, and I really wonder why topics connected with chronology are not taken up by students. Its weakness is well known but we need not be discouraged. Recent works of Eggermont and Ronald Smith show that the Indian traditions are not as hopelessly confused as is generally believed.

Professor Sankalia has already drawn our attention to topics related to historico-cultural and ethno-geographical studies, involving the study of place-names, personal names, caste migrations, etc., etc., and already good work is being done under his supervision in respect of Western India. Similar work can be done in respect of other areas now.

As I have already stated above, this is a

random list and it is not necessary for me to enlarge it. This is sufficient to indicate the immense scope for selection of topics for research which will not only add to our information but is also bound to revitalise historical writing of ancient India.

It is important, therefore, that there should be proper planning in the selection of research topics and it is essential that the expanding horizon must be taken into consideration by the student as well as the Supervisor.

II. Research Students:

I generally find that the candidates enrolled for research more often than not suffer from all or some of the three limitations.

(a) *Lack of linguistic equipment*: Students working on Ancient Indian History, do not know Sanskrit, Prakrit or Pali. Further, they fail to express themselves adequately in English (and for that matter, even in Hindi) a language which is generally used as a medium for writing dissertations for Ph.D.

(b) *Unacquaintance with the methods of historical research*: Of course in some Universities, historiography, methodology, and the study of such source material as inscriptions and coins are included in curriculum for M.A. students, but generally M.A. students memorise facts and dates, without adequate analysis.

(c) *Indifference to allied disciplines*: Students offer combination of subjects at B.A. level without any thought for their post-graduate education and research.

One of the serious handicaps in genuine research is the naive and uninquiring attitude of students who aspire for Ph.D. The Post-graduate teaching in the Universities is unfortunately so designed that students even at M.A. level tend to look towards their teachers for all necessary information which they memorise and pour forth in their answers in examina-

tions. I think it is a common experience of teachers to find their lectures reverberating throughout the answers of their students, who sometimes show the uncanny gift of reproducing at length even the language of their teachers. The shackles of habits bind such entrants to research course to expect spoon-feeding from their supervisors. This defect can hardly be removed at Ph.D. level and has to be rectified by inculcating critical acumen and tendency to think independently in the Post-graduate classes.

Students, who take such subjects of research in history for which a fairly good acquaintance with allied disciplines is necessary, should be asked to get themselves properly acquainted with the allied subjects before they start active investigation into the subjects of their research.

III. Supervisors:

I know of a University Professor in a particular subject in an Indian University, who is the supervisor for as many as 40 research students. I also know of a reputed scholar in a particular subject who does not remember even the number and names of research students working under him and their research topics. Needless to say, this is a situation against which we all must guard ourselves. I think it is agreed that this state of affairs harms the growth of research, firstly, because it is physically impossible for one man to give attention to so many trainees, and secondly, because other qualified teachers in the same Department are unnecessarily deprived of the experience of guiding research and of the opportunity of widening their horizons by research in collaboration.

Personally I think that a Professor should not undertake to guide more than 10 research students. This may be prescribed as the maximum number. The ever-expanding vista of research sometimes allures a supervisor to guide a student on a topic where he knows

only little, but which being allied to the subject of his interest he would like to be investigated. I feel there is nothing deplorable about it. On the other hand it is very much necessary for opening new facets in research. Of course a student after working for a year knows much more on the subject than his erudite supervisor. But the main function of the supervisor is to foster research attitude in the student, to equip him with necessary tools and to acquaint him with the technique of research and not to supply the entire range of information on the subject to the student.

For effective guidance I strongly feel that research guidance should be counted as regular work in the time table of the supervisor. He must have at least one meeting in a week with each student if the number is five or six, and once a fortnight if the number is about 10. The attention of University authorities must be drawn towards this. The teaching load of research supervisors should also be relatively less than those who do not guide research students.

I also feel that senior supervisors, who have to guide about 10 students should appoint his younger colleagues, even if they are not Doctors themselves, to act as junior supervisors and let them do the preliminary checking of material collected by the student, discuss relevant problems arising out of the material and also help in going through the first draft of the thesis. This will not only help the junior colleague to enrich his own knowledge but will also enable him to acquire the experience of research guidance which will be to his advantage later on. This practice will also help building up a tradition of research guidance and scholarship in the Universities.

The Universities should also be asked to have provision for at least one Research Professor in a Department.

IV. Library and Seminar:

A good library is the first requisite of research work. Howsoever efficient the supervisor and critical the student may be, the research work cannot proceed in the absence of a well equipped library. I propose there be two kinds of libraries. A Seminar Library, where works on historical methods and reference works are stacked for ready reference, is a necessary accompaniment of research seminars. A Research Library, where works on the subject and its allied fields are kept properly catalogued should have besides proper seating arrangement and guides for readers.

Seminars for research students must become a regular feature and they must be planned properly. In the first term seminars on methodology and historiography addressed by experts may be organised. In the second term the first year Research student may be asked to justify the selection of his topic in a seminar after six months of work. In the third term Research students of second year may be asked to discuss a particular problem arising out of his investigations. Since this has been a practice in some of the important centres of research, I need not labour the point further. We should also encourage review of relevant publications in research seminars. We may also invite scholars in allied disciplines to address the research seminars.

V. Planning and Coordination:

In recent years, various plans for coordinating research have been set afoot. Every University enrolls a number of students in Ph.D. Sometimes, these students in various Universities work on kindred subject. If the Universities are grouped regionally for the purpose of holding joint seminars where the students and teachers may discuss relevant topics and kindred problems, it may go a long way in fresh-thinking and coordinated research.

The scope may be widened through an institute of historical research catering for the needs of students and scholars on the national level, promoting research, and coordinating the activities of researchers in various Universities and institutes. In this context, the organisation of the Institute of Historical Studies by Dr. Sen is highly welcome. I am viewing with interest the laudable endeavour of this Institute in providing a central forum for researchers. Such activities as those undertaken by the Institute may also be extended by setting up similar institutes or centres in other regions, like Delhi, Varanasi, Poona and Madras.

The preparation of bibliographies and indices is another task which should be taken in right earnest. It is of course heartening to note that the Government of India has undertaken to publish comprehensive bibliographies of Indian history, which are being prepared by Professor N. K. Sinha, Professor Sri Ram Sharma and myself respectively for modern, mediaeval and ancient Indian history. Long before, such indices as those of the Mahabharata and the Vedic literature were prepared, Professor Dikshitar published his Puranic index of proper names from Madras. The Puranic Research Section of the College of Indology of the Banaras Hindu University is likewise compiling a subject index of the Puranas under the editorship of Dr. V. S. Agrawala and myself in 12 Volumes. The work has considerably progressed, and it is hoped that in the next five years at least three or four volumes in the series will be published.

We indeed feel delighted at the prospect of systematic organization of historical studies and researches in India, the modest beginning of which may be seen in this trend for holding a seminar on the Problems of Historical Research and the seminar on the Post-graduate teaching and research in History under the auspices of the University Grants Commission.

Paper Read by

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The first problem we face in connection with historical research in Indian universities is our inability to attract the right type of students. Usually first or high second class M.A.s try for competitive examinations, and only if they fail there they opt out for teaching or research. Even here their first attempt is to secure the post of a teacher in some university, and if they do not succeed there, as a last resort they take to research. This applies not only to History but also to other subjects in Arts. This is, however, not to say that bright M.A.s with aptitude for research are absolutely wanting in Indian universities. In fact we do have one or two students of this type in alternate years. Obviously the majority of students seeking admission for Ph.D. research are the teachers already employed in various colleges or university departments. Once they enrol themselves in research they have to face a number of practical difficulties. If they belong to affiliated colleges, they find it difficult to get leave with pay for two years because most private colleges do not have any rules regarding study leave. In any case such teachers do not get any financial support to maintain their family in the course of their period of research. The problem, therefore, can be solved if generous rules regarding grant of study leave by the colleges are made and if a good number of research scholarships primarily meant for teachers is granted either by the universities, or by other authorities such as the State University Commission or the University Grants Commission.

The next problem is the intellectual background and equipment of the students who offer themselves for research. It is well known that even at the M.A. stage most of our universities do not insist on any knowledge of Sanskrit on the part of the student who takes up

ancient Indian History or any knowledge of Persian on the part of the student who takes up medieval Indian History.

Naturally when such students want to work on any period of early history they are handicapped by their ignorance of the language in which the source material exists. Therefore, in the case of such students we have to arrange some kind of research course which provides for the study of the relevant languages. Unless the student gives evidence of some minimum attainment in the required language he should not be allowed to proceed further. The research course will also have to provide for the needs of a student who has specialised in the modern period of Indian history, but wants to take up for research the ancient period of Indian history. Similarly such subjects as economic history or social history presuppose some knowledge of Economics and Sociology which can be usefully included in the preliminary research syllabus.

At the present moment very few universities provide in their time-table place for the supervision of the Ph.D. research students in the same manner as they provide for lectures, tutorials and seminar classes for M.A. students. But if proper guidance has to be provided for research students something has to be done about it. The irregular meetings which the research students have with their overworked supervisors at their residence at a time when the supervisors are not in a mood to do serious work do no good to the pupils. This difficulty can be removed only if steps are taken to institutionalise Ph.D. research work in the various universities. Research students must see their supervisor once in a week for an hour which should be provided in the departmental time-table. The university authorities as well

as the general body of teachers must be made to feel that supervision of research students is as strong a commitment on the part of the university or the department as imparting instruction to students at the under-graduate and the post-graduate levels. Unless this is recognized and unless hours devoted to research supervision by the teachers are taken into account while calculating the work-load of a teacher, there is no chance for material improvement in this direction.

It is not enough that a research student should meet his supervisor regularly, but he should also take part in some kind of seminar or regular exchange of ideas on historical problems with his fellow research students. It would be therefore useful if the research scholars are required to attend regular fortnightly seminars open to them and the history teachers of the university. The seminar should devote a full term consisting of three months every year to research methods and problems of interpretation. In its meetings research students and teachers should read papers in their respective fields to get the guidance on questions posed by them. In fact the choice of the subject for Ph.D. research can be better determined in such a discussion group. In most universities now there is hardly any competent body which can judge whether the topic offered for research is worthwhile. Thus in many universities this is considered by a research board consisting of Heads of Departments who can only judge the suitability of a subject in their respective fields. It is essential that the proposed subject should be discussed in the Board of Studies for History because only historians can give competent advice. Since it is not possible to call the meetings of this Board too often it would be more helpful if these subjects are discussed in a full-fledged seminar. On the basis of my experience I have found that when the research student presents the synopsis of his proposed subject in the seminar, sometimes as a result of discussion the subject has to be considerably modified and in some cases it undergoes complete altera-

tion. It is true that the senior professor can give the benefit of his ripe experience, but in the seminars sometimes he gains profit from the criticisms of his junior colleagues.

In organizing historical research in our universities the qualification of the supervisor should also be taken into account. Professors and readers can obviously be appointed as supervisors, but other teachers should not be authorised to guide research unless they have been recognised competent enough to do so by the appropriate bodies on the basis of their qualification. Here one has also to bear in mind the field of specialisation of the supervisor. If a teacher has specialised in early Indian history he will not be able to do justice to his assignment if he undertakes to guide students working in modern Indian history. Exceptions may be made in special cases; for example if somebody is working on history of modern writings on ancient India or perhaps if somebody is working on the history of oriental studies, he may have a supervisor who has specialised in early Indian history. Similarly, if somebody wants to work on economic history and if he finds it difficult to get a supervisor who has specialised in the economic history of that period he might approach a teacher who has specialised in the economic history of another period. But the practice of the professor monopolising research students without having competence in various fields and in various periods in which his pupils are working has to go. In some cases we can even think of double supervisors; for instance if the topic of research touches both modern history as well as economics, one could have two supervisors, one specialising in History and the other in Economics.

The question of the duration of the course leading to the Ph.D. degree also deserves careful attention. At present most Indian universities provide for a course of two years for Ph.D. students, although very few students are able to complete their thesis during this period. Personally I think that a minimum period

of three years is essential, especially for freshers who have just passed their M.A., although the condonation of one year may be given to those who are experienced teachers and have some preliminary research work to their credit. Now many universities in Great Britain also have prescribed the time limit of three years for completing Ph.D. dissertation. In the case of Indian universities it is all the more essential because Indian students have to do their thesis in English. It is well known that very few Indians can write correct and idiomatic English, but even for writing correct Indian English it is necessary to devote considerable time, and hence, if on no other ground, at least on the ground of language it is desirable to extend the period of Ph.D. course in our universities to three years' duration.

The supervisors and the research students have to be particularly careful in the last stage of the thesis. My own experience of examining Ph.D. theses is limited, but even on the basis of what I have seen I could say that the theses in our universities are written carelessly, even ordinary mistakes which can be easily avoided are allowed to continue, and the whole thing gives the impression of perfunctory performance presented to the examiners. Sometimes it so happens that the supervisor under whom the student was working has left the university and no provision has been made for finding his substitute, with the result that the thesis is submitted without having been passed by anybody. I would again like to stress that the supervision of the research students is as strong a responsibility of the university as the teaching of an ordinary student. Just as lectures have to be arranged in the case of the absence

of a lecturer for a long period, similarly supervision has to be arranged in the case of the absence of the supervisor for a long period. If a person having the requisite qualification for supervision is not available in that university, it should be possible to send the research student to another university where such a person is available.

It is possible to go on enumerating the difficulties we have to encounter in conducting historical research in our universities, but for the present it will suffice if we concentrate our efforts on removing the difficulties to which I have drawn the attention of this conference. We may be lagging in other branches of history, but so far as Indian history is concerned we have to attain the highest proficiency; we have to give a lead to all the other institutions which are working on Indian history outside India. But we can achieve this objective only if we are able to raise the quality of our research by institutionalising historical investigation at the post-M.A. level.

Since history is a well established discipline in the Indian universities we have already some kind of research traditions in this subject. But in order to improve upon the existing arrangement, we have to face opposition of other subjects which are in the initial stage of their growth, in the meetings of faculties, academic councils, and so on. Hence as devotees of one of the oldest subjects in Indian universities, it is the duty of the historians to create research atmosphere in the university, so that with support from other subjects they may be able to carry their point.

Paper Read by

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These days a keen desire and anxiety is being felt for the promotion of historical research.

Many Universities have laid down research-degree or research-conducting and guiding

experience as essential qualifications for superior posts. Gone are the days when a first class M.A. of an Indian University, or an Honours Graduate of a Foreign University could directly get the Professorial Cap. Now research contributions are almost insisted upon for a candidate aspiring for a superior teaching post. It has naturally led many young teachers of History to pursue research and publish their results as far as possible and also as quickly as possible. While this has given a welcome spirit to research, the anxiety to appear in print has of late led, some times at least, to a deterioration in the standard of research publications. This is so obvious that it need not be stressed here. For the sake of real historical research and maintenance of standards, this tendency is to be discouraged. The experts must exercise their prerogative of judgement over research publications most strictly without any partiality and without any fear of earning unpopularity. I may suggest another remedy. As in research-work in science, in History also a junior researcher's paper shall be published jointly with the senior guide. This would ensure greater caution on the part of the young researcher and more sense of responsibility on the part of the senior partner.

This leads to another problem, the organisation of research in any department of history, (including Ancient Indian History, Archaeology departments). Many amongst us are fully aware that the heads of departments today are overburdened with often unnecessary administrative duties which make a loss of time. Some of us are even asked to report as to how many trees have been planted in the department, when there is not an inch of open ground at its disposal. This is just to illustrate the absurd length to which we are often pressed to join in an unnecessary correspondence. The head of the department finds himself often overoccupied with the work of numerous Committees or Sub-Committees formed to avoid work or decision and which are naturally unproductive of any fruitful results. Over and above this, he is rightly responsible

for organisation of teaching and research. It is no doubt true that some administrative duties and responsibilities are necessary even to have some say in the formulation of policies in the Universities for promotion of research. The problem is how to reconcile the increasing administrative load with the responsibility of promoting research in history within the limitation of time and capacity of a man, whether he be the head or the tail of a department. Some of us in Committees or Seminars or Conferences have to go through the work in such effective and quick manner that less time is taken and more work is done, decisions taken and implemented. However the senior professors will have to give up as much as possible additional administrative duties and refuse to oblige the University office by undertaking unnecessary correspondence.

Only then the time thus saved could be utilised in personal research and also in research guidance. While the number of aspirants for research degrees is fast increasing, the number of experienced research guides is not increasing in the same proportion. After we have seen a professor guiding as many as a score of research students at a time, all of us will agree that proper research guidance to all such candidates is not available, however hard-working and competent the guide could be. The result has been often badly written theses, wrong choice of subjects, and poor methodology shown in the theses. I would therefore suggest that the number of research students under a Professor or a Reader be limited to not more than six at a time.

This restriction need not result in less research work. Some of the history departments are provided with the services of one or more research assistants or research fellows. Their duties should be to assist the Head of the Department and the Senior Professors in their research projects, such as collection of materials, etc. But they should also be assigned definite research subjects for their own research work. This, while training them in research

methodology, would also encourage them in independent research work.

But the problem facing such history departments which have research-fellows or research-assistants is that these persons leave the assignments before completing their work, mainly because of practical reasons. The research assistantship—fellowship generally—is a temporary job on a fixed salary. Research assistants or fellows are appointed on academic qualifications. In these days of rapid extension of higher education and creation of new and newer Universities, there is no dearth of jobs for a relatively qualified young man; and so what generally happens is that a brilliant student is appointed a research assistant or a research fellow on a fixed salary for a fixed term, and just when he appears set for work, he finds a more stable and paying though not a research-type job in a mofussil college. Money and time spent on him are thus wasted. The only way out appears to be provision of numerous research-assistantships and fellowships on a graded pay, on a permanent or semi-permanent basis. Successful research fellows or research assistants may also be assured of a teaching job in the department when available. This will also ensure a chain of trained research teachers for the department. It may also be examined whether an average student may not do better as a research assistant in view of the fact that he has better chances of sticking to the job than those with brilliant academic results. Only when there would be a glut of brilliant unemployed students, research-scholarships or fellowships could be attractive to them. However, such a calamity we should not envisage.

In the existing circumstances, it is clear that the actual load of research work will have to be borne by teachers of history departments. Teachers have the primary duty to teach. Our authorities are insistent that teachers must devote a very large part of their time in the college or University in teaching, in lecture work or tutorials. In Universities the

minimum hours of teaching work for a teacher are fixed, and generally a teacher has to do between 15 and 21 hours of work per week. A comparatively fresh and junior teacher is generally asked to undertake more hours of teaching work. It is needless here to emphasise the utter absurdity of the situation. We have some experience of teaching load of a teacher in a Western University. Here in India, as a result of our unimaginative and commercially oriented policy, there is neither good teaching nor substantial research of a high standard in most of the Indian Universities. Moreover it is still more painful to find that hours of work devoted to research guidance or conducting of research are not taken into account while fixing the load for a teacher. This must be remembered, teaching and research are inseparable, and the authorities are to be educated that reduction in teaching load of a teacher will improve teaching and allow time and energy for research. I must say that nonrealisation of this obvious truth is a great bar in the way of promotion of research.

But we have to assure that the time saved from the reduction in teaching load is well utilised in advanced studies and research. For historical studies we have to largely depend on libraries and archives, and for Ancient Indian History, also on museums. There are very few Universities who could boast of adequate libraries for historical research work. Recently much more money is being spent on erecting palatial library buildings, but even necessary furniture is being awaited for months, if not years. We appear to be literally in Building India Phase. We have to shift our attention to books, journals, photoprints, etc. from brick and mortar. Comforts are essential but more fundamental are the tools of a workman. Given the proper library facilities and advantage of a good canteen, a teacher may like to spend most of his working time in the library than in his house or a staff club where all kinds of gossip go on, detrimental to the psychology and intellectual

efficiency of a young teacher. It would be ideal if every teacher, or at least two together, are provided with a room in the department to ensure peaceful undisturbed pursuit of research. Often a successful young researcher gets frustrated because of lack of superior posts available to him. Grant of advanced increments on successful completion of research assignment to a teacher would keep him encouraged and stimulated on the path. Prospect of material gain combined with academic recognition is bound to promote research in the Universities.

Greater emphasis is being laid on the history of social, economic, cultural, religious and administrative conditions and institutions of India. While for a proper valuation of the forces at work and critical assessment of the data collected, a comparative study of the relevant conditions and institutions of the country of a period other than the period under study is required, it is more desirable to have knowledge of the situation prevailing in the contemporary times in the countries with which India had much contact. For a study of Mauryan Polity, a study of Achaemenian and Greek administrative ideas and artistic traditions is very relevant. Examples could be multiplied. For pre-history and proto-history of India, a good knowledge of Indonesian, Malayasian, Mesopotamian, and Iranian history is absolutely necessary. So comparative methodology in historical research becomes indispensable.

This leads us to another problem. History is history of Man; and for research into the life of man in the past in various aspects, one feels the necessity of help from other allied disciplines. For the study of pre-history the help of a geologist, palaeobotanist, chemist and physicist, besides that of an anthropologist, is obvious. For any serious research in the social and economic history, or in administrative and religious history, one has to draw upon an economist, sociologist, political scientist, anthropologist and philosopher. For those who

are working on social, administrative and economic history of modern India, statistics play an important part. For scientific treatment of the statistical data, the researcher has to look up to a statistician. It is apparent that no department of history could hope to have the resources to provide teaching in all these subjects, nor will the experts in the allied disciplines be easily available for the researcher when he needs their help. This is a practical difficulty facing us. It is no good trying to work upon an aspect of economic history without any acquaintance with that discipline. I would suggest that in the courses of the allied disciplines some special course of lectures and tutorials or practicals with a *slant* towards history discipline may be provided for such advanced students of history who want to specialise in economic history. Students working on ancient Indian trade should have a theoretical knowledge of the factors of trade, of balance of payments, of exchange, etc., to understand the economic facts or forces encountered by them in their researches. Advanced students offering a special subject should have the option to offer a few papers in ancillary disciplines. Advanced students of Indian archaeology may be given some special courses in geology, physics, and palaeobotany.

One of the greatest difficulties that a research student of history faces is linguistic. For any chosen field of study, he finds sources, both primary and secondary, often in many languages, Indian and foreign. While it is certainly desirable to encourage learning of as many languages as possible, it is impossible for any researcher to absolutely satisfy the requirements personally. It is therefore essential that in every University there should be provision for getting authoritative translations of the passages required by the researcher. It is also desirable that teaching of most of the important foreign and Indian languages, at least of a certificate standard, be provided in most of the Indian Universities. Otherwise, we have to be content with the experience of totally

good research-work proved to be inadequate or superfluous in view of work done in some other foreign languages. Would it not be better to encourage every member of the history department to learn one or two of the many languages, so that actually in the department as a whole there is scope for using sources in different languages.

This naturally brings us to the coordination of research in the department on a cooperative basis in which every member of the department is of great help to the other members. The head of the department would have to organise this corporate endeavour very judiciously and imaginatively. A complete project in all its aspects may be taken up and different members of the staff may be asked to work on one or more of its many aspects. They should meet together with the head of the department at short intervals to exchange notes and to assure a fruitful result from their studies at the end.

Another serious difficulty faced by research students in history is that they often do not get expert guidance. While it is obvious that the guide should meet his research student regularly at short intervals, it is also to be realised that very often the research student for his particular chosen field of study may like to have the benefit of the advice of some experts in other Universities. Therefore mobility of research students from one University to another should be encouraged. At the same time, utmost library facilities should be made available; books to be readily issued, reading tables to be provided, library hours to be extended, and working-days to be increased. Most of the research students working on modern Indian history would require the facilities of utilising State Archives, while students of ancient Indian history would have to work in the museums. Often facilities provided to researchers by these institutions are not very encouraging. It would be desirable to have the History and

Ancient History departments of Universities associated with the management of Archives and museums in some effective way. Money and initiative should be promptly available for getting photostat copies of records, inscriptions etc.. Often the attitude taken up by the authorities in supplying these to the research students is unexplainable. Red-tapism and bureaucratic delay has to be avoided.

For undertaking research some training in methodology is necessary. Historical research has its own methodology—collection of data, classification, documentation, interpretation and compilation form important elements of the methodology. Taking of notes and preparation of bibliography are important techniques for working on a thesis. An M.A. immediately rushing for Ph.D. degree is too raw for the job. It may be considered whether in the M.A. course, option is to be provided for research-conscious students to offer a thesis in lieu of 4 papers. Moreover regular seminars on research methodology should be held for research students. In Patna University History Department is holding such seminars regularly, and those are proving useful as well as popular. While there is bound to arise a large number of problems in making senior posts in the Universities transferable, I may suggest that periodical exchange of senior teachers between Universities may be very useful. It would on the one hand help in the maintenance of uniform standards, and on the other let the young research student have the benefit of the experience and guidance of experts in the field.

Lastly, I may just pose another problem. Is it not time now for some of the leading Universities to organise and provide advanced courses in the history and culture of peoples and countries other than our own, specially when Indian studies are again being given due place in most of the Western countries? Is it not a very unedifying picture to have nowhere in India

advanced studies and research in the history of South East Asia, Burma, Ceylon, Western Asia, China, Japan, Central Asia, Eastern Mediterranean and Egypt? Could not different Universities be given definite assignments in this respect? To start this venture, it is necessary to plan sending our young scholars abroad for studies in the history of these different countries. It is

equally necessary for senior teachers to be given opportunities to go abroad every five years to be acquainted with the developments in research and research methodology in his field of study in the outside world. It would ensure our work to be in accordance with the standard prevailing in good foreign Universities.

DISCUSSION MEETING

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

Subject: POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES IN BRITAIN VIS-A-VIS PROBLEMS OF
INDIAN EMPIRE: 1905-10*

Speaker: DR. M. N. DAS, *Professor of History, Utkal University*

During the period 1905-10 the *Bande-Mataram*, full of patriotic idealism and wide in its revolutionary appeal, generated an incompatibility in the traditional relations between the ruler and the ruled. That came as a challenge to the statesmen of the time. The foundation on which the empire stood and the ideologies which nourished it demanded reconsideration. But one thing was apparent in the above context. In the opening years of the twentieth century few British statesmen ever gave any serious thought to the possible loss of their Indian empire. They discussed the subject no doubt, but it was a speculation regarding some distant or unknown future. The speculation, moreover, reflected some kind of a philosophical detachment on the part of the statesmen rather than their practical or positive concern. The issue at the moment was not how or when or why to lose the empire, but how best to retain it. It is to this question that the British politicians of different schools had to apply their bold thinking. The thinking itself was influenced by a changing political atmosphere in Britain. Nineteenth century politics was out of date in a twentieth century Britain. Political principles on radical lines were emerging as a new phenomenon and traditional political parties were themselves undergoing change. The composition of the House of Commons was changing; the powers which the House of Lords had enjoyed through generations were about to disappear for ever.

*The evidences as suggested by the title of the paper cannot be produced in detail in a brief space as this. These lines, therefore, are only an indication of the material available on the subject.

The *Bande-Mataram* in India synchronized with such developments in Britain. At any turn of time there comes the need to answer certain problems. The Indian unrest demanded the need for a revaluation of the philosophy of imperialism by proving, first, that the Indian peace was not everlasting, and second, the concept of an unchanging empire was unnatural by its very nature.

In the light of the changes in India and in Britain, there were a few obvious ideological approaches to the imperial questions. The orthodox doctrines of imperialism centred round a small group of people, such as, the King and the Prince of Wales, their closest associates and advisers and a group of determined people whose political and economic interests in the empire were considerable. How far could the British King influence politics in Britain pertaining to British political affairs is different from how much he regarded the matters of the Indian empire as his special interest. The private papers of the time under consideration show that, effective or otherwise, the monarch took much personal interest in the affairs of his empire. In the case of Victoria, in later years of her reign, she developed more and more of an emotional attachment to imperial paraphernalias. With the Queen's death, her successor created a different situation. Commenting on the substitution of a male for a female figure upon the throne, Lord Curzon had remarked: "I dare say that it will have a two-fold and, in some aspects, contradictory effect. For, on the one hand, the new King

will probably wish to interfere and to assert himself more, particularly in the choice of individuals, than did the late Queen: on the otherhand, he is less likely to be affected by purely sentimental considerations, and will probably apply to most of the problems that are placed before him a very robust common-sense." (Hamilton Collections, Curzon to Hamilton, XIX, February 14, 1901). In fact, the King applied his robust common-sense to many matters which resulted in his and the royal group's disapproval of Liberal Government's policies towards India. They encouraged the Conservative Viceroy to rule with a strong hand and suppress the agitation by all oppressive methods. To them the leftists in Parliament were detestable human beings and the Congress principles in India were abominable. They opposed Reforms bitterly. To this school, times did not change; the empire therefore should continue as before. That in a Britain of 1905-10 there should have existed a reactionary, ultra-imperialist school is not a matter of surprise.

The Conservatives stood for *status-quo*. To one school of Conservatives, the diseases that had overtaken the empire were of no great consequences. One might cite the example of Curzon in this context, how he regarded the empire to be in its youth, possessing in it immense future possibilities. Returning thanks for the freedom of the City of London on July 20, 1904, he declared: "I am not one of those who think that we have built a mere fragile plank between the East and the West which the roaring tides of Asia will presently sweep away. I do not think that our work is over or that it is drawing to an end...Let no man admit the craven fear that those who have won India cannot hold it, or that we have only made India to our own or to its unmaking. That is not the true reading of history." The Indian revolution and the new consciousness went against such expectations. From Plassey to Mutiny it was a century, and from Mutiny to *Bande-Mataram* half a century more. The empire was not in its youth. The meridian had long been crossed and the prime years were over.

It was an entry into the last phase. So if Curzon and his compatriots fancied to remain as if in the days of Wellesley or Hastings, that only exposed the rigid part of the Conservative approach. The less die-hard Conservatives were conscious of the coming events, but without thinking in the direction of improving matters, they anticipated and opposed as far as possible reform proposals from the Liberal majority. To many of them, the application of force was the legitimate method for maintaining the *status-quo*. When Reforms became inevitable, the Conservatives in Parliament wanted to make the innovations as conservative as possible. The partition of Bengal was the measure of a Conservative Government. The agitation which followed was mostly due to them. Yet they were not prepared to realise their mistakes. Because, to them, it was undesirable and dangerous on the part of the greatest imperial power on earth to surrender anything to an agitation started by a section of a subject population. That was the argument of Lord Lansdowne, Earl Roberts and several others.

The Liberals in 1905-6, after one of their biggest victories, showed imagination for change. But it was to be a change with utmost caution. They wanted to march ahead, but hasten slow, very slow. India expected much from the Liberal Government, but as it turned out to be, the expectations proved false. Steering their path between conservative and radical opinions, the Liberals conducted a timid policy. Their tragedy was that they could neither believe in an unchanging empire, nor perceive the real meaning of the change which the empire presented.

The rise of the Labour as a new force in British politics created a difficult situation. Many of them offered a radical approach to most questions and some became sceptical of the very foundations of traditional imperialism. Those who pioneered a pro-Indian policy in the Commons during 1905-10 were not politicians of fame or ability. However, they were able to form a new school, and though their voice

was feeble, they nevertheless advocated the doctrine of a changing empire and called for a new political behaviour. On behalf of the progressive forces in India, they worked as a noisy though ineffective section in Parliament and, by their behaviour, annoyed everybody, Liberals, Conservatives and ultra-imperialists. That was perhaps the net result of the Labour interest in India during our period.

Towards the end of 1905 when Balfour resigned and the King called upon Henry Campbell-Bannerman to form a new ministry, the occasion was considered "a great political event in England" and no less significant as regards India. The outcome of the election was politically much instructive. It was said that "The upheaval is tremendous. Such heavy polls have never been taken, and the Labour Party has now at last assumed definite shape." The new Liberal Secretary of State, John Morley, informed the Conservative successor of Curzon in India, Lord Minto: "One thing I may as well mention to you at this early stage, for it much concerns the Government of India. The new Parliament, and the new Cabinet, will be in the highest degree jealous both of anything that looks like expansion, extension of protectorates, spheres of influence, and the like; and of anything with the savour of 'militarism' about it. I do not for a moment dream that the Government of India in your hands will follow in the steps of Curzon as to Tibet, Persia, the Amir." (Morley Papers, Morley to Minto, I, January 16, 1906). This was a clear hint regarding the change in imperial policies. Curzon was the last Governor-General to look beyond India in search of psychological frontiers for the empire. That being so, a part of the traditional imperial policy was lost. The Secretary of State felt that the centre of gravity was changed for good or evil by that "amazing election". "How long the new tide will flow, Heaven only knows", he said, "and we may soon swing back again to all that is roughly called Imperialism. No body, of any party or section of a party, means to give anything up, but taking new

responsibilities will be watched with sharp suspicion for the present at any rate." (Morley Papers, Morley to Minto, I, January 25, 1906). It meant a simple thing: days of aggressive imperialism outside the frontiers of India were over; but imperialism inside India retained its original nature.

There were "five new men" in the House of Commons under the leadership of Henry Cotton ready to criticise the Cabinet on its Indian policies. In February 1906, the Government faced an amendment to the Address to the Throne about the partition of Bengal. In the debate the Indian sympathisers opened their campaign. But the result was poor. Henry Cotton made a poor performance saying nothing new or impressive. Five others discharged maiden speeches. Judging by outer signs, Morley felt that vanity was their motivation, vanity as distinguished from energetic and disinterested conviction such as animated Bright or Fawcett. The friends of India in Parliament could not expose the real weaknesses of the Government. As the Secretary of State felt they could have shown such facts as the *Durbar* cost India £360,000 and the visit of the Prince of Wales cost India £190,000, etc. However, Cotton had made a beginning. The Viceroy felt greatly disturbed. In course of time Cotton became a source of irritation to the India Office. When he wanted to discuss the Barisal affairs in May 1906, the angry Minister described him as "a donkey and a perverse one".

While the Liberals were getting suspicious of the Radicals, the Conservatives were feeling apprehensive of the Liberals. The orthodox imperialists mistrusted both Radicals and Liberals. The old King was greatly worried by the new approach which the Parliament showed towards India. The Cabinet became the main target of his suspicion. The apprehension in that quarter increased to the extent, if Morley would "Give up India to the Indians!!" (Minto Papers, Letters to and from the King, no. 8, Probyn to Minto, March 9, 1906)

Some Liberal members belonging to the Liberal left in the Commons began to appreciate the Labour viewpoint. In May 1906, a Liberal member suggested that some Labour members might be sent to India "to study and investigate" the Indian affairs on the spot. The Liberal Government did not want to discourage such ideas. It was admitted on principle that new elements in Parliament had as much right to evaluate the merit of Indian affairs as the old. The intention was to break the monopoly in Indian policy making concern.

But there was the Government of India headed by a shrewd Conservative Viceroy to whom any such investigation at a very difficult time was full of incalculable risks. Minto was a strange personality. As a Viceroy he was neither great nor small. But in diplomacy he was remarkable and in policy matters he knew the art to outwit others including his political superiors. He pointed out to the home authorities:

"We are here a small British garrison surrounded by millions composed of factors of an inflammability unknown to the Western world, unsuited to Western forms of government, and we must be physically strong or go to the wall. And it is in that direction that I am afraid of the House of Commons. I can imagine a want of knowledge at home, an exaggerated idea of the value of Western forms of government, and the eloquence of political agitators from the East, who could not hold their own for an instant in their own country, proving very dangerous to India....I am afraid of an assumption of too much authority by the House over questions at a distance, of which few people at home can possibly have any intimate knowledge—questions affected by conditions and sentiment unknown to English political life." (Morley Papers, Minto to Morley, II, May 28, 1906)

Such sentiments were expressed by the Indian administrators frequently which natural-

ly tended to hinder the growth of a new approach from the British side. The Liberal Government could only emphasize this much: "Cast iron bureaucracy won't go on for ever, we may be quite sure of that; and the only thing to be done by men in your place and mine, is to watch coolly and impartially, and take care that whatever change must come shall come slow and steady." (Morley Papers, Morley to Minto, I, June 6, 1906). When the Viceroy complained against even that much, the Liberals in power had to bear in mind the very nature of the Indian executive and possible criticism from one section of the Parliament. Morley asked the Indian Viceroy: "Suppose that the designs of the extreme men (in the House of Commons) are as mischievous, impracticable, and sinister as anybody pleases. Call them a band of plotters, agitators, what you will. Is that any reason why we should at every turn back up all executive authority through thick and thin, wise or silly, right or wrong?"

Surprisingly enough the majority in the House of Commons seldom gave any serious thought to India. It was always to a "scanty and listless audience" that the great Ministers expounded the mysteries of the Indian empire. That audience had permitted the Ministers to inflict on them the story of lakhs and crores mixed with the philosophic views of the problems of Government. In the Parliament of 1906-10, the same situation prevailed. But the difficulty of the Government arose when in that scanty audience a few critical minds appeared. The Indian sympathisers in the Commons numbered about 150, all Radicals and Liberals. Unfortunately they belonged to all sorts of political temperament; yet they were able to make some impression on their listless listeners. A trial of strength between the Liberal Cabinet and the Indian reform section in Parliament took place during the Budget discussion in July 1906. A division was taken on a motion by Keir Hardie, for placing the salary of the Secretary of State on the estimates. 89 voted against the Government. J.P. Hewitt,

on his visit to England from India, wrote back to the Viceroy:

"I never realised till I came home how democratic the present House of Commons is. The rank and file of the Radical Party are quite prepared to stigmatise the Indian Government as reactionary and unsympathetic..." (Minto Papers, Correspondence, England and Abroad, I, no. 42)

When Fuller, the Lt.-Governor of the new Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, was sacrificed, it became clear to the Indian bureaucracy that autocratic rule even in India was losing ground. Fuller reached London with high hopes of gaining sympathy from Curzon and the troop of old imperial servants, Conservatives and ultra-imperialists, but the situation had changed. He, therefore, could make no impression on the old school. Disappointed, Fuller had to confess that he himself had not believed in the partition. That was the climax of the Fuller tragedy. Curzon's lieutenant, employed to effect and execute the partition, ended his Indian career in ignominy and disgrace.

The Liberal Government's extremely cautious policy made the Conservatives less and less suspicious. The Radicals, too, were won over into moderation. But in India, the movement was not subsiding. The intelligent Morley felt that when the various ideological schools sank their differences to stand united, there was every possibility of a reaction in India. To him: "United antipathy towards India, shown by all parties in Parliament, was likely to drive the Indian Moderates into the violent camp." For this and for natural political inclinations, the ideological battles were allowed to continue, but the radical battle was fought by a few individuals who continued to create extreme suspicions. On occasions the Liberals agreed with Conservatives in condemning the pro-Indian Radicals. When Keir Hardie toured India and told the Indian leaders how the Government tried to separate the Muslims

from the Hindus, how the Indian administration represented the most oppressive system on earth, how the Indian police were the most corrupt, etc., the Conservatives demanded to know what the Government was doing about that sort of dangerous person. There was vehement insistence that the traveller be packed off home. The King was nearly violent in his feeling against Hardie whom he described as a scoundrel and wondered how with such a fellow in the Commons, the empire would remain safe.

In the Conservative quarters, people like Curzon were playing an interesting role, which at times exposed the very nature of British imperialism. Curzon succeeded in his project for the Victoria Memorial in India. Next he thought of a Clive Memorial. He considered the Battle of Plassey of 1757 a mighty event of history to be celebrated in 1907. The ex-Viceroy was serious in his purpose, and a section of the public and especially the Press welcomed his grand designs. Curzon's programmes alarmed the Government of India. Some other Conservatives thought of celebrating the 50th anniversary of the suppression of the Sepoy Mutiny in 1907. Lord Roberts offered suggestions for a jubilee of the Mutiny campaign. Minto became nervous to receive such heroic suggestions. "To celebrate the jubilee of 1857 would be an inexcusable mistake", he declared, and further asked: "How would Bengal in these stormy days look upon a monument to Clive coupled with Plassey?" (Morley Papers, Minto to Morley, V, April 18, 1907). Curzon pointed out to the old imperialists in England that Minto did not uphold the traditional imperial dignity in India, and did not respond to his requests for the Clive Memorial, etc. The indignant Viceroy wrote: "If a true history of Curzon's rule is ever written, it will make the world wonder. Few people at home know the legacy of bitter discontent he left for his successor...He never has ceased to blow his own trumpet, though a knowledge of his life as seen from behind the scenes here would make people's hair stand on an end."

(Morley Papers, Minto to Morley, VI, September 12, 1907)

The unrest in India continued to grow in spite of talk on Reforms. The policy of repression, on the other hand, created an adverse opinion against the Government outside India. James Bryce who was a Liberal M.P. till 1907 and became the British Ambassador at Washington that year wrote a long letter to the Cabinet describing how angry pamphlets against the British rule in India were circulated in the United States. Similar reports also came from other countries like Germany. Morley thought of his master Gladstone who possessed great respect for the opinion of "the Civilised World". Was India appealing to the civilised world against British injustice? "I am slowly beginning to think that a tide of strong opinion may one day swell in U.S.A. about our rule in India, of the same kind as has prevailed here about Austria, Russia, the Turk, etc.," said Morley. Consequently, the British officials in India were frequently reminded that they were under the watchful eye of the British public, and even if not, Russian methods were a political blunder from every point of view, because the civilised world was not blind.

The Viceroy had no respect either for public opinion in England or for the opinion of the civilised world. "As to the British public," he argued, "I warmly recognise its generous impulses, but as a rule it is hopelessly ignorant of the position here, and I cannot but think that my first duty is to look after the necessities of the charge committed to me irrespective of public opinion at home." This meant that he wanted to rule with a strong hand irrespective of what others felt or said. The entire English Tory school stood behind the Viceroy. The old King at Windsor with his Court advocated as stern a policy as possible. On matters of this kind there could be secret correspondence between the King and the Viceroy behind the Cabinet, the propriety of which led to a quarrelsome controversy.

As the Reform scheme was being put into final form, the Liberal Government took extra care to silence all opposition. The Press was instructed to create a favourable atmosphere. It was thought prudent to proceed swiftly along the middle path before the imperialists and the leftists had fully drawn their swords against the reformers, and before India was able to understand what the reformers really meant. 1909, the year of Reforms for India, became the time for political parties in England to test their ideological stand.

The Liberal Government finally raised the curtain after 3 years of deliberations though the Viceroy wanted to delay the Reforms for some time more. The Indian Councils Bill was first read formally in the House of Lords on February 17, 1909. On February 24, the Government got over another stage of the great journey and the Bill was read a second time. Two days of debate covered not more than 7 or 8 hours in all. Morley moved the second reading in a speech which was listened to by a brilliant and very attentive but not sympathetic audience. Then came Curzon. "His criticism was wholly of the destructive sort, and entirely unhelpful, but it was heartily relished in their quiet muffled way by the gentry around him, to whom of course the very word 'Reform' is of evil savour. There was plenty of force in his argument, if you only admitted that all we need do was to sit still and let agitation take its course," wrote Morley, (Morley Papers, Morley to Minto, IV, January 13, 1909). MacDonnell, Reay, Cromer and Lansdowne were among the noble Lords who took part in the discussion. The House was full for Morley and Curzon, but otherwise "the red benches" were empty. In a few days the Reforms were to reach the Lower House. Henry Cotton promised that the reception would be most friendly. The Cabinet knew that the Radical criticism in the Commons would come to nothing, for nobody dared assume the heavy responsibility of wrecking the scheme.

The debate on the Bill in the Commons showed how disinterested most English politicians felt on Indian matters. The benches were empty. This was hardly complimentary to the people of India who with their growing self-consciousness had a right to expect that those who controlled their destinies should take a real interest in their concerns. The indifference of the Commons proved one political reality: on grave imperial policies it was the Conservatives who counted, and since they had exhausted their feelings in the Upper House, nothing much was left for the Lower House to do. In other words, on this particular issue, the House of Lords proved more concerned and more useful, while the House of Commons played only a formal role. The general excuse was that "there was no one in the Lower House who could examine the Bill with the experience and force of authority which Lord Lansdowne, Lord Curzon, and others of the House of Lords may justly claim." This did not, however, justify an empty House during the debates. The lesson of the "immortal Bill" was that though the Liberals claimed victory, it was in reality a victory for the Conservatives. The Radicals had achieved nothing for or on behalf of India.

The battle of the politicians on ideological fronts having been fought and terminated with Reforms as the armistice, the administration was allowed to proceed on its imperial path. But the battle of the Press did not stop. Here the victory rested with the "right". The "right" continued to regard the empire from the viewpoint of strength. It meant

repression. Regarding the role of *The Times* which strongly advocated repression, it was commented that "India has been the scene of countless experiments in the art of governing, but control by newspaper articles is not among them, and we imagine that neither the Viceroy nor Lord Morley, greatly as they may value enlightenment on the problems awaiting solution, would be prepared to abdicate in favour of the most prominent member of the fourth estate." (*Advocate of India*, September 1, 1909). In fact, the ideology of repression outlived the ideology of reform and with the Reforms granted, suggestions for repression became more frequent in the Conservative Press. The purpose was to turn the hand of the clock back.

Apart from the Press, British politics concerning India entered a dull phase towards the close of the Morley-Minto era. At the end of 1909 and beginning of 1910, the Liberal Government itself was "like Mahomet's coffin suspended between heaven and earth," and political opinion was alert on the issues of the Lords versus the Commons. It was a remarkable moment in the history of British democracy. The two Houses of Parliament entered the arena to decide which branch of the legislature should really rule in a democratic Britain. Everything at that moment depended on the electorate of the United Kingdom. But in the meantime, while the progress of parliamentary democracy was being assured in Britain, in India the same old system continued with its "elephants, salaams, and God Save the King fifty times a day."

THESES PRESENTED (1956-63)

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(i) THE HOME RULE MOVEMENT IN INDIA

DR. GOPI NATH

India borrowed the phrase Home Rule from Ireland although she long had had her own ideology of self-rule. It was embodied in the utterances and activities of leading Indians and was propounded in the deliberations of the Indian National Congress. But a systematic and determined application of the term Home Rule in Indian politics is owed to Mrs. Annie Besant. She crystallized the Home Rule idea into a definite political movement. The only other leader who matched her in the Home Rule propaganda was Lokamanya Tilak. Both these leaders founded the Home Rule Movement in India.

Although the demand for Home Rule was organised by Shyamji Krishna Verma in 1905, a regular agitation for Home Rule emerged out of the activities of Mrs. Besant and Tilak. They started a campaign of educative propaganda for Home Rule for India under the aegis of the British Empire and founded Home Rule Leagues in 1916. A large number of advanced politicians, both Hindus and Muslims, were attracted to their propaganda for Home Rule and the Congress which had hitherto worked for the piecemeal reform of the administration succumbed to its influence. It declared Home Rule or responsible government for India within the Empire as the goal of its agitation and in its Lucknow session of 1916 adopted the scheme of reform formulated in concert with the Muslim League. It called upon its committees to carry on educative and propagandist work along with the Home Rule Leagues. Consequently the Home Rule Movement led by Mrs. Besant and Tilak came to the forefront of Indian politics and influenced its course in the subsequent years.

The object of the Home Rule Movement was to attain a system of self-government for India within the British Empire. The Home Rulers were not interested in the piecemeal reform of the existing system of administration. They wanted to replace it by a system of responsible government and worked for this object only. Reforms relating to other national questions for which the Congress had hitherto worked were not included in the programme of their agitation. In the attainment of their object the Home Rulers employed the technique of educative propaganda. It was through this method that they tried to reach the masses.

The agitation for Home Rule, started under the auspices of the Home Rule Leagues, made a rapid progress during the years 1916 and 1917. It was reflected in the utterances of the educated Indians and was fostered by the Press in the country. The whole weight of the leading political organisations in the country was thrown in its support. The Home Rule Movement was active in many parts of the country but it made a noticeable progress in the South.

In support of their demand for Home Rule the Home Rulers put forth several arguments. They based India's claim to self-government on the accepted principle of self-determination. They also explained that their agitation was a constitutional campaign. The imperial aspect of Home Rule was particularly emphasised by them. They made it clear that the agitation for Home Rule was a struggle to obtain control over the management of internal affairs only. There was to be no interference with the questions of imperial concern. The Home

Rulers refuted the objections raised against the demand for Home Rule and asserted that Indians had instinctive capacity for self-rule and were therefore qualified for self-government. The Home Rule Movement however encountered opposition from Anglo-Indians, Muslims and Non-Brahmins of the South. They felt that their existence as a community would be in danger if there was any considerable transfer of power to Indian hands. They raised a hue and cry against the Home Rule demand and presented their memorials to the Secretary of State. But they were not organised and could not, therefore, make their opposition felt to any adequate extent. The Non-Brahmin Movement was however a well organised agitation and led to a political awakening among the Non-Brahmin communities of the South, particularly in the Madras Presidency.

The Home Rule Movement was also viewed by the Government with misgivings. They tried to suppress the Home Rule propaganda by placing restrictions in the way of its leaders. A policy of active discouragement and of repression was adopted. Circulars were issued to the heads of the educational institutions to discourage the attendance of the students at the Home Rule meetings and leaders were warned not to carry on propaganda for the early grant of Home Rule. Proceedings were started against Mrs. Besant and Tilak for delivering speeches and writing in favour of the Home Rule demand.

The Home Rule Leagues formed the nucleus of the Home Rule Movement. Two Home Rule Leagues were organised by Mrs. Besant and Tilak separately with the common object of carrying on propaganda for Home Rule. These Leagues had different spheres of action and were controlled by different sets of persons. They had their branches all over the country and became effective medium of propaganda and publicity. Useful work was done by these

Leagues in educating the public opinion on the need of Home Rule for India.

The Home Rulers also extended their activities to foreign countries. A branch of the Home Rule League was opened in London. It was a well organised body and did useful work in enlightening the British public opinion on the need of Home Rule for India. But the Home Rulers failed in their object of making the question of Indian Home Rule an issue of British politics. A Home Rule League was also established in U.S.A. It also organised propaganda for Indian Home Rule in order to win the sympathy and support of Americans. The League did good work and continued its activities even after the Home Rule Movement came to an end.

Although the Home Rule Movement was a shortlived political agitation, it marked a distinct advance in the evolution of national spirit in India. Under the strenuous and persistent influence of the Home Rule propaganda Indian leaders sunk their differences and came on a common platform to make a united demand for Home Rule. The Home Rule Movement was a pioneering effort to transform Indian politics from the pastime of a few educated persons into the preoccupation of the common man. It prepared the ground for the Gandhian struggle for freedom in which the masses played the main part. Though projected with great energy, the Home Rule Movement soon showed signs of decline and by the end of 1918 it had lost its hold on Indian politics. Several factors led to its decline. Prominent among them were the lack of organisation among the Home Rulers, the Hindu-Muslim riots in 1917 and 1918, the announcement of reforms and the schism which arose in the Home Rulers' camp. Consequently the movement failed to achieve its object of attaining for India a status of self-governing colony of the British Empire. Nevertheless it contributed largely to the political awakening in the country.

(ii) ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION OF BHOPAL STATE

DR. (MISS) UMA KRISHNA

The principality of Bhopal in Central India was founded by Sardar Dost Mohammad Khan in 1708-09. He was a Pathan of Mirzai Khel of Warakzai tribe of Tira. At the time of his death in 1726, this principality included Bhilsa, Berasia, Shujalpur, Chainpur Bari, Ginnorgarh and the site of its capital, Bhopal.

From 1726 to 1816, the successors of Dost Mohammad Khan had a stormy time due to constant warfare with the neighbouring rulers (Scindhas, Bhonslas and Holkars) and depredations of bands of Pindaris. Domestic dissensions also were frequent.

The first contact between the Ruler of Bhopal and the East India Company was in 1777 when Major Goddard crossed Central India to help the Peshwa. Hayat Mohammad Khan, the then Ruler of Bhopal, gave all possible help to Major Goddard, and thus laid the foundations of friendly relations between the Company and the State.

Nazir Mohammad Khan who ruled Bhopal from 1816 to 1819, successfully negotiated a treaty with the East India Company, which was signed on 26th February 1818 and ratified by both the parties on 8th March 1818. It recognised Rulership of the State as hereditary in the family of Nazir Mohammad Khan, introduced British influence in the politics of Bhopal while guaranteeing British protection to the State. Bhopal now agreed to maintain the 'Bhopal Contingent' to serve the Company.

Nazir Mohammad Khan died on 11th November 1819 and his widow, better known as Qudsia Begam, was set up as Regent for her one and half year old daughter, Sikander Begam. This arrangement continued till 1837 when Jehangir Mohammad, husband of Sikander Begam, became Ruler of Bhopal. On his

death in 1844, Sikander Begam became Regent for her daughter, Shah Jehan.

Sikander Begam: Sikander Begam, Regent for Shah Jehan, had an anxious time during the Mutiny of 1857 but she successfully steered the State through the crisis with great ability. She was consistently on the side of the British and in recognition of her services during this period, she was accepted as Ruler of Bhopal by the British in 1860. For better administration, she divided the State into 3 districts and 24 tehsils. All the district headquarters were at an equal distance of 24 miles from the capital city of Bhopal. Each district was placed in the charge of a Nazim. At the central seat of Government, three assistants (each in charge of a separate section) were appointed to assist the Madar-ul-Moham (Wazir). Matamid-ul-Moham, who was in charge of Revenue and Finance, was the most important assistant. Urdu was declared official language of the State in 1849. She endeavoured to evolve an integrated system of impartial justice. With the help of a nominated advisory body called the Majlis-e-Mashwera, she formulated 134 general laws on the model of those of British India. The 'Dastur-ul-Amal Nizami', which contained rules and regulations for each Department of the Government, was published in 1868.

She established a Department of Public Health in 1854. Unani dispensaries were linked together through this Department. Wells and tanks were constructed in rural areas. By 1868, the State had three pucca roads.

Primary and secondary education also received attention and Madrassa-e-Sulamania and Victoria School were set up at Bhopal. Schools were also established in Parganas.

She introduced Postal System in the State

by establishing post offices at Ashta, Sehore and Bhopal. Harkaras and mounted messengers carried the mails.

The State army was not a large one. The 'Bhopal Contingent' was maintained by the State for the assistance of the East India Company. Sikander Begam introduced many reforms in the State army also.

The sources of State's income were: Land Revenue, Sayer Dues (imposts on trade) and Excise Duty. Cultivators possessed no occupancy rights but normally were left undisturbed from generation to generation. Similarly Mustagirs or Ijaradars were practically hereditary holders unless they failed to meet their commitments to the State.

Shah Jehan Begum: Sikander Begam's successor, Shah Jehan Begam, who became Ruler of Bhopal on 16th November 1868, carried on the reforms initiated by her mother another step farther. The Land Revenue Settlement of 1870 increased the total gross revenue to 32 lakhs. Second Settlement of her reign was carried out in 1890. Obligations and limitations of Mustagirs were clearly defined. Conditions of the cultivator were greatly improved but unfortunately two severe famines in the last decade of her reign did not permit the cultivator to prosper.

Existing laws were revised, amended and supplemented to bring them at par with those in British India. Codes of civil, criminal and revenue laws were published as the 'Tanzimat-e-Shahjehani'.

Bhopal-Itarsi railway line was laid in 1884, for the construction of which Shah Jehan Begam and her grand-mother, Qudsia Begam, paid Rs. 35 and 15 lakhs respectively. A second railway line connecting Bhopal and Ujjain was laid in 1897.

The Departments of Education and Public Health were further expanded and new insti-

tutions set up. To segregate lepers and to provide them with proper treatment, a leprosy asylum was opened in Sehore in 1891. Industries were encouraged and separate departments to grant charities to Muslims and Hindus were set up.

Sultan Jehan Begam: Nawab Sultan Jehan Begam, the only child of Shah Jehan Begam, succeeded her mother on 26th June 1901. Her regime is distinguished for a further progress towards modernisation of the administrative system of Bhopal. In 1912-13, she separated the Department of Police from that of Law and Justice. Prior to this, the Department of Revenue had already been separated in 1907 and a Record Office established in 1909-10. Various measures were revised to realise arrears of land revenue which amounted to about Rs. 60 lakhs in 1901. First Land Revenue Settlement of her reign was carried out in 1906-07 on the basis of the rules in force in the Central and United Provinces of British India. Two striking features of the Settlement were that (i) the Mustagirs were granted perpetual tenure or 'Muqaddami' rights subject to regular payment of revenue, and (ii) the cultivators were similarly granted occupancy rights to their holdings with hereditary right of succession. In 1917, a comprehensive measure for the management and control of Jagirs was placed on the Statute Book (1917 Bhopal Act for the Control and Management of Jagirs). Among other things, it aimed at bringing jagirs under the various Land Revenue and Tenancy Laws in the State, curtailing the freedom of the Jagirdars to deal arbitrarily with the tenants and empowering the State to take over jagirs under certain circumstances.

It is noteworthy that in 1922, she introduced total prohibition in the State though the measure did not ultimately succeed. Many reforms were introduced in the administration of justice. A High Court was established under the State Act III of 1922.

A notable addition to the State institutions

was made in 1904 by the establishment of the the Asafia Medical School to impart training in Unani system of medicine. Lady Minto Nursing School was started at Lady Lansdowne Hospital and *Dais* were trained in midwifery. In the Department of Education, a Director of Public Instruction was appointed in 1905 and an Education Code was published the same year. The industrial development did not lag behind. A spinning factory and an industrial school were opened and jail industries were encouraged.

Nawab Sultan Jehan Begam's two elder sons died in her life time. Consequently she wished to pass on the masnad to her youngest surviving son who had already served as Political Secretary as well as Chief Secretary of the State. She finally abdicated the throne on 9th June 1926 in favour of her youngest son, Hamidullah Khan.

Nawab Hamidullah Khan: Nawab Hamidullah Khan had received modern education at Aligarh University and was in sympathy with many trends of modern progress.

He expanded the Council of Ministers set up by Sultan Jehan Begam just before her abdication, to consist of eleven ministers. Each minister was in charge of a particular department, namely, (i) Political Relations, (2) Revenue (including Agriculture, Rural Hygiene, Forests and Meteorology), (3) Law and Justice, (4) Medical and Public Health, (5) Local Self Government, (6) Education, (7) Finance, (8) Customs and Excise, (9) Public Works, (10) Commerce, Industry and Labour, and (11) General Administration.

He reorganised the 'Majlis-e-Mashwera' (now called Legislative Council) to make it a representative body and inaugurated it in 1927. Members of the Council held office at the pleasure of the Ruler but usually for 3 to 5 years. In 1946-47, the Nawab formed a popular ministry representing different political parties and consisting of six ministers (later on, the

number of ministers was increased to twelve). Just before the merger of the State with the Indian Union, the Nawab announced his decision to introduce responsible government with a popular ministry responsible to an elected legislature and actually announced the appointment of a provisional government of nine members in 1947.

The most important judicial reform of his reign was the separation of the executive from the judiciary as early as 1929. Old system of panchayats was revived to serve as a link in the chain of justice now in the process of reorganisation.

All departments were expanded and reorganised on the lines of those in adjacent provinces of British India. To ensure recruitment of the proper type of personnel to State Services, a Public Service Commission was appointed. The Commission consisted of a President and two non-official members.

In 1936, the Nawab started a drive towards industrialisation of the State by establishing an office of Economic Adviser. The object was to plan general economic development of the State on modern lines and establishment of some important industries.

With the attainment of Independence in 1947 and proposed accession of Indian States to either India or Pakistan, the Nawab agreed to accession to the Indian Union in 1949 when the autocratic State of Bhopal was declared a Chief Commissioner's State under the direct control of the President of India. With this difference in administration, and the close of the rule by Dost Mohammed Khan's dynasty, the State survived in the map of India but it was finally erased off the map and ceased to exist on 1st November 1956, when it was merged with adjacent States to form the new Madhya Pradesh.

Local Self Government: The seed of local self government was sown in 1903 by Sultan Jehan

Begam's setting up of a 'Jamayat Intazamia' (Municipal Committee) in the city of Bhopal under the Municipal Committee Act (1903). It consisted of 39 nominated members, a president, a vice-president and a paid secretary. The Committee was responsible for every aspect of local self government. It maintained a police force consisting of three ranks—jamadars, sipahis and dafadars. Its sources of income were extremely limited as Sultan Jehan Begam had made Bhopal city a free market.

After 1926 municipal administration was re-organised on modern lines. First municipal elections were held in 1928 and the second in 1931. A Health Officer was appointed in 1926. Antiepidemic measures were taken. Child and maternity measures were carried out through midwives. Water supply was improved and the city electrified. Sehore Municipality was set up in 1940.

In rural areas, Patels' or Peasants' Assemblies were constituted on 14th August 1929 under a special Firman. It aimed to bring the government in direct touch with the needs of rural areas. Village panchayats were also revived in the same year.

In 1936, eleven Notified Areas were proclaimed in the eastern district and six in the western district. Local committees of Public Health and Hygiene looked after the sanitation in their respective areas.

An elective element was introduced in the local administration in rural areas in 1948 i.e. just before the end of autocratic rule. It is only after the merger with the Indian Union that real development of local self-government in the State begins.

Freedom Movement: Ever since 1818, the principality of Bhopal had always been on the side of the British. During the Anglo-Maratha wars, the then Nawab of Bhopal in 1777 gave General Goddard every assistance despite the risk of incurring the enmity of the Mara-

thas. In the 1857 revolt, Sikander Begam was firmly on the side of the British. Similar has been the attitude of this State during subsequent critical periods of the British in this country and during the two World Wars. But the general public and even some members of the ruling family have been opposed to this attitude.

During the reign of Nawab Hamidullah Khan, first political agitation in the State arose on the question of employment of foreigners (non-Bhopalis) in State Services. In 1932 communal organisations such as Arya Samaj, Hindu Sangh, Muslim League, Ahrar Movement and Tabligh Movement, had come up. In 1933, Anjuman-e-Khuddam-e-Watan was formed. It had the support of local Congress leaders and demanded responsible government. Hindu Sabha was started in 1934 and demanded, among other things, enforcement of prohibition, higher percentage of Hindus in services and reduction of land revenue. Praja Mandal was formed in 1938. It was nothing but a branch of 'States Peoples Conference.' It was a non-communal body and aimed at responsible government. A labour movement also appeared in 1939. In the same year (1939), Muslim League also extended its activities to the Indian States through the 'All India States Muslim League' and a branch of this was set up in Bhopal 'to fight the agitation against the State and to protect the interests of Muslim subjects.'

The 'Quit India' movement of 1942 had its repercussions in Bhopal too. In order to win over the favour of different political parties, the Nawab formed in 1946, a ministry composed of (i) three non-official nominated ministers (one each from Hindu Sabha, Muslim League and the Congress) and (ii) three official ministers. Important departments of (a) General Administration, (b) Finance, and (c) Law and Justice were controlled by the official ministers.

Soon after Independence in 1947, the Government of India proposed a 'Stand Still Agree-

ment' with Bhopal, but the Nawab showed reluctance. Praja Mandal agitated for 'Vilini-karan' (merger of Bhopal with Indian Union). Ultimately the Nawab signed the 'Merger Agreement' and the State became a Chief Commissioner's province on 1st June 1949.

Paramountcy and Bhopal: British paramountcy over Bhopal commenced from the treaty of 1818, which ensured perpetual friendship, alliance and unity of interest between the East India Company and the Nawab of Bhopal, his heirs and successors, and guaranteed British protection to Bhopal. The Nawab promised to 'act in subordinate cooperation with the British Government and to acknowledge its supremacy.' Henceforward every succession to the masnad came to depend more and more upon the approval of the British Government than upon the family conventions of the Mirzais or the dictates of Muslim laws. British jurisdiction, originally centred on Sehore town and cantonment, gradually extended all round, and instances of British interference in the internal administration of the State were more and more frequent. The most important case of such intervention occurred in the reign of Shah Jehan Begam, in relation to Siddiq Hasan Khan when Sir Griffin, the then A.G.G., Central India, prepared a long list of Siddiq Hasan Khan's crimes and misdemeanours, and ordered dismissal of some State officials, arrest and prosecution of others, and withdrawal of the titles and the salute of Siddiq Hasan Khan, and prohibited all interference by him in State administration.

Bhopal under Indian Union: On 1st June 1949, Bhopal State, so far ruled by the descendants of Dost Mohammad Khan, merged into the Indian Union to become a Part C State under a Chief Commissioner appointed by the President of India. The Chief Commissioner was responsible to the President of India, and acted on the advice of a council of ministers. The State legislature was an elected body and so were the ministers who were responsible to the legislature.

All service cadres were reorganised, pay-scales were revised and brought at par with those in the adjoining part A State of Madhya Pradesh. Judicial Commissioner's Court was established at Bhopal on 25th January 1950. Jagirdari system was abolished through Jagirdari Abolition Act enacted by the State Legislature. Cottage industries were encouraged. The establishment of Heavy Electricals, Bhopal, has been the climax of industrial development of the State.

The Education Department recorded vast expansion. Hindi was declared compulsory from first standard to high school stage. Many technical and vocational institutions were established. Some of the important ones are Agriculture College, Polytechnic, Teachers' Training College, Post-Graduate Basic Training College and Multi-purpose schools.

Improvements in the Medical and Public Health Department were also noteworthy. Sanitation, water supply, control of epidemics, eradication of malaria and training of compounders, nurses, midwives and *Dais* were given top priority. Hospitals and dispensaries with indoor accommodation were opened in rural areas. Mobile dispensaries provided medical relief at the patient's doors and served as a link between the remotest village and the nearest dispensary. Hamidia and Sultanania Zenana Hospitals at the head-quarters of the State were expanded and provided with modern equipment. A modern hospital for tubercular patients was opened at Bhopal. The highest academic achievement of the Department has been the establishment of Gandhi Medical College, Bhopal.

With the reorganisation of States on 1st November 1956, Part C Bhopal State merged with other adjoining States (Madhya Bharat, Vindhya Pradesh and Mahakoshal part of old Madhya Pradesh) to form new Madhya Pradesh. The State of Bhopal has thus disappeared from the map of modern India, but the progress which the State made under the popular

government within the Indian Union during the First Five Year Plan has been so gigantic that it ultimately secured for the city of Bhopal a prominent and privileged place on the map of India as the capital of Madhya Pradesh and

home of Heavy Electricals. The State of Bhopal has ceased to exist but the city of Bhopal has survived and secured for itself the place of pride in the industrial and political development of India.

(iii) POLITICAL AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN ANCIENT PUNJAB

(From the Vedic Age up to the Maurya Period)

DR. BUDDHA PRAKASH

Geographically the Panjab acts as a glacis to the citadel of the Gangetic Valley. Hence it was repeatedly overrun by invaders and immigrants. Through the North-Western routes passing through the passes and defiles of mountains and the banks of the rivers of Afghanistan and the Pakhtoon territory there has been an incessant trickle of diverse Asiatic peoples which shaped the racial, social and cultural formation of the people of the Panjab. As a result we find a unique fusion of races and cultures and a regular mixture of nomadic and sedentary peoples in the Panjab. Though this ethnic amalgamation has loosened the social conservatism of the people of the Panjab which was often interpreted in orthodox circles as a deviation from the standards of morality and religion, it has also brought about a broadening of perspectives and widening of horizons which found expression in an assimilative spirit, resilient outlook and a somewhat liberal bent of mind.

When the dawn of history shimmers on the Panjab we find a large number of agricultural settlements springing up there which gradually evolved into urban centres like Harappa and Mohenjodaro. The complex, advanced and standardised culture of these cities characterised by technological development and commercial efficiency had close affinities with the urban civilizations of the Near East. But the invasions and immigrations of foreign tribes put an end to it. The invaders stormed the citadels of

big cities like Harappa, settled on their ruins in mud huts and buried their dead in cemetery for generations. Archaeological evidence suggests that the invaders came through the North Western routes. The drama of plunder, devastation and deracination enacted by these invaders lives in the hymns of the *Rigveda*.

The main refrain of the *Rigveda* is the conflict of Indra and Vritra. Indra represents the Aryan war lords and Vritra stands for their Dasyu victims. In the *Satapathabrahmana* (I, 6, 3, 13) Vritra is expressly called a Dasyu. That the word Dasyu signified the non-Aryan population of India is manifest by a notice of the *Aitareya Brahmana* (VII, 18). Vritra is called an *ahi* (serpent) which shows that the people symbolised by him followed a cult of serpent worship. As regards the profession and status of Vritra the combined testimony of Vedic, Epic and Puranic traditions shows that he was a priest, sacrificer and ritualist and his assassination by Indra ranked as the most heinous offence of Brahmanicide. Thus it is abundantly clear that Vritra signifies the priestly class among the non-Aryan people of India.

After the cooling down of the heat of the initial encounter of the 'Aryas' and 'Dasas' a process of assimilation of their cultures started and culminated in the evolution of the composite civilization of the Panjab and the whole of India. The Aryas adopted a great deal of the legendary, sacrificial and religious

lore of their vanquished adversaries. A tradition recorded in the *Satapathabrahmana* (V, 5, 5, 1-5) indicates that Indra learnt the Riks, Yajus and Samans from Vritra and thus obtained the sources of his strength. In course of time the social texture known as *Varnasramadharma* appeared in the composite Indian society marked by the synthesis of Arya and Dasa elements and gradually its mobility, resiliency and adaptability melted away and it lapsed into a hide-bound rigidity and conservatism characterised by the ascendancy of the Brahmana caste. The sacred lore also lost its pristine appeal and became a system of dry ritual, complexity and obscurantism. The *Upanisads* registered a note of protest against these trends of social development (*Mundakopanisad* I, 2, 7, *Kathopanisad* I, 2, 5.)

In the Vedic period a large number of tribes infiltrated into India. Some of them allied themselves with the indigenous Dasa chieftains and offered stiff resistance to fresh incomers. In the famous battle of Ten Kings (*Rigveda* VII, 83, 8) the Bharata king Sudas won a significant victory over ten tribes, Anu, Druhyu, Yadu, Turvasa, Puru, Alina, Paktha, Bhalona, Siva and Visanin that contained notable Iranian elements. But in course of time the opponents mingled among themselves. The Purus and the Bharatas merged in the great complex of peoples known as the Kurus. The Kurus were a branch of the Aryan people of the Irano-Bactrian regions. Their right wing migrated to the West up to Anatolia and settled near the confluence of the river Hermus and Phrygius in a region which came to be known as Korupedion, the Kuru plain, just as their left wing wheeled towards the south-east and marching through the Panjab settled in the region of the Saraswati and the Yamuna which became famous as Kurukshetra, the Kuru plain. These Korupedion and Kurukshetra of Anatolia and India respectively are two milestones of the Volkswanderung of the Kurus. The Kuru king Parikhsita was a notable figure of the later Vedic age.

In the Vedic period the Panjab or sapta-Sindhu region was the home of culture, learning and refinement. The Indus region is eulogised in *Rigveda* X, 75. The Gandhara Province is praised in the *Kausitakabrahmana* (VII, 6) and the *Chhandogya Upanisad* (VI, 14). Its metropolis Takshasila was a renowned seat of learning and produced such eminent personalities as Uddalaka Aruni. Below Gandhara was the realm of the Kekayas whose king Asvapati was a celebrated scholar and righteous ruler. Below the Kekayas were the Madras in the region of Sakala, modern Sialkot. Their land was also a cradle of piety and refinement and enjoyed the credit of producing such important personages as Madragara Saungayanū and Patanchala Kapyā. To the south of the Madras were the Usinaras living upto Kankhala. The sage Gargeya lived among them for some time. Their king Sibi became a model of philanthropy and sacrifice and righteousness. Thus the Panjab was looked upon as a land of purity, sanctity and culture in the Vedic age.

About the 9th century B. C. a fresh inroad of Central Asiatic peoples, consisting of Scythian, Bactrian and Iranian elements occurred in the Panjab. Jean Przyluski has reconstructed the history of this invasion in a series of significant papers published in *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles*, vol. 42 (1936-37) p 307; vol. 42 (1937) pp 209 223; vol 37, (1932) p. 286. The grammarian Panini who flourished in Northern Panjab one generation before the invasion of Alexander has noted the existence of some *Kantha*-ending place names in the whole of the Panjab which bespeak the history of this Scythian invasion. (Panini IV, 2, 103, II 4, 20, VI, 2 125) The Puranas also contain some faint reminiscences of this invasion and refer to the inroad of the Sakas up to Ayodhya during the reign of King Bahu and his son Sagara who checked and repelled them. (*Visnu Purana* IV, 3; *Vayupurana* ch. 88, *Brahmandapurana* ch. 63) This invasion was a part of a larger *volkswanderung* of Scytho-Iranian peoples which inundated Iran also almost in the same age and left an indelible imprint

in her legends and traditions. Scholars have shown that the cycle of the legends of Rustam and Zal which are narrated in the *Shah-nama* of Firdausi and are foreign to the traditions of Zoroastrian religion bear traces of Scythian influence. Likewise the echoes of the Irano-Scythian invasion of India which spelled the doom of the Kurus are discernible in a distinct body of literature which survives in the embellished structure of the *Mahabharata*. This epic relates to the Great Battle of Kurukshetra in which the Kuru empire broke down and gave place to a political and cultural chaos. The people who shattered the supremacy of the Kurus are known as the Pandavas. Though in course of the later revisions of the Great Epic an attempt was made to represent the Pandavas as the cousins of the Kauravas, some significant cultural and ethnic data pertaining to the Pandavas have survived the frantic efforts of the editors to suppress them and reveal that the Pandavas were entirely different from the Kauravas. For instance, the pale complexion of Pandu, the father of the Pandavas and the practices of polyandry and suttee among them indicate that they were ethnically distinct from the Kauravas. The names of the Pandava heroes have also a tribal and ethnic significance. The word *Arjuna* is linguistically connected with the words *Rs-ika* and *Yue-che*. It is the name of a large number of eponymous heroes and kings of the oases states of Kuca and Kara Shahahr in the Tarim Basin in Chinese Turkestan which were peopled by the Sakas and Kutsi in fairly early times. Likewise, the epithet *Vrikodara* applied to Bhima signifies the tradition of wolf ancestry which was current among a large number of Turkish tribes and Scythian clans like the Nayari and later on gave birth to the tribal designation of the *Vrikas*. As for Yudhisthira, he is expressly associated with *Yaudheya* in the *Mahabharata* (I, 95, 76). *Yaudheya* is the name of a far flung tribe of the Panjab which is analogous to the *Yautiya* of Iran which played an important part in the history of the early Achaemenian period. Similarly Nakula and Sahadeva, the

twin sons of Madri, represent the two branches of the Madra people. Thus the fraternity of the five Pandavas stands for an aggregation of Scytho Iranian tribes and their war with the Kurus at Kurukshetra represents the invasion of these tribes in the Kuru country and its consequent devastation at their hands. The *Mahabharata* was originally and essentially the heroic poetry and minstrelsy enshrining the valour and fervour of this invasion. That is why its subject matter does not accord with the data of the main body of Indian literature. The Pandavas are not even spoken of in the Vedic literature and their great war with the Kurus and the enthralling chivalry of their heroes manifested there are not described in the genuine legends of the Indo-Aryans stored in the Puranas.

The Scytho-Iranian invasion and the devastation brought in its train shattered the cultural standards of the Panjab. The infiltration of foreign tribes destroyed the racial composition of its people. The advent and upsurge of the Jartas (Iatioi, modern 'Jats') Ahhiras (an indigenous tribe of the Indus Delta called 'Ahir' in modern times) and Nagas (indigenous people) resulted in a degeneration of the morals and manners of the people. Consequently the home of orthodoxy and conservatism shifted towards the sedate region of Madhyadesa and the Panjab began to be looked down upon as the hot bed of sin and sacrilege.

The Iranian and Bactrian elements dominated the people and culture of the Panjab to such an extent that they came to be known as *Vahika* or *Valhika* for excellence. The modern castes of Bhalla, Behl, Bahl, Bhalas, spread over the whole of the Panjab, recall the intrusion of the Bactrian people in the texture of its demographic and cultural set-up.

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century B. C., have given important details of those social groupings.

In the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. imperialist movements were coursing in the Panjab. Gandhara was playing the part of Magadha. Its energetic ruler Pukkusati mentioned in Buddhist texts spread his hegemony in Kashmir and the region between the Chenab and the Ravi formerly occupied by the Madras. He seems to have measured swords with the Achaemenian conqueror Cyrus the Great and declared war on king Pradyota of Avanti and entered into diplomatic contact with king Bimbisara of Magadha. Under him the university town of Takshasila rose to great eminence and attracted a regular stream of students from distant Magadha. But the rise of the Achaemenids in Iran made short shrift of the ascendancy of Gandhara. Darius (522-486 B.C.) annexed Gandhara to his empire in 518 B.C. and included it in taxation unit no 7. This unit comprised Dadikai (*Darada*), Aparytai (*Aprita* or *Afridi*) and Thatagus (*Gomati*). The lower Indus valley was encompassed in the twentieth satrapy of the empire called Hindu. It touched the Pactyan country (*Pakthe*) and the city of Kaspatrios (Multan) in the north and the Indian desert in the south. The key-note of Achaemenid rule was a new type of centralised bureaucratic administration radiating from the Imperial court and knit up by a net-work of roads. Under Xerxes the authority of the Achaemenians remained intact but under Artaxerxes I their hold began to weaken and the Indian regions threw off their yoke. A native dynasty of Ambhi became independent in Gandhara, whereas the redoubtable Paurava (Poros) consolidated his power in the Jhelum-Chenab region, the seat of the Kekayas. Paurava took up the threads of the expansionist policy launched by Pukkasati. He pounced upon the Ravi region, invaded the state of the Malavas and Kshudrakas, befriended the king of Abhisara and threatened the ruler of Takshasila. He is identical with *Fur* of Arabic and Persian historians who state that he sent his elephant

corps for the help of Darius III at the time of Alexander's invasion. This information sheds a flood of new light on the career and strength of Paurava.

After conquering the Achaemenian empire Alexander invaded India. Though the highlanders of the north-west offered him stiff resistance, the frightened king Ambhi of Takshasila hugged him as an ally, evidently under duress of Paurava.

In July-August 327 B.C. Alexander crossed the Jhelum and met the forces of Paurava in the Kurri plain. Though authorities differ about the outcome of this battle, it is certain that it ended in an honourable peace, as a result of which Paurava gained in strength. One Meroes is stated by Arrian to have acted as a go-between in the peace parley. The data about him vouch for his identification with the Maurya prince Chandragupta who accompanied Alexander probably at Takshasila. Arabic and Persian authorities refer to an Indian prince *Cand* (*Kand* of Mas'udi, *Kaihan* of Yacubi, *Kaid* of Firdausi and Amir Khusrau and *Karand* of the author of the *Majmul ut Tawarikh*) who is said to have entered into a formal treaty with Alexander for the uprooting of the tyrannical ruler who stands for the Nanda sovereign. *Kand* or *Cand* represents Chandragupta Maurya who was in the Panjab at the time of Alexander's invasion according to Pali texts and met him there according to Plutarch. After the treaty of Chandragupta and Alexander, it became imperative to win over the formidable Paurava. The upshot of these circumstances was an alliance of Alexander, Chandragupta and Paurava after the battle of the Jhelum. Thereafter the forces of the invaders moved towards the east. The Younger Poros ruling in the land of the Madras fled towards the east and the Adraistai, Kathaians (*Kathas*) and Sopheites (*Saubha*) were defeated. But at Beas the advance of the invaders came to a standstill. Alexander decided to go home. Marching through South Western Panjab, he

rought with the Kshudrakas and the Malavas and many tribes and princes of the Sindh.

The picture of the political and social conditions of the Panjab painted by the historians of Alexander agrees in many details with that presented by the grammarian Panini who flourished one generation before his time. The Aspasioi (*Asvayana*) Assakemoi (*Asvakayana*), Astakenoi (*Hastindiyana*) dominated the north-west. The Pauravas rose to power just after the time of Panini and just before that of Alexander. The Glausai (*Glaucukayana*), Kathaians (*Katha*), Sophytes (*Saubha*), Pheglas (*Bhagala*), Oxydrakai (*Ksudraka*), Malloi (*Malava*), Sahastanoi (*Ambastha*), Ossadioi (*Vasati*), and Xathroi (*Ksatriya*) were in the ascendant in the plain of the Panjab. Panini and his commentators list about 750 towns which accord with the number 500 given by Strabo. Most of these towns and settlements were populated by clans of mercenary soldiers who lived by the profession of arms, developed oligarchical constitutions resembling those of Sparta and defied all attempts at unification and overlordship. Justin calls them 'independent,' and 'robbers', Panini designates them 'ayndhajini,' Kautilya names them as 'cora' and the *Mahabharata* knows them as *aratta*. Some significant indications of their social ways are available in the remarks of Greek writers about the Kathaians. The *Mahabharata* mentions *Parvatiyas* (mountaineers) e., g. the *Hadagoliya* (Hidda), *Andhakavartiya* (Andkhai), *Rohitagiriya* (Roh), *Hamsamarga* (Himza), Pygas under the leadership of gramanis settled on the right bank of the Indus, like *Asani*, (Shinwari), *Karsapaan* (Karshbum), *Aprita* (Afridi), *Pawinda* (Powinda), *Vanavyas* (tribes of Wana Valley) and *Vahika samighas* from the Indus to the Beas like the Vrikas, Yaudheya, Trigartasastha, Saubbreya, Saukreyas etc. These peoples were rent by mutual jealousies and internecine conflicts.

In the 4th. century B.C. the Panjab produced a gifted thinker Visnugupta Kautilya who presented an ideal of unification and solidarity. Kautilya breathed in the air of

Achaemeni an *etatisme* and Vahika collectivism and regimentation. The pattern of a highly centralised and bureaucratic administration controlling all spheres of social life depicted by him is an attempt at reconciling these tendencies of the political life of the Panjab. He has painted a clear picture of the Panjab in his *Arthasastra* which became the basis of the political and administrative institutions of the Mauryas.

After the invasion of Alexander, Chandragupta changed his policy, raised the banner of revolt against his governors, and canalised the dissentient and discordant elements of the Panjab into a strong and stable force of unification and imperialism. His ally, Parvataka, who is the same as Poros, and his preceptor Chanakya advanced towards Magadha and supplanted the Nandas at Pataliputra. But Parvataka was assassinated at the instance of Chanakya. Yet the Kingdom of the Panjab was consigned to his son Malayaketu who is identical with the Indian general Keteus mentioned by the Greek writer Diodoros. This king and his Greek friend Endamus went to the help of Eumenes against Antigonos in 317 B.C. and fell fighting by his side at the battle field of Galiene. Thereafter the Panjab was annexed to the Maurya empire. In 305 B.C. Seleucos again invaded this region but Chandragupta inflicted a crushing defeat on him and made him cede the provinces of Aria, Arachosia, Gedrosia and Paropamisdae. The tradition of their matrimonial alliance is spurious. That the Mauryas continued to maintain their hold over these regions is substantiated by the discovery of a bilingual inscription of Asoka in Greek and Armenian near Kandhar, this year (*Journal Asiatique*, 1958, no 1-49)

But the freedom loving people of the Panjab could hardly put up with the insolence and highhandedness of Maurya bureaucrats. Hence they repeatedly rose in revolt. It is on record that the people of Takshasila rose up against Bindusara and Asoka and had to be pacified

by royal princes (*Divyavadana* pp. 372, 407).

After Asoka his empire broke down. The unruly and restive people of the Panjab became independent. Virasena and Subhagasena were the independent rulers of this region. According to the *Rajatarangini*, the Maurya scions of Kashmir, Jalauka and Damodara, became independent and conquered the country up to Kanyakubja. At that time there was a fresh invasion of the Greeks but these rulers withstood them. Eventually the consolidation of Greek rule in Bactria resulted in the decline and fall of the independent kingdom of the Panjab.

Thereafter the Yavanas, Sakas, Kushanas, Parthians, Sassanids, Kidarites etc. repeatedly overran the Panjab and brought about a revolution in its social and cultural set-up. The old *Varnasramadharma* which had been the cornerstone of society was thrown overboard and there was an unprecedented intermixture of peoples and amalgamation of customs which expressed itself in exotic fashions and outlandish ways of life which were an anathema to the orthodox people of the Middle country.

The process of the deviation of the Panjab from the norm of orthodox conduct and culture started with the intrusion of foreign peoples in the post-Vedic age. Hence in the Atharvaveda Gandhara and Mujavant (the area of the Munjani tribes) were looked upon as the cursed region where fever (takman) was wished away. By the time of the Dharma-sutras of Vasistha and Baudhayana it began to be considered a sin to visit the Panjab and special expiation (Sarvapristhaisti) was prescribed for it. Those very traits of the life of the Panjab which were eulogised in earlier Vedic texts were denounced by bell, book and candle. In the Nadistuti (*Rigveda* X, 75, 47) the Sindhu region was adulated for its richness in horses and woollen garments. Yet in the Dharmasutra of Baudhayana (I, 1, 2, 13) these two traits *Urnavikraya* (wool trade) and

Ubhayatodadbhir-Vyavahara (selling of animals which have teeth in the upper and lower jaws), referring to the horse, were despised. Likewise *Samudrasamyana* (navigation in rivers) which is mentioned in detail in the grammar of Panini and *Rigveda* I, 25, 7, is looked down upon. Besides these traits the existence of the guilds and communities of mercenary soldiers (*ayudhi-yaka*) mentioned by Panini, Kautilya and the Greek writers and the vogue of manufacturing and drinking wine (*Siabupana*) noted by these authors are bitterly criticised. In fact the seat of orthodoxy and conservatism had shifted to the Middle Country, and the Panjab to the west of the Sarasvati (*Vinasana*) was excluded from the very conception of Aryavarta.

Some of the customs of the Panjab which were basilisks in the eyes of the orthodox people adhering to the old order of castes and stages of life were the result of Central Asiatic influences notably that of the Scythians. For instance, the vogue of drinking bouts in which men and women promiscuously participated and cohabited and the consumption of onions, garlic, beef etc. were the results of Scytho-Iranian influences. The disruption of the order of castes and the mobility and egalitarian spirit of social set-up were also the consequences of the impact of these northern peoples. Under the Kushanas the Panjab was knit up with the vast empire of Central Asia and became part and parcel of Asiatic culture. A large number of plants and vegetables, gods and deities and articles of dress, foreign to Indian culture, were introduced into it. In particular, the use of coat (*Kotavaka* or *Kustaii*), trousers (*Svasthagana* or *santhona*), belt (*Sakras* or *capras*), boots (*Kavasi*, *Kosava*), cap (*toppi*), in place of the traditional Indian dress of a pair of dhotis, became the symbol of the adoption of foreign culture. This social revolution is depicted in a large number of Indian literary texts, like the section of *Yugaksaya* of the *Vanaparvan* of the *Mahabharata*, the *Yuga-Purana* of the *Gargi-samhita*, the *Vajrasuci* ascribed to Asvaghosa and the description of Kali Age in some Puranas.

Out of this social revolution the present demographic structure of the Panjab emerged. A large number of modern castes of the Panjab betray foreign origins and hint at the process of the assimilation of Asiatic peoples in the population of this region. If the Bhallas and Behls refer back to the Balhikas (Bactrians), the Suds represent the Sogdians, the Khannas and Chawlas stand for the Khionites, the Sahnis and Sois denote the Scythians and the Jonejas signify the Yavanajas. Similarly a large number of other castes indicate the admixture of indigenous and exotic peoples.

But out of the hurly-burly of these drastic social changes a new perspective and Weltanschauung emerged and expressed itself in the culture and concepts of universal religions like the *Mahayana*. In the *Vibhasasastra* that was thrice translated into Chinese the possibility of understanding different languages ranging from Dravida to those of Central Asia and China is clearly envisaged. Likewise, in the *Tathagataguhyasutra*, twice rendered into Chinese, there is a list of 45 peoples and their languages which became the vehicles of the dissemination of the message of Buddhism. Such lists are also found in several other texts like the *Avatani-saka-sutra*, the *Suryagarbha-sutra* and the *Chandragarbhasutra*. In the latter there is an enumeration of the manifestations of the Buddha in

different countries. Whereas India is said to have had 813 manifestations, the Asiatic territories are reputed to have had 971. While Benares is credited with 60, Kashghar is blessed with 98, Kuca with 99, Khotan with 180 and China with 255. This shows that the Central Asiatic countries had assumed more importance than Indian regions in the estimation of the author of this text.

In the aforesaid texts we find several Asiatic legends and traditions which are foreign to Indian literature. In the *Chandragarbhasutra* there is a tradition of Srigupta (To-non) and his son Chandraprabha Kumara, the princes of China, who ranked as Bodhisattvas and were honoured in Central Asia. Likewise there is the legend of the sage with the lips of an ass (*Kharostha*) that grew in the *hu* country between India and China. This literature breathes an Asiatic atmosphere and is symbolic of the psychological change that overtook the people of the Panjab. In this atmosphere a tolerant, resilient, assimilative and expansionist culture grew in the Panjab and found expression in the philosophies envisaging the possibility of there being diverse approaches to truth. A significant expression of this credo is the following aphorism of the *Abhidharmakosa* of Vasubandhu (II, 28)—*Vidya-Vipakso-dharmonyo' vidya-mitrantadivat*.

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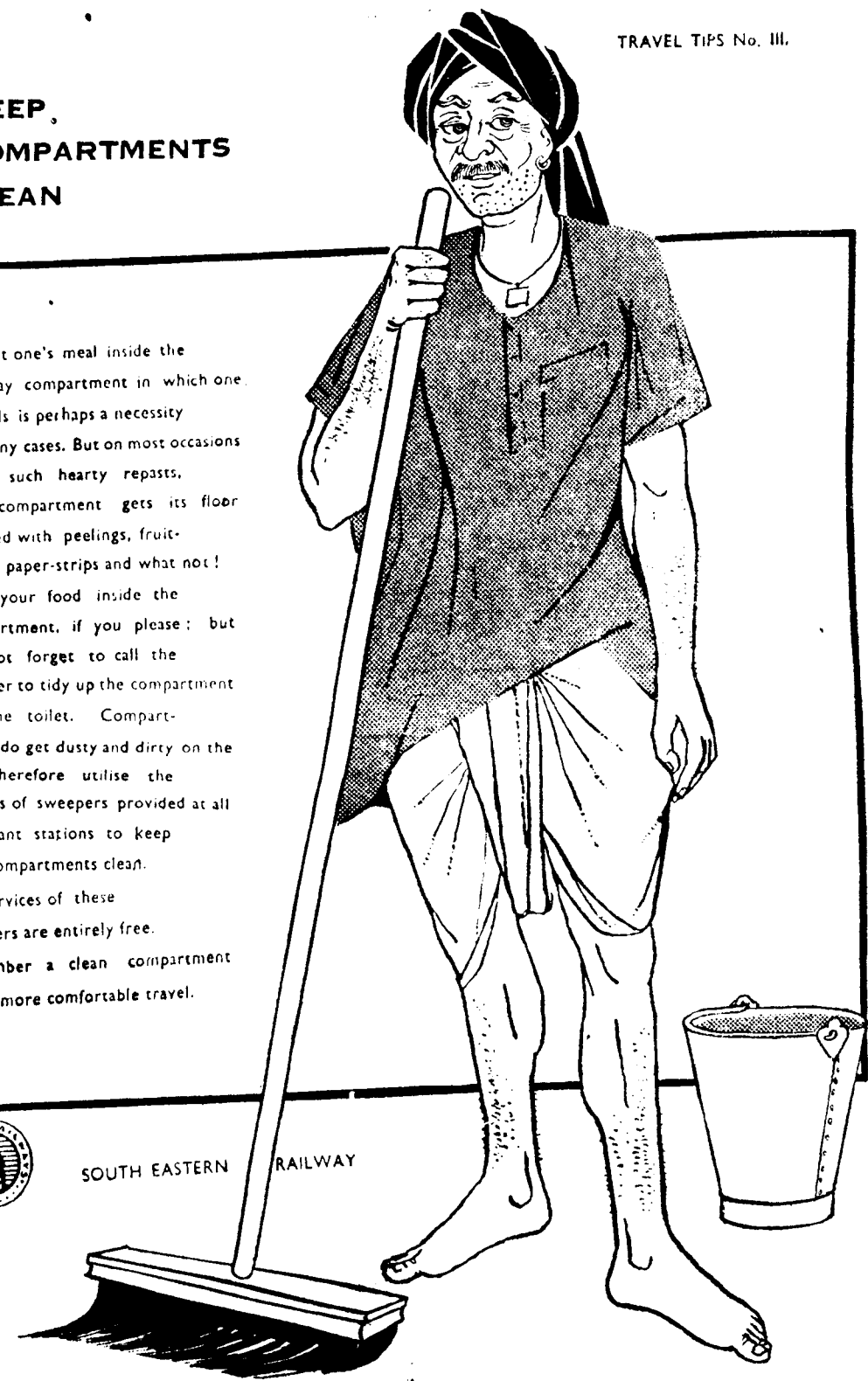
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To eat one's meal inside the railway compartment in which one travels is perhaps a necessity in many cases. But on most occasions after such hearty repasts, the compartment gets its floor littered with peelings, fruit-shells, paper-strips and what not! Take your food inside the compartment, if you please; but do not forget to call the sweeper to tidy up the compartment and the toilet. Compartments do get dusty and dirty on the run—therefore utilise the services of sweepers provided at all important stations to keep your compartments clean. The services of these sweepers are entirely free. Remember a clean compartment means more comfortable travel.



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dred members. The new membership drive is also necessary to enable us to set up branch organisations at four or five centres.

Annual General Meeting:

The Annual General Meeting and the Third Anniversary of the Foundation of the Institute was held on 27th September 1964, at the Sanskrit College, Calcutta. It was a whole-day function and was very well attended. Besides members of the Institute, there were distinguished Indian and foreign scholars and representatives of foreign Consulates and Cultural Missions. The Business Meeting was held in the morning. The lunch recess was followed by a Symposium on *Ideas of History*. Dr. Bratindra Nath Mukherjee (Sanskrit College) read a paper on the Ancient Period, Dr. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar (Jadavpur University) on the Medieval Period, and Dr. Tapan Roy Chowdhury (Delhi University) on the Modern Period. In the evening there was a lecture by Dr. Kristof Glamann of Copenhagen University (Denmark) on *The Danish Trade in Bengal in the later half of the 18th century*.

Mr. Bidhubhusan Malik, Vice-Chancellor, University of Calcutta, presided at the Annual General Meeting. He expressed high appreciation of the work done by the Institute and gave an assurance of full co-operation from the University of Calcutta. Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, the doyen of Indian historians, presided at the Symposium.

Discussion Meetings:

No Discussion Meeting could be held since our last issue because of preparations for the Annual General Meeting and Third Anniversary of the Foundation of the Institute, which was followed by the Autumn Vacation. A new programme of Discussion Meetings has been drawn up for the next quarter, and a number of distinguished scholars from outside Calcutta have kindly agreed to give talks at the Discussion Meetings.

In the current issue we are publishing three papers presented at earlier Discussion Meetings: *Ramesh Chandra Dutta* (Eminent Indian Historians Series) by Dr. Nilmani Mukherjee (Calcutta University); and *Some Problems of Medieval Indian History* and *A Survey of India's Resistance to the Invaders from the North West in the Early Medieval Age*, by Dr. A.L. Srivastava (Agra University).

Second Annual Conference:

The Second Annual Conference of the Institute of Historical Studies will be held at the University of Ranchi (Bihar) on December 31, 1964. The programme of the Conference will be divided into two sessions. In the first session will be read and discussed a few selected papers bearing on the following general themes:

- (a) Foreign Influences on Indian Culture in the Ancient Period.
- (b) The Economic Policy of the Mughal Government.
- (c) India's Foreign Policy in the 20th century.

In the second session there will be a Symposium on *Research Projects and Inter-University Co-operation*. Many distinguished scholars from different Universities have agreed to read papers and participate in the discussion. We hope that the Second Annual Conference will be even more successful than the first, held in Poona in December 1963.

Ranchi and Rajasthan Universities:

The present number includes an account of the state of historical studies and progress of research at the Universities of Ranchi and Rajasthan (Jaipur). The courses of study for B.A. (Hons.) and M.A. Examinations at both the Universities are fairly well-balanced, giving proportionate importance to Indian history and to the history of other countries. Due importance is also given to Social and Cultural History. But for the M.A. Examination at Ranchi University, the first two papers—Ancient World

Civilisations from 3000 B.C. to 404 B.C., and Medieval World from 600 A.D. to 1300 A.D.—seem to be rather too ambitious. At the advanced level expected for M.A. students, the study of any subject must be in adequate depth. From that point of view the first two papers are far too wide in their scope.

The rules for research degrees at both the Universities seem to be quite adequate to ensure effective supervision of the work of research students and maintenance of a high standard of examination. At Ranchi University not more than six students can be enrolled under one Supervisor, at Rajasthan University not more than five. At Ranchi University the Supervisor has to submit a quarterly report on the work of each research student. At Rajasthan University such reports have to be sent every six months, but to ensure regularity of work a minimum period of residence is required. Also to ensure that only serious and earnest students enrol themselves, the Rajasthan University prescribes a tuition fee of Rs. 250/- per annum, except from University or College teachers. The regulations do not prescribe attendance at regular Seminars or Classes, nor do we know whether Seminars or Classes for research students are organised in practice. There are, however, very few Universities in India where Research Seminars are held on a regular basis and attendance at them is deemed obligatory. The prevailing notion still is that research students are casual students, and Universities are under no obligation to provide regular training and instruction to them.

From the list of students enrolled for research degrees, it appears that Ancient Indian History is completely neglected at the University of Ranchi, while Medieval and Modern periods are given almost equal importance. Specially noticeable is the emphasis on Social and Cultural History. The majority of research topics deal with the Chotanagpur area, but that is only natural. At the University of Rajasthan all the periods of Indian history get their due share of importance. That topics

relating to Rajasthan are the most favourite is also natural. It is also worth noticing that Social, Cultural, Economic and Administrative History form the main fields of interest.

Dictionary Project:

The Dictionary of Nationalist Biographies Project has been making good progress. Organisational and procedural difficulties had held up the progress of work in the first year. But now in the second year the initial difficulties are over, and the collection of material is proceeding at a more rapid pace. For speedier progress a number of additional Research Fellows have been appointed, bringing the total number to 16: (Bengal-2, Bihar-1, Orissa-1, U.P., M.P. & Rajasthan-2, Punjab, Kashmir and N.W.F. Province-1, Gujarat-1, Maharashtra-2, Madras-1, Andhra-1, Kerala-1, Central Office, Calcutta-2).

When the Project was first made, it was thought feasible to complete collection of biographical material in three years' time. From our actual experience of work, however, it now appears that the collection of material cannot be completed in less than five years' time. It is also felt that the number of Research Staff is not adequate for the size of the Project. We appealed to all the Universities for help and co-operation. We have received very favourable response from a large number of Universities, assuring us of their fullest co-operation. Among the Universities which have applied to the U.G.C. for financial assistance to institute Research Fellowships for the Dictionary Project are: Panjab University, Agra University, Delhi University, Aligarh Muslim University, Nagpur University, Osmania University (Hyderabad), Rajasthan University (Jaipur), Gorakhpur University, Utkal University, Magadh University (Bihar), Gauhati University, Ranchi University, Karnatak University (Dharwar), M.S. University (Baroda), S.V. University (Tirupati, Andhra), Saugar University (M.P.), and Jadavpur University (Calcutta).

A meeting of all the Research Fellows was held in Bombay in October, 1964. The progress made so far was carefully reviewed and plans were laid for speedier progress in future. Biographical data on about 80 leaders have been collected already. Under the new scheme of work, the target set for the current year, 1964-65, is 500 leaders. In the next two years, 1965-66 and 1966-67, we hope to cover 1100 leaders. According to our present plans, the Dictionary will include biographies of 1600 leaders for the whole of India, distributed almost equally among the four Zones—Eastern (Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam), Northern (U.P., M.P., Rajasthan, Panjab, Kashmir, and N.W.F. Province), Western (Maharashtra and Gujarat) and Southern (Madras, Andhra, Kerala and Mysore).

International Conference on Asian History (Hong Kong):

An International Conference on Asian History was held at the University of Hong Kong from 31st August to 5th September, 1964. The sponsoring organisations were: International Association of Historians of Asia (Philippines), International Conference of South East Asian Historians (Malaysia), Far Eastern Pre-History Association, and Indian History Congress. The Chairman of the Organising Committee was Professor Brian Harrison, Department of History, University of Hong Kong. About hundred delegates from all parts of the world attended the Conference, and more than sixty papers on different aspects of Asian History were read and discussed.

The Indian History Congress was represented at the Conference by Professor H.K. Sherwani, President for 1964; Professor Bisheshwar Prasad, President-elect for the 26th Session; and Dr. S.P. Sen, General Secretary.

The Conference was undoubtedly successful within its limited scope. Apart from the presentation of several learned papers, its value lay in bringing together historians from different parts of the world and giving them an oppor-

tunity of personal contacts and exchange of ideas. But the very success of the Conference revealed the organisational shortcomings and proved the need for a permanent association with a broad all-Asian base. As Dr. S.P. Sen, General Secretary of the Indian History Congress, pointed out at the Business Meeting, it was high time that holding occasional and disconnected international Conferences on Asian History should be replaced by setting up a permanent Asian organisation which would call such Conferences at regular intervals. The drawbacks of the past practice are: first, that the Conferences are held at irregular intervals; second, that particular regions of Asia are given disproportionate prominence according to the venue of the Conference, which deprives the Conference of any truly all-Asian character; and third, that they do not represent the national associations of historians in different countries of Asia. As Dr. Sen pointed out, between 1960 and 1964 five International Conferences on Asian History had been held, at Manila, Singapore, Taiwan, New Delhi and Hong Kong. When the Conference was held in New Delhi, East and South East Asia were poorly represented, while West and South Asia predominated. On the other hand, at Hong Kong East and South East Asia almost monopolised the picture. There were just a few from South Asia and none at all from Central and Western Asia. Dr. Sen, therefore, urged that a permanent International Organisation should be set up, with the National Associations of historians in the different countries of Asia as unit members. This would give the International Conference a truly representative and all-Asian character. It is to be hoped that this proposal would be given the most serious consideration at the next International Conference due to be held at Kuala Lumpur in 1967.

Seminar on Ideas (Delhi University):

A Seminar on *Ideas Motivating Social and Religious Movements, Politics and Economic Policy during the 18th and 19th centuries in India* was held at the University of Delhi from 9th to 15th November, 1964. The Seminar was organised

by Professor Bisheshwar Prasad, Head of the Department of History, Delhi University. There were more than forty participating scholars from different Indian Universities and also a number of foreign scholars interested in Indian history. More than twenty five learned papers were presented and discussed. They were grouped into different categories, each category being taken up at a different Session. Session I covered 'The structure of society during the 18th and 19th centuries'. Session II covered 'The religious background in the immediately pre-British period'. Session III covered 'Assessment and response: (a) British and Western penetration; (b) Indian recognition of the need for self-analysis'. Session IV covered 'The instruments and ideas of change'. Session V covered 'Pre-British ideas on Politics and Economics'. Session VI covered 'The infiltration of foreign ideas on political policy'. Session VII covered 'The Indian response, as seen in ideas on political policy'. Session VIII covered 'The Indian response as seen in ideas on economic policy'. The discussions in all the Sessions were extremely fruitful and stimulating. We are looking forward to the early publication of the full proceedings of the Seminar.

Indian History Congress:

The twenty-sixth session of the Indian History Congress will be held at Ranchi (Bihar), under the auspices of the University of Ranchi, from 28th to 30th December, 1964. The deliberations of the Congress will be divided into three Sections.

Section I—Ancient Period (up to 1200 A.D. for Northern India and 1300 A.D. for Southern India); Section II—Medieval Period (up to 1707 A.D.); and Section III—Modern Period (from 1707 A.D.). There will also be a Symposium on the *Writing of the History of the Indian Freedom Movement*. The General President at the twenty-sixth session will be Professor Bisheshwar Prasad of Delhi University. Professor Sudhakar Chatterjee of Visva-Bharati University (Santiniketan) will preside over Section I. Professor Ganda Singh of the Panjabi University (Patiala) will preside over Section II. Dr. V.D. Rao of Shivaji University (Kolhapur) will preside over Section III.

The Indian History Congress, which celebrated its Silver Jubilee in 1963, is the most important national organisation of Indian historians. As in previous years, a large number of learned papers on different aspects of Indian history will be presented and discussed. Besides Indian scholars, a number of distinguished foreign historians will also attend the session and participate in the deliberations.

On the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the Indian History Congress a special Souvenir Volume was brought out in 1963, containing a detailed history of the Indian History Congress, important resolutions, and a classified list of all papers (about 2500) published in the Proceedings Volumes since 1935. It is an extremely useful reference book for all students of Indian history.

Discussion Meetings

SOME PROBLEMS OF MEDIEVAL INDIAN HISTORY

DR. A. L. SRIVASTAVA

The modern researcher in medieval Indian history, unlike one in the history of ancient India, is not faced with the problem of paucity of source-material. The paucity of material is felt in respect of social, economic and cultural data; but there is considerable information on political, military and religious affairs in the pages of the Persian chronicles. The problem is one of its proper evaluation and correct interpretation. The principal draw-back of the medieval Persian chronicles in the eyes of scholars is their partiality and one-sidedness. They are, generally speaking, biased and present one side of the picture, and whereas they exaggerate the exploits of their patrons and co-religionists and eulogise their services to the cause of Islam and humanity, they not only slur over the success of their opponents but often describe their achievements as if they were failures. For example, hardly does one come across a candid account of the defeat of a Muslim invader or that of a Sultan by a Hindu king or warrior. If Muhammad of Ghur's defeat at the hands of Prithvi Raj Chauhan in the first battle of Tarain in 1191 A.D. is recorded by Minhaj-ud-din Siraj, it is done as a background to magnify his (Muhammad's) courage, patience and determination to win against heavy odds in the very next year. We know that the Indians from the 7th century A.D. to the end of the 12th century A.D. put up a prolonged and persistent resistance against the onslaught of the Arabs and the Turks. Had they been invariably defeated, as they are alleged to have been by medieval Persian chronicles, most of the country—at least the whole of northern India—would have passed into the hands of the Turks within two or three decades, as the entire Gangetic plain from Delhi to the western limit of Assam was overrun

during one decade from 1193 to 1202 A.D. This aspect of medieval chronicles, that is their partiality, is so evident that it hardly needs any argument to prove it. But a new school of thought has recently arisen that ignores the partisan character of the chronicles, but questions the accuracy of the facts and figure that they have given with regard to the conduct and policy of the ruling class, particularly towards the society, religion and culture of the Hindus. This school is of the opinion that the medieval Muslim chroniclers wrote with a eye to the Arabian and Central Asian Muslim audience and that their main object was to show to these foreign Muslim readers what their patrons had done and were doing for the glorification of Islam in India. Their description according to this class of modern writers, razing Hindu temples to the ground, breaking Hindu images to pieces, sending crowds of Hindu infidels to hell, and forcing others to embrace Islam, were propaganda, designed to elevate the Muslim Sultans of India in the eyes of their foreign brethren-in-faith and were not correct accounts of the occurrences that took place here. In short, the substance of the argument of this class of writers is that the facts and figures of religious intolerance, destruction of temples and images and forcible conversion to Islam, given by the witnesses should not be taken seriously as that the conduct not only of the Sultans of Delhi but also of the Arab and Turkish invaders must not be judged on the basis of these contemporary accounts. Most of the modern Indian Muslim historians, if not all, have taken this theory in view and acted upon it, while writing their doctoral theses or other monographs and general works of medieval Indian history during the last thirty years or more.

Among the early systematic attempts to brush aside the details of temple-destruction and image-breaking given in contemporary Muslim chronicles is the one made by Maulana Sayyid Sulaiman Nadvi in his Urdu works on medieval Indian history and in his Presidential Address to Section III of the Indian History Congress at Madras in 1944. Since that date it has become an article of faith with modern Muslim writers of medieval Indian history to preach that the medieval Muslim chroniclers belonged to a small group of theologians, that they were not representatives of Islam, and that they indulged in tales of religious persecution of the Hindus to impress the foreign Muslims. Dr. S. Nurul Hasan of Aligarh University stressed this point in a lecture delivered by him under the auspices of Indian Historical Records Commission, which met at Chandigarh in February 1961. One of the latest examples is that of Professor Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, who repeats the argument in his book entitled, "Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteenth Century", that the Muslim chroniclers of Medieval India wrote for the Muslim audience in Central Asia with a view to glorify their patrons, the Sultans and their courtiers (page 216). Sulaiman Nadvi reinforces his argument by saying that the medieval Muslim chroniclers belonged to a chivalrous age when "Every individual tried to glorify himself by performing some heroic deeds in battle-fields. The men-of-letters, who could not, like the wielders of the sword, afford to take part in battles, tried to pour out their military spirits and war-like passions in the pages of their historical works, and they revelled in presenting vivid pictures of wars and battles." (Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Madras, 1944, p. 240). These arguments are being repeated day in and day out by almost cent per cent modern Muslim writers, teachers, scholars and publicists. It does not occur to these learned people that even if their argument be accepted as valid, it would not absolve our Muslim rulers from the charge of intolerance, for the Arabian and Central Asian Muslims who were said to have

relished the accounts of extirpation of idolatry and the forcible conversion to Islam must have treated these acts as normal Islamic behaviour.

The facts recorded by medieval Indian chroniclers in Persian and Arabic regarding forcible conversion, temple and image-breaking and the like are corroborated from other unimpeachable sources. One can see with one's own eyes the ruins of ancient Hindu shrines, and Muslim graves, tombs and mosques standing on their sites, and many temples in a dilapidated and half broken condition telling silently the tale of Muslim iconoclastic vandalism, if one visits Ayodhya, Kashi, Mathura, Vrindaban, and other sacred places in the country. Professor Khaliq Ahmad Nizami tries to argue and to show that in some places, notably Kalinjar and Mahoba, Hindu temples stand as they were and disprove the statement of Hasan Nizami, author of *Taj-ul-Maasir*, that these were destroyed by Qutb-ud-din Aibak. Little does Professor Nizami know of the Hindu habit of rebuilding their old shrines whenever such an opportunity presented itself. For example, the Keshav Dev temple at the birth-place of Sri Krishna which was destroyed by Mahmud of Ghazni was at least thrice rebuilt by the Hindus, first after Mahmud was dead and gone, next after it was destroyed by Firoz Tughluq and a third time after Sikandar Lodi had razed it to the ground. It was finally destroyed by Aurangzeb who erected a mosque on its site, which stands to this day. This is true of many other temples in most parts of India. Generally speaking only those temples which were inaccessible to Muslim invaders remained immune from their vandalism. Moreover, the details given by medieval Indian Muslim chroniclers are also substantially supported by contemporary European travellers, who witnessed with their own eyes the destruction wrought by Muslim rulers and their followers. One example will suffice to prove the point. Father Monserrate, who made a journey from Goa to Fatehpur Sikri in 1579-1580, writes in this connection: "Secondly, it should be observed that religious zeal of the Musalmans has des-

stroyed all the idol temples, which used to be numerous. But the carelessness of these same Musalmans has, on the other hand, allowed sacrifices to be publicly performed, incense to be offered, oil and perfume to be poured out, the ground to be sprinkled with flowers, wreaths to be hung up, wherever—either among the ruins of these old temples or elsewhere—any fragment of an idol is to be found. Thirdly, in place of the Hindu temples, countless tombs and little shrines of wicked and worthless Musalmans have been erected, in which these men are worshipped with vain superstition as though they were saints. This moved the Fathers to deep pity, not unaccompanied by tears and heart-felt grief." (*Commentary of Father Monserrate*, Tr. into English from the original Latin by J.J. Hoyland, p. 27). This quotation depicts the condition of Hindu shrines early in 1580 and proves that the medieval Muslim chronicles did not write for any particular audience, but faithfully recorded the facts and figures of havoc wrought by the Sultans of Delhi and their compatriots during the medieval age.

Another theory propounded by this school of modern Indian historians is that "the kings of medieval India were, no doubt, Muslims but were not the representatives of Islam. As adherents of Islam they wielded the sceptre, but the ways of their kingship and models of their government were not exclusively based on Islamic principles." (Sulaiman Nadvi). According to Professor Muhammad Habib Muslim invaders like Mahmud of Ghazni also fall under this description. For he writes in his book, entitled *Mahmud of Ghazni*, that one must not judge Islam from the acts of this invader who was a plunderer and not a representative of Islam, which should be learnt from the Quran and the Hadis. Little does the learned Professor realise that historians are not much concerned with the dogma of a particular creed, but judge the value of it from the effect that it produces on its adherents. Moreover, Mahmud of Ghazni was looked upon by his contemporary co-religionists as a good Muslim who by his conduct in India glorified Islam.

It is worthy of note that even now he is held in great esteem by the Muslim rank and file for his service to Islam by repressing idolatry. As regards the theory that the Indian Sultans were not the representatives of Islam and that their conduct was not based purely on Islamic principles, it is pertinent to remember that they endeavoured to follow the *shari'ah* and that if they made any departure from Islamic principles on account of political expediency, they were pulled up by the Ulama, particularly by the Shaikh-ul-Islam whose duty it was to see that the rulers followed the *shari'ah* not only in their personal conduct but also in the administration of the country. For example, the historian Barani is reported to have said to Sultan Jalal-ud-din Khalji that he called himself Muslim and yet he failed to prevent the Hindus from following their own mode of worship.

The inquisitive reader may ask as to who were the representatives of Islam in Medieval India, if the Sultans of Delhi, their Muslim nobility and the Ulama were not? The above school of modern scholars answer the question by saying that the Muslim Sufis should be considered as representatives of Islam. This is an absurd theory, for saints generally speaking always belong to the advanced section of a society. They yearn for an ideal state of affairs and concentrate their attention on matters spiritual to the disregard of matters mundane. Moreover, he would be a bold man who would say that Indian Sufis of the medieval age, fanatics though they might not have been, were unmindful of the interest of Islam and that they did not carry on religious propaganda and proselytisation. In fact some of them, particularly those of the Suhrawardy Order, took advantage of their connection with the State and exerted political pressure to convert Hindus to Islam. They did not, of course, unsheath their swords in the propagation of their religion, but at the same time there is no evidence to show that they made an attempt to restrain the Muslim rulers and officers from following the policy of vandalism.

One great anxiety of scholars like Muhammad Habib is to uphold what they consider to be the superiority of Islam and the nobility of its doctrine. That seems to be the reason why he paints an ideal picture of the political and social system introduced in Sindh on its conquest by the Arabs, under Muhammad bin Qasim. (vide *Islamic Culture*, Oct., 1929, pp. 592-604). He says practically the same thing in explaining the success of the Turks in Northern India in the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. "It was a turn-over of public opinion," he says, "a sudden turn-over no doubt, but still one that was long overdue." He means that the lower classes of the Hindus who were groaning under oppression at the hands of their high-caste rulers deserted them to join the Muslim invaders because Islam offered to them religious and social equality. One cannot but agree with Dr. Peter Hardy of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, that in Muhammad Habib's Marxian interpretation of medieval Indian history it is Islam that absorbs Marxism and not Marxism Islam.

The apologists of the above school do not seem to believe that the historians' aim should be truth and nothing but the truth. Maulana Sulaiman Nadvi, for example, avows: "The aim of writing the history of India must be to unite and not to disunite the different peoples living in this country. The present should not be allowed to be embittered by the venomous memories of the past....." Is it not possible,

one might ask, to engage ourselves in the pursuit of truth about our past and refrain from falsifying history and yet to conduct ourselves in such a manner in the living present as to eschew all bitterness and to live and act like brothers? Is it not possible for the various communities in India not to be upset by the happenings in our medieval history, but to avoid the mistakes committed by and the pitfalls that beset the path of our medieval forbears?

The Maulana warns of the consequences of an objective pursuit of medieval Indian history. Such a thing is likely, he says, to cause "reaction amongst the other group of writers, who try to defend every deed and extol every action of the Muslim rulers. The virtue of researches is thus transformed into the vices of bitter criticisms in the historical works of the respective authors". And Mr. Faruqi's *Aurangzeb and His Times* and Nizami's *Religion and Politics in India in the 13th Century* seem to have been written with that object in view. One more observation of Sulaiman Nadvi deserves to be noticed. He says, for example, that history must help "visualise the hopeful future by reading a glorious record" of one's ancestors. "For the resplendent glories of the past infuse not only a sense of pride in the nation but also serve as a great incentive for making its future brighter." Would that this record were such as to enthuse the millions that constitute the population of India!

A SURVEY OF INDIA'S RESISTANCE TO MEDIEVAL INVADERS FROM THE NORTH-WEST: CAUSES OF EVENTUAL HINDU DEFEAT.

DR. A. L. SRIVASTAVA

The history of the resistance offered by the Hindu States of North-Western and Northern India against the mighty Arab and Turkish invaders from Central Asia and of the causes of their eventual fall has not been studied in correct perspective. For one thing, the long period of about 570 years, from their first invasion in 636 A.D. to the foundation of the Sultanate of Delhi in 1206 A.D., during which the process of Muslim infiltration, both through repeated invasions and peaceful migration from Arabia and Central Asia, continued almost unabated, has been treated by modern writers as one unbroken period. This is unscientific and misleading from the chronological and factual points of view. It is forgotten that there were intervals of long duration during which no invasion occurred from the North-West and the country enjoyed peace and tranquillity. Secondly, such a treatment ignores the fact that in the early days of these invasions a very stiff resistance was offered by the Hindus and quite successfully for about four hundred years—a resistance that rolled back the tide of invasion times out of number and the like of which the Arabs had never before encountered in their wars of aggressive conquests in the three continents of the world. In the third place, the main causes of the defeat of the Hindus were not the same during different epochs of this long period of 570 years. And finally, it fails to take account of the fact that the Arabs were then the masters of the largest and most powerful empire which embraced parts of three continents, Asia, Africa and Europe and that they and their successors the Turks were inspired by a belief that they were doing God's work of extirpating misbelief and converting humanity to Islam, a belief that gave them unbounded enthusiasm and ambition. Modern writers of Indian history, whether

Europeans or Indians, have overlooked the earlier resistance put up by the Hindus and in analysing the causes of the Indian defeat have concentrated their attention only on the last phase of the struggle. In fact the European scholars have gone out of their way to build up sedulously the theory that in fighting qualities the Hindus as a race were inferior to the Central Asian Arabs and Turks and other Islamic peoples, and this, in their opinion, was the principal cause of the downfall of the Hindu States of the early medieval age. Lane-Poole, for example, remarks: "To the contrast of union and disunion, north and south, race and climate, was added the zeal of the Moslem and the greed of the robber."¹ Vincent A. Smith, an equally acknowledged authority, writes that the invaders were superior fighters as they came from the colder climate of the north, were eaters of meat, and were inured to warfare.² This theory³ is based on an uncritical acceptance of the palpably biased accounts of medieval Muslim writers, so prone to magnify the exploits of their compatriots and minimise those of their adversaries, and lays an undue emphasis on the debacle of the time of Muhammad of Ghur to the utter exclusion of the earlier three and a half centuries' magnificent resistance offered by the Hindus of Sindh, Afghanistan and the Panjab.

The entire period of the Arab and Turkish invasions of the early medieval age can be divided into four epochs, the first two of which overlapped for a considerable time in the beginning. They are: (1) the contest between the Arabs and the Western Coast of India from 636 A.D. to 713 A.D.; (2) the Arab and Turkish onslaught against the Hindu Afghanistan from 643 A.D. to 870 A.D.;

(3) the Turkish attempt to conquer the Panjab from 870 A.D. to 1030 A.D.; and (4) Muhammad of Ghur's conquest of North Western India and the Gangetic Valley from 1175 A.D. to 1206 A.D. Each of these well defined epochs had its own peculiar problems; there were also peculiar circumstances that tempted the invaders and produced their own results.

The first Arab expedition which aimed at the conquest of Thana near Bombay was undertaken as early as 636 A.D. (15 A.H. during the Caliphate of Omar), but it was repulsed.⁴ This was followed by successive Arab expeditions to Broach, to the Gulf of Debal in Sindh, and to Baluchistan (Makran), then a part of the kingdom of Sindh.⁵ In spite of difficulties and defeats the Arabs continued raiding the frontier of Sindh both by land and sea. They concentrated their attack on Kaikan (Kikana), a hilly region round the Bolan Pass, which was peopled by hardy Jats, who led pastoral lives and bravely defended their country from the Arab invaders. Numerous Arab expeditions followed and there was a state of war between the Arabs and Sindh upto 712 A.D., when Imad-ud-din Muhammad bin Qasim succeeded in capturing it and establishing Arab rule there. The conquest of Multan followed in 713. This outlying Indian kingdom lost its independence after more than 75 years' brave resistance against the mightiest empire of the Medieval Age. It is worthy of note that the Arabs were at that time the conquerors of many countries of Asia, Africa and Europe which included Egypt and other countries of North Africa, and Portugal, Spain and the southern half of France. It is equally significant that the Arabs during their career of conquest completely vanquished the most ferocious races of Central Asia, such as, the Mongols, the Uzbeks, and the Turks, the ancestors of heaven born generals like Chingiz Khan and Timur—races that were reckoned for centuries as the best fighters in the whole of Asia and far superior to the Arabs in military quality, horsemanship and ferocity. None of the countries conquered by the Arabs in the 8th century A.D. offered such a prolonged, tough and

successful resistance to the aggressions of the Arabs as did the Hindus of the medieval age. Whereas many countries of Asia, Africa and Europe succumbed to their onslaught, each after a few years' resistance, Sindh yielded after nearly 75 years' struggle. For example, Syria which was the first country to face the Arab aggression fell within a year (635-636 A.D.), and after the surrender of Damascus, its capital, "other towns fell like ninepins before the conquerors."⁶ Iraq fell without fighting⁷ in 637 A.D. The whole of the mighty Persian Empire was annexed within five years of the famous battle of Adhesia, fought in 637 A.D., that is, it was conquered in "about a decade" in all.⁸ A whirl-wind campaign led to the conquest of the entire Central Asia inhabited by the ferocious Turks, Turkomans, Uzbeks and Mongols in eight years, (642-650 A.D.). All the countries of North Africa were conquered and occupied by the Arabs between 639 and 709 A.D. In the ancient land of Egypt the story was the same as elsewhere—a rout, a siege and the cry of victory. Babylon was taken in this manner, and Alexandria was captured within a year.⁹ In 711 A.D. Tariq, the Berber general of Musa, landed at Gibraltar and on July 19 of the same year defeated Roderick, the king of Spain, who disappeared altogether. "After this decisive victory the march of the Moslems through Spain almost amounted to a promenade."¹⁰ "Within the short space of seven years the conquest of the (Iberian) Peninsula, one of the fairest and largest provinces of medieval Europe was effected. The conquerors were there to stay—for centuries at least."¹¹ In about a dozen years' spasmodic operations the southern half of France was subdued. The Arab expansion in Europe received its first check at the battles of Tours and Poitiers where the Muslim leader Abdar Rehman was defeated by Charles the Martel in October 732 A.D.¹²

It will be clear from the above account that the Hindus of Sindh put up braver and more prolonged resistance to the Arabs who had established, during the hundred years that followed the death of Prophet Muhammed, the largest and most extensive and powerful empire in the

world. The failure of Sindh to prevent the final defeat and occupation by the Arabs in 712 A.D. was due to several internal causes. In the first place the province was internally disunited as its king Dahir was a usurper and was therefore unpopular. The country was torn by internal strife, its population was sparse and lacked social solidarity owing to the oppression of the lower orders of the society by the ruling hierarchy. Its resources too were small and it received no assistance from the neighbouring Indian provinces or kingdoms. King Dahir's governors were almost semi-independent princes and did not seem to have cooperated with him in the time of the crisis. Owing to these causes many of Dahir's subjects, particularly the Buddhists and the traders, refused to fight on the plea that it was none of their business. Quite a considerable number of them supplied valuable information to the invader, and joined him against their king and country. The Arab force was vastly superior to that of Dahir's both in number and equipment, though not in the qualities of courage, daring and contempt of death. The garrison of 4,000 Sindhi troops at Debal had to face 25,000 Arabs, the flower of the Khalifa's army, and, with a disparity of one to six and a traitor supplying the besiegers with very useful information, it was surprising that they could hold out for as many days as they did. Nirun, Sehwan, and Sisam combined did not possess the quarter of the fighting strength of the army of invasion. Finally, Dahir's ignorance, initial lethargy and want of leadership, and his silly mistakes furnished an adequate explanation for his defeat and the enslavement of Sindh. He failed to make adequate arrangement for the defence of his frontier after the Arab conquest of Makran (modern Baluchistan) which bordered on and was contiguous to Sindh. A misplaced belief or ignorant fate prevented Dahir from raising his little finger, and allowed Debal, Nirun, Sehwan, Sisam and several other places, comprising lower Sindh, to fall into the hands of the enemy. By a curious infatuation or folly he waited till the invader had arrived near Rawal, and made no attempt to check his progress or to attack him while he lay

for months on the other side of the Mihran, almost paralysed by sickness that grievously affected his horses. He allowed Muhammad bin Qasim to cross the river without obstructing his passage. He staked his all on the issue of one pitched battle. Instead of supervising his men in the field of battle as a general and leader and sending succour wherever necessary, he took a personal part in fighting as a soldier and lost touch with the various divisions of his army. He expiated for the loss of Sindh with his life, but not in the eyes of posterity, as he paved the way for his country's bondage.¹³

It is a pity that no serious and united attempt was made to liquidate the Arab pockets of Sindh and Multan on our soil, even when the latter had grown effete and lost touch with the Caliphate. When an ambitious and patriotic Hindu ruler thought of military action, the Arabs successfully resorted to an artifice to save their illegal possessions. They treated the Hindu population in their territory as hostages and threatened to exterminate them whenever a neighbouring Hindu king prepared to launch an attack on them. The Hindu priests of the celebrated Sun Temple of Multan would declare, in order to save themselves and their families, that the god had predicted the destruction of those who would invade Multan or Sindh. The assailants would consequently at once renounce their designs.¹⁴ "When the unbelievers", writes Al-Masudi, "march against Multan and the faithfuls do not feel themselves strong enough to oppose them, they threaten to break their *Idol*, and their enemies immediately withdraw."¹⁵

The second epoch which lasted from 643 A.D. to 870 A.D. envisaged a long struggle between the Arabs (afterwards followed by the Turks) and the modern kingdom of Afghanistan, the ancient Asvakavana (Sanskrit) or Assakenoi (Greek), then known as kingdoms of Kabul or Kiapishi (Kapisha) and Zabul (Jabala) or Zabulistan. These then constituted a part of India and were under Hindu rule. On account of their geographical situation they were the

second among the Indian powers to face the brunt of the Arab aggression and onslaught. The Arabs had conquered and occupied Iran (Persia) by 643 A.D. and pushed the frontier of the Caliphate to the western frontier of the Hindu kingdoms of Kabul and Zabul. From that year they began an attempt to conquer the Kabul valley, and a prolonged warfare was the result. The history of this struggle is quite interesting and shows great Hindu resistance, unique in medieval annals. In spite of their prolonged aggression lasting for 220 years the Arabs failed to conquer the Hindu Afghanistan. Their place was then taken by the Turks, and what the greatest empire of the medieval world failed to do was accomplished by the ruler of a petty principality. Yaqub Ibn Layth, who had started his career as a brigand in Seistan and risen to be the founder of the Saffavid dynasty of Persia and the neighbouring territories that lay to the west and south-west of the Hindu kingdoms of Kabul and Zabul, took the fullest advantage of the internal dissensions among the ruling party in Kabul and made successful use of downright treachery against his unsuspecting Hindu neighbour in 870 A.D. Lagaturman, destined to be the last Kshatriya ruler of Kabul, was overthrown by his Brahman minister, Lallya alias Kallar, who, though credited by Kalhan, the author of *Rajatarangini*, with ability and strength, was defeated and driven out of Kabul by Yaqub Ibn Layth within a year of his usurpation. While invading the Zabul territory Yaqub sent a message that he would submit to the Hindu King and should be permitted to do him homage along with his troops for otherwise the latter would disperse and prove dangerous to both of them. Yaqub's troops "carried their lances concealed behind their horses and wearing coats of mail under their garments. The Almighty made the army of Rusal (Ratbil), blind, so that they did not see the lances. When Yaqub drew near Rusal, he bowed his head as if to do homage, but raised a lance and thrust it in the back of Rusal so that he died on the spot. His people also fell like lightning upon the enemy, cutting them down with their swords and staining the earth with the blood of the

enemies of the religion. The infidels when they saw the head of Rusal upon the point of a spear took to flight and great bloodshed ensued..... This victory, which he achieved, was the result of treachery and deception, such as no one had ever committed."¹⁶ Lallya's position seem to have become untenable after the above disaster and he abandoned Kabul and shifted his capital to Udbhand (the modern fort of Und) on the right bank of the Indus, 15 miles above Attock in Rawalpindi district. This happened in 256 A.H. corresponding to 870 A.D., and the Hindu rule ended in Afghanistan once for all.¹⁷

The main causes of the loss of modern Afghanistan by the Hindus are evident on the face of the narrative given above. The internal disunity brought about by a Brahmanical revolution against the Kshatriya ruler must be said to have been the most prominent factor. The absence of help from other parts of the country was an equally important handicap. At any rate it was not the physical or moral superiority of the invaders that brought them victory, though they were certainly more numerous and better equipped. Perhaps the struggle would have continued for an indefinite period, if Yaqub had not made use of downright treachery which even the contemporary Muslim opinion considered as unparralleled in the warfare of that age. It is an important lesson for the posterity that the territory once lost could not be recovered.

The third period of conflict commenced in 963 A.D. (when a Turkish adventurer named Alptigin, who was originally a slave and a vassal of the Sāmānid king of Khurasan and Bukhara, established himself as an independent ruler at Ghazni), and lasted till 1030 A.D. The Turks had sometime before embraced Islam and possessed all the zeal and narrow-mindedness of neophytes. With Ghazni as their base they started raiding the frontiers of India. A successor of Alptigin, named Pirai, signalled his rule by undertaking an invasion of the Indian territory in the possession

of the Hindu-Shahi king of the Panjab and a prolonged warfare ensued. Sabuktigin who became ruler of Ghazni in 977 A.D. continued the policy of raiding the Indian frontier. In 986 Jaipal, the raja of the Panjab, invaded Ghazni in retaliation, but had to fall back on account of a storm. Sabuktigin was succeeded in 998 A.D. by his famous son Mahmud who invaded India, it is said, seventeen times. A brave resistance was offered by Jaipal who was eventually defeated and burnt himself to death (1001 A.D.), as he did not like to survive the humiliation of a defeat. His son Anand Pal continued the resistance, but the Panjab fell to the invader in the time of Anand Pal's son Bhim Pal in or about 1019 A.D. The province became a part of the Ghaznavide empire. Mahmud carried out several lightning raids into the country beyond the boundaries of the Panjab and devastated Mathura and Kanauj, and went as far in central India as Kalinjar and in the east as far as Somnath. But these were mere plundering expeditions. The Panjab alone was permanently lost to India. Mahmud's successors repeated their ancestor's exploit by carrying out raids into the interior of the country, but failed to extend their dominion beyond the frontiers of the Panjab. Three generations of the Hindushahi monarchs sacrificed themselves in defending their country. But they could not stem the tide of the invading forces. They had to fight for a long period, and often single-handed, against a more powerful and better equipped enemy. It must be admitted that in the long warfare Indian troops must have got tired and demoralised. Moreover, Mahmud was a superior general and leader. The rapidity of his movement, his shock-tactics and fanatical zeal rewarded him with extra-ordinary success, and an impression was created that his armies were invincible. In fact he became an object of terror, and could not be dislodged from the Panjab.

Mahmud's successors in the Panjab could not extend the area of their kingdom. In 1044 A.D. Mahi Pal, the raja of Delhi, wrested

Hansi, Thaneshwar and Kangra from the Ghaznavides and re-established Hindu worship in those parts. He even invaded Lahore, but had to return without success. It is a pity that Indian rulers of the time did not combine together to make a concerted attempt to drive out the Ghaznavides from the Panjab.

The fourth and the last period of the Turkish attempt to impose foreign rule on India began with the accession to power of Shihab-ud-din alias Muiz-ud-din Muhammad of Ghazni in the year 1173 A.D., and lasted till 1206 A.D. when the Turkish rule was permanently established at Delhi under the title of the Sultanate of Delhi. Muiz-ud-din Muhammad known to history as Muhammad of Ghur invaded Multan in 1175 A.D. and captured it. The whole of Sindh fell to him in 1182. In 1186 A.D. he captured the Panjab and in 1192 put the last Ghaznavide ruler Khusrau to death. His occupation of the Panjab naturally brought him into conflict with Prithvi Raj III, the ruler of Ajmer and Delhi. The valiant Chauhan had fortified important towns on his frontier right up to Bhatinda in order to defend his kingdom. But Muhammad captured Bhatinda in 1189. Prithvi Raj tried to recover it, and in a tough battle fought at Tarain in 1191 A.D. he defeated the invader. Muhammad was wounded seriously and fled to Ghazni. The invader returned next year and defeated Prithvi Raj on the same field. The result was the occupation of Delhi and Ajmer by the Turks. Muhammad's lieutenant Qutb-ud-din Aibak occupied Bulandshahr, Meerut and Delhi. By 1193 A.D. there were one after another four risings against the intruders, but they could not be driven out. Flushed with success the invader next turned against Jai Chand, Gahadwad King of Kanauj, who had disputed with Prithvi Raj the overlordship of Northern India and had not assisted him against the Turkish invader. He was compelled to fight single-handed. He launched a vigorous attack on the enemy who was perplexed and was about to break down when Jai Chand himself was struck in the eye by a fatal arrow and killed

at Chandwar in 1194 A.D. Muhammad of Ghur immediately proceeded to Banaras and occupied some other important towns, but the capital city of Kanauj could not be taken till 1198 A.D. The Chandel king Paramardi Deva of Kalinjar and Mahoba was practically the last ruler to fight stubbornly. Thereafter organised resistance came almost to an end, and during the space of twelve years the invader over-ran the whole of the Gangetic Valley and occupied the country as far as Lakhnauti near Gaur in Bengal.

Modern historians have exercised their ingenuity in finding out the causes of this debacle. The opinions of three of them, being the latest, deserve special notice. Professor Muhammad Habib states emphatically that the iniquitous Hindu social system that assigned the people who manned social services to the most abject humiliation outside the city walls, whereas all caste people, Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras lived inside, was responsible for the sudden cessation of organised resistance to the Turkish onrush. The result was, to use his own words "*A turnover of public opinion—a sudden turnover no doubt, but still one that was long overdue*."¹⁸ One is struck at the boldness of this assertion, made in complete disregard of the fact that there is no contemporary or even later evidence to substantiate it. The learned professor's fanciful theory that these lower orders of the Hindu society embraced Islam, which had ushered in a revolution and assured them better social and economic status besides throwing open to them the doors of Heaven, is pure guess and is devoid of evidence, contemporary or modern. There is no hint about this so-called turn-over of public opinion in the pages of Dharmasvāmin's autobiography, the only non-Muslim contemporary foreign chronicle written by a Tibetan monk who visited India in 1234-1236 and saw with his own eyes the effect of the Turkish ravages in Bihar and the panic caused by it and by the raids of the military commands established by the conquerors in the interior of the country¹⁹. This foreign visitor mentions the flight of the people

from their homes²⁰ and the existence of untouchability²¹, but has not a word to say about the untouchables' alleged non-cooperation or their turning Muslims and joining the invaders. Dr. P. Saran naturally does not agree with Professor Habib in view of lack of evidence and says: "It is equally unwarranted to attribute it (the Ghorian conquest), *solely* to the social and religious peculiarities of the Hindus, for our ideas about them are also vague and indistinct and based on no sure knowledge of facts." He, however, gives two main causes of the debacle, viz., (1) iniquitous system of caste and (2) the absence of contact with the outside world²².

Before examining Dr. Saran's conclusions it is pertinent to point out that another scholar of the Aligarh School, Khaliq Ahmad Nizami has recently reiterated Professor Habib's fantastic theory, ignoring Dr. Saran's weighty observation regarding the lack of any definite evidence on the point. It is, however, fair to add that Professor Habib himself refers at another place to Dr. Saran's observation, but without commenting on it or modifying his own theory in the light of this remark.²³ Now, to take Dr. Saran's second argument first. Recent research has shown that until the beginning of the 13th century A.D. Indian scholars and monks not only undertook long journeys to China, Tibet, and other Himalayan countries but stayed for years in those countries, learnt the local languages and translated Indian scriptures and other books into Tibetan and Chinese.²⁴ There is reason to believe that India must also have had commercial relations with these countries. As for South-India, it maintained cultural and commercial contact with the countries of South-East Asia even after the Muslim conquest of North India. Chinese and Tibetan scholars and monks continued to come to India in search of Buddhist works and relics. Dr. A. S. Altekar published in 1959 the autobiography of a Tibetan monk,²⁵ named Chag Lo-tsa-ba Chos-rja-dpal alias Dharmasvāmin who visited Bihar and stayed there for two years (1234-1236 A.D.). This Tibetan monk gives a graphic

picture of the condition of Northern India of that time and the panic caused by the progress of the Turkish invaders, and says that he met many Tibetans and Ceylonese monks in India. As regards his first argument, Dr. Saran himself admits that there is no definite evidence to show that caste system in itself was responsible for the rapid fall of the Gangetic Valley to the Turkish invader during 1194-1202 A.D. Caste might have been a powerful cause of weakness and lack of solidarity, but there is no recorded or unrecorded evidence to show that at that time any group or section of the people refused to cooperate with their rulers in the time of war or of an invasion, or that there was any desertion from their armies for reasons of caste. Baneful though the castes were, they had not acquired the political value they possess in the present democratic set up in the country. At any rate, in the absence of a definite evidence, it is against the canons of historical reasoning to make the caste system, injurious though it is in the modern conditions of society, *solely* or even *mainly* responsible for the defeat of the Hindu rulers. A more probable cause seems to be the wide-spread demoralisation and panic caused by the defeat of great Hindu kings and an *erroneous* belief in the invincibility of the Turkish hordes who used shock-tactics and impelled the lesser Indian rulers to think that resistance was hopeless. It may be presumed with reason that after the fall of such mighty warrior-kings as Prithvi Raj and Jai Chand there must have been anxious and hurried consultations among the smaller rulers of the Gangetic Valley, their ministers and advisers, and they must have thought further resistance to be futile. It was in these depressing circumstances that they seemed to have taken shelter behind the letter of the well-known injunction in the Mahabharata to submit and avoid anarchy, and ignored its spirit. It was, therefore, the implicit, nay blind, Hindu faith in Shastric injunctions to avoid anarchy at all cost even at the sacrifice of independence and sovereignty, that must be held to have been the primary cause of the debacle. It was enjoined upon the Hindus by their Shastras to dread anarchy,

and to avoid it by submitting to an invader, if his object was the occupation of the country. "If a powerful king approaches kingdoms weakened by anarchy from desire of annexing them to his dominion," writes the Mahabharata, "the people should go forward and receive the invader with respect. There is no evil greater than anarchy. If the powerful invader be inclined to equity, everything will be right. If, on the other hand, he be enraged (on account of resistance), he may exterminate all. The cow which can be easily milked has not to suffer any torture whatever. The wood that bends easily does not require to be heated. The tree that bends easily has not to suffer any torture (at the hands of the gardeners). Guided by these instances, O hero, men should bend before those that are powerful. The man that bends his head to a powerful person really bends his head to Indra²⁶." (Shanti Parva, LXVII 6-11)

That the Mahabharata has been read reverently, recited, listened to, and talked about by all classes of people, educated and uneducated, all over Northern India through the ages, needs no argument. Its popularity in the 11th century A.D. is attested by no less an authority than Alberuni who writes: "Besides, they have a book which they hold in such veneration that they firmly assert that everything which occurs in other books, is also found in this book, but not all which occurs in this book is found in other books. It is called Bharat, and composed by Vyas, the son of Pārāsara at the time of the great war between the children of Pandu and those of Kuru."²⁷ It was equally popular in the 16th Century. We are told by the historian Badaoni that the Hindus "consider it a great religious merit to read and to copy it."²⁸

The present writer can say from his personal knowledge that during four months of the rainy season there used to be *Kathas* of the Mahabharata when this work was read and explained by learned pandits and listened to at village gatherings in most parts of Uttar

Pradesh in the early years of the present century.

This is an instance of how sometimes out of good comes evil, and that a nation that does not make use of discrimination in the interpretation and application of its valued scripture not only loses its independence, but also suffers tremendously and for centuries.

General causes of our defeat may now be conveniently summarised in the light of the above discussion. A nation's greatest enemy, says Sir Jadunath Sarkar, is within, not without. Internal factors consequently must take the first place. The first and foremost cause was the moral and social degradation of the people, especially of the upper and middle classes who not only set the tone of the society but really mattered in that age of aristocracy when for all practical purposes their rise meant the rise of the nation and their degradation the nation's degradation. This degeneration is portrayed in contemporary literature as well as in the architecture of the age. The classical work of Damodar Gupta entitled *Kutni Matam Karyam*, depicts the corrupt society of the early years of the 9th century A.D., and the numerous literary works of Kshemendra (990 A.D.-1060 A.D.), especially *Kalāvīṣa*, *Saṃyemātrikā*, *Dvipādśa* and *Narmāmālā*, and the voluminous *Kāthasmīt Sāgar* of Soma Deva (1063-1081 A.D.) show the depth to which the Hindus of the tenth and eleventh centuries had fallen. The social and moral life of the monks and nuns in the Buddhist monasteries in all parts of Northern India had since the middle of the 7th century A.D. been overtaken by degrading evils²⁹, and by the 9th century moral degradation had become rampant in the non-Buddhist society as well. Their perverted beliefs and practices did not remain confined within the four walls of their houses and monasteries, but found expression in the Hindu sacred places as well. The Hindu temples erected in that age had obscene images and figures on the outer parts of the shrines, prominently

exposed to the gaze of the people. Whatever might have been their artistic or even religious value, no apologist can hide the fact that the presence of obscene images must have produced a very demoralising and sensual effect on all concerned. One has only to cast a glance at the temples of Khajuraho, Konarak and Jagannath Puri, and at the sculptured representations in the caves of Bhubaneswar and other places to visualise the effect on the mind and character of the people. A society tainted with moral and social evils could not be capable of resisting a powerful invader for an indefinite period.

Secondly, North-Western India, including Hindu Afghanistan and part of Sindh, was even before the 7th century A.D. isolated and looked upon by the conservative elements of our society as 'border-lands' inhabited by 'barbarians'³⁰. There was in those regions, particularly in Afghanistan, a great intermixture of races, and Indo-Greeks, Indo-Parthians, Kushans and Huns, who in course of time embraced Hinduism, had become one with the indigenous Hindu population. This being repugnant to the rising conservatism in the country, the rest of India took little interest in the affairs of these people who could expect no help or sympathy from their countrymen and had to depend upon themselves and face the enemy single-handed. Thirdly, after the extinction of the Maurya Empire there was no such thing as the defence of the frontiers of India by the united might and resources of the Indian people, because our north-west frontiers and all other frontiers were the frontiers of small independent kingdoms. There was no central government for the whole of India or even for the whole of northern India, which could think and act for the country as a whole. The kingdoms of Sindh, Kabul and Zabul, though ruled by brave monarchs and inhabited by warlike people, encountered superior forces backed by the might and resources of the biggest and most powerful empire of the age, with their slender man-power and financial strength. The other Indian States were inte-

would pour a cloud of arrows and the horns of the crescent would enclose the Indian rear.

Moreover, whereas the Rajputs prided themselves on their swordsmanship and looked upon the battle as a tournament in which to display their skill and chivalry, the Arabs and the Turks fought to win, and believed that everything was fair in war. The Rajputs were averse to taking advantage of the enemy's weakness and to resort to feints and manoeuvres in which the Arabs and Turks were adepts.

Both Mahmud of Ghazni and Muhammad of Ghur, the former on a much larger scale than the latter, made use of shock-tactics to dishearten and demoralise the Indian troops and people. With lightning rapidity they would swoop down upon our fair cities, plunder and destroy wealthy shrines and devastate the land with fire and sword. These tactics were repeated times out of

number and so much frightened the people that they began thinking that Mahmud's troops were invincible. Therefore, political and military demoralisation set in, and people wrongly began believing that resistance against the Turkish hordes was useless. It was this feeling that paralysed our society in that age. Finally, the Arabs and the Turks were inspired by a great religious enthusiasm which made them feel and believe that God had made them His instrument in purging the world of idolatry and making it safe for Islam. Our people had no such inspiring ideology to sustain them, except the defence of their country and religion, which gave them power to resist and not to carry war into the enemy's country. Mere physical strength and military weapons do not constitute the total equipment of an army. An inspiring ideology and a burning desire to act offensively so as to destroy the enemy's power to strike are as essential as military training and equipment.

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ROMESH CHUNDER DUTT (1848-1909)

(*Eminent Indian Historians Series*)

DR. NILMANI MUKHERJEE

One of the important features of the intellectual quickening in this country resulting from the impact of Western ideas on Indian thought was an interest in the country's past. Modern historiography, closely connected as it was with the development of prose literature of languages like Marathi and Bengali, dates only from the beginning of the nineteenth century.

As it is well known, Bengal had its full share of the great intellectual ferment and here also the discovery of the past was one of its interesting aspects. Bengali authors began to write both in English and in their own language on historical subjects. The beginning in modern historical writing in Bengali is commonly believed to have been made by one of the Pandits of the Fort William College, Ram Ram Basu, when he wrote *Raja Pratapaditya Charita* (Biography of Pratapaditya) in 1801. The tradition was followed up by other Bengali intellectuals. Even the stalwarts did not neglect this field in spite of their other preoccupations. Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar wrote his *Banglar Itihasa* (History of Bengal) in 1848. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee made a brilliant attempt to write a history of Bengali in 1880. This began with his celebrated exhortation to Bengali scholars to write about the past. Men like Raja Rajendra Lal Mitra made important contributions to historical studies. The attempts of all these intellectuals generated what may be called a sense of the past in the mind of the Bengalis. This tendency found its full expression in Romesh Chunder Dutt who was born in 1848. As his biographer tells us, Dutt had a natural bent for history from his early childhood. "No subject, not even poetry," Dutt himself later remarked, "had such a hold upon me as history."

All through his life Dutt devoted himself to the study and exposition of our history, ancient and modern, almost with the zeal of a missionary. It is rather difficult to deal with all his historical writings in a single talk like this. For the sake of convenience I would first discuss his writings on ancient India. Secondly, I propose to take up his writings on Indian economic questions. Then I would like to show how he helped the historical thinking of his contemporaries by his historical novels. Next I would refer to his history books for children. In my concluding remarks I would refer to his conception of history ending up with a general estimate.

We can perhaps begin with his little book on *The Literature of Bengal* published in 1877. It was perhaps the most notable performance of Dutt during the period of his literary apprenticeship. In writing this book his object was "to trace as far as possible the history of the people as reflected in the literature of Bengal." Today the book appears to be seriously out of date. But its great merit was that it was probably the first attempt in our country to write a history of the people as reflected in their literature. We have only to compare this book with the previous similar attempt in Bengali by Pandit Ramgati Nyayaratna, to appreciate the great advance made in critical method. The book is marked by a breadth of vision and profound knowledge of European literature.

Dutt's Bengali translation of the *Rig Veda* appeared in 1885-87. *A History of Civilisation in Ancient India* (1889-90) was published shortly after this. In 1894 appeared his *Lays of Ancient India* which were selections from Indian poetry rendered into English verse. During

1897 Dutt also issued an omnibus Bengali edition in Bengali of the basic books of Hindu religion and philosophy. This, called *Hindu ra*, was a result of corporate scholarship, taking the help of leading Sanskrit scholars the day. Next he undertook a major task—translation of the two Indian epics into English verse. The *Mahabharata* appeared with an introduction by Professor Max Muller in 1899 followed by the *Ramayana* in 1900.

The value of these writings to the historian today is slight. These were not the products of original scholarship. About his translation of the Rigveda, Sri Aurobindo said in 1909 that it "may be a pretty translation but it is not the Veda". Dutt's history of civilisation of ancient India was also described by Sri Aurobindo as "a masterly compilation void of original research." It cannot be denied that later research has rendered the works of Dutt in this field completely out of date. It is not for me to comment on the literary merit of his translations. I leave this to Sri Aurobindo again who calls this "poor and commonplace poetry." Whatever may be the defects or shortcomings of these writings, they achieved their immediate objects remarkably well. The English translations familiarised the average reader in England with the stories of our epics and thus made the way easy for the future interpreters of the East to the West. In his own country so his writings made the educated public more conscious about the cultural heritage of India. These created a great impression on that Westernized section of society which then did not think highly of our past traditions. Members of his group began to think that after all there must have been something in our old culture for had not one member of the I.C.S. paid tribute to it?

As I have already hinted Romesh Chunder did all he could to inspire the true love of history in his countrymen. One way of his doing this was by writing historical novels. If he did not invent the Bengali historical novel, he was certainly one of the most distinguished practitioners

of this art. Good historical novelists can remarkably alter men's vision of their past. The influence of Sir Walter Scott on history, for example, is well known. He revolutionized the scope and study of history itself not so much by his historical works as by his *Waverley Novels* and his *Lay of the Last Minstrel*. Dutt also was greatly influenced by Scott. Writing about his favourite authors in 1905, he admitted: "Sir Walter Scott was my favourite author forty years ago. I do not know if Sir W. Scott gave me a taste for history, or if my taste for history made me an admirer of Scott." Be that as it may, Dutt's four historical novels greatly kindled the historical imagination of his countrymen. These four novels together cover a period of hundred years, from the middle of the 16th century to the reign of Aurangzib. *Banga Bijeta* (1874) and *Madhabi Kankan* (1877) relate to Akbar's conquest of Bengal. The third, *Rajput Jivan Sandhya* (1879) is woven round the story of the heroic struggle of Rana Pratap for the freedom of his beloved Mewar against the overwhelming might of the Mughal Empire. The fourth, *Maharashtra Jivan Prabhat* (1878) tells the story of the rise of the Maratha power under the leadership of Sivaji. Dutt's biographer informs us that it was Dutt's intention to write a fifth historical novel describing the decline and fall of the Mughal Empire and the succession of the Maratha confederacy to the chief political power in India. This ambition of his remained unfulfilled.

Of his four novels, *Banga Bijeta* bears marks of immaturity as a work of art. In spite of the dramatic possibilities of *Madhabi Kankan*, it seems to be sentimental in tone. Dutt's reputation as a historical novelist will ultimately rest on his *Jivan Prabhat* and *Jivan Sandhya*. Dutt's equipment for writing historical novels in his mother tongue was quite remarkable. His knowledge of history was sound and he had a first hand acquaintance with the places where the scenes of his stories were laid. Moreover he was endowed with a rare gift, the gift of historical imagination. All his wonderful powers were kept in place and harmony by a

balanced and wise judgment. His judgment was nearly always the master of his feelings and herein lay his greatness as a historian. His imagination seldom left the boundaries of the probable. Sir Jadunath Sarkar in one place refers to the interview between Sivaji and Jai Singh in *Jivan Prabhat* and commends the perfect historical imagination of Dutt which has been borne out by later research.

It is not for me to comment on Dutt's literary craftsmanship. But he was eminently successful in inspiring his countrymen's love for the past as well as their love of their motherland. His *Jivan Prabhat* and *Jivan Sandhya* had a considerable influence on those who took part in the Swadeshi movement by creating a favourable mental climate. Besides, these novels were a constant source of inspiration to other Bengali playwrights who chose themes of Maratha and Rajput history for their plays. Altogether Dutt by the medium of his historical novels did much to promote an understanding of our past. The minds of later artists in this field were framed on Dutt. It can be asserted perhaps that together with Bankim's *Rajsinha* (1882) and MM. H.P. Sastri's *Bener Meye* (1920) Dutt's *Jivan Prabhat* and *Jivan Sandhya* are still the best specimens of the Bengali historical novel. Dutt possibly touched his creative high watermark in this field. The vogue of Dutt extended to other provinces and greatly influenced the course of historical romance in those regions.

Romesh Chunder Dutt did not rest by merely appealing to the historical imagination of the adult reading public through the medium of the historical romance. He felt the importance of communicating to the impressionable minds of the young. One way of doing this was to write good text books for schools. There is much to be said for people with good academic standards writing for the children. Children should be given the best that the universities can provide. Fortunately Dutt was fully aware of this social responsibility of the historian. He wrote *A Brief History of Ancient and Modern India* for the use of schools in the seventies. It sold

well. It 1892 he also wrote *A Brief History of Ancient and Modern Bengal* for the same purpose. In his preface Dutt remarked that he had taken care to narrate, as fully and clearly as he could within his limits, "the condition of the people, their literature and philosophy, their agriculture, commerce and arts, their state of progress in different periods." Not satisfied with this, he also wrote another elementary History of India in Bengali in 1879. By 1907 it had run into sixteen editions and it served its generation. I have with me a copy of the 16th edition for your inspection. You will notice that this book is very readable, being written in simple and lucid style so characteristic of Dutt.

He expended great care on this book. The 6th edition was thoroughly revised by him in 1889 when he was in Darjeeling on a holiday for a couple of months. Even a quick glance at the book will show that one interesting feature of the book is the sections on social and economic developments in the different periods of Indian history. This was certainly a novel feature considering the way school history text books were written in those days. But it was only to be expected in the work of an author destined to write the *Economic History of India*. Today Dutt's books have certainly become out of date but not before serving their generation. His objective in writing the book was "to encourage a sense of unity and past glory in the minds of the Bengali boys and to help them to remedy the errors and to encourage them to take to the paths of progress".

Dutt himself had hoped that his fame as an English writer would rest on his *Civilisation*, his *Epics* and his *Economic History*. Although his books on ancient India have been practically forgotten, his *Economic History* together with other similar writings has worn well. The *Peasantry of Bengal* which came out in 1874 was Dutt's first characteristic work. In 1897 was published his *England and India* which was a record of progress during a hundred years, from 1785 to 1885. His *Open Letters to Lord Curzon on Famines and Land Assessments in India* appeared in 1900. The *Economic*

History of India during the early British rule (1757-1837) was published in 1902 followed by *India in the Victorian Age* (1837-1900) in 1904. Indian economic problems were also discussed by Dutt in his stray writings collected in two volumes of his *Speeches and Papers on Indian Questions* published in 1902.

His two volumes of Economic History can be regarded as a pioneer work. Though Ranade's *Essays in Indian Economics* had appeared in 1898 and Dadabhai Naoroji's *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India* had been published in 1901, Dutt's was the first serious attempt to present the economic history of British India in a systematic way. But there was a period of preparation before Dutt wrote his Economic History.

In the seventies of the last century the agrarian discontent in Bengal exercised minds and there was a profusion of writings on the subject of land tenure. In 1872 Bankim Chandra had written his famous essay on the Peasant of Bengal (*Bangadeser Krishak*) in which he roundly condemned the Zemindary System and advocated the Prajwari System which was another name for the Ryotwari System. Dutt's *Peasantry of Bengal* appeared soon after the disturbances in Nadia and Pabna. An ardent and whole-hearted sympathy with the ryot is the keynote of the work. He very sympathetically considered the claims of the peasants to be educated, to be represented, to be freed from the trammels of ignorance and saved from the oppression of zemindars. Curiously enough in 1874 was published Rev. Lal Behari De's *Gurinda Samanta* written at the instance of a Bengal zemindar. In this work which later became a best-seller under the title *The Bengal Peasant Life*, the problems of the ryots of Bengal were brought in very sharp focus. In his work Dutt admitted that the system of peasant proprietors might deserve the high praise bestowed on it by men like Sismondi, Mill and other political economists but he was sceptical about its application in Bengal. It is interesting to find that Dutt included long excerpts from Bankim's essay on the Bengal Peasant in his book. He ended by advocating the introduction of permanent

restraints on zemindars' powers but he made it clear that his views on the subject extended no further.

In his *England and India* (1897) Dutt for the first time gave an outline of his constructive ideas on reforms in Indian administration and advocated that political advancement in India had been regulated and ought to be regulated by political progress in England. Dutt's agrarian and economic views which had been maturing for so long found full expression in his *Famines in India* (1900) and the two volumes of his *Economic History* (Vol. I, 1901; Vol. II, 1904).

These are works in which the professional historian of today will pick holes in detail. Most of the problems discussed by Dutt are now seen in an altogether different light. Later analysts have questioned some of his appreciations and assumptions. Dutt's criticism of a heavy land tax holding up the productivity of land was not perhaps true of the permanently settled part of the Bengal Presidency. With the growth of trade the value and volume of the produce of land had increased.

Though Dutt is right in denouncing the attitude of the British manufacturer towards Indian cotton industry he does the East India Co. an injustice by making it party to that policy

The Ryotwari System in Madras came in for severe criticism in Dutt's economic writings. He praised the Village System instead, on the assumption that it was the traditional organization and the introduction of the individual settlement revolutionized the land revenue administration in Madras. In his enthusiastic support for the Bengal system, he failed to note that peasant proprietorship of the ryotwari type was an old institution in South India dating back to the Chola times. He also failed to notice that the ryotwari settlement was not always coterminous with overassessment. The case of Coimbatore in the first quarter of the 19th century pointed for instance towards another direction.

Dutt's championship of the Permanent Zemindary Settlement in his later writings, perhaps encouraged by his experience in East Bengal, is understandable because the Tenancy Act of 1885 had clipped the wings of the zemindars. For Dutt's judgment was not absolute but only relative. When he wrote his Economic History, he presumably had in mind the condition of the Bengal peasant only as compared with that of peasants in other parts of India.

Though the problem of land assessment was given the pride of place in his books, Dutt also dealt with manufactures, tariffs and foreign trade, railways, irrigation and public finance, bringing out the effects of foreign rule and of British policy.

All the time his thinking was dominated by the theory of 'drain'. Since its first systematic statement in the Ninth Report of the Select Committee in 1783, the 'drain' theory was enthusiastically championed by men like Digby whom Dutt followed. But, was not the process of European expansion in India a much more complicated process? Can it be explained by the theory of exploitation only? European enterprise sometimes acted as a powerful catalytic agent on the economic life of India. Under its pressure, small-scale commercial revolutions took place and the economic ties between the different regions became closer. European activity also fostered social change. A drain certainly took place but it must be determined to what extent it was offset by an increase of wealth among the Indian mercantile classes for which European activity was primarily though indirectly responsible.

It is no wonder that Dutt has been described as a nationalist historian. This is partly true. Dutt's *Economic History* was but another aspect of the political campaign that he and many others were carrying on in England. The political moral of his writings was the need for participation in responsibility by the Indian people. On the publication of his *Economic History*, one contemporary newspaper commented: "A book like this

does more work than cart-loads of congress speeches". On Dutt's death Sri Aurobindo wrote in the notice of his *Karmayogin* that without this book it was doubtful whether the public mind would have been ready for the Boycott. "In this one instance", remarked Aurobindo, "it may be said of him (Dutt) that he not only wrote history but created it". In Sri Aurobindo's view the best things Dutt ever did were his Letters to Lord Curzon and his Economic History. The former fixed public opinion in India irrevocably and nobody ever cared to consider Lord Curzon's answer.

But Dutt's preoccupation with the nationalistic cause does not lessen the importance of his work. His was the first systematic attempt to write an economic history of British India. He mapped out the field of economic inquiry in such a way that many subsequent thinkers were guided by landmarks. He moulded the thinking of the intelligentsia of the time. A whole generation was nurtured on his doctrines and ideas. His was almost the first history of a colonial regime written from the point of view of the subject of a colonial empire. "It contains", Prof. Gadgil has remarked, "a preview of what came later to be called the economics of colonialism". It is interesting to see how ably Dutt anticipated a number of these features incorporated in discussions of the economics of colonialism and by implication, some features also connected with the economics of the growth of underdeveloped economies.

Dutt's methods can well be criticized today. Probably he can be criticised for having treated sectors of the economy as if they were independent and not having examined the interactions between them during the period of economic change. But Dutt wrote more than fifty years ago. Since then the methodology of economic history has been revolutionized. When Dutt wrote, economic history as an academic study was first being founded in England by men like William Cunningham. (The first chair of economic history was created only in 1892 in Harvard University.) In India the subject was practically unknown. So Dutt's endeavour was a pioneer

work. As such it could not naturally avoid the deficiencies usually to be associated with work of this kind. In spite of this, Dutt's achievement was remarkable. His use of descriptive and statistical data is masterly.

It is not an easy task to write economic history well and readably. One reason why Dutt was successful was owing to his largeness of culture and the breadth of his mind and sympathies. He understood India's economic problems, for he knew them at first hand. Academic historians have their advantages but sometimes their efforts show a strange divorce from reality. This could not be said of Dutt. Also professional historians indulging in hairsplitting arguments sometimes fail to ask or answer general questions with the result that their work does not have any general significance. As such, the writings of professional historians seldom attract the general reader who wants to find some general significance in history. Dutt's special appeal to the layman was in the fact that his work was endowed with some such significance.

Arrived at this point, we can refer to Dutt's idea of history. I am inclined to think that Dutt like another great English historian, who died recently, did not have any philosophy of his own beyond a love of things good and a hatred of things evil as he understood them. At one stage he had been simply lured by the magic of the past and probably to him the chief value of history was poetic. Generally speaking, he seems to have shared the Whig view of history then in vogue and believed in progress.

Dutt perceived the importance of social and

economic history quite early and this became the key idea of his historical writings. His works right through evince a growing awareness on his part of economic and social factors resulting in the crowning work of his life, the *Economic History*.

Compared with other great Indians of his time, Dutt was perhaps not very original. His literary talent was of an imitative kind more suited to the work of a journalist and pamphleteer, and as an economist, he could not probably rank with Ranade or Gokhale. His assumptions and hypotheses have been questioned. But upon his integrity, compassion and high principles no one could cast doubt. Dutt's achievements in the field of popular scholarship were various and fertile. It was a moral concern with him that the manysided lessons of history should be widely understood. The word 'dedicated' has become much debased with indiscriminate usage. But it can be truly said of Dutt that he applied himself to his task with a spirit of dedication. His incredible resources of industry, memory, sense, experience and narrative skill were brought to bear on his lifelong endeavour. Whether he was writing on the ancient history of India or displaying his comprehensive judgment in his more general writings or crowning his career with his *Economic History*, a masterpiece of analysis and ordered thinking, gloriously out of date, all his work was marked by these qualities. He was one of those pioneers who have built up the tradition of historical thinking and scholarship in India. To Romesh Chunder Dutt the students of history in this country will always owe a profound debt.

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Paper III Society, Culture and Economic Life from 1000 A.D. to 1707 A.D.

Paper IV Essays to be written on two out of a number of topics relating to Papers II and III

GROUP C—MODERN INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE.

Paper II Political History of India from 1757 to 1947 A.D. with special reference to the development of Indian Constitution from 1900 A.D.

Paper III Society, Culture and Economic Life from 1757 to the present day.

Paper VI Essays to be written on two out of a number of topics relating to Papers II and III.

GROUP D—INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Paper II International Law.

Paper III International Organizations since 1815 A.D.

Paper IV Essays to be written on two out of a number of topics relating to Papers II and III.

University of Rajasthan

M.A. Examination (Previous and Final)

Any four papers, except Essay, to be taken in the Previous and remaining papers to be taken in the Final.

Paper I (a) Modern World (1919-1945)

or

(b) Political Thought and Constitutions.

Paper II (a) European History (1789-1870)

or

(b) Contemporary Europe (1870-1919).

Paper III (a) History of England (1870-1939)

or

(ii) Ancient Indian Epigraphy and Numismatics.

or

(b) Constitutional History of England.

or

(c) Contemporary Asia 1850-1950 (China, Japan, Iran and the Arab World).

or

(d) The Fundamentals of Indian Culture.

or

(e) Outline of Comparative Religion.

Paper IV Outline History of Rajasthan (from the 8th Century A.D. to 1818).

Paper V, VI & VII One of the following alternative groups of Indian History, each comprising of three papers.

GROUP A—ANCIENT INDIA

Paper V Ancient Indian History from 600 B.C. to 78 A.D.

Paper VI Ancient Indian History from 78 A.D. to 650 A.D.

Paper VII (i) Ancient Indian Society and Civilization.

GROUP B—MEDIAEVAL INDIA

Paper V Indian History from 1000 A.D. to 1526 A.D.

Paper VI Indian History from 1526 A.D. to 1627 A.D.

Paper VII Indian History from 1627 A.D. to 1740 A.D.

GROUP C—MODERN INDIA

Paper V (i) Indian History from 1740 A.D. to 1805 A.D.

or

(ii) History of the Marathas and their Institutions (1627-1761)

Paper VI Indian History from 1805 A.D. to 1857 A.D.

Paper VII India under the Crown, with special reference to Political and Constitutional Developments.

Paper VIII (a) Essay—There shall be two topics on each of the periods of Indian History, Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern, and one for every other paper.

or

(b) Philosophy of History.

RULES FOR RESEARCH DEGREES*

University of Ranchi

Ph. D. Examination

- I. Any person who holds the degree of Master of Arts of the University of Ranchi and has secured a first or second class award of post-graduate diploma of another University, or Institute recognised by this University, may apply for registration as a candidate for the Ph. D. degree in Arts and, if registered, offer himself for the Ph. D. Examination at any time, not less than two years from the date of his registration.

Provided that in case where even a third class degree holder has published some research papers, the Research Board may, if it considers such research papers of sufficient value, allow such person to supplicate for the Degree.

- II. The application for registration for the Ph. D. Examination will be considered by the Research Board, and the Research Board will decide finally whether such permission for registration be given.
- III. Every registered candidate for the Ph. D. degree shall be required to carry on research work at least for two years from the date of his registration under the guidance of a Supervisor appointed by the Research Board in one of the Departments of the University. The Research Board may permit a candidate to work under an approved Supervisor in another University. The candidate, however, will be normally required to reside at the same place where his Supervisor resides.

*Summarised from official Regulations

Teachers of the University, who have done some research work and contributed papers on the subject, may be allowed to carry on the research work without the guidance of a Supervisor, if the Research Board considers his contributions sufficiently valuable. A Supervisor shall not take more than six regular students under him, besides six others who are working as teachers in the University or any College affiliated to it.

A research student shall be in regular contact with his Supervisor, who will send quarterly report of his work to the University through the Head of the University Department concerned.

- IV. (a) Every candidate for the degree of Ph. D. shall state in his application for examination the special subject upon a knowledge of which he rests his qualifications for the degree, and shall with his application submit four copies, printed or type-written, of his thesis on the same subject.

- (b) Every candidate must also forward with his application:

- (i) A certificate from the Supervisor that the subject matter of his thesis is a record of work done by the candidate himself under his guidance and that the contents of his thesis did not form a basis of the award of any previous degree to him or to the best of his knowledge to any body else;

Provided that if the candidate is a teacher and has worked independently, such certificate shall be signed by himself.

- (ii) An account of the extent to which the subject matter of the thesis tends to the advancement of knowledge in the particular subject.

- V. (i) A thesis for the degree of Ph. D. shall:—

- (a) be composed upon some special portion of the subject stated in the candidate's application;
- (b) embody the result of research;
- (c) show evidence that it is a piece of research work characterized either by the discovery of new facts or by an attempt at a fresh interpretation of known facts and theories.

- VI. The thesis shall be examined by a Board of three examiners, one internal and two external, appointed by the Examination Board on the recommendation of the Research Board. The internal examiner shall ordinarily be the person under whom the candidate has studied and worked for the Ph. D. degree.

In case of disagreement between the examiners the following action will be taken:

- (a) If two of the examiners do not recommend the thesis for the degree, the thesis will be disapproved;
- (b) If two of the examiners recommend the thesis and the third disagrees, the thesis will be submitted to a fourth examiner;
- (c) In case even one of the three examiners suggests a revision of the thesis, the candidate will be required to submit a revised thesis within a year from the date of the instruction. The examiners will continue to be the same.

A thesis once submitted and disapproved may be permitted to be revised twice and no more.

- VII. (1) If the thesis of the candidate is approved by the examiners, he may be required to sit for a written examination, if so required by any of the examiners, and shall submit to an oral test.

- (2) The written examination shall consist of two papers of three hours duration each, one upon the special subject mentioned in the application of the candidate, and the other upon the subject of the thesis.

- (3) The examiners shall report to the Examination Board the result of their examination of the thesis and of the written and oral examinations. The Examination Board with their opinion shall then place the report before the Research Board whose recommendation will be placed before the Academic Council.

If the Academic Council, after considering the report of the Research Board, are satisfied that the candidate is worthy of the degree of Ph. D., they shall cause the same to be published with the subject and title of his thesis.

D. Litt. Examination

- I. (a) A candidate who has obtained the Ph. D. degree or a candidate who in the opinion of the Research Board has made valuable contributions to the subject in which he is supplicating for the degree may apply for permission to supplicate for the D. Litt. degree.

(b) A candidate possessing the Ph. D. degree may be allowed to supplicate for the D. Litt. degree at least three sessions after he obtained the Ph. D. degree.

(c) A candidate without the Ph. D. degree may supplicate for the D. Litt. degree at least six sessions after he obtained the Master's degree.

II. Each such application will be considered by the Research Board, which will issue such instructions as it may think fit.

A candidate who belongs to another University may be required to work under a Supervisor unless exempted by the Research Board.

III. A candidate registered for the D. Litt. degree shall be required to submit a thesis, and if the thesis be approved by the examiners, to sit for a written examination and to submit to an oral test on the thesis and on the special subject which he offers.

Provided that if the examiners considered that the thesis and any original contributions of the candidate to the advancement of knowledge are generally or specially of such special excellence as to satisfy the exemption of the candidate from the written examination, they shall submit a report to the effect and the Academic Council, on the receipt of such report, may exempt such candidate from the written examination.

IV. Every candidate for the Doctor's degree shall state in his application for examination the special subject upon a knowledge of which he rests his qualifications for the degree and shall with the application transmit four copies, printed or type-written, of the thesis on the same and shall submit a declaration that the

subject matter of his thesis did not at any time previously form a basis of the award of any degree to the candidate and that to the best of his knowledge to anybody else.

V. (i) A thesis in Literature shall:—

(a) be composed upon some special portion of the subject stated in the candidate's application;

(b) embody the result of research; and

(c) show evidence that it is a substantial contribution towards the advancement of knowledge; that it is original in the sense of discovering a new avenue of research or of making a marked and distinct advance on the result of previous investigation or of imparting a new interpretation to the facts or theories already known so as to reveal a new aspect of the knowledge.

VI. The thesis and the original contribution, if any, submitted by the candidate shall be examined by a Board of three examiners—two of whom shall ordinarily be from outside the University of Ranchi.

In case of disagreement between the examiners, the following action will be taken:—

(a) If two of the examiners do not recommend the thesis for the degree, the thesis will be disapproved;

(b) If two of the examiners recommend the thesis and the third examiner disagrees, the thesis will be submitted to a fourth examiner;

(c) In case even one of the examiners suggests a revision of the thesis, the candidate will be required to submit a revised thesis within a year of the date of instruction. The examiners will continue to be the same.

In no case permission will be granted to submit the thesis a third time.

VII. If the candidate fails to satisfy the examiners at the oral test, the Academic Council may, on the recommendation of the examiners, permit him to appear again at the oral test after six months, but within a period not exceeding one year following the date of his failure.

The written examination shall consist of two papers of three hours' duration each, one upon the special subject mentioned in his application, and the other upon the subject matter of the thesis.

VIII. The thesis of every successful candidate may be published by the University.

IX. If, in case of a candidate for the Degree of Doctor of Literature, the examiners make a recommendation that although his thesis does not satisfy the standard required for the said degree, it is definitely of the standard for the Ph. D. degree, the Academic Council after considering such recommendation may order that the candidate be required to appear before the examiners for an oral examination with reference to his thesis and the special subject which he offers.

University of Rajasthan

Ph. D. Examination

I. A candidate for admission to the degree of Ph. D. must have obtained the Master's degree (in 1st or 2nd Division) of this University or of another University recognised as equivalent thereto in the subject or any allied subject in which he/she wishes to pursue research. The cases of Third Divisioners may be considered if they have shown adequate aptitude for research by their publications in standard Journals.

II. All candidates for the degree of Ph. D. shall apply for registration at the beginning of any term of the academic year and shall, except in special cases approved by the Syndicate on the recommendation of the Research Board, work under the guidance or direction of an approved supervisor.

III. Admission for the Ph. D. degree will be made by the Head of the University Department concerned or by the Principal of an affiliated college having post-graduate research facilities.

Each candidate for admission to the Ph. D. course in a college affiliated to the University shall submit his/her application for registration on the prescribed form through his/her supervisor duly recommended by the Head of the Department and the Principal to the University submitting a scheme or an outline of the subject he/she proposes to investigate with a statement of any work he/she may have done on the subject after proper scrutiny and test (including viva-voce) by the supervisor of adequate general knowledge in his/her field of study. All such applications shall be referred to the Professor and Head of the University Department concerned or an expert for opinion about the scope and suitability of the subject before the candidate is actually registered.

In the case of University Departments, applications for admission shall be submitted to the Head of the Department concerned. The Head of the Department after scrutinising the application and testing the candidate's general knowledge in his/her special field and also in the scheme or outline submitted by him/her and after satisfying himself/herself that the subject offered is one which can be profitably pursued under the superintendence of the University and that the candidate possesses the requisite qualifications and requisite background knowledge, will admit the candidate and forward the application for registration on the prescribed form to the University along with the scheme or outline.

instance the majority of the referees is in favour of allowing a candidate to revise and re-submit the thesis, he/she may be permitted to do so.

(e) In the case of divergence of opinion among the referees, e.g. one recommending acceptance of the thesis, the second resubmission and the third rejection, the report of each shall be communicated to the other two with a view to obtain agreement among them.

(f) The degree shall be awarded only on the unanimous recommendation of the referees appointed for adjudicating the thesis as well as of those appointed to conduct the oral or *viva-voce* test.

XIV. If a candidate is permitted to improve and re-submit his thesis, he shall be required to re-submit it not earlier than six months or

later than twelve months from the date of such permission.

The thesis so re-submitted shall be sent to the same panel of external examiners who evaluated the original one for adjudication unless they or any one of them expresses inability to adjudicate. The Vice-Chancellor shall in such a contingency appoint another external examiner or examiners, as the case may be, from the original panel suggested by the Board of Studies concerned and by the supervisor.

A candidate shall not be allowed to re-submit his thesis more than once.

XV. The reports of the referees (including those of the *viva-voce* test, where held) shall be placed before the Syndicate for acceptance or rejection, as the case may be, of the thesis.

ENROLMENT FOR RESEARCH DEGREES

University of Ranchi

ame	Subject	Supervisor
K. Roy*	Maharaja Nanda Kumar.	Dr. K.K. Datta.
hakradhar Prasad Singh.	Singhbhum during Early British Regime.	Dr. K.K. Datta.
lmukund Virottama*	Political History of Chotanagpur from 1658 to 1858 A.D.	Dr. P.N. Ojha.
iss Indu Khalkho.	Unrest against British Rule in Chotanagpur during the 19th Century.	Dr. P.N. Ojha.
arju Mahto*	Hundred Years of Christian Missions in Chotanagpur since 1845 A.D.	Dr. P.N. Ojha.
node Kumar Sahay*	Aspects of North Indian Education and Learning under the Great Mughals (1526-1707 A.D.) with special reference to Contemporary Literature	Dr. P.N. Ojha.
iss Ila Mukherjee*	Social Status of North Indian Women from 1526 to 1707 A.D. with special reference to Contemporary Literature.	Dr. P.N. Ojha.
rs. Anjali Ghosh.	India in the eyes of Foreign Travellers (1526-1707 A.D.)	Dr. P.N. Ojha.
iss Ashoka Sen.	Social Status of North Indian Women from 1,000 to 1526 A.D., with special reference to Contemporary Literature.	Dr. P.N. Ojha.
Mrs. Sushila Mishra.	Court patronage and encouragement of Hindi under the Great Mughals (1526-1707 A.D.)	Dr. P.N. Ojha.
A.P. Verma.	History of Land Revenue Administration in Chotanagpur since 1757 A.D.	Dr. P.N. Ojha.
S.M. Habibuddin.	Aspects of Social-Economic life of Chotanagpur since 1858 A.D.	Dr. P.N. Ojha.
P.P. Sinha.	Biography of Raja Birbal.	Dr. P.N. Ojha.
Muneshwar Singh.	Political History of Chotanagpur since 1858 A.D.	Dr. P.N. Ojha.
Mrs. S.K. Kapoor.	Role of Indian Women in the Freedom Struggle (1857-1947).	Dr. P.N. Ojha.
Purushottama Kumar.	Administrative History of Chotanagpur 1767-1919.	Dr. S.N. Singh.
Sadashiva Prasad Sinha.	Industrial History of Chotanagpur from mid-18th to mid-20th centuries.	Dr. S.N. Singh.

* Asterisk indicates thesis either completed or nearing completion.

University of Rajasthan

Name	Subject	Supervisor
*Satya Prakash	India under the Guptas—A Study in Culture.	Dr. M.L. Sharma.
*(Miss) Rampyari Shastri	Zalim Singh Jhala.	Dr. M.L. Sharma.
*S.S. Kulshreshtha	The Development of Trade and Industry under the Moghuls (1526 to 1707 A.D.)	Dr. A.L. Srivastava.
*(Miss) Krishna Swarup	The State of Hindu Society (600 A.D. to 1000 A.D.)	Dr. M.L. Sharma.
*Kailash Chandra Jain	Jainism in Rajasthan.	Dr. M.L. Sharma.
*R.N. Varma	Constitutions in Ancient India.	Dr. M.L. Sharma.
*V.S. Bhargava	Marwar and the Mughal Emperors (1526 to 1748 A.D.)	Dr. G.N. Sharma.
*Virendra Swaroop Bhatnagar	History of Rajputana during the Eighteenth century (1700 to 1745 A.D.)	Dr. M.L. Sharma.
*P.S. Chowdhry	Rajasthan between the two World Wars (1919 to 1939 A.D.)	Dr. M.L. Sharma.
*R.M. Mathur	Relations of the States of Jodhpur, Bikaner and Jaisalmer with the English East India Company.	Dr. A.L. Srivastava.
R.S. Pareek	Contribution of Arya Samaj in the making of modern India (1875 to 1947 A.D.)	Dr. S.P. Varma.
*G.R. Parihar	Marwar and the Marathas (1724 to 1843 A.D.)	Dr. G.N. Sharma.
*B.D. Sharma	Udaipur and the East India Company (1817 to 1857 A.D.).	Dr. M.L. Sharma.
*H.C. Tikkiwal	Jaipur and Later Mughals (1707 to 1803 A.D.).	Dr. M.L. Sharma.
*K.K. Maitra	History of the Terrorist Movement in India from the beginning to 1919 (with special reference to Bengal).	Dr. M.L. Sharma.
*D.L. Paliwal	Udaipur and the British (1857 to 1919 A.D.).	Dr. M.L. Sharma.
*S.C. Maheshwary	British relations with the States of Rajputana (1815 to 1835 A.D.).	Dr. V.P.S. Raghuvanshi.
*K.S. Gupta	Mewar and the Maratha relations (1735 to 1818 A.D.).	Dr. M.L. Sharma.
*K.C. Kasliwal	Jain Granth Bhandars in Rajasthan.	Dr. M.L. Sharma.
*Mrs. Beni Gupta	The Marathas and the States of Kota and Bundi (1682 to 1818 A.D.).	Dr. V.P.S. Raghuvanshi

* Asterisk indicates Degree awarded.

Name	Subject	Supervisor
*M.P. Roy	Pindaris—Their origin, growth and suppression.	Dr. V.P.S. Raghuvanshi
*V.S. Srivastava	A study of the temples of Rajasthan from the earliest times up to 12th Century A.D.	Dr. Satya Prakash.
Rajendra Prasad Joshi	A century of British rule in Ajmer (1818 to 1918 A.D.).	Dr. V.P.S. Raghuvanshi
*K.N. Panikkar	Delhi Residency—A Political Study (1803 to 1856 A.D.).	Dr. V.P.S. Raghuvanshi.
J.N. Asopa	Rajasthan—A Study in Culture on the basis of epigraphic sources from 700 to 1200 A.D.	Dr. Satya Prakash.
Ram Gopal Sharma	History of Political Thoughts and Institutions as developed in the age of the Mahabharata.	Dr. M.L. Sharma.
Mrs. Prema Sarien	Harouti and the Mughal Emperors (1526 to 1707 A.D.).	Dr. G.N. Sharma.
(Miss) Nondita Chatterji	Rajasthan—Social and Cultural History, with special reference to the impact of the British.	Dr. G.N. Sharma.
Shyam Singh Tanwar	The Jodhpur State administration in action during the second half of the 19th Century.	Dr. A.L. Srivastava.
V.K. Vashishtha	Rajputana Agency 1833 to 1858 A.D.—A study of British relations with the states of Rajputana during the period with special emphasis on the role of Rajputana Agency.	Dr. V.P.S. Raghuvanshi.
Zabar Singh Kachawaha	Jodhpur and the East India Company	Dr. G.N. Sharma.
Ramji Lal Jangid	Some aspects of Social and Cultural life in Jaipur State (1818 to 1880 A.D.).	Dr. G.C. Pande.
Mast Ram Singh	A critical study of Geographical data in the Puranas.	Dr. G.C. Pande.
G.S.P. Mishra	Historical and Cultural data in the Pali Vinayak Pitaka.	Dr. G.C. Pande.
Jagdish Prasad Pande	Social and moral ideas in the Mahabharata	Dr. G.C. Pande.
(Miss) Asha Mehra	The position of women in Rajasthan under Rajput Rule.	Dr. G.C. Pande.
N.C. Barua	Rajasthani Paintings (16th to 18th Century) —A Study in Culture.	Dr. Satya Prakash.
S.C. Mishra	Sindhia—Holkar rivalry in Rajasthan.	Dr. M.L. Sharma.

* Asterisk indicates Degree awarded.

3. Dr. P.N. Ojha, Head of the Department, is carrying on advanced researches on the following two subjects:-

- (i) Nurjehan and her times.
- (ii) Social life of North India as depicted in the works of Hindi poets of the 16th and 17th centuries.

Comments By Supervisors

Dr. P.N. OJHA,
Head of the Department of History, University of Ranchi

Post-Graduate teaching in the Department of History started in July, 1951 under the old Bihar University. In July, 1960, the Department passed under the control and management of the newly-created Ranchi University. Facilities exist in the Department at present for research work in Mediaeval and Modern Indian History and Culture as well as Local (Chotanagpur) History and Culture. We are concentrating more on socio-cultural and economic aspects in these fields of study. Indeed, we have to encounter numerous difficulties in this connection, the most important of them being the lack of adequate library facilities. However, the History library is expanding rapidly. But, for the present, our research students have to spend several months at Calcutta, Patna, Delhi and elsewhere for utilizing the libraries there. In spite of all these, more than a dozen research students are carrying on their researches seriously under the guidance of the Department, and the number of such students is increasing rapidly day by day.

At present, there are two Research scholarships, each of Rs. 200/- per month, in the Department, awarded to the most serious among the regular researchers. We are trying to increase the number of such scholarships. Besides, the University gives liberal lump-sum grants to other research workers from time to time for meeting their travel as well as other expenses.

4. Professor S.M. Pathak of the Department is completing his doctoral thesis at the University of Hawaii (U.S.A.) on some aspects of Indo-American history in the present century.

5. Dr. S.N. Singh, Reader in the Department, is carrying on advanced researches on the Administrative History of Modern Bihar since 1757 A.D.

incurred in connection with their research. The number of research supervisors in the Department is likely to go up shortly. The research students meet their supervisors at least once a week as indicated in the Departmental time-table. They also take active parts in the weekly seminars organized by the Department, which are also attended by the Post-Graduate students. We are contemplating to start in the near future fortnightly or monthly seminars exclusively meant for the research workers. The *Journal of Historical Research*, published by the Department twice a year, is the official organ of the Department, in which papers written by research workers, pertaining to their subjects, are published from time to time, along with contributions from others. The University is seriously contemplating to prescribe the payment of a monthly supervision fee for the regular research students, in order to make them more serious-minded about their work. However, according to the present regulations of the University, each supervisor is required to submit to the University a quarterly report on the progress of the student or students under him through the Head of the Department concerned for the consideration of the Research Board of the University. Successive adverse reports by the supervisor may lead to the cancellation of registration of a research worker. Such steps are generally taken when a student fails to produce satisfactory work even after a period of four years. Efforts are being

made to start regular coaching of the research students in some of the foreign languages, like Persian, French and German, in order to enable them to fulfil their minimum language requirements for consulting basic original documents and records. Correct expression in

English language is a major problem for most of the research students today, since they receive their instruction up to the Bachelor's degree standard through the medium of the regional languages. This factor, in fact, is giving a great headache to the supervisors these days.

Dr. V.P.S. RAGHUVANSHI

Department of History, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur

Historical Research in this University does not attract bright students and most of the students undertaking research are an average lot.

The students undertaking research on Modern India have to work at Delhi, Calcutta and other centres. The Universities in this State are not very old and their libraries consequently do not have basic materials of study. The University of Rajasthan has been able to secure a good collection of original sources on the History of Rajasthan from the old Mount

Abu Residency Library. The archives of the old States contain valuable material which is now being centralized at Bikaner and utilized by students. The Supervisors have to work very hard on their students.

The University Department at present awards two scholarships for research every year. There are two fellowships also instituted for the Tagore Chair on Indian Culture. Some additional research scholarships and fellowships are necessary to attract students from other states as well.

Dr. A. L. SRIVASTAVA

Professor Emeritus, Agra College, Agra University

Historical research in this University is being carried on at two main centres, Agra and Kanpur. Professor Kali Shankar Bhatnagar is the chief research guide at Kanpur and, although old and retired, he is even now actively guiding quite a few research scholars. His main subject is Modern Indian History with particular reference to economic and cultural history. At Agra we have research scholars in Medieval and Modern Indian History and also in some aspects of Modern Political Thought and Institutions.

We are very much handicapped, both at Agra and Kanpur, for lack of availability of source-material for our researchers. We do not

possess all the printed works in Persian and Marathi. The reference library too is far from adequate. We do not have such indispensable works as *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. We have to send our students to Calcutta, Patna, Rampur and Delhi and sometimes even to Hyderabad for collecting material for their theses.

Some of our research scholars leave in the middle when they get a job. It will be well if scholars are formally registered only after they have put in one year's preliminary work and undergone some kind of test at the end of that period of apprenticeship. Secondly, only those research scholars should be enrolled who possess necessary linguistic equipment, such

as knowledge of Persian and Marathi for the Medieval Period and that of French and Portuguese for the Modern Period. At present 200 days' attendance is necessary during the period of two years that a research scholar is required to put in. This is satisfactory, but if

scholars are present with the Supervisor during the course of writing their theses, they can have consultations with him and get their difficulties cleared. The Supervisor would then not be required to go through the theses more than once, and to correct them intensively.

THESES PRESENTED (1956-64)

University of Rajasthan

BRITISH RELATIONS WITH THE STATES OF RAJPUTANA (1818-1835)

Dr. S. C. MAHESHWARY

The British relations with the states of Rajputana during 1815-1835 can be conveniently studied in three phases. During the first phase lasting up to 1824, the British Government interfered actively to restore the authority of the ruling houses and assist in the internal reorganization of these states. But it produced serious repercussions and in the next phase, lasting up to 1826, the British Government was confronted with serious opposition to the policy. Subsequently, from 1826 onwards the British Government respected the internal autonomy of the states and abstained from interference as much as possible. The developments of this period have been studied in this thesis on the basis of original documents.

Lord Wellesley had made a bold bid to include all the states of Rajputana in his system of protective alliances. But his failure to reduce effectively Maratha power, financial difficulties and opposition from the authorities in England and other circumstances did not allow complete success of his plans in respect of these states. His successors went a step further and even dissolved the alliance with Jaipur. Thus the states of Rajputana were more or less left entirely to themselves. Only the states of Alwar, Bharatpur and Dholpur remained bound to the British Government.

During the period 1805-13 a great change in the position of the East India Company occurred. Englishmen were becoming conscious of their imperial status in India. At the same time the rise of predatory powers in India increased their anxiety about its security.

Lord Hastings was soon convinced of the necessity of an active policy. He decided to eliminate all threats to the British power by bringing the petty states in the British protective fold and by eliminating hostile powers. In this work, he realized the importance of the numerous states of Rajputana which provided a field for the Marathas and the Pindaris. Therefore, in view of the orders from England, he decided to take Jaipur under protection as the first step. Though he failed in the immediate object, he remained undaunted about the final plans. When orders for the destruction of the Pindaris arrived from England, he on his individual responsibility stretched their scope and decided to implement the plans in entirety. The power of Sindhia and Holkar was excluded from Rajputana. Amir Khan was forced to give up his predatory activities there and was established as a petty prince.

The Rajput states were invited to join the British protective system. They had no choice. The Marathas and the Pathans had incurred their hostility and their small size precluded independence. Therefore, they were glad to enter into alliances with the British Government. They were completely isolated and their foreign relations were subordinated to the British Government. It also commanded their military resources. Wherever possible tribute was demanded. On the whole the states of Rajputana benefitted much from the connection with the British Government. It was hoped that in future their relations with the protecting power would remain very cordial.

The internal condition of these states was such that the British could not strictly observe the policy of non-interference. The British Government decided to help the princes in the work of reorganization. Two test-cases of Mewar and Jaipur have been treated in the thesis. Captain Tod has earned lasting fame in Rajputana by his work in Mewar. Ochterlony and Stewart tried to do the same in Jaipur. Although their efforts were definitely beneficial to these states, yet the wide interference which they exercised in their internal affairs gave rise to a feeling of frustration and hostility among the local authorities. This feeling was violently expressed in their relations with Jaipur.

Besides, the mistake of recognizing Zalim Singh's claim in Kota led to a serious revolt which was ruthlessly suppressed, much to the discredit of the British name in Rajputana. Encouragement given to Man Singh incited him to tyrannical acts. The British Government had to use its influence, much to the discomfiture of both the prince and the chiefs. Again the indirect influence of the British Resident at Delhi led to a confusing division of sovereignty in Alwar in 1815 which not only led to violence among the parties concerned but also created bad blood between the state of Alwar and the British Government.

A serious challenge was thrown by the state of Bharatpur to the British paramount authority. The state was dealt with sternly by the British and it savoured of a policy of revenge.

While these incidents disturbed the relations of the ruling houses of Rajputana with the British Government, the misuse of its political power to establish a commercial monopoly in that area discredited its name very much. The

benefactor of 1818 now appeared to the people of Rajputana as a hectoring and an avaricious force.

Sir Charles Metcalfe accused the policy of interference for all this mischief and decided on strict non-interference. He fought against the efforts of his government to establish the monopoly of Malwa opium. He recognized the powers of Rani Regent in Jaipur and withdrew all interference in the administration of Mewar. His rank, experience and abilities commanded a suitable response from the supreme government. The policy of non-interference followed by Metcalfe gave confidence to the princes and removed the suspicion in their minds about the motives of the British Government.

This policy received a severe jolt from the wide-spread disturbances in Rajputana during the year 1828 to 1831. But non-interference paid dividends by establishing a natural balance between the conflicting parties.

By 1832 the relations between the British Government and the states of Rajputana had much improved. They were further strengthened by the personal meeting between the Governor-General Lord Bentick and the princes at Ajmer in 1832. In order to give them a more concrete shape and to elicit the co-operation of these princes against Thugi, Dacoity and other social evils, the seat of the superintending authority was shifted from Delhi to a more central position, Ajmer. Thus it was only by 1835 that the new system established in 1818 had acquired stability and both the systems of reciprocal obligations and duties began to operate to the satisfaction of both, the Paramount power and the States.

DELHI RESIDENCY (1803-1856) A POLITICAL STUDY

DR. K. N. PANIKKAR

This thesis is a study of the role of British Residents at Delhi in the formulation and execution of British policy towards the Mughal

Emperors, the states of Rajputana and the Cis-Sutlej states.

The Delhi Residency was established in 1803. The primary duty of the Resident was then the management of British relations with the Mughal Emperor. With the conclusion of the second Maratha war and the separation of political authority from the Commander-in-Chief, the states of Rajputana and the Cis-Sutlej states came within the jurisdiction of the Residency. The states of Rajputana were taken out of its political control in 1818 and 1821 for short periods. But in 1832 they were finally placed under a new Agency at Ajmer. The Delhi Residency was then relegated to the position of an Agency. With the formation of the Agra Presidency in 1834 the Cis-Sutlej states were also separated from its jurisdiction.

The management of British relations with the Mughal Emperors was a difficult problem. A small territory in the vicinity of Delhi was assigned to the Emperor for the maintenance of the royal family. The administration of this territory was entrusted to the Resident. As the revenue of this territory was inadequate for the maintenance of the Emperor and the royal family in comfort and dignity, a fixed sum of Rs. 90,000/- per month was given to him without any reference to the revenue of the assigned territory. This amount was considered inadequate by the Emperor and so Wellesley promised to increase it to one lakh of rupees whenever the revenue of the assigned territory sufficiently increased.

The settlement virtually made the Emperor a pensioner of the British Government. He was, however, allowed all privileges and prerogatives of a sovereign inside the palace. The members of the royal family had immunity from law. The Emperor received *nazars* and distributed *khilats*. A mint worked in Delhi and the coins were issued in his name. The Government conceded these prerogatives to the Emperor out of regard for his personal feelings and the past glory of the Mughals. But in the wider political context of the country he was to be a non-entity.

The Emperor naturally was not happy with

this position. Shah Alam was too old to offer any opposition. But his son and successor Akbar Shah II who came to the throne in 1806 took up the matter very vigorously. His whole life time was spent in tireless endeavours to assert his superiority over the British Government and to obtain some enhancement of the royal stipend. He sent two missions to Calcutta, the mission of Shah Haji and that of Raja Prankishan, and another one to England, the mission of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. The Residents and the Supreme Government viewed these attempts with concern and decidedly thwarted them.

To the British Government it was a political necessity to deny any vestige of superiority that the Mughal Emperor could claim over it. They had by 1818 come to possess the paramouncy of India which was once held by the Mughals. So, the privileges granted to the Emperor was slowly withdrawn. The prerogative of bestowing *khilats* was restricted. The Delhi mint was abolished and the name of the Emperor was removed from the coins of the Company. The Emperor was treated by the Governor-General as an equal and the form of address was changed to express this status. The *nazars* presented by the Governor-General, the Commander-in-Chief, the Resident and all other British officers were also stopped by degrees.

These were indications of the final settlement which the British Government was contemplating on the event of Bahadur Shah's demise. The death of Dava Bakht and Fakhru-ud-din, the sons of Bahadur Shah and the recognized heirs apparent facilitated matters. The Agent concluded an agreement with Mirza Kocash, the third son of Bahadur Shah. According to this the royal family was to quit the palace and the kingly title and all other prerogatives were to cease. The British Government agreed to provide to the head of the family a comfortable subsistence and a palace at the kutab. The revolt of 1857, however, intervened to put an end to the Mughal dynasty in a different manner.

The other important duty of the Resident was

the management of British relations with the states of Rajputana. In 1806 when these states came under the political jurisdiction of the Delhi Residency only Bharatpur and Alwar had treaty relations with the British Government. All other states were eager to be taken under British protection as the Marathas and the Pindaris were wantonly plundering their territory. But the British Government did not pay heed to their appeals due to its adherence to the policy of non-intervention.

But with Lord Moira's assumption of the Governor-Generalship a radical change took place in the Government's approach to this problem. He was all in favour of taking these states under British protection. Charles Metcalfe, the Resident, was from the very beginning pressing the Government for a similar policy. Now he played a very important part in the evolution and execution of British policy towards these states. The negotiation and conclusion of the treaties of 1818 with these states were primarily his work.

According to these treaties the British Government promised to abstain from interference in the internal affairs of these states. But the rights and obligations acquired by it as the paramount power very soon necessitated a deviation from this accepted policy. The Resident vigorously exerted to ensure an efficient administration in these states as it was necessary for safe-guarding the pecuniary interests of the British Government and the preservation of peace and tranquillity in this region. This, of course, amounted to interference in the internal affairs of these states and violation of the treaty stipulations. But this was only a passing phase. The policy of non-interference continued to be respected by the Government. The policies followed towards Jaipur and

Bharatpur amply clarify this point.

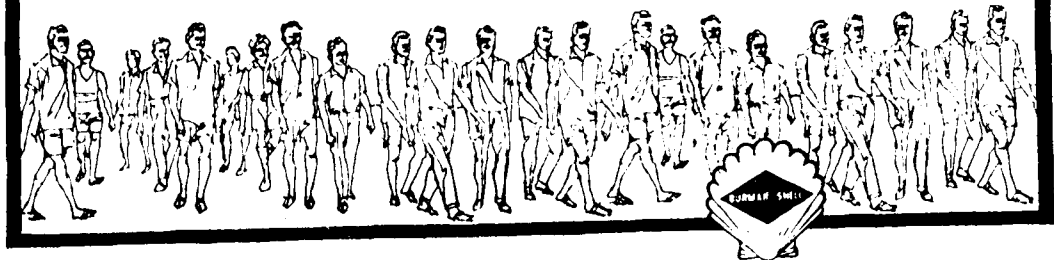
The case of the Cis-Sutlej states was almost a repetition. The Residents were vehemently in favour of protecting these states from the invasion of Ranjit Singh, the ruler of Lahore. But the policy of non-intervention again stood in the way. But in 1808-09, the Franco-Russian phobia gripping the minds of British statesmen in India, these petty states were taken under British protection by a proclamation to that effect. No formal treaty was concluded with these states. The Government in this case also allowed complete freedom to the rulers in their internal affairs. But inefficient administration and mutual quarrels among the chiefs resulted in the interference of the paramount power. Patiala, Tira, Chichroli and Himulpur-Wandhri are taken as test cases in this respect.

The important role played by the Resident in the formation and execution of British policy becomes glaringly apparent from the analysis of the foregoing problems. The Resident enjoyed a comparatively high position and his suggestions, but for a few exceptions, were always accepted by the Supreme Government. The Governor-General saw to it that the Emperor and other chiefs did not overlook the authority of the Resident, which highly enhanced his power and prestige. He was treated with consideration and regard by the Emperor and the chiefs of Rajputana and the Cis-Sutlej states. Their vakils almost daily waited upon him to get the decision and opinion of the British Government on matters relating to their masters. In fact, the importance formally attached to the Mughal Court gradually shifted to the Residency. As Kaye put it, the Delhi Residency was the "head quarters of diplomacy in upper India" during the first half of the nineteenth century.

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