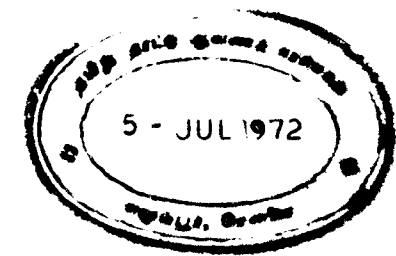


THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW OF
HISTORICAL STUDIES



VOLUME IV

(1964-65)

NUMBERS 1 & 2

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL STUDIES
CALCUTTA

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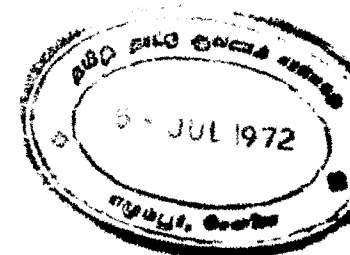
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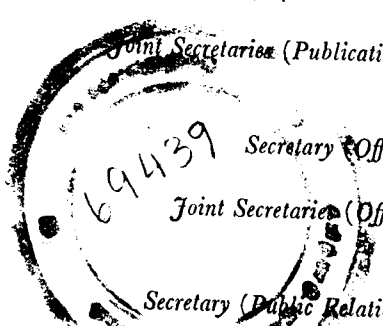
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THE QUARTERLY REVIEW OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

Vol. IV

(1964-65)

Nos. 1 & 2

EDITORIAL

The Fourth Year:

With the present number the *Quarterly Review* steps into the fourth year. It is a matter of real gratification that the earlier volumes had set up a high standard and had won great appreciation in academic circles. It is not too easy to run a specialised journal of this kind, maintaining a uniform standard and regularity in publication. The first five years are immensely difficult, and not even the boldest optimist can be sure about its survival. It is dependent on so many factors: recognition of its usefulness by academic circles, willing co-operation of University and College teachers and research students in history, reasonable financial security and freedom from depressing anxiety over inadequate subscriptions and advertisements, and finally the courage to maintain a spirit of independence and to resist pressure or persuasion from any group.

The record of the first three years of the *Quarterly Review* has been on the whole quite satisfactory. The usefulness of the journal has been widely recognised. We are getting increasing co-operation in collecting information on the progress of historical research at different Universities and other centres of research. We have also been able to maintain an independent attitude, freely criticising academic administration and planning of higher studies and research whenever we felt it necessary and justified.

Our criticism, however, has never been of a negative or destructive type. It has always been combined with constructive suggestions, our motive being to help improve the existing state of historical research in this country, which is far from being satisfactory.

But in the matter of financial security, unfortunately we are yet far behind the reasonable minimum which is needed for survival over the initial years of struggle. We need more subscribers and more advertisement support, if the journal is to be run efficiently. We take this opportunity to appeal to all University and College teachers and research students in history to subscribe both individually and on behalf of their respective institutions. Just a little active interest on the part of our readers in persuading their colleagues to become subscribers will be of immense help in preserving the journal which as been doing such useful work.

An Appeal to the Universities:

We would also appeal to the Universities to furnish us promptly and regularly reports on the progress of research in history, to enable us to provide more up-to-date information to our readers. We relied so long on the help and co-operation of individual teachers. But this is not very satisfactory for a regular flow of information. We request the Universities to furnish us

annually reports on the progress of research in history, and also, whenever a thesis is submitted, to send us a copy of its abstract. The Universities in this country are, as a rule, rather uncommunicative, and in the name of autonomy love to work within closed walls and unwilling to co-operate with any external agency, even for the sake of such a laudable object as inter-University collaboration and dissemination of information. We would humbly suggest that in the interest of maintaining proper academic standard, dissemination of information on the progress of research is absolutely necessary. We do hope that the Universities will realise the value of such publicity and send us regularly their annual research reports and abstracts of theses submitted.

Vol. IV, Numbers 1 & 2:

In the present combined numbers we publish two of the papers on *Ideas of History in India* read at the Symposium held in September 1964 on the occasion of the Annual Meeting of the Institute. The first deals with the Ancient Period and the second with the Medieval Period. We regret, we have not yet received the final copy of the paper on the Modern Period. Hence it could not be included in the series. The paper on the Medieval Period is undoubtedly very lengthy for publication in a periodical in one instalment. But we felt that the interest of the paper would suffer if it had been split up and published in two or three instalments. We hope the two papers will be found useful by all serious students of history.

The present combined numbers also include, besides the two talks given at Discussion Meetings of the Institute by Dr. K. S. Lal (University of Delhi), two research papers which were not actually read at any meeting of the Institute, but were formally communicated. This is a new system we want to follow in future. Our members are welcome to send us their research papers, which will be treated as having been formally communicated and, if found suitable, will be

duly published. It will enable outstation members to participate in the academic work of the Institute.

We also publish in the present combined numbers a brief account of the progress of research in Indian History in Japan, based on the report of the Society for the Study of Indian History in Japan. We hope to publish in later issues similar accounts from other foreign countries. In fact, the study of Indian History, which started in a systematic manner in most foreign countries after World War II, is being organised on a very large scale and is making very rapid progress at quite a number of centres. It would be interesting for us in India to know the trends of interest in Indian history at these centres, and the way in which Indian studies are organised. The Institute of Historical Studies will be only too happy to offer its co-operation to these centres and do whatever it can to facilitate their programmes of research.

Discussion Meetings:

Since the publication of our last number, five Discussion Meetings were held at the Institute. Professor Satish Chandra (University of Rajasthan, Jaipur) gave two talks, one on *Aurangzeb and the Rajput Problem*, and the other on *Some Aspects of the Fall of the Mughal Empire*. The next talk was given by Professor James MacGregor Burns (Chairman of the Department of Political Science, Williams College, Massachusetts) who spoke on *American Political History: Pragmatism and Ideology*. Professor S. B. Chaudhury (Burdwan University) spoke on the *History of the Indian Gazetteers: Need for Revision*. The last talk was by Professor Peter Harnetty (University of British Columbia, Canada) on *Lancashire, India and the Cotton Supply Question (1861-65)*. All the talks were extremely interesting and will be published in later issues of the journal. The attendance at Discussion Meetings is steadily increasing, and what is more encouraging, younger people are coming out in larger number to take part in the discussions.

Seminars:

Two interesting Historical Seminars will be held in March 1965. The first is a Seminar on *The Study of History and College History Teaching*, which will be held at the Panjabi University, Patiala, from March 22 to April 10. It is being sponsored by the Panjabi University (Patiala) in collaboration with Baring Union Christian College, Batala (Panjab.) A brief note on the objects and programme of the Seminar is published in the present number. A more detailed account of the deliberations and results of the seminar will be published in a subsequent issue.

The main object of the Seminar is to give practical training to Degree College teachers in the interpretation and teaching of History, with a view to improve the quality of history teaching in Degree Colleges. A small group of 25 teachers will be selected for the purpose, exclusively from North-West India, i.e. Delhi, Panjab and Jammu and Kashmir, so as to ensure that after the Seminar "they will be sufficiently close to one another to further encourage and stimulate each other as well as exercise some influence on history teaching in the area". It is a very good move indeed, and we can only hope that the example will be followed by other regions of India.

The second Seminar will be on the *Eighteenth Century in Indian History*, to be organised by the Department of History, Jadavpur University (Calcutta), with U. G. C. support, from 25th to 27th March 1965. The scope of the Seminar is to review different aspects of the history of 18th century India, political, administrative, economic, social and cultural (including religion, fine arts, literature and philosophy). About 25 scholars from different Universities in India are expected to participate. There will also be a number of foreign scholars. There will be four sessions altogether, each devoted to a particular aspect of the history of the 18th century.

The 18th century is in many ways a most

interesting period of Indian history, as marking a stage of transition from the old to the new and offering an explanation to the trends of developments in the 19th century. We congratulate Jadavpur University for having selected this period as the subject of the Seminar, and we do hope that when the papers read at the Seminar will be published they will be a very valuable contribution to our understanding of the Age.

Biographies Project:

The Dictionary of Biographies Project is making satisfactory progress. Data have been collected and put in a final shape on about 200 leaders. Work is nearing completion on a number of other leaders, and according to our present calculations, we expect to cover at least 300 leaders by the end of the current Project year, May 1965. The rate of progress in the initial stage is bound to be somewhat slow. One of the main problems is to set up and ensure a definite and uniform standard in the nature and extent of material collection. The Research Fellows are working at different centres and do not have much opportunity of mutual consultation. Although the Research Material Collection Format has been drawn up in as clear a manner as possible and instructions have been issued to Research Fellows in a very detailed and unambiguous manner about filling in folder files and entry cards, some lacunae would still persist, resulting in differences of comprehension, approach and entry forms. Moreover, library and archival facilities also differ greatly from place to place. We have been trying to tackle this problem in an effective and practical manner as far as possible for an all-India Project of this kind.

Co-ordination of Work:

A meeting of Research Fellows was held in Bombay in October, 1964, and another meeting was held at Ranchi in December, 1964. A separate meeting of the Research Supervisors was also held at Ranchi in December, 1964. At all these meetings opportunity was taken to

explain in concrete terms and with reference to the work actually done at different centres the exact requirements of the Format, the nature and length of entry on each item, the kind of bibliography and references wanted and the order of priority in importance among the different items. The Research Fellows also took the opportunity to discuss among themselves their own ideas about how the work should be done, the procedure they were following and their individual problems and difficulties. The Research Supervisors also discussed among themselves how best to ensure uniformity of standard and rate of monthly progress.

These meetings proved definitely useful in removing the wide differences in approach, procedure and execution among the different zones and to evolve a common pattern of work for the future. Following these discussions, in many cases folder files and entry cards submitted earlier were sent back for revision. In the light of these initial problems and difficulties the amount of work done in the compilation of material in 1964 must be considered as on the whole quite satisfactory.

Supervision and Scrutiny:

Apart from these periodical meetings, a strict scrutiny is maintained, at two levels, of the work done by the Research Fellows. The Folder Files and Entry Cards of each Research Fellow are first submitted to the scrutiny of the Supervisor, who checks up the accuracy of facts and references. Then they are sent to the Central Office, where the Director, with the help of Research Assistants, goes through them again to ensure adequacy of data supplied and uniformity of standard. Scrutiny reports are regularly sent to the Research Fellows, and, wherever necessary, the Folder Files and Entry Cards are sent back for revision. The system is working nicely and has proved quite adequate for the purpose in view.

An effective check is also maintained to ensure regularity of progress in each zone. Every

Research Fellow has to submit a monthly progress report, duly countersigned by the Supervisor, stating the leaders covered and folder files and entry cards completed. A regular progress chart is maintained for each Research Fellow, and he is duly informed if his work falls behind the schedule of progress. The system is necessary for proper planning and estimate of progress.

List of Leaders:

The first lists of leaders for different zones were scrutinised by the Advisory Board at its meeting in June 1964. Research Fellows were asked to revise the lists in the light of the suggestions made by the Board and to classify names into A, B and C categories, subdividing each group into politicians, educationists, journalists, social reformers etc. The revised lists were submitted in November-December, 1964. These were circulated in February 1965 among members of the Advisory Board, Project Committee, Zonal Committees and Consultants for comments and suggestions. The final revised lists will be drawn up in May. According to our present estimate, A and B category names for all the zones will come up to about 1200. For the present we are concentrating on these two categories, that is leaders of all-India and of provincial importance. Whether we would be in a position to take up C category (district level) leaders would depend on our budgetary position after 1966-67.

The list of leaders covered till the end of May 1965 will be published in the *Quarterly Review* after the Advisory Board Meeting in June. Arrangements will also be made for full publicity in the leading newspapers in India, with an appeal to those interested to supply us whatever information on any leader or leaders may be in their possession. Thereafter quarterly lists of names on which data collection has been completed will be published regularly, so as to keep our readers fully informed about our progress.

Scope and Nature of the Project:

At this stage of our progress we should explain briefly what our ideas are about the scope and nature of the Project. We do not aim at giving any comprehensive biographical account. Even for the most eminent leader, we do not propose to give more than 3 pages. On the other hand, every leader will be given adequate coverage, within the limitations of the information available on him. It is not our view to give just 5 or 6 lines on any leader, because such an account will not serve any meaningful purpose. We would rather not include any name in the Dictionary unless we get adequate information on some of the more important items, like career activities, ideas and attitudes etc., needed to bring out his personality.

This brings us to the second feature or objective of the Project. In our Dictionary we do not mean to give just a factual and chronological account of the career activities of a leader.

Our main objective, on the other hand, is to bring out the personality of the leader on a review not only of his activities but also of his ideas, attitudes and basic outlook. Anybody who has gone through our Material Collection Format will understand the objective we have in view. We are as much interested in the thought processes of an individual as in what he actually did, because the thought processes are the determining and motivating factors for actions.

The third important feature of our Project is the standard of scholarship and authenticity we have in view. Although we cannot devote more than 3 pages on any leader, our biographical accounts are intended to be as authoritative as possible. There will be a bibliography on each leader, with detailed references for specific statements. Besides, wherever possible, a leader's ideas and attitudes will be brought out in his own words, with extracts from his own writings and speeches.

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

Annual Report (1963-64)

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I have great pleasure in presenting the Annual Report of the Institute of Historical Studies for the year 1963-64. The Report shows another year of steady progress and sustained activity. The Institute today is recognised as one of the leading all-India academic institutions.

Constitutional Changes:

The Constitution of the Institute was slightly amended last year to suit the practical needs of a young organisation. This year some vital changes have been proposed and recommended for adoption by the Executive Committee. The changes relate mostly to the composition and method of working of the Executive Committee. Since the Institute has been functioning as an all-India organisation, with a 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 the major Universities and States and to provide a practical method of working for such a Committee.

The Constitutional change proposed is to add 12 members to the Executive Committee to represent different Universities and regions, and the following persons have been recommended by the Executive Committee under Rule 4, Clause (iii), of the Constitution to be members of the Executive Committee for the remaining period of the term of office of the present Committee, i.e., till 1966: 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 S. 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).

Since the Executive Committee is to have an all-India composition, the only practical method of working is to permit transaction of business through circulation of papers by post. That is the practice of all-India bodies, like the Indian History Congress, and is now proposed for the Institute. I hope that these two major constitutional changes will be approved by the members, enabling the Institute to function as an all-India organisation of Indian historians.

Membership:

During the year under review the Institute had 4 Life Members and 240 Ordinary Members. The increase in membership from the previous year's figure is much below our expectations. It is necessary to launch a country-wide membership drive, so as to reach our immediate target of 500 members. One hopeful sign about the increase in membership last year was the proportionately larger number of enrolment from other States. It is to be hoped that the change of Constitution, as proposed, will help us in getting more active co-operation from teachers of Universities and Colleges outside West Bengal. Even as it is, the membership of the Institute is representative of all the regions. There is not a single State or a single University in India from where we do not have at least a few members. The new membership drive is, however, necessary to

enable us to set up a number of branch organisations at 4 or 5 centres.

Fellows:

During the year under review the following new Fellows were elected under Rule 5 of the Constitution:

Mahamahopadhyaya D.V. Potdar (Poona).
Dr. Sudhakar Chatterjee (Visva-Bharati).
Dr. Sukumar Bhattacharyya (Delhi).
Dr. Robert I. Crane (Duke).
Dr. A. L. Basham (London).
Dr. T. G. P. Spear (Cambridge).
Dr. U. N. Ghoshal (Calcutta).
Dr. H. K. Sherwani (Hyderabad).
Dr. Holden Furber (Pennsylvania).
Dr. C. H. Philips (London).
Dr. C. C. Davies (Oxford).
Dr. Kristof Glamann (Denmark).

All of them 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. 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.

Discussion Meetings:

During the year under review, the Institute held 15 Discussion Meetings: Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee (Lucknow) spoke on *Historical Unity of Mankind*; Dr. Tapan Kumar Raichaudhuri (Delhi University) on *Post-Graduate Teaching & Research in Indian Universities*; Professor Chedomil Velyachich (University of Zagreb, Yugoslavia) on *Problems of Approach to the Study of Slavonic History in Modern Times and South Slavonic Art and Literature in the Middle Ages and Renaissance Period*; Professor Edward C. Dimock (Chicago University) on *Vaishnava Sahajiyā Cult*; Professor M. N. Das (Utkal University) on *Political Ideologies in Britain vis-a-vis Problems of Indian Empire, 1905-10*; Professor N. K. Sinha (Cal-

cutta University) on *Historical Material of Indian Interest in the Soviet Archives*; Dr. Richard L. Park (then Representative, Asia Foundation, New Delhi, and now Dean of Social Studies, Pittsburg University, U.S.A.) on *The Dictionary of Nationalist Biographies Project*; Dr. S. R. Mehrotra (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London) on *The Early Organisation of the Indian National Congress*; Professor A. L. Srivastava (Agra University) 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.) on *The Nature of Historical Resources in Bihar and The State of Indian Studies in the U.S.A.* and Dr. K. S. Lal (Delhi University) on *The Pro-Hindu and Pro-Muslim Schools of Medieval Indian History and Early Medieval Indian Society (1200-1500)—a Dynamic Society*. Some of the talks have been published in the *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, and the rest will be published in due course.

Research Training Seminar:

It is a matter of regret that our project of holding a regular six months' Research Training Seminar did not materialise in 1963-64. We still hope that with the co-operation of Research Supervisors at different Universities, it will be possible to implement the scheme in the current year.

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 larger 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 have been published in Vol.III, No. 3 of the *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, 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, 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.

Journal:

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. During the year under review were published Vol.II, nos. 3 and 4 and Vol.III, nos. 1, 2 and 3 of the *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*. We hope that the publication of the journal will be regularised and brought up-to-date by the end of the current year, 1964-65.

Library:

There have also been some additions to the collection of historical journals in our Library during the year under review. The Asia Foundation's grant enabled us to subscribe many valuable journals which we could not get by exchange.

To facilitate the Dictionary of Nationalist Biographies Project, we are also building 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 our Research Fellows, but they can also be used by other members of the Institute. It is also proposed to equip our Library with important reference books on history for the benefit of research students. Besides acquisitions by purchase, we also get a fairly good number of books as gifts or for review in our journal.

Research Service Bureau:

The Research Service Bureau also showed 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. The Bureau also helps foreign scholars with the services of Research Assistants for the collection of material in this country. What we require for more efficient working of the Bureau is a whole-time salaried staff.

DICTIONARY OF NATIONALIST BIOGRAPHIES PROJECT

Organisational Structure:

It was in June 1963 that the Institute undertook the Project of compiling a Dictionary of Biographies of Indian Nationalist Leaders from the early part of the 19th century to the achievement of independence, with a grant of Rs. 1,44,000/- for three years in the first instance from the Asia Foundation. Under the Scheme the highest controlling and policy-framing authority is to be known as the *Advisory Board*, and is to consist of three ex-officio and eight other members to be chosen on an all-India basis. Below the *Advisory Board* is the *Project Committee*, consisting of Research Supervisors and selected on an all-India basis. The actual work of collecting material is to be done by a group of whole-time and a few part-time Re-

search Fellows. The collection of material is to take three years. After three years a fresh Scheme and Budget Estimates will be prepared for the second part of the Project, namely, editing and publishing the volumes.

The first step in the implementation of the Project was the setting up of the Advisory Board consisting of the following:

- | | |
|---|---------------|
| 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, Professor of South Asian History, Duke University, North Carolina, U.S.A. | |
| 5. Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose, Director-General of Anthropology, Government of India, Calcutta. | |
| 6. Dr. K. K. Dutta, Vice-Chancellor, Magadh University, Gaya, Bihar. | |
| 7. Professor Bisheshwar Prasad, Delhi University. | |
| 8. Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar, Vice-Chancellor, Poona University. | |
| 9. Professor K. K. Pillay, Madras University. | |
| 10. Dr. G. M. Moraes, Bombay University. | |
| 11. Dr. P. L. Mehra, Panjab University. | |

The first meeting of the Advisory Board was held in New Delhi, at the India International Centre on June 14-15, 1963. At that meeting a final Scheme for the Dictionary Project, including a detailed Format to serve as a guide in the collection of research material, was drawn up. The Scheme was printed and widely circulated among scholars and others interested, both in India and in foreign countries. The Project was also published in Volume II, nos 3 & 4 (combined) of the *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*.

Following the decisions at the first meeting of the Advisory Board, circular letters appealing for co-operation were issued to Universities,

Learned Institutions, Archives, Libraries, Education Ministers and Political Parties and Associations.

The Advisory Board also decided to set up Zonal Committees to secure the active co-operation of a larger number of people with the Dictionary Project. Five Zonal Committees were set up in March-April 1964 for Eastern Zone; U.P., M.P. & Rajasthan; Panjab and Kashmir; Gujarat & Maharashtra; and Madras, Andhra & Kerala. Care has been taken to select people from different walks of life—politicians, journalists, writers, educationists, social reformers, etc., so as to make the Committees as representative as possible of the varied elements of the society whose co-operation may be of help to the Dictionary Project.

The next step taken was the constitution of the Project Committee in November 1963, consisting of the following:

1. Director (ex-officio).
2. Dr. P. C. Gupta (for the Eastern Zone).
3. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad (for U.P., M.P. and Rajasthan).
4. Dr. P. L. Mehra (for Panjab and Kashmir).
5. Dr. G. M. Moraes (for Western Zone).
6. Dr. K. K. Pillay (for Southern Zone).

A meeting of the Project Committee was held in Delhi on December 9, 1963 to select seven whole-time Research Fellows in the grade of Rs. 300-50-600/- and also to draw up a uniform procedure of work. Six whole-time Research Fellows were appointed and they were requested to attend a joint meeting of Research Supervisors and Fellows in Poona on December 30, 1963.

The Project Committee also felt that it would be necessary to make some four or five part-time appointments, to have an equitable distribution of work among the different Zones and to cover all the major languages of India.

A joint meeting of the Advisory Board and

the Project Committee was held in Poona on the 30th December, 1963. At this meeting the steps taken from June to December, 1963 in connection with the Project were reviewed. Definite rules were adopted regarding the supervision of the work of the Research Fellows. The meeting also drew up detailed instructions for Research Fellows about procedure of work. It was also resolved to appoint Professor Robert I. Crane (Duke University, North Carolina, U.S.A.) and Dr. K. K. Datta (Vice-Chancellor, Magadh University) Consultants to the Project Committee. Both of them have kindly agreed to offer their fullest co-operation.

Research Fellows:

It is a matter of regret that organisational and procedural difficulties held up the appointment of Research Fellows till December 1963. Most of them took up their appointments between January and April 1964, while some more Research Fellows were appointed later for proper regional distribution of work. At present we have 2 whole-time Research Fellows for Bengal; 1 for U.P., M.P. & Rajasthan; 1 for Panjab and Kashmir; 1 for Madras; and 2 part-time Research Fellows for Gujarat; 2 for Maharashtra and 1 for Kerala. We are soon going to have 1 additional whole-time Research Fellow for U.P., M.P. and Rajasthan; 1 for Bihar and 3 part-time Fellows for Andhra, Orissa and Assam. That will give us a total staff of 7 whole-time and 8 part-time Research Fellows all over India.

In view of the magnitude of the task undertaken, the number of the Research Staff is far too inadequate. We appealed to the Universities for help and co-operation, and I am glad to report that we have received favourable replies from at least 20 Universities in India, assuring us of their fullest co-operation for the Dictionary Project. Among the Universities which have already requested the University Grants Commission for the sanction of a Research Fellowship for the Dictionary Project tenable at the University concerned are:

Punjab 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.

More Universities are likely to follow. If these requests are granted, as there is every reason to hope, we shall have an adequate Research Staff for the next two years of the Project. It would even enable us to enlarge the scope of the Project and convert it into a small scale *Dictionary of National Biographies*, as in other countries. It is undoubtedly a stupendous task, but with the co-operation of Universities and scholars we are bold and confident enough to undertake it.

Progress of Work:

In view of the late appointment of Research Fellows, any striking progress in the actual collection of material can hardly be expected. In fact, the rate of progress in the first year of any Project is bound to be slow, as a part of the period is taken up in building up the organisational structure, formulating policies and evolving a procedure of work conducive to efficiency. Once the initial difficulties are over, work will gather momentum and progress in the second year may confidently be expected to be substantially greater than in the first. Even as it is, in spite of the long delay in the appointment of Research Fellows, the Project has made a reasonably good progress in the first year. We have received satisfactory progress reports from different Zones.

For the first quarter, January—March 1964, the general principle accepted by the Supervisors and followed by the Research Fellows about procedure of work was to draw up a bibliography of biographical material in each

Zone and a tentative list of leaders to be included in the Dictionary. It was felt that before going into the details and starting actual collection of material on each leader, it would be better to have a tentative list first, so as to form some concrete idea about the magnitude of the task and the time that is likely to be taken. This procedure is also useful for another reason. As tentative lists and bibliographies of biographical material for each Zone are drawn up, they can be widely distributed among competent and interested persons, so as to find out what additional names should be included and what help in supplying necessary biographical data may be available. That is why in the first quarter, January—March, Research Fellows had concentrated on the preparation of a bibliography and a list of leaders to be covered.

In the second quarter, April—June, 1964 the Research Fellows started actual collection of material on leaders included in their lists. All Research Fellows have been supplied with folders and entry cards for this purpose. They have been instructed to send up to the Central Office the data collected at the end of each quarter. At the Central Office Research Assistants have been appointed to scrutinise and verify as far as possible the data contained in the folder files and entry cards. Any lapses in entries will be promptly brought to the attention of Supervisors and Research Fellows. The Director will work as a co-ordinator to ensure uniformity in the collection of data in the different Zones and in the final entries made on cards. The Director will also pay periodical visits to the different centres to ensure satisfactory progress of work. It is to be hoped that the machinery thus set up for central supervision and co-ordination will prove adequate for the purpose.

Bibliographies of biographical material and lists of leaders for the different Zones prepared by the Research Fellows were scrutinised at a meeting of the Advisory Board in New Delhi in June 1964, 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, i.e., eminent persons of all-India importance. Completed Folder Files and Entry Cards have 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. Data on about 60 leaders have already been received at the Central Office and we hope that by the end of May 1965 we shall have Files and Entry Cards on at least 300 leaders.

Problems and Difficulties:

An all-India Research Project of this kind is bound to face some initial problems and difficulties. An adequate organisational structure has to be built up. An efficient machinery for effective supervision has to be devised. Uniformity in the procedure of investigation has to be maintained. Co-ordination of the work in the different Zones has to be ensured, without undue centralisation. Sincere and competent research workers have to be discovered. Finally co-operation of all sections of the people has to be secured. As I review the progress made in the first, which is the most difficult, year of the Project, I feel quite happy over the success achieved in solving some of the initial problems and difficulties.

Finance:

When the Project was first drawn up in 1963, it was on a rather modest scale, and we hoped that the Asia Foundation's Grant of Rs. 1,44,000/- for three years would be adequate. It now appears from our actual experience of working for a year that the Project will involve a much larger outlay. It can hardly be completed in less than 5 years, and a much larger Research Staff will have to be appointed than what was originally contemplated. The total deficit on the Project, as we have calculated, will be about 2 lakhs. The Asia Foundation was generous enough to give us a Supplementary Grant of Rs. 23,650/-, in addition to the Grant sanc-

tioned earlier, Rs. 45,644/-, for the second year of the Project, i.e., 1964-65. We are trying to get additional funds from the Asia Foundation and other Foundations too. We have applied to the Government of India for a grant of Rs. 50,000/-, and we shall also approach the State Governments for financial assistance. In view of the great national importance of the Project, and the good beginning made on an all-India basis, we can surely expect the help and co-operation of the Government of India and of the State Governments.

Conclusion:

Before concluding the Annual Report, on behalf of the Institute of Historical Studies, September 12, 1964.
Calcutta-12.

S. P. SEN
Director.

I offer my sincere thanks to the Asia Foundation for their generous financial assistance and to the Universities which have offered us their kind co-operation, particularly in securing Research Fellowships from the University Grants Commission. I have also to thank the Press for their kind co-operation in giving full publicity to our work. I also take this opportunity to offer my thanks to the members of the Advisory Board, the Project Committee and the Zonal Committees and to all the members and well-wishers of the Institute for their kind and active interest.

IDEAS OF HISTORY IN ANCIENT INDIA

DR. BRATINDRA NATH MUKHERJEE

"There is no branch of knowledge which in course of intellectual evolution has exhibited more varied modalities and answered to more contradictory conceptions than has history. There is none which has had and continues to have more difficulty in discovering its distinctive status."¹

Different words in various languages of the world are considered to denote what is now meant by the term *history*. In India the earliest relevant term is '*Itihasa*' (*iti-ha-asa*), "so indeed it was".² This etymological derivation of the word *itihasa* includes within its connotation anything that was in existence in the past. The term *itihasa*, which is now synonymised with the word *history*, should then be concerned with all facts of the past.

The earliest known uses of the term *itihasa* do not suggest, however, that the users always followed the etymological meaning. The *Atharva-veda* refers to *itihasa*, but does not indicate its import.³ The *Nirukta* of Yaska describes the stories of Devapi and Samtanu,⁴ of Visvakarman Bhauvana,⁵ etc.⁶ as *itihasa*. At least a great majority of modern scholars will not accept these narrations as true. It may be argued, no doubt, that the ancient mind was much more prone to place implicit faith in stories and legends. Such an argument, however, cannot explain the statement of the *Satapatha Brahmana* that "since Prajapati himself smote asura with evil people say 'not true' is that regarding (the fight between) gods and asuras which is related partly in *Itihasa* and partly in *Purana*".⁷ For, if the early Indians always believed that *itihasa* was concerned only with facts, there was hardly any scope to question the genuineness of the account of the struggle between the gods and the asuras.

These and a few other earliest extant references to the term *itihasa* may tend to suggest that by the time to which these may be attributed the term concerned had already acquired a special sense and had begun to deal with accounts which could not strictly be described as true.

This inference is perhaps supported by a somewhat later source. Many fables, frame-stories and parables in the *Mahabharata* are called *itihisas*.⁸

It is interesting to note that the *Satapatha Brahmana*, the *Sankhayana Grihyasutra*, the *Asvalayana Grihyasutra*, etc. recommend the hearing of *itihisas* after the occurrence of a death or some heavy loss.⁹ These texts also speak of recitations of *itihasa-veda* on the occasion of the Asvamedha sacrifice.¹⁰ The *Chhandogya Upanishad* characterises *itihasa-purana*, probably meaning *itihasa* and *purana*, as constituting the fifth *veda*.¹¹ The *Sela sutta* of the *Suttanipata* also describes *itihasa* as the fifth *veda*.¹² Though it is difficult to accept the view of Geldner that there was a book called *Itihasa-veda* or *Itihasa-purana*,¹³ the above references certainly suggest the existence of a class of literature called *itihasa*.¹⁴

The exact scope and definition of this *itihasa* literature are difficult to ascertain. However, in the light of the above citations as well as that of the etymological meaning of the word *itihasa*, it may be inferred that the literature in question included facts as well as stories and legends and cycles of legends existing from earlier times.¹⁵ The persons concerned with the *itihasa* literature were probably known as *aitihasikas*, as indicated by Yaska in his *Nirukta*.¹⁶

There are numerous allusions to the usefulness and sacred character of this *itihasa* literature. The *Satapatha Brahmana* observes that the daily study of *itihasa* "satisfies gods with honey offerings."¹⁷ We have already referred to the instructions regarding recitations from *Itihasa-veda* during the Asvamedha. The fact, as noted above, that *itihasa* was given the status of a *veda* amply testifies to its sacred character.

The next important stage in the evolution of the concept of *itihasa* may perhaps be traced in the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya which, it is generally held, reflects a picture of the Maurya age. It describes *itihasa* as *purana*, *itivritta*, *akhyayika*, *dharmasastra* and *arthashastra*.¹⁸

Purana is a wellknown class of literature, the origin of which is traced by Dr. R. C. Hajra to the *Pariplava akhyanas*.¹⁹ The five topics which every *Purana* is supposed to discuss are *sarga*, *pratisarga*, *vamsa*, *manvantara* and *vamsanucharita* or *vamsanukirtana*.²⁰ Of these, the last (*vamsanucharita* or *vamsanukirtana*) furnishes lists of the kings of the Solar and Lunar races and has a rudimentary appearance of a scheme which we call political history and chronology in modern times. The close relationship from early times between the words *itihasa* and *purana* is implied by the occurrence of the expression *itihasa-purana* in several texts of the Vedic literature. It must be noted, however, that the word *purana* literally means 'old' and hence *purana* of the term *itihasa-purana* may refer to old stories or legends or anecdotes. *Itivritta* literally means occurrence or event, *udaharana* denotes example and *akhyayika* short narrative or ballad.

Thus *itihasa*, according to Kautilya, embraces chronicles of events and persons, stories and legends; and also the political, social, religious and economic set-up, as indicated by the expressions *dharmasastra* and *arthashastra*, is included within the scope of *itihasa*. Kautilya also emphasises the sacred character of *itihasa* when he calls it a *veda* and mentions it together with the four *vedas*.²¹ Further, he was aware of

the usefulness of learning *itihasa*. He prescribes that king should learn *itihasa* in the latter part of the day,²² and enjoins that when a king is under the influence of the *mukhyas* an *amatya* should make him understand *arthashastra* (science of polity) with the help of *itihasa* and *purana*.²³

The didactic character of *itihasa* is emphasised by the Great Epic, the extant form of which was achieved between c. 400 B.C. and A.D. 400.²⁴ According to one of the definitions of *itihasa* in the *Mahabharata*, it means 'past events accompanied by, or arranged in the form of, stories conveying instructions in *dharma*, *artha*, *kama* and *moksha*, i.e. moral code, social and political behaviour, pursuit of desire and salvation respectively.'²⁵ The *Mahabharata*, in its present form, conforms to a great extent to this definition of *itihasa*. In fact, the *Bharata* is indicated as the best among the *itihases*.²⁶

We may digress here for a moment to point out that the *Gatha Narasamsis* of the Vedic literature, which are considered to mark the beginning of epic poetry in India, eulogise the past acts and events in the lives of great men and kings. These *gathas* may thus be associated with the very rudimentary concept of what was understood as *itihasa* by Kautilya. This incidentally confirms the claim of the Great Epic to be classed as an *itihasa*.²⁷

Another epic definition of *itihasa* describes it, *inter alia*, as *devarshicharitasraya* i.e. based on the lives of gods and sages.²⁸ Another passage in the *Mahabharata* speaks of *itihasa* as *puratana* or old.²⁹ It is also described as a *veda*.³⁰ Further, the *Mahabharata* is quite explicit about the usefulness of studying *itihasa* when it states that by the aid of *itihasa* and *purana* the *veda* may be expounded.³¹

Manu considers *itihasa* as the title of a sacred class of literature.³² The *Tajnavalkya Smriti* observes that he who repeats, among other things, *itihasa* satiates the inhabitants of the skies with flesh, milk, rice and honey, and also the fathers.³³

From the above, the emphasis on the sacred character of *itihasa* cannot be doubted. At the same time there was the comprehensive concept of *itihasa*, as defined by Kautilya. Both these notions held the ground, at least in certain quarters, down to the early mediaeval time. Dr. R.C. Majumdar has pointed out³⁴ that the Jaina *Adipurana* by Jinasena, who belonged to the ninth century A.D., states that "*itihasa* is a very desirable subject (for study). According to tradition it relates 'what actually happened'. It is also called *itivritta*, *aitihya*, *amnaya* (or authentic tradition). It is also called *arsha*, for it was composed by the *rishis*, *sukta* for it instructs through good and pleasant discourses, and *dharmasastra* for it describes *dharma* (religious or moral code).'³⁵

The *Amarakosha*, the celebrated lexicographical text, synonymises *itihasa* with *puravritta*, i.e. past events.³⁶ Kalhana, the author of the *Rajatarangini*, describes his task as that of giving a connected account 'where the narrative of the past events (*bhutartha-varnana*) had become fragmentary in many respects'.³⁷ According to him 'he alone is praiseworthy and meritorious whose word, like that of a judge, keeps free from love and hatred in relating the facts of the past (*bhutartha-kathana*)'.³⁸ To accomplish his task, Kalhana assessed the relative merits of the earlier treatises like those of Suvrata, Kshemendra, Chhabillakara and Helaraja and also of the *Nilamata*.³⁹ He also utilised the archaeological sources, like inscriptions, in writing his history.⁴⁰

This critical attitude of Kalhana to the art of writing history and also the method adopted by him in doing so have almost a near-modern appearance. He had drawbacks, no doubt. His belief in the theory of *yugas*, in the power of fate, in divine retribution, etc. marred the value of his work to a certain extent. His narrative in the first three books of his work is also not always above criticism. In spite of these, it must be conceded that no work in early and early mediaeval India, other than the *Rajatarangini*, approaches anywhere near the modern form of a treatise on *itihasa*. Indeed, modern Indian

historiography streamed out of the 'Stream of Kings.'

No doubt, we had primitive historiographers in *Sutas*, the *Pauranikas*, and also in *Magadhas*, the genealogists.⁴¹ It is also true that the *rajavamsanucharita* section of the *puranas* furnishes us with lists of kings. The epigraphic *prasastis* and also the historical biographies deal with acts of the heroes concerned, and hence may be termed as *itihases*. The *Prabandhachintamani* explicitly states that the work was composed out of the life-histories of men of the recent past.⁴² Its author also claims to have consulted the writings of different persons on the same topics and to have selected the best views.⁴³

A critical analysis of the contents of these and other relevant works betrays, however, their biased attitude and a lack of critical sense of judgment. No Indian writer of early and early mediaeval times, excepting perhaps Kalhana, had displayed the proper critical sense and impartial attitude required for relating past events. It is needless to say that here we do not take into account the works of Suvrata, Chhabillakara, etc. which are not extant.

The above survey indicates different stages in the evolution of the concept of the term *itihasa*. This is not to be surprised at. In other parts of the ancient world we have similar instances of changes in the conception of the art of narrating the past.

The Greek word *istoria* originally meant research, exploration or information.⁴⁴ Later on it had the connotation of the results of research, a verbal or written account.⁴⁵ Through the Latin *historia* it passed into other languages.⁴⁶ In contrast to this Graeco-Latin word there is the Germanic word *geschichte* which comes from *geschehen* ('to take place', 'to happen').⁴⁷ In the seventeenth century the word began to denote a collection of data and in the nineteenth century German historians began to designate by this term a collection of facts and their evolution.⁴⁸

Different countries and different ages have evolved different notions regarding the mode of writing events of the past. The authors of the notices of the exploits of the Egyptian Pharaohs and those of the Assyrian annals were prompted to record the past in order to glorify the rulers concerned.⁴⁹ Manetho, a hellenised Egyptian of the third century B.C., and Berossos, a Babylonian of the same century, displayed far more unbiased judgment in recording the events of the past.⁵⁰ This is, no doubt, a new attitude resulting from an advanced historical sense, perhaps a Greek contribution.

In Greece itself the system of recording past events originated with the writings of the Logographoi,⁵¹ the most important of whom was Hecataeus.⁵² In such writings the distinction between legend and history is not always clear. Historiography in the modern sense may be said to have begun with Herodotus who has left us a survey of the world in which the Persian wars were fought, and of the nations that fought, along with records of the various traditions and of political and social ideas which may be considered important even by modern social historians.⁵³ In contrast Thucydides displayed almost a morose interest in chronology.⁵⁴

In China there was an established custom from very early times of writing chronicles of past events by chroniclers appointed in different courts. But the Chinese ideas of recording the past were not comprehensive till the time of Ssu-ma-Ch'ien, who judged the events of the past from various angles. He not only dealt with the biographies of kings and important men and families, but also spoke about the Confucian scholars, money-makers, the sacrifices and many other items of social and political import.⁵⁵

The term *itihāsa*, as analysed above in its different significations, may also indicate distinct transformations of the concept in different ages. The primitive concept made way for the more advanced one and certain definitions of the term given in a number of works are as comprehen-

sive as to approach nearly the modern concept of historiography. A basic time sense is again inherent in the connotation of the term *itihāsa*, and ancient Indian authors of the works classed as *itihāsa* were also conscious of this. The question may hence be asked why India did not produce any historical literature which may satisfy the modern comprehensive concept of historiography.

It has to be borne in mind that the practice of recording the past events began in India at a comparatively late date. Knowledge of the distant past was handed down orally from generation to generation and memorised, as the terms *śruti* and *smṛiti*, applied to two of the earliest forms of Indian literature, would suggest. This primitive system of transmission had its drawbacks and could not ensure either the authentic preservation of the knowledge of the past events or its correct presentation through records compiled long after.

Again, as shown above, the term *itihāsa* acquired from a comparatively early date a sacred character, as against the profane and secular. This position might also have tended to the facts constituting *itihāsa* being padded with an enormous mass of sacred legends. This sacred and religious bias might have hampered the growth of an *itihāsa* literature in the modern sense of the term. The system of defective mode of transmission and the predominantly sacred and religious bias might explain hence the paucity or absence of critical historical literature in ancient India and also the apparent confusions and distortions in regard to genealogies and chronologies that we find embedded in the sacred literature.

We should not, however, conclude without giving credit to the Early Indians for evolving in the hoary past the term *itihāsa*, the etymological meaning of which can still measure the ever widening horizon of history. The word *itihāsa* itself seems to be Early India's greatest contribution to the world of historical studies.

NOTES

1. *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. VI-VII, p. 354.
2. M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s. 165.
3. *Atharvaveda*, XV, 6, 4.
4. *Nirukta*, 2, 10.
5. *Ibid.*, 10, 26.
6. See also *ibid.*, 2, 24; 9, 23 and 10, 26.
7. *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XI, 1, 6, 9.
8. *Mahābhārata*, XIII, 113; See also M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 404-407.
9. *Sp. Br.*, XIII, XIII, 4, 3; *Sau. Gr.*, 1, 22, 11; *As. Gr.*, 1, 14, 6; IV, 6.
10. *Sp. Br.*, XIII, 4, 6, 12.
11. *Chhāndogyaopanishad*, VII, 11, 4, VIII, 1, 7; VII, 1, 2 etc.
12. *Sattaniṣāta*, *Mahāvagga*, 7.
13. K. F. Geldner, *Vedische Studien I*, p. 290 f.
14. See also M. Winternitz, *op.cit.* p. 313.
15. According to the *Mbh.*, the *Purāṇas* and *Itihāsas* were formed by Vyasa and named after three divisions of time, past, present and future (*Mbh.*, I, 1). The *Vāyu Purāṇa* states that Dvaipayana taught one of his disciples the *Itihāsa-purāṇa* (ch. 60, v. 16) (See p. 342 of the Vangavasi edition).
16. *Nirukta*, 12, 10.
17. *Sp. Br.*, XI, 5, 6, 8.
18. *Arthavāstra*, Book I, Ch. V.
19. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, vol. XXXVI, p. 190C.
20. M. Monier-Williams, *Indian Wisdom*, p. 491.
21. *Arthavāstra*, III, 1.
22. *Ibid.*, V, 2.
23. *Ibid.*, VI, 96.
24. M. Winternitz, *op.cit.* p.
25. V. S. Apte, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 382.
26. *Mbh.*, I, 1.
27. See n. 25.
28. See n. 25.
29. *Mbh.*, III, 1029.
30. *Mbh.*, XII, 1860; VII, 1498 etc.
31. *Ibid.*, I, 1.
32. *Mamasāṇḍita*, III, 232.
33. *Tājñavalkya smṛiti*, 1, 45, 46.
34. C. H. Philips (editor), *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, pp. 14-15.
35. *Adipurāṇa*, 1, 25.
36. *Amarakośa*, *sarvadivarga*.
37. *Rajtarangini*, book I.
38. *Ibid.*, book I.
39. *Ibid.*, book I.
40. *Ibid.*, book I.
41. See C. H. Philips (editor), *op.cit.*, p. 15f.
42. C. H. Fawcney, *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, (translation), p. 2.
43. D. Sastri (editor), *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, p. 1.
44. H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Dictionary*, p. 842.
45. *ESS*, vol. VI-VIII, p. 357.
46. *Ibid.*: C. T. Lewis and C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, (1962), p. 858.
47. *ESS*, vol. VI-VII, p. 357.
48. *Ibid.*
49. See also *ibid.*, p. 368.
50. See also *ibid.*
51. M. Cary et al, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, (1961), p. 432.
52. *Ibid.*
53. See *The History of Herodotus*.
54. See *The History of the War Between Athens and Sparta* by Thucydides.
55. See the *Shih-chi* of Ssu-ma Ch'ien: see also B. Watson, *Records of the Historians of China*, vol. I, p. 4.

IDEAS OF HISTORY IN MEDIAEVAL INDIA

DR. JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR

Introduction

I am thankful to Dr. S. P. Sen, the Director of the Institute of Historical Studies, for giving me an opportunity to participate in the annual symposium of the Institute on 'Ideas of History'.¹ Ancient India is usually associated with idealism, tolerance, liberalism and cultural assimilation, and Mediaeval India with intolerance, orthodoxy, bloodshed and horrors. So after the eloquent speech of my predecessor on Ancient India, I am afraid, I might be dragging you down from its lofty heights and bracing climate to the deep hollow, the mighty concave and the sultry heat of the Middle Ages in India and transporting you from the charmed world of classical literature to the obscure theology and inscrutable divine ordination of the mediaevalists. But perhaps such a view of history is unhistorical. Mediaeval history in India, as in Europe, has often been distorted and perverted by sentiment and prejudice. Many of the streams of our modern life, good or bad, have flowed from the Middle Ages. "The roots of our modern society lie deep in the Middle Ages. What we are, we are in a large measure because of the Middle Ages. The Middle Ages live in us; they are alive all around us" (M. Paul Viollet). Human history has to be understood.² It is necessary to shed off prejudices and one-sided interpretations and to know the ideas of the historians of mediaeval India.

In the post-graduate and honours classes of most of our Indian universities, we study and teach political and economic theories, history of political and economic thought, history of literature and history of philosophy. But we do not study or teach history of historical thought.

We are practically in the dark about history of History. We come into close touch with the master minds of the world through the ages in the fields of political and economic thought, literature and philosophy. But we know very little about the ideas of history of historians of the world from Herodotus, the father of History, to our own day, about the varieties of History and the changing concepts of History in different epochs. Far less do we know of the ideas of History and currents of historical thought, if any, in different periods of Indian History. An attempt has been made here to study the ideas of History in mediaeval India, in the background of the accepted meaning and interpretation of History in modern times, and of mediaeval Islamic historiography. This will be a great help to us in having a better and clearer perspective of mediaeval Indian history.

The word 'history' is derived from the Greek word 'historia' which means learning by inquiry or investigation. Ideas on history have changed from age to age, from country to country and at times from writer to writer. It is a far cry from the theocratic and mythical conception of history in Mesopotamia (c. 2500 B.C.) to the scientific, humanistic, rational, self-revelatory and interpretative history of 20th century A.D. History is scientific, because it is a kind of research or inquiry, answering of questions. It is humanistic, being concerned with exploits performed or actions of human beings in the past. It is rational, because it proceeds by interpretation of evidence. It is self-revelatory, because the object of history is human self-knowledge—it teaches what man is

and what man has done.³ Man is eager to know everything. He is eager to know himself,—not only his physical nature but also his mind. History is the re-enactment of past experience.⁴ The results of the enquiry must be told in a manner that appeals to men. It must be readable. Hence it cannot altogether be dissociated from literature and philosophy. Here comes the question of style.⁵ Further, history is no longer regarded as the story of kings or ministers, of wars and bloodshed, but has to be a story of the people, of the workings of their mind and manus, of their weal and woe. History must not be merely political history. It has to be scientific and critical,—interpretative of the society and culture of the people.

Dichotomy in Mediaeval Indian History

How does Mediaeval India (c. 1000-1757) stand when judged by these tests? What was the idea of History then? What was the attitude of Indians to History in general and Indian History in particular during this period?

1. Hindu history—its characteristics and ramifications.

Mediaeval Indian historiography was not wholly a continuation of ancient Indian conceptions of History, as mediaeval European history was in a way a continuation of Hellenistic and Roman historiography.⁶ The advent of the Muslims and the establishment of Turkish rule in India constituted a seminal age in Indian history. There was a dichotomy in mediaeval Indian historiography, corresponding to the social dichotomy of the period. For one thing, so far as the Hindus were concerned, there was the continuation of the earlier Hindu conception of *Itihasa* in the widest sense.⁷

But the Hindu period suffered from paucity of professed histories. Archives and genealogies of rulers might have been maintained in every important Hindu court. But Kashmir is the only area of India with a tradition of historical writing. The Kashmir historian, Kalhana, the author of *Rajatarangini* (1148-9 A.D.), stands

alone among Indian historians, ancient and mediaeval, and notwithstanding some defects, occupies an honoured place among the front-rank historians of ancient and mediaeval ages in the world. As Dr. R. C. Majumdar aptly remarks: "Both in the theory and in its practical application, Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* shows the high water-mark of historical knowledge reached by the ancient Hindus".⁸ But the standard set by Kalhana was not reached by any other Hindu historian of the mediaeval period, just as the lines chalked out by Ibn Khaldun do not appear to have been worked out by any other Arabic writer.

(a) *Rajput bardic literature*: Indian bardic literature goes back to antiquity and is based on oral tradition and records, written in Dingala (a form of archaic Rajasthani) and Pingala (Brajabhasa), and maintained by professional bards and genealogists. The bards, who were generally eye-witnesses of the deeds of their patrons, preserved their genealogical records and passed them to their own sons and the chain continued in the family. According to Tassitori, who undertook a systematic survey of this literature (1914-19) neither Forbes nor Tod undertook any critical analysis of their sources, which must be divided into two broad categories, bardic poetry and prose chronicles. Bardic poetry includes historical poems and commemorative songs of Charans and Bhats. The prose chronicles were subdivided into chronicles proper (*Khyāta*) and genealogies (*Pidhiyavali*). These were not produced by bards, but by trained officials and genealogists respectively.

Rajput ballads: Though conscious of their defects, Tod had to rely mainly on the bardic chronicles of Rajasthan written in the form of ballads or 'heroic poems', because of the absence of better materials and because sometimes these supply valuable information: "the works of the native bard afford many valuable data, in facts, incidents, religious opinions, and traits of manners; many of which, being carelessly introduced, are thence to be regarded as the least suspicious kind of historical evidence. These, however, had their characteristic limitations, containing

much that is merely poetical effusions; (i) their fidelity is "somewhat impaired" because there was a "sort of compact or understanding between the bard and the prince, a barter of solid pudding against empty praise"; (ii) these are "confined almost exclusively to the martial exploits of the heroes and to the *rang-ran-bhum* or field of slaughter. Writing for the amusement of a war-like race, the authors disregard civil matters and the arts and pursuits of peaceful life; love and war are their favourite themes". (iii) "the bard enters too deeply into the intrigues as well as the levities of the court, to be qualified to pronounce a sober judgement upon its acts". (Tod). Apart from heroic poems, there were *Raesas* or poetical legends of princes ...local Puranas, religious comments, and traditional couplets..." According to S.C. Dutt, "The quasi-historical poems and commemorative songs of the *charanas* rather magnify, as they are expected to do, the achievements of the princes and the people have left few spokesmen".

Prose chronicles: The genealogies contain history of names without dates, are as old as the Puranas and are largely correct, if not of fabulous antiquity. The *Khyāta* or chronicles proper constituted the history of a state in chronological order, growing up about the end of the 16th century, the impulse coming from Akbar. Thus contact with the Mughals taught the Rajputs the art of writing comprehensive historical chronicles. These objective narratives were written by trained officials. Muhtot Nainsi compiled his *Khyāta* during 1650-66 A.D. Though not strictly historical, it is an embodiment of much information gleaned from documents (from khyatas of bards, traditions and *vamsavalis*) in old Marwari and Dingal, preserved in the state archives of Rajputana for nearly two centuries at least. Here falsehood is mixed up with genuine historical matter. "Nainsi does not exaggerate or minimise; he is a truthful recorder of events and, therefore, his work despite its defects has much historical value". During the 18th and 19th centuries a change came as the Rajput princes had poetic chronicles

written. It was on these that Tod, unaware of the real chronicles, depended.

The bardic literature contains much historical material but does not constitute history. According to Forbes, it is accurate for social conditions but defective for chronology. Professor Haimendorf has summed up the historical value of this literature: "While it is doubtful whether a study of bardic literature, whether recorded in writing or handed down by oral tradition, could throw very much new light on the political history of India, it is probable that this literature, only small parts of which have become known in the West, will be found to constitute a valuable repository of information on the cultural history of feudal times".⁹

(b) *Ahom and Assamese Buranjis*: The Buranjis primarily deal with the reigns of Ahom kings for 600 years (1226-1826) with occasional glimpses of Shan rulers and princes prior to their advent to Assam. But there are also chronicles of other countries and powers with whom they came into contact. According to Dr. S.K. Bhuyan, the existence of such chronicles has helped "to remove the blot in the escutcheon of India's cultural heritage occasioned by absence of direct historical literature."

These were written originally in Ahom, the language of the rulers, but subsequently, in Assamese (which became the court language). A knowledge of the Buranjis was considered to be an indispensable part of education and culture. Compiled under orders of kings and of state dignitaries, these were based on state documents—"the periodic reports transmitted to the court by military commanders and frontier governors, diplomatic epistles sent to and received from foreign rulers and allies, judicial and revenue papers submitted to the kings and ministers for their final orders and the day to day annals of the court which incorporated all the transactions done, important utterances made, and significant occurrences reported by reliable eye-witnesses."

The author of the Buranji of Bahgaria Atan Buragohain, Prime Minister of Assam (1662-79), asked his readers to treat it as a very "secret document" as its contents relate to the "mysteries of sovereigns". King Siva Singha (1717-44) ordered Manohar Bailing Phukan "that the histories of his predecessors should be compiled, the succession of Ahom monarchs mentioned in detail, and the book called *Roopoot*; that the history should only contain the names and transactions of the Swargadeos."¹⁰

(c) *Maratha Bakhars*: While the Peshwa period of Maratha history (1707-1802) is illuminated by 'a vast and varied mass of contemporary documents in English, Persian and Marathi,' the royal period (1660-1700) suffers from 'an utter lack of state papers, detailed official histories, personal memoirs and public letters such as are plentiful in the case of Mughal history.' Though there are nine *Bakhars* or chronicles of Shivaji, there are "no contemporary records of a truly historical nature" in Marathi for the Royal period. What exist are in the English, Persian, Portuguese and Rajasthani languages. The first Marathi narrative of Shivaji's career was completed by his official chronicler and recorder, Waqnis, about 1685. But the original text was lost. What remains of it are extracts made therefrom about a generation later which contain many interpolations and it is popularly called 91 *Qalmi Bakhar* (narrative in 91 Sections). The *Sabhasad Bakhar* written at Rajaram's request at Jinji (1697) by Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad, one of his officers, is "the first in date and importance...the only work that can claim to be contemporary" (Sen). It is "the earliest Marathi account of Shivaji preserved intact" and "is free from many of the legends and supernatural elements which bring discredit to the 91 *Qalmi Bakhar* and its author gives evidence of a higher intellect than Malkare's. But even the *Sabhasad Bakhar*, though written by a contemporary of Shivaji, is not based on state-papers and written notes...is entirely derived from his memory—the half-obiterated memory of an old man who had

passed through many privations and hardships." Nevertheless "Sabhasad is still the most valuable Maratha account of Shivaji and our main source of information from the Maratha side" (Sarkar).

The *Chitnis Bakhar* by Malhar Ram Rao Chitnis sometimes gives additional details (of doubtful value) and its account of the administrative system is more detailed than Sabhasad. But its introduction was evidently an interpolation. He wrote 130 years after Shivaji's death and had "no independent source of information."

The 'most voluminous Bakhar' is *Siva-digvijaya*, in which some modern Marathi writers place considerable trust. Neither Dr. S.N. Sen nor Sir J.N. Sarkar regards it as a modern work and accepts its alleged authorship and date. Sir J.N. Sarkar has categorised it as one of the later biographies or "bogus bakhars," which "mostly copies this Sabhasad Bakhar and padded it out with Sanskrit quotations, miracles, rhetorical flourishes, commonplace remarks, and details imagined from the probabilities of the case, and in some cases also forged letters." (Sarkar).

Besides the Bakhars, there are some contemporary Sanskrit laudatory poems about Shivaji, about the value of which scholars differ. Sir J.N. Sarkar writes that "only two of them are of historical value...the rest are worthless". Among the latter he places *Shiva-Bharat* by Shivaji's court-poet, Paramananda, and characterises it as "merely a laudatory poem written by a court flatterer," as the author "beats Abul Fazl hollow in the exaggerated praise of his patron" and "ascribes supernatural feats to his hero". The view held by Patwardhan and Rawlinson about it is more moderate. They take for granted that it was a poem by a courtier, prone to exaggerate the smallest exploit of his patron. But they give a very high place to it, as "the historical framework which remains is found to be remarkably accurate, confirmed, as it is, at places, by contemporary records,

Maratha or English—there is here none of that confusion of chronological sequence, which one finds even in the best of the Bakhars".¹¹

We may thus conclude that neither the bardic literature of Rajputana, the ballads, the heroic poems, and the *Raesas* (or poetical legends of princes) on which Tod relied, the Khyats (or comprehensive historical chronicles) of mediaeval Rajasthan, nor the Ahom and Assamese Buranjis (or chronicles) of Assam (1226-1826), nor the Maratha Bakhars, nor the Sikh sources and Sakhi Books can strictly be regarded as histories proper, though they constitute evidence for historical purposes and fall within the range of annalistic or quasi-historical literature. Weak in content these were also generally weaker in chronology. Nor was the science of historical criticism known to the mediaeval Rajput bards and the writers of the Ahom Buranjis and the Maratha Bakhars. Generally speaking, they were incapable of sifting evidence and overcredulous of divine and non-human agencies, they recorded what they heard or believed to be true—to please the patron, or amuse the people. These limitations make these works unsuitable for political history. Further, modern ideas of social or economic history were unknown to the mediaeval Indian Hindu chroniclers.

But these Hindu historical or quasi-historical literature and non-Muslim works on literature, theology etc. possess a value of a different kind. In the first place, they contain valuable data for the social and cultural historian. In the second place, they serve as a check on and sometimes as a supplement to Muslim chronicles and give incidental references on social aspects of the age.¹²

2. Muslim History

With the advent of the Muslims in India a new element was added to Hindu historical literature. Muslim historiography was, indeed, a novel gift of the Turks to contemporary Indian culture. 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 is in striking contrast to their paucity in the earlier period. Moreover, with its extensive and varied character (histories, biographies and letters etc.) and its accurate chronology, it set a model for Hindu rulers and writers to follow.¹⁴ Again mediaeval Indo-Moslem historiography reflected mainly two distinct traditions of history writing, Arab and Persian. So in order to understand its nature it is necessary to review the growth and analyse the characteristics of historical learning in Islam.¹⁵

(a) *Historiography in Islam—its characteristics & ramifications.* The study of Muslim historiography (*Ilm Al Ta'rikh*) is both instructive and inspiring as an aspect of world's intellectual history. The Arabic word 'Ta'rikh' means history in general, annals, chronicles as well as era, computation and date.¹⁶ The place of history in Arab learning is well summed up by Joseph Hell as follows: "The intellectual activities of the Arabs group themselves into two main divisions: activities evoked by the predilections of the Arab nation; e.g., theology, jurisprudence, philology and history, and activities evoked by an instinctive human desire for knowledge; e.g., philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, astrology, medicine, natural sciences, geography...".

The Arabs of pre-Islamic times cultivated four chief studies,—genealogies, history, interpretation of dreams and the science of stars. But it was with the birth of Islam that the history of the Arabs and the proper history of Arabic literature began. In fact history writing became one of the earliest disciplines pursued by the Arabs after the rise of Islam. Arabic history developed naturally out of the needs of the times and independently of Greek and Persian histories and even of pre-Islamic Arabic chronicles. Its sources were pre-Islamic (oral) stories; (oral) Traditions about the Prophet and his companions, genealogical lists (used as army rolls), poetical compositions (including

ballads), the Quran and other theological works. It is thus clear that the Arabs brought to bear inexhaustible industry in this task. While Greek influence inspired Arabic medicine and philosophy, historiography followed the Persian example. Historical learning began under the Umayyads. Historical science was derived from tradition (*hadith*) and the philologists. It started with the life of the Prophet and as a commentary on the Quran (with poetry as its vehicle). In fact the Arabs devoted themselves to the branches of learning inspired by religious motives. Islam liquidated the past and the Quran was the only Book to be, just as the French Revolution, in ushering a new age in Europe, liquidated the past in France (Margoliouth).¹⁷

The literary period of Arabic began with the foundation of Baghdad. The earliest works written in the Abbasid period, which have been preserved, included the following categories of works:

- (i) biographies (*Sirah*): It was at the instance of Caliph Mansur that Ibn Ishaq of Medina (d. 767) wrote the biography of the Prophet, which is not only the "oldest biography", but also "the oldest historical work". Though the original is lost it has survived in the recension of Ibn Hisham (d. 834). Biographical materials were collected for purposes of *hadith* criticism.
- (ii) Books of wars and conquests (*maghazi*): The wars and conquests were treated by Musa ibn Uqbah (d. 758), Al Waqidi of Medina (747-823), the Egyptian ibn Abd al Hakam (d. 870-71) and the Arabic-writing Persian al-Baladhuri (d.c. 892). Baladhuri was "a most valuable authority for military history of Saracens", for he synthesised different stories of conquests in his comprehensive work *Futuh al Buldan*.
- (iii) genealogies (*ansab*):
- (iv) classified sketches (*tabaqat*) of traditionists, poets etc. The first notable book of

classified biographies (lives of the Prophet, Companions and their successors) was written by Ibn Sad (d. 845), Secretary of Al Waqidi¹⁸.

The third century A.H. (9th century A.D.) proved to be a most fertile period of Arabic literature, which witnessed the simultaneous development of Tradition, Law, Exegesis and History. About this time history had grown into favour among the Muslims. The conception of history also changed. History was to be written not merely from the religious point of view. A new kind of historical literature was needed to explore new spheres of knowledge, to bring in non-Muslim nations, and to make history popular. Thus arose *Universal Compendiums*. Among the first formal historians were Iranians: (i) Ibn Qutayba (properly Muhammad ibn Muslim al Dinawari, d. 889) who wrote *Kitab al Maarif*. (ii) Abu Hanifah Ahmad ibn Dawud al Dinawari (d. 895), whose chief work (*al Akhbar al-Tiwal*) was a universal history from the Persian point of view. (iii) Ibn Wadhih al Yaqubi, geographer as well as historian, who wrote a compendium of universal history, 872 A.D. Gradually the time became ripe for "formal historical composition" (based on legends, traditions, biographies, genealogies and narratives) in chronological order, and based on the Persian example. The *Ta'rikh* (annals) of Al-Tabari (838-923) constituted the first universal history.

After al-Tabari the greatest historian of Islam was al Masudi (d.c. 956) described as the 'Herodotus of the Arabs' and "distinguished for his catholicity of interest and international outlook". His work (*Muruj*) is a veritable encyclopaedia and "attests the largeness of his historical vision, which takes in, within its compass, not merely military history, but also literature, religion and culture in general". (Khuda Bukhsh). "In this encyclopaedic historico-geographical work", writes Prof. Hitti, "the author with catholicity and truly scientific curiosity carried his researches beyond the typically Muslim subjects into Indo-Persian,

Roman and Jewish history and religion...He summarised his philosophy of history and nature and the current philosopher's views on the gradation between minerals, plants and animals in a work, comparable to Pliny's." Indeed here Masudi combines 'instruction and amusement'.¹⁹

Arabic historical literature reached its highest point in Tabari and Masudi (fourth century A.H.=10th c. A.D.). With the rise of the Buwaihids and especially after Miskawayh (1030) it declined with ibn al-Athir (d. 1234) and abu-al Fida (1273-1331).²⁰

But the Arabs did not achieve much success in producing historical epics. "Where the Arabs failed the Persians succeeded. Persian literature, in addition to great lyrical accomplishments, attained to outstanding mastery of epical narrative. The Persian was interested in and knew how to present action. History, romance, and mysticism yielded subject matter for elaborate storytelling...The eleventh century added the romantic to the historical and the twelfth the mystic—didactic epic to the two earlier genres." (Grunebaum).²¹

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 according to certain accepted principles of ensuring accuracy. 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 equating it with the history of the age; he tended to become a courtly flatterer of his royal patron.²²

The divergence between Arabic and Persian historiography which was a matter of slow growth, widened from the 12th century A.D. The revival of Persian as a literary medium had begun under the Persian dynasties of the 10th century A.D. As Grunebaum says: "The Samanid century had created the language which

Firdausi perfected and canonized; it had cultivated a sober and balanced taste in literary expression—jejeune but graceful, fond of movement but careful of the bizarre, artful without artificiality..." Further, "Firdausi's success is primarily due to his tact in collecting and selecting. The sense of relevance was in tune with contemporary judgment. The very uncertainties of his attitude toward history must have helped to make his presentation universally acceptable..."²³

The period of the later Abbasides and the Crusades, which was not productive of great histories, was represented by Ibn 'Asakir (1105-76), Yaqut (c. 1175-1229) and Ibn Khallikan (1211-'82), all of whom wrote on biographies and biographical dictionaries. In the Mamluk period (1250-1517) while Ibn Taghri Birdi (1411-69) adopted the traditional methodology, al Maqrizi (1364-1442) struck a new line.²⁴ But the Arab historical works never attained to the loftier conception of history (Hell, 92) except in the work of the North African, Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406) who first formulated a comprehensive philosophy of Muslim history and laid down scientific principles of historiography. Curiously his own work (*Kitab al 'Ibar*) does not illustrate these scientific principles. At it treats the dynasties separately, there are repetitions. But it possesses 'unique value for the records of African affairs'. It is a dry and bare narrative of facts. His influence on succeeding Arabic historians was not much, none working on his lines.²⁵

To sum up, Muslim historiography started with Ibn Hisham, a contemporary of Mansur and culminated with Ibn Khaldun, a contemporary of Timur. Between them lay 'an apostolic succession'.²⁶

(b) *Nature and value of Arab histories*: The nature and value of Arab histories has thus been assessed by Prof. Margoliouth in the following observations: "Gibbon's assertion²⁷ that the Arabic historian is either the dry chronicler or the flowery orator becomes true

after Miskawaihi's time, but not before. It would not be true of Tabari, Masudi or Miskawaihi...In the vast range of universal, dynastic, regional and local chronicles which we possess there is of course great variety displayed in all the qualities which can enter into historical writing of any sort: accuracy, impartiality, discrimination, power of arresting the reader's attention and maintaining his interest... Of many Arabic historians it may be said that either their work is too mechanical, being the reproduction or possibly abridgement of texts or narratives which were before them, or if time was devoted to the composition, it had been employed in literary artifices which would disappear in translation, and so might be said to affect the externals rather than the essence of the narrative. There is of course one notable exception to this: the work of Ibn Khaldun".

"In quantity and variety the Arabic historical composition was certainly not inferior to that of Greece, having indeed a far larger area to cover; and if it exhibits few works which display brilliant intellectual ability or which are likely to acquire any wide popularity in translation, we must set in compensation of this the earnest desire which so many of the historians display to ascertain and record the exact truth and to refrain from distorting it with fanaticism or partisanship."²⁸

(c) *Conception of History*: What was the Arabic historian's conception of the meaning of History? Though opinions differed as to how history should be written, all were unanimous that it was a record of events, which were chiefly though not exclusively the sayings and doings of man. These were classified according to three principles—

- (i) That of amount covered in space and time led to the distinction between universal histories and particular histories.
- (ii) The second principle, of persons participating in the events, resulted in the production of biographies (Sovereigns,

Wazirs and eminent persons) though the line of distinction with history was faint.

- (iii) The third principle was to treat events as such e.g. early history of Islam. Greek literature had parallels to all these forms of history.

From the point of view of evolution, the writers first composed history of Islam (the Prophet and the Arabian antiquity) and then passed on to universal histories. But there were sectional works (biographies, parties and religions, sects and towns).²⁹

(d) *Forms and stages*: Muslim historiography embraced both biography and annals, but not literary history as a rule. It passed through various forms and stages:

- (i) *Tradition*: It started in the form of tradition (*hadith*) under the Umayyads. (661-750 A.D.).
- (ii) *Monograph*: It was the typical form down to the end of the 9th century (c.750-892 A.D.). Ibn Ishaq wrote on biographies of the Prophet, al Waqidi and al Baladhuri on history of wars of conquest, and Ibn Sad on classified biographies.
- (iii) *Chronological presentation*: For the first 200 years up to the end of the 9th century A.D. the treatment of history conformed to the stereotyped religious tradition. But with Tabari (10th c. A.D.) "the idea of chronological collection of events developed into a plan of complete series of annals" (Hitti). Events were grouped under a year. This annalistic method was adopted by others after Tabari, chief of whom was Miskawayh (d. 1030). The traditionist grew to be a chronicler.
- (iv) *Topical method*: The encyclopaedic Masudi (d.c. 956) introduced a new method, by grouping events around kings, dynasties and topics instead of around years. It was followed by Ibn

Khaldun and others, but it was not as favoured as Tabari's annalistic method.

- (v) *Topographical*: Al Maqrizi (1364-1442) did not follow the traditional methods of historiography but emphasized the topography and antiquities of Cairo.
- (vi) *Scientific*: "As regards the science or philosophy of history, Arabic literature was adorned by one most brilliant name. Neither the classical nor the mediaeval Christian world can show one of nearly the same brightness" (Flint). In fact the principles of writing scientific history were first laid down among the Muslims by Abdur Rahman Ibn Muhammad Ibn Khaldun al Hadrami of Tunis (1332-1406). He was "a historian, politician, sociologist, economist, a deep student of human affairs", "admirable alike by his originality and sagacity, his profundity and his comprehensiveness." He writes in his *Muqaddamah*. "History is the record of human society, or world civilization; of the changes that take place in the nature of that society, such as savagery, sociability, and group solidarity; of revolutions and uprisings by one set of people against another with the resulting kingdoms and states, with their various ranks; of the different activities and occupations of men, whether for gaining their livelihood or in the various sciences and crafts; and, in general, of all the transformations that society undergoes by its very nature ..." (Vol 1.56). Here he views history as a record of man's social development conditioned by physical and natural causes and the impact of environment on the individual and the group. According to Prof. Khuda Bukhsh, Ibn Khaldun wrote history "almost in modern style and on modern principles." His definition of history, its object and scope, treatment of the external conditions which act and react on national life, his observations on the civilization of the Arabs, in fine, his whole method of

treatment curiously anticipates the modern conception of the science of History. Margoliouth holds that "the initial volume of Prolegomena is unique in Arabic literature with few parallels in any that existed prior to the invention of printing, in that it embodies the author's generalizations drawn from the study of the records which form the subject of the following volumes..." According to Joseph Hell, Ibn Khaldun "developed views savouring of modern times. All that Ibn Khaldun has said about the influence of food and climate, says Von Kremer, has been worked out, from the modern point of view, by Buckle in his *History of Civilization*. What the Arab thinker divined, the British publicist has proved. Between them, however, there is a gap of five hundred years."

Besides philosophical speculations, the work is a 'useful compendium' of the subjects which occupied the attention of the Muslims outside politics. Thus, according to Ibn Khaldun, "the function of History extended beyond the material which furnishes the annalists with their main topics; including literary, and scientific development, the origins of sects, and the like..." (Margoliouth). About him Sarton has remarked: "Not only is he the greatest historian of the Middle Ages, towering like a giant over a tribe of pygmies, but one of the first philosophers of history, a fore-runner of Machiavelli, Bodin, Vico, Comte and Curnot." Arnold J. Toynbee has paid the following tribute to his work 'which can bear comparison with the work of Thucydides, or the work of a Machiavelli for both breadth and profundity of vision as well as for sheer intellectual power. Ibn Khaldun's star shines the more brightly by contrast...for while Thucydides and Machiavelli and Clarendon are all brilliant representatives of brilliant times and places, Ibn Khaldun is the sole point of light in his quarter of the firmament.....He has conceived and formulated a philosophy of history which is undoubtedly

the greatest work of its kind that has ever yet been created by any mind in any time or place"³¹

3. Mediaeval Indo-Moslem historiography

Mediaeval Muslim historiography in India³² did not remain unchanged and static during the long period of seven centuries and a half. Pre-Mughal and Mughal histories had, of course, certain things in common but they were cast in different moulds.

(a) *Pre-Mughal Indo-Persian histories*: Early mediaeval Indo-Moslem historiography had certain characteristics. *Firstly*, it grew up in a tradition of Turko-Persian culture. After the tenth century A.D. Turkish rulers, ignorant of Arabic, spread the Persian language in their conquests westwards (to Anatolia) and south-eastwards (to India). The Mogol conquests completed the process by which Persian supplanted Arabic in the Perso-Turkish cultural zone, while the Turkish conquests in India in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries stimulated historical writings in Persian.

Secondly, it was a projection of the general Muslim historiography growing up outside India. Dr. P. Hardy has described the period (1206-1440) "a colonial period in Indo-Moslem historiography—a period when Muslim historians remained aloof within the 'civil lines' of Muslim historical writings imitating the modes and manners of Arabic and Persian historians back at 'home' in their own records of the adventures among the 'natives' of their fellow Indian-Muslim political and military chiefs; they hoped that their histories would amuse, instruct, and refresh those chiefs when they returned from weeks and months of hard campaigning in the 'mufassil'". The best example of this was the *Shajara-i-ansab-i-Mubarak Shahi*, by Fakhr-i-Mudabbir Mubarak Shah. It gives universal history from Adam (in 137 genealogies), praise of God and the prophets, chronology of politico-military history from 1173, an eulogy of Qutbuddin (the reigning Sultan), didactic maxims for rulers, and a medley of

data, cosmological, geographical and ethnographical. But it lacks the critical approach of Arabic historiography. He was followed by a long line of Indo-Persian chroniclers viz., Minhaj ud din us Siraj, Zia ud din Barani and others³³.

A surface idea of mediaeval Muslim historiography of the Turko-Afghan period can be had from the five broad categories of history:

- (i) General history of the Moslem world (like those of al-Yaqubi al Dinawari and al-Tabari) e.g., *Tabaqat i Nasiri* by Minhaj ud din us Siraj (1259-60), *Tarikh i Muhammadi* by Muhammad Bihamand Khani (a member of the military governor class 1438-9)—which are two general histories of Islam.
- (ii) Regional history of Islam in Northern India: e.g. *Tarikh i Mubarak Shahi* by Yahya bin Ahmad Sirhindi (1428-35).
- (iii) *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).
- (iv) The *Furstenpiegel* *Didactic history* i.e. regarding history to be a branch of ethics and twisting facts for moral reasons. The *Tarikh i Firuz Shahi* of Zia uddin 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).
- (v) 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 (*Taj ul Ma'asir*), Amir Khusrau (1253-1325) (5 poems and one prose work) and 'Isami (*Futuh us Salatin*, 1349-50)³⁴.

(b) *Mughal historiography* : If pre-Mughal historiography was extra-Indian in inspiration and methodology, Mughal historiography reflected "a distinctive Indian historical tradition" (H.A.R. Gibb). A definite breach with the past did not take place, because the Indo-Persian tradition, local and general, continued during the Mughal period. But besides these were certain new factors, viz., the tradition of the school of Herat and the new forms introduced by the Mughals. Indeed Mughal historiography grew as a result of the "confluence of three streams". A few writers were possibly influenced by the contemporary compositions in Persia, though the establishment of Shiaism as the state religion of Persia tended to keep history in Persia and India apart.

Indo-Persian historiography flowed in certain channels, some traditional, some distinctive: (i) The general histories of Muslim India by Nizamuddin Ahmad and Abdul Qadir Badauni were the first definite exponents of the new Indian tradition that grew up under the Mughals. (ii) Secondly, there were the official chronicles of particular reigns, which constituted a novel feature of the Mughal age. (iii) Thirdly, the local and regional chronicles for each independent or semi-independent dynasty and each province, though less extensive than the general chronicles, reproduced the main features of Mughal historiography. (iv) But the memoirs, introduced by the Timurides and contrasting with the formal chronicles, constituted 'the most original feature of Indo-Persian historiography'. These were written by members of royal family as well as by private persons. (v) Biographical literature witnessed some development during this period. To the pre-existing literary biography (e.g. of poets) was added historical biography.³⁵

The decline of the Mughal Empire and the rise of the British power in India has been portrayed by the Patna historian, Ghulam Hussain Tabatabai in his *Siyar ul Mutakherin* (completed 1782) with a detailed account of Bengal from 1738.

(c) *Hindu writers of Indo-Persian histories* : Apart from Muslim writers, there were many Hindus who entered the arena of Indo-Persian historiography, viz., Ishwardas Nagar, a Brahman of Patan in Gujarat (born, 1655), author of *Fatuhāt i 'Alamgiri* (1731) and Bhimsen Burhanpuri (born, 1649), author of *Nushka i Dilkusha*. Finally with Sujan Ray's *Khulasat ul Tawarikh* "the history of Hindu India from the beginnings was dovetailed into the history of Muslim India".³⁷

The limitations of the Hindu writers in Persian were pointed out long ago by Sir H. Elliot forcefully and bitterly. Firstly, they partook of the usual deficiencies of Muslim historians. Secondly, they do not throw light on "the feelings, hopes, faiths, fears and yearnings" of the oppressed Hindus. Thirdly, they were apt to write "according to order or dictation" and "every phrase is studiously and servilely turned to flatter the vanity of an imperious Muhammadan patron". Fourthly, they were "wedded to the set phrases and inflated language of the conquerors," saturated with the customary idioms, forms and epithets of Muslim writers.^{37a}

A different impression is given by Sir J. N. Sarkar, while describing the works of Ishwardas Nagar and Bhimsen Burhanpuri. "The great importance of these writers lies not only in their looking at the reign through the eyes of contemporary Hindus but also in their living near enough to the great Mughal officers to learn the historical events of the time accurately, but not near enough to the throne to be lying flatterers".³⁸

(d) *Influence of English Scholars & Orientalists* : From the end of the 18th century a new influence was seen operating gradually i.e. the influence of English scholars and orientalist living in India. It led to a change of method. But this topic falls beyond the scope of this paper.

(e) *Varieties of historical sources in Mughal period* : The original sources of the Mughal period (16th-18th centuries) including historical

and scimi historical literature have been divided into 12 broad categories.

- (i) Official records, e.g. *Akhbarat i darbar i mu'ala*.
- (ii) Official histories, e.g. *Akbarnamah*, *Padshahnamah* and *Alamgirnāmah*.
- (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*, *Fatuhāt 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. *Maasir i Rahimi*, *Maasir ul Umara*.
- (vii) Gazetteers, e.g. *Aini Akbari*, *Haft Aqalim*.
- (viii) Private Letter Books, e.g. *Raqat i Abul Fazal*, *Ruqaat 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.³⁹

(f) *Value of Indo-Muslim histories* : About the value of Indo-Muslim mediaeval historical writings, 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". About these he writes disdainfully:

"It is almost a misnomer to style them Histories. They can scarcely claim to rank higher than Annals.....They comprise, for the most part, nothing but a mere narration of events, conducted with reference to chronological sequence; without speculation on causes and

effects; without a reflection or suggestion which is not of the most puerile and contemptible kind; and without any observations calculated to interrupt the monotony of successive conspiracies, revolts, intrigues, murders and fratricides, so common in Asiatic Monarchies, and to which India unhappily forms no exception....

"If the artificial definition of Dionysius be correct, that "History is philosophy teaching by examples", then there is no Native Indian Historian; few have even approached to so high a standard. Of examples, and very bad ones, we have ample store; though even in them the radical truth is obscured by the hereditary, official, and sectarian prepossessions of the narrator;—but of philosophy, which deduces conclusions calculated to benefit us by the lessons and experience of the past, and offers sage counsel for the future, we search in vain for any sign or symptom. Of domestic history also we have in our Indian Annalists absolutely nothing, and the same may be remarked of nearly all Muhammadan historians, except Ibn Khaldun."⁴⁰

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....."⁴¹.

Mediaeval Indian Historians' Approach To History

1. Conception of History:

Is it possible to deduce certain basic principles or ideas of history from these works? What was the conception of history of these mediaeval historians writing in Persian? Needless to say, we cannot reasonably expect to find modern ideas of history in them. Any attempt to judge these histories with the yardstick of modern historiography is bound to lead to disappointment and, perhaps, unreasonable criticism, as by Peter Hardy.⁴² Brilliant in analysis and expression, his work is somewhat unsympathetic

in conclusions. Here he has scathingly condemned the Indo-Muslim historians of the Turko-Afghan period and criticised the standpoint of some distinguished modern Indian writers of this period for depending on them as sources. While there is great deal of force in what he says about them, absolutely speaking, it must be admitted that some of their characteristics and defects, pointed out by him, were also to be found in Christian and mediaeval historiography of contemporary Europe.

(a) *Universal History*: In Europe Christian writers familiarised the idea of universal history, going back to the origin of man, dealing with the rise and fall of civilizations and powers and adopting a single chronological framework for all historical events. The mediaeval historian also treated his material from a universalistic point of view.⁴³

The idea of universal history since the creation was quite well known to the Arabic and Muslim historiographers. But about the middle of the third century A.H. (9th century A.D.) it was used as a prelude to Islamic history proper, a concept which goes back to Jewish-Christian tradition. Hence universal history ceased to be world history in the truest sense as "from the moment of the rise of Islam, the history of other nations has no further interest for the writer."⁴⁴

(b) *The General History of the Muslim World*: flowered between the 9th and 11th centuries A.D. in the works of al-Yaqubi, al-Dinawari and al-Tabari, covering the period from pre-Islamic times (in Arabia, Persia and Rum) to the Abbasid Caliphate, the central theme being the Prophet. While Yaqubi and Tabari followed the chronological method, Dinawari adopted the topical method (i.e. according to *akhbar* or groups of events). Their range of evidence was wide and approach critical.

One of the categories of mediaeval Indian historical writings was a general history of the Muslim world. Two general histories of Islam

were written by Minhaj ud din us Siraj (*Tabaqat i Nasiri*, 1259-60) and Muhammad Bilhamand Khani (*Tarikh i Muhammadali*, 1438-39) in line with al-Yaqubi, al-Dinawari, and al-Tabari. But they wrote from authority without critical evaluation.

To this category also belongs, in the Mughal period, Abdul Qadir Badaoni's *Muntakhab ul Tawarikh*, a general history of the Muslim world from the time of the Ghaznavides up to 1596.⁴⁵

(c) *General histories of India*: The conception of regional or local history developed gradually among the mediaeval Muslim historians. H.A.R. Gibb writes:

"After the middle of the fourth century (10th century A.D.) the distinction between general history and provincial history becomes difficult to maintain. Henceforward the main type of strictly historical composition is contemporary, annalistic, frequently prefaced by summary of universal history. In such annals the interest and information of the writer can no longer be universal; each is limited by the boundaries of the political structure within which he lives, and is rarely able to deal with events in distant regions..."

Thus we have, as distinct from the general history of the Moslem world, several regional and dynastic histories of Islam. For example, Gardizi (*Zain al Akhbar*) dealt mainly with Khorasan before the Ghori conquests in N. India. Yahya bin Ahmad Sirhindi (*Tarikh i Mubarak Shahi*, bet. 1428-34) supplies the only example of this type in the Turko-Afghan period in India.⁴⁶

In Mughal India the two best examples are Nizam ud din Ahmad and Ferishta. (i) *Tabaqat i Akbari* by Nizam ud din Ahmad Bakhshi is a general history of Muslim India which becomes fuller as it approaches the Mughal period. He wrote this history—as he himself observes,—“to strengthen the understanding of men of

education and afford instruction by examples to men of observation”, and supply the lack of a single history of the whole of India, after the *Tabaqat i Nasiri* of Minhaj and *Tarikh i Firuz Shahi* of Barani; for he found provincial histories and a few detached and incomplete compilations, but “not a single work containing a complete compendium of this entire division of the world has yet been written”; “neither have the events connected with the centre of Hindustan, the seat of government of this empire the capital Delhi, been collected in one book”. (ii) *The Tarikh i Ferishta* by Muhammad Kasim Hindu Shah surnamed Ferishta (Wr. 1599-1609) is a general history of Muslim India, with special reference to the states of the Deccan. It was written in Bijapur and styled *Gulshan i Ibrahim* and *Naurasnama* (from Nauras, new capital of Ibrahim Adil Shah, who suggested that there was no general history of Muhammadans in India except that of Nizam ud din.⁴⁷

(d) *Regional Histories*: Apart from the history of Islam, and universal histories the Muslim writers also wrote on sectional works, including sects, regions and towns. The earliest example of regional history in Muhammadan annals in India is the historical romance of the *Chachnama* in Sind (12th century A.D.).⁴⁸ According to H.A.R. Gibb, Sind had “an indigenous tradition going back to the period of the Arab conquest” of the 8th century A.D. while “in Gujarat and the South the local historiography is apparently to be connected rather with that of Fars”⁴⁹. Gujarat, the richest province in India as regards the number and variety of its historical records, has bequeathed more histories for the Muslim period than any other state in India. One such is the *Mirat i Ahmadi* by Mirza Muhammad Hassan, better known as Ali Muhammad Khan, written during 1750-60, a history of Gujarat (1000-1760). About its value, Sir J.N. Sarkar writes as follows: “From the reign of Akbar onwards, his book is unique among the Persian histories of India, as the author has incorporated in it the full texts of a very large number of official letters and orders of the Imperial Government, e.g.

farmans, parwanahs, and dastur ul amals. Thus the best raw materials of social and administrative history have been preserved by him for us. This is specially the case with Aurangzeb's strenuously active reign of half a century. For the half century following the death of Aurangzeb (1707), the *Mirat* gives the fullest history of the civil wars among the Mughal generals, the Maratha incursions, and the natural calamities and popular disorders which attended the fall of the Mughal Empire in that province. In fact, we have no such complete, graphic and systematic record of that decline and fall in any of our provinces...”⁵⁰.

Bengal is not so fortunate as Gujarat. It had “no continuous history” in Persian before the *Riyaz us Salatin* (1788). The *Baharistan i Ghaibi* of Mirza Nathan (entitled *Shitab Khan*), a special history of Bengal during the reign of Jahangir, has been described as the only oasis “in this barren desert of historical ignorance.”⁵¹ The long and masterly diary of Mir Jumla's Waqianavis, Ibn Muhammad Wali Ahmad entitled *Shihab ud din Talish* (1663) gives the most detailed and an eye-witness's account in Persian of his campaigns in North-Eastern India.⁵² Its *Continuation* (by the same author) gives the events in Bengal since the death of Mir Jumla to the conquest of Chatgaon during the time of Shaista Khan.⁵³

The *Basatin us Salatin* by Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi (1824) is a history of Bijapur, which is “valuable and accurate in spite of its being a later compilation”.

H.A.R. Gibb has given an unfavourable view of the historical works of this period in Persia and India, criticising them as monotonous and lacking in originality and proportion. He writes: “A general view of the historical output of this period in Persia and India thus offers a monotonous succession of general histories and local or dynastic chronicles, with periods of more intensive quasi-biographical compilation, usually stimulated by royal patrons and sometimes of considerable value, but marked by an

inveterate tendency to treat history as a branch of belles lettres."

"The majority of the general histories, whether composed in Persia or in India, show little originality or proportion, and are of value only for the history of their own times. The most frequent arrangement is by dynasties; some, however, devote a volume or a section to biography and occasionally a geographical supplement is added."⁵⁴

It is difficult to wholly agree with this view so far as India at least is concerned. In the *first* place, the instances he gives are not quite typical or representative of the best historical works produced in India during this period. In the *second* place, there were certainly other categories of historical writings to which no reference has been made by him.

2. The Performance

In examining the ideals and achievements of the mediaeval Muslim historians of India we have to consider—(a) the nature of history; (b) the attitude of the mediaeval historians; (c) the influence of the author's personal history; (d) his technique and style; and (e) the extent of his success in fulfilling the mission of the historian.

(a) *The nature of history*: History, admittedly, has a double aspect. It is both a science and an art. So the historian has to be both a scientist and an artist. History the science is "impartial, almost unhuman in its cold impartiality, weighing documents, accumulating evidence, sorting out the false wherever detected no matter what venerable belief goes with it, it is piecing together with infinite care the broken mosaic of the past—not to teach us lessons nor to entertain, but simply to fulfil the imperative demand of the scientific spirit—to find the truth and set it forth". Again, "History the art, flourishes with the arts. It is mainly the creature of imagination and literary style. It depends upon expression, upon vivid painting, sympathy,

grace and elegance, elevated sentiments or compelling power".⁵⁵

Herodotus combined "geography and history, narrative with criticism and literature" and so "won for history a distinct place in the arts and sciences of mankind for all time." About the mastery of the material and mental power of Thucydides 'the greatest historian of antiquity,' it has been said. "Never has a historian succeeded better in creating the impression of complete mastery of his materials—a century of hair-splitting criticism has not appreciably impaired his reputation for amazing accuracy. Equally characteristic of Thucydides is his high impartiality: he favours neither side in the great war; he shows good and bad qualities in both Athenians and Spartans...he champions none of the rival parties in Athens...In no place does he argue or defend; yet by sheer intellectual power he imposes his views upon the reader...The history might perhaps be compared to a Greek statue, stately and serious, restrained and sober, accurate in detail and impressive in composition, yet lacking the vivid coloring and varied background of a modern painting or of Herodotus' history..." (Swain). Polybius was 'the historian's historian of antiquity', essentially pragmatic and utilitarian in his conception of history,—a practical politician. He prescribes two qualifications as indispensable for the historian—to be a man of affairs, of wide knowledge of the world; learning and judicial temper. Livy was the national historian of Rome but was frankly mediaeval and uncritical. While Thucydides was a magistrate in the tribunal of history, Tacitus was an advocate of Rome. While Thucydides sought to establish truth alone, Tacitus sought to maintain that truth which would be of service to the world. Tacitus was a mere annalist. But he ranks in the forefront of the world's historians because of his genius—as a word painter, his insight into character and his exalted idea of history, viz. "history's highest function (is) to let no worthy action be uncommemorated, and to hold the reprobation of posterity as a terror to evil words and deeds",

and this is to be done without bitterness or favour. To Kalhana also History was a science as well as an art,—scientific in method and artistic in presentation. His ideal of history was a vivid representation of the past with its great role as an instructor for future generations.

(b) *The attitudes of mediaeval historians*: The mediaeval historians had fairly high ideas of impartiality, independence and accuracy. The early Arab historians showed great independence by not depending on Greek literature, Syriac or Persian histories. They were very rarely official historians who recorded 'His master's voice'. Tabari was a landed proprietor of wide travels. Both Dinawari and Tanukhi were judges. The second Buwaihid Sultan, Adud al daulah, Izzal daulah Bakhtiyar could not restrain his anger when his Secretary of State, Ibrahim the Sabian, authorised to write a history, frankly said that he was 'compiling packs of lies'. Generally speaking, the Arab historians wrote not as court chroniclers but as persons with noble tastes, for the instruction of their countrymen, and though they at times are influenced by religious or patriotic bias, their general impartiality is a striking feature of their works. Miskawaihi, though an employee of the Buwaihid wazirs, never showed any trace of partiality. The work of Tabari (more a collector of traditions than a historian) is also nonpartisan. History writing, like education, was left to private enterprise till the time of the Seljuk Wazir, Nizam ul Mulk. Historians were 'professors of history', undertaking to provide information, on the subject, not persons specially engaged to provide it.... they were primarily teachers, and writers afterwards.⁵⁷

(c) *The Personal factor*: The author's personal history (e.g. his family background, training, education, equipment, official connections, character, idiosyncracies and temperament) usually exercises a great influence on his outlook and the nature of his performance. It affects his attitude to history and helps us to

know whether he is a detached or interested observer. Let us take a few examples from the Turko-Afghan and Mughal periods.

Turko-Afghan period: Early Mediaeval Indian historical works largely bear the impress of the Persian rather than the Arab tradition of history writing, the authors being either connected with the royal courts or solicitous of royal patronage. The Indo-Moslem historians made History revolve round its 'great men'. History was conceived by Amir Khusrav (1253-1325), Isami (c. 1350), Ziauddin Barani (W. 1358) *Shams i Siraj Afif* (b. 1342/W. 15th c) and Yahya bin Ahmad Sirhindi (W. 1434-5) to be the history of great men, rulers, princes and nobles, not of the lowly and the base, not of the people. To Barani, the *Tarikh* is knowledge of the annals and traditions of Prophets, Caliphs, Sultans and other great men of religion and Government. It loses its value if it concerns with the deeds of mean and unworthy persons. Indeed such persons usually have no taste for it and its study does not advantage them (Hardy, 22). Thus some authors wrote eulogies on rulers and individuals,—e.g. al Utbi (*Tarikh i Yamini*, 1020-21), Afif (*Tarikh i Firuz Shahi*, c. 1398-99). These works belong to the category of *manaqib* or *fazail* history or prose eulogy of rulers and individuals.

Minhaj us Siraj had a distinguished ancestry. His great-great grandfather, Imam 'Abdul Khalik of Juzjan (between Merv and Balkh), married the daughter of Sultan Ibrahim of Ghazni. His father was Kazi of the army of Hindusthan under Muhammad Ghuri (1186). Minhaj himself was a learned man, and was appointed head of the Firozi College at Uch (1227), 'law officer and director of the preaching and of all religions, moral and judicial affairs (1232), Kazi of Delhi (1241), Principal of Nasiriya College, Delhi, and Superintendent of its endowments. Kazi of Gwalior and preacher in the metropolitan mosque (1244-5), Sadr i Jahan, Kazi of the State and magistrate of the Capital under Nasiruddin (1246). His stay at

Lakhnauti, capital of Bengal, for nearly 3 years (1241-2 to 1243-44) enabled him to get accurate information about outlying Muhammadan territory.⁵⁷

All this influenced his work, which was erudite and eulogistic. He named his work in honour of his patron Nasiruddin and adopted an eulogistic manner in writing it. It contains some ejaculatory prayers for the continuance of his reign. Nevertheless, competent critics think that he "rarely indulges in highflown eulogy, but narrates his facts in a plain straightforward manner, which induces confidence in the sincerity of his statements and the accuracy of his knowledge".⁵⁸

Zia uddin Barani, the first Indian Muslim to compose a history of India, was well connected with the ruling circles of Delhi. Having easy access to the court he had ample opportunity of knowing the accurate details. A boon companion of Muhammad Tughluq he did not criticise him in his lifetime. Banished from the court and feeling the stings of evil fortune, he wrote under a sense of being wronged and disappointment. But for his rescue by Firuz, he would have, as he himself says, 'slept in the lap of mother Earth'. An introvert, his conscience was pricked and he attributed his misfortune to his moral failure. So his book was practical, intended to be a double offering—to God, to gain His forgiveness and atone for his sin;—to the Sultan, to secure his patronage and thereby freedom from want and protection from calumny of his enemies. Son of a Sheikh father and a Sayyid mother, fast friend of Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya, Barani was deeply influenced by religion and mysticism. He hated aesthetic learning. This enables us to understand his religious view of history.⁵⁹

Shamsuddin Siraj Afif though born in an official family, did not hold any official post. But unlike Barani and Isami he did not indicate that he wrote with any sense of disappointed ambition or neglected merit. He wrote for the edification of his readers. His

Tarikh i Firuz Shahi was a part of a large historical work dwelling on the good qualities (*manaqib*) of three Tughluq rulers (Ghiyasuddin, Muhammad and Firuz) and destruction of Delhi by Timur. It was an example of biography. As *manaqib* applies to holy men, not Sultans, there was a Sufi undercurrent in it.⁶⁰

Yahya ibn Ahmad Sirhindi was not a courtier at Delhi but expected to become one. He expected to win royal patronage by presenting his book to Sultan Sayyid Muḥarak Shah.⁶¹

Amir Khusrau (1253-1325) occupied, by dint of parentage and his own official career, a very prominent place in Delhi court circles. His father was a noble in the time of Ilutnash. His mother was the daughter of a high officer under Balban. He himself served under six Sultans. His 'association with 6 Sultans and intimate intercourse with the aristocracy of blood, military oligarchy and the saint Nizamuddin Auliya' gave him the unique opportunity of knowing the truth about the political events and social conditions of the time. But he did not make a good use of his knowledge. Some *pieces d'occasions* he wrote on requests from Sultans and princes, others in hope of reward or out of gratitude or to achieve literary fame.⁶²

Isami wrote his historical epic, *Futuh us Salatin* (c. 1350) as a disappointed man in search of a patron. He fell a victim to the tyranny of Muhammad bin Tughluq. He was forced to move from Delhi to Deogiri (Daulatabad) with his 90 year old grandfather who died on the way. Without a wife, without children, without friends and without relatives, he looked around for a friend or patron. He complained bitterly of low literary standards in Hindustan and of the sad plight of good authors in an unfriendly world at the mercy of malignant critics. In disgust he wanted to leave Hindustan and go to Mecca. His dream patron appeared in the person of Alauddin Bahman Shah. He settled at Daulatabad and wrote under his patronage to become a Firdausi to the Bahmani

Sultan. His *Futuh us Salatin* would be a *Shah-nama* and was dedicated to him to win his patronage and get lasting literary fame. His sufferings partly account for his strong condemnation of Muhammad Tughluq. As a historian of the Tughluq period Isami occupied a unique position, being the only writer above fear or favour of the Sultan.⁶³

The Mughal Period—A change is discernible in the type of history and class of writers of historical literature in the Mughal age. Royal autobiographers (Babur or Jahangir) memoir writers (Mirza Haidar Dughlat, Gulbadan and others), official historiographers (Abul Fazl, Abdul Hamid Lahori, Muhammad Kazim and Muhammad Saqi Mustaid Khan), non-official historians (Nizam ud din or Abdul Qadir Badaoni) differ from the writers of the Sultanate period in outlook, idiom and approach. The element of personal gain, getting a reward or repaying a debt of gratitude receded into the background or at least was not so prominent now as in the previous period.

(i) *The royal autobiographers*—*Babur and Jahangir*: Babur was very well qualified, by his experience and attainments to write his invaluable *Tuzuk*. He was a great general and profound politician. A soldier of fortune, he was none the less an educated and accomplished man and an eminent scholar in Arabic, Persian (the language of culture) and Hindi, while in his native Turki, he was master of a prose in unaffected style, an elegant poet (JASB. 1910, 875 pp. for his diwans), a minute and fastidious critic in all the niceties and elegance of diction, a curious and exact observer of the statistical phenomena of every region he entered, a great admirer of beautiful prospects and fine flowers (E & D. IV. 219). He had 'a great love for nature, a trained eye for beauty in all its forms and a scientist's keen observation'. The result has been the production of an autobiography which is not only a political record, but a naturalist's journal as well.

The memoirs of Jahangir which constitute the main source of his reign and personality, bear the impress of his character, scholarship and vicissitudes. Misfortune, ill health and sorrow led to his discontinuing writing his memoirs in the 17th year of his reign (1622). Till 1624 these came to be written by Mutamad Khan Bakshi in the name of the Emperor who supervised it, and after that date as a part of his own work, the *Iqbalnama*. The work was continued till the Emperor's death by Muhammad Hadi.⁶⁴

(ii) *Mughal official historians*: The Mughal period was pre-eminently an age of official histories or *namahs*. This new type of history was inspired by Persian influence and stimulated by the influence of Persians in a cosmopolitan court. It was Akbar who introduced the practice of having the official history of the empire written by the Royal Historiographer and it continued down to the reign of Aurangzeb, who stopped it. With the recording of events by experienced officials and courtiers, practised clerks and secretaries, a change came over history in 'form, content and spirit alike'. History tended to become a running chronicle. These official histories or *namahs* were based on an accumulated mass of contemporary records,—official records (*Waqai*) of provinces and the *akhbarat i darbar i mu'ala* or court bulletins or news letters and corrected under royal direction. Hence there was no necessity to make a detailed reference to the long chain of *isnad*. On the other hand the presentation of history inevitably tended to reflect the bias and outlook of the court, social, political and religious. Naturally the official historians (e.g. Abul Fazl, Abdul Hamid Lahori, Muhammad Kazim and Muhammad Saqi Mustaid Khan) could not afford to be independent in their attitude or critical of the actions of the rulers or ministers. By discarding the former theological conception, history now inevitably tended to concentrate increasingly on the activities of the king and the court. The court chroniclers tended to indulge in 'nauseating flattery' of their patrons as well as in verbosity.

But this flattery was 'more a defect of manner than one of fact'. In these official histories, no fact has been really falsified, though credit is often given to the Emperor where he did not deserve it. For example, Abul Fazl does not mention Todar Mal's name even once in dealing with the revenue reforms during Akbar's reign and makes the Emperor the inventor of the '*Ain i Dahsala*'. But even the Stuart Kings were styled "His Gracious and Sacred Majesty" and Napoleon's *Moniteurs* were not models of factual veracity. On the other hand these *namahs* supplied generally trustworthy information (true basis for a narrative) of events of a king's reign, from which we can form our own judgment of the characters and political forces. History came to be secularised. Historians now pleaded for the moral value of its study in place of the earlier theological justification.

Akbar's minister and friend, writer, statesman, diplomat and a military commander, Shaikh Abul Fazl (1551-1602) belonged to a Hejazi Arab family migrating to Sind and then permanently settled at Nagor, n.w. of Ajmer. He inherited the traditions of mysticism, universal learning and cosmopolitanism from his father (Mubarak) and grandfather (Khizr), while he learnt the lesson of toleration in the school of misfortune and persecution to which his father, Shaikh Mubarak, was subjected for his Mahdavi leanings. He gave signs of his remarkable mental precocity and extensive reading when at the age of fifteen he mastered different branches of science and became a teacher even before the age of twenty. The admonitions of his relatives led him to forsake the seclusion of the academic recluse. Since his introduction to the Emperor in 1573 through his elder brother, Faizi, his promotion, due to his erudition and devoted loyalty, was quick and excited the jealousy of his rivals and enemies. His position, administrative training, and personal contact with every important affair, his access to official papers, his scholarship and marvellous literary style made both his works invaluable.

Like his grandfather Shahjahan had the

official history of his reign compiled, first by Mirza Aminai Qazvini, and then by Abdul Hamid Lahori. Qazvini, a protégé of Afzal Khan, wrote of the first ten years (1627-37) but he could not come up to the level of Abul Fazl. Shah Jahan, therefore, replaced him and commissioned Abdul Hamid to write the history. With Abul Fazl as his model he wrote a detailed account of the 20 years, and then entrusted the work to his pupil, Waris (21-30 years of the reign).

Following the tradition set by Akbar, Aurangzeb at first directed Muhammad Kazim to write his history (the *Alamgirnarah*). But after the eleventh year he put it under a ban. It was Muhammad Saqi Mustaid Khan, who had been in imperial service for forty years, and an eye-witness of many events, who compiled the full official history of Aurangzeb's reign three years after his death, from state papers and personal recollections.⁶⁵

(iii) The *private histories* of the period, stimulated by the imperial patronage of literature, helped to supplement and, at times, correct the information derived from the eulogistic official annals of the period.

Nizam ud din Ahmad's father, Khwaja Mukim Harawi served under Babur, Humayun and Akbar,—under the first as diwan of the household and under the second as Wazir to 'Askari in Gujarat. He also played a decisive part in terminating the intrigue to oust Humayun from the throne after Babur's death. Khwaja Nizamuddin (d. 1594) was scrupulously upright and excelled his contemporaries in administrative knowledge. For long he was the bakhshi of Gujarat. Later on he held the high office of the First Bakshi as well. Of him Badaoni has left this tribute: "Khwaja Nizamuddin left a good name behind him...There was not a dry eye at his death and there was no person who did not on the day of his funeral call to mind his excellent qualities." His work, written in 1592-93, came to be regarded by all

contemporary historians as a standard history, while later writers also borrowed freely from it.⁶⁶

Mulla Abdul Kadir better known as Badaoni (1540-1615) was born at Badaun in Rohilkhand (Fyzabad). His father, Shaikh Muluk Shah, was a pupil of Saint Bēchu of Sambhali. Badaoni himself studied under Shaikh Hatim Sambhali and then, along with Faizi and Abul Fazl, under Shaikh Mubarak. Having studied many sciences under the most renowned and pious men of the age, he became a very learned man and excelled in music, history and astronomy. In 1573 or 1574 he was introduced to Akbar, who was deeply impressed by the extent of his theological learning and ability to humble the Mullahs, and appointed him Court Imam for his voice and gave him a *madad i ma'ash* of 1000 bighas of land. He was frequently employed by Akbar to translate Arabic and Sanskrit works (e.g. Mahabharata) into Persian. But he grew to be a hostile critic of Akbar, envious of Faizi and Abul Fazl (who threw him into the background) and dissatisfied with Akbar for his free thinking and eclectic religious views, administrative reforms and for his patronage of non-Muslims (to the disadvantage of the Muslims' claim of monopoly of office and rewards). Unable to get the expected preferment and advancement in imperial service and with his mind sore against the Emperor he wrote his book in a spirit of frustration and expressed his glee at Akbar's troubles. ("The king disturbed our madad i ma'ash lands and God has now disturbed his country"). His book is a check on the turgid panegyric of Abul Fazl. Though it was really an interesting work, it contained so much hostile criticism of Akbar that it was kept concealed during his life time and could not be published till after the accession of Jahangir. It provided an index to the mind of the orthodox Sunni Muslims of Akbar's days.⁶⁷

Mirza Muhammad Hassan, the author of *Mirat i Ahmadi*, belonged to a family of Persian emigrants. Born in 1700 at Burhanpur where his father was a civil official in Aurangzeb's

Deccan army, he accompanied his father to Gujarat in 1708 when it was bestowed in jagir on Prince Jahandar Shah. He was educated at Ahmadabad where his father was appointed *Waqainigar* or chief reporter of the Prince's minister, Sayyid Aqil Khan. After his father's death he was appointed Superintendent of the cloth market and ultimately became the Diwan of the Province of Gujarat from 1747 to 1755, when it was annexed by the Marathas (hence called the *Khatim ud diwan*). Unusually intelligent and active, Mirza Muhammad was trained in the school of adversity. As Diwan he found the administration utterly disorganised in the anarchical condition of the empire's dissolution, civil wars and Maratha raids. He has described the anarchy and the information of the province collected after a diligent search. In writing this History of Gujarat (1000-1760) which took ten years to compile (1750-60), he was assisted by a Hindu assistant, Mithalal Kayeth, the hereditary subahnavis of Gujarat.⁶⁸

(d) *Methodology, Techniques and Style—History, the Science and History the Art.*

The writing of history involves two principal operations,—to establish facts and to work them up. This is a complex process. Facts are not necessarily events, are not always given, but have to be selected and established by patient research. Selection seems to run counter to the principle of impartial or honest history. But all history is selective, selection is scientific. The task of the historian consists of several processes: (i) search for and discovery of necessary documents, (ii) criticism and sifting of these, (iii) explanation, (iv) correlation, (v) reciprocal relations of facts, and (vi) their interaction.⁶⁹

The Arab historians adopted certain methods to ensure accuracy in their narratives, viz. dating events and maintaining the chain of authorities (*isnad*).

(i) *Chronology*: Time is the corner-stone of history, space of geography and matter of the physical sciences. Without chronology the data of history becomes like an uncharted land or unanalysed

substance. Hence adherence to a detailed and accurate chronology is most essential to understanding history. To ensure accuracy in their narratives the Arab historians (within 150 years A.H.) used to insist on dating events by the year and month and even the day. "Neither the Greek nor the Roman historians, nor the Biblical writers keep quite clear dates and the Roman historians have a fixed era which is less clumsy than the Greek system". According to Buckle, the practice of dating events did not start in Europe before 1597 A.D. The standards of accuracy and conscientiousness of Arabic historiography were 'astoundingly high'.⁶⁹

In this respect the Indo-Moslem historians excelled the Hindus. The Ahom and Maratha chroniclers lacked sound chronological arrangement. Their narration was devoid of chronology. Their idea of a historian's work was to narrate legends and facts compiled from traditions, hearsay and state papers, without any attempt at ascertaining the date of any event. Sir J. N. Sarkar writes—"The chronological sense was very imperfectly developed among the Hindus, who are apt to despise this world and its ephemeral occurrences. Before the Islamic conquest the Hindus produced no true history at all. On the other hand, the Arab intellect is dry, methodical and matter of fact. All their records contain a chronological framework. The historical literature of the Muhammadans in all countries has been vast and varied and well furnished with dates. We therein get a solid basis for historical study"⁷⁰.

Within this general observation there are, however, exceptions.

Barani—It is very surprising that Barani, who had ample opportunities of knowing details accurately, was 'very sparing and inaccurate in dates. Nor did he always arrange the events in chronological order. His work was also wanting in method and arrangement'.

The treatment of Shams i Siraj Afif is topical, not chronological. Though he follows

a very general chronological sequence of events, he does not place them in a strict chronological order. He is more concerned with presenting his account in a literary garb than in making the sequence intelligible.

Amir Khusrau, essentially a poet rather than a historian, did not show much attention to chronology even in his only prose history (*Khazain ul Futuh*). He wrote to please rather than to understand, preach or instruct.

'Isami's *Futuh us Salatin* also lacks accurate chronology, so essential to intelligibility. His treatment is episodic, the episodes being unconnected and undated. The use of terms like 3 or 4 days, a week, sometime, a day, is not helpful. The only date given in Alauddin's reign is that of his death.⁷¹

In the Mughal period chronology received its due share of importance from the official historians. "In all these works or *Namahs* proper, the events are built upon a rigid skeleton of dates chronologically arranged; there is an accurate but tiresome assemblage of minute names of persons and places in the course of every month's narrative of occurrences, and the mechanical division of the book into a chapter for each regnal year is followed".⁷² Non-official histories, however, were sometimes deficient in dates. The chronology of Nizamuddin is defective especially from the 22nd year (1578), when the author made a blunder in equating the regnal with the Hegira years (Smith). The chronology of Badaoni is less precise than that of the Akbarnamah.⁷³

(ii) *Verification of the Chain of authorities* : The second device of the Arab historians to develop exactitude was to trace the event to its ultimate source. By applying the stereotyped technique of *isnad*, as used in *hadith* (Tradition), to History, each event was narrated in the words of the the original eye-witnesses or contemporaries and transmitted through a chain of mediate reporters to the final narrator (the author). Thus the links in the chain of authorities were

tested. The weakness of the system was that the fact itself was not critically examined. As P. K. Hitti puts it: "But the authenticity of the act generally depended on the continuity of the chain (*isnad*) and the confidence in the integrity of each reporter rather than on a critical examination of the fact itself. Aside from the use of personal judgment in the choice of the series of authorities and the arrangement of the data, the historian exercised very little power of analysis, criticism, comparison or inference. Al Tabari gives expression to this principle in the introduction to his *Ta'rikh* 'we only transmit to others as has been transmitted to us' (Hitti)⁷⁴.

In this background let us now examine the technique and style of the Muslim historians of India.

Minhaj : In methodology, Minhaj took great pains in collecting information from trustworthy persons, and often mentioned the authority for his facts. But he is very meagre in details, sometimes "too concise to be of much use" (Morley). He wrote in a plain unaffected style, and the language is considered very correct.⁷⁵

Barani originally intended to write a Universal History from Adam. But subsequently he changed his mind. In *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* (written in 1358) he deals with eight kings only during the period from Balban to the first six years of Firuz Tughluq, taking up the thread of the narrative almost from the point where Minhaj had left it. It is indeed a "continuation of Minhaj's chronicle". His reason for not covering the previous ground was perhaps sentimental weakness, not befitting a true historian, but it throws light on the mentality of the historians of the age. "If I copy what this venerable and illustrious author has written, those who have read his history will derive no advantage from mine; and if I state anything contrary of that master's writings or abridge or amplify his statements, it will be considered disrespectful and rash. In addition

to which I should raise doubts and difficulties in the minds of his readers". This reminds one of the fallacy of the logic alleged to have been attributed to Caliph Umar about the burning of the famous Alexandrian library. For to the discerning critical student of history there are many things besides agreement or repetition and disagreement or doubt.

Though Barani did not employ the technique of *isnad*, he believed in received truth. Facts of history were ascertained not by critical doubts and inquiry but from the testimony of religious or virtuous men. He would not disagree with Minhaj, a religious man, he would rely on his relatives, on Amir Khusrau and Amir Hasan though he did not always trust his own memory. Nevertheless he wrote like a story teller, irrespective of all authorities. Thus he lacked 'deep research, great discrimination and sustained effort.'

On his own admission Barani based his work partly on his hearsay statements, and partly on personal observations. He learnt his account of Balban from his own father and grandfather and Balban's officers, and of Kaikobad's reign from "his father and from his preceptors who were men of note at the time." He supplemented this by his own observations: "the events and affairs of Jalaluddin's reign up to the end of this work, all occurred under his own eyes. Without going deep into individual details, he looks at the compact whole. As he writes: "In this book I have recorded all the diplomatic and administrative affairs of the State and, in the description of conquests I have not mentioned every event or happening, nor have I mentioned privileges granted to the people since wise people will (have) well known these things from a study of administrative affairs."

Barani's age was one of literary brilliance, and his style has been described as 'simple, clear and crisp'. If the ornamental portions are excluded, it is often 'vivid, imaginative and racy, sometimes soaring high in poetic ecstasy.' He often uses Hindi phrases.⁷⁶

Afif wrote from authorities, accepting the evidence of reliable informants, but he did not argue from his evidence to decide upon disputed points. As with Barani, Afif's criteria for ascertaining historical truth are ultimately religious. When he does not give common report or precise authority of others for the statements in his work, he depended on eye-witnesses.⁷⁷

In *Tarikh i Mubarak Shahi* Yahya bin Ahmad Sirhindi borrows from previous writers like Minhaj, Barani and Amir Khusrau for events up to 1351. But he was not a mere copyist. He had his own principles of selection, i.e. to record deeds of Sultans, nobles and soldiers, arranged reign wise, in chronological order e.g. accessions, appointments, battles and military movements, rebellions—etc. After 1351 he relied on the evidence of trustworthy narrators and not on written materials. But in either case his idiom was the same. He seems to see the surface of events and chronicle the externals of actions only. His work was, in fact, a regional chronicle and he was a chronicler of action. History is depicted as a succession of military and political events only, as for example he omits Alauddin's economic measures.⁷⁸

Amir Khusrau wrote much about the past but he was primarily a poet than a historian. Out of the 92 works ascribed to him, the majority have been lost. His historical works were written during 35 years (1289-1325) but these were occasional works, not parts of an integrated historical whole. Thus the *Qiran us Sadain* (Conjunction of Two Planets, 1289) consisted of several descriptive poems, climaxed by the interview of father (Bughra Khan, ruler of Lakhnauti) and son (Sultan Muizzuddin Kaiqubad). The *Khazain ul Futuh*, 'the only history extant' for the reign of Alauddin, written in prose, is divided into several sections with allusions, metaphors and similes. The author looks at events from aesthetic point of view: action is subordinated to effect. The *Tughluqnamah*, the last historical poem of Amir

Khusrau, telling the story of the seizure of Delhi by Ghiyasuddin Tughluq, has a religious and moral colour. The Sultan was an exemplar of virtue, fighting against the forces of darkness typified by Khusrau Khan (the infidel) for the cause of Islam.

He did not use evidence of events systematically and critically. He does not indicate the sources of information (except in *Dihal Rani*). He does not quote orthodox men as Barani and Afif (to some extent) do. The reader has to accept his word as true.

According to Cowell his style is full of exaggerations and metaphorical descriptions, the facts of history are tolerably dependable.⁷⁹

Isami's *Futuh us Salatin* (Wr. 1349-50) was an epic conspectus of the deeds of the Muslims in Hindustan from the time of Mahmud of Ghazni to the date of composition. He had to rely on older sources but was no slavish follower of authority, no mere copyist of received report and tradition. He imposed his own ideas of form and content on his data. He wrote a selective account of the past, using stories, legends, anecdotes and common reports gleaned from friends and associates (hearsay evidence). Without specifying their exact source, he merely says 'I have heard'. Materials were selected on aesthetic consideration and not on critical and factual criteria. At best he offers not critical history but merely historical evidence. His style is clear and the narrative vivid.⁸⁰

Technique & Style: Mughal period

Babur: The literary and historical value of the memoirs cannot be estimated too highly for "Babur is essentially the historian of his own times" and as a picture of the life of an Eastern Sovereign in court and camp, the book stands unrivalled among oriental biographies. "It is almost the only specimen of real history in Asia.....In Babur's Memoirs the figures, dresses, habits and tastes of each individual

introduced are described with such minuteness and reality that we seem to live among them, and to know their persons as well as their characters. His descriptions of the countries visited, their scenery, climate, productions and works of art are more full and accurate than will, perhaps, be found in equal space in any modern traveller. According to Lanepool, Babur's place in biography and literature is determined by his daring adventures and persevering efforts in his early days and by the delightful Memoirs in which he related them. His battles as well as his orgies were humanised by a breath of poetry—Hence his memoirs are no rough soldier's diary, full of marches and countermarches.....they contain the personal impressions and acute reflections of a cultivated man of the world, well read in Eastern literature, a close and curious observer, quick in perception, a discerning judge of persons, and a devoted lover of nature.....The utter frankness of self-revelation, the unconscious portraiture of all his virtues and follies—his obvious truthfulness and fine sense of honour give the Memoirs an authority which is equal to their charm."⁸¹

Abul Fazl takes his readers to the laboratory of his history and explains his methods in the *Akbarnamah* and the *Ain i Akbari*. From these we get a clear picture of how he secured his raw materials and worked them up for writing his history, as commissioned by Akbar.

(i) *Laborious collection of records*: 'Assuredly, I spent much labour and research in collecting the records and narrative of his Majesty's actions'. (AN) 'My first care was to collect by the aid of heaven, all the transactions of his enduring reign, and I used exceptional and unprecedented diligence in order to record the chief events of my own time. In many of these occurrences I bore a personal share, and I had a perfect knowledge of the under-currents and secret intrigues of State, to say nothing of the ordinary drift of public affairs'. (Ain).

(ii) *Accumulation of evidence*: 'And since the insinuations of rumour had prejudiced me and

I was not sure of my own memory, I made various inquiries of the principal officers of State and of the grantees and other well-informed dignitaries, and not content with numerous oral statements, I asked permission to put them into writing, and for each event I took the written testimony of more than twenty intelligent and cautious persons.' (Ain).

'I was a long time interrogating the servants of the State and the old members of the illustrious family. I examined both prudent, truth-speaking old men and active minded, right actioned young ones and reduced their statements to writing'. (AN)

(iii) *Imperial search for evidence*: 'The royal commands were issued to the provinces, that those who from old service remembered, with certainty or with admixture of doubt, the events of the past, should copy out their notes and memoranda and transmit them to Court. Inasmuch as this auspicious invitation was not fully responded to nor my wish fully accomplished, a second command shone forth from the holy Presence-Chamber; to wit—that the materials which had been collected should be fanned out and recited in the royal hearing and that whatever might have to be written down afterwards should be introduced into the noble volume as a supplement and that such details as, on account of the minuteness of the enquiries and the minutiae of affairs, could not then be brought to an end, should be inserted afterwards at my leisure. Being relieved by this royal order—the interpreter of the Divine ordinance—from the secret anxiety of my heart, I proceeded to reduce into writing the rough draughts which were void of the graces of arrangement and style' (AN).

(iv) *Materials obtained from the Imperial Record Office*: 'I obtained the chronicle of events beginning with the nineteenth year of the Divine Era, when the Record Office was established by the enlightened intellect of his Majesty, and from its rich pages I gathered the accounts of many events. Great pains too

were taken to procure originals or copies of most of the orders which had been issued to the provinces from the accession up to the present day which is the dawn of Fortune's morning. Their sacred contents yielded much material for the sublime volume" (AN).

(vi) *Reports of Ministers and Officers*: 'I also took much trouble to incorporate many of the reports which ministers and high officials had submitted, about the affairs of the empire and the events of foreign countries'. (AN)

(vii) *Testing of evidence*: 'And my labour-loving soul was satiated by the apparatus of inquiry and research. I also exerted myself energetically to collect the rough notes and memoranda of sagacious well-informed men. By these means, I constructed a reservoir for irrigating and moistening the rose garden of fortune. But inasmuch as, notwithstanding all this apparatus and these rich treasures of information, the House of History was become decayed from lapse of time, and there were contradictions and imperfections in the accounts and no sufficient means of clearing up difficulties—I begged the correction of what I had heard from his Majesty who, by virtue of his perfect memory, recollects every occurrence in gross and in detail, from the time he was one year old—when the material action came into action—till the present day when he is by his wisdom the cynosure of penetrating truth-seekers. By repeated interviews I arrived at correctness and erased doubts and difficulties with the knife of investigation and ascertainment. When peace had possessed my soul, I made honesty and lavish labour conductors of the lofty undertaking' (AN). 'The flagrant contradictory statements of eye-witnesses had reached my ears and amazed me, and my difficulties increased. Here was date of an event not far distant—the actors in the scenes and transactions actually present—their directing spirit exalted on the throne of actual experience—and I with my eyes open observing these manifold discrepancies...I determined to remedy this, and set my mind to work out a

solution. The perplexity disentangled itself and my bewildered state of mind began to grow calm. By deep reflection and a careful scrutiny, taking up the principal points in which there was general agreement, my satisfaction increased, and where the narrators differed from each other I based my presentation of facts on a footing of discriminate investigation of exact and cautious statements, and this somewhat set my mind at ease. Where an event had equal weight of testimony on both sides, or anything reached me opposed to my own view of the question, I submitted it to His Majesty and freed myself from responsibility. By the blessing of the rising fortunes of the State and the sublimity of the royal wisdom, together with the perfect sincerity of the inquirer and his wakeful destiny, I was completely successful and arrived at the summit of my wishes' (Ain).

(viii) *Marshalling of facts*: 'When I had safely traversed these difficult defiles, a work of considerable magnitude was the result. But since at this formidable stage, in the arrangement of these events no minute regard to details had taken place, and their chronological sequence had not been satisfactorily adjusted, I commenced the methodizing of my materials anew, and began to rewrite the whole, and I took infinite pains especially bestowing much attention on the chronology of the Divine Era. And since I had the assistance of the highest scientific experts, this task also was with facility completed and a separate table was drawn out...' (Ain).

(ix) *Repeated revision*: Abul Fazl repeatedly revised his composition to give it literary grace. Even during the fourth revision his efforts were 'directed to remove all superfluous repetitions and give continuity to the easy flow of my exposition'. But perceiving 'the incomplete arrangement of my fresh material' he undertook the fifth revision for its 'due ordering'. Abul Fazl was conscious of the truth 'that men close their eyes in regard to their own faults and their own offspring' and so 'made it a practice to be critical of self and indulgent towards others'. He decided on a sixth revision 'to

exercise the most minute and fastidious criticism'. But he found no time because of 'frequent calls' made by Akbar. So he was compelled to submit his fifth revision to the Emperor. Thus he laboured hard for seven years in completing the *Akbarnamah*.⁸²

Badaoni wrote his work to supplement the *Tabaqat i Akbari* and he acknowledged his indebtedness to it by describing his own work as an abridgment of the *Tabaqat*. He was also indebted to the *Tarikh i Mubarak Shahi*. Nevertheless there is much original matter in the *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh*. The concluding portion of the work, dealing with lives of saints, philosophers, physicians and poets of Akbar's reign, is very useful and corrects the author's fulminations against Akbar. In fact it provides an index to the mind of orthodox Muslims of Akbar's days. According to Prof. S.R. Sharma it is not very valuable except for the account of events in which Badaoni himself took part. Moreland describes the work as reminiscences or journalism rather than history. Topics were selected less for their intrinsic importance than for their interest to the author, who presented the facts so selected coloured by his personal feelings and prejudices in bitter epigrammatic language, which has to be discounted. The author not only uses some uncommon words but indulges in religious controversies, invectives, eulogiums, dreams, biographies and details of personal and family history which interrupt the unity of the narrative...Yet these digressions are the most interesting portion of the work...His own extensive knowledge of contemporary history also induces him very often to presume that his reader cannot be ignorant of it. So he often slurs over many facts, or indicates them obscurely.⁸³

The *Tabaqat i Akbari* of Nizamuddin Ahmad Bakhshi, one of the most celebrated histories of India, which has been the quarry of subsequent writers, both Indian and European, is nothing but 'a dry, colourless chronicle of external events', without any reflections or criticisms of events and actions.⁸⁴

The *Tarikh i Ferishta*, based on 35 earlier histories some of which have been lost, is also a compilation but has come to be regarded as a classic, unapproached for completeness of detail, independence and general accuracy, and devoid of religious or political prejudice, written with the golden pen of truth. He does not even flatter the prince, his patron (Ibrahim Adil Shah). But he was not entirely free from sectarian bitterness (with reference to the Sayyids) and bigotry (speaking of wholesale massacre of defenceless Hindus). But he was a mere chronicler and did not profess to be a philosophical historian, by probing into the causes of the events.⁸⁵

The *Mirat i Ahmadi* falls into two parts, marked by separate treatment. The period up to Aurangzeb is brief and derivative, being based on previous works like the *Mirat i Sikandari*, *Akbarnamah*, *Padshahnamah* etc. But the latter part (and the *supplement*) are original, based on the author's own experience and observations of the contemporary events, in many of which he himself took part. The *Khatima* or the *Supplement* is valuable for the detailed topographical description of Gujarat, lives of saints, the official classes, and the administrative system in general.⁸⁶

(c) *Extent of the historian's success in the fulfilment of his mission*. How far were the historians of mediaeval India successful in realising their own professed ideals? Let us confine our attention to a few selected writers.

Conscious of the mission of a historian, Kalhana possessed 'a highly developed, almost modern, conception of the proper data or sources of history'. With a detached and critical mind, he endeavoured hard to attain the noble ideals of truth and impartiality comparable to that of a judge, of keeping his speech or writing 'beyond love or hatred', of insight and imagination, making the pictures of a bygone age vivid before one's eyes.

Whatever may be his limitations as a historian

from the modern point of view, it must be admitted that Barani had a high conception of the function of a historian, viz., to record impartially and honestly the whole truth without fear or favour. By so doing the historian would show his piety and right belief. He believed that the historian would be accountable to God on the day of judgment for what he wrote; his function was to teach 'the lessons of history'⁸⁷. He intended his *Tarikh i Firuz Shahi* to fulfil this conception of the duty of the historian. He thinks that the primary duty of a historian is impartiality and delineating the truth and so everybody is not qualified for history-writing. Let Barani speak himself:

"The compiler of history must be a man of trust, veracity, and impartiality, so that the belief of the reader may be strengthened and people may easily believe him. And since a historian must be wise and knowing, conscience and religion are also a condition precedent to the writing of books of history. And one of the necessary conditions of the writing of history is that for reasons of conscience it is so incumbent upon the historian that, if he records the virtues, goodness, impartiality, benevolence of a king, or a celebrated personality he should not hide his vices and weaknesses. He should not feel shy of such statement but should write it plainly if expediency allows, or else he should inform the wise and the learned readers of these things by hints. And if through fear he cannot record the weakness of his contemporaries, he is helpless. But so far as his predecessors are concerned he should write the exact truth. And if the historian has been offended either by a king or a minister or an eminent person, or if he has been favoured by them, he should not in the course of writing the history make any mention of these things, so that he may not record a greatness or a virtue or an event which does not belong to the person in question. But the historian must, on the basis of religion, belief, truth and conscience, be a recorder of truth and truth alone. And it is incumbent upon historians to refrain from the ways of liars, flatterers, exaggerators, poets and romancers, because they call a shell

by the name of a ruby and, goaded by their avarice, they will call a pebble a gem, and most of their inventions are forgeries and lies; on the Day of Judgment the fraudulent author will suffer the worst pangs".⁸⁸

After referring to his own difficulties in writing this history and to the varied contents thereof, Barani claims that his work is 'worthy of credence':

"I have experienced much difficulty in writing this history and expect to receive justice from fair minded people. This work is a collection of many meanings. If it is read as history, people will find in it the annals of sultans and kings. If rules, regulations and healing prescriptions are sought therein it will not be found wanting. If in this history are sought the advice and precepts of worldly rules, they will find more and better here than by the study of other books. Whatever I have written I have written truthfully and honestly and this history is worthy of credence. As I have set down an epitome of many pregnant meanings, this history ought as a matter of duty to be followed as an example".

He feels pride in his own work. "I, Ziya Barani, ... have done wonders in writing this book and people who know history (who have become as rare as the Phoenix and the Philosopher's stone) know that no one has produced a work like the *Tarikh*, which is a collection of annals and principles of temporal government—if this history is weighed and compared against others and my trouble judged fairly it will be seen that in every line, indeed in every word, I have recorded the frivolities and the strangeness of the established rules contained in the annals and traditions of sultans, together with the benefits and injuries brought about by the rule of temporal monarchs, whether openly or by implication, whether by overt or covert expressions".⁸⁹

How far was Barani successful in discharging his duty of honestly recording the truth? Opi-

nions have differed on this point. Ferishta even blames Barani for withholding the truth; hence Barani's denunciation of a ruler becomes very important. According to Elliot, Barani was an unfair narrator, because he omitted altogether or slurred over, as of no consequence, some of the most important events, for fear of incurring the displeasure of his patron.⁹⁰

Modern historians have regarded Barani as undoubtedly 'the most important historian' of the Turko-Afghan period.⁹¹ It was Prof. A.B.M. Habibullah who first cast doubts on Barani's bonafides as an authoritative historian. (i) His chief defect was misrepresentation, though he was not deliberately dishonest. His undue emphasis on characterisation and neglect of faithful chronicling of events was mainly due to his conception of history and plan of writing. (ii) A more serious danger was his mental bias, springing not from any motive or personal reasons but from his politico-religious convictions. His reactionary outlook affected his selection of events and judgment of men and affairs. Sometimes it even led him to make interpolations in his narrative. He did not regard the past as it was but as it ought to have been according to some ideals of his own. Either condemning or approving, he could not take an objective view. Yet he honestly believed that his story was faithful. This made it difficult to detect this tendency of his. Habibullah's thesis is that Barani has projected his own mind and not the actual past in his *Tarikh* and that by 'foisting his own ideas on the past' he has produced an unreal picture. Like Thucydides Barani has included reports of conversations between various persons, viz.,

- (i) Sultan Balban and his sons Muhammad and Nasiruddin Bughra Khan
- (ii) Bughra Khan and Sultan Kaiqubad
- (iii) Fakhruddin, Kotwal of Delhi, and his nephew Nizam ud din
- (iv) Sultan Jalaluddin Khalji and Malik Ahmad Chap
- (v) Sultan Alauddin Khalji and Malik

Ala ul mulk, Kotwal of Delhi and Qazi Mughisuddin

(vi) Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq and Barani himself (c.1347)

But he has put his own ideas in the mouths of the above personages, i.e. to suit the particular character in which he wants to reveal the eight Sultans. In this connection Habibullah has been supported by Dr. Hardy. The main ground against Barani is the time lag between the alleged conversations and the date of the composition of the *Tarikh* (1357) forty to seventy years after the death of the Sultans concerned. Their value, however, consists in throwing light on the spirit of polity and moral and social evils of the age.⁹²

Babar's Memoirs occupy a very high place in historical literature, and scholars are unanimous as regards its accuracy and truthfulness. Lanepoole truly says, "If ever there were a case, when the testimony of a single historical document unsupported by other evidence, should be accepted as sufficient proof, it is the case with Babur's Memoirs... No reader of this prince of autobiographies can doubt his honesty or his competence as witness and chronicler." According to Beveridge, Babur's autobiography is "one of those priceless records which are for all time and is fit to rank with the confessions of Augustine and Rousseau, the memoirs of Gibbon and Newton. In Asia it stands almost alone". Elliot and Dowson observe: "Babur's Memoirs form one of the best and most faithful pieces of autobiography extant; they are infinitely superior to the hypocritical revelations of Timur and the pompous declarations of Jahangir,—not inferior in any respect to the Expedition of Xenophon, and rank but little below the Commentaries of Caesar. They are equal in simplicity and exhibit much less dissimulation than that celebrated work." These views have, however, to be discounted. Indeed, he is not always accurate: his army at Panipat did not number 12,000 men only but double that number. Some of his judgments are the result of passing

fancy, viz., sweeping condemnation of India and Indians in particular. Yet, when all is said, his autobiography forms one of the most charming and valuable records.⁹³

Jahangir: His memoirs are not inferior in interest to those of Babur (R.B. ix-xi). He pays as much respect for truth as Babur did. If Babur lets us into the privacy of his debaucheries, Jahangir calmly tells us how he got Abul Fazl murdered. But he does not mention his marrying Nur Jahan.⁹⁴

Abul Fazl was perhaps the most gifted of all the Muslim historians of India. His ideas of history can be culled from his *Akbarnamah* and the *Ain i Akbari*.⁹⁵

(i) *Value of History*: History is a unique pearl of science which quiets perturbations, physical and spiritual, and gives light to darkness, external and internal.⁹⁶

(ii) *Scope of History*: Abul Fazl indited 'the history of the Lord of Time and the tereene (*Zamin U Zaman*) and Crown-jewel of monarchs, and praise to God will come into the writing... What a strange mystery it is that in historical writings, praise of the pure giver is introduced as an adornment to the book, whereas here, the book is adorned in order to the praise of the Creator..... My predecessors relied on speech for God's praise; in this exordium of rare writing recourse is had to the perfect man who is a God-worshipping king I made myself ready, so that..... I might reduce to writing the auspicious description of the King of manifestation and reality,—the leader of religion and realm (*din u dunya*) and might bring together with his beautiful and awful attributes and the praises of his majesty and perfection; to wit,—the marvellous festivals, wondrous wars, exalted devotions, and pleasant ways of this chosen one of God ... so that I might acquit myself of the duties of (1) worship, (2) loyalty (3) gratitude,.....⁹⁷

(iii) *Object of writing history*: Abul Fazl intended that his work should occupy a permanent

place in world literature and perpetuate his own and his patron's memory. (a) Abul Fazl wanted to compose a history 'suitable to the temperament of the mortal' with a 'cryptic tongue'.⁹⁸ (b) He writes in the preface to the *Ain*: 'My sole object in writing this work was, first to impart to all that takes an interest in this auspicious century, a knowledge of the wisdom, magnanimity, and energy of him who understands the minutest indications of all things, created and divine, striding as he does over the field of knowledge; and to leave future generations a noble legacy. The payment of a debt of gratitude is an ornament of life and a provision for man's last journey. There may be some in this world of ambitious strife, where natures are so different, desires so numerous, equity so rare, and guidance so scarce, who by making use of this source of wisdom, will escape from the perplexities of the endless chaos of knowledge and deeds. It is with this aim that I describe some of the regulations of the great King, thus leaving for far and near, a standard work of wisdom.....' (c) He writes in the conclusion of the *Ain* about Akbar's unrivalled greatness as a ruler and he felt it to be his duty to record his great acts and rules for the benefit of posterity. History does a memorial service according to Abul Fazl. "It is evident that of mighty monarchs of old there is no memorial except in the works of the historians of their age, and no trace of them but in the chronicles of eloquent and judicious annalists, yet the ravages of time obliterate them not."⁹⁹

(iv) *Regard for truth*: Abul Fazl had a high regard for truth in writing his works. He acknowledges to have received from Emperor Akbar the "sublime mandate" to "write with the pen of sincerity the account of the glorious events and of our dominion—increasing victories". He writes that he wrote out of disinterested motives. As distinct from Firdausi who wrote his *Shahnama* in 30 years and earned obloquy by demanding gold from his master, Abul Fazl wrote the *Akbarnamah* in 7 years out of pure gratitude to his master without any expectation of monetary gain or worldly

advancement: "I have not set my heart upon the composition of this work with a view to approbation or to listen to my own praises, into which pitfall of the imagination so many have sunk, nor suffered my natural constitution to be trodden under foot by ambition.....". Unlike other "men who close their eyes in regard to their own faults and their own offspring....., I have made it a practice to be critical of self and indulgent towards others....." Indeed Abul Fazl's writings are free from personal rancour and marked by sobriety and dispassionate attitude even towards his enemies.

Historian Abul Fazl's monumental works are two, the *Akbarnamah* and the *Ain i Akbari*. These two books are complimentary and have to be used as companion volumes. While the *Ain* enlightens us about Akbar's experiments and institutions, *Akbarnamah* enables us to understand the spirit behind those institutions, the difficulties faced and their solution. "Neither tells us all we want to know, but nearly all is contained in one or other....." (Moreland).¹⁰⁰

In fact the role of Abul Fazl as a historian has been the subject of controversy among scholars, some accusing, others praising him and his works.

European writers e.g. Elliot, Elphinstone and Morley have accused Abul Fazl not only of flattery but even of wilful concealment of facts damaging to the reputation of his patron. ("He was...a most assiduous courtier eager to extol the virtues, to gloss over the crimes and to preserve the dignity of his master and those in whom he was interested..."). Smith dubs him 'as an unblushing flatterer of Akbar'. But according to Blochmann, "a study, though perhaps not a hasty perusal, of the *Akbarnamah* will show that the charge is absolutely unfounded...His love of truth and the correctness of his information are apparent in every page of the book".

Let us come to details. The charges of flattery and deliberate perversion of truth are made

as regards (i) the date of Akbar's birth, and the story of his naming; (ii) the capitulation of Asirgarh. But when compared with other Eastern historians, Abul Fazl's praises are dignified; and though sometimes his adulation is jarring he was following the example of many other contemporaries. We know that Maham Anaga put to death two girls in possession of her son Adham Khan in Malwa for fear of their disclosing the true facts to Akbar. Akbar overlooked the offence. How would Abul Fazl put this on record? He could not openly criticize the Emperor. Abul Fazl certainly disapproved of the killing and recorded it by praising Akbar's forgiveness. Again, when Hussain Mirza was put to death in Gujarat at Akbar's orders, Abul Fazl records that this was done at the suggestion of Bhagwan Das who was not justified in giving it. This is Abul Fazl's way of avowing that 'the king can do no wrong.' Abul Fazl criticised Munim Khan (Vakil), Raja Todar Mal and Muzaffar Khan, and the provincial officials. He also criticises Jahangir for his conduct towards the end of Akbar's reign.

In fine Abul Fazl displayed his sound historical imagination in the *Akbarnamah*. It is "not only the most authentic history of Akbar's reign but it is an accurate record of the varied activities of the state, in which its every phase is accurately and vividly brought out."¹⁰¹

The concluding part of the *Akbarnamah* is the *Ain i Akbari*. It starts with the avowed object of describing the country, the manners and customs of the people, and it gives an idea of the political institutions as well as popular beliefs. It may well be described as the Administrative Report and Statistical Return of Akbar's government about 1590 A.D., roughly comparable to modern administrative reports and statistical compilations. Briefly it was an administrative manual and an official gazetteer and it set a model for the future. Blochmann described its nature as follows: "In the *Ain* we have a picture of Akbar's government in its several departments and of its relations

to the different ranks and mixed races of his subjects, as distinct from the records of wars and dynastic changes in most Muhammadan histories. We have in the *Ain* the governed classes brought to the foreground: men live, and move before us, and the great questions of the time, axioms then believed in and principles then followed, phantoms then chased after, ideas then prevailing, and successes then obtained, are placed before our eyes in truthful and therefore vivid colours" (Intro. v).

To early British administrators it was regarded as an indispensable and first rate source book of pre-British administrative system and it was laid under contribution by Tieffentaller (1776), Chief Sheristadar Grant and Francis Gladwin (1783). Hence it became the best known original source and most easily accessible to English knowing readers.

But a closer study of the *Ain* removes the illusion that it is socio-economic history. It has many defects. Everything centres round the Emperor and his court, and there is no attempt at comparing the conditions under Akbar with those before. According to Sir J.N. Sarkar it was the first work of its kind in India written when the Mughal governmental structure was still in a half-fluid condition. Abul Fazl "draws an ideal picture instead of giving us a faithful description of the administration in its actual working" (But this view is not always correct. For example, many duties ascribed by Abul Fazl to the kotwal are corroborated by Akbar's *farmans* and also by Manucci). His verbose and rhetorical style buried his grain of fact. So it is not of much real help in drawing a correct and detailed picture of the administrative machinery. As a statistician no detail escapes Abul Fazl's microscopic investigation. But there are difficulties of interpretation and the picture is vague and unreal.

Notwithstanding these limitations, "the *Ain* is invaluable as an account of Akbar's administrative system" (Smith). The merit and the only merit of the *Ain* is in what it tells, and not

in the manner of its telling: unique compilation of the administrative system and the most complete and authoritative history of Akbar's reign¹⁰². It has been described as "the greatest work in the whole series of Muhammadan histories of India". (Blochmann).

Abul Fazl has been regarded in India as the 'great munshi', a master of style and unexcelled in the epistolary art. His pen was feared more by Abdullah, king of Bokhara, than Akbar's by Abdullah. According to the *Maasir ul Umara* 'As a writer Abul Fazl stands unrivalled. His style is grand and is free from the technicalities and flimsy pettiness of other Munshis; and the force of his words, the structure of his sentences, the suitability of his compounds, and the elegance of his periods are such that it would be difficult for anyone to imitate him' (*Maasir ul Umara*). Inayatullah, however, says that the later volumes of Abul Fazl were more laboured and abstruse than the first. Elliot, Elphinstone and Morley have condemned his style and even cast doubts on the fairness of the account. "Though he was a man of enlarged views and extraordinary talents", yet, as Elphinstone remarks 'he was a professed rhetorician and is still the model of the unnatural style which is so much admired in India... His narrative is florid, fickle, and indistinct, overloaded with commonplace reflections and pious effusions, generally ending in a compliment to his patron'¹⁰³.

But in spite of his learning and liberal education and outlook, training in different state departments and high official position, access to official records and facilities, and his command over languages, Abul Fazl could not rise to the level of the scientific historian. For he wrote as 'an advocate and apologist' of Akbar.

Among private historians, Badaoni's idea of History was as follows:

(i) *Value of History*: "The science of History is essentially a lofty science and an elegant branch of learning, because it is the fountain-head of the learning of the experienced and the

source of the experience of the learned and discriminating, and the writers of stories and biographies from the time of Adam to this present time in which we live have completed reliable compositions and comprehensive works, and have proved the excellence thereof by proofs and demonstrations, but it must not be supposed that the reading and study of this science—as certain lukewarm religionists, and the party of doubt and dissent shortsighted as they are, are wont to affirm—has been or will be a cause of wandering from the straight path of the illustrious law of Muhammad..."

(ii) *Object of writing his history*: "I shall now explain what it was that originally led me to collect these fragments. Since a complete revolution, both in legislation and in manners, greater than any of which there is any record for the past thousand years, has taken place in these days, and every writer who has had the ability to record events and to write two connected sentences has, for the sake of flattering the people of this age, or for fear of them, or by reason of his ignorance of matters of faith, or of his distance from court, or for his own selfish ends, concealed the truth, and, having bartered his faith for worldly profit, and right guidance for error, has adorned falsehood with the semblance of truth, and distorted and embellished infidelity and pernicious trash until they have appeared to be laudable... I have made bold to chronicle these events, a course very far removed from that of prudence and circumspection. But God (He is glorious and honoured!) is my witness, and sufficient is God as a witness, that my inducement to write this has been nothing but sorrow for the faith, and heart-burning for the deceased Religion of Islam, which 'Anqa-like turning its face to the Qaf of exile, and withdrawing the shadow of its wings, from the dwellers in the dust of this lower world, thenceforth became a nonentity, and still is so'.¹⁰⁴

In practice Badaoni's work was an index to the mind of orthodox Muslims of his day. His open satire on Abul Fazl, Faizi and Akbar is

revealing. His whole outlook was anti-Akbar. He selected facts not for their intrinsic worth but for their special interest to suit his point of view and he presented them after colouring them with his personal idiosyncracies in caustic language which gave him inward satisfaction. His history was, from this point of view, essentially psychological.

(e) *Khafi Khan's Ideas on History* may be considered from what he himself writes.

"I have already said in my Preface that it is the duty of an historian to be faithful, to have no hope of profit, no fear of injury, to show no partiality on one side or animosity on the other, to know no difference between friend and stranger, and to write nothing but with sincerity. But in these changeful and wonderful times of Farrukh Siyar Badshah... men have shown a partiality or an animosity to one side or the other exceeding all bounds. They have looked to their own profit and loss, and turned the reins of their imagination accordingly. The virtues of one side they have turned into faults, while they have shut their eyes to the faults of the other, passing all the bounds of moderation. The writer of these leaves, who, following his own inclination, has wasted his days in authorship, has not been partial either to friends or strangers, and has flattered neither nobles nor wazirs in the hope of reward. What he himself saw, what he heard from the tongues of men who from time to time were the associates of Md. Farrukh Siyar and from the Saiyids who were his companions at the banquet table and in battle, that he has honestly committed to writing, after endeavouring to arrive at the truth when statements varied. But as notes of various occurrences and transactions did not reach the author, and as, through distress and the unfriendliness of fortune, he was unable to procure paper for his rough drafts, and as discrepancies in the various statements became greater, if it should appear that in any place the author differs in any particulars from other histories and writers, who themselves may not be free from partiality, and as variations will

appear in the most trustworthy histories, he begs that his stories being excused, they may not be made a target for the arrows of censure, but that the pen of kindness may be drawn over his hasty statements."

This was really "one of the best and most impartial histories" of the period.¹⁰⁵

(iii) *Performance lagging behind precept*: Representative historians of all ages in widely scattered parts of the world placed a high value on impartial and truthful delineation of history. In practice, however, this ideal was not always realised. Herodotus, it is true, began in the anti-historical background of Greek thought a new art of basing a genuine epos upon search for truth, but he was not conscious of the boundary line between fact and fiction. He believed in a providential scheme. Even Thucydides "seemed to himself to stand on the very threshold of history. He was generally unable to grapple with the past, failed to give adequate picture of Greek politics, lacked the sense of socio-economic forces, and permitted himself the use of the unhistorical convention of putting the political and diplomatic elements of the narrative in the form of speeches by principal characters." Tacitus may be a gigantic contributor to historical literature but it is doubtful if he was an historian at all. Kalhana failed to apply his high ideals in his own history. The Arab historians were generally reputed for their high standard of truthfulness notwithstanding some adverse factors. But even Ibn Khaldun, 'the greatest figure in the Social Sciences between the time of Aristotle and that of Machiavelli', failed to follow his own philosophical principles in his own *Universal History*. It is not, therefore, surprising that the mediaeval Muslim historians of India also could not come up to their professed ideals in practice.¹⁰⁶

What were the causes why the performance of a writer far lagged behind the profession of the ideal conception of history? What were the sources of error? Says Ibn Khaldun,¹⁰⁷

"All records, by their very nature, are liable to error—nay, they contain factors which make for error". These may be summarised as follows:

- (i) Partisanship towards a creed or opinion. It acts as a blinker to the mind, preventing it from investigating and criticising and inclining it to the reception and transmission of error.
- (ii) Over-confidence in one's sources.
- (iii) Failure to understand what is intended.
- (iv) Mistaken belief in the truth.
- (v) Inability rightly to place an event in its real context, owing to the obscurity and complexity of the situation.
- (vi) Very common desire to gain the favour of those of high rank, by praising them, by spreading their fame, by flattering them, by embellishing their doings and by interpreting in the most favourable way all their actions. This gives a distorted version of historical events.
- (vii) Most important of all, the ignorance of the laws governing the transformations of human society. For every single thing, whether it be an object or an action, is subject to a law governing its nature and any changes that may take place in it.
- (viii) Exaggeration: most of our contemporaries give free rein to their imagination, follow the whisperings of exaggeration, and transgress the limitations of customary experience... The real cause of this error is that men's minds are fond of all that is strange and unusual...
- (ix) Another hidden source of error in historical writing is the ignoring of the transformations that occur in the con-

dition of epochs and peoples with the passage of time and the changes of periods.

The causes of frustration of accuracy and the common limitations of the early Muslim writers may be analysed, as being due, among others, to the following factors: (i) exaggeration as a legitimate practice. Many find it difficult to distinguish between fact and the product of imagination. This might be due either to imagination, literary tricks to create an effect, or poetical eulogies or rhapsodic eulogies and praise of rulers and nobles, e.g. Hasan Nizami's description of sending thousands of Hindus to hell in Ajmer and Amir Khusrau's epithet of overlord of Gujarat, Devgiri, Telingana, Bengal and Malwa applied to Kaikubad; (ii) wilful misrepresentation and distortion, due to prejudices, personal, class or otherwise, expectation of gain and fear of punishment, personal antagonism or dislike of particular actions. The villification of Muhammad Tughluq by Isami, Ibn Battuta, and Barani and of Akbar by Badaoni belong to this category. This aspect becomes specially dangerous when the author is the only authority available. (iii) Misunderstanding: sometimes careless and improper use of unconventional phrases and idioms by the author may lead to wrong conclusions.¹⁰⁸ (iv) Untrustworthiness of human memory. Even persons of retentive memory may be betrayed. This accounts for much of the unreliability of Jauhar's *Tazkirat ul Waqiat*. (v) Sometimes the truthfulness of a writer is affected when he thinks that what ought to have happened actually happened. This tendency is seen among writers like Barani and Jauhar; (vi) Many unscrupulous persons also deliberately perverted or fabricated history.

In fine, it must be admitted that it is easy enough to speak of being or becoming an impartial and accurate historian. In practice it is difficult, if not impossible. The first stage in history writing is to ascertain the facts or factors. This by itself is quite a difficult job. Next these have to be understood and finally an intelligible

and readable account is to be given. The historian must be guided to some extent if not by prejudice or predilection, at any rate by his point of view and intention, determined by the delimitation implied in his subject. "He must use his material by choosing from it, ordering it and interpreting it. He is bound to introduce an element of subjectivity—tamper with or detract from the absolute, unchanging truth. Behind the facts, behind the goddess History, there is a historian. Clio may be in possession of the truth, but to the historians she will at best, in exchange for their labour and devotion, vouchsafe a glimpse. Never will she surrender the whole of her treasure. The most that we can hope for is a partial rendering, an approximation, of the real truth about the past."¹⁰⁹

Intelligibility in History

The role of history in achieving knowledge is undeniable. The growth of the idea of synthesis of history ("synthesis of reconstitution") was characterised by the struggle between two attitudes—political history and cultural history. Now a days "Political history, direct descendant of that pragmatic history—so brilliantly represented by Thucydides, Polybius, Tacitus and Machiavelli... concerned with affairs, with motives of statesmen, and...oriented towards political action has lost some of its prestige. History tends to embrace life in the entirety of its aspect and thus to unite all the special disciplines and all the so-called historical sciences which have sprung from analysis".¹¹⁰ Attempts at historical synthesis took the form of 'philosophy of history'. This tendency was represented in Europe by two schools, the Christian and the German idealist. Since the time of Augustine (*De Civitas Dei*) the Christian school attributed events to divine will. According to this theological interpretation history was the working of God's providence. Then arose the conception that human affairs were shaped by human factors. Gradually there grew up the concept of an organic unity of man's entire social life, depending on the slow working of forces beyond the control of human

will or reason. This led to the growth of the historical method in the 19th century. As offshoots of the historical stream flowed Hegelian rationalism, deriving the sequence of events from the Idea by dialectic. This in turn produced the economic interpretation or materialistic conception of history which was opposed to both the Christian and the German idealist schools. Marx emphasized the dominating influence of economic relationships. But the main stream of thought from the middle of the 19th century was influenced more by Comte, father of Positivism, Buckle and Taine. Then comes scientific history, represented by bands of scholars in England (e.g. Bradley, Bury, Oakeshott and Toynbee), Germany, France and Italy. Up to the close of the 19th century, philosophy was generally assumed to be queen of the sciences; history was a humble subject, living on the periphery of her realm. But the Italian, Benedetto Croce, held finally that philosophy was only a constituent element within history, that there is only one kind of judgment, the individual judgment of history i.e. all reality is history and all knowledge is historical knowledge. He vindicated the autonomy of history i.e. its right to conduct its own business in its own way, both against philosophy and against science. Croce (1912-3) defined philosophy as the methodology of history.¹¹¹

How did the mediaeval Muslim historians treat and interpret History? How did they make History intelligible? Their conception of articulations of causality in History was different from the modern. In modern times three categories or orders of facts,—contingency or chance or individuality; necessity or institutional or social elements, having certain laws; and logic or traditions and ideas,—constitute 'the warp and woof of history'. These have made historical causation so extremely complex that the threads cannot be disentangled even by science¹¹². The mediaevalists attributed causality in history not to human action but to divine intervention. They interpreted history in terms of conventional religio-

ethical background. History became subservient to religion and theology, a vehicle of didacticism. In other words, the emphasis on divine action relegated the element of chance to the background; religion overbore all institutional or social needs and logic, and a moral formed a fitting finale. "To all Arabic chroniclers political history was history *par excellence*; the economic and social aspects of life were touched upon only incidentally. Historical causation was mainly providential because of Allah's constant interference" (Hitti)¹¹³. The mediaeval Muslim historians of India toed the line.

(a) *The play of Divine intervention in history*

History, to moderners, is humanistic. Modern historians conceive men as acting in or being acted upon by historical situations. But the treatment of mediaeval Muslim historians and biographers was different. History was not regarded as the story of human beings with volitions of their own, or the story of a developing, changing human nature in action but a spectacle of Divine ordination, a story of divine action in which human beings were mere agents. They were less interested in facts in their manifold variety and detail but more interested in those which satisfied their religious suppositions. They did not find intelligibility in history in the historical process itself. Men were mere puppets in an inscrutable drama whose meaning was known only to God. The divine decree being the final determinant of events, it was futile to interpret events with reference to complex economic and social forces. The individual was depersonalized.

To Barani history was theology,—the study of God, His attributes and decrees, not of man. The past was a commentary upon Divine purpose for men and History is a vehicle for Revelation. He did not write all he knew about Muhammad bin Tughluq but only what was necessary to understand the 'true inwardness of his reign'.¹¹⁴

Afif seeks intelligibility in history in extra-

historical facts,—by looking beyond history itself to the whole order of divine creation, which is inscrutable at times. Unlike Barani, Afif does not offer a coherent interpretation of how and why things happen in history. He does not interpret the past in such a way as to teach specific ethical principles and courses of action. The past is a spectacle, but not a school of true religion, a spectacle of virtue. Firuz Tughluq was an ideal king¹¹⁵.

Yahya's approach to historical writing was casual and indifferent. However he refers to divine interpretation in History. At the end of his account of each reign he usually invoked the Arabic formulæ 'God alone knows the truth' or 'God alone knows'. Narration of the mistakes of the great (e.g. Md. bin Tughluq) he considered improper. Men should take heed from such narration, though he does not indicate how. Setting his work in an essentially typically Islamic framework (praise of God, Prophet, Pious Caliphs, and Ali's two sons), he sees the will of God in the fortunes of Islam in Hindustan from the time of Muhammad Ghuri. The fatal fall of Qutb Shah, the victory of Iltutmish etc. were all decreed by God. But divine will was capricious, and Yahya had no deep conviction of divine governance of the world. At times he attributes events to human actions and decisions (e.g. his analysis of causes of Md. Tughluq's difficulties). But this was merely incidental. Events first, causes are dragged in afterwards.¹¹⁶

Amir Khusrau also seeks to set his *Khazain ul Futuh* in the Islamic framework (praise of God, Prophet and Sultan, the Quran). Without referring to the assassination of Ala-uddin's uncle, he ascribes his accession to the 'Will of God' (Mosaic Muhammad should seize the power from all infidel pharaohs). Amir Khusrau offers a spectacle of Divine ordination. The *Tughluqnamah* also was couched in the idiom of a religious and moral melodrama. In final analysis history (i.e. actual events of the past) is unintelligible except on the assumption that God wills everything. Events do not

happen through some process of human decision (e.g. *Qiran us Sadain*, *Khazain ul Futuh* and *Duwal Rani*) but due to fate or God. But his idea of Divine causation is arbitrary¹¹⁷.

'Isami's *Futuh us Salatin* is also full of the ethical stock in trade of mediaeval Muslim authors, viz., (i) mystery of Divine ordination, (ii) incomprehensibility of Fate. He assumes divine ordination as the cause of everything in general and many things in particular though sometimes he ascribes events to human motive and decision: Kaikhusrau, son of Prince Muhammad was set aside for Kaikubad, son of Bughra, due to decision of nobles.

To Amir Khusrau and 'Isami, the past is a drama of the clash of Gods and devils, hardly of men.¹¹⁸

This trait of early Mediaeval Indo-Moslem historians has been adversely criticised by some modern writers. The former have been accused of dehumanising history.

But this is a characteristic of mediaeval history in Europe also. Is not Christian history providential history? Christian thought ascribes events not to man's wisdom but to the dictates of Providence preordaining them. Man is not the wise (or foolish) architect of his own destiny, as he is to the scientific historian. The historical process is the working out not of man's purpose but God's. Similarly, to the mediaeval European historian also, history is not a mere play of human purposes but an illustration of a benevolent and constructive divine purpose¹¹⁹. He also endeavoured to find out the objective of divine plan in a theocratic world. The end of history is foreordained by God. It is foreknown to man through revelation. As the historian's task is to know the past, not to know the future, mediaeval historiography contained an element of eschatology, which is regarded as an intrusive element in History. Mediaeval history thus becomes not only theocratic but also transcendental. Hence it is weak in critical method. The mediaeval historian neglected the prime

duty of the historian. His desideratum was not a scientific and accurate study of the facts of history but of divine attributes. He searched for the essence of history outside history in a theology, based on faith and reason. To the critical historian mediaeval historiography had wrong aim (or direction) and was unsatisfactory and repulsive¹²⁰.

The same attitude of divine ordination in history is noticeable in the Mughal period as well. Babur ascribes his victory at Panipat in 1526 to divine grace and mercy. Passages from Abul Fazl's preface to *Ain i Akbari* clearly prove this. Akbar is as 'an ornament to God's noble creation'; 'No dignity is higher in the eyes of God than royalty'; 'Royalty is a light emanating from God, and a ray from the sun, illuminator of the universe, the argument of the book of perfection, the receptacle of all virtues'. One of the 'Happy sayings' of Akbar was about the existence of a 'bond between the creator and the creature which is not expressible in language'. 'The very sight of kings has been held to be a part of divine worship. They have been styled conventionally the shadow of God, and indeed to behold them is a means of calling to mind the Creator, and suggests the protection of the Almighty'.¹²¹

But it is remarkable that during the Mughal period the humanistic aspect of history tended to be more marked and the divine causation less prominent than in the Turko-Afghan period. Examples may be seen in the *Tazkirat ul Waqiat* of Jauhar, *Humayunnamah* of Gulbadan Begum, the *Tabaqat i Akbari* of Nizamuddin Ahmad (a dry and colourless chronicle of external events). *Tarikh i Ferishta* contains an introduction, treating of the progress of Muhammadanism and is divided into 12 chapters, the headings of which contrast strikingly with Amir Khusrau's allusions. A perusal of Aurangzeb's last letters to Azam and Kam Bakhsh, and his two wills will bring home this growing humanistic attitude to life, and diminishing reference to divine causation, though references to God continue therein. The religiously devout, or-

thodox, puritanical Emperor realises the futility of life's toil at long last. "I came alone and am going away alone. I know not who I am and what I have been doing. The days that have been spent except in austerities have left only regret behind them. I have not at all done any (true) government of the realm or cherishing of the peasantry..... Though I have strong hopes of His grace and kindness, yet in view of my acts anxiety does not leave me..." (to 'Azam).

"...Although in the days of my power, I gave advice for submission to the will of God and exerted myself beyond the limits of possibility,—God having willed it otherwise, none listened to me. Now that I am dying, it will do no good. I shall carry away with myself the fruits of all the punishments and sins that I have done..... Although God will undertake the protection of His people, yet it is also obligatory on Muslims and my sons. When I was full of strength, I could not at all protect them; and now I am unable to take care of myself..." (to Kam Bakhsh).

"I was helpless (in life) and I am departing helpless." (I.O. Library MS. Will)¹²²

(b) Conventional religio-ethical background.

According to Turner 'History is the natural propaganda of a social order'; for this reason the oft-quoted words "History is past politics" ought to read "History is present politics". History has been used to buttress certain definite situations, regimes, and ideas in recent times. The mediaeval Muslim historians of India tried to make History intelligible in terms of conventional religious and ethical expectations of orthodox Muslim readers. They tried to satisfy their readers who wanted a popular religious moral,—avoidance of vanities of a wicked world. This was a common recurring burthen in the histories of this period (c.f. 'Isami, Yahya). Yahya's history warns his readers of the snares and delusions of worldly success. Isami made the past intelligible in terms of the conventional religious and ethical expectations of orthodox Muslim readers and men of affairs

in 14th century India. His heroes act in accordance with certain moral stereotypes, rules of conduct and stock responses in similar situations, i.e. were heroes or villains.¹²³

The age of Akbar, one of political, religious and social ferment, required stability, political and social, and security. Mere military might was considered to be too inadequate a foundation for Akbar's conception of national monarchy. It required an academic justification or intellectual propaganda. Abul Fazl used the *Akbar-namah* to buttress Akbar's claim to supreme temporal and spiritual authority. He wrote more as a literary artist than as a scientific historian, more as an advocate than as a judge.¹²⁴ Similarly Badaoni also wrote his history from the point of view of an orthodox Sunni in the background of contemporary orthodox circles. From this point of view both Abul Fazl and Badaoni were using history, not writing it.

(c) History at the service of religion :

The rise of Christianity and the growth of the Church in Europe ushered a revolution in the history of history. History became subservient to religion. Unlike Providential history which treats History as a play written by God for whom no character is favourite, theocratic history deals with events of a particular society under a God for whom it is a chosen people.¹²⁵

In mediaeval India, too, history was made to serve the cause of Islam, the true religion, to glorify Islam. The Indo-Moslem historians accepted the Muslim world order and almost exclusively concentrated on the deeds of the Muslims in India, regarding the non-Muslims as passive instruments on whom to impose their will and practice virtue, as hewers of wood and drawers of water,—as victims of the sword, as converts or jizyapayers. From this point of view they were historians of a religious group, not of the whole people of the Sultanate. They have been dubbed "the first Muslim communalists of India" (Peter Hardy). Even Amir Khusrau, who gloried in being a Hindustani,

and was considerably interested in the language, music and sciences of the Hindus (e.g. in *Nuh Sipahr*) pointed out that Hindus live metaphysically in error and ignorance of truth.

This attitude of glorification of Islam helps to explain the contemporary accounts of Hindu-Moslem relations (wars, battles etc.) and much of the exaggerations therein made become intelligible. To the early mediaeval Indo-Moslem historians, History was "theocratic, not humanistic" (Hardy).¹²⁶

(d) Didacticism :

The didactic element in history has been acclaimed by all earnest thinkers of antiquity. The Hellenistic age regarded history largely as a collection of *examples*. Tacitus also held that "history's highest function (is) to let no worthy action be uncommemorated, and to hold the reprobation of posterity as a terror to evil words and deeds". Miskawaih (d.1030) and Tauhidi (d.1023) held that the present generation might learn from the lessons of the past. This attitude continued to the end of the Middle Ages, to Tajuddin Sabki (d.1370) and Ibn Khaldun (d.1406). But Firdausi differed. To Kalhana the great objective of his work is didactic, to teach healthy lessons. 'This saga which is properly made up should be useful for kings as a stimulant or as a sedative, like a physic, according to time and place'.¹²⁷

To Barani history has a didactic religious purpose. History was a branch of ethics. Facts were twisted for moral reasons. History was an element of divine truth, to be written only by orthodox Sunni Traditionists. This was his religious philosophy of History. To Barani history is an emporium of moral virtues and sermons, of lofty thoughts and emotions. He teaches true religion and morality by examples in his *Tarikh*. It is an indispensable study for a good life. It warns readers to avoid the base and the contemptible.¹²⁸

Yahya beautifies his chronicle with a few

morals, according to contemporary literary canons. The study of history imparts the lesson that there should be no more human history. His comments on the murder of Mubarak Shah, his hoped-for patron (1428), indicates his attitude to life: "this cruel world breaks the knot of friendship and sincerity, and discordant time fails to redeem its pledge of sympathy..." He repeats and amplifies these warnings.¹²⁹

Amir Khusrau gives moral advice to his heroes,—Sultan Alauddin (in *Diwal Rani*) and Qutb Mubarak Shah (in *Nuh Sipahr*), but these are formal abstract judgments of value; he does not prove them from history.¹³⁰

To Abul Fazl history is 'a unique pearl of science which quiets perturbations, physical and spiritual, and gives light to darkness, external and internal'. Chronicles "embody the knowledge of mankind, wisdom of the wise, the mistakes of the learned, the vicissitudes of life, vain endeavour and empty yearnings and other wonderful singularities of human existence. If enlightenment be brought to the task of chronicle writing and regard be had to what is proper, a second life is bestowed on the inquiring and laborious."¹³¹

Nizamuddin says that from his youth, according to the advice of his father, "I devoted myself to the study of works of history, which are the means of strengthening the understanding of men of education, and of affording instruction by examples to men of observation; and by continually enquiring into the affairs of the travellers on the high road of life, which is to make the tour of realities: I thus removed the rust from my inert disposition".¹³²

The didactic element in history diminishes in the Mughal period. This may be illustrated from the contents of such works as Ferishta, Md. Salin Kambu, Khafi Khan, Iswardas Nagor and Bhimsen Burhanpuri. There are more of events, of actions and measures taken, —political, administrative or military,—of their causes and effects than morals or vague warnings.

(e) Lack of critical acumen :

The mediaeval Indian historians were undoubtedly deficient in critical acumen. The Indo-Moslem historians have been accused of being recorders first, researchers afterwards. Their methods of studying history were comparable to those of studying *hadith* (tradition), written from authority. History 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.¹³³

The tradition of transmission of information continued through the Mughal period and influenced early British historiography on mediaeval India. Abul Fazl freely borrowed from his authorities without acknowledgement. Nizamuddin borrowed from al Utbi, Minhaj and Barani. Again, both Badaoni and Ferishta were indebted to Nizamuddin. British historians also borrowed from these writers.

But lack of critical acumen characterised the mediaeval European counterpart also equally. The mediaeval European historian depended for his facts, among others, on tradition and had no effective means to criticize it. Criticism, if any, was 'a personal, unscientific and unsystematic criticism'.¹³⁴

(f) *Absence of Sociological aspects*: "Historiography (in mediaeval Islam) did not set out to tell the saga of the evolution of society, nor did it wish to judge and interpret. Rather it meant to collect the accounts of the witnesses, marshalling them with the greatest possible completeness and with no concern for their contradictions. The reader was left to draw his own conclusions. The historian merely furnished the material. He took great pains to obtain reliable information and strictly accounted, in the style of the traditionists, for his authorities. The weakness of Arabic historiography is its concentration on personalities and on military incidents and court cabals. The works of war attract incomparably

more attention than those of peace. For the most part happenings are explained as results of intrigues and ambitions of kings, generals, or politicians. The forces which these leaders represent frequently go unnoticed. The public came to be interested in the lesson history taught. But the lesson learned was merely one of morality, insight into human character, and the vagaries of fate...."¹³⁵ One can hardly expect to find an independent political theory or study of the social forces of the age where everything was conceived as depending on God and His decrees. Yet the fourteenth century North African Ibn Khaldun (1332—1406) could not only propound a theory of the power-state, transcending his age but conceived of society as an organic unit. To him the state was not only "an end in itself with a life of its own, governed by the law of causality, a natural and necessary human institution; it is also the political and social unit which made human civilization possible." He took human civilization as his theme in his "new science of history."¹³⁶

But history came to be regarded by mediaeval Muslim historians in India as something emanating from divine inspiration or flowing from the throne. The historian presented a succession of events and acts of and about the great and the high (sultans, officers, saints) but not of 'the base and the lowly'. To the Indo-Moslem historians, society was not organic but atomistic, or individualistic, the individuals living together but un-related, clashing but not inter-acting. 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.¹³⁷

A natural corollary of this was the absence of sociological aspects of history in the professedly historical works. Society takes a secondary place. In commenting on the trait of mediaeval writers to write on the activities of the rulers, Elliot observes that these historians recorded the

deeds of "grandeers and ministers, thrones and imperial powers" and that society was "never contemplated either in the conventional usages or recognized privileges; its constituent elements or mutual relations; its established classes or popular institutions; in its private recesses or habitual intercourses." A fact, an anecdote, a speech, a remark, which would illustrate the condition of the common people, or of any rank subordinate to the highest, is considered too insignificant to be suffered to intrude upon a relation which concerns only Grandeers and Ministers, "Thrones and Imperial Powers". The horizon of the Indo-Moslem historians was limited to the deeds of politically great and powerful. History was treated more as a biographical or political history material than as a sociological factor or social science. Further, the complete silence of Mughal official histories about the social conditions of the people disqualified them from being histories in the modern sense of the term.¹³⁸

New Spirit

From the above analysis of some of the theocratic, didactic and official histories of mediaeval India, the objects of which were either the glorification of the great,—rulers and ministers, or glorification of Islam, let us now turn to some other types of works or some unusual features of the works already discussed, which strike a somewhat different note, in which we breathe a new spirit. Alberuni's work has a deep sociological import, Barani offers his philosophy of the uses of history, Badaoni strikes a note of secularisation, while Bhimsen Burhanpur creates in the minds of his readers an impression of approaching the characteristics of a social historian.

(a) *Al Biruni*: Abu Rayhan Muhammad al Biruni, known in Europe as Aliboron, (born 970-1; died 1038-9), belonged to Khwarizm, and was a contemporary of Mahmud of Ghazni. This famous encyclopaedic scholar, well versed in philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, geography, medicine, logic, theology and religion,

is justly regarded as the first and greatest Muslim Indologist. He travelled extensively in India in the train of Mahmud and studied the language, sciences and philosophy of the Hindus extensively and embodied his observations on the religious condition and social institutions of the Hindus in his times. His book entitled *Tahkik i Hind* or *Tarikh ul Hind* was written in Arabic and then translated into Persian. It is not a professed history. It is a deep sociological study, characterised by a rare spirit of enquiry, modern scientific attitude and sympathetic insight. Alberuni himself describes the spirit animating him as follows: "My book is nothing but a simple historic record of facts. I shall place before my readers the theories of the Hindus exactly as they are..." Of him Max Muller said: "The world owes to him the first accurate and comprehensive account of Indian literature and religion." Alberuni exhibited the rare spirit of impartiality and detachment. "The work of Alberuni is unique in Muslim literature as an earnest attempt to study an idolatrous world of thought not proceeding from the intention of attacking or refuting it but uniformly showing the desire to be just and impartial even when the opponents' views are declared to be inadmissible." Further Alberuni's treatment of his sources reveals his scientific mind. "The Sanskrit sources of his chapters are almost always given, and Sachau's preface has listed the many authors quoted by him on astronomy, chronology, geography and astrology. He was also acquainted with Greek literature through Arabic translations, and in comparing its language and thought and those of Hindu metaphysics, selects his quotations from the *Timaeus* and its commentator the Neo-Platonist Proclus, with judgment and rare ability. And he rarely fails to record his authorities.....Al Biruni quotes freely from his authorities, and where these seem to exaggerate or to be inaccurate, his citations are followed by some sharp brief commentary which gives a ceaseless interest to his pages. His treatment of these topics is throughout scholarly, showing extensive reading and precision of thought acquired by a study of the exact sciences." His "masterly

criticisms" give him a "unique position among Eastern writers."¹³⁹

(b) *Barani's philosophy of History*: Making due allowance for the religious outlook and for the defects of Barani according to modern criteria of a historian, there is no doubt that his *Tarikh i Firoz Shahi* (1357) was "the vigorous and trenchant expression of a conscious philosophy of history which lifts Barani right out of the ranks of mere compilers of chronicles and annals".¹⁴⁰ Firstly, Barani's passion lay in History and he regards it as a science: "My life has been spent in a minute examination of books; and in every science, I have studied many literary works both ancient and modern, and after the science of Quranic commentary, the study of tradition (*hadith*), jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and the mystic path (*tariqa*) of the (Sufi) Shaykhs, I have not seen as many benefits in any other form of learning or practical activity as I have in the science of history" (TFS.9).

Secondly, to Barani History is not only a science, but the queen of the sciences:

"In this history I have written of the affairs of government and of the important imperial enterprises of Md. bin Tughluq (but) I have not concerned myself with the arrangement in the order of every victory, or every event or every revolt and uprising, because wise men are innately capable of considering carefully and taking due warning from a study of the affairs of government and the enterprises of rulers, and the ignorant and senseless, who have no desire or inclination to study circumstances of good and evil and who do not know that history is "The queen of the sciences", through their own innate disposition and lack of understanding, even if they read the volumes containing the story of Abu Musaylima and repeated them, would not be able to gain any benefit from them or take heed from them." (TFS.468). Barani then is writing for those who see the same truths in life as he sees. Explicitly he mentions that the *Tarikh i Firoz Shahi* has been so

composed as to teach right conclusions (e.g. Md. Tughluq)

Thirdly, Barani mentions some advantages of studying History, which are of a limited nature, consistent with his limited view of History. Modern thinkers may not wholly agree with him in all points, but some do find confirmation even now.

(i) According to Barani History acquaints men with the accounts of the deeds of Prophets, caliphs and sultans, political and religious leaders. Its true objective is moral edification. It is both an art and science, and supplies numerous examples. It is a record of the qualities and virtues of leaders but not of the evil deeds of the mean-minded people. (TFS 9-10)

According to Peter Geyl, "History provides perspective... tries to fulfil certain of our permanent and profound needs as civilized and social beings... The earliest monuments of history... were intended to glorify kings or priests or warriors... to shed luster on the dynasty, the church or the state... constituted a knowledge usefully for the stability of society and its institutions." Another modern writer acutely remarks: "History is the reservoir not of argument but of proof and the proof is mathematical".

(ii) Barani thinks that the connexion between Tradition (*hadith*) and History is as close as between twins. Knowledge of these subjects is complementary. A traditionist needs be a historian to have better knowledge of *hadith*, to prove and explain it. History helps the faithful in understanding facts about the Prophet and his companions.

(iii) Barani says that history by studying other's experience teaches commonsense and strengthens the power of reasoning and judgment.

(iv) Barani asserts that history imparts lessons to rulers,—Sultans, nobles and wazirs,—during emergencies, crises and calamities. The experience of others in parallel cases helps them to

adopt solutions and avoid worry about hypothetical dangers. Hence history acts as a source of comfort, strength and warning.

This may well be compared with what some modern writers have observed. Lord Acton passionately believed that 'knowledge of the past' is 'an instrument of action' and 'eminently practical'. A.F. Pollard writes: "Knowledge of public action in the past provides the best means of understanding public action in the present, and the safest guide for the exercise of political power. Through the proper study of history we can join the wisdom of Solomon to the counsel of Socrates by trying to get understanding and learning to know ourselves." Many historians have now retreated from this position and given up the doctrine of the practical 'use' of history. As every event is unique, the potentialities of every situation become unsurveyable and it becomes impossible to derive lessons or guidance from the past.¹⁴¹ But the essential value of history has been emphasized by several other historians. "History is an aid to statesmen and orators, furnishing examples of actions to emulate or avoid or illustration for speeches, which the user—if not the historian himself—may improve to suit the needs of an idea or a phrase." (Shotwell).

A modern writer has summed up the purposes of history as being three: *first*, 'the enrichment of civilization by the re-examination of old modes of existence and thought'; *second*, 'the cultivation of the historical attitude of mind'; *third*, 'the elucidation of the present and its problems by showing them in perspective'.

In dilating on the last point, he remarks: "the present is not elucidated merely by connecting it with trends in the immediately preceding period, from which it may be seen to issue. The whole of history will help us to understand the world we live in. A mind that has established contact with forms of life remote and unfamiliar, that has come to know great events and personalities of some particular period, pondering motives and evidence, watching the ever sur-

prising shapes in which greatness and character appear, or studying the curious changes of social habits and the impact of economic factors, such a mind is likely to see more deeply into contemporary phenomena and movements, be it of culture or politics. This is what Burckhardt meant when he said that history will make us wise; for although Bacon had said the same thing three centuries before, the great Swiss historian gave to the world a somewhat different connotation by adding, "wise for always; not clever for another time". He meant, of course, that history is not to be searched for practical lessons, the applicability of which will always be doubtful in view of the inexhaustible novelty of circumstances and combination of causes, but just this, that the mind will acquire a sensitiveness, an imaginative range..... We historians cannot give to anyone the knowledge required in capsules nicely dosed, effect guaranteed".

"Yet undoubtedly the history of the recent past of one's own country or the group of countries belonging to the same sphere of civilization and power politics offers, for the purpose of understanding the present, a special and irreplaceable interest. There is here by universal consent an immediate and practical use of history for any one trying to find his way through the politics of his own or of a foreign country, or, of course, through international politics. The same might certainly be said of virtually every field of cultural or social or economic activity, but let me here limit the discussion to political history".

(v) Barani opines that through a study of the lives of Prophets, their deeds and vicissitudes, history teaches patience, resignation and contentment and prevents despair in misfortune and distress.

The moral function of history as a store-house of elevating example has been acknowledged even by modern writers.

(vi) Through historical knowledge, the character of the saints, the just and virtuous

become firmly fixed in readers' hearts; the evil, the base, the rebellious and the tyrannical and the havoc wrecked by them become known to sultans, ministers and kings of Islam. Besides, History proves the fruits of good conduct and the results of bad. The sultans and rulers are induced to follow good courses of action and not indulge in tyranny and oppression and not escape the obligations of the servanthood of God. The people also realise the benefits of their right action. Thus study of history enables us to adopt the virtues of the good and shun the vices of the evil doers.

(vii) History is a necessary foundation of truth. It is a true narration of good and evil, justice and injustice (oppression), obedience and rebellion, virtue and vice, so that readers may take warning and understand the benefits and injuries of worldly rule and follow virtuous paths and avoid evil. Thus history teaches us the moral lesson of ideal justice that vice is punished and virtue triumphs. (TFS 11-13). Here Barani widens the connotation of history and includes good and evil within its scope. But his view that religious orthodoxy guaranteed the historian's truthfulness (TFS 13-14) indicates that his 'conception of truth is religious and ethical, not historical.'

Geyl observes : "The discipline of history, the historical spirit, is a force for truth and against myth."

(viii) The historian immortalises all those of whom he writes.¹⁴² Similarly to Kalkana History is more potent than the mythical ambrosia: the latter immortalises a single individual, but a true history immortalises a number of great men as well as the historian."

(c) Badaoni : Badaoni possessed an original mind. He is reputed for his orthodoxy and criticism of Akbar. But there is a reference to Islam Shah's administration which is highly significant. It does not seem to be satirical and points to a secular approach. According to Abbas, the biographer of Sher Shah, his laws

were made "both from his own ideas and extracting them from the books of the learned." This phase of substantive legislation 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". He 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?¹⁴³

(d) Bhimsen : Bhimsen Burhanpuri, a kayastha hereditary civil officer of Mughal Government. (b. 1649)—and author of *Nuskha i Dilkusha* (c. 1708-9), looked at Aurangzeb's reign through the eyes of a contemporary Hindu. Living "near enough to the Mughal officers to learn the events accurately but not near enough to the throne to be lying flatterers", he "knew the truth, and could afford to tell the truth." He was free from the worst defects of official historians. He has supplied many things which are lacking in the complete official history of Aurangzeb's reign, viz., (1) causes and effects of events, (2) state of the country, (3) condition of the people, their amusements, (4) prices of food, (5) condition of roads, (6) social life of the official class and (7) incidents in Mughal warfare in the Deccan. The following passages are revealing and show Bhimsen to be a social historian of the times.

"Ever since His Majesty had come to the throne he had not lived in a city but elected

all these wars and hard marching, so that the inmates of his camp, sick of long separation summoned their families to the camp and lived there. A new generation was thus born (under canvas)...only knew that in this world there is no other shelter than a tent...All administration has disappeared..."

"There is no hope of a jagir being left with the same officer next year...the collector does not hesitate to collect the rent with every oppression. The ryots have given up cultivation: the jagirdars do not get a penny."

"One kingdom has to maintain two sets of jagirdars!.....The peasants subjected to this double exaction have collected arms and horses and joined the Marathas."

He refers to Maratha risings being due to administrative exploitation and oppression on peasantry in areas near Maharashtra lands and the cultivators joined the Maratha desh mukhs and senapatis.¹⁴⁴

Conclusion

The famous German historian and philosopher Ernst Troeltsch once observed that at times it is more important to make a beginning than to produce the finished article. Here I have just made a beginning with the hope that the finished article would be produced later, if not by me, by my younger compeers. I have found this study in intellectual history not only invigorating but fascinating as well. Let me conclude with the pregnant observations of Randall: "Intellectual history reveals to us men thinking, and something of how their minds are operating when they are thinking. The historical treatment of philosophy, it is clear, illuminates all the other strands of cultural history. Conceived as it has been here portrayed as the intellectual reaction of outstanding minds to other cultural and culturally significant events, it displays not merely ideas in the process of being worked out. It displays ideas in action, as they intervene in the other activities of men, and influence the

course of institutional development. It thus helps us to understand ourselves, and our culture, our intellectual world. It throws light on why

we find the ideas we find that control our thinking, and that offer opportunities to us to think further by using them."¹⁴⁵

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- ¹ Held on 27-9-64.
- ² It is "neither to be laughed at nor wept over, but to be understood" (Richter).
- ³ Collingwood, *Idea of History*, 9-10; J.T. Shotwell, *The History of History*, I.
- ⁴ Collingwood, Part V, 205 ff.
- ⁵ Trevelyan, 'Clio, a Muse'.
- ⁶ Collingwood, 52.
- ⁷ Rajatarangini, I, 3-5, 7, 21. *Itihasa* comprehended *Purana*, *itihita* (ancient occurrences), *akhyaika* (historical tales), *udharana* (declaratory songs or panegyrics), *Dharma-sastra* and *Arthashastra*. Kautilya regarded *Itihasa* as the fifth Veda and held its scope to be remarkably wide,—including not only legendary and true tales, occurrences, *prastasis*, but also treatises on religious, social and political matters.
- ⁸ Presidential address by M.M. P.V. Kane (*Proc. Indian History Congress*, 1953): Articles by Dr. R.C. Mazumdar (Ideas of History in Sanskrit Literature) and by Dr. A.L. Basham (The Kashmir chronicle) in *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, ed. by C.H. Philips, 13-28, 57-65. Dr. H.C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India* I; A.B. Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, 158-74; U.N. Ghoshal, *Dynastic Chronicles of Kashmir*, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XVIII, 195-207; 302-41; XIX, 27-49, 156-72.
- ⁹ (i) L.P. Tessitori, 'A Scheme for the Bardic and Historical Survey of Rajputana' (1914) J.A.S.B. (N.S.) X, 373-410 (1919). J.A.S.B. (N.S.) XV, 5-79.
- (ii) James Tod, *Annals & Antiquities of Rajasthan* (Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.); Crooke's edn., I, lvii-lxiii.
- (iii) T.N. Dave, 'The Institution of Bards in Western India,' *The Eastern Anthropologist*, iv (1951), 166-71.
- (iv) A.K. Forbes, *Ras Mala, Hindu Annals of the Province of Guzerat in Western India* (1924) ed. by H.G. Rawlinson.
- (v) C. von Furer-Haimendorf (1948), *The Raj Gonds of Adilabad. A Peasant Culture of the Deccan*. The Pardhans: The Bards of the Raj Gonds, *The Eastern Anthropologist* iv, 172-84. 'The Historical value of Indian Bardic Literature in Philips, op. cit. 87-93.
- (vi) R.V. Russell & R.B. Hira Lal (1916), *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, Vol. 2 art. Bhat.
- (vii) R.C. Mazumdar, *Delhi Sultanate*, 8.
- (viii) A.C. Bannerji, *Lectures on Rajput History*, 187-8, 108.
- (ix) Ishwari Prasad, *A History of the Qaramah Turks*, 358.
- ¹⁰ S.K. Bhuyan, Assamese Historical Literature in *Indian Historical Quarterly* (Sept. 1929). Assam Buranji found in the family of Sukumar Mahantha, XXXV-XLII.
- ¹¹ For Marathi sources, see Sir J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji* (1952), Bibliography; Dr. S.N. Sen, *Shiva Chhatrapati* (), Appendix: Rawlinson and Patwardhan, *Source Book of Maratha History* (1929), Vol. I. Part 1. & preface.
- ¹² For Sikh sources.
- ¹³ As Dr. Habibullah remarks: "Apart from the numerous Jaina and Hindu theological works written during the Sultanate period, which continue to yield valuable information, Hindu chronicles and literary compositions also deserve to be closely studied. Among the latter the fragmentary *Prithviraj Vijaya Kavya*, believed to have been composed in the life time of the Chauhana ruler and the *Hamira Mahakavya*, a versified history of the Chauhana house of Ranthambhor completed early in the fourteenth century, are of importance for obvious reasons. So are the Rajput traditions, collected by Muhtot Nainsi in the seventeenth century, as also local and dynastic chronicles like the *Rasmala* and the *Rajamala* for Gujarat and Tipperah respectively". Instances can be multiplied. A very remarkable work in corrupt Sanskrit, named *Shikashubhodaya* (advent of the Sheikh) belonged to Akbar's time. It is a memoir of Saint Jalaluddin Tabrezi, who visited Bengal in 13th century and was responsible, according to tradition, for converting many Hindus in N. Bengal. Though it is found to be a forgery it is useful for social history. It has been edited by Dr. Sukumar Sen.
- ¹⁴ A.B.M. Habibullah, 'Re-evaluation of the Literary Sources of Pre-Mughal History', *Islamic Culture*, XV (April, 1941). For a study of intellectual co-operation between Hindus and Muslims, see Habibullah, *Mediaeval Indo-Persian Literature relating to Hindu Science and Philosophy* (1000-1800 A.D.). *Indian Historical Quarterly* XIV (1938, March), pp. 167-181.
- ¹⁵ My article in *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*.
- (i) H.A.R. Gibb, article on *Ta'rikh* in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Supplement, 1938 pp. 233-45).
- (ii) P.K. Hitti, article on Islamic Historiography in *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. VII (1951), pp. 381-383; *History of the Arabs: Islam and the West*.
- (iii) Joseph Hell, *Arab Civilization*, Eng. tr. by S. Khuda Bukhsh.
- (iv) Margoliouth, *Lectures on Arabic Historians* (1930); S. Khuda Bukhsh, *Contributions to Islamic Civilization*, vol. I; *Studies, Indian & Islamic*.
- (v) Grunbaum, *Medieval Islam* (1953). Ch. 8. (258-93); *Islam*.
- (vi) Charles Issawi, *An Arab Philosophy of History*, (1955).
- ¹⁶ The Arabic word *Ta'rikh* means history in general, annals, chronicles and is derived from the root *w-r-kh* (*warekh* and means 'fixing of the month' i.e. 'fixing the period of an event, history' and 'fixing of dates' era, chronology (Hebrew *Tareah* 'moon', *Tarah*, 'month'). The system of notation, or calculating dates is called *djummal* (chronogram) i.e. the total of the value of letters in a word according to the *abjad* formula. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, articles by B. Carra De Vaux (vol. IV, 672), and on *Zaman* (ibid) by M. Plessner (Supplement, 1938), 230-33; Margoliouth, *Lectures on Arabic Historians*, 18.
- ¹⁷ Khuda Bukhsh, *Is Civ.* 281-2; *Studies*, 150; *Ency. Isl.* 235; Margoliouth, 22, 41, 59; Hell, 66, 88, 89, 92; Hitti, *History*, 243-4.
- According to Margoliouth the pre-Islamic period was treated with vagueness and uncertainty. But Hitti has shown that under the Umayyads some works on ancient history of S. Arabia were written by a Yemenite story teller named 'Abid ibn-Sharyah for Caliph Mauwiyah'. One of these survived till the time of Masudi. (*Ency. Soc. Sciences*).
- ¹⁸ Hitti, *History*, 387-92; *Enc. Soc. Sciences* 236, Khuda

Bukhsh, *Studies*, 150; *Is. Civ.* 310-11. According to Grunbaum the roots of Muslim interest lay in biography and history. He says:

"Curiously enough, historiography proper at times attains to greater adequacy and sophistication in the presentation of character. The tribal genealogy of the *ayyam* tales, the stories told by transmitters traditionists to explain allusions in obscure poems, the endeavours of the motivate and localize precisely the origin of the *hadit*, the records of individual conversion to Islam and of the manner in which any specific place surrendered to Muslim authority—all these stimuli of historiography made for the cultivation of accuracy in detail and for predilection for documentary, or at any rate, contemporary, evidence."

Medieval Islam by G.E. von Grunbaum (1956). ch. 8. pp. 276-84. Sources of Arab History in Ibid.

¹⁹ Margoliouth, 101; Khuda Bukhsh, *Studies*, 152-3; *Is. Civ.* 309-11.

²⁰ Hitti (*Enc. Soc. Sc.*); *Islam & the West*, Pt. 2, *History*, 391. The abstract of Masudi is known as the 'Green Meadows'. *Ency. Islam*, 236.

²¹ Hitti (*Enc. Soc. Sc.*); Khuda Bukhsh.

²² Grunbaum, *Med. Islam*, 289, 290.

²³ Nature of historical literature in Arabic and Persian analysed, *Ency. Islam*, 240-2; K.A. Nizami, *Religion and Politics in the Thirteenth Century*.

²⁴ Nature of historical literature in Arabic & Persian, *Ency. Islam* 240-42: "The renaissance of the Samanid age... gave the Persians a perfect literization of their life as a nation. While subjected to simplification and, in many instances, to remotivation, history in the account of Firdausi's *Book of the Kings* is never hampered in its flow by the technical inadequacy of the poet."

Grunbaum, *Med. Islam*, 290; *Islam* (ch. X. Firdausi's conception of History.) 163, 169.

²⁵ *Ency. Soc. Sciences*.

²⁶ Charles Issawi, *An Arab Philosophy of History* (1955). S. Khuda Bukhsh, 'Ibn Khaldun and his history of Islamic Civilization' a translation from A. von Kremer in *Islamic Culture* (1927). *Is. Civ.* 311. H.A.R. Gibb, 'The Islamic Background of Ibn Khaldun's Philosophy', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental & African Studies* (1933-5); Margoliouth, 156-157; *Ency. Soc. Sciences*: Hell, 92.

²⁷ Khuda Bukhsh, *Is. Civ.* I, 309.

²⁸ Gibbon had access to later authors (in Latin translations) to whom this remark applies.

²⁹ Margoliouth, 155-160.

³⁰ Margoliouth, pp. 5-10. (Lecture 1). The Arab historians followed four methods of studying biographies: (a) poets and musicians (b) geographical (c) chronological (d) alphabetical logical (*Tabaqat*, layers or classes) and (e) alphabetical logical (c.g. Yaqut). Of these the best arrangement for students of history was the *Tabaqat* which ensures continuity, the essence of history.

Hell, 92; Khuda Bukhsh, *Studies*, 157.

According to Grunbaum the Muslim idea of History was at one with the Zoroastrian in viewing the life of mankind as a process of limited duration (12,000 yrs). The coming of Islam was the climax of happenings. Grunbaum, *Islam*, ch. X, pp. 171, 173.

³¹ Robert Flint, *History of the Philosophy of History*. Margoliouth has compared the ideas of Ibn Khaldun based on generalizations drawn from the study of the records of his history with those of Aristotle:

"The idea is curiously like that of Aristotle, who drew up or caused to be drawn up accounts of a great number of constitutions, and from his observations of what happened compared his great treatise on politics. Both assume that there is a uniformity in human conduct comparable to the uniformity of nature: that certain modes of life develop certain tendencies; both eliminate so far as possible all elements that are exceptional and draw their inferences

from normal occurrences, the repetition of which after the like antecedents justifies them in formulating rules. Ibn Khaldun does not like Aristotle aspire at creating an ideal state: he is of opinion rather that human affairs follow a natural course and expects nothing but recurrence of the same series of which his historical studies had furnished so many examples. The result is a philosophy of history, far removed from any evolutionary philosophy, because it does not contemplate continuous progress, but strictly limited forms of it, which bear the seeds of destruction; the effete population of the towns must regularly give way to the vigorous immigration from the wilds. And it might have been possible to foretell the future of N. Africa with fair accuracy from the theories propounded by Ibn Khaldun." (156-157)

³² Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, III; George Sartori, *Introduction to the History of Science*.

³³ For general accounts and critical survey of Mediaeval Indian Muslim historiography, reference may be made to

- (i) Peter Hardy, *Historians of Mediaeval India* (1960);
- (ii) C.H. Philips (ed) *Historians of India, Pakistan & Ceylon* (1961) Part I. Sec. B. India in the period of Muslim Rule pp. 115-139; Essays by P. Hardy (Some Studies in Pre-Mughal Muslim Historiography) 115-127; A. Rashid (Treatment of History by Muslim Historians in Sufi writings, pp. 128-138; Treatment of History by Muslim Historians in Mughal Official and Biographical Works 139-154.
- (iii) J.N. Sarkar, 'Survey of Mediaeval Indian Historiography in *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies* Vol. 3 (1963-64) Nos. 1 & 2,
- (iv) R.C. Mazumdar (ed) *The Struggle for the Empire* (Vol. V of Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan's History); *The Delhi Sultanate* (Vol. VI),
- (v-vi) Cambridge History of India Vol III (Sir Wolsley Haig); Vol. IV (Sir Richard Burn),
- (vii) S.R. Sharma, *Bibliography of Mughal India*,
- (viii) H.A.R. Gibb, *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (art. on *Ta'rikh*)
- (ix) Bibliographies in standard monographs and other works.

³⁴ P. Hardy in Philips, *op.cit.* 115-7; H.A.R. Gibb (*Enc. Islam*, 239-42) groups Hasan Nizami also as a successor of *Fakhr-i-Mudabbir* along with Minhaj and Barani in the line of chroniclers. But Nizami belongs to a different category.

³⁵ P. Hardy in Philips, *op.cit.* 115-27; My article in *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol. 3 (1963-4).

³⁶ Besides the autobiographies of Babur and Jahangir, there were the memoirs of Babur's cousin, Mirza Haidar Dughlat (*Tarikhi Rashidi*), of Jauhar, the *astabchi* of Humayun (*Tazkirat ul Waqiat*) and the intimate work of Babur's daughter, Gulbadan Begum (*Humayunnamah*). There were memoirs in the second half of the 18th century by Shaikh Md. Ali Hazin (*Tazkirat al Ahwal*, 1766) and Mutamac Khan (*Ibratnamah*, 1767).

³⁷ *Ency. Islam* 239-45.

Characteristics of Indo-Persian histories: (i) work of officials; (ii) monotonous; (iii) lack of originality & proportion; (iv) Establishment of Shiaism as the state religion of Persia tended to keep history in Persia and India apart.

Examples of biographical works are *Haft Iqlim* by Ami Ahmad Razi (1619), arranged acc. to seven provinces (Islam, and *Hadiyat al Aqalim* by Murtaza Husain Bilgram

³⁸ *Ency. Islam*, 245; K.K. Dutta, *Alivardi & his Time* (1963), p. 223.

³⁹ *Ency. Islam*.

Up to his 30th year Ishwardas served Shaikh ul Islar the Chief Qazi of the empire and then Shujaet Kha

Viceroy of Gujarat (1684-1701). The author therefore got many opportunities of learning the true facts directly from the chief officials or their servants.

Bhimsen Barhanpuri (b. 1649), a Kayastha by caste; hereditary civil officer of the Mughals; spent his life in Mughal cities and camps of the Deccan and also visited many places in India. He joined the service of Dulpat Rao Bundela, lieutenant of Aurangzeb's general, Zulfiqar Khan.

Sir J.N. Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India* 231-249; *India of Aurangzeb*.

⁸⁷ To these "Slavish crew" of Hindu writers a Hindu was 'an infidel', a Muhammadan 'one of true faith'; Hindus killed had 'their souls despatched' to hell, but a Muhammadan dying drank 'the cup of martyrdom'; they spoke of the 'light of Islam', of the 'blessed Muhammad', of 'the illustrious Book'; they began their book with a 'Bismillah'.

H. Elliot, *Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammadan India*, Vol I, *General Histories* (1849) Preface, xviii-xix.

⁸⁸ Sir J.N. Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, *op.cit.*

⁸⁹ S.R. Sharma, *Bibliography of Mughal India*; A Rashid, in Philips, *op.cit.* 143

⁹⁰ H. Elliot, *Bibliographical Index etc.* I. xiii-xv.

⁹¹ Quoted in Philips, *op.cit.*, 140-1

⁹² P. Hardy, *Historians of Medieval India*, 1960.

⁹³ Collingwood, *op.cit.* 49f. 53.

⁹⁴ Ency. Islam, 236; Hitti, *History of the Arabs*

⁹⁵ Elliot and Dowson, relevant volumes; Raverty's

Trans; Eng. Trans. of Badaoni by Ranking, Lowe and Haig.

⁹⁶ Ency. Islam, 238; Hardy in Philips, *op.cit.* 120

⁹⁷ Elliot & Dowson, V. 181-2.

⁹⁸ E & D. I.

⁹⁹ Ency. Islam. 242

¹⁰⁰ Compare Sir Edward Denison Ross's *Arabic History of Gujarat* (Indian Texts Series), Wali's Persian account (Bibliotheca Indica Series), and Sir E.C. Bayley's translation of the *Mirat i Sikandari* (also in E & D.)

The *Mirat i Ahmadi* is translated by Syed Nawab Ali (Gaekwad's Oriental Series), Foreword by Sir J.N. Sarkar.

¹⁰¹ Text in Biblio. Nationale, Paris. It was discovered by Sir J.N. Sarkar in 1919, and translated into English by Dr. Borah (2 Vols. Gauhati, 1936). See Sarkar, *History of Bengal II* (Bibliography).

¹⁰² *Fathiyya-i-ibriyya* or *Tarikh-i-Mulk-i-Asham*. MS. in Asiatic Society, Calcutta and O.P. Library (Patna). Same as *Ajiba-i-gharibah* (Ethe, 10. 341-3). Its value has been discussed by Sir J.N. Sarkar in JBORS. I. 179-81. See also Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, *Life of Mir Jumla*.

¹⁰³ Bodleian Mss. 589. Its value has been discussed by Sir J.N. Sarkar in *Studies in Aurangzeb's Reign*, 162-65 and *Studies in Mughal India*. See J.A.S.B. 1906-1907. See also Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, *New Light on the History of Bengal*, Proc. Ind. History Congress.

¹⁰⁴ H.A.R. Gibb in *Ency. Islam*, *op.cit.* gives the following examples.

(a) *Tarikh i Alfi*, a composite work compiled by order of Akbar to celebrate the millenium of the Muslim era.

(b) *Subh i Sadik*—by wakianawis Md. Sadiq Azadani (d. 1061-1651)

(c) *Khuld-i-Barin* of Md. Yusuf Walih (written 1058-1648)

(d) the works of Md. Baka' Shaharanpuri d. 1094-1683.

(e) *Tuhfat al Kiram* by Mir Ali Shir Kani. d. after 1202-1787, with a supplement relating to Sind, and three Persian works.

Safawi Dynastic history (not reproduced).

¹⁰⁵ Shotwell, 9-11.

¹⁰⁶ Shotwell. 176, 197-8, 230-4, 241, 292, 295, 298, 301, 310, 314; Collingwood;

R.C. Mazumdar in Philips, *op.cit.*

¹⁰⁷ Margoliouth, 11-17.

¹⁰⁸ Elliot & Dowson; Raverty; Hardy, *Historians* Philips; *op.cit.*

Tabaqat i Nasiri is a general history from the earliest times to 1259 A.D. It breaks off abruptly in the 15th year of Nasiruddin's reign. Its contents are given in Morley's catalogue of mss. of R.A.S. (23 books).

¹⁰⁹ Al Biruni, Baihaqi and Utbi came from C. Asia. Hasan Nizami Nishapuri and Minhaj came from abroad. Ziauddin was born in India.

Barani sorrowfully alludes to the lack of patronage & appreciation of history-writers in India. Elliot and Dowson; Hardy ch. 2; Philips; ISI. L. Culture (1938), 76-97.

¹¹⁰ Elliot & Dowson; Hardy, *op.cit.*; Philips

¹¹¹ Elliot & Dowson; Hardy, *Historians*, ch. 4; Philips

¹¹² *Qiran us Sadain*, at the request of Sultan Kaikobad;

Diwan Rani, of Khizr; *Nuh Sipahr*, of Sultan Qutbuddin

Mubarak; *Tughlaqnama*, of Ghiyasuddin *Miftah ul Futuh*, out of gratitude to Sultan Jalaluddin for favours received, and

Khazain ul Futuh, to gain Alaiddin's favour

Qiran us Sadain, for fame in death as in life, not gold.

Hardy, ch. 5.

¹¹³ Elliot & Dowson; Hardy, ch 6; Philips, *op.cit.*

¹¹⁴ Babur's memoirs. Eng. Tr. by Leyden and Erskine; King, vii-xxxiv; Mrs. Beveridge.

Elliot & Dowson iv. 218, 220, 223, 229. Lanepoole, *Babur* 11-12

(b) Jahangir's Memoirs. Eng. Tr. by Major Price (not authoritative);

Roger & Beveridge (standard) Vol. I, Intro;

Elliot & Dowson. VI. 251-5.

¹¹⁵ *Ency. Islam*. pp 238, 244 (for H.A.R. Gibb's criticism

of the works of officials in Persia and India).

(a) Abul Fazl, *Akbarnamah*; Eng. Tr. Elliot & Dowson; Beveridge.

(b) Ain i Akbari, Eng. Tr. Gladwin (*Ayeen i Akbari*); Blochmann (Vol I), revised by Dr. Phillot;

Introduction Jarrett (Vol 2 & 3), revised by Sir J.N. Sarkar;

(c) Abdul Hamid Lahori, Eng. Tr. Elliot & Dowson; Saxena, *Shahjahan*, iii-v;

(d) Sagi Mustaid Khan, Eng. Tr. Sir J.N. Sarkar.

¹¹⁶ Nizamuddin. Elliot & Dowson. V. 177 ff. Eng. Tr. by B. De (A.S.B.).

¹¹⁷ Badaoni, Elliot & Dowson, V. Eng. Tr. by Ranking,

Lowe & Haig.

¹¹⁸ Eng. Tr.

¹¹⁹ Ency. Soc. Sciences. 362-3

¹²⁰ Shotwell, ch. 5; Margoliouth, 17-19; Grunbaum, 281.

¹²¹ Sarkar, *India Through The Ages*, 50-1

¹²² Hardy, *Historians of Medieval India*.

¹²³ Sarkar, Eng. Tr. *Maasir i Alamgiri*, Preface, iii

¹²⁴ Smith, *Akbar* (Bibliography); Elliot & Dowson.

¹²⁵ Margoliouth, *op.cit.*; Hitti (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 381-3)

¹²⁶ Elliot & Dowson. S. Gupta edn. 6-7.

¹²⁷ The eight kings were Balhan, Kaiqubad, Jalaluddin, Alaiddin, Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah, Ghiyasuddin

Tughluq, Muhammad Tughluq & Firuz Tughluq.

Islamic Culture (1938) 94, 95; Ency. Islam. 242; Elliot & Dowson III. 93-268; R.C. Majumdar, *Delhi*

Sultanate; Hardy, 39. JASB (1870) 43ff; Mahdi Hussain, *Muhammad Tughluq*, 248-50. Barani was "conspicuous as

a honey-bee of the daintiest flowers of wit and humour" (*Seir ul Auliya*) in Isl. Culture (1938), pp. 88. 81-2

¹²⁸ Hardy, ch. 3; Elliot & Dowson.

¹²⁹ Hardy, ch 4; E. D.

¹³⁰ Elliot & Dowson, Hardy ch. 5. JASB (1860), 22f

¹³¹ Hardy, ch. 6; Elliot & Dowson.

¹³² Elliot & Dowson IV. 229; King, vii-viii; Lanepoole

Babur, 11-12

¹³³ *Akbarnama*, Eng. Tr. by Beveridge, *Aini Akbari*, Eng. Tr. Vol. I (Blochmann revised by Phillot). vol. 3 (Jarrett, revised by Sarkar)

¹³⁴ Elliot & Dowson, V. 477 ff; Ranking & Lowe; Sharma, *Bibliography of Mughal India*, 38-39; Moreland, *Agrarian System of Moslem India*

¹³⁵ Elliot & Dowson, V. 177 ff; Smith, *Akbar* (App.)

¹³⁶ Elliot & Dowson VI, 207-18; Briggs, *Rise of Muhammadan Power in India*, Vol I. Preface

A. Dow, *History of Hindustan*, 3 vols.

J. Scott, *History of the Deccan*.

¹³⁷ Sir J.N. Sarkar's Foreword, Eng. Tr. by Syed Nawab Ali (Gaekwad's Oriental Series); Supplement. Tr. by Nawab Ali Seddon, Foreword.

¹³⁸ But see Geyl, 83; Barraclough, 25, 15.

¹³⁹ TFS. 13-16, 23; *Islamic Culture* XII (1938), 92-3.

¹⁴⁰ TFS, 23, 123-124; Hardy, *Historians of Medieval*

India; *Islamic Culture*, *op. cit.* 92-3.

¹⁴¹ Elliot and Dowson, III. 95. But see PIHC. VII. 276 (favourable).

¹⁴² Lanepoole, Ishwari Prasad, *Qirawan Turks* (1936), 344-7; Mahdi Hussain, Muhammad bin Tughluq (1938), 248-50; R.P. Tripathi, *Some Aspects etc.*; Wolsley Haig, *Camb. History of India*. III. I.H. Qureshi, *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi* (1942), 12-13. K.M. Ashraf, *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan*, (1959) intro. K.S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis*.

¹⁴³ Habibullah, *Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, 11; article in *Islamic Culture*, XV (1941) Pt. 2. 207-16; Hasan Barani's article in *Islamic Culture* (1938). 95-96.

¹⁴⁴ *Peter Hardy*, article in Bulletin of School of Oriental & African Studies, 1957, 315-21, *Historians of Medieval India*, ch. 2.

¹⁴⁵ Lanepoole; Beveridge; Elliot & Dowson, IV, 218; S.R. Sharma, *Bibliography of Mughal India*.

¹⁴⁶ Rogers & Beveridge, Vol I of *Tuzuk i Jahangiri*, ix-xi; S.R. Sharma, *Bibliography*.

¹⁴⁷ Beveridge, AN. I. and Blochmann Ain, I.

¹⁴⁸ Rashid, in Philips, *op. cit.*, 146-147.

¹⁴⁹ *Akbarnamah*, 4-9, Beveridge I, 13-25.

¹⁵⁰ Ain, Blochmann I, 1-2; Sarkar, III. 461-4. Rashid, *op. cit.* Sharma.

¹⁵¹ Beveridge I. 27-28; Ain (Sarkar) III. 455-9: 475.

¹⁵² Ibn Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, 7-8; Moreland, *Agrarian System of Moslem India*.

¹⁵³ Ibn Hasan, 7-9, Smith, *Akbar*, 460, Blochmann, *Ain*, Intro. vi; Sharma.

¹⁵⁴ Sharma, 3, 81, 89; Jarrett, II. Intro; Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, Regulations regarding education (Bk. II. Ain 25) has no relation to facts. Ibid; Smith, *Akbar*, 459.

¹⁵⁵ Elliot & Dowson, vol. VII; Rashid in Philips, 145-6; *Maasirul Umara*.

¹⁵⁶ Elliot & Dowson, V; Ranking & Lowe.

¹⁵⁷ *Muntakhab ul Lubab*, ii, 726. Elliot & Dowson VII. (Sushil Gupta's edn. Later Mughals, 53-4).

¹⁵⁸ Shotwell; R.C. Mazumdar in Philips, *op. cit.* 22; Issawi. 2.

¹⁵⁹ Ibn Khaldun, I. 56, 11, 44; Issawi, 27-30.

¹⁶⁰ A.B.M. Habibullah, Re-evaluation of the Literary Sources of pre-Mughal History, in *Islamic Culture*. XV (Apr. 1941), 207-16. See Utbi (*Tarikh i Yamini*, Elliot ii

—50; Ibn Batuta's sympathies were towards the ecclesiastics; Margoliouth, pp. 20-21.

¹⁶¹ P. Geyl, *Use and Abuse of History*, 62-63.

¹⁶² Ency. Soc. Sc. 359-60. Names of Sciences. 360.

¹⁶³ Shotwell, ch. 2; Geyl, pp. 6-47; Collingwood, Pt. iv. 134-200, 196-7; 201-2.

¹⁶⁴ Ency. Soc. Sc. 361.

¹⁶⁵ Ency. Islam.

¹⁶⁶ Hardy, *Historians etc.* ch 2.

¹⁶⁷ Hardy, 52-4.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid. ch. 4*

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid. ch. 5*

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid. ch. 6*

¹⁷¹ Collingwood. the individual has to be the willing instrument of divine will, if he wants to avoid frustration. c.f. the Patristic doctrine pertaining to Fathers of the Christian Church.

¹⁷² Collingwood.

¹⁷³ *Ain*.

¹⁷⁴ Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*. 384-390.

¹⁷⁵ Hardy, *Historians*.

¹⁷⁶ *Ain*, Abul Fazl's Preface, Philips, 146-7.

¹⁷⁷ Shotwell, 364; Collingwood.

¹⁷⁸ Hardy, *op. cit.*

¹⁷⁹ Shotwell, 314; Grunbaum, *Islam*, 175 (for Firdausi)

Kalhana, V. 21. I. 3-5, 7, 21; Mazumdar in Philips, *op. cit.* 21.

¹⁸⁰ *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, 69-80, 95-106, 152-156, 289-296.

¹⁸¹ Hardy, ch. 4.

¹⁸² *Ibid. ch. 5*.

¹⁸³ Philips. 146.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ Hardy, *op. cit.*

¹⁸⁶ Collingwood.

¹⁸⁷ Grunbaum, 281-3.

¹⁸⁸ "In the *Muqaddama* (Introduction) to his Universal History (*Kitab al 'ibar*) he composed a *Summa*, not of theology but of civilization, founded on that Islamic civilization with all of whose aspects he was thoroughly familiar. His political theory is part of his description of 'Umrān, in the specific sense of "civilization". The close connection between civilization and politics as the art of government

is apparent from Ibn Khaldun's terminology; for 'Umrān is synonymous with *madariya* and *hadara*, settled urban life (as distinct from *badawa*, rural life). *Hadara* in turn is equivalent to *tamadun*, to live or become organized in a city (*madina*) in the sense of the Greek polis." "Ibn Khaldun's empiricism, manifest in his new science", is

matched by his traditionalism.

E.I.J. Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam*, 84. For comparison of Ibn Khaldun with Machiavelli, *ibid*,

ch. 4.

¹⁸⁹ Hardy, *Historians*.

¹⁹⁰ Hence it is that these works may be said to be deficient in some of the most essential requisites of History—for "its great object," says Dr. Arnold, "is that which most nearly touches the inner life of civilized man, namely, the vicissitudes of institutions, social, political and religions. ...In Indian Histories there is little which enables us to

penetrate below the glittering surface, and observe the practical operation of a despotic Government and rigorous and sanguinary laws, or the effect upon the great body of the nation of these injurious influences and agencies." Elliot, *Bibliographical Index* Vol. I; Sarkar, Intro. to Tran.

Maasir i Alamgiri.

¹⁹¹ Sachau, *Al Biruni*; Jarrett, Intro. 'Ain. II.

¹⁹² Hardy, 20.

¹⁹³ Barraclough, *History in a Changing World*, 15.

¹⁹⁴ TFS. 9-13, 468. Article on Zia Barani in *Islamic Culture* XII (Jan, 1938), p. 89; Hardy; Geyl, 2, 10, 12 ff, 14, 81-85, chs. 2 and 3; Shotwell, 355, 260. Hardy in *Bulletin of School of Oriental and African Studies*, 317.

"Do not secretaries of state and foreign secretaries thumb the volumes of war documents published by various governments? Do they not read the biographies or memoirs of their predecessors? Will not an ambassador sent out to a country begin by reading up that country's history?" (Geyl, 85).

¹⁹⁵ Presidential Address, Section IV. Indian History Congress, 1955, by present writer

¹⁹⁶ Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, 377, 449. *Studies in Mughal India*, *Studies in Aurangzeb's Reign*.

¹⁹⁷ Barraclough, viii. Randall, *How Philosophy uses its past*, 71-2.

Discussion Meetings

PRO-HINDU AND PRO-MUSLIM SCHOOLS OF MEDIEVAL INDIAN HISTORY

DR. K. S. LAL

Historical research strives at arriving at the truth. History knows no nationality, caste or creed and it cannot and should not be written from any communal, chauvinistic or even nationalist point of view. History adheres only to one point of view,—historical. And yet opinions among historians sometimes widely differ, and many times they cannot see eye to eye with one another on certain specific points. This is particularly noticeable in the case of medieval Indian history. To some scholars it was a period of unmitigated suffering for the Hindus, who were, under Muslim rule, reduced to the position of 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' and 'the barrenness of the Hindu intellect' was due to the fact that because of their suppression the Hindu mind had ceased to "soar to its heights". To some others this very period was of brilliant achievements in all spheres of life, so that one historian has declared the Mughal State to be a "Culture State". It is indeed an unpalatable fact, but all the same it is a fact, that there are two schools of historians of Medieval India, the Pro-Hindu and the Pro-Muslim.

Names of historians belonging to these two schools are too well-known to need specific mention. All that needs to be said is that all these historians are great scholars; they are men of academic integrity and all of them have tried their best to arrive at the truth. And yet, while they have consulted the same sources and records, they have arrived at different conclusions. Incidentally, of them many are Hindus writing about the medieval times.

There are many reasons for such vast diver-

gence of opinions among scholars. We shall first analyse the causes for the Pro-Hindu writings and then the Pro-Muslim.

Study of medieval Indian history, as the history of any other age or country, is based on contemporary sources. Contemporary Persian chroniclers, by and large, wrote at the command of Kings and nobles. Even those who wrote independently, suffered from social pride and prejudice. They have all portrayed Muslim rulers as champions of Islam and destroyers of infidelity. As panegyrists, they have extolled their monarchs, but then the burden of their theme is the same—medieval monarchs were so great and so good, they destroyed the non-Muslims and established the rule of the *Shara*. Perhaps, their motive was also to tell the Persian-speaking world how, while other Muslim countries were crushed by the Mongols, in Hindustan the "Muslims were dominant and the Hindus subservient." Thus from Hasan Nizami to Abdul Hamid Lahori, almost all Persian writers have exaggerated the achievements of their contemporary monarchs, especially in the sphere of conquests and victories and crushing of infidelity. And all acts of cruelty and atrocity have been painted in bright colours.

Thus medieval chroniclers have, by their exaggeration, condemned the people of their own race and religion. There is a saying: "No man is condemned save by his own mouth". The rulers of medieval India have thus been 'condemned' by their own chroniclers. Now a truthful historian has to write on the basis of the material available to him. He cannot tamper

with it. On the other hand, he has to give due weight to contemporary sources. Hence his writings have to contain the facts mentioned by Muslim chroniclers. And these facts are unpalatable to the Hindus.

Another reason is that a historian always makes a sort of a comparative study. It is a conscious or unconscious habit of the historian's mind. A writer on medieval Indian history is prone to compare the conditions of medieval times with those of ancient and modern. He finds that in ancient India religious tolerance prevailed. Nobody tried to force his religion on others. Even during war certain rules were followed. The *Dharmashastra* lays down definite laws of war and peace centuries before Hugo Grotius thought about them in Europe. Therefore, when the writer on medieval history reads in contemporary sources about all kinds of atrocities and religious intolerance, medieval period appears to him to be a dark age.

A very important factor is the psychology of the historian. Apart from the fact that one is a historian, he is also a Hindu, a Muslim, a Christian, an American or a German and so on. Howsoever disciplined his intellect might be, he cannot forget in the innermost reaches of his sub-conscious mind that he is also a Hindu or a Muslim. Past is remote, and it needs considerable exercise of the imagination and a sympathetic approach to comprehend it. This imagination and this approach differ from man to man. Besides, a Hindu of even today feels for the Hindus of five hundred years ago and a Muslim of to-day feels jubilant at some victory of a Muslim monarch in some remote corner of the country hundreds of years back. Let us take an example. All Hindus have all praise for Akbar as a man and an emperor. He was, perhaps, the one Muslim monarch who was completely free from religious prejudice and looked upon his Hindu and Muslim subjects as equals. He is liked by all Hindus for his cosmopolitan views. But this very Akbar does not remain so great in their eyes when they study 'Akbar versus Rana Pratap'. The Hindu is

with Akbar in everything, but when it comes to Akbar *vis-a-vis* Rana Pratap, the Hindu is on the side of the Rana. There is, as it were, a psychological switch-over.

Professor Mohammad Habib tells a very interesting story in this connection. He says that when his *Mahmud of Ghazna* was first published in 1926, there was an uproar in the Urdu Press. Mahmud of Ghazna carried out 17 raids into India and carried away untold wealth from its towns and temples. Professor Habib had said in his work that Mahmud did everything against the tenets of Islam, and since he claimed to have done it in the name of Islam, he tarnished it. The Muslims were amazed and annoyed as to how a Muslim historian could write *against* a Muslim conqueror, and criticised Professor Habib vehemently.

If Muslims could defend the acts of Mahmud of Ghazna, how much more, think the pro-Hindu historians, is the case for defence of the hundreds of Hindu heroes who through the centuries of medieval period gave their lives and blood in defence of their land and honour and religion. They feel that if the duty of the historian is to tell the truth, then let it be told frankly. Truth, they say, is bitter; at least it is seldom sweet. If contemporary authorities say that Muslim conquest was brutal and Muslim rule iniquitous, say to the Hindus, why should an effort be made to minimise its atrocities.

The pro-Muslim historians, on the other hand, consult the same sources as their pro-Hindu counterparts. But their approach is different. They think that, as in religion so in politics, it is the spirit and not the letter that should count. Muslim chroniclers have definitely exaggerated. Of course, one has to depend upon contemporary authorities, but the duty of the historian is not only to read the lines but also between the lines.

Then they feel that the approach of Medieval writers to their age was different from our own. If Medieval chroniclers always harped upon

Hindu and Muslim, Jeziah and Jihad, modern writers need not think in these terms. Comparisons, they think, are odious, and when even the 19th century cannot be favourably compared with the 20th, it is unfair to compare medieval times with the ancient or modern.

The psychological factor plays the same part in the case of pro-Muslim historians as it does in the case of the pro-Hindu. There is a subconscious and sometimes even conscious desire to extol medieval times. Consequently many pro-Muslim writers consult only the Persian sources, do not care to learn Hindi or Sanskrit, not to speak of studying contemporary works in these languages, study neither ancient nor modern history, and only concentrate on Persian and Arabic or Muslim works. Then, aware of the fact that Muslim chroniclers have done sufficient damage by their exaggeration, and whatever was spared by them was completed by some British writers, they try to harp on only those aspects which are not very damaging

and quote from sources that suit their pre-conceived notions.

History, the writers of the pro-Muslim school rightly claim, is not mere information. It is knowledge culled from and based on facts. Therefore, the emphasis in the study of medieval history should not be on wars and conquests that left bitter memories behind, but on achievements in the fields that are of ultimate value—architecture, painting, music, education, social amity and goodwill.

These are, by and large, some of the reasons for the emergence and growth of pro-Hindu and pro-Muslim schools. While analysing the factors, it has been necessary to make an appraisal in terms of pro-Hindu and pro-Muslim thinking, although a large number of historians on medieval Indian history are impartial and objective thinkers. But the disease of pro-Hindu and pro-Muslim ways of thinking persists and therefore deserves to be recognized.

THE CHANGING PATTERN OF SOCIETY IN EARLY MEDIEVAL INDIA

DR. K. S. LAL

In the works on Medieval India, the social life of the people is treated as if it was static. It is studied, generally speaking, under sub-heads like food and drink, dress and clothes, manners and customs, religious ceremonies and festivals, position of women etc., etc., as if for 700 years (A.D. 1000-1700) there was no change in the social order. There is, however, a belief that the condition of the Hindus was very bad under the Turks, and this improved under the Mughals. But all that glitters is not gold, and even in the Mughal times, if many were happy, some indeed were miserable. On the other hand, even in the deepest darkness light persists, and the Turkish period was indeed not as bad as commonly believed.

One thing is certain. Medieval Indian society was not static. The speed of change was not so great as to-day, nor so slow as in the paleolithic or neolithic times, but the change was clearly perceptible. This change is clearly noticeable when we make a comparative study of the works of Alberuni, Ibn Battuta, Babur, the accounts of various Western visitors like Athanasius Nikitin, Nicolo Conti, Abdurrazzag, Santo Stephano, Barbosa and others, and the contemporary chronicles of the centuries from the 12th to the 15th.

Alberuni has to say a lot about the greatness of the Hindus in the fields of religion, philosophy, sciences and arts. This greatness to him was of a by-gone age. The society he came across in India was conservative and caste-ridden. A fact mentioned by him needs special mention and notice. In the battles between Mahmud of Ghazni and Indian rulers prisoners of war were captured by both sides. When treaties were concluded, they were exchanged. Muslim prisoners of war released by the Hindu Rajas were received by their friends with open arms. But the fate of the Hindu prisoners of war

released by the Muslims was different. They had to undergo many processes of purification before they could be accepted back into the Hindu fold. They were fermented in cow-dung for many days and given dirty things to eat before they could regain their caste. Alberuni consulted the learned Brahmins of the day to make sure if what he had heard was true. The Brahmins protested and declared that it was impossible for one to regain his caste once he had been carried to the *maleksha* camp and had eaten with the *malekshas*. This rigid Brahmin position might not have been commonly accepted, but it definitely points to a diseased society. With weakness there was arrogance too. "The Hindus believe" says Alberuni, "that there is no country but theirs, no kings but theirs, no religion but theirs, no sciences but theirs, and if you told them about some scholar in Khorasan or Ruma, they thought you to be an ignoramus or a liar."

Whatsoever the causes of the success of the Turks in India, such a society could not withstand the onslaughts of the invaders. No wonder "Mahmud (and succeeding conquerors) utterly ruined the prosperity of the country and performed those wonderful exploits by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions and like a tale of old in the mouths of the people." Indeed, in about fifteen years time (1192-1206) the whole of northern India was taken by the Turkish conquerors from the Indus to Bengal.

Now this caste-ridden society changes, and begins to play a significant role in political and social sphere. If there was any indifference on the part of the people, contributing to the success of the early Turkish invaders, it gradually disappears. People take stock of the situation and act. Jalaluddin Khalji complained about the pride with which the Hindus dressed in

white, rode on horses and passed by his palace in a non-chalant manner. Alauddin Khalji and Muhammad Tughlaq were strong kings, they took severe measures, but the Hindus were not to be cowed down. On the contrary, Ibn Battuta, the Sultan's envoy, was waylaid as near to the capital city as Aligarh (Kol) and relieved of all his belongings. Throughout this period, provinces and districts changed hands between Hindu and Muslim rulers and Habibullah's *Foundation of the Muslim Rule in India* cites numerous Hindu inscriptions proclaiming victory. Alberuni talks of the Hindu social order as decadent, but Timur claimed to have attacked India because the Hindus were very powerful in this country. The Hindus, who had been swept and 'scattered' in the early years of the Muslim conquest, had once again reasserted themselves. In the fifteenth century the Hindus were very powerful indeed and if Babur had to fight Ibrahim Lodi he had also to deal with Rana Sangram Singh, equally if not more powerful than the Lodi monarch. Hasan Nizami's *Tajul Maasir* talks contemptuously of the Hindus. In the years that followed the Hindus could not be treated with contempt, either as friends or foes.

In the social sphere again, there are far-reaching changes. Alberuni was struck by the fact that because of caste restrictions even a soldier taken prisoner by the Muslims lost his caste and religion for ever. But this caste-ridden society rapidly changes. Professor Sri Ram Sharma enumerates a number of cases of "conversion and reconversion to Hinduism" (in a small brochure of the same title—D.A.V. College Historical Series, No 2, Lahore). But the most interesting fact is that Firoz Tughlaq and Sikandar Lodi punished some Hindus who had converted Muslims to Hinduism. A society, which in the time of Alberuni was not prepared to accept Hindus who had even once eaten with the *malekshas*, was in later years converting Muslims to Hinduism.

Indeed, Indian society was rapidly changing. After Alberuni's time Hindus do not call the

Muslims *malekshas* (no Muslim writer after Alberuni mentions this word). On the contrary, they tried to understand the Muslims, and *vice versa*. A Muslim, belonging to the ruling class as he did, could not say that the Hindus and Muslims were equal. Therefore, the mantle of uniting the two communities fell to the lot of the Hindus. From Namdeva to Kabir and Nanak, there rose a large number of saint reformers who undertook the task of national integration in early medieval India. The result was as expected. Niamatullah writing about Man Singh of Gwalior (late 15th century) says that the Raja was of such cosmopolitan views that the Hindus considered him to be a Hindu and the Muslims a Muslim. Ibn Battuta did not come across such people, Alberuni could not have visualised such a society.

Conversions to Islam, activity of Sufi saints and Hindu yogis and the mere fact of Hindus and Muslims living together were bringing about changes in the Indian social set-up. The converted Muslims always remained half-Hindus, they could not entirely snap their connections with their relatives nor forget their customs and traditions. Naturally they, and with them other Muslims, participated in the festivals of the Hindus and *vice versa*. The Muslims indeed adopted some of the festivals of the Hindus. The *Shabi-Barat* is said to have been adopted from the *Shivaratri* as fireworks are common in both. Taziyas in Muharram are probably an adaptation of the Jagannath Rathayatra, Krishna Lila and Mahanadi festivals.

When Babur arrives in India, he finds "everything in Hindustan is in the Hindustani way", neither Hindu nor Muslim. This was not the India which Alberuni or even Ibn Battuta could foresee. Indian society was changing in medieval times and the impact of the change was felt in all spheres of life, political, religious, economic, and art and culture. But this talk has been confined primarily to social changes and their impact on the social set-up in medieval India.

LORD DUFFERIN AND THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

MRS. KALPANA BISHUI

The genesis of the Indian National Congress is still a matter of controversy among scholars. They differ in their opinion as to the antecedents which really worked as an incentive to this all India organisation. Whatever may be the real motive-force behind it, the Indian National Congress owed its existence largely to the efforts and energy of Allan Octavian Hume, a retired member of the Indian Civil Service, and son of the founder of the Radical party in England. Hume had long been conscious of the growing unrest in the country and felt the urgent necessity of "directing the popular impulse into a channel of Constitutional agitation for the common benefit of both"¹ (i.e., the rulers and the ruled). He, through his famous Open Letter dated 1st. March, 1883, made a stirring appeal to the "Graduates of the Calcutta University" as largely representing the educated community in the country, to exhort themselves "for their country's sake", and urging them to organise an association for "the mental, moral, social and political regeneration of the people of India". The result was the formation of the "Indian National Union" which inaugurated the Indian National Congress on 28th December, 1885.

It is generally believed that the original intention of Hume was to begin his reform propaganda on social side only but it was due to the advice of Lord Dufferin that he took up political discussion as the first programme of that organisation. Two authorities testifying to that effect are worth quoting here. Sir William Wedderburn, the biographer of Hume, tells us on the authority of Hume's own notes that "whereas he (Mr. Hume) was himself disposed to begin his reform propaganda on the social side, it was apparently by Lord Dufferin's advice that he took up the work of political organisation as the matter first to be dealt with."

Lord Dufferin seems to have told him that "as the head of the Government he had found the greatest difficulty in ascertaining the real wishes of the people, and that for purposes of administration, it would be a public benefit, if there existed some responsible organisation through which the Government might be kept informed regarding the best Indian public opinion". His Lordship is said to have further observed that owing to the wide differences in caste, race and religion, social reform in India required local treatment, rather than the guidance of a national organisation. Mr. W.C. Banerjee, the President of the first Indian National Congress, is far more assertive in corroborating this statement. Writing for the *Indian Politics* he recorded his testimony as follows:—"It will probably be news to many that the Indian National Congress, as it was originally started and as it has since been carried on, is in reality the work of the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava when that nobleman was the Governor-General in India. Mr. A.O. Hume, C.B., had in 1884 conceived the idea that it would be of great advantage to the country, if leading Indian politicians could be brought together once a year to discuss social matters and be upon friendly footing with one another. He did not desire that politics should form part of their discussions, for there were recognised political bodies in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and other parts of the country, and he thought that these bodies might suffer in importance if, when Indian politicians from different parts of the country came together, they discussed politics. His idea further was that the Governor of the Province where the politicians met should be asked to preside over them and that thereby greater cordiality should be established between the official classes and the non-official Indian politicians. Full of these ideas he saw the noble Marquess when he went

to Simla early in 1885 after having in December previously assumed the Viceroyalty of India. Lord Dufferin took great interest in the matter and after considering over it for some time sent for Mr. Hume and told him that in his opinion Mr. Hume's project would not be of much use. He said there was no body of persons in this country who performed the functions which Her Majesty's Opposition did in England. The newspapers even if they really represented the views of the people were not reliable, and as the English were necessarily ignorant of what was thought of them and their policy in native circles, it would be very desirable in the interests as well of the rulers as of the ruled that Indian politicians should meet yearly and point out to Government in what respects the administration was defective and how it could be improved; and he added that an assembly such as he proposed should not be presided over by the local Governor, for in his presence the people might not like to speak out their minds. Mr. Hume was convinced by Lord Dufferin's arguments, and when he placed the two schemes, his own and Lord Dufferin's before leading politicians in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and other parts of the country, the latter unanimously accepted Lord Dufferin's scheme and proceeded to give effect to it. Lord Dufferin had made it a condition that his name in connection with the scheme of the Congress should not be divulged so long as he remained in the country and this condition was faithfully maintained, and none but the men consulted by Mr. Hume knew anything about the matter".

So, according to these two authorities, the immediate political aspect of the Indian National Congress was "due to the suggestion though not the actual initiation" of Lord Dufferin. In his *History of the Freedom Movement—Vol-I.*, Dr. R.C. Majumdar has very pertinently observed that it is very likely that Dufferin's share in the whole project has been misunderstood. He says, "although the role played by Dufferin, as stated above is vouched for by Wedderburn, the biographer of Hume, and Mr. W. C. Banerjee, the President of the first session of the

Congress, it is difficult to reconcile it with the Open Letter issued by Hume, the alleged fear of a general outbreak of violence as the reason for starting the Congress and the categorical statement of Dufferin himself that he thought the Congress should direct its attention only to social questions.

Lord Dufferin's private correspondence with the Secretary of State and with persons both in India and England throws further light on this interesting point and almost revolutionises our opinion with regard to Dufferin's share in the conception and planning of the Congress. In a letter dated May 17th, 1885, Lord Dufferin writes to Lord Reay, the Governor of Bombay, about Hume and the Congress as follows:—

"There is here a gentleman of the name of Hume;.....He is clever and gentleman-like, but seems to have got a bee in his bonnet. Ripon told me he knew a good deal of the Natives, and advised me to see him from time to time, which I have done both with pleasure and profit. At his last interview he told me that he and his friends were going to assemble a political convention of delegates, as far as I understood on the lines adopted by O'Connell previous to Catholic emancipation and he said they propose to ask you to act as chairman. I took it upon myself to say that it would be impossible for any one in your situation to accept such an offer. The functions of such an assembly must of necessity consist in criticising the acts or policy of the Government, in formulating demands which probably it would be impossible to grant, and in adopting generally the procedure of all reform associations. The idea of wishing to associate the head of the Executive Government of a Province with such a programme, I told him, was absurd. I mention the fact, however, in order that you may be upon your guard. It is our duty carefully to watch the signs of the times, and cautiously and conscientiously to liberalise the administration of India, but I am sure it would be a mistake, if we identified ourselves personally either with the reforming or the reactionary enthusiasts".

The letter leaves no room for doubt that it was Hume and not Lord Dufferin who first suggested the idea of assembling a political convention. The political convention alluded to here must have been the Congress. The idea of associating the head of the Executive Government of a province with a political convention, the programme of which must necessarily consist in criticising the acts and policy of the Government, seemed absurd to him. Again from the tenor of the letter, it becomes evident that the programme of that "Political Convention" was not very much to the liking of Lord Dufferin. This point gets further corroboration from another of his letters written to Cross, the Secretary of State for India, on August 17th, 1888. He writes: "..... It is a great pity that these congresses should have occupied themselves with political questions most of which they are incompetent to examine with any advantage. If, instead of adopting that line, they had discussed the great social and economic problems, which are now pressing for solution in India, they might have been of great assistance to Government, though of course their existence must always be out of harmony with so autocratic an administration as ours....." How is this to be reconciled with Messrs Wedderburn and W.C. Banerjee's assertion that it was due to Lord Dufferin's advice and suggestion that Mr. Hume "took up the work of political organisation as the first matter to be dealt with?"

The very existence of the Congress had seemed to him to be quite inconsistent with so autocratic an administration as the British Government in India and the discussion of political questions seemed to him not desirable at all.

Some other letters of Lord Dufferin are also indicative of his attitude and opinion with regard to the Congress and Mr. Hume. His attitude in the early years of his Viceroyalty towards the Congress seemed to be one of neutrality, though it might not be one of benevolent kind. But in the last year of his administration, his

attitude underwent a change for the worse, as it could be inferred from his St. Andrew's Dinner speech. His private correspondence throws an interesting light on this point, revealing how it was being hardened and also on the reasons accountable for this change. In some of his letters to Lord Cross, the Secretary of State, he conveyed his impression about the Congress held at Calcutta (1886, December) and the resolutions passed by that assembly. The resolutions seemed to him to be rather "extravagant"² and the Congress itself as a rather "hysterical assembly"³ in which the more violent and silly of their numbers rule the roost". He was perhaps referring to the party headed by Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, holding more advanced political opinion than many of the politicians of those days. Surendra Nath took an active part in this session and became afterwards one of the big stalwarts of the Congress organisation. Dufferin's view about him was anything but complimentary⁴. The suppression of the Congress Dufferin did not contemplate at all. He relied rather on the forces of opposition, aroused among the Muhammadans and the conservative section of the society due to the "extravagance of the pretensions" as embodied in the Congress resolutions⁵. He believed that these oppositionist forces would work as a natural barrier against the influence of the Congress.⁶

He had formed a "favourable view"⁷ of the Congress Session at Calcutta not because it would have good effect in the direction its promoters anticipated but because of the rise of the feelings of opposition and indignation both among the Muhammadans and the conservative section of the society.⁸ Lord Cross frankly admitted that this division of religious feeling was greatly to their advantage.⁹

Though taking objection to some of the Congress proposals as extravagant, he seemed to be not out of sympathy with the general demands of the Congress such as the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils on a partially

elective basis and the right of interpellation, and he was inclined to leave the Congress alone.¹⁰ He expressed the opinion that these meetings (i.e. Congress meetings) were far less formidable than the meetings assembled by O'Connell. He further wrote, "what they mean is that the educated class which, under our auspices, has been created during the last five and twenty years, are beginning to take an active interest in public affairs, and to feel that they should be allowed to know more, and to have ampler opportunities of expressing their opinions on the administrative acts of the Government."¹¹ But within a few months his opinion completely changed and his previous attitude of neutrality, if not of sympathy, was changed into one of hatred and contempt. When the fourth Congress was held in Allahabad in 1888, the organisers complained of official hostility and found it very difficult to procure a site for the meeting of the Congress. The main reason for this hostile attitude on the part of officers was the new method adopted by Hume for generating popular enthusiasm and educating public mind. We have it on the authority of his biographer that he issued pamphlets, held mass-meetings, sent out lecturers and to some extent modelled Congress activities on the pattern of the Anti-Corn Law League in England. This mass propaganda irritated the officials. They desired not only to suppress the Congress but also recommended that Hume should be deported. Even Lord Colvin, who had hitherto been 'distinctly friendly to the Congress movement', regarded this public propaganda as fraught with grave danger.¹² The adoption of this new method was also accountable for the change in Lord Dufferin's opinion. In a letter dated August 17th, 1888 to Lord Cross he writes, "You ask for my thoughts about the Congress. I am afraid it is likely to prove a mischievous organisation, in spite of the good intention of some of its principal members. Two pamphlets, one of which is in the form of a catechism have already been issued under its auspices. In them an endeavour is being made to convince the uneducated classes that the Government of India is a pestilent, cruel and

malevolent despotism". The rebuke and ridicule with which Lord Dufferin reviewed the demands of the Congress, the right of the educated class who were, in his opinion, only 'a microscopic minority' to represent the people of India, was also primarily due to the distribution of pamphlets and leaflets among the masses. He thought it to be his duty to give some sign of the light in which he regarded such of the Congress demands and proceedings as were "extravagant and reprehensible". The "considerable mass of irresolute opinion" who were yet neither anti-Congress nor pro-Congress should get some indication of the impression of the Government with regard to the "insubordinate proceedings of the Congress-wallahs, such as Mr. Hume's foolish threats of insurrection and the dissemination of the libels and calumnies contained in the Tamil catechism and similar publications".¹³ One of the main reasons assigned by Hume for Lord Dufferin's "volte face" was the rise of the influence of the Congress. He gives the impression in his letter to Mr. Budruddin Tyabji, dated 5th November 1888, that it had come to him as a revelation that Lord Dufferin no longer looked upon the Congress with favour whereas previously he was "informally favourable" towards it and constantly discussed with him Congress details. He writes, "...Now another secret—which I learned only this week. Lord Dufferin now is against us. In the first place, he has become afraid. So long as we were a mere consultative body, purely native—whose views he could adopt when they suited him or ignore when they did not, he was strongly in favour of it. But now that many Europeans are joining—the missionary interest is going with us here and the great non-conformist party at home is also leaning to us, and lastly that the people of the country are beginning to go with us, so that in almost every village you find our partisans in many parts of the country, he begins to fear that the time will come when we shall be in a position to compel Government not by physical force—he is too wise to feel that—but by moral pressure, to attend to what we say".¹⁴ Mr. Hume assigns some other reasons for the change of Lord Dufferin's

opinion on the Congress such as the *Indian Mirror's* virulent attack on him and some misunderstanding with Hume himself on personal matters. Lord Dufferin gives vent to his bitter feelings against the *Indian Mirror* and Mr. Hume in a letter written to Lord Northbrook on June 23rd, 1886.^{14a} While charging the *Indian Mirror* with the deliberate misrepresentation of Government's acts and policy with a view to render them odious in the eyes of their fellow countrymen, he says of Hume in the following terms: "The principal offender in this respect is a gentleman of the name of Hume, whom probably you will remember, cleverish, a little cracked, excessively vain and absolutely indifferent to truth". Again to Main, a Member of the Indian Council, he writes on May 9th, 1886: "There is a mischievous busybody of the name of Hume whom Lord Ripon rather petted and who seems to be one of the chief stimulators of the Indian Home Rule Movement. He is cleverish, a little cracked, vain, unscrupulous and I am told very careless of truth". Lord Dufferin became so much irritated with the *Indian Mirror's* writings against him that he charged it and the party represented by it with "bastard disloyalty."¹⁵

Whatever might be the minor causes of irritation, the real reason for the change of opinion of Lord Dufferin seemed to be the fact that the Indian National Congress was gradually taking the lines least anticipated by him. It was being slowly transformed into a national organisation and into a less pliable instrument in the hands of Government than Lord Dufferin had supposed.

Lord Dufferin took strong objection to Government officers' participation in the Congress movement, "acting as agents of the propaganda and using their official position to collect money on their behalf". Though not considering it worthwhile to issue a solemn Resolution on the subject, he desired that the Provincial Administrations must put a stop to all such proceedings.¹⁶ The Government's policy with regard to this

matter was expressed more clearly during the Viceroyalty of Lord Lansdowne in a letter issued by the Home Dept., (Public No. II-680, dated 18th March, 1890), prohibiting the Government servants in a general way from political or quasi-political movements. This was further clarified in a letter dated the 19th January, 1891, written by J. C. Ardagh, Private Secretary to the Viceroy, to Mr. Hume, explaining the intention of the Government that Government-servants should preserve an attitude of neutrality and should abstain from active participation in political or quasi-political movements of all kinds and also from putting pressure upon others to induce them to take part or not to take part in any movement which was legitimate in itself. This policy of strict neutrality was hardly followed in the later days when the Congress became more and more powerful.

The policy of putting pressure on the Princes of the Native States so that they might not give any subscription to the Congress fund or have any connection with it was also initiated by Lord Dufferin.¹⁷ The attention of the Government of India was first drawn to this matter by the reported contribution of the Maharaja of Mysore to the National Congress. In the meantime the Nizam sent even a larger contribution to the anti-Congress movement. The Government of India signified, through its political officers, to those Native Chiefs that it was not desirable for them to be connected in any way with the political agitations among Her Majesty's subjects, outside their own territories. They were made to understand that their positions as rulers of separate states was very different from that of any zaminder in British territory and that there was something incongruous in their interfering in matters which lay clearly outside of their political jurisdiction. The same policy was followed during Lord Lansdowne's viceroyalty.¹⁸ In spite of the disapproval of the Government, many of the Native Princes used to contribute to the Congress Fund even during the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon. The Gaekwad of Baroda admitted to Lord Curzon in course of a conversation, held on 28th June, 1899, that "he had

originally given Rs. 1,000 toward Mr. Naoroji's election expenses and had subscribed Rs. 1,000 annually towards the Congress Funds."¹⁹

Though Lord Dufferin's opinion was undergoing a change, he did not think of suppressing the Congress. For the present he would allow it to continue its operations without interference, partly because interference would hardly have been justified and partly with the view of allowing the opposition which was certain to arise to it in the non-Bengali Provinces to become more developed.²⁰

He had a constructive programme also. He was of definite opinion that the educated classes must be given some legitimate facilities for making known their wishes and stating their grievances. He was not inclined to take any repressive measure either with regard to the Congress or mass-meetings or native press unless the educated classes were being provided with any other instrumentality for expressing their opinion and bringing their grievances to the attention of the Government in a constitutional way. If the legislative councils, at least provincial if not supreme, were reconstituted on a partially elective basis by introducing into them a larger, but not a predominate, number of native members and investing them with a liberty of controlling to a certain extent the local provincial expenditure, then a legitimate opportunity would be afforded of "getting rid of the Congress as well as of restricting the abuses of the Native Press".²¹ The liberalisation of the provincial councils would "take the wind out of the sails of the Associations" and greatly weaken their importance by directing the attention of the public to more legitimate centres of opinion and to channels through which they would have the right of making their views known to the Government.²² Otherwise, the Government would soon be faced with something like "a Home Rule organisation established in India, on Irish lines, under the patronage of Irish and Radical Members of Parliament."²³

In view of the statement made by Lord

Dufferin in his letter to Reay, the Governor of Bombay, dated May 17th, 1885 and also the opinion expressed by him in many other letters to the Secretary of State on the Congress, it is very difficult to explain the assertion of Messrs Wedderburn and W.C. Banerjee that the immediate political aspect of that organisation was due to the suggestion of Lord Dufferin himself. The difficulty becomes all the greater in view of the fact that the source of information with both of them was Hume himself. Dufferin's correspondence at least does not give the idea that he himself had any share in the conception and planning of the Congress. At the early stage Dufferin's attitude seemed to be one of neutrality towards it, though at the later stage, it definitely underwent a change for the worse, and the main reasons for this change seem to be the rising influence of the Congress, the orientation in its outlook, and specially the new method of mass propaganda adopted by Hume.

¹Indian National Evolution—A.C. Majumdar.

²Letter dated 4th January, 1887 to Lord Cross.

³Letter dated Feb. 1st, 1887 to Lord Cross.

⁴Letter to Lord Kimberley, April 26th, 1886. He writes to Lord Kimberley (the then Secretary of State) in this letter;—".....But beside them (i.e. men like Sir Jatindra Mohan Tagore with moderate opinion) is a more violent and less respectable party, headed, as far as I can make out, by Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee..... these men who are quick witted and cunning more than wise, scarcely know their own minds, or what they really want. The instinctive desire which now possesses them is to ape the tactics and organisation of the Irish Revolutionists. With this object they denounce the whole Indian administration and its various services as brutally inimical to native interests".

⁵Letter to Lord Cross dated 1st. Feb, 1887.

⁶Sir Auckland Colvin doubts the expediency of this policy—Colvin's letter dated June 29th, 1888 to Lord Dufferin.

⁷Letter from Lord Cross to Dufferin dated Feb. 25th, 1887.

⁸Letter from Dufferin to Cross dated 1st Feb, 1887.

⁹Letter from Cross to Dufferin dated Jan. 14th, 1887.

¹⁰Letter from Dufferin to Cross—dated March 4th, 1888.

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²Correspondence between Colvin and Hume.

¹³Letter to Cross December 3rd, 1888.

¹⁴Letter from Hume to B. Tyabji—preserved in the private records of B. Tyabji—collected in the "Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India" Vol.—II—by the State Committee, Bombay Government.

^{15a}Lord Northbrook's Private Papers, Lord Dufferin had expressed his irritation with the writings of the Indian Mirror in many of his letters to the Secretary of State,

Lord Kimberley and then Lord Cross—Letter to Lord Kimberley dated April 26th, 1886: to Cross, March 19th 1888, March 26th, 1888, Dec. 3rd, 1888.

¹⁶Letter from Dufferin to Cross dated Dec. 3rd, 1888.

¹⁷Letter, Dufferin to Cross dated Sept. 24th, 1888.

¹⁸Letter from Dufferin to Cross dated Oct. 8th, 1888 and the enclosure—containing the letter from Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace, Private Secretary to the Viceroy to W.J. Cunningham, Offg. Secretary to Govt. Foreign Dept., dated January 26th, 1888.

¹⁹Letter from Cunningham to Montcath, dated Simla, 7th Nov., 1889—P.D. Volume 212 of 1889—collected in

the 'Source Material of the Freedom Movement in India'—Vol-2 by the State Committee Bombay.

²⁰Quoted in "Indian National Congress" by Dr. P.C. Ghosh—Hamilton Papers—Curzon-Hamilton Private Correspondence.

²¹Volume XIV. Memorandum of conversation with the Gackwad of Baroda, 28th June, 1899. Enclosure to Curzon's letter to Hamilton, 12th July, 1899.

²²Letter to Cross—dated August 17th, 1888.

²³Letter to Cross—dated August 17th, 1888.

²⁴Letter of Dufferin to Cross dated March 20th, 1887.

²⁵Letter to Cross—dated August 17th, 1888.

SOCIAL MORALITY IN INDIA IN THE 18TH CENTURY

DR. V. P. S. RAGHUVANSHI

The eighteenth century is usually considered as a dark period for India. The break-up of the Mughal empire released forces of political disintegration and anarchical conditions were certainly destructive of the creative and co-operative spirit of man for the spread of culture and civilization. There was deterioration in every phase of national life. The period glorified war, bred anarchy and held civilization in terror. Crime increased and some social evils like those of Sati, slavery, female infanticide appear in quite an aggravated form. The common man passed through torture and depression. Fear complex coloured his outlook on life, evil spirits haunted his mind, and he conceived of God mostly after the image of demons and devils. But, inspite of all this, Indian society as far as the vast masses were concerned, maintained a high level of purity and refinement and social morality was not subjected to severe strains by the political disorders of the age.

The institution of caste, whatever be its outward social forms, obnoxious enough in upholding a complex system of taboos relating to marriage and food, was quite effective in controlling and regulating the general behaviour of people. Much of the work which in our day is done by the elaborate organisation of the judiciary was done by caste councils and their chiefs. The vitality of caste in ensuring social control over the individual was indeed remarkable. It was a comprehensive, though unwritten code of social ethics, conventions, customs, usages and traditions and the main support of the social fabric of the country. While its deep hold over society made it rigid and static, it also acted as a proof against violent and

pernicious innovations. Though its rigidity implanted in the Hindu mind a narrow community outlook and class consciousness, it gave him a sense of solidarity and disciplined his life. It had a firm hold on the popular mind as it preserved their traditions, kept alive the memories of their ancestry and often held them together unbroken in spirit in periods of social crisis¹.

In its own interests, caste exercised close control and supervision over its members. Dubois writes in this connexion, "The shame which would reflect on a whole caste if the fault of one of its individual members went unpunished, guarantees that the caste will exercise justice, defend its own honour, and keep all its members within the bounds of duty. For it be noted, every caste has its own laws and regulations, or rather we may say, its own customs, in accordance with which the severest justice is meted out, just as it was by the patriarchs of old"². The control exercised by caste had a very salutary effect and Elphinstone points out that in the Maratha country drunkenness was "almost unknown" due to active caste-supervision and public opinion. In his judgement, public opinion, and above all the opinion of the caste and the dread of expulsion from it were effective restraints on vices. In the Maratha country the powers of the caste were vested in the entire caste. In the Carnatic there were, besides religious Gurus, regular censors attached to each caste invested with great powers.³ On the Coromandel Coast, according to the testimony of Innes Munro, even the very low castes could not think of deviating from caste rules and restrictions as these were attended by "perpetual disgrace"

and the caste council would take cognizance of them.⁴ In Bengal the different castes had their councils and according to Verelst, their authority "enters into the concerns of common life, and is, consequently, very extensive".⁵ In other parts of northern India, we find various castes having their councils or chiefs to adjudicate on caste matters and punish transgressions from their rules. Among the lower castes, in the north as well as in the south, we find hereditary chiefs empowered with supreme caste authority. The journals of Dr. Buchanan appointed by Lord Wellesley to undertake a survey of the territories of the East India Company provide abundant information on the caste government in the later part of the 18th century. Among the higher castes in Bengal and Bihar, usually elected representatives constituted caste-councils. Many of these castes had their "Ghotaks" who maintained a register of marriages in their caste to ensure its purity. The members of one caste could, however, not be punished by another caste.⁶ The European accounts provide a good deal of information on the penalties inflicted by castes for various offences. The cases cited in the Peshwa's Diaries give us a very sound idea of the effectiveness of caste-government.

Religion was the other strong foundation of social morality. It exercised a very formative influence on the conduct and character of the individual and his life in society. Every religion emphasised certain acts of merit, the fulfilment of which implied distinction and recognition in society. It was a popular belief "that acts of charity to the poor can atone for all their sins".⁷ Religious influence promoted the charitable disposition of the people, fostered "humane and gentle manners",⁸ made them mild, affectionate and kind.⁹ Craufurd writing about the Hindus says, "Their rules of morality are most benevolent; and hospitality and charity are not only strongly inculcated but I believe nowhere more universally practised than amongst Hindoos".¹⁰ According to Dubois, justice, humanity, honesty, compassion, disinterestedness were the virtues or precepts of morality emphasised by Hinduism.¹¹ Love of

virtue, sincerity, honesty and temperance were the dominant traits of Indian character. Their notion of virtue implied "a certain greatness of soul which despises dangers and death, and has glory only for its object; which tramples under foot ease and the pleasures of life; which seeks after the esteem and admiration of mankind"¹². Certain tenets of Hinduism, the doctrine of metempsychosis, belief in the immortality of soul, in the future state of rewards and punishments had a profound influence on their character. Their solicitude for animal life, their abhorrence of violence and cruelty, their tenderness and innocence were to a great extent inspired by their religious convictions. Those who belonged to the fighting profession like the Rajputs "had to violate the principles of universal humanity, mildness and charity for their profession of arms".¹³ The followers of Vaishnavism and Jainism would avoid killing the meanest insect. At many places like Surat and Cambay we find references to hospitals maintained at public expense for the care and treatment of birds and animals.¹⁴ Religion and society had come so close that social ideals and practices too were considered sacred. To all appearances there was an irrevocable identity between religion and social arrangements of caste, family, marriage etc. About the Hindus it can be said with certainty that "theology is so blended with the whole moral and civil obligations of life, that it enters into every habit and sanctions almost every action".¹⁵ Violation of customs, which were purely of social import was considered an offence against religion and people were naturally very conservative and attached to their social customs and rules.¹⁶ The idea of sacredness pervaded the entire social code and the dread of "pollution" did not encourage the individual to break away from it in a defiant manner. It is true that the current religious ideas made the people non-progressive in many respects and their taboos and social prohibitions inhibited free action. But the influence of religion was on the whole favourable for the cause of morals even if it promoted fatalism, a spirit of resignation and diffident outlook.¹⁷ The standards of mora-

lity and behaviour retained their vitality and vigour.

The missionary accounts of the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth produce an impression as if the people of this country were sunk in the lowest depths of ignorance and degeneration. The missionaries like Dr. Claudius Buchanan, David Brown, Henry Martyn, Dr. Kerr, Corrie, Tennant, Duff, Ward etc. delighted in villifying the Indian people in a very odious manner, ascribing to them all possible vices. But these distinguished priests, and preceptors of Christian morality in no sense appear to be the representatives of a superior culture. Most of these priests were not free from the lust for gold which had seized their countrymen like a hysterical infatuation. They returned to England with fortunes made in India ranging from £20,000 to £50,000.¹⁸ Enlightened Europeans like Warren Hastings, William Jones, Colebrook, Malcolm, Munro, Elphinstone, etc. who suffered from no false pride, have testified to the general decency and purity of life in Indian society. Some of them were actually not in favour of an unrestricted admission of Europeans into Indian society. They feared that "no laws enacted from home could prevent them from committing acts of licentiousness of every kind with impunity".¹⁹ The early harbingers of European culture in India were mostly men of uncultivated habits and wild passions. They became odious to Indian society which had a sensitive conscience for ethical and moral values. In South India, the stronghold of orthodox Hinduism, people looked on Europeans with a feeling of horror on account of their unclean habits, their indiscreet indulgence in low-caste concubinage, wine and food of every kind. They were regarded as "barbarians totally ignorant of all principles of honour and good breeding".²⁰ The people of this country were conscious of their cultural superiority over foreigners and Christianity made a poor impression on them. Forbes writes that the Brahmans looked on Europeans as grossly materialistic people, "irreligious, sceptical infidels".²¹ In his "Letters on the

State of Christianity in India", Dubois has made an honest confession that the Europeans had little to teach to the Hindus and that these were actually his countrymen who stood in need of reform. In these letters which he published when he was involved in a controversy with his Church on the failure of his missionary efforts he writes unhesitatingly on the high standards of refinement and morality in this country. It is quite interesting to follow his arguments. In his opinion life in India was free from the "dissoluteness" of European towns like London or Paris which reckoned "no less than forty thousand prostitutes who keep public shops of infamy", that even Calcutta, Madras and Bombay were not "such an extensive sink of corruption". Crimes and social vices of every kind were more prevalent in Europe than in India. The European cities and towns were "filled with thieves, sharpers, pick-pockets, swindlers, gamblers, forgerers, false coiners, and other knaves of every description, most of them happily unknown" to India. Their high roads were infested by "robbers, murderers, and assassins" and every kind of crime flourished to an alarming extent.²² He asks his countrymen, "you boast of your pure and refined manners, but how comes it that habitual drunkenness is so prevailing among the lower ranks of your community". The European soldiers and sailors abused their freedom with a vengeance. Their indecent behaviour appeared disgusting even "to the vile pariahs" of Indian society, the very low caste. The conduct of the Indian sepoy was dignified. He very seldom gave offence to the rules of social propriety and morality either in his private or public life.²³ Among themselves, the hospitality of the Indian people knew no bounds. Assistance to people seeking their help was seldom wanting. "A wealthy Hindoo", he writes, "considers himself as the depository, or the distributor, rather than the proprietor of his fortune, so greatly prone is he to acts of charity and benevolence".²⁴ Monetary transactions in Indian society were not dependent on "written bonds" or other vouchers and it was very uncommon to find a debt contracted in privacy denied even

in distress. Servants entrusted with large sums of money would move hundreds of miles away to make purchases for their masters and embezzlements were rare. Money and jewels deposited with relations under necessity of emigration were left untouched "although entrusted to the charge of persons who were themselves living in a state of distress".²⁵

The women of the Hindus, so much misrepresented abroad by missionaries like Rev. Ward as chattels reeling under the tyranny of their husbands, enjoyed complete confidence of their husbands. They were the sole guardians of family property and managed the interests of their families. If they were unacquainted with needle-work, they utilized their leisure in the useful arts of spinning and embroidery. They seldom wasted their time in idleness at card-tables and were all the time busy with their innocent pursuits, enlivening their monotony by decent songs or "playing and prattling with their children".²⁶ They had perfect liberty to participate in public amusements and religious celebrations.²⁷ The Hindu home was the very ideal of conjugal happiness. The Hindu mothers were the very idols of motherly tenderness.²⁸

In this strain, Dubois writes about the superior standards of social morality in this country, where an active public opinion checked crime and lawlessness in society. He bitterly complains that during "thirty-two years of confidential and quite unrestrained intercourse among the natives of India, of all castes, religions and ranks", when he behaved and lived like them, his efforts at winning them over to Christianity proved entirely abortive. Everywhere the seeds sown by him fell "upon a naked rock" and "instantly dried away". According to him the chief cause of the failure of Christian missionary activity was the increasing infiltration of Europeans and India's growing acquaintance with their life and habits.²⁹ The conquest of the country by Europeans, in his view, was a disastrous blow to Christianity, "having witnessed the immoral and disorderly conduct of the Europeans who then over-ran the whole

country, the Hindus would have no more of a religion which appeared to have so little influence over the behaviour of those professing it....and the prejudice against Christianity has gone on increasing steadily day by day, as the people became more familiar with Europeans, until it finally received its death-blow".³⁰ Only a microscopic section of the lowest strata mixed with them on intimate terms. Society on the whole considered them as despicable "Firingis", whose touch was contamination, whose breath was vile and whose company was dreadful. The Christian religion, which was before an object of indifference became by the close of the eighteenth century "an object of horror" and contempt. "The very name of Christian carries along with it the stain of infamy," he says, and association with a Christian became a taboo in South Indian society.³¹ During the sixty years preceding 1820 very few conversions could be made in South India and Christianity as a missionary religion had almost failed. Many of those who had embraced it were fast renouncing it.³² Major Scott Waring of the Madras army does not mince matters and ably argues that the mistake of the missionaries was in holding the belief that they were civilizing the "heathens", who were already a highly civilized people; "they were so, as Mr. Burke truly said, while we were yet in the woods".³³

The accounts of honest and independent Europeans vouchsafe the accuracy of what Dubois proclaims. Forbes reflects on the inadequacy and superfluity of British laws to Indian society where many classes like the Rajputs had a high sense of duty and honour. According to him the Rajputs "so noble and distinct a race of people" were not exceeded by any nation on earth in "a dignified martial spirit" and nobility of heart.³⁴ The testimony of Malcolm cannot be easily repudiated. He writes:³⁵

"I have seen and heard much of our boasted advantages over them, but cannot think that, if all the ranks of the different communities

of Europe and India are comparatively viewed, there is just ground for any very arrogant feeling on the part of the inhabitants of the former".

According to him many weaknesses of Indian national character were due to "misrule and oppression" of their feudal governments but he observes:

"I do not know the example of any great population, in similar circumstances, preserving through such a period of changes and tyrannical rule, so much of virtue and so many good qualities as are to be found in a great proportion of the inhabitants of this country".³⁶

There are many instances of exceptional benevolence of which the people were capable, mentioned in various accounts. About the siege of Arcot by Clive, it is mentioned that when provisions became scarce it was apprehended that it might compel a surrender. Indian sepoys on this occasion contented themselves with "the thin gruel in which the rice was boiled", and left the entire grain to be used by Europeans "as they required more nourishment".³⁷ Warren Hastings had a very high opinion of the Hindus, considering them "gentle, benevolent, more susceptible of gratitude for kindness shown to them than prompted to vengeance for wrongs inflicted, and as exempt from the worst propensities of human passion as any people upon the face of the earth; they are faithful and affectionate in service, and submissive to legal authority....The precepts of their religion are wonderfully fitted to promote the best ends of society, its peace and good order".³⁸

In some accounts it has also been emphasised that a deterioration in national character was evidently perceptible where Indian society was coming in intimate contact with the Westerners. As early as the middle of the 18th century, Dr. Ives wrote about the coastal areas that

trickery and cunning were creeping into Indian character and further:

"But for this we may thank ourselves, who first sullied their purity and debauched their manners. They probably had never known the crime of cheating, had they not first learned it from the tricking Europeans".³⁹

Innes Munro repeats the same sentiments about the close of the century, that on the Coromandel Coast the lower classes were learning artifice and cunning from Europeans "in order to counteract the vicious practices of European emigrants".⁴⁰ At the beginning of the 19th century, Elphinstone, the first Commissioner of Deccan, observed that the character of the people in the northern territories of the East India Company was deteriorating on account of adulteration with many vices which were almost not known to the people of Maharashtra.⁴¹ Robert Orme, a member of Madras Council in the fifties of the 18th century makes an interesting observation about the Hindus:

"Nothing seems to have been wanting to the happiness of this nation, but that others should have looked on them with the same indifference with which they regarded the rest of the world".⁴²

The testimony of Forbes in this connection is quite instructive:

"I sometimes frequented places where the natives had never seen an European, and were ignorant of everything concerning us: there I beheld manners and customs simple as those were in the patriarchal age; there in the very style of Rebecca and the damsels of Mesopotamia, the Hindu villagers treated me with that artless hospitality so delightful in the poems of Homer, and other ancient records".⁴³

The social historian is often intrigued, rather bedevilled at the strange phenomenon, as he surveys the past, that material improvements and scientific progress have not necessarily

contributed to the moral enrichment of human nature. The evidence to the contrary appears to be no less weighty.

¹Dubois, Abbey, J.A.: *Description of the Character, Manners, and Customs etc. of the Hindus*, edited by Beauchamp, Oxford 1897, pp. 28-29, 32-33, 46.

²Ibid., pp. 32-33.

³Elphinstone: *Report on Territories conquered from the Peshwa*, p. 74.

⁴Innes, M.: *Narrative of Military Operations on the Coast of Coromandel*, 1780, p. 29.

⁵Verelst, H.: *A view of the Rise, Progress and Present State of the English Government in Bengal*, 1772, footnotes, pp. 27-28.

⁶Buchanan, Dr. F.H.: *Antiquities, Topography, Statistics etc. of Eastern India*, edited by Montgomery Martin, London, 1837, Vol. II, pp. 756-58; Vol. III, pp. 565-66, 180.

⁷Orme, R.: *Fragments of the Mogul Empire*, pp. 430-31.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Forbes: *Oriental Memoirs*, Second Edn., Vol. I, p. 143.

¹⁰Craufurd: *Sketches Chiefly relative to the History, Religion and Manners of the Hindoos*, 1790, p. 147.

¹¹Dubois: *Hindu Manners*, p. 515.

¹²Abbe de Guyon: *A New History of the East Indies*, 1757, Vol. I, p. 53.

¹³Grosce: *Voyage to the East Indies*, 1772, Vol. I, pp. 186-87.

¹⁴Abbe de Guyon, Vol. I, p. 280; Forbes, Vol. I, p. 156.

¹⁵Forbes: *Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 42.

¹⁶Dubois, p. 31, p. 305.

¹⁷Wilks: *Historical Sketches of the South of India*, 1810, Vol. I, p. 285.

¹⁸Dubois: *Letters on the State of Christianity in India*, 1823, pp. 145-46, p. 205.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Dubois: *Hindu Manners*, p. 41, pp. 307-308; Buchanan: *A Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, 1807, Vol. I, p. 314.

²¹Forbes: *Memoirs*, Vol. II, pp. 145, 153.

²²Dubois: *Letters*, pp. 153-54.

²³Ibid., pp. 154-58.

²⁴Dubois: *Letters*, pp. 158-59.

²⁵Ibid., pp. 161-63.

²⁶Ibid., pp. 182-83, p. 194.

²⁷Ibid., pp. 194-96.

²⁸Ibid., pp. 202-03.

²⁹Dubois: *Letters*, pp. VI-VII.

³⁰Dubois: *Hindu Manners*, pp. 302-03, also pp. 11-12.

³¹Ibid.

³²Ibid., p. 303; See also Valentia: *Voyages and Travels* (1802-06), 1806, Vol. I, p. 364.

³³Observations on the present state of the E.I. Company, 1806, p. 19.

³⁴Forbes: *Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 490.

³⁵Malcolm: *Memoir of Central India*, 1832, Vol. II, Appendix No. xviii, pp. 438-39.

³⁶Ibid., pp. 439-40.

³⁷Thornton: *British Empire in India*, 1842, Vol. I, p. 112.

³⁸Mill: *History of British India*, 1858, Vol. I, p. 372, Note D.

³⁹Dr. Ives: *Voyage to India in the year 1754, 1773*, p. 48.

⁴⁰Innes: *Military Operations*, p. 46.

⁴¹Elphinstone: *Report on the territories conquered from the Peshwa*, 1821, p. 74.

⁴²Orme, R.: *Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*, 1861, Vol. I, p. 78.

⁴³Forbes: *Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 143.

A SEMINAR ON THE STUDY OF HISTORY AND COLLEGE HISTORY TEACHING

(Sponsored by Punjabi University, Patiala, in collaboration with Baring Union Christian College, Batala)

Purpose:

To improve the standard of college history teaching both by providing selected teachers with some training in the use of modern historical methodology and by encouraging them to relate their new understanding of their subject derived from that experience to the concrete problems involved in teaching degree college students in such a way that specific ways and means of improving the teaching process can be seen, evaluated, and adopted.

Centre:

Punjabi University, Patiala, from March 22, 1965 to April 10, 1965.

Methods of Operation:

The participants in this seminar will be drawn exclusively from North-West India so that once the seminar is over, they will be sufficiently close to one another to further encourage and stimulate each other as well as exercise some influence on history teaching in the area. The Vice-Chancellors of the following Universities will be asked to send a list of a specified number of nominees with the stipulations that they be Degree College teachers and under the age of 35: Delhi University (8 nominees); University of Jammu and Kashmir (5 nominees); Kurukshetra University (1 nominee); Panjab University (15 nominees); and Punjabi University (3 nominees). Applications will then be sent to the nominees and not more than 25 will be chosen. They will be supplied with reading material which they are to study before the seminar begins.

During the first week the general background material needed for the intensive study of the next two weeks will be provided. This will include a total of eight lectures on "Some of the Basic Concepts of Historical Study" and "Changing Patterns of Historical Interpretation" by Dr. Frank Thakurdas as well as two lectures by each of the four specialists dealing with the concepts and changes in interpretation in their own fields. In the second and third weeks each participant will join a daily workshop in either Ancient Indian, Medieval Indian, Modern Indian, or Modern European History under the leadership of the specialist in that field. There the participant will receive intensive training in the use of the concepts and modes of interpretation of that particular field and will prepare a paper under the guidance of the person in charge. For that purpose, plenty of time for independent study will be provided.

Also, throughout the seminar, there will be a daily discussion of the problems and possibilities of history teaching. In the early stages our objectives as teachers of history and the concrete problems we face (the expectations of examiners, college principals, and students respectively as well as problems of textbooks, medium, library, facilities, timetables, teacher-student ratios, etc. will be considered. In the later stages we shall try to find specific ways of applying the approach to history outlined in the lectures and practised in the workshops to our aims and problems as history teachers. Each discussion will be initiated by a participant who will read a short paper on the topic for the day. To give these discussions and the personal conclusions drawn from them a practical shape each participant

will prepare a lesson plan for one topic in the syllabus which he normally teaches.

During the final two weeks of the seminar there will be a total of eight extension lectures designed both to increase knowledge in particular areas of current research and to encourage the participants to discuss with the lecturer his methods of analysis and description.

After the seminar is over a report will be prepared which will include synopses of the first week's lectures, a few of the best lesson plans and papers prepared in the workshops, a detailed analysis of the problems and possibilities of teaching history in degree colleges emerging

from the discussions, and some recommendations by both the leaders and participants in the seminar. The purpose of the report is threefold: 1)- to inform others of the work done in the seminar; 2)- to give those concerned a clear idea of the problems which history teachers in degree colleges face and what they feel can be done about them; 3)- to make it possible for this experiment to provide a basic working model for other seminars both in history and in other academic disciplines as well. The report will then be given to all Vice-Chancellors and Heads of University Departments of History, to all colleges requesting a copy, to the University Grants Commission, and to other interested bodies.

SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF INDIAN HISTORY IN JAPAN

In Japan, Indology meant almost exclusively Buddhist or Sanskrit studies, and the study of Indian history as such had long been neglected. But recently, interest in this subject has been mounting, till it has become quite keen and active.

Because of many difficulties, especially that of access to rare books and original source materials, research has not made much progress yet. It is hoped, however, we shall be able to contribute something to the international advancement of the study in the near future. It is possible to overcome the difficulties even though not all at once.

SSIH : History

The Society for the Study of Indian History (SSIH) was founded in 1952 as an inter-university organization. At the beginning its membership was very small in number and it had no constitution worth that name.

Since then, the Society has held research meetings regularly, many of its members have studied in India and in England, sometimes scholars from abroad have given lectures for it, and its membership has grown in number. Several years ago, the need was felt to organize the body, and a Managing Committee was set up, rules were laid down.

Managing Committee

M. Ara (Chairman)	H. Nakamura
H. Fukazawa	M. Ouchi
M. Koga	M. Takahatake
T. Matsui (Secretary)	T. Yamazaki

* Reproduced, with permission, from the News Letter of the Society, Vol. I, No. 1 (June, 1964).

Activities

SSIH holds regular research meetings. These meetings are organized by the Managing Committee, and the members assemble twice or more a month to discuss, to review and to accept reports and papers concerning some definite theme. Usually three themes are selected for a year, so the Society has three series of meetings, each of which is presided over by some leading member.

From time to time, the Society holds special meetings—lectures, paper readings, discussions on topics other than the theme of regular meetings, sometimes receiving guest scholars.

Three numbers of a journal called *Nanposhi-kenkyu* were issued, so far, by Nanposhi Kenkyo Kai (The Association for Southern Asian Studies), which is composed of SSIH and the Society for the Study of South-East Asian History.

Since 1958, chief members of SSIH, together with many scholars of other disciplines and other specialities, have formed a big study organization and received a research grant for the regional studies of Asia from the Ministry of Education. SSIH activities were partly supported by this grant.

SSIH Regular Research Meetings, 1962-64

The first theme for 1962 was "The Land Systems and Village Community—Revaluation of Baden-Powell's Works." T. Matsui presided over the meetings, for which he prepared an article (in Japanese, with a summary in English) helped by T. Yamazaki and H. Fukazawa.

The second theme was "Indian Nationalism between the two World Wars." Heiji Nakamura was responsible. Main topics were Gandhian political thought, peasant-, anarchist-, and socialist-movements in 1920s, and life and thought of Subhas Chandra Bose.

For 1963, three themes were selected. "Hinduism in its Historical Aspects" was the first one. T. Yamazaki was in charge of the meetings. M. Hara and J. Takasaki helped him. Hinduism was considered in connection with Vedism, Brahmanism, Siva and Vishnu cult, Buddhism, Jainism, Bhakti, communalism and nationalism.

Meetings on "Caste—Sociological, Social Anthropological Research and Historical Study" were presided over by H. Fukazawa helped by T. Yamazaki. Several sociological and social anthropological works were reviewed and the discussion was on how these works would be useful for the historians.

Meetings on the third theme, "Industrial Capital in the Era of Nationalist Movements," were organized by T. Matsui. Four central topics were selected: early accumulation of industrial capital, concentration and control—the managing agency system, growth of industrial labour, and conceptualization of them in modern Indian economic history.

"Islam in Indian History" was selected as the first theme for 1964. N. Ara was in charge and the main topics were early Indo-Islam and its mysticism, recent studies on the Mughal period, and modern Islam and communalism.

Meetings for the second theme of this year, "Methodological Consideration for the Study of the Ancient History of India," are now going on and D.D. Kosambi's work is being reviewed chapter after chapter. T. Yamazaki is responsible.

* The works listed below are all in Japanese unless otherwise mentioned.

Researchers In Japan

Names of the Japanese researchers of Indian history are given below (in alphabetical order) together with 1. their addresses, 2. their present positions, 3. their main works* and 4. interests or subjects of their present study.

Ara, Matsuo

1. C/o Institute for Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo, 56, Otsukamachi, Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo.
2. Associate Professor of Indian History, Institute for Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo.
3. *Society and Politics in Contemporary India A Historical Approach*. Tokyo, 1958

"Notes on the Indian Village Community
The Memoirs of the Institute for Oriental Culture
No. 2, 1951

"Historical Problems of Indian Nationalism." *Iwanami Lectures on Contemporary Thought*. Vol. III, 1957

"Slave Nobles of the Early Delhi Sultanate", *Toyo Gakuhō*, Vol. XL, No. 4, 1951

"The Muslim Rule and the Indian Society", *The History of the World*, Vol. XIII Chikum Publishing Co., 1961

"The Tombs of the Early Slave Dynasty in Delhi," *MIOC*, No. 33, 1964

4. History of Mediaeval India. Now working for the historical study of the monument of the Delhi Sultanate.

Fukazawa, Hiroshi

1. C/o Department of Economics, Hitotsubashi University, Kunitachi, Kitatama gun, Tokyo

2. Lecturer on Economy and Economic History of Asia, Department of Economics, Hitotsubashi University
3. "On the Slavery in the 18th Century Maratha Kingdom," *Hitotsubashi Ronso (HR)*, Vol. XLV, No. 6, 1961
"On the Forced Labour in the 18th Century Maratha Kingdom," *HR*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 3, 1962
4. Social and economic history of mediaeval Deccan

Fukazawa, Minoru

1. 1548, 3-chome, Machara-cho, Koganei, Tokyo
2. Professor, Department of Economics, Asia University
3. "Public Finance and Capital Formation in India," *The Financial System of India*, published by the Institute of Asian Economic Affairs, Tokyo, 1962
"A Study of Report of the Taxation Enquiry Commission 1953-54, Government of India," Tokyo, 1963
4. Economic development and taxation system in India. Now, evaluation of the expenditure tax in India.

Iizuka, Ichiro

1. 2-23, Iogi, Suginami-ku, Tokyo
2. Associate Professor of Economic History, Yamanashi University
4. Indian Economic Change under the British Rule.

Iwamoto, Yutaka

1. Taidera 4-73, Akashi-shi, Hyogo Prefecture

2. Lecturer on the Cultural History of South-East Asia (esp. on Buddhism), Kyoto University
3. *Some Problems on the Cultural History of India*, Tokyo, 1947
A Short History of India, Tokyo, 1956
Indian Narratives, Tokyo, 1963
Buddhist Narratives, Tokyo, 1964
Introduction to the Buddhism, Tokyo, 1964
Japanese translation of the *Saddharmapundarika*, Tokyo, 1962, 1964
The Sumagadhavadana, a Buddhist Legend, rev. Sanskrit text, Tokyo, 1961
4. History of Indian Buddhism

Karashima, Noboru

1. 163, Gokurakuji, Kamakura-shi, Kanagawa Prefecture
2. Assistant, Department of Oriental History, University of Tokyo
3. "A Study of Brahmadeyas under the Chola Dynasty," unpublished M. A. dissertation, University of Tokyo
4. South Indian history, especially socio-economic structure of the Chola rule

Matsui, Toru

1. 415, 2 chome, Akazutsumi, Setagaya-ku, Tokyo
2. Associate Professor, Department of Economics, Aoyama Gakuin University, Tokyo
3. "Methods of the Indigo Production in the 19th Century India," *Aoyama Keizai Ronshu*, Vol. X, No. 2, 1958
"Indigo and Mughal Authorities in the 17th Century," *Nanposhi-kenkyu*, Vol. I, 1959
A History of India, (a joint work edited by T. Yamamoto), pp. 150-236, 252-490, Tokyo, 1960

"Modern History of India and 'Underdevelopment' A Methodological Reconsideration," *Rekishigaku-kenkyu*, No. 262, 1962
"Indian Economic Structure—An Analysis of the Historical Background," *Indian Economic Development and the Balance of International Payments*, Tokyo, 1963

4. East-West interplay in modern India, especially socio-economic aspects in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries

Nakamura, Heiji

1. 812, 1-chome, Asagaya, Suginami-ku, Tokyo
2. Lecturer on Urdu, Department of India & Pakistan, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies
3. "A Study of Political Thought of Bipin-chandra Pal," *MIOC*, No. 20, 1960
"India's Independence and its Political Process with Particular Reference to Nehru-Patel Du-unvirate," *MICO*, No. 25, 1961
"On the First Satyagraha Movement in India, 1919-22," *Rekishigaku-kenkyu*, No. 225, 1958
4. The rise and growth of Indian Nationalism from the mid-19th century to the present day

Nishimura, Takao

1. Daigaku-kosha 10, Onoshiba-cho 23, Sakai, Osaka
2. Associate Professor, Economics Department, University of Osaka Prefecture
3. *Essay on the History of the East India Company*, Kyoto, 1960
4. History of Indian cotton industry

Takahatake, Minoru

1. N. 17-2, Kirigaoka Danchi, Kita-ku, Tokyo
2. Associate Professor, Hokkaido Daigaku

3. "On the Pcasantry of Bengal in the late 18th Century," *Shigaku-Zasshi*, Vol. LXVIII, No. 10, 1959
"On the Zamindars of Bengal before the Permanent Settlement," *Tokyo Gakuho*, Vol. XLII, No. 2 & No. 3, 1959
"The Land Systems of Bengal," *The History of the World*, Vol. XIII, Chikuma Publishing Co., 1961
"The Sepoy Mutiny, its Background Reconsidered," *ibid.*
4. Economic History in the 18th and 19th Centuries

Takasaki, Jikido

1. 4-484, Inatsuke, Kita-ku, Tokyo
2. Lecturer, Komazawa University, Tokyo
3. *A Study of the Ratnagotravibhaga (Uttaratantra)*, in press, S. O. R., IsMEO, Rome (in English) "Status and Class in Ancient India," *Kodaishi Koza*, Vol. VIII, 1963
4. Ancient Indian thought, especially Mahayana Buddhism and its relation to Hinduism

Yamamoto, Tatsuro

1. 22-6, Ichibancho, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo
2. Professor, Department of Oriental History, University of Tokyo
3. "Religious Policy of Muhammad Tughluq," *Jinbun*, Vol. II, No. 2, 1948
"The Architectural Remains of the Delhi Sultanate Period," *Tohogaku*, No. 21, 1961
4. Historical study of the architectural remains of the Delhi Sultanate period

Yamazaki, Genichi

1. 342, Higashi-Oizumimachi, Nerima-ku, Tokyo
3. "A Study of the Legend of Asoka," unpublished M. A. dissertation, University of Tokyo

4. History of the Mauryan Empire

Yamazaki, Toshio

1. 2-2076, Suwada, Ichikawa, Chiba
2. Associate Professor, Institute for Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo
3. "The Dayavibhaga in Classical Hindu Law." *MIOC*, No. 12, 1957
"The Land-grant Documents of Bengal during the Fifth and Sixth Centuries," *MIOC*, No. 18, 1959
"Chalukyan Architecture," *The History of the World*, Vol. XIII, Chikuma Publishing Co., 1961
"For the Historical Study of the Caste System in India," *Rekishigaku-konkyu*, No. 262, 1962
"The History of the Codification of Hindu Law, 1937-56, (I)," *Oriental Culture*, No. 34, 1963
4. Ancient Indian History and Hindu Law

Recent Writings in Japan

Numerous articles on ancient India and also a few on the Muslim period are published every year in Japan. Most of them are on Indian philosophy, especially Buddhism and orthodox Brahmanical thoughts. The need of the study on other aspects, political, socio-economic, and so on, has been pointed out, and articles in such fields are increasing in their number. Generally speaking, the study is almost exclusively on northern India.

The main works on the Ancient and Muslim periods, which were published last year in Japan, are listed below, with a brief comment for each.

Fuji, Kenkyo; *History of the Educational Thought in India*, Tokyo. This is the first book of this kind published in Japan. The educational thoughts of Brahmanism, Jainism and Buddhism are the main topics.

Fukazawa, Hiroshi; "A Study of the Local

Administration of Adilshahi Sultanate (A. D. 1489-1686)," *Hitotsubashi Journal of Economics*, Vol. III, No. 2. (In English). The official documents of the 16th and 17th centuries published by Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal of Poona are used for analysing the administrative functions of and the methods of remuneration for the local administrative staff of Adilshahi dynasty.

Fukazawa, Hiroshi; "State and Caste System in the 18th Century Maratha Kingdom," *Hitotsubashi Ronso*, Vol. XLIX, No. 5. Based on the official documents selected from the Peshwa Daftar of Poona, the author proves that the caste life of the Maratha kingdom in the 18th century was not always autonomous. Sometimes the government intervened, protecting, controlling, and strengthening its regulations.

Iwamoto, Yutaka; "A Study of the Ancient Indian Agriculture," *Lectures on the Ancient History (Kodaishi Kozo)*, Vol. VIII. The author points out the important part played by the Dravidians, showing the Dravidian factors, in the ancient Indian agriculture.

Iwamoto, Yutaka; *Indian Narratives*, Tokyo. This book shows us how the main ideas of ancient Indian tales were adopted in those of China, Japan, Persia and countries in Europe.

Kanakura, Ensho; *History of the Indian Philosophy*, Tokyo. Very useful guide-book of the history of Indian philosophy before the Muslim period.

Miyasaka, Yusho; "An Introductory Study of the Tribal Society and the Origin of Buddhism," *Mikkyo Bunka*, No. 62 & 63. The author tries to prove that the original Buddhism was the product of a free and democratic tribal tradition, at the time when the tribal society had collapsed and class-society came out, accompanying the state based on slavery.

Nakamura, Hajime; *Ancient History of India*,

Vol. I, Tokyo. The work, certainly the most detailed study on Indian ancient history in Japan, is to be completed in three volumes. This first volume covers the period from the Indus Civilization to the fall of Mauryan Empire.

Nakamura, Hajime; "Ancient Indian Commercial Activities," *Lectures on the Ancient History*, Vol. IX. Commercial activities and the city life in Buddha's time are described. The study is based on the early Buddhist and Jain sources.

Nakamura, Hajime, ed. by; *History of the Ethical Thought in India*, Tokyo. It consists of seven chapters: ethics of Brahmanism, Hinduism, primitive Buddhism, Hinayana Buddhism and Mahayana Buddhism, and ethics in the Muslim and the modern periods. Each chapter is written by a specialist in the field.

Sato, Mitsuo; *A Study of the Early Buddhist Order*, Tokyo. The study is on the system of the original Buddhist order, using the materials in the latter half of the Vinaya (Khandhaka). The orders in China and Japan represented the deviation from the original form.

Takasaki, Jikido; "Status and Class in Ancient India," *Lectures on the Ancient History (Kodaishi Koz)* Vol. VII. When and how the caste-society emerged is the main point, the argument is based on the recent studies on the subject.

Tsukamoto, Keisho; "A Study of the History of the Magadha Dynasty (I)," *Osaki Gakuho*, No. 117. The chronological order of the kings of the Magadha dynasty is examined by comparing

the Buddhist Jain and Brahmanical sources with each other.

Uti, Hakuju; *A Study of the Mahayana Buddhist Canons*. Tokyo.

Watsuji, Tetsuro; *History of the Ethical Thought of Buddhism*, The Complete Works of Tetsuro Watsuji, Vol. XIX, Tokyo. The old manuscripts left by the late T. Watsuji, arranged and published in book form.

Yamada, Meiji; "The Story of Mihirakula's Destruction of Buddhism," *Bukkyo Shigaku*, Vol. XI, No. 1 & 2. The author's main point is: the Huna and the Ephtalite should be distinguished from each other, the territories of the former stretching from Central India to Kashmir, and those of the latter, from Central Asia to North West Frontiers of India. Buddhism in Kashmir was destroyed by Mihirakula who belonged to the Huna, while Buddhism at Gandhara was destroyed by an Ephtalite king.

Translations:

Sukasaptati, textus ornatior. Tr. by Oroya Tanaka.

Milindapanha. Tr. by Hajime Nakamura and Kyosei Hayashima.

Th. Stecherbatsky; *The Central Conception of Buddhism and the Meaning of the Word Dharma*, London, 1923. Tr. by Hidetomo Kanaoka.

Taranatha; *History of Buddhism*. Tibetan text and Japanese translation.

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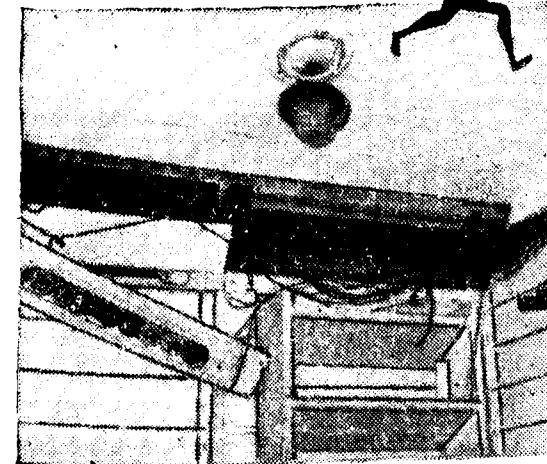
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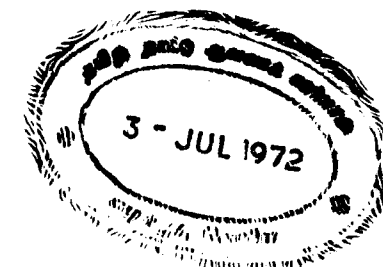


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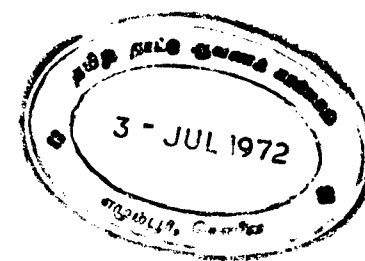
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THE QUARTERLY REVIEW OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

202-D, BEPIN BEHARI GANGULY STREET, CALCUTTA-12

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THE QUARTERLY REVIEW OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

Vol. IV

(1964-65)

No. 3

EDITORIAL

We have to apologise to our readers again for the long delay in the publication of this number. In spite of our best efforts to regularise publication and bring it up to date, we could not do it for reasons beyond our control. We still hope that in the course of the next few months the arrear numbers may be brought out more quickly and the publication may be regularised.

Discussion Meetings:

Since the publication of our last number six Discussion Meetings were held at the Institute. Dr. Blair Kling (American Institute of Indian Studies, Calcutta Centre) spoke on *Dwarkanath Tagore and the Beginnings of Industrialisation in Eastern India*. Dr. J. R. MacLane (American Institute of Indian Studies, Calcutta Centre) spoke on *The Importance of the First Partition of Bengal*. Mr. S. Roy (Deputy Director, National Archives of India, New Delhi) spoke on *The National Archives of India: Some Practical Hints for Research Students*. Dr. Biman Bihari Majumdar (formerly of Patna University) gave two talks: *The Inner Circle in the Congress in Pre-Independence Era* and *The Congress and the Moslems*. Mr. Tapan Kumar Roy Choudhury (Professor of Economic History, Delhi University) gave a talk on *The Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations and the Indian Economy (1550-1700)*.

All the talks were very well-attended and the discussions very lively. We hope to publish them in later issues. It is gratifying to note that the value of our discussion forum is being increasingly appreciated by serious students of History. It has, however, posed an accommodation problem for us, and we must secure a bigger hall than what we have at present to cope with the steady increase in attendance.

Research Students' Seminar:

In addition to our normal Discussion Meetings, we have also drawn up a programme of a regular Seminar for Research Students. The primary object is to enable Research Students to meet in smaller groups, read papers on their research subjects and benefit by an exchange of ideas. For the present we have drawn up a list of 12 speakers and propose to hold a meeting once a month. It is hoped that this Seminar will fulfil a long-felt need in our research system. In most Universities there is no provision for any regular Seminar. Research Students are left practically to themselves and have to work in isolation. Facilities for meeting among themselves and exchanging ideas are very rare. The Institute's plan for setting up a Research Students' Seminar would, therefore, be a welcome move.

Seminar on Biography as History:

The Institute of Historical Studies, in collaboration with the Institute of American Studies, Calcutta Centre, and the U.S.I.S., Calcutta, will organise a Seminar on *Biography as History* on August 5-6, 1965. The leader of discussion is the noted American historian, Professor Allan Nevins. About 50 scholars representing all the Universities in West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam are expected to participate. There will be four sessions in all, and the subjects for discussion will be: (i) Historical Research and Interpretation; (ii) The Biographer as Historian; (iii) Business History; and (iv) Federal-State Relations.

The papers read at the Seminar will be published in a later issue of the *Quarterly Review*.

Seminar on Religion and Politics in Medieval India:

The Institute of Asian Studies, Hyderabad, will hold a Seminar on *Religion and Politics in Medieval South India 1200—1800 A.D.* in October, 1965. The specific topics to be covered will include:

- (i) The nature of the dominant religion, whether Hindu or Muslim—and its attitude to the State and Society;
- (ii) Religious sects and their role in the ruling dynasty and the ruling classes;
- (iii) Racial and tribal traditions of the ruling dynasty and the ruling classes;
- (iv) The legal system;
- (v) The policy towards employment of religious minorities in civil and military posts of various levels; and
- (vi) Popular religious movements, such as the Bhakti Movement.

For going into proper depth, each participant is to base his study on data relating to the states in one of the following groups:

- Group I (a) Yadavas; (b) Kakatiyas; and (c) Hoysalas;

- Group II (a) Bahmanis; and (b) Vijayanagar;
Group III (a) Bidar; (b) Berar; (c) Ahmednagar; (d) Bijapur; (e) Golconda; and (f) Maratha Power;

- Group IV (a) Mysore; (b) Hyderabad; (c) Arcot; (d) Tanjore; and (e) Maratha power;

- Group V (a) Malabar; (b) Travancore; and (c) Madurai.

The Seminar will not be confined to historians alone. It is aimed to hold inter-disciplinary discussion, and participants will include scholars in other fields of Social Sciences, like politics, economics, geography, sociology, archival science etc.

The Institute of Asian Studies had previously conducted a three day Seminar in December 1963 on *Geo-Political, Socio-Economic and Cultural Aspects of Deccan History*. We hope the second Seminar to be held in October 1965 will be as successful as the first one and that the papers read will be a valuable contribution to the study of medieval history of the Deccan and South India.

Seminar on the Historians of Medieval India:

The Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi, is planning to hold a Seminar on *The Historians of Medieval India*, in the first week of January, 1966. The object of the Seminar is to analyse and evaluate the character of history writing during the medieval period, needed because of the fact that medieval Indian history has been so far studied and interpreted without any critical examination of the personal predilections, the social, religious and political attitudes and techniques of the medieval chroniclers. The Seminar will concentrate on the following themes:

1. Pre-Turkish Traditions of History Writing in India.

2. Contemporary Historians of the Sultanate of Delhi.
3. Contemporary Historians of the Local Medieval Dynasties.
4. Contemporary Historians of the Mughal Empire.
5. General Historians of Medieval India.
6. British Historians of Medieval India.
7. Modern Historians of Medieval India.

The Seminar is being organised by Professor Mohibbul Hasan, Head of the Department of History, Jamia Millia Islamia.

Historical Studies at Universities:

The present number gives an account of historical studies at three Universities—Utkal, Visva-Bharati and Osmania. At Utkal and Osmania Universities there is only one History Department, while at Visva-Bharati there are two Departments, History and Ancient Indian History and Culture. The present number covers only the History Department, as we did not get reports on the Ancient Indian History and Culture Department.

At both Utkal and Visva-Bharati Universities the courses of study for B.A. Honours and M.A. Examinations are fairly well-balanced, with proportionate weightage to Indian history and history of other countries. While there is provision for the study of regional history, no undue emphasis is laid on it. The courses also provide scope for specialisation in Ancient, Medieval and Modern periods. At Osmania University, however, the course does not appear to be so well-balanced or well-integrated. While framing the syllabus, two things should be kept in view: first that it should be as broad-based and comprehensive as possible within the time period prescribed; and second, that it should provide scope for study in depth, as a preparatory stage for research.

It is to be hoped that the U.G.C. Commission on University Teaching and Research, set up

in 1964, will go into this question and make suitable recommendations for re-orientation of courses of study. The Commission has already started its investigations and is expected to submit its findings and recommendations by the end of this year. We, however, wish that these recommendations be more specific and concrete than is usually the practice with such Commissions. It is a matter of pleasure for us that the majority of the Commission are Fellows of the Institute.

The rules for Research Degrees at Utkal and Visva-Bharati Universities follow the usual pattern in Indian Universities, registration after a nominal scrutiny and two years' work under a Supervisor. There is no preliminary test or regular training through seminars etc. After registration, a student is left to himself. He does not pay any fees, nor does the University undertake any responsibility on his account. The only contact he maintains with the University is through his personal arrangement with the Supervisor. At Osmania University, however, there is provision for a six months' preliminary training and a written examination before registration. This is definitely a better system and would weed out the less serious students who now crowd the field.

From the lists of subjects on which students are working at Utkal and Osmania Universities it would appear that too much emphasis is being laid on regional history. In a sense this is unavoidable, because the nature of material available would determine the topics of research. Knowledge of local language also is a determinant factor. But at the same time, it is also desirable that serious efforts be made to induce some students to undertake research in the history of a region other than their own. It would help eliminate the risk of the growth of a parochial outlook or undue local patriotism. It is not difficult to make such serious efforts through a proper distribution of U.G.C. Research Fellowships and travel grants. Meetings of Research Supervisors of different Univer-

sities would also be of great help in broad-basing the field of research.

Dictionary of Biographies Project:

The Advisory Board of the Dictionary of Nationalist Biographies Project held its annual meeting in New Delhi on June 15-16, 1965. It considered the Progress Report for 1964-65 and laid down targets for 1965-66 and 1966-67, based on the experience gained so far. The Progress Report, which will be published in a later issue of the *Quarterly Review*, gives a quite encouraging picture. Our Research Fellows are now more sure of their ground and are doing their work according to the expected speed and standard. In 1964-65 collection of material was completed on 325 leaders, covering the different regions of India. The progress would have been much better if we had the present size of Research staff from the beginning of the year under review. But financial limitations and the difficulty of getting really able and sincere research workers stood in the way. According to our present calculations, with our existing Research staff we should be able to cover 525 leaders in 1965-66 and 350 in 1966-67, bringing up the total to 1200, which is our target. The names of leaders on whom collection of material was completed in 1964-65 will be published in a later issue. Subsequent lists will also be published from time to time.

At the last meeting of the Advisory Board the size of the Project had to be cut down to keep it within the limits of our financial re-

sources. The final list of leaders approved by the Board includes 1200 names. The zone-wise break-up of this number is: Eastern zone (Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam)—325; Northern Zone (U.P., M.P., Rajasthan, Panjab and Kashmir)—325; Western Zone (Gujarat and Maharashtra)—275; Southern Zone (Madras, Mysore, Andhra and Kerala)—275. The reduction of the list means that lesser leaders of provincial and district-level importance have to be left out. We wish we could secure sufficient funds to make the Dictionary as comprehensive as we had originally planned, but in view of our financial limitations, there was no alternative but to cut down the size of the Project. We can only hope that at a later stage the Government of India, the State Governments and Indian Educational Foundations will appreciate the work done and will be more inclined to assist us in enlarging the scope of the Project.

If work progresses according to schedule, we hope to cover 850 leaders by May 1966. It is proposed to start the editing work from June 1966. Collection of material will be over by May 1967, but editing work will take a year more. The Advisory Board at its last meeting also considered the nature and scope of biographical entries. The ideas outlined in these columns in the previous issue were broadly endorsed by the Board. The maximum and minimum limits of entries will be 1600 and 400 words. Each entry will be followed by a full bibliography, although of course it cannot be expected that on very important leaders a thoroughly comprehensive bibliography can be given within the short space available.

COURSES OF STUDY

Utkal University

(A) FOR B.A. HONOURS EXAMINATION

Paper I History of India from Sixth Century B.C. to 1526.

Paper II History of India from 1526 to 1947.

Paper III Political Science & Governments.

or

History of Modern Asia from 1900 to 1939 (Japan, China, Turkey, Syria, Iran and Iraq).

Paper IV British History from 1485 to 1760.

Paper V British History from 1761 to 1939.

Paper VI History of International Relations from 1900 to 1939.

or

History of Greece till the Death of Alexander and History of Rome till the Death of Augustus.

(B) FOR M.A. EXAMINATION

Part I

Paper I Contemporary History from 1919.

Paper II Outline of Modern Political Thought from Hobbes

and

Constitutions of India, Britain, U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.

Paper III Constitutional History of England from 1485.

Paper IV Indian Culture.

or

History of the Far East (China and Japan) since 1839.

Part II

Paper V History of Modern Europe from 1789 to 1878.

Papers VI One of the following groups of two and VII papers each.

Group A (Ancient India)

Paper VI History of India from 6th Century B.C. to the end of 3rd Century A.D.

Paper VII History of India from 4th Century A.D. to the end of 12th Century A.D.

Group B (Medieval India)

Paper VI History of India from 1206 A.D. to 1525 A.D.

Paper VII History of India from 1526 A.D. to 1756 A.D.

Group C (Modern India)

Paper VI History of India from 1757 to 1856.

Paper VII History of India from 1857 to 1947.

Group D (European History)

Paper VI History of Europe from 1453 to 1648.

Paper VII History of Europe from 1648 to 1789.

Group E (Foreign Histories)

Paper VI History of U.S.A. from 1776 to 1919.

Paper VII History of Russia from 1815 to 1924.

Group F (Regional History and Archaeology)

Paper VI Political and Cultural History of Orissa from Earliest Times to the end of Ganga Rule.

Paper VII Political and Cultural History of Orissa from the Beginning of Surya Rule to 1936.

Paper VIII Essay (Covering subjects in all the Papers in Parts I & II)

Osmania University (Hyderabad)

M.A. (PREVIOUS) EXAMINATION

Paper I (i) Indian History from the beginning of Asoka's reign to A.D. 1605.

or

(ii) Intensive study of one of the following:—

(a) The Tuglaks (A.D. 1320—A.D. 1414)

(b) The Vijayanagara Empire (A.D. 1336—A.D. 1565).

Paper II (i) Mughal Administration from A.D. 1526 to A.D. 1749.

or

(ii) Ancient Indian Civilization and Philosophy from 2000 B.C. to A.D. 1200.

or

(iii) West Asian Civilization (A.D. 570-A.D. 1650).

Paper III (i) Social and Political History of U.S.A. from A.D. 1776 to the Present day.

or

(ii) British History (A.D. 1485-A.D. 1880).

or

(iii) History of the Far East from the middle of the 19th Century up to A.D. 1938.

Paper IV (i) Development of the Indian Constitution A.D. 1773 onwards, with special reference to the present constitution.

or

(ii) Elements of Archaeology I, with Special reference to the Deccan.

Visva-Bharati University

B.A. (HONOURS) EXAMINATION IN HISTORY

Paper I History of India from the earliest times to 1206.

Paper II History of India from 1206 to 1757.

Paper III History of India from 1757 to 1947.

Paper IV History of Great Britain from 1485 to 1914.

Paper V Modern West (Europe & the U.S.A) 1789-1939.

Paper VI Modern Asia since the middle of the Nineteenth Century.

Paper VII History of Ancient Greece.

Paper VIII (a) History of Ancient Bengal.

or

(b) History of Mediaeval Bengal.

M.A. EXAMINATION IN HISTORY

Paper I History of India from 1858 to 1935 A.D.

Paper II Constitutional History of Great Britain from 1485 to 1911 A.D.

Paper III International Law.

Optional Group A (Ancient Indian History)

Paper IV Ancient Indian Political Thought.

Paper V Political History of India from the fall of the Mauryas to the decline of the Guptas.

Paper VI Social & Economic History of India from the fall of the Mauryas to the decline of the Guptas.

Optional Group B (Medieval Indian History)

Paper IV Political History of India from 1206 A.D. to 1526 A.D.

Paper V Political History of India from 1526 A.D. to 1707 A.D.

Paper VI Social, Economic & Administrative History of India, either from 1206 A.D. to 1526 A.D. or from 1526 to 1707 A.D.

Optional Group C (Modern Indian History)

Paper IV Constitutional History of India from 1773 A.D. to 1935 A.D.

Paper V History of Bengal from 1707 to 1793 A.D.

Paper VI History of India from 1793 to 1857 A.D.

Paper VII International Relations from 1919 to 1939 A.D.

Paper VIII Any one of the following subjects:—

(a) History of West Asia from 1914 A.D. to 1956.

(b) History of East Asia from 1911 to 1949.

(c) History of South East Asia from 1850 to 1950 A.D.

(d) History of Africa since 1885 A.D.

(e) History of the U.S.A. from 1860 to 1939.

(f) History of the U.S.S.R. since 1917 A.D.

RULES FOR RESEARCH DEGREES

Utkal University

PH. D. EXAMINATION

- I. Any Master of Arts of the Utkal University may, at any time not less than two years from the date when he passed the examination for the degree of Master, offer himself as a candidate for the Ph.D. degree in Arts.

Any person who holds the degree of Master of Arts from another University or a degree recognised by the Academic Council as equivalent thereto, may, if not less than two years have elapsed since he passed the examination for such degree, offer himself as a candidate for the Ph. D. degree in Arts:

Provided that no such candidate, if he was not placed either in the first or the second class at the examination for the degree of Master or the degree recognised by the Academic Council as equivalent thereto, shall be allowed to appear for the Ph. D. examination without the special permission of the Syndicate.

- II.(1) A candidate for the Ph. D. degree shall be required to study for not less than two years in the State of Orissa. In case materials and equipments required for a piece of research are not available within the State, the Syndicate may permit a candidate to work outside the State provided he worked in the State for at least 1½ years and the total period of work will not be less than two years.

- (2) Every candidate for the Ph. D. degree shall be required to register himself

for the examination at least two years before the submission of the thesis; provided that if the Syndicate is satisfied that the candidate has been doing research for the Ph. D. degree without registration, he may be allowed to register from a day not earlier than six months preceding the date of his application.

- (3) Every candidate shall ordinarily be required to work under the guidance of a Professor or Reader of a college of the University or of a college affiliated to the University teaching up to the Master's degree.

- (4) The Syndicate may also permit an M.A. of this University or a registered college teacher of this University to work under a distinguished scholar of another University or Research Institute for the Ph. D. degree of this University.

- (5) The Syndicate may permit a college teacher of at least 5 years' teaching experience to work independently for the Ph. D. degree examination provided he has published some research papers prior to the date of his registration.

- III. A candidate for the Ph. D. in Arts shall be required to submit a thesis, and if the thesis is approved, to sit for a written examination, if the Board of Examiners so desires and to submit to an oral test on the thesis.

At any time after the lapse of the prescribed period, the candidate may submit three copies of his thesis, which shall be printed or type-written, and state the particular branch of the special subject

upon a knowledge of which he rests his qualification for the degree.

The thesis shall embody the result of research, and show evidence of the candidate's own work, whether based on the discovery of new facts which the candidate has himself observed, or of new relations of facts observed by others, whether constituting an exhaustive study and criticism of the published works of others, or otherwise forming a valuable contribution to the literature of the subject dealt with or tending generally to the advancement of knowledge.

A candidate shall indicate generally in the preface to his thesis and specially in notes:

- (a) the sources from which his information is taken, and
- (b) the extent to which he has availed himself of the work of others and the portion of the thesis which he claims to be original.

- IV. Thesis submitted by the candidates shall be referred by the Syndicate to a Board of three examiners of whom the majority shall be from other Universities.

If the thesis of a candidate is approved by the Board, he shall be required to submit to a written examination, if the Board of Examiners so desire.

The candidate shall also be required by the Board to appear before them to be tested orally with reference to the thesis and the special subject which he offers.

In case the Board of Examiners includes two or more examiners from other Universities, at least two of such examiners shall be present at the oral examination.

- V. If the report of the Board of Examiners is

unanimous and the Syndicate, after considering the report of the Board, are satisfied that the candidate is worthy of the degree of Ph. D., they shall cause his name to be published with the subject of his thesis.

If the thesis is unsatisfactory and the Examiners feel that it should be resubmitted after making improvements suggested by them, the Syndicate may allow the candidate to resubmit the thesis after a period of six months.

If the thesis is approved but the performance of the candidate at the written examination or at the oral test is not satisfactory, the candidate may be allowed to take the examination or the test required after a period of six months.

D. LITT. EXAMINATION

- I. Any Master of Arts of the Utkal University who was placed in either the first or the second class at the examination for the degree of Master, or any person who holds the degree of Ph. D. in Arts of the Utkal University may, at any time not less than five years in the case of the former and three years in the case of the latter from the date when he passed the examination for such degree, offer himself as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Literature.

Any person, who holds the degree of Master of Arts from another University, or a degree recognised by the Academic Council as equivalent thereto, may, if he was placed in either the first or the second class at the examination for such degree, offer himself as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Literature, provided that—

He has done research for at least three years in one of the constituent Colleges of the University.

- II. A candidate for the Doctor's degree in

Literature shall be required to submit a thesis and, if the thesis is approved, to sit for a written examination and to submit to an oral test on the thesis and on the special subject which he offers if the Board of Examiners so desire.

The thesis has to be submitted in three copies, printed or type-written.

A candidate may also forward with his application three printed copies of any original contribution to the advancement of the special subject which he offers or any cognate subject which he may have published independently or conjointly and upon which he relies in support of his candidature.

- III. A thesis shall embody the result of research, and show evidence of the candidate's own work, whether based on the discovery of new facts which the candidate has himself observed, or of new relations of facts observed by others, whether constituting an exhaustive study and criticism of the published works of others, or otherwise forming a valuable contribution to the literature of the subject dealt with or tending generally to the advancement of knowledge.

A candidate shall indicate generally in the preface to his thesis and specially in notes—

- (a) the sources from which his information is taken.
- (b) the extent to which he has availed himself of the work of others and the portion of the thesis which he claims to be original.
- (c) whether his research has been conducted independently, under advice, or in co-operation with others; and
- (d) in what respects his investigations

appear to him to tend to the advancement of knowledge.

- IV. The thesis and the original contribution, if any, submitted by the candidate shall be referred by the Syndicate to a Board of three Examiners.

If the thesis of a candidate is approved by the Board, he shall be required to submit to a written examination.

The written examination shall consist of two papers of three hours each, one upon the special subject mentioned in the application of the candidate and the other upon the subject of his thesis.

The candidate shall also be required by the Board to appear before them to be tested orally with reference to the thesis and the special subject which he offers.

- V. If the Syndicate, after considering the report of the Board, are satisfied that the candidate is worthy of the degree of Doctor of Literature, they shall cause his name to be published with the subject of his thesis and the title of his published contributions, if any, to the advancement of knowledge.

Every candidate shall be entitled to publish his thesis.

Visva-Bharati University

PH. D. EXAMINATION

A candidate for admission to the course for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy must have obtained at least a Second Class Master's Degree of this University or any other Degree recognised as equivalent thereto, in the subject in which the candidate wishes to pursue a course of Research or in a subject allied thereto.

The candidate shall apply in the prescribed form for admission to the Adhyaksha (Principal), Vidya-Bhavana, stating his qualifications and his subjects together with a brief outline of his proposed Research work and a statement of any work he may have done in the subject.

Every application for admission shall be forwarded to the Head of the Department concerned who after consultation, if necessary, with the other teachers concerned shall satisfy himself whether the subject offered is one which can be profitably pursued and whether the candidate possesses the requisite qualifications and equipment and if he is satisfied on these points, he shall recommend the application and the name of the Supervisor to the Adhyaksha, Vidya-Bhavana. On such recommendation, the Siksha-Samiti shall, if it deems fit, grant the application and appoint the Supervisor.

In every case the Head of the Department concerned shall have general control over the Research work of the student.

- II. A candidate for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy may be enrolled at the beginning of an Academic year and shall pursue as a student of the University a course of Research for two Academic years.

Alternatively, a candidate for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy may be enrolled at any time and shall pursue as a student of the University a course of Research for two calendar years.

Provided that the Siksha-Samiti, on the recommendation of the Head of the Department concerned, may extend the period of studentship for such time as it deems fit.

Every candidate shall pursue his Research in Vidya-Bhavana and may be

permitted by the Adhyaksha on the recommendation of the Head of the Department concerned to be absent from Santiniketan for such period as may be deemed necessary for the purpose of his Research.

- III. No candidate shall undertake any employment during the period of his study without the permission of the Upacharya.

No candidate shall join any other course of study or appear at any other examination conducted by any University or a Public body.

A candidate may, however, with the prior permission of the Adhyaksha, on the recommendation of the Head of the Department concerned, join a Language course in this University.

- IV. A candidate shall submit through the supervisor his progress reports twice a year—by March 31 and by September 30.

At the end of the first year of the course a candidate shall report to the Siksha-Samiti through his supervisor and the Head of the Department the progress he has made in his work and submit the synopsis of the thesis he is writing.

At this stage he may be permitted to suitably modify the title of his thesis without material alteration of his subject matter.

- V. On receiving notifications from the Supervisor through the Head of the Department concerned, that the thesis is complete and on submission of the thesis, a Board of three Examiners shall be constituted, two of whom shall be External Examiners and the third the Supervisor.

A candidate shall not be permitted to submit his thesis for the Degree unless his Supervisor is satisfied that the thesis presented is worthy of consideration for

the award of the Ph. D. Degree.

- VI. A candidate shall submit three printed, typed or manuscript copies of the thesis.

The thesis must be a piece of Research work characterised either by discovery of new facts or by a fresh interpretation of known facts or theories. In either case it should evince the candidate's critical faculty and judgement. It shall be satisfactory in so far as the presentation is concerned.

A candidate shall indicate how far his thesis embodies the result of his own research and in what respect his investigations appear to him to advance study of the subject of his thesis.

A candidate may incorporate in his thesis the contents of any work which he may have published on the subject and shall make a statement to this effect in the preface of his thesis. He shall not, however, submit as his thesis any work for which any other award has been conferred on him by this or any other University.

- VII. The Examiners may recommend that the Degree be awarded or that the thesis be rejected or may suggest its resubmission.

If the reports of the Examiners are unanimous, the candidate shall appear at the Viva Voce examination before the Board of Examiners constituted of one of the two External Examiners to be determined by Upacharya and the Internal Examiner.

If the reports are not unanimous, no Degree will be awarded on the thesis so submitted.

An employee of the University of not less than two years' standing may be permitted to submit a work for Ph. D.

Degree, provided that the Head of the Department concerned certifies that (i) the subject-matter is worthy of pursuit, (ii) the Research has been conducted for at least two years under his supervision and (iii) the work has attained the standard so far as the quality and presentation are concerned.

D. LITT. EXAMINATION

- I. Any person may be permitted to offer a published work as a thesis for the D. Litt. Degree provided he satisfies the following conditions:

(i) He must be an M.A. of at least seven years' standing of Visva-Bharati or of a recognised University.

(ii) He must have obtained either Honours or M.A. degree or Ph. D. degree of Visva-Bharati.

- II. The candidate shall submit 5 copies of the published work.

The work must be an original contribution of outstanding merit in the field of research.

- III. The examination shall be conducted by a Board of Examiners consisting of three experts in the field.

The Degree will be awarded by the University on the unanimous reports of Examiners.

A thesis not unanimously recommended for the award of the Degree shall not be considered for resubmission.

Osmania University (Hyderabad)

PH. D. EXAMINATION

The Candidates for the Ph.D. Degree are

expected to appear before a Selection Board consisting of the Vice-Chancellor, Dean of the Faculty, Head of the Department concerned and another expert from the Department. The selected candidates are expected to undergo six months' training in Research Methodology, at the end of which period they have to

appear at an examination consisting of two written papers, one in Research Methodology and the other in the broad field of Research. Successful candidates are then registered for the Ph.D. Degree. Applications for the Ph.D. Degree are entertained in June and December.

ENROLMENT FOR RESEARCH DEGREES (1956-1964)

Utkal University

Name	Subject	Supervisor
Miss Arati Patra	European Missionaries in Orissa.	Dr. N. K. Sahu.
*Sarat Chandra Behera	History and Culture of the Sailodbhavas of Kangoda.	-do-
Akshay Kumar Das	British Administration of Orissa, 1850-1900	Dr. M.N. Das.
Prabodha Kumar Misra	History of the Bhaumakaras of Tosala.	Dr. N. K. Sahu.
Bijay Kumar Mahapatra	British Revenue Policy in Orissa.	Dr. B.C. Ray.
Nihar Ranjan Hota	Some Special Reforms in Orissa under the British rule.	-do-
Gopal Chandra Das	British relations with the Princely States of Orissa.	-do-
Kanchannoy Majumdar	Famines in Orissa under the British.	Dr. N.K. Sahu.
Miss K. Barai	Rebellions in Orissa during the British Rule.	Dr. M.N. Das.
Ashok Kumar Rath	The History of Orissa from Asoka to the Rise of the Sailodvabas from Inscriptional Sources.	Dr. K.C. Panigrahi
Kishori Mohan Patra	Some aspects of British Administration in Orissa 1803-1866.	Dr. M.N. Das.
Deepak Kumar Mishra	History of Chaitanya's Movement in Orissa.	-do-
Alekha Chandra Das	Maritime Activities in Ancient Kalinga.	-do-
Shyam Narayan Tiwari	Social and Economic Programme of the Indian National Congress from 1885 to 1935.	Dr. M.N. Das
Md. Anwarul Haque	Mughal rule in Orissa	-do-
Achyutananda Mishra	The Social Implications of the Gandhian Revolution.	-do-
Srikant Ray	Foreign Connections and Foreign Policies of the Indian National Congress from 1885 to 1921	-do-
Surendranath Das	The influence of the religious movements on the earlier phase of the Indian Nationalism.	-do-
Deepak Misra	The Impact of foreign revolutionary ideas on India and the Indian contact with the outside world: 1885-1919.	-do-
Sri N. Pani	British salt monopoly in Orissa.	Mr. P. Mukherjee.
R. Parhi	Vaishnavism in Ancient and Medieval Orissa.	-do-
N. N. Mishra	Land Revenue System in British India.	-do-
Tarani Prasad Singh	Evolution of temple architecture in Orissa.	-do-

* Asterisk indicates thesis completed.

A.G. Sahu

3. M. Das

Impact of Western Education upon the Socio-Cultural life of Orissa.
Muslims in Orissa

Dr. M.N. Das.
Dr. B.C. Ray.

Osmania University (Hyderabad)

Name	Subject	Supervisor
*M. Radhakrishna Sharma	Architecture—Iconography Sculpture of Chalukya & Kakatiya Temples in Telangana.	Dr. M. Rama Rao & Mr. S. Natarajan
*Miss Jhansi Lakshmi	History of the Sangama Dynasty	Dr. M. Rama Rao & Dr. P. Sreenivasachar
A. Nagabhusanam	Economic Condition in Western Deccan. (1000-1300 A.D.)	Mr. S. Natarajan.
V.R. Rajurkar	Nehru's Nationalism in Theory and Practice.	-do-
M. Venugopal Krishna Rao	Economic History of the Circars and Rayalaseema (1700-1857).	-do-
Mrs. Alladi Vaidehi	Social and Economic Condition of Eastern Deccan.	-do-
B. Kesavanarayana	Social and Political Factors in Andhra from 1900 to 1956.	Dr. P. Sreenivasachar and Professor M.K. Sajjanlal.
Madhusudhan Reddi	Theory and Practice of Government in Medieval Andhra.	Dr. Narsimha Rao
Satyanarayana Sarma	Administration of the Residency in Hyderabad.	Professor K. Sajjanlal
Malkonda Reddi	Evolution of District Administration in Andhra 1856-1959.	Dr. Sarojini Regani.
Y. Narayanswamy	Metcalfe (1803-1828).	-do-
K.R. James	Nobility under the Asaf Jahi	Professor K. Sajjanlal.
J. Devaraj	History of the Missionaries in Telangana 1848-1948	-do-
*R. Narsimha Rao	Life in Medieval Andhra (1000-1300).	
*Miss Sarojini Regani	Nizam-British Relations (1724-1857).	

* Asterisk indicates thesis completed.

SUPERVISION OF RESEARCH WORK

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Major Publications

(i) Studies in the Economic and Social Development of India: 1848-56.

(ii) The Political Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru

(iii) India under Morley and Minto: Politics behind Revolution, Repression and Reforms.

(i) History of Orissa in the 19th Century.

(ii) The Gajapati Kings of Orissa.

(iii) Medieval Vaishnavism in Orissa.

(i) Foundations of British Orissa.

(ii) Orissa under the Marathas.

Archaeological remains of Bhubaneswar.

(i) Buddhism in Orissa

(ii) History of Orissa (Early Period).

SPECIAL SCHEME OF RESEARCH UNDERTAKEN BY THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, UTKAL UNIVERSITY.

1. Compilation of a Comprehensive History of Orissa in 7 volumes.
2. A History of Economic and Social Conditions of Orissa during the British Period.
3. A History of National Movement in Orissa.

Individual

1. Dr. B. C. Ray—A History of Religion in Orissa.
2. Sri K. S. Behera—A History of Konarak.
3. Sri K. M. Patra—British Administration of Orissa.
4. Sri N. K. Kabi—Socio-religious implications of the Gandhian revolutions.

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- (i) Studies in Deccan History.
- (ii) Research articles on History of the Urdu New papers and also in Modern Indian History.
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Major Publications

(i) Several articles in Research Journals and other publications like Political & Cultural History of India, 2 Vols.

(ii) Main Currents in Indian Culture. Research articles in Research Journals.

(i) Nizam-British Relations (1724-1857).

(ii) Research articles in Research Journals in Modern Indian History.

Articles on Muslim Culture, Arab Navy etc.

DEPARTMENTAL RESEARCH PROJECT—HISTORY OF THE DECCAN

Individual Research Projects

Sri S. Natarajan—Rule of Law under the British.

Dr. R. Narasimha Rao—Corporate Life in Medieval Andhra.

Dr. Sarojini Regani—Nizam-British-Relations (1824-1957).

Dr. M. Radhakrishna Sarma—Early Chalukyan Architecture.

COMMENTS BY SUPERVISORS

DR. M. N. DAS,

Professor of History, Utkal University

With nearly fifty affiliated colleges and with young enthusiastic teachers in most of them, the present state of historical research in Utkal University shows signs of good prospect. The beginning is promising.

It is indeed difficult to overcome the problems in respect of original material and rare books in comparatively new Universities like Utkal. The supervisors and their students are required to depend on archives and libraries outside the State. It involves financial hardship. Regarding the quality of scholars, it largely depends on facilities available or opportunities given. The quality of a researcher develops in course of experience.

While thinking of positive suggestions for the

improvement of the present position, one is rather faced with negative realities. It is a pleasure to the guide to select a subject for the scholar. It is a greater pleasure to see their number at the time of registering names. Next follows the problem, how to inspire them to continue with confidence. The culminating point is reached when a few are seen to be struggling on in despair, the rest bidding farewell unceremoniously.

The basic question is, who should do research and why? When that is answered, the next question follows, how to begin and how to end? I am talking of the scholars of the less privileged States or Universities. The scholarship for a research scholar after M.A. is Rs. 100/- or at best, in some select and special cases, Rs. 150/-

a month. Applications received are many; by the time the awards are made, only the unemployed few are available for selection. To them the scholarship is a maintenance fee till they get a suitable job. More light on this category need not be thrown.

The circle narrows down. It is mostly the young college teachers who are inspired (or coaxed?) into research, because they happened to be the students of the guides. For them the problem is, how to carry on. Serious work on any problem cannot be completed within the four walls of a small college library. In certain cases, it cannot be even contemplated within that horizon. Archives and museums are not always located within their immediate reach. Necessary books and journals do not emanate from scholarly wishes. How to go out and how to get something—that remains to be answered. In the context of his salary vis-a-vis the price index it becomes hard for a scholar to take the journey even to meet his guide, that too, once in three months. Intelligence, aptitude, capacity and learning, all put together, do not produce the necessary determination if the means do not permit. Thanks are due to those who do not allow the word "research" to die out in spite of penury and personal hardship.

Therefore, the guide himself ultimately becomes his own only hope in research adventures.

PROFESSOR K. SAJJANLAL

Head of the Department of History, Osmania University (Hyderabad)

I find that the trend is in favour of Research. But due to lack of co-ordination between one University and another the problem of selecting the topic for Research is difficult and sometimes it leads to complications, at times to duplication.

A Bibliography of original sources in the different periods of Indian History is imperative. The absence of this facility is resulting in great wastage of energy and time.

Student's inability to express himself in

tures. How far is he successful in this respect does depend on many inexplicable factors, far beyond his control. Conscious of the risks, let me venture to refer to two personal experiences. While working in the British archives in 1960, I came across valuable informations regarding the Chinese designs on Tibet and the Himalayan frontiers during the early years of this century. I was an employee of the London University and my term was coming to an end. I submitted an application at the Office of the High Commission and personally presented the case before a top officer requesting to move the Government of India to give me a chance to work for a few months in the said archives to gather material which I considered immensely valuable. Even a reply in negative did not come.

Of late, I submitted a scheme for the consideration of the University Grants Commission to work on THE ROLE OF GANDHI IN INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS. The estimate was far from being ambitious. The high officers appreciated the subject in several kind words. And next they awarded a modest sum of Rs. 1000/- (one thousand) to work on the project. I declined with thanks. Is a work recognised as a work as such? Or, is it the place of work that wins recognition? Or, the person? Whatever be the answer, it is painful for any University teacher to feel helpless in his research and close his pen.

English is a very great handicap. Enrolling students indiscriminately without testing their ability or aptitude is also leading to difficulties

Research Methodology course should be made compulsory for all new recruits to the Ph.D. course. Besides this, it would be advisable to conduct research aptitude tests. Any research student in Indian History should know at least one language allied to the subject and the period, besides his own mother tongue and English.

THESES PRESENTED

University of Agra

NOBILITY UNDER THE SULTANS OF DELHI (1206-1398 A.D.)

DR. S. B. P. NIGAM

Though a number of attempts have been made to study some or other aspect of the nobility under the Sultans of Delhi, these have only touched the outer fringe of the subject and often generalisations and inferences have been drawn too hastily, so that they do not stand the test of close examination based on concrete evidence and scientific documentation. A complete and integrated study of this most important though extremely complicated institution which passed through a series of significant metamorphoses has been a long felt need. This thesis is an humble attempt to study the political and administrative aspect of the nobility under the first three Turkish dynasties which flourished in India during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (1206-1398).

Naturally the thesis first concerns itself with the establishment of the Ilbari Turks (1206-1290) and traces the factors that led to the creation of the political entity now known as the Delhi Sultanate. It carefully examines the contribution of Sultan Muizz ud-din Muhammad bin Sam and his lieutenants who conquered different parts of the country which by a curious combination of circumstances united into a compact territory under Sultan Shams ud-din Iltutmish. The problems of self defence and external aggression created many administrative and political situations which bound the Turkish nobility under Sultan Shams ud-din Iltutmish to organise itself on the basis of a common brotherhood whose principal concern was to hold the conquests and reap the benefits jointly. Doubtlessly, the personality of Iltutmish was the great cementing force in keeping the

Turkish bands in India united together, but no sooner had the commanding personality of the Sultan been removed, than his generals, known as the Chihalganis, began to fight each other for supremacy of power. There was a mad race for holding the *de facto* power in their own hands and in this fight two groups, the Taziks and the Turks, rose in prominence during the reign of Sultan Rukn ud-din Firuzshah. Since neither could succeed in annihilating the other in this struggle, the groupism in the court soon deteriorated into narrow self-interest in which the Turks being chiefly soldiers definitely had the upper hand over the civilian Taziks who temporarily succeeded in sharing some power by often playing a second fiddle to the crown or the Turkish nobility as the circumstances demanded but after the murder of Khwaja Muhazzab ud-din, the *wazir* of Sultan Muizz ud-din Bahramshah, the Tazik element in the court became very feeble.

Besides the complications created by the mutual jealousies of these two warring groups, the successors of Iltutmish too were responsible for the creation of the political muddle during the period (1236-1246) due to their inexperience. In order to get rid of the irksome domination of the Turkish nobility they patronised rival groups which were in minority in the court to seek their support but the Turks and the Taziks both were too powerful to yield to the Abyssinians and Hindu converts on account of false notions of racial superiority which convinced them that the Sultanate was their sole monopoly. The things settled permanently with the advent of Balban who combined tact and

diplomacy in thwarting a last attempt made by the Tazik leaders and the indigenous elements in the court and the provinces to overthrow the Turks.

Having passed through the school of adversity and a chequered career to which the Turkish nobility was subject in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Balban tried to make the throne clear from the rocks and shoals for his sons by annihilating the powerful Turkish nobles one after another by a clever stratagem. Clearly seeing the dangers of leaving his progeny in the hands of ambitious nobles, he cautiously launched upon a slow though steady policy of removing them from his path during his own lifetime. But he failed to realise that by so doing he was rendering the Turkish state very weak and susceptible to external aggression and internal dangers of succumbing to the rising groups of other races. Though it is too much to expect of him that he should have foreseen the rise of the Khaljis during his lifetime, it was certainly not beyond apprehension to see the logical repercussions of a policy of annihilating the Turkish camp which was the main prop of the Turkish state.

A yet another factor, more potent and having far greater impact, was the ever-increasing population of neo-Muslims converted from Hindu or Mongol races. Though as yet lacking in organisation and unity, these classes were aspiring to rise to power in order to fill a legitimate place in the Sultanate. Besides, an unceasing train of Muslim migrants was pouring in India since the first Turkish conquest and they were holding many important places as *iqtdars* in the provinces and as ministers at the court. These constant migrations from the west and wholesale conversions during war created a great problem of unemployment as well as a crisis for the new aspirants for the higher orders of nobility. The need of the hour was, therefore, immediate expansion of the territorial dimensions of the Turkish Sultanate. In other words the Turkish state needed a *libensraum* to relieve it from the political and administrative suffo-

cation with which it was now suffering due to a number of social forces.

This political crisis led to the rise of the Khaljis and in the third chapter of the thesis their role in expanding the Turkish arms and the consequent political and administrative problems that cropped up demanding and defying solution have been examined. The first stage of the Khalji rule under Jalal ud-din Khalji was marked by a number of attempts by the dethroned Ilbaris to regain power, but they singularly failed in the task of re-establishing their lost prestige for the simple reason that they were quite incapable of delivering the goods. In fact they had outlived their utility and were no more a progressive force in the politics of the court. The revolution was, however, incomplete and Sultan Ala ud-din Khalji was the man of the hour. He showed the Turkish nobility the path to glory and prosperity by expanding the territorial limits of the state in Gujarat, Malwa and the Deccan. Nevertheless, the nobility which was the pillar of administration had to pass through very hard days due to the ruthless nature of Ala ud-din Khalji who promulgated a sort of reign of terror. In conclusion it is found that this policy of Ala ud-din Khalji rendered the nobility very weak and disunited. Under the patronage of Sultan Ala ud-din a new class of nobility, chiefly composed of the Hindu converts, rose to power but this new class failed to assert itself for long for the simple reason that its members were poor diplomats. The need of the Khalji state which now covered nearly the whole Indian sub-continent was to organise the nobility on the principles of checks and balances, so that no single group had the upper hand in politics. Its another advantage would have been that they could be played against each other whenever the personality of the sultan was in danger or a political crisis arose as a result of the rebellion of the nobles.

In the fourth chapter the nobility under the Tughluqs is examined and it is found that a great change had occurred in the organisation

of the nobility which was then constituted into different racial groups of foreigners and indigenous elements, none, however, too powerful to outwit or overwhelm the other. This was achieved chiefly by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq by patronising the foreigners at the court, chiefly the Arabs and the Khorasanis. Though numerous revolts occurred in his reign to dethrone him or shake off his suzerainty, they were generally suppressed because the nobles in the court could never unite to dethrone the Sultan. In fact there was perfect peace in the royal camp. The system left by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq was further perfected during the reign of his successor, Firuz Tughluq, with the result that the Turkish state enjoyed all-round peace and prosperity for about four decades.

The mutual relationship of the nobility and the crown is very important throughout the period of our study but it was more so under the Tughluqs. During the reign of Sultan Iltutmish it is noticed that although he was constantly creating a new class of his supporters yet he never considered himself more than *primus inter pares*. Knowing fully well the vastness of the empire and the limitations of the central government to wield effective power in the distant *iqtas*, he gave the nobility a respectable position in order to gain their unqualified support in keeping the conquests under control. Balban, however, kept his nobles at an arm's length and tried to create a sort of myth around his personality in order to impress upon his nobles that he was superior to them in all respects. The philosophical nonsense which Barani repeatedly puts in his mouth or attributes to him may not possess an iota of truth but it does prove one thing conclusively—that Balban was against sharing the sovereign power with his nobles. To him the greatest tragedy which could befall a monarch was the loss of prestige—*Ulul umari*—as he called it. Ala ud-din ruled like a despot and he too did not like the idea of sharing power with anybody. He even abolished the post of *wazir* in his last days in order to concentrate all power in his own

hands. With the Tughluqs it was different. Sultan Ghiyas ud-din copied the precedent established by Iltutmish and Jalal ud-din Khalji who regarded their nobles as *Khawaja Tash*, that is co-workers or more appropriately, co-sharers. But his son totally reverted the policy by asserting the sovereign right as divine and incapable of division. This caused a lot of trouble throughout his reign and could stop only with his death. Sultan Firuz realising the uselessness of following the precedents of Sultan Ala ud-din and Muhammad bin Tughluq assured peace to the Sultanate and the way in which a stable government could exist.

Having thus examined the various stages of the evolution of the Turkish nobility the thesis proceeds to study a number of aspects unconnected with each other but important in themselves. In the fifth chapter the character of the Turkish nobility is examined. For a long time historians thought that the Turkish nobility was feudal in character till Moreland challenged the view and pointed out the folly of drawing a close analogy between the Turkish nobility and the European feudal landlords. Both the views are carefully examined and a comparative study reveals that the system existing under the Sultans combined the principles of feudalism and bureaucracy in some respects only. Again, privileges, the most important feature of the European feudal order, are almost totally lacking in India and the basis of the two is quite different, so that even an analogy is not desirable. Moreover, the Indian system went through a number of changes during the reign of the three dynasties with the result that a permanent and stable system could not evolve itself.

In the sixth chapter the organisation, that is the component parts of the Turkish nobility, is examined under the three dynasties separately and the outcome of our analysis is that from racial organisation under the Ilbaris, chiefly composed of the Taziks and the Turks, the Turkish nobility is changed into a broad-based organisation consisting of different nationalities

and races. Nevertheless, small groups often rose under all the Sultans but soon passed into insignificance with the fall of their sovereign or the end of the dynasty. Under the Ilbaris the Abyssinians, neo-Muslims and Hindu converts rose to power for some time but were soon ousted by the more powerful and organised members of the nobility. Under the Khaljis the rise of the junta of Malik Naib and later on the emergence of Barwars under the leadership of Khusrau Khan were the direct results of the special patronage granted to them by the Khalji Sultans. These groups, however, died away as soon as the rule of the Khaljis came to an end. The Tughluqs in the initial stages of their rule could not but rely on the old nobility under the Khaljis, but under Muhammad bin Tughluq the nobility went through a revolutionary change due to the extraordinary patronage granted to the foreigners, chiefly the Arabs and Khorasanis. Moreover, he also patronised the Hindus, Afghans and Mongols. The nobility thus became a heterogeneous organisation.

The seventh chapter is a study of the relations of the *Ulema* with the crown and the nobility. Since religion was the basis of the Turkish state, it was in the fitness of things that the *Ulema* as interpreters of the sacred law should occupy a coveted position in the society and the government. Throughout the Sultanate period they tried to impress upon the Sultans the necessity of strictly following the law laid down in the *Shara*. Though they could not succeed much, yet their influence changed from monarch to monarch. A strong ruler like Iltutmish, Ala-ud-din Khalji and Muhammad bin Tughluq totally discarded their views as they clearly saw the uselessness as also the impracticable nature of the provisions of the *Shara*. But rulers like Balban and Firuz Tughluq patronised them and tried to follow their advice. Apart from their influence on legal matters, in politics too their influence was often much pronounced chiefly during a political chaos, such as during the reign of the successors of the Sultan Iltutmish when their selfish interests drove them to choose

sides which were beneficial to them. They gained or lost according as the loss or gain of the parties with whom they linked their interests.

In the eighth chapter an attempt has been made to study the service conditions and privileges of the nobility under the three dynasties. This is the most important part of the thesis. It is perhaps for the first time that the administrative side of the nobility has been studied. Though final verdict on this point is yet to be made on account of paucity of material and the present generalisations are far from thorough, yet they do give us a broad picture of how the administrative side of the institution then existed. It is on the basis of stray remarks and short passages occurring here and there in the general chronicles that we come across some details about the administrative system. With the exception of Shihab ud-din Umari's *Masalik-ul-Absar* and the *Datur-ul albab* no book provides us substantial material for this enquiry. Thus a clear picture is yet to come.

Since the sovereign power was vested in the king, his will ruled supreme in administration. The Sultans generally followed the precedents established by the Persians and this wholesale import of the administrative machinery worked well throughout the Sultanate period, though under different dynasties many changes were made to suit the extraordinary conditions then prevailing in India. The *iqta* system for example went through a number of changes under Balban, Ala ud-din Khalji, Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq and Firuz Tughluq. Similar is the case with regard to pay and emoluments, punishments, privileges, promotions and reappointments. A section on the administrative training has been added at the end of this chapter to put together some pieces of information which have come down to us through various chronicles. It must, however, be noted that there was no elaborate system of administrative training which was mainly a private enterprise and the new aspirants to the higher orders of the nobility learnt their responsibilities and mode of work through the method of trial and error. But

generally the administration at the centre laid down broad principles of policy and how they were to be implemented.

The concluding chapter is a brief account of the analysis arrived at in the thesis.

The thesis includes four appendices. Appendix "A" discusses the collective entity of the nobles of Iltutmish known as the Chihalganis. After examining all the evidence so far discovered, it is found that Chihalgani does not signify a number but only a collective name given to Iltutmish's slave officers who numbered more than forty. Barani is our earliest authority and he hardly gives us a clue to the riddle. Appendix "B" traces in a statement the various stages of promotions through which the nobility passed to higher appointments and in a final analysis appended with the statement

it is noticed that the criterion for appointment to the post of *muqti* was the *duration* and not the *number* of appointments. Appendix "C" is a comparative study of the nobles of Balban, Muizz ud-din Kaiqubad, Jalal ud-din Khalji and Ala ud-din Khalji in order to study the rise and fall of the various classes of nobles. In the explanatory note it is concluded that the nobility under Ilbaris was gradually annihilated under Jalal ud-din Khalji and Ala ud-din Khalji. In Appendix "D", the life and career of Qutlugh Khan, the step-father of Sultan Nasir ud-din Mahmud (1246-1266), has been traced, mainly based on the narrative of Qazi Minhaj-i-Siraj. Qutlugh Khan played a very important part in the politics of the court but on account of sheer hatred for his party Minhaj does not give a separate notice of this very high dignitary of the court.

Lucknow University

THE ANGLO-IRANIAN RELATIONS (1878-1900): A DIPLOMATIC STUDY

Dr. B. N. TANDON

Throughout the nineteenth century both Russia and Great Britain were interested in Persia due to its strategical and geographical position. In the early years of the last century, the Russians pushed down Iran from the Caucasus and extracted substantial territorial cessions by treaties concluded in 1813 and 1828. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Russian pressure had moved from Azerbaijan to Khorassan in the east. The Russo-Iranian frontier stretched a 1,200 miles long line from Azerbaijan to Khorassan. Due to the continuous Russian expansion in the southern direction, the Anglo-Iranian relations assumed special significance and complexity. It became very difficult for the British statesmen to offer any definite interpretations to the motives of the Russian policy towards

Iran. Great Britain occupied a different position in Iran. There was no Asiatic nation with which Great Britain could cooperate with the motive of checking the Russian influence in Asia and particularly at Tcheran.

Russia had almost become a menace to the independence of Iran. She adopted the following measures to keep her political and diplomatic influence intact at Tcheran.

- (1) She launched campaigns against the Iranian Turkomans.
- (2) She concluded a Secret Akhal-Khorassan Boundary Convention with Iran.
- (3) She tried to keep Iran in a state of stagna-

tion and degradation so that Persians may not resist the growth of the Russian influence in their internal affairs.

- (4) The Russians developed communications such as telegraphs and rail-roads in the newly acquired Trans Caspian provinces.
- (5) They controlled all important and strategic routes lying between Russia and Iran in order to monopolise trade of northern Iran. The Russian Government also opened nationalised Russian bank in order to push up the influence of Russia in the economic field. At the same time, Russia obstructed the development of railways in that country. In 1890, she obtained a secret non-construction of railway convention from the Shah.
- (6) The Russian legation created diplomatic intrigues against the dignitaries and functionaries of the Iranian Government, used threats of aggression on occasions, committed rumour mongering, instigated Persians against the Provincial and Central authorities of the State in order to keep Russian influence at the Court of the Shah.

It is an undoubted fact that Russia was quite successful in enforcing her broad policies in Iran as indicated above. One of the Russian diplomats, M. De Giers, observed that Russia could not compete in resources with the British empire unless she kept Persian resources under her strong grip. Speaking objectively, these policies were mainly directed to thwart the British influence at Teheran.

The increasing Russian political influence at Teheran had been a great concern to the British statesmen. Iran had become the battle ground for the diplomatists. The Russo-Iranian frontier added several diplomatic problems for Great Britain in that region as it endangered the defence of India. So Great Britain had to move to the south-eastern frontiers of Iran. The British navy virtually maintained unchallenged

supremacy in the gulf. England's dominance in Southern Iran might seem parallel to that of Russia in the north, but the comparison is not valid. Iran's northern provinces bordered on both European and Asiatic Russia, which became a vulnerable region due to the rapid development of an elaborate system of Russian strategic communications. The Imperial Government of Russia could at any time order thousands of soldiers to cross the frontiers at a short notice. On the other hand the position of Great Britain in the South and East was by no means so advantageous. Hence the task of the British policy in Iran was to encourage those measures which might reasonably lead to improvement in Government, in the army, in the communications, and to instil an instinct of self-respect among the Persians to resist the external danger. The British Government always extended its utmost moral support to the Shah in his struggle to retain his independence. Great Britain's interests in Iran were real and vital due to her Indian Empire.

Lord Salisbury was a dominating personality in the drama of Anglo-Iranian relations. The Foreign Office primarily depended upon his guidance. He strongly advocated to the Shah in his personal communications to take up the following measures to safeguard his kingdom from extinction:

1. Opening of Kaurun to world commerce.
2. Development of railways from Gulf ports to Teheran.
3. Development of roads and caravan routes.
4. To reorganize the Persian administration.
5. To start a national bank in Iran.

Lord Salisbury's advocacy was practical and clear. He was partially successful in achieving his ends. He deputed Sir H. D. Wolffe as British Minister and obtained three concessions, opening of the Kaurun, the establishment of the

Imperial Bank of Persia as a national bank to control and regulate the fiscal system of Iran, and thirdly the monopoly of cultivation, sale and purchase of tobacco in Iran. Lord Salisbury also advocated to the capitalists of Great Britain to invest liberally in Iran in order to strengthen the British influence at Teheran. Wolffe advocated the construction of a railway line from Baluchistan to Seistan, but the proposal was dropped because the War Office experts and the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg did not express a favourable opinion. The proposal was discouraged by the Government of India. Lord Salisbury wished an Anglo-Russian rapprochement in order to end the rivalry and strengthen Iran. The British Foreign Secretary, Lord Salisbury, wanted to form Iran as a strong barrier against Russia. Russian diplomats pointed out to the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg that the time was not ripe for an Anglo-Russian understanding.

Undoubtedly, the British policy was successful in limiting the Russian influence up to Teheran only, though Great Britain's influence remained insignificant. At the same time the Shah maintained his kingdom's integrity due to the moral support of Great Britain which was extended from time to time. Thus the Anglo-Iranian relations passed through three phases, namely —

1. A phase of Non-Cooperation or diplomatic discord, 1878-1885.
2. A phase of Diplomatic Concord or Cooperation, 1885-1892.
3. A phase of uncertainty and Commercial diplomacy, 1892-1900.

The above-mentioned three phases have

been discussed in the following chapters of the thesis.

1. Emergence of Iranian, Russian and British Policies before 1870.
2. The Anglo Iranian Relations, 1878-1880. A phase of Discord—Britain refused support to Persian Delegation at the Congress of Berlin—Failure of Anglo-Iranian negotiations on Secret Alliance in 1879 and on the question of transfer of Herat to the Shah.
3. The Anglo-Iranian Relations, 1881-1885: The Second phase.
4. The Anglo-Iranian Relations, 1885-1892: A phase of Diplomatic Concord.
5. The Anglo-Iranian Relations, 1892-1900: A phase of Diplomatic Uncertainty. Financial troubles of the Shah. Assassination of Nasir ud-Qajar on May 1, 1896. Belgians called to reorganize customs services.
6. Epilogue—Views of the Government of India, British statesmen and eminent contemporary opinions on the Anglo-Iranian Relations or British policy towards Persia 1878-1900.

The thesis is based on the Proceedings of the Foreign and Political Department, Government of India, preserved in the National Archives of India. Russian and Persian sources could not be utilized due to circumstances beyond the author's control. However, translations from the Russian and Persian newspapers have considerably been used, as they furnished authentic account of the events which took place during the period 1878-1900.

LYTTON'S INDIAN ADMINISTRATION AND THE BIRTH OF NATIONALISM

Dr. V. C. P. CHAUDHARY

It is interesting to draw a picture of the opinions of the people both in India and England about the total result of the British Indian administration of the period as they saw it.

The vernacular newspapers overwhelmingly denounced the administration as one of the most tyrannical periods in Indian history. They considered all the measures of the period and found them detrimental to Indian interests. People rejoiced at the end of this arbitrary and uncivilized rule and requested Ripon to reverse Lytton's policies.¹

In view of the circumstances the *Indian Spectator*, dated the 27th June, 1880, rightly remarked, "... crying evils have not been hunted down, a wretched poverty-stricken peasantry still grovels in the dust, and was even allowed to die, and reports of their death were suppressed. In short, he inaugurated a most appalling tyranny, a reign of lawless law and violent contradictions. Words were solemnly uttered only to be forgotten. Promises were made only to be broken".

There was a section of the people which was immensely pained to note that the administration had been a failure in spite of the high hopes it had raised in the Fuller case. They were sorry that the high hopes raised through

the Fuller case were dashed to the ground and instead of an impartial administration it finally turned out to be a reactionary one.²

In view of the repressive measures taken during the period the native press overwhelmingly wished the victory of the Liberals at the polls in Britain who, it was expected, would reverse the policy of the Tory administration.³

A section of the people was so much annoyed with Lytton and Strachey that no honour given to them in England would have been appreciated in India. For, they were regarded as tools for the tyranny of India.⁴ The *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, dated the 20th April, 1880, expressed its annoyance over the conferment of a title on Lytton and suggested that he should be conferred the titles of Viscount Cabul, Viscount Gagg-ing Act, or Viscount Arms Act and that Sir John Strachey should be decorated with the honour of Lord Famine Fund. The *Jnyanodaya*, dated the 6th May, 1880, rejoiced over the defeat of Sir Richard Temple at the polls who had caused the death of thousands in the Madras famine. The *Poona Waibhaw* dated the 15th June, 1880, urged Ripon to reverse the policy of the province's administration which had caused 'stain' to the good name of the British Government. Finally it was reported that public opinion both in India and England very much resented the retrograde policy of the Tory administration in India.⁵

¹ The *Naya Sindhu*, dated the 28th June, 1880; the *Rast Gogtar*, dated the 20th June, 1880; the *Loka Mitra* and the *Tajdan Parast*, dated the 13th June, 1880; the *Karide Mumbai*, dated the 14th June, 1880; the *Subodh Patrika*, dated the 13th June, 1880; the *Bombay Samachar*, dated the 10th June, 1880; the *Satya Mitra*, dated the 23rd May, 1880; the *Shivaji*, dated the 23rd May, 1880; the *Native Opinion*, dated the 23rd May, 1880; the *Akhbari Saudagar*, dated the 12th April, 1880; the *Mitra Vilas*, dated the 10th May, 1880; the *Rahbar-i-Hind*, dated the 25th May, 1880; the *Oudh Punch*, dated the 22nd June, 1880; the *Burdwan Sanjivani*, dated the 15th 1880.

² The *Loka Mitra*, dated the 2nd May, 1880; the *Mitra Vilas*, dated the 17th May, 1880; the *Akhbar-i-Arhar*, dated the 21st June, 1880; the *Sufir-i-Hind*, dated the 3rd July, 1880 and the *Samachar* dated the 12th May, 1880.

³ The *Tajdan Parast*, dated the 11th April, 1880.

⁴ The *Loka Mitra* and the *Tajdan Parast*, dated the 18th April, 1880.

⁵ The *Indian Spectator*, dated the 11th July, 1880.

The *Samalochak*, dated the 25th June, 1880, severely criticized Abdul Lateef for presenting an address to Lytton on the eve of his departure from India wherein he praised the Indian administration and the Afghan War and in reply to which Lytton reciprocated by pronouncing that Muslims were the most loyal race in India. It was also remarked that he got the title of Nawab for the same address. Certain people,⁶ however, forcefully asserted that economic exploitation, racial discrimination, and disrespect shown to the Indian middle class were some of the main reasons of discontent among Indians.

The reaction of the Indians against the Tory administration was so violent that the *Sahachar*, dated the 20th July 1880, implored the British Government to impeach Lytton for his administrative lapses in India.

Moreover, it was rightly suggested that the repressive Tory administration was productive of one good result that it had roused Indians from their political lethargy and had compelled them to seek the means by which they could improve their political status. It was further urged that the retrograde measures had caused political revival in the country and were making India one and united in the sense that dissatisfaction was the common meeting ground for all Indians to unite.⁷

However, it would be a misleading statement to suggest that Indians were unanimous in condemning the administration. There was a small section of people whose interests were identical with those of the British imperialism and which was morose and despondent over the victory of the Liberals in England which meant the end of the Tory rule in India. Such people argued that the administration was immensely humane towards natives; that the new Civil Service scheme was profitable for

Indians; that Indians and Indian chiefs had been made more loyal; that the famine had been managed well and that the material condition of India had improved. Therefore, they welcomed the decision of the Government which proposed to elevate Lytton to Earldom.⁸ Some of them went as far as to approve of the Delhi Durbar and the Afghan War which in their opinion were done for the welfare of India.⁹

It seems that the Tory administration had more supporters among Muslims than among Hindus. This is further confirmed by the *Qaisar-ul-Akhbar*, dated the 7th September, 1879, which thanked the Tory administration on behalf of the Indian Muslims. According to the paper the Muslims immensely liked Lytton's administration for his following acts—for laying the foundation stone of Muslim Anglo-Indian College, for the appointment of Maulavi Sayyid Ahmad Khan as a member of his Council, for district judgeship on Mahmud, for new native Civil Service, for the Fuller case, for the appointment of a commission in the Farrukhabad case and for checking Russian advances into Afghanistan.

Thus from the above discussion it appears that the Tory administration was extremely unpopular among Indians for its retrograde and repressive measures. However, it had got some support from a section of natives especially Muslims. This is the picture which emerges from the contents of the contemporary vernacular newspapers.

It is essential to examine other sources like the English newspapers, private papers, etc. for getting a correct and total picture of the period.

The English newspapers like their vernacular counterparts reviewed all the important

⁶ The *Oudh Akhbar*, dated the 17th April, 1880; the *Akhbar-i-Am*, dated the 19th April, 1880; the *Almora Akhbar*, dated the 1st September, 1880; the *Koh-i-Noor*, dated the 9th August, 1879.

⁷ The *Anjuman-Punjab* dated the 7th May, 1880.

⁸ The *Shola-i-Tur*, 6th March, 1877; The *Sadharani*, 22nd July, 1876, etc.

⁹ The *Bharat Mihir*, dated the 5th April, 1880 and the *Prabhati*, dated the 30th April, 1880.

measures of the period and came almost to the same conclusion that the administration had been an utter failure. They thought that the administration had been detrimental to the Indian interests and that most of the measures had been undertaken in the selfish interests of Britain. It was forcefully asserted that India had lost much and gained nothing. The *Hindoo Patriot*, dated the 19th April, 1880, rightly and forcefully wrote, ".....turn to whatever department we may, we are met with the same repulsive pictures of crooked policy, highhanded proceedings, retrograde and repressive measures, trampling down the generous aspirations of the people, and tearing into pieces the good name of the benevolent rule of our Queen-Mother".

This is how the English newspapers¹⁰ came to the conclusion that the administration under review had been a dark period for the people of India.

The Lytton Papers also throw some light on the problem and the nature of the unpopularity of the Indian administration in England. From the correspondence it is clear that Lytton's Indian administration was thoroughly unpopular in England. O.T. Burne informed Lytton that his taxation policy, Press Act, Arms Act etc., were very unpopular in England.¹¹ It was further stated that the Afghan policy involving such a huge cost was unpopular.¹² Another measure which agitated the minds of the English against the Tory administration of India was the refusal of Temple to allow the holding of a protest meeting in the Bombay Town Hall against the policy of the Government and specially the taxation policy.¹³ It was further asserted that the Vernacular Press

¹⁰ *The Friend of India*, dated the 5th May, 1880; *The Brahma Public Opinion*, dated the 13th May, 1880; the *Anglo-Indian Guardian*, dated the 9th August, 1879; the *Indian Christian Herald*, dated the 30th January, 1880.

¹¹ A letter, dated the 12th April, 1878, from O.T. Burne to Lytton.

¹² A letter, dated the 14th February, 1879, from O.T. Burne to Lytton.

¹³ A letter, dated the 28th March, 1878, from Burne to Lytton.

Act was immensely unpopular in England and that Lytton was not liked by the people of the Indian Civil Service.¹⁴

Northbrook informed Lytton that the despatch of Indian troops to Malta was severely criticized in England.¹⁵ Hamilton was pained to note that the Indian administration under Lytton was mercilessly criticized in the British press.¹⁶ He was further critical of the Indian Civil Service which was arraigned against Lytton.¹⁷

It is true that there was a section of people in England which admired Lytton's administration.¹⁸ However, Lytton could not ignore the powerful weight of the criticism in England against his Indian administration.¹⁹ But he regarded the democratic institutions as basically responsible for such a state of affairs. He remarked, ".....it is absolutely impossible to maintain a great empire by means of our present political institutions. Sooner or later either the institutions or the Empire must go".²⁰

The above information makes it amply clear that the Indian administration under Lytton was thoroughly unpopular in England. Therefore, it was one of the many factors which led to the defeat of the Tories in England at the polls. It was also very clear that any future Liberal administration of India could be immensely popular both in India and England if it could only successfully reverse the policies of the previous Tory administration. Incidentally that was destined to be so under Ripon.

¹⁴ A letter, dated the 16th March, 1878, from Burne to Lytton.

¹⁵ A letter, dated the 8th February, 1878, from Northbrook to Lytton.

¹⁶ A letter, dated the 16th February, 1877, from Hamilton to Lytton.

¹⁷ A letter, dated the 23rd February, 1877, from Hamilton to Lytton.

¹⁸ A letter, dated the 22nd November, 1877, from Malhi to Lytton and another letter, dated the 14th February, 1879.

¹⁹ A letter, dated the 3rd April, 1879 from Lytton to Morley.

²⁰ A letter, dated the 2nd July, 1877, from Lytton to Layard.

After having examined the nature of criticisms in England and India of the Tory administration of the country it is necessary to state clearly the conclusions which one gets at on the basis of the study of Lytton's Indian administration.²¹

In course of the survey of the politics and administration of India during the period 1876-80, certain forces and trends force themselves upon us with distinctness and vividness. In most cases those trends had their rise in earlier phases and they continued to determine the course of Indian history even in the later periods. What was accomplished during this period was that they were consolidated, as the various events of the period brought them to the forefront of public controversy. Most of these points have been discussed in the conclusions of the various topics. What is proposed herein is to discuss those general trends that permeated the period, their impact on the course of future history and the general reaction of the various sections on the politics and administration of the period.

The most important feature of the period that occurs in constant refrain was the profession and practice of racial discrimination. It was pointed out in the introduction how certain fictions were woven round a philosophy of racial superiority to justify all acts of discrimination against the Indians. There was rampant practice of discrimination based on colour in all branches of life. It was fully illustrated in the Fuller case how even in the sacrosanct sphere of judicial administration the practice was prevalent. Lytton's initial interest in the Fuller case and his Minute on the subject created high hopes among the people that the practice would come to an end. But his subsequent action exonerating the defaulting judge, Mr. Leeds, shattered all the hopes to the ground. The controversy itself had

demonstrated the intensity of feelings on both sides but the finale of the issue left no doubt in the minds of the people as to the exact nature of the British regime. In the whole of the period cases of racial discrimination continued unabated, as is evident from the reports in vernacular newspapers in the following years. The holding of the Imperial Assemblage also demonstrated the point in a different sense. The Assemblage was held at a moment when the entire country was engulfed in gloom caused by serious famines in various parts of the country and when the financial condition of the country was very critical. In such circumstances any such festivity was out of question in any European country or in a white colony. But few persons had any qualms of conscience, as it was to be held in India for which there was a different standard of judgement. The holding of the festivity and the squandering away of a vast amount of money over mere show and 'fireworks' could be explained only if it is admitted that the rulers had a different standard of consideration for the feelings and interests of their native subjects.

The provisions of the Arms Act were also based on the policy of discrimination. The Act stipulated the payment of certain fees for the keeping of arms. One of the grounds for such imposition was the consideration of revenue, but those who could pay the most such as the Europeans and the native gentry were exempted from the taxation and the burden fell on those who were the least able to pay. Such discrimination was actuated by the motive of giving certain privilege to the Europeans and to the class of native gentry with whom a common front was being forged.

The discriminatory policy adopted by the Government in the enactment of the Vernacular Press Act was very much resented. The actual provisions of the Act as well as the reasons advanced for the enactment displayed Government's preoccupation with the policy of discrimination. The English newspapers were exempted from the operation of the Act though

²¹ For details consult author's books *The Creation of Modern Bihar, Indian Administration and Politics, 1876-1880* (Ph. D. thesis, Patna University, Patna, 1962), and *Kipling on India* (in press).

it was frankly admitted that the writings in many of them were no less inflammatory than in the vernacular newspapers. The obvious reason was that most of the vernacular newspapers were owned by Indians and it was through their medium that the administration and the British officials were assailed before the native audience. Much of the sting of the Vernacular Press Act would have been rendered innocuous had it operated indiscriminately over all the newspapers—vernacular as well as English. The worst discriminatory feature of it seems to be that the liberty of the press which is regarded as a sacred political value in England was brushed aside as something useless and harmful in India.

The innovations in the sphere of Civil Service during the period display the same policy of discrimination. Unmindful of the consideration of merit of the Indians the Government discriminated against them in recruitment to the Indian Civil Service. The qualifications laid down gave the false impression of their being equally applicable to all but in effect they prevented the Indians from entering into the Civil Service. During the period nothing was done to increase the requisite age for eligibility for competition and for holding of simultaneous examination in India—measures which would have ended the discrimination against the natives. Instead provisions were first contemplated in the scheme of a Native Civil Service which were intended to close the Indian Covenanted Civil Service against Indians. The final scheme also was no better. It provided for nomination, while competition was universally accepted as an ideal method for recruitment. Moreover, the nominees, according to the scheme, though belonging to the Civil Service, were not to receive all the privileges that the British officials were to have, so much so that there was to be a separate Civil List for them.

The abolition of Cotton Duties and the Factory Act reveal the practice of discrimination in the economic sphere. These two

measures were intended to give protection to the British cotton manufacturers against the native mills. The abolition of import duties on British cotton goods was undertaken to ensure that the British cotton goods might compete successfully with the native goods and thus the nascent Indian cotton industry might be nipped in the bud. The Factory Act exempted tea plantations, the railway workshop and other establishments where British capital was invested from the operation of the provisions concerning working hours, conditions of work etc., which were to operate rigorously on the cotton mills owned by the Indian capital. The Act was actuated by the motive of causing unnecessary hardship to the Indian Mills. The inconsistency of the discriminatory policy was carried to the extent that the legislation was applied to a field wherein there was no demand for it, whereas it was not applied to the tea-plantations where there was vocal demand for such a legislation to ensure proper hours and conditions of work to the labourers who were made to work like slaves by their European masters.

The educational policy pursued during the period revealed the same duality of standards. On the one hand colleges were closed for lack of funds, on the other, exclusive funds were released for the education of the Europeans and Anglo-Indian children. This discrimination evoked bitter criticisms.

The religious policy presents no different picture. A study of the grants made by the Government for the Christian ecclesiastical establishments and other similar measures convinced the people that the Government's boast of having established a secular state for the first time was a hoax. The Government continued to patronize one religion against the others in spite of the protests of the people of other faiths.

The above discussion makes it unmistakably clear that the policy of discrimination continued to be the corner-stone of the administration

country in spite of the professions to the contrary. The other important feature of the policy was the assumption of leadership of the country by the middle class and the attempts on the part of the Government to forge a united front with the nobility to counteract the influence of the middle class. As already discussed in the introduction, an Indian middle class had come into being before the period. The educated middle class, intended to be Indian in blood and colour, but English in opinions, in morals and intellect,²² actually the creation of the Britishers themselves.

It was evidenced during the period that this class now reversed its role and assumed leadership of the masses in Indian politics. The agitations carried on through the medium of vernacular newspapers on the various constitutional measures of the period were actually led by the class of educated Indians. They were associated with the newspapers. They organized meetings, and drafted memoranda to be submitted, and by these methods tried to influence public opinion in India and in England.

The Government also was conscious of the changing role of the middle class and this awareness prompted the Government to attempt a readjustment of its relationship with the native aristocracy. In most of the acts of the period Government's anxiety to create a common front with the middle class was quite evident. At the same time there was a conscious effort on the part of the Government to prevent the assumption of leadership by the middle class and to ensure that the nobility which had by that time lost its hold over the masses could be resurrected and recognized as the 'natural leaders' of the people. The various acts of the period were directed to this end. One distinctive advantage of the Imperial Assemblage from the point of view of the Government was the official recognition and appreciation of the class of native aristocracy. By a distribution of titles of various categories among the

landed gentry a successful attempt was made to create a wedge between this class on the one hand and the middle class and the masses on the other. Though the contemplated move of creating a Privy Council consisting of the nobility could not materialize, provisions were made, instead, to appoint persons belonging to the nobility as Councilors to the Empress who could advise the Government on important matters. Thus they enhanced not only the social status of the nobility but also gave them the opportunity of associating themselves with the Government. All these acts created a sense of loyalty in the nobility and a sense of the commonness of interests with the Government.

The above policy of the Government is evidenced in other acts as well. One of the considerations with the Government in imposing restriction on the vernacular newspaper, was that these newspapers published slanderous remarks against the members of the nobility. The most concrete and tangible advantage that was proposed to be given to the landed aristocracy was through the new changes in the Civil Service rules. The persistent and growing demand of the educated middle class for a larger share in the Civil Service had prompted the Government to change its educational priority from University education to rural education. In 1870 the Home authorities issued orders that 'Government expenditure should be mainly directed to the provision of elementary education for the mass of the people'.²³ This shift was probably motivated by the anxiety to prevent the educated middle class from entering into the Civil Service, because as many as four Indians had successfully competed in the Civil Service Examination in 1869. By shifting the priority away from the University education, such achievements would have become rare. B.B. Misra rightly holds the same opinion.²⁴

This policy was supplemented during this period by the Government's attempts to give certain privileges to the nobility in the matter of entering into the Civil Service. The Govern-

²² Sharp, H., *Selections From The Educational Records 1781-1839* p. 116.

²³ *Moral and Material Progress Report, 1881-82*, p. 145.
²⁴ Misra, B. B., *The Indian Middle Classes*, p. 282.

ment was full of lavish praises for the manliness, integrity and efficiency of the persons belonging to the native aristocracy who did not find it convenient to associate themselves with the administration because of the existing Civil Service rules. The provision of nomination of such persons to the Civil Service was a conscious move to patronize this class as against the middle class which was now proving turbulent to the Government. Through this measure as well an identification of the interests of the nobility with those of the Government was bound to follow, as it actually did.

The abolition of Cotton Duties and the Factory Act were not intended to help the landed nobility as their interests were not involved in the problem, but, as pointed out above, these measures too were definitely intended to crush the interests of the new capitalist class. So far as the Arms Act was concerned, it stipulated the exemption of the titleholders from the payment of the licence fee for keeping arms. This measure too, therefore, gave a definite privilege to the landed aristocracy, as almost all the title holders belonged to this class.

It is obvious from the above discussion that by pursuing the policy of 'divide and rule' the Government was successful in forging a new front with the nobility. This front proved quite stable and the wedge between the landed aristocracy and the middle class continued till a very later period.

Another notable theme of this period was the mutual distrust and suspicion of the people and the Government. The picture confirms Mallet's statement about the people and the Government being in two opposite camps. On the part of the people, there was the lack of faith in the integrity and honesty of the British empire, while on the part of the Government, there was doubt in the loyalty of the people. As has been noted earlier, the people disbelieved all the professions of the Government—its claim of having established a just

and equitable judicial administration, the claim of secularism or the high slogans of free-trade or the welfare of the labourers that were advanced as grounds for the abolition of the cotton duties or the enactment of the Factory Act. The people through the medium of the vernacular newspapers could be conscious not only of the discrimination that was being practised in the social, political and administrative spheres, but also of the economic exploitation that was being done through the dubious methods in trade and industry. The newspapers complained of the attempts at abolishing cotton duties for stifling the rising cotton industry of the country.

The Government also displayed its lack of confidence in the common people and the middle class. The Arms Act, the Vernacular Press Act and the changes in the Civil Service rules—all these assumed that possibility of disloyalty. The Arms Act was actually intended to disarm the whole nation as the Government did not like the development of martial qualities in the people. Even innocuous writings in the vernacular newspapers were regarded as spreading disaffection and disloyalty and it was largely because of that bugbear that the restrictions were imposed. The main motive in depriving the Indians from holding high executive posts exhibited similar lack of confidence in the loyalty of the people.

In such a background of confirmed mutual distrust and suspicion only a prompt reversal of the policies of the period could gain popularity and this is what Ripon did when he succeeded Lytton and gained immense popularity.

It is very difficult to trace the impact of a small period like this over the course of future history. It would not be possible to say with definiteness whether a particular phenomenon of the following years was the resultant development of the earlier period. However the period of study has such distinctive features and it possesses such individuality that its impact may roughly be calculated.

The most important impact was the rise of nationalism in the following years. It is not suggested here that the national movement was the product of these years. What is intended to be impressed is the importance of these years with regard to the rise of nationalism in the country. Nationalism is defined as the psychological consciousness of the oneness of the people. Such a consciousness was definitely generated during the period. Under the guidance of the middle class intellectuals and through the medium of the vernacular newspapers the feeling of consciousness about the Government policy of exploitation and discrimination began spreading rapidly. This consciousness was supported by a revivalistic tendency which is a characteristic feature of the nationalism of any country. The people now expressed the nostalgic longings for the good old days of the Moghul administration. What was yet lacking in nationalism was a demand for independence of the country.

Many important features of this nationalistic phase of Indian history may be traced in these years. The method of constitutional agitation was born during the period. Public controversy raged over all the important issues of the period; meetings were organized, memoranda submitted to the Government, signature campaigns organized, and deputations sent to Britain to influence the public opinion. Thus it may be said that the method of constitutional agitation which was adopted in the Indian national movement was used and perfected during this period.

Similarly the Swadeshi movement and the idea of the boycott of the later years which were adopted as the characteristic technique of the national movement in India may be traced back to this period. The idea that the British cotton goods be boycotted and the goods manufactured by the native mills be used by the countrymen was suggested by certain vernacular newspapers. The seeds of terrorism may also be discovered during the period. The people took to violence in the south in course

of the collection of the licence tax and there was firing by the Government.

The administration and politics of the period had its impact on the course of British history as well. One of the many reasons for the defeat of the Tories at the polls in 1880 was the Indian policies pursued by the Tory Governor-General. The Liberals made the Indian policies of the Government an issue before the electorate and could convince them of its failures.

Certain other important impacts of the period may be traced in the field of Anglo-European literature. In the immediately following years there appears on the literary scene Rudyard Kipling who may be regarded as the literary spokesman of the declared British policy in Indian administration. Born on the 30th December, 1865, his first assignment was the sub-editorship of the *Civil and Military Gazette* published from Lahore where his father was connected with the museum. His first work, *Departmental Ditties*, appeared in 1886 and in the following year another work, *Plain Tales from the Hills*, was published. The period 1876-80 thus formed the formative period of his career. Many of the ideas that prompted the Government during this period were echoed by Kipling in his literature in exactly the same tone and temper. A study of some such similarity would convince that he was a product of these years and of the following years of Ripon's regime when the European diehards felt a sense of frustration at his liberal policies.²⁵

Kipling was a fervent believer in the philosophy of racial superiority to the extent that later on the philosophy came to be identified with his name. Like the British administration of 1876-80 he also sought to justify the pursuit of imperialist policy in the interests of Britain through this pseudo-philosophy.

Kipling had become quite conscious of the fact that Britain was great because she had

²⁵ *The Suratana*, 5th March, 1879.

empires like India. Her economic and political greatness and prosperity would be endangered if she was ever deprived of the empire. In his poem 'Big Steamers' he drove home the same idea very forcefully in the following lines:—

"We are going to fetch you your bread and your butter,
your beef, pork and mutton, eggs, apples,
and cheese,
.....
We fetch it from Melbourne, Quebec,
Vancouver,
Address us at Hobart, Hong Kong, and
Bombay.
..... Send out
your big warships to watch your big waters,
That no one may stop us from bringing your
food.
For the bread that you eat and the biscuits
you nibble,
The sweets that you suck and the joints that
you carve.
They are brought to you daily by all us Big
Steamers
And if any one hinders our coming you'll
starve".

In his numerous other writings Kipling emphasised this point and wanted his countrymen to be alert to keep the navy strong to defend the glory of Britain by keeping the colonies under her subjection.²⁶

Kipling favoured the idea of ruling colonies in the role of a military conqueror, for that is the only way to keep them under subjection. Therefore, he stressed the point that a conquered native had no right to ask for concessions and above all, there was no point in fulfilling the promises given to the subject races.²⁷ His views here are identical with those of the British administrators of the period (1876-80).

²⁶ Kipling and C.R.L. Fletcher, *A School History of England*, pp. 195, 210, 218, 241, 242, 244.

²⁷ Kipling: *Dargeld* In his 'Kitcher's School' he wrote, "Knowing that ye are forfeit by battle and have no right to live".

Kipling was very sensitive to the growth of the new educated middle class in India which demanded a share in the administration of the country and believed that, if conceded, it would weaken the hold on the empire. Therefore, like Lytton and other administrators he wanted to exclude Indians from the Civil Service and wanted to keep it as the pet preserve for Europeans. To induce them to come to India he wanted to give high salaries and the present salaries, in his opinion, were not high enough in comparison with the duties discharged. In his poem "Pagett M.P." he drove home the same idea as follows:

Pagett M.P. was a liar,
called me 'bloated Brahmin', talked of my
'princely pay'
(After his own experience he changed his
opinion and thought thus)
"He did not call me a 'Brahmin', or 'bloated',
or 'overpaid'. But seemed to think it a
wonder that any one ever stayed.
He babbled of 'stern exile' and mentioned
his home
..... with tears,
As I thought of the fools like Pagett, who write
of their "Eastern trips".

In other works Kipling emphasised the same point that salaries given to European officers were insufficient in comparison with their duties.²⁸

To justify the exclusion of the Indians from the Civil Service Kipling adopted the same tactics as the other British administrators viz, to show their feebleness and inefficiency. In doing so he also made his Indian characters say that the Britishers were preferred as administrators to native ones for the sake of efficiency. The following quotations would amply make it clear.—

"And thou art our father and our mother
what shall we do, now there is no one to speak
for us, or to teach us to go wisely....."

²⁸ *Collected Verses*, pp. 61, 371 and *A Kipling Anthology*, p. 1

"But, O Saheb, has the Government gone mad to send a black Bengali (Girish Chandra De, a new I.C.S. recruit) dog to us..... He a Saheb! He is a Kala Admi... A Black man.... unfit to run at the tail of a potter's donkey..... a gravid milch buffalo or a broken down horse".....

"There was no more border law because a Bengali has been sent....."²⁹

Thus Kipling drove home the idea that if Indians were employed in the Civil Service, there would be confusion, lawlessness, and anarchy because of their inherent inefficiency. Here again his views were identical with those of Lytton and others.

Kipling visualised the danger of the possession of arms by natives and wanted their restriction³⁰ like Lytton who had framed the Arms Act.

He was strongly in favour of the restriction on the freedom of the press like Lytton and was against an educational policy which stressed the University education, for in his opinion the educated middle class wrote seditious articles in the vernacular press which were likely to endanger the British Indian Empire. Therefore, he resented that Girish Chandra De was paid for his University education by "the brutal Indian Government" and he always "contributed cheap sedition to the *Sach Darpan*...."³¹

He thus pointed out that the British rule in India was only to the benefit of Indians and that its disappearance would be against their welfare.³²

In order to justify British atrocities in India, Kipling borrowed the theory of racial superiority from British politicians and administrators for his literature. He also falsely propagated that the Asiatics, as a race, were inefficient. The following quotations from his writings would demonstrate his art of imitation:—

²⁹ *Life's Handicap* Vol. I, The Head of the District.

³⁰ Kipling: *Collected Verses*.

³¹ *Many Inventions*, Vol. I, p. 143.

³² *A School History of England*, p. 244.

"We (the English) are a high caste and 'enlightened race'³³"

"And that's your Christian people returning good for ill"³⁴

"..... That was wrong and improper of LISPETH (a native Christian) to think of marriage with an Englishman, who was of a superior clay,...."³⁵

Kipling further admired the English and decried the Asiatics in his celebrated poem "The White Man's Burden." The stanza is sufficient to show this contrast—

"Take up The White Man's Burden—
Send forth the best ye breed
Go bind your sons to exile
To serve your capitive need;
To wait in heavy harness,
On fluttered folk and wild—
Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
Half-devil and half-child"³⁶

Kipling's vilification of the Asiatics further ran as follows:—

"..... (Asiatics have)... no sense of proportion, and, like the snake, strikes first at that which is the nearest".³⁷

To him, therefore, "great is the smell of the East".³⁸

He thus defined the East,

"Think of a sleek French Priest in Canada;
Divide by twenty half-breeds, Multiply
By twice the sphinx's silence. That is your East".³⁹

Therefore, in view of this contrast of character

³³ *Traffics and Discoveries*, Vol. I, p. 95.

³⁴ *Collected Verses*, p. 110.

³⁵ *Plain Tales from the Hills*, Vol. I, LISPETH.

³⁶ *Collected Verses*, p. 371. Kipling's another lecture published in 'A Book of Words', p. 35 conveyed the same idea.

³⁷ *The Naulakha*, Vol. II, p. 257.

³⁸ *Letters of Travel*, (1892-1913), p. 34.

³⁹ *Collected Verses*, p. 78.

between Asiatics and Europeans he was confident that the 'East is East and West is West,

Never the twain shall meet."

In the circumstances he strongly propagated the idea of the racial segregation. According to him "a man should, whatever happens, keep to his own caste, race, and breed. Let the white go to the white, and the black to the black".⁴⁰

Like Lytton, Kipling did not find the Viceroy's Council any useful for the Indian administration. In one of his poems he described as follows:

"You have seen your council? Yes, they
..... will try to rule
A Council always has its H-pis.
They look for nothing from the West but
..... death, they fight,
Until the middle classes take them back..."⁴¹

Like Lytton, he was quite convinced that democratic institutions would endanger the British Empire. His anti-democratic feelings ran as follows:—

"When England stumbles, the Empire shakes. Canada's weakness is lack of men. England's weakness is an excess of voters, who propose to live at the expense of the State. These loudly resent that any money should be diverted from themselves; and since money is spent on fleets and armies to protect the Empire, while it is consolidating, they argue that if the Empire ceased to exist armaments would cease too, and the money so saved would be spent on their creature comforts. They pride themselves on being an avowed and organised enemy of the Empire, which, as others see it, waits only to give them health, prosperity, and power beyond anything their votes could win them in England..."⁴²

⁴⁰ *Plain Tales from the Hills*, Vol. II; Another story "Lispeth" in the same book Vol. I preached the same idea.

⁴¹ *Collected Verses*, p. 78.

⁴² *Letters of Travel*, 1892-1913, p. 201.

".....the only serious enemy to the Empire, ...is that very democracy, which depends upon the Empire for its proper comforts..."⁴³

Kipling wanted the United States of America to co-operate with Britain in the Imperial expansion. This motivated the composition of the 'White Man's Burden'. But again he was face to face with the American democracy which prevented such an adventure. Therefore, he criticized the American system of the Government in the following words:—

"He (an American) may not know how to run his own business, control his wife, or instil reverence into his children, maybe pauper, half-crazed with drink, bankrupt, dissolute, or merely a born fool; but he has a vote. If he likes, he can be voting most of his time—voting for his state governor, his municipal officers.... of which he has no special knowledge..."⁴⁴

However, Kipling did not remain a mere critic but also suggested certain remedies to check the tide of nationalism in India and to save the British Empire in India from the fatal catastrophe. One of such remedies as stipulated by Kipling was to have a united front of the Muslims and the Britishers against the common enemy—the Indian Hindus. In a story he thus suggested:—

"We (Muslims) rise by our slaves and by our slaves we fall as it was said (probably referred to the Slave Dynasty). It is in my heart that there will remain in our land a few sahibs undesirous of returning to England. There we must cherish and protest that by their skill and cunning we may hold together and preserve unity in time of war. The Hindu kings will never trust a Sahib in the core of their Counsels—I say again that we of the faith confide in them, we shall trample upon our enemies..."⁴⁵

⁴³ *ibid.*, p. 205.

⁴⁴ *American Notes*, p. 41.

⁴⁵ *Many Inventions*, Vol. I p. 109.

This strategy is further confirmed by his bias towards Muslims. He frankly confesses as follows:—"Some men are Mohammedan by birth, some by training, and some by fate, but I have never met an Englishman yet who hated Islam and its people as I have met Englishmen, who hated some other faiths. Mussalmani awadani, as the saying goes—where there are Mohammedans there is a comprehensive civilization".⁴⁶

Thus he became a spokesman of the British policy of 'Divide and Rule' in India for the furtherance of the imperial designs of Britain.

Kipling clearly visualised the inherent danger in the formation of the Indian National Congress.

He rightly foresaw that it was ultimately likely to be the grave of the white supremacy in India.⁴⁷ He pointed out the dangers inherent in the formation of the Congress in the following words:—

"People are like the great King Ferishta, who, eaten with the scabs of long idleness, plucked off his crown and danced naked among the dunghills. But I have not forgotten the profitable end of the tale. The Vazir set him upon a horse and led him into battle. Presently his health returned and he caused to be engraven on the crown"⁴⁸.

Therefore, he suggested that the Government must assume the role of a military conqueror

⁴⁶ *Letters of Travel*, 1892-1913, p. 237. The same idea was conveyed in a poem in *Soldiers Three and other stories*, Vol. I, p. 1 46.

⁴⁷ *Many Inventions*, Vol. I, p. 103.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p. 105 A poem in the *Collected Verses*, p. 78 conveyed the same idea.

and must behave so to save the Empire from destruction. One of his characters thus spoke, "I do not lie when I say that unless they are bled...they will hear and obey all that is said by the Congress and the blackmen hear hoping to turn over land into their own orderless Jahaannum (hell)".⁴⁹

Another remedy suggested by Kipling was to "keep the troops ready and in good pay. The headship of the troops must be mine".⁵⁰

Kipling was thus out to achieve through the literary medium what the British administrators sought to achieve through their active association with the Government. The media here differed but the aims were identical, to see empire safe and stable in its unassailable glory.

Thus it may be said that the period ushered in a new phase in the history of India—the phase of Indian nationalism under the leadership of the middle class. In the years to come the destinies of India came to be guided by the class which led it through the various vicissitudes till India won its freedom. It was now too late to reverse the course of Indian nationalism or to prevent the middle class from playing its destined role in history. On the one hand the years gave rise to degenerate pseudo-litterateurs like Kipling who systematized the new morbid philosophy of racialism, on the other hand the years released the forces of genuine nationalism which ultimately led to the creation of the Indian nation. Thus, both the birth of Indian nationalism and the degenerate Kiplingian literary technique were the by-products of the policies of the British in India between 1876 and 1880.

⁴⁹ *Many Inventions*, Vol. I, p. 105.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p. 106-7.

THE HIMALAYA FRONTIER IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

DR. R. RAHUL

The Himalaya, the "Snow land" comprising the entire area between the great central crest of the Himalaya range of mountains and its great southern foot, constitutes India's great northern mountain frontier for over 2500 miles from Assam to Kashmir, including Nepal. The history of this unique Inner Asian frontier of India is most fascinating, more so the role of the great frontiersmen who made it. The present paper briefly traces, without elaborate comments, the history of the growth and the development of the Himalaya frontier from east to west, via north, through the large part of the nineteenth century.

1. Assam, Bhutan and Sikkim

Feudal anarchy in Assam in the later part of the eighteenth century, and more especially the first Burmese invasion on Assam early in 1817 during the reign of Chandra Kant Singh (1810-18), eventually brought on the scene the military intervention of the East India Company. Purandar Singh, installed ruler of Assam in place of Chandra Kant Singh in 1818, fled to Bengal especially to seek British aid, which was refused, when Chandra Kant Singh joined hands with the Burmese. The Company's government helped neither Purandar Singh nor Chandra Kant Singh although it allowed them to raise their armies and purchase arms in its territories. When the situation began to deteriorate, the Company's government appointed David Scott, Civil Commissioner of Rangpur, as Agent for the entire northeast frontier from Assam to Sikkim on 14 November 1823. In the war between the British and the Burmese, declared on 4 March 1824, the Burmese suffered severe reverses. When the British advanced as far as Yandabo with a view to marching on Ava, a peace treaty was

concluded on 24 February 1826. The Burmese king gave up all claims in Assam, Manipur, Cachar, etc., ceded the provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim to the British and agreed to pay one crore rupees as indemnity.¹

The Company's government took under direct management the Brahmaputra Valley, Assam's problem section, because of the recent Burmese occupation and the group rivalry between the inhabitants there. Chiefs of the Matak, Khampti and Singpho frontier tribes of Upper Assam agreed to give up all connections with the Burmese and acknowledge the allegiance of the Company's government, which agreed not to exact any revenue or tribute from them and permitted them to administer justice in their respective territories according to their own custom. The Company's government also appointed a political agent at Sadiya with full political authority over these frontier chiefs. His charge especially included inspection of the native frontier militia furnished especially by the Matak and Khampti chiefs under the agreements of 13 and 15 May 1826.²

Purandar Singh, who had been reinstated on David Scott's recommendation in 1833, proved himself incompetent to govern Upper Assam. Upon the advice of Colonel Francis Jenkins, Agent on the North-East Frontier (1834-44), the Company's government pensioned him off with a sum of Rs. 25,000 per annum in 1838 and annexed Upper Assam to the British territory by proclamation in July 1839. Matak and Sadiya were annexed, after hostilities, in November 1839 and December 1843 respec-

tively. Annexation of the Duars (Passes) from Bhutan in 1841 completed the process of annexation.

The Inner Line was created under the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation of 1873 (consequent to the re-organization of the administration of the Brahmaputra Valley in 1853 and 1872 and demarcation of the southern limits of the Bhotiya, Aka and Dafla tribes in 1872-73)³ by which British subjects generally and those of specific classes were prohibited from going beyond a certain imaginary administrative line without a permit issued by the Deputy Commissioner of the district concerned, containing such conditions as he deemed necessary. This was mainly to avoid friction between the British subjects and the tribes beyond the administrative frontier. The 1873 regulation was entirely an administrative measure and the Inner Line created under it did not represent the territorial frontier, but only the limits of the administered area. And it did not in any way "decide the sovereignty of the territory beyond."⁴ This type of line was in existence in the northern, eastern and southern marches of the Brahmaputra Valley but had fallen into desuetude since the British occupation in 1826. The application of the principle of the Inner Line gradually extended to cover the entire Himalaya frontier from Assam to Kashmir.

David Scott had first felt the paramount need of gradually bringing Assam's entire northeastern marches within the British political framework. From 1839 to 1911 the British made a number of agreements with the northern frontier tribes whereby tribesmen undertook to resist from raiding the Tarai (low) lands in lieu of small annual *posa* subsidies to their chiefs and permission to trade below the foothills in Darrang and Lakhimpur. J. F. Needham's appointment as Assistant Political Officer at Sadiya in 1882, however, was the first important

step towards organization of an active frontier administration. Definition of the status of Assam's borderland with Tibet in 1911 brought all those tribes within the regular political framework of India for the first time.

Bhutan had first been brought under one ruling power and control by Dugom Dorji, later known as Shabdrung Nawang Namgyal (1534-92). Deb Tse dar, temporal ruler of Bhutan, who had come to power and had consolidated his internal position in Bhutan in 1767, embarked upon a series of raids to the Sikkimese territory. This fighting affected normal life and trans-Himalayan trade and resulted in tension along the northern frontier of the Company's possessions.⁵

The Bhutanese attacked Koch Bihar in 1771, occupied its greater portion and carried its ruler Dharendra Narayan off to Bhutan. On Koch Bihar soliciting British aid in 1773, Captain Jones was immediately despatched. He not only turned out the Bhutanese from there but followed them into the interior of Bhutan. Warren Hastings, Governor-General (1769-86), concluded a peace treaty with the Bhutanese on 25 April 1774. By this treaty the Bhutanese agreed to pay the British an annual tribute of five Tangun horses, and never to make any incursion into the British or Koch Bihar territories.⁶

The concept of the natural northern boundary of Bengal, the edge of the Himalaya foothills, came into vogue here for the first time, during the first British contacts with Bhutan in 1767-73.

⁵ Dugom Dorji, a young lama (son from a daughter of Depa Tsang pa), came to Bhutan from Ralung in Tibet in 1557. Nawang Namgyal, as the first Dharma Raja of Bhutan, appointed Ponlop and Dzongpon officials in charge of districts to administer the country and kept them under complete control. After Nawang Namgyal's death, the second Dharma Raja, considering that spiritual and temporal powers were incompatible, confined himself entirely to the former and appointed a minister to wield the latter. The minister gradually became the Deb Raja (temporal ruler) of Bhutan.

⁶ Aitchison, *op. cit.*, XIV, 89-90.

¹ C. U. Aitchison, *A collection of treaties, engagements and sanads* (Calcutta, 1929, 5th ed.) XII, 230-33.

² R. M. Lahiri, *Annexation of Assam* (Calcutta, 1954) 27.

³ Alexander Mackenzie, *History of the relations of the government with the hill tribes of the north-east frontier of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1884), Appendix B, 395-98.

⁴ Edward Gait, *A history of Assam* (Calcutta, 1926, second revised ed.) 335.

In pursuance of the natural vigorous commercial policy of Hastings, George Bogle and Captain Samuel Turner headed two commercial missions to Bhutan and Tibet in 1774 and 1783 respectively. Bogle merely passed through Bhutan without transacting any business there. Turner, however, stayed there for long but his mission ended in failure as far as the commercial part was concerned. Anyway where force failed as an instrument of economic policy,—it had merely served to alert Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet to the new Power on the plains of Bengal,—British diplomacy (not force) made it possible for the first British envoy to cross Bhutan and reach Tibet.

But for Bhutan's territorial claims, presented to the Company's government by the Thimpu Dzongpon in 1787, there was little intercourse between Bhutan and the British up to 1826, the year of the annexation of Assam. Nevertheless the Company's government decided to hand over to Bhutan the disputed lands of the Mahals of Fallakotta and Jelpaish. On the question of the right of nomination of the ruler of the Bijni Duar, British relations with Bhutan became strained, but the British accepted the Bhutanese nominee. The only minor border adjustment occasioned the despatch of Krishna Kanta Bose to Bhutan in 1815.

The annexation of Assam in 1826 brought in its wake a permanent conflict with Bhutan in regard to the possession of the nineteen Duars on the northern borders of Assam and Bengal. By becoming possessors of Assam, the British succeeded to the position of the Ahom rulers in the Duar territory between the Dhan-siri and Tista rivers. For the seven Duars the Bhutanese paid tribute of the value of Rs. 3,049, fixed in kind. Five Duars remained in the hands of the Bhutanese all the year round, but the two Duars of Buriguma and Killing were annually surrendered to the Government of Assam from July to November. This anomalous position led to trouble. Buriguma Duar was attached to the Company's possessions due to depredations of the Bhutanese in 1828 but

was restored on the payment of a fine in 1838.⁷

Arrangement of the annual payment of Rs. 10,000 to Bhutan for the annexation of the Duars on the Assam side in 1841 and Rs. 5,000 to Tawang for the Kariapara Duar proved really troublesome. Trouble in the Duars on the Bengal side continued. Refusal of the Bhutanese demand for the increase of the annual payment in 1854 led to Bhutanese raids on Assam. Dalhousie, Governor-General (1848-56), informed the Bhutan Darbar (Government of Bhutan) that the value of the property plundered would be deducted from the annual payment and that further outrages would lead to the permanent annexation of the Duars on the Bengal side. This made no impact on the Bhutan Darbar. In 1858-60, the Government of India took possession of the cis-Tista territory known as Ambari Fallakotta. Bhutan threatened to attack Sikkim in consequence of the Fallakotta affairs.

Ashley Eden, who started on a mission to Bhutan to explain the British demand in December 1863, reached Punakha, the Bhutanese capital, on 13 March 1864. At Punakha he found that both the Dharma and Deb Rajas were puppets in the hands of the Tongsa Ponlop, Jigme Namgyal, who was successful in a recent internal insurrection. Jigme Namgyal refused to deal with Eden except on the condition of the restoration of the Assam Duars to Bhutan. Under duress Eden signed an agreement regarding readjustment of the entire boundary between Bhutan and India, restoration of the Assam Duars to Bhutan, delivery of all runaway slaves and political offenders who had taken refuge in the British territory and consent to be punished by the Bhutan and Koch Bihar Governments acting together, if they ever made encroachments on Bhutan.

The Government of India immediately re-

⁷ R. Boileau Pemberton, "Report on Bootan", in Ashley Eden, *Political missions to Bootan* (Calcutta, 1865) 18-32.

pudiated Eden's arrangement, declared Ambari Fallakotta permanently annexed to Bengal, as a punishment, on 9 June 1864 and stopped payment of compensation to Bhutan for the Assam Duars. The Bengal Duars were permanently annexed on 12 November 1864. Hostilities began, but soon the Bhutan Darbar requested for peace. The Government of India offered harsh conditions: return of the agreement extorted from Eden and apology for insults to him, surrender of all British, Sikkim and Koch Bihar subjects detained against their will, mutual extradition of criminals, surrender of British guns, cession of the whole of Duars which had passed into Bhutan, maintenance of free trade and arbitration by the Government of India in all disputes between Bhutan on the one hand and Koch Bihar and Sikkim on the other. The Government of India agreed to pay Bhutan annual compensation beginning with Rs. 25,000. On this basis the British signed a treaty at Sinchula on 11 November 1865, restoring peace.⁸

Subsequent internal history of Bhutan is a history of constant strife. Ugyen Wangchuk, son of Jigme Namgyal, appeared as Tongsa Ponlop in 1883. He managed affairs in such a way that he became the real ruler of Bhutan by 1889. He declared his inclination towards the British friendship, accompanied the British military expedition to Tibet in 1903-4 and rendered great help to Major Francis Younghusband by properly interpreting the motivation and object of the British mission to the senior lay and monastical officials of Tibet. After the death of the Deb Raja in 1907, all Bhutanese chiefs and monks elected Ugyen Wangchuk as the hereditary ruler of Bhutan. The Dharma Raja died in 1909 and there appeared no Shabdung Rinpoche.

Magar and Tsong tribal developments in Sikkim in the 1750s, which, coupled with the rise of Deb Tse dar in Bhutan and Prithvi Narayan Shah in Nepal in 1767, led to the

occupation of all Sikkimese land east of the Tista river by the Bhutanese and west of the Tista by the Gorkhas first set the course of the modern history of this frontier state. "Scouts and advanced patrols and skirmishing parties came up as far as Mangbru and Barphung in Sikkim."⁹ The Bhutanese eventually withdrew, suffering severe defeat at Phodong. Sikkim signed a peace treaty with Nepal in 1775 but the Gorkhas broke it in 1788 and occupied Ilam and Top Dzong. The Gorkhas were induced to withdraw only on the cession to Nepal of the border district of Nyalam of Tibet, suzerain of Sikkim. Events for a while turned in favour of Namgyal Phuntsong when Nepal attacked Tibet in 1791, but the relief was only temporary.

The defeat of the Gorkhas in the Anglo-Nepalese War in 1814-1815 brought Sikkim for the first time in contact with the British. The ten-article treaty signed between the British and the agent of the ruler of Sikkim at Titaliya on 10 February 1817 marked the beginning of Sikkim's relations with the British in India.¹⁰ In reality this arrangement brought back the ruler of Sikkim on the throne of the entire territory between the Mechi and the Tista rivers. By this treaty the British assumed the position of the "lords paramount" of Sikkim. British paramountcy over Sikkim was never challenged up to 1887 when Tibet tried to meddle in the affairs of Sikkim.

During a boundary dispute between Nepal and Sikkim, British officials who went to Sikkim, noticed the Darjeeling tract. The British authority seized the first available opportunity to possess it in 1834-35 when the Lepcha refugees made an inroad into the Tarai country. Negotiations ended in the unconditional cession of the Darjeeling tract on 1 February 1835. In 1841, the British granted an annual compensation for it of Rs. 3,000, raised to Rs. 6,000

⁹ *Mss. History of Sikkim*, compiled by Maharaja Thutob Namgyal and Maharani Yeshey Dolma of Sikkim (Gangtok, 1908).

¹⁰ Aitchison, *op. cit.*, XII, 58-59.

⁸ Aitchison, *op. cit.*, 96-97.

in 1846, to the ruler of Sikkim. Development of Darjeeling became the cause of jealousy to Tokhang Donyer Namgyal, Prime Minister of Sikkim, who suddenly imprisoned Drs Archibald Campbell, Superintendent of Darjeeling and political charge of British relations with Sikkim (1839-61), and Joseph Hooker, while unauthorizedly exploring in Sikkim in 1849. They were released in December 1849 on the threat of Dalhousie. In February 1850, a force marched into Sikkim to avenge the insults to Campbell and Hooker. The British stopped the annual allowance. Namgyal was dismissed from office. The Sikkim Tarai and hills bounded by the Rammam river on the north, the great Rangit and Tista rivers on the east and the Nepal frontier on the west were annexed to the British territory.

Namgyal however managed himself to power again through his wife, an illegitimate daughter of the ruler of Sikkim. The old practice of kidnapping and refusal to surrender the criminals was resorted to. The matter came to a head in 1860 when all methods of obtaining redress had failed. A force under Colonel J. C. Gawler accompanied by Ashley Eden as special commissioner marched into Sikkim in November 1860. The ruler fled to Tibet, dying there in 1863. The heir apparent, Sidkyong Namgyal, who succeeded his father, accepted the British terms and signed a treaty at Tumlong, then capital of Sikkim, on 28 March 1861.¹¹ This treaty brought Sikkim under the complete control of the Government of India. The annual allowance, which had been stopped in 1850, was restored, and increased to Rs. 9,000 in 1868 and Rs. 12,000 in 1873. Namgyal and his blood relations were exiled to Chumbi and the seat of the government was removed to Sikkim permanently. However, many court intrigues instituted by the deposed Namgyal continued till his death in 1886.

Campbell and Gawler stressed upon, in a

¹¹ J. C. Gawler, *Sikkim: with hints on mountain and jungle warfare* (London, 1873) 104-105.

memorandum submitted by them on 25 April 1873, commercial prospects with Central Asia via Sikkim. In pursuance of this memorandum J. Ware Edgar, Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling, took a tour to the Tibet frontier in October, November and December 1873 for assessing the prospects of trade with Tibet and for exploring the desirability of making roads through Sikkim.¹² These assessments culminated in Malcolm Macaulay's commercial mission to Tibet in 1885 which ended in complete failure due to serious impediments placed by the Tibetans. Failure of the Macaulay Mission gave much encouragement to the Tibetans to interfere in the affairs of Sikkim. The visit of Thutob Namgyal, who had succeeded Sidkyong Namgyal on his death in 1874, to Chumbi in 1884 perhaps gave the greater incentive to Tibetans in this regard. After the withdrawal of the Mission, the Tibetans built a fort at Lingtu in 1886. Thutob Namgyal refused to return to Sikkim in spite of the stoppage of the annual British allowance to him. He returned only after making an agreement with the Ambans (Manchu Residents) in 1887. This agreement, in the form of a petition by Thutob Namgyal to the Ambans, relates to violation of religion by the entry of Europeans into Tibet as traders and for the protection of religion.¹³

The British turned the Tibetans out of Lingtu by force of arms in September 1888 and established a political agency at Gangtok in 1889. In 1892, Thutob Namgyal again tried to go out of Sikkim via Nepal but the Government of Nepal promptly handed him over to the Government of India. He was restored to power only in 1895, and after expression of regret. His elder son remained in Tibet in spite of several warnings by the Government of India. His younger brother, Sidkyong Namgyal, formally recognized as heir-apparent in February 1899, succeeded him on his death in February 1914.

¹² J. Ware Edgar, *Report on a visit to Sikkim and the Tibetan frontier* (Calcutta, 1874).

¹³ H. H. Risley, *The Gazetteer of Sikkim* (Calcutta 1894), xiii.

After the expulsion of the Tibetans from Sikkim, the British government made an effort to settle the Sikkim-Tibet boundary with the Chinese Amban in Tibet. Ultimately, the British and the Chinese concluded a convention concerning Sikkim on 17 March 1890, declaring Sikkim to be a protectorate of India. This convention also defined the Sikkim-Tibet boundary on the basis of the principle of the Himalaya watershed. For a long time the 1890 convention remained unimplemented. In 1895, the British appointed a boundary commission, but it ended in failure as both the Chinese and Tibetan authorities refused to recognize the line of delimitation defined by the 1890 convention. In 1902, the Government of India asserted its treaty rights and expelled all Tibetan personnel and posts at Giagong. This eventually formed the basis of the British expeditionary mission to Tibet in 1903 and ultimately the "unveiling" of Lhasa, seat of the Dalai Lama of Tibet in 1904.

2. Nepal, Kumaon and Garhwal

Both British commercial interests and Nepalese territorial aggrandisement initiated by the Gorkha chief, Prithvi Narayan Shah (1742-75), in the 1760s in and beyond the Himalaya are responsible for the origins of the first British-Nepalese contact. Officials of the Company's government were aware of the commercial potentialities of the countries north of the Gangetic plain even before they had acquired the areas stretching from the Bay of Bengal to the Himalaya foothills in post-Plassey years. Therefore, on the disruption of this trade passing through Nepal as a consequence of the Gorkha invasion of the Nepal Valley in 1767, the British, quite unwilling to be deprived of the benefits arising from the trade intercourse between Bengal and Tibet, at once responded to a call for help from Jaya Prakash Malla, ruler of Kathmandu, and despatched a small military force under Captain George Kinloch to assist him in ousting the Gorkha invaders.

The Kinloch expedition returned without reaching its destination and without achieving

its main objective, establishment of a trading post in Nepal. Its failure emboldened Prithvi Narayan, who had come out victorious in the Gorkha-Newar conflict in 1769, to pursue vigorously a policy of exclusion and resistance to all British interests in Nepal. The only major British gain from the Kinloch expedition was acquisition of firsthand knowledge of the difficulties which similar mission, if ever sent to Nepal again, would have to face there.

The British soon realized the unwisdom of antagonizing the rising Gorkha chief and, despite suggestions by Kinloch and others for continuing help for Jaya Prakash Malla, Hastings sought to extend the British hand of friendship towards the Gorkha chief. In a communication to Prithvi Narayan, Hastings stated that the British had earlier assisted Jaya Prakash Malla due to ignorance of the power and status of the Gorkhas. In the meantime increasing information regarding the prospects of trade between Bengal and the northern countries fully convinced the British of the need of commercial and diplomatic relations with them. Following resolution of the British-Bhutanese conflict of 1773-74, the British made friendly overtures to the Panchen Lama of Tibet, and through him to China.

Persistent British efforts bore fruit in 1792. The Gorkhas had first invaded Tibet in 1788, but had withdrawn on the Tibetans agreeing to restore normal trade relations with Nepal and by ceding the border district of Nyalam to Nepal. The Panchen Lama had approached the British for help against the Gorkhas. But Lord Cornwallis, Governor-General (1786-93), who had no wish to be involved in the Himalayan wars, refused to comply with his request on the ground that the distance between Bengal and Tibet was a forbidding factor, that the Gorkhas had given no provocation to the British and that British military help might not be liked by China, Tibet's suzerain.¹⁴

¹⁴ Alastair Lamb, *Britain and Chinese Central Asia* (London, 1960) 23-24.

China did not intervene in the 1788 Nepal-Tibet conflict, but it did so in 1791 when the Gorkha forces annexed Kharu, Kuti, Kirong, Phullak, etc. and plundered the monasteries in South Tibet. Enraged at this sacrilegious act of the Gorkhas, the Chinese Emperor sent a 70,000-strong army, consisting of the Eleuths from the Dam region of Tibet, and the Chinese and Manchu troops from Szechuan and the Tibetans to repel the invasion. Before the onslaught could commence, the Gorkhas were asked to withdraw their troops from Tibet and repair all losses suffered by the monasteries. On Nepal's refusing to comply with the demands, the Chinese army not only drove them out of Tibet but chased them up to Nuwakot,¹⁵ close to Kathmandu.

In this context, the Gorkhas offered the British a commercial treaty, signed on 1 March 1792, and accompanied their offer by a request for military aid. In doing so the Gorkhas hoped that an alliance with the British might prove a powerful means of deterring the Chinese from exacting a heavy retribution. The British had no intention of embroiling themselves with the Chinese for the sake of the Gorkhas because it would place their Canton trade in a hazardous condition. On the other hand, the British also realized that no event was more to be deprecated than the conquest of Nepal by China, whose close proximity to British territory might lead to abiding border disputes. Therefore, treading safer paths, Cornwallis offered mediation between the Gorkhas and Chinese and, to this end, sent William Kirkpatrick to Nepal in September 1792. But by the time Kirkpatrick reached Patna, the Gorkhas had been forced to conclude peace with the Chinese on rather humiliating terms, one of which stipulated sending of a tribute mission to China every fifth year.

The decree of the Emperor of China in 1793 charged the Ambans in Lhasa with the ex-

¹⁵ E. H. Parker, "Nepal and China", *Asiatic Quarterly Review* (London), VII (Jan-Apr. 1899) 78.

clusive conduct of Nepal's relations with Tibet, like those of Sikkim and Bhutan. The 1793 decree especially provided for the demarcation of the Nepal-Tibet boundary: "Let piles of stone be placed at intervals along the frontiers and let no one be allowed to cross; the Residents in future will inspect these marks at regular intervals."

Neither the Nepalese nor the Chinese liked the intriguing British role in the Sino-Nepalese crisis. Their reluctance to come to the rescue of the Nepalese even after obtaining a commercial agreement only deepened Nepalese suspicion. And despite British efforts to secure fulfilment of the treaty obligations, for the Nepalese the 1792 treaty was now a dead letter. The Chinese showed their disapproval of the British interference in the Himalaya by turning down the proposals of the George Macartney embassy to China in 1793.

No improvement could be effected in the British relations with Nepal until 1800, when Ran Bahadur Shah, having abdicated the throne in favour of his infant son Girvan Juddha Bikram in March 1799, took residence at Banaras. The British played no part in these internal developments in Nepal but, in Ran Bahadur's presence at Banaras, they found the much sought for opportunity for resuming negotiations with Nepal for both the revival of the old commercial connection as well as for developing political relations. The British offered generous monetary grants to Ran Bahadur and appointed Capt. W. D. Knox to wait upon him. Once it was known that Ran Bahadur had nothing against the British only if they helped him to stage a come-back, the Company's government opened negotiations with the ruling clique at Kathmandu. The moment Ran Bahadur knew that the British were in touch with his opponents in Kathmandu, he wrote to certain chiefs in Nepal warning them against any friendship with the British. However, due to the efforts of Captain Knox and Gajraj Misra, Preceptor of the ruler of Nepal, a treaty of friendship between the Company and Nepal was signed on 26

October 1801, giving a new lease of life to the defunct commercial treaty of 1792. The main features of the 1801 treaty were the settlement of an estate upon Ran Bahadur, the establishment of a British Residency at Kathmandu and a Nepalese agent at Calcutta.¹⁶

Knox, appointed Resident under the 1801 treaty, was especially instructed to try by all means in his power to form a close tie between Nepal and the British. Wellesley, Governor-General (1798-1805), also cautioned him that none of his political actions should impair the interests of the Emperor of China in Nepal as it would adversely affect the Company's trading position in China. Knox seems to have had a good start, for each of the groups wanted to win his support. After Tripura Sundari (Senior Queen), who had hitherto been staying at Banaras with Ran Bahadur, usurped the Regency, the Government she headed made it a policy to evade fulfilment of its engagement with the British, even though she herself had great faith in the British friendship. Once or twice, Knox had no alternative but to threaten withdrawal into the British territory. When the threats yielded no results, the Residency was closed in March 1803. The 1801 treaty was formally dissolved on 24 January 1804.

The Residency fiasco, Ran Bahadur's assassination on 25 April 1805 and the precarious British position created by their engagements with the Marathas, the Jats of Bharatpur and the Pindaris, encouraged the Gorkhas to seek for the fulfilment of their old schemes of expansion. Bhim Sen Thapa, Prime Minister of Nepal (1806-37), acted swiftly and annexed Sikkim, Kumaon, Garhwal, the Simla Hill states and the long strip of the Tarai lands. The Gorkhas soon came in open conflict with the Company's government over the possession of certain parts of the Purnea, Saran, Gorakhpur and Bareilly districts, and also over the matter of the surrender of dacoits and runaway criminals. Relations between the Company's govern-

ment and Nepal had worsened so much by 1813, when Moira took charge of the Governor-Generalship, that there could never be real peace between them "until we (the British) yield to the Gorkhas our provinces to the north of the Ganges, making that river boundary between us."¹⁷

Left with no alternative, Moira declared war in mid-1814. In the beginning, odds were against the British. After an unsuccessful campaign by four British columns in 1814, the struggle was renewed in 1815. Fall of Almora, centre of the long extended frontier of the Gorkha domination, in April 1815, followed by successful operations in the Simla Hills and also in the east, terminated the war. By the nine-article peace treaty, signed in Sigauli on 2 December 1815, Nepal renounced all claims to lands in dispute before 1814. Above all, the Nepalese agreed to the establishment of diplomatic relations with the British. This military conflict with Nepal in 1814-15 also impressed upon the British, for the first time, the need of occupying the entire hill territory in the Western Himalaya and taking the summit of the Himalaya as the boundary of India as well as determining its alignment.¹⁸

Nepal had entered into defensive alliances with Ranjit Singh of Panjab and Daulat Rao Scindia of Gwalior, but relied most on the Emperor of China. In March 1815, the British had captured the draft of an appeal from the King of Nepal to the Emperor of China, in which the former, after acknowledging obedience to the latter, had expressed his inability alone to fight the British. To arouse the Emperor's wrath, the Nepal ruler had even fabricated the charge of British design on Tibet after the conquest of Nepal. Chinese reaction to the request not being available immediately, Moira,

¹⁷ Marquess of Hastings, *Summary of the Administration of the Indian Government from October 1813 to January 1823* (Edinburgh, 1825) 13.

¹⁸ James Baillie Fraser, *Journal of a tour through part of the snowy range of the Himala mountains and to the sources of the rivers Jumna and Ganges* (London, 1820), Appendix X, 543-44.

¹⁹ Aitchison, *op. cit.*, XIV, 57-62.

anxious to assure the Chinese that the British had no intention of aggrandisement in Tibet, acted very cautiously in dealing with Nepal even after its defeat. China disfavoured Nepal's restlessness and had no wish to be dragged into a conflict with the British at her bid. The Chinese Emperor, however, instructed the Amban in Lhasa to keep the British from advancing up to Kathmandu.

Moirra had visualized in a subdued Nepal a friendly and quiescent neighbour, if not a staunch ally. Towards the achievement of this aim, he had instructed Edward Gardner, first Resident after 1816, that all future causes of misunderstanding with the Nepal Darbar (Government of Nepal) should be avoided. Further, "with a view to gratify the Raja" and "to soothe the wounded honour of the Nepalese", Moirra at once granted Bhim Sen Thapa's request for restoration of the part of the Tarai lying between the Gandak and the Barhni rivers for a pecuniary consideration. Adhering strictly to his Government's instructions, despite many situations calling for an opposite action, Gardner and his successors observed non-interference and abstained from raising any new questions.

The Nepalese, restrained from all sides by the 1816 treaty, could not reconcile themselves to the existence of the British Residency in their midst as it was for them a symbol of national humiliation. Bhim Sen Thapa even conspired with the Chinese to be able to eject the British Residency. He started rendering the Residency as little productive as possible of results through the tactics of dexterous frustration. Not only did he delay survey and demarcation operations on the borders or leave large chunks of unsurveyed and undemarcated lands for future encroachments or discouraged commerce between the two countries, he consistently boycotted the Residency and shut it off from all sources of information.

Between 1816 and 1840, British success against the Marathas, the Pindaris, the Jats and Burma

had made it plain to Bhim Sen Thapa that he alone could not proceed with his anti-British designs. Therefore, he very frequently exchanged agents with them with a view mainly to forge an anti-British alliance. Opposition to the British was not only a matter of firm conviction with him, it was also a definite instrument in perpetuating his supreme position and thus creating the myth of his indispensability. This tool he also used for gaining unswerving loyalty of the army—a decisive factor in the Nepalese politics.

British Residents had helplessly watched all along the flagrant violation of the provisions of the 1816 treaty from the isolation and seclusion of the Residency. Hodgson, who, as Assistant Resident, had watched for more than ten years the growth of Bhim Sen Thapa's despotic rule and acquainted himself with the position of the Nepalese ruler and army, advised his government, when he became full Resident in 1833, that the Resident be allowed to have free intercourse at least with the King and the Government of Nepal be asked to fulfil all its treaty obligations. He especially recommended the enrolment of the Gorkhas in the British army in India for curbing the aggressive propensities of a large section of the unemployed martial tribes of Nepal.

Bhim Sen Thapa, not slow in perceiving this force about to join the ranks of his opponents, tried to conciliate Hodgson by coming to a settlement on the question of the boundary disputes in the eastern and western Tarai areas. The situation, however, gradually became unbearable to Hodgson, who with the consent of his Government now started conspiring with the dissident factions. With Hodgson's connivance, they overthrew the Thapas on 24 July 1837. However, contrary to Hodgson's hopes, the succeeding regime turned out to be much more hostile to the British. In Rajendra Bikram Shah, Hodgson had tried to build a strong sympathizer and ally, but he was now found to be having no character and independent will. Auckland, Governor-General (1836-42),

whose hands were too full both inside as well as outside India—distressing political situation in various parts of India, trouble with Afghanistan and strained relations with Burma and China,—counselled a policy of peace, patience and forbearance as the only right course under the circumstances.

In 1838-39, following British victory in Afghanistan and change of ministry in Nepal, there was a short intermission. In August 1840, Auckland strongly threatened the King of Nepal with armed action if reparations for all outrages were not submitted within a month. He also instructed Hodgson to ensure that the war party was put out of office. Simultaneously military was deployed along the entire frontier with Nepal with a view to launch a direct attack on Kathmandu from all sides, in case the ruler did not submit to the warning. Nepal had already contemplated an alliance with Nao Nihal Singh of Lahore to ward off such an eventuality. But before the exchange of treaty papers, the conspiracy was foiled at Banaras. Finding no alternative, the ruler accepted all British demands and, at Hodgson's advice, he appointed Fateh Jung Chautaria, a greater favourite of the British than the Pandes, as Prime Minister of Nepal on 1 November 1840.

So dubious, however, was the role of Nepal between 1839 and 1842 when the British were engaged in a war with China that Hodgson wrote to his Government in 1842 that even though it was known that China refused Nepalese assistance, "It is supposed that if the Chinese ruler is worsted by the British forces, Nepal will instigate the Kham people to rise and attack British territories." Another fact of the Nepalese intrigue was her role in the Dogra war with Tibet in 1841. Even before the Dogras had launched their attack on Western Tibet, Nepal had developed friendly relations with the Dogra brothers at the Darbar. When the Dogra army marched into Tibet, it was widely believed that Gulab Singh had forged a coalition with Nepal for reciprocal advantages of the two states. When Zorawar Singh was threatened with defeat in

Western Tibet in 1841, Nepal Darbar even sounded Hodgson if the British could help him. Hodgson at once turned down the suggestion saying that the British did not want to injure the interests of China and actually disfavoured the Dogra invasion of Western Tibet.

Jung Bahadur's accession to the office of Prime Minister in 1846 heralded an epoch of uninterrupted and unswerving friendship between the British and Nepal. Soon after coming to power, Jung Bahadur offered eight battalions of Gorkha troops, with himself at their head, for assisting the British in their war with the Sikhs in 1848. The offer was not accepted "for want of that much confidence in his sincerity so as to invite him to India with a contingent of troops," which the British had not tested so far. But, in the next ten years, he gave ample proof of his sincerity. In 1850, in defiance of Hindu customs, he undertook a voyage beyond the seas to Britain and Europe and won the admiration of Queen Victoria. Jung Bahadur was the first Prime Minister of Nepal to allow the Resident to come out of the forced seclusion of the Residency and undertake every year a tour on or near the border in the Tarai with a view to make inquiries into border crimes and suggest measures for their suppression. Jung Bahadur gave another indication of his sincerity by agreeing to negotiate a treaty relating to the surrender of heinous offenders. By signing the treaty on 10 February 1855, he also obtained British recognition of Nepal's sovereign status.¹⁹

Assured of British friendship, Jung Bahadur reverted to the traditional Nepalese aspiration of territorial gains. International situation in the 1850s was such that almost all big, neighbouring powers, Britain, China and Russia, were involved in one engagement or other. Nepalese expansion southward was not possible due to British might. Eastward she could wrest Sikkim and Bhutan, but their treaty relations with the British did not permit any advance there. The only scope for expansion was towards the north,

¹⁹ Aitchison, *op. cit.*, 69-71.

in Tibet. Although Nepal had committed herself by treaty in 1792 not to invade Tibet and had accepted Chinese supremacy, Jung Bahadur knew from the history of Chinese role there that China would come to the rescue of Tibet only when the Chinese were free from other engagements. In 1850s, Manchu authority in all of China's outlying territories was waning. Successive discomfiture of the Chinese at the hands of the British and Russians had also exploded the myth of her invincibility and had lowered her in the estimation of her dependencies. Jung Bahadur thus considered it most opportune to strike Tibet in 1854. He made repeated Tibetan misbehaviour and insults inflicted on the Nepalese traders and the five-year tribute missions to China a pretext for it. The charge may have been true, as Tibet was then beginning to pay less attention to the presence of the Ambans in Lhasa. However, lest the British got alarmed, Jung Bahadur gave out that the armed preparations were meant to help the Manchus re-establish their authority in China. When the actual motive of Jung Bahadur was known, the British Government mildly expressed its disapproval of any tension on the Nepal-Tibet border and in the Himalaya. After a short period of hostilities and protracted negotiations, the Nepalese and Tibetans concluded in 1856 a peace treaty by which the Tibetans bound themselves to pay annually Rs. 10,000 to Nepal and to encourage trade between the two countries. Article 2 of the treaty also stipulated that "...the Gorkha Government will in future give all assistance that may be in its power to the Government of Tibet, if the troops of any other 'Raja' invade that country."²⁰

British attitude of strict adherence to the policy of non-interference in Nepal first fully reflected itself in the Ramsay episode of 1857, when the Resident refused to recognize Jung Bahadur, in any official capacity, who had then retired in favour of his younger brother Bam Bahadur. Again, despite many obligations of Jung Bahadur, the British refused to intervene

²⁰ Ibid, 49-50.

in 1885 on behalf of his daughter and two sons against their ousters, the sons of Dhir Shamsher, who were then officially in power.

3. Panjab, Jammu and Kashmir

William Moorcroft, superintendent of the military stud of the Company near Patna, and George Trebeck, who went to Ladakh in October 1820 to procure a good type of horses for cavalry and to open up Ladakh to British trade, secured from Tsepal Namgyal, ruler of Ladakh, a commercial engagement to trade with Ladakh and, through it, with the adjacent countries and more especially good offices of the government of Ladakh with that of Gartok (Western Tibet) to induce the latter to open the Niti pass to British trade and commerce. Owing to the fear of the Sikhs, Tsepal Namgyal offered allegiance to the British through Moorcroft, who, not competent to deal with political matters, forwarded the proposal to Calcutta, which rejected it.²¹

The British turned down all of Tsepal Namgyal's appeals for aid against the Dogras in the 1830s on the plea that Ladakh was beyond the limits of the Company's possessions. Tsepal Namgyal, who had applied for political asylum in Bashahr in 1836, was allowed to stay there on condition that he refrained from acts of hostility beyond the frontier, and remained quiet and peaceable. The Company's government granted to his son a pension of Rs. 200/- per month in 1839.

The Khalsa Darbar and Tibet signed an eleven-article peace treaty on 17 October 1842 to the effect: "...The boundaries of Ladakh and Lhasa shall be constituted as formerly, the contracting parties engaging to confine themselves within their respective boundaries—the one to refrain from any act of aggression on the other,",²² the Dogras of Jammu taking

²¹ William Moorcroft and George Trebeck, *Travels in the Himalayan provinces of Hindustan and the Panjab, etc.* 1819-25 (ed. H. H. Wilson, London, 1837, Vol. I, 420.

²² The treaty of 25 April 1809, which established the

the place and obligations of the kings of Ladakh.

The sixteen-article treaty of "perpetual peace and friendship" between the British and Maharaja Dalip Singh, signed in Lahore on March 1846, especially provided for the transference, in guarantee of the payment of the war indemnity of rupees one crore, to the British of the sovereign rights of the entire hill country between the rivers Beas and Indus including Hazara and Kashmir. By articles four and twelve of this treaty, both the British and Sikh governments also guaranteed the independence of Gulab Singh "in such territories and districts in the hills as may be made over to the said Raja Gulab Singh by separate agreement between himself and the British Government with the dependencies thereof which may have been in the Raja's possession since the time of late Maharaja Kharag Singh." By a separate ten-article treaty with Gulab Singh, signed in Amritsar on 16 March 1846, the British recognized Gulab Singh's independence and transferred to him "all the hilly or mountainous country, with its dependencies, situated to the eastward of the river Indus and westward of the river Ravi." Besides guaranteeing aid for protection from all external danger, this treaty also provided for the ascertainment of the limits of Jammu and Kashmir and forbade any change in it without prior British concurrence. In order to determine the frontiers of Jammu and Kashmir under articles four and nine of the treaty, especially where they divided Gulab Singh's territory from China, the British appointed Captain Alexander Cunningham and Vans Agnew as boundary commissioners.²³

British-Sikh alliance and shifted the British frontier from the Jumna to the Sutlej, left Ranjit Singh's commanders absolutely free for territorial aggrandisement beyond the Sutlej. Ranjit Singh's death in June 1839, however, put this alliance to severe test. So long as Zorawar Singh's activity was confined to the limits of India, the British did not interfere in the affairs of the western hill states, especially their relations with Western Tibet. But the moment Zorawar Singh went into Tibet beyond the Ladakh border, they protested to the Khalsa Darbar and asked for his withdrawal to Ladakh.

²³ Aitchison, *op. cit.*, I, 50-54.

Cunningham and Agnew left Simla on 31 August 1846 especially to ascertain the trijunction of the three territories of the British, Kashmir and Tibet. Cunningham and Agnew were also instructed to stop all payments by Spiti to Tibet, Ladakh, Bashahr and Kulu with the reservation that "if there are religious presentations they need not be interfered with."

While informing the Amban in Lhasa of the change in sovereignty brought by the treaties of Lahore and Amritsar, Henry Hardinge, Governor-General (1844-48), mentioned the object and purpose of the 1846 Boundary Commission and asked him to depute his Commissioners. The letter also dealt with the third article of the 1842 treaty by which the trade and commerce of India and Tibet were to pass through Ladakh. Hardinge suggested the following change: "such persons as may in future proceed from China to Ladakh or to the British territory or its dependencies or from the Ladakh or the British territory and its dependencies to China are not to be obstructed on the road." An agent of Bashahr, Anant Ram, carried this letter to the governor of Gartok who observed that it was against their rules to receive any such communication from strangers. However, he accepted the letter but did not forward it to Lhasa.

The British government in India forwarded a copy of this letter through John Davis, British plenipotentiary at Hong Kong, for transmission to Peking through Ke Ying, Governor-General at Canton. It took nearly a year, and a great deal of correspondence, to obtain a satisfactory reply from Peking. On 13 June 1847, Ke Ying wrote to Davis: "...Respecting the frontiers I beg to remark that the borders of those territories have been sufficiently and distinctly fixed so that it will be best to adhere to this ancient arrangement and it will prove far more convenient to abstain from any additional measure for fixing them..."²⁴ Peking Govern-

²⁴ *White Paper*, No. II (New Delhi, 1959) 36 and *Report of the officials of the Governments of India and the People's Republic of China on Boundary Question* (New Delhi 1961) 54

ment sent instructions to their Amban at Lhasa for arranging the matters satisfactorily by deputing boundary commissioners.

While the correspondence with China was in progress the British government in India appointed a new Boundary Commission consisting of Captain Alexander Cunningham, Lieutenant Henry Strachey and Assistant Surgeon Thomas Thomson on 10 July 1847. Besides the ascertainment of the Ladakh-Tibet boundaries in consultation with the Boundary Commissioners of China and Kashmir, the British also instructed their Commission to investigate the line of trade etc. In the event of the failure of the principal function of the Commission, the Commissioners were instructed individually to use their best endeavour "to increase the bounds of our geographical knowledge in those remote regions."

The Commission reached Khyuri on the Bashahr-Spiti-Tibet trijunction on the Pare river on 29 August 1847, but met no boundary Commissioners from Tibet. In an attempt to enter the territories of Tibet, the British Commissioners met with great opposition from the villagers of Shaktal. The Commissioners sent a fresh note to the authorities at Gartok, asking them to send the personnel at Hanle, where they reached on the morning of 14 September 1847. There they met two persons from the Governor of Gartok who said that Kalon Gharchod had been to Gartok for the settlement of some revenue matter rather than for pointing the ancient boundaries. Mian Jawahir Singh and Mehta Busti Ram, boundary commissioners of Kashmir, also failed to reach Hanle. In this way the Commission failed.

From Hanle, Cunningham and Thomson returned by way of the Indus river. Strachey moving along the boundary line up to the neighbourhood of the Lanak Pass, observed: "...It (Demchok) is a hamlet of half a dozen huts and tents, not permanently inhabited, divided by a rivulet (entering the left bank of the Indus) which constitutes the boundary of

this quarter between Nari and Ladkak.' The Ladakh-Tibet boundary north of Pangong Lake, according to Strachey, accompanied from "pastoral valleys of some extent, separated by high mountains." Regarding the boundary on the south side of the Pangong Lake, Strachey observed: "The Rudok boundary as at present received lies across the mouth of a narrow valley running parallel to the south side of the Pangong Lake, directed therefrom by a narrow line of mountains and opening into the east side of the Chushul valley opposite the village."

Nothing substantial resulted from these positive British efforts to define the boundaries with Tibet. The section of ancient boundaries by Ke Ying meant only those which were established in the tenth century in a division of Ladakh amongst the three sons of the ruler of Ladakh and confirmed in the treaties of 1684 and 1842. However, the 1847 boundary commission could ascertain an approximate line from the Shipki La up to the Lanak La. It was only in the year 1867 that Dr. Henry Cayley, first British Officer appointed at Leh, entered the Aksai Chin frontier area of Ladakh.²⁵ The presence of a Dogra Officer of rank near Hot Springs for collecting tax on salt, wool, etc. was conclusive in itself.

Conclusion

The history of the north-east frontier of India in the nineteenth century is a history of British conquests and annexations. Beginning with the despatch of Captain Thomas Welsh to Assam in 1792, it took the British nearly three decades, from the 1826 peace treaty of Yandabo to effect the actual annexation of Assam to British territory in 1854. Bhutan came into prominence with her attack on Koch Bihar in 1771. First phase of British activity toward Bhutan ended with the conclusion of the peace treaty between Bhutan and India in 1865 and second phase in the election of Ugyen Wangchuk of Tongsa as the first ruler of entire Bhutan

²⁵ Aitchison, *op. cit.*, XII, 26-29.

in 1907. Sikkim came into prominence only during the Anglo-Nepalese War of 1814-15. The affairs of the Darjeeling Superintendency from 1839 to 1861 paved the way for effective interference and the establishment of the Political Agency in Sikkim in 1889.

The history of the north-west frontier of India in the nineteenth century is also a history of British conquests and annexations. Handing over of Jammu and Kashmir including Ladakh, Gilgit and Baltistan to Gulab Singh in 1846 and the annexation of Panjab to British territory in 1849 brought the British and their feudatory, the ruler of Kashmir, face to face with the Chinese and the Russians.

British clash with Nepal in 1814-15 resulted in a conflict of the Sino-British interests in the Himalaya. The Nepalese, who owed allegiance to China since 1792, petitioned China for aid and assistance against the British invaders into their territories. Chinese fear of a British invasion of Bhutan, and eventually Tibet, for securing

the passes into the frontiers of China strongly influenced British thinking and approach in the matter. Britain felt that she was not the first power in Asia in the first part of the nineteenth century. This led to the British consulting China, whenever it suited their purpose, in the affairs of the Himalaya border countries, which, especially Tibet, always resented this British attitude. Tibetans' spirit of resentment was discernible in the case of the commercial mission of 1885, the Garhiwal (Barahoti) and Sikkim (Lingtu) border incidents of 1888, the Sikkim-Tibet boundary dispute of 1895, the Lhasa Convention of 1904, etc. The British entertained China's suzerainty over Tibet for the first time in 1780s, in the matter of the Nepal-Tibet conflict in 1788-92, and again in the 1840s, in the matter of the definition of the Ladakh-Tibet boundary in 1847.

Geographical exploration in the Himalaya had a special bearing on both the making of India's northern frontiers as well as India's frontier policy in the later part of the nineteenth century.

INDIAN LAW OFFICERS IN EARLY BRITISH JUDICIARY OF BENGAL (1772-1793)

MR. PHANINDRA NATH BANERJEE

"But whatever may have been the merits of the condemned system, it should in fairness be admitted that the *fatwas* of the *Maulavies* so far as they can be found in the pages of the old law reports are a faithful exposition of the Mahomedan law on the points covered by them"¹. "The condemned system" obviously was the administration of Muhamedan penal law which came into immediate and direct conflict with the system of the new rulers, the English, in Bengal. This situation was the natural sequel to the foundation of English rule in Bengal where the new rulers had to face an alien society with an unfamiliar system of laws, customs and practices. The existing system had to be adjusted with the English pattern so as to suit the administrative needs of the foreign bureaucracy in Bengal. This process of adjustment and readjustment passed through a long chain of interaction between the indigenous and British judicial systems. The ultimate result was the evolution of a modern judiciary in the country.

In this evolution of a modern judiciary in this country the law officers took a vital role till their office was abolished by Act XI of 1864. The early British rulers had hardly any knowledge in the laws and customs of the country they were called upon to rule. But it was neither practicable nor possible to introduce immediately the British system of justice. With its religious sanction behind, law in this country was viewed with much respect by the people who were hardly prepared for any replacement of the same. Warren Hastings himself was aware of the position, as he wrote to Lord Mans-

field "I am persuaded they would consider the attempt to free them from the effects of such a power as a severe hardship."² In other words, any general introduction of British system of law and justice might cause alarm and discontent in the minds of the people. Moreover, neither the Company's servants were well versed in the affairs of this country, nor had the indigenous population any acquaintance with the law and constitution of their new masters.

In consideration of such a situation, the Company had to maintain the existing system of law and justice and deviate from it only where it was shorn of worth. But this too required the active assistance of the *Pandits* and *Maulavies* who had the capacity to expound the indigenous laws and practices to the European judges. So the first Judicial Plan³ of the Company, framed by the Committee at Kasimbazar on August 15, 1772 contained provisions for Indian officers. In all suits regarding inheritance, marriage, caste and other religious usages, the laws of the Koran with respect to the Muhamedans and those of the *Shastras* with respect to the Hindus were to be adhered to. On all such occasions the *Maulavies* or Brahmins respectively were to expound the law. They were made officers of the court on a monthly salary. As they were maintained at the expense of the Government, they were to exact no fees, dues or taxes whatsoever. However, any present or gratification made with the entire free will of the party on the occasion of a marriage or of a funeral, was not prohibited. The law officers were to attest all writings, to perform all ceremonies of

marriages, births and funeral and to discharge all functions as were customary. In Criminal Causes the Kazi and Mufti, assisted by the *Maulavies*, were to expound the law and determine the degree of criminality.

Thus the law officers became an established institution in the courts of Bengal. Cases of disputed inheritance were very frequent during the period under review and the law officers had to deliver law opinions on them. As the Superintendent of the Khalsa Records, while relating the case of various claimants to the zemindari of Mahmudshahi pointed out—"When a Disputed Inheritance has undergone a Regular Examination in a Court of Justice and the Decision of it appears to rest upon a particular question in the Hindu Laws, the judge briefly states the case to the *Pundits* and demands from them an Extract from the *Shaster* as a solution to his Doubts"⁴. On one occasion the *Pandits* examined the case of a disputed inheritance of one Cossinaut and his elder brother's son to the zemindari of the former's father Permasonry. From an examination of both parties, it appeared to them that Cossinaut was entitled only to one-third of the zemindari. For, his elder brother Subraut had procured a *Sunnud* for the zemindari in his own name even before the birth of Cossinaut. The *Pandits* further added that if his father had died or relinquished the zemindari, without any trouble or expense on the part of Subraut, then Cossinaut would be entitled to one half of the zemindari and the son of Subraut the other half. On this occasion, the Governor-General-in-Council adhered to this decision of the *Pandits* and declared that Subraut's son Kissenaut was to receive two-third of the inheritance while Cossinaut, the younger brother of Subraut, was to get only one-third.⁵

Similarly in cases affecting the Muslims, the *Maulavies* had to expound the laws of the Koran in cases of disputed inheritance.⁶ In

one instance, one Abboo Sayed was the founder of an estate named Duccumsavagepore and died after leaving behind him a wife named Tawje Bibby. A grandson by her daughter was Kolly Mirza Jawn. Abboo Sayed's another daughter was married to one Jaffer Ally of whom a son was born named Khodow Buksh. These three persons inherited the estate jointly and a *sunnud* was granted at Murshidabad under the name of Tawje Khodow Jawn. First Khodow Buksh died and afterwards Tawje Bibby, when the zemindari was disputed between Jaffer Ally and Mirza Jawn. Jaffer Ally obtained a Decree from the Collector of Dacca for 7/16 part of the zemindari and the same was confirmed by Sadar Dewani Adalat at Calcutta, upon appeal being made by Mirza Jawn. Thereupon the following question was put before the *Maulavies*; Jaffer Ally being lately dead, does the inheritance of 7/16 part of the zemindari, according to the Mahomedan law, devolve to Jaffer Ally's son by a '*nekah*' wife, not descending from Aboo Sayed, or to Mirza Jawn, son of Aboo Sayed's daughter? The *Maulavies* answered that the estate, agreeably to the Mahomedan law, devolved to the son of Jaffer Ally by another wife, married after the custom of '*Nekah*.' This *fatwa* of the law officers was accepted and approved by the Supreme Council.⁷

In such interpretations of indigenous laws, the need of the law officers was badly felt throughout the period under review. On one occasion, G. G. Ducarel, the Superintendent of the Khalsa Records, reported to the Supreme Council on June 17, 1777 that in the late examination of causes depending on the Muhamedan law, he had no way but to call in the assistance of a *Maulavi*. As there was no such office in his establishment, he requested the Supreme Council to sanction the office of a *Maulavi* on regular remuneration for determination of such cases in future.⁸ On this occasion, the Supreme Council sanctioned the

¹ Abdur Rahim—Muhammadan Jurisprudence, pp.37-8.

² Letter to Mansfield, 21 March, 1774.

³ Com. of Circuit Progs, 15 August, 1772.

⁴ G. G. P. Rev. Dept., 5 May, 1775.

⁵ Ibid—Nov. 1, 1775.

⁶ Ibid—May 3, 1776.

⁷ Ibid—May 5, 1776.

⁸ Ibid—August 8, 1777.

office of a Maulavi on a salary of Rs. 100/- per month.⁹ The necessity of the law officers was further elaborated by George Bogle, Commissioner of Law Suits, to the Supreme Council in these words: "...to give the Mussalmans of this country the full advantage of being tried by their own laws, it is necessary that the fact as well as the law be referred to their own Doctors, inasmuch as it requires a knowledge of the law to try the fact and to discover the points that are material to the cause and upon which the Law turns: that one would naturally be of opinion that the Cauce and Muftes are better qualified to examine a Mussalman cause than Englishmen...."¹⁰ This minute of Bogle, delivered in connection with the famous Patna Case, was a pointer to the importance of the law officers in the administration of justice. The history of the Patna case should be examined here only in outlines so as to study the role of the law officers in the administration of Muhamedan law in this country. Shahabaz Beg Khan, a resident of Kabul, came to India and served the East India Company and thereby amassed considerable property, with which he settled at Patna and married a lady, Nadira Begam, by whom he had no issue. He had a brother named Alam Beg who left his son, Bahadur Beg, to live with Shahabaz Beg Khan. As Shahabaz Beg Khan died later without any issue, a dispute arose between his widow, Nadira Begam, and Bahadur Beg in November, 1776, concerning the inheritance of his estate. Bahadur Beg having been treated as the adopted son of the deceased Shahabaz, the former claimed the whole inheritance and prayed help to the Patna Council who immediately directed the law officers to take the steps necessary for the purpose. They examined two papers, a Deed of Gift and a General Declaration which were alleged to be forged by Nadira Begam in her favour. After an interval of three weeks, they decided in accordance with the Muhamedan Law, declared the Deeds as "spurious" and

concluded that the widow deserved only a fourth part of the property of her husband and the remainder was to go to Bahadur Beg whose father Alam Beg was the legal and residuary heir.¹¹ They rightly followed the Muslim law in assuming that a Muslim widow is not entitled to more than a fourth part of her deceased husband's estate. The verdict of the Muslim law officers was accepted by the Patna Council.¹² But matters took a new turn when Nadira Begam filed a suit for trespass against the law officers in the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court rejected the verdict of the law officers and after some deliberations decided in favour of Nadira Begam.

The Patna case revealed that in its anxiety to introduce English legal system in this country the Supreme Court refused to accept Muhamedan law as its guiding principle and thereby created chaos in the legal sphere. Mr. Ewan Law, the Chief of the Patna Council, observed that the execution of justice had been impossible as the Muslim law officers had been reduced to a dreadful position in the Patna case.¹³ However, the Company continued to maintain the law officers as expounders of indigenous laws. For, it was well aware that as the virtual sovereign of the country the Company should not introduce any new system of justice at a short notice. So the law officers continued to expound criminal laws also in the courts of Bengal. They regarded any deviation from Muhamedan penal law as going against their religious faith. Thus on one occasion¹⁴ a man held the head of a child under water till she was suffocated and took away the clothes and little ornaments she wore. It was evident that his object was no less than robbery and murder, both of perpetrating and concealing it. There was also much cause to suspect the extraordinary manner in which the murder was committed. But Muhamedan criminal law always made a distinction between murder perpetrated without

an instrument and death caused by means of an instrument. This distinction was maintained in the present case and the Nizamat Adalat declined to pass a death sentence on the guilty who was condemned to pay a fine of Rs. 3,333 4/-. Such cases were numerous during the period under review when the criminals escaped through the loopholes of penal law and the prejudice of its exponents. On June 29, 1775 the Dacca Council ventured to inform the Supreme Council that it did not recollect any instance of capital punishment being inflicted upon the robbers.¹⁵ The Patna Council suggested: "More severity should be used in the punishment of murderers, robbers and other criminal offenders than is at present inflicted by the sentence of the caujees and Muftys, the proofs required to convict a criminal being so difficult that many who are evidently guilty of the most atrocious crimes are suffered to escape and the punishment due upon a proof of guilt is often evaded by the prosecutors withdrawing their suit on receiving a compensation".¹⁶ But nothing could be done in this respect as the Company was neither prepared nor willing to remove the law officers from the courts.

In fact, the law officers by this time became a part and parcel of the judiciary in Bengal. In Reza Khan's Plan of Justice in January, 1776 the law officers were entrusted with the task of expounding indigenous laws.¹⁷ The Parwana of the Nawab on the 25th of the month of Mohurram, 1776¹⁸ also elaborated upon the position of the law officers. The law officers were to receive their allowances from the court only. They were allowed to accept voluntary presents from the parties, but no exaction by force was to be made by them.

The Judicial Scheme of 26 March, 1780 further elaborated upon the position of the law officers. They were not only to expound the indigenous laws, but were also to sign the

report and assist the judge in passing his decree.¹⁹ In a Supplementary to the Judicial Scheme of 1780 for Murshidabad Otto Ives, the Superintendent of Murshidabad Dewani Court, emphasised the importance of the law officers in judicial system. Art. 2 of the Supplementary adumbrated: "As great delay and confusion would arise from the non-attendance of a maulavy and pandit in many suits which require their opinions, it is thought proper to appoint a maulavy at a salary of Rs. 200/- and a pundit at Rs. 150/-. These shall attend the cutcherry on court days to give their opinions when necessary. At the time of appointment oaths will be taken by the maulavies with the Koran in hand and by the pundit with Gungajall, taumba and toolsy in his hands."²⁰

In the Scheme of Justice prepared by Sir Elijah Impey the 15th clause adumbrated that the maulavies and pundits were to be duly sworn in. The judges could refer any question relating to Muhamedan or Hindu law and they were to offer their opinion on the same.²¹

The Scheme of Justice on 27 June, 1787 not only spoke of the law officers as exponents of indigenous laws but also emphasised upon their oath-taking ceremony. The Pandit was to take the following oath: "I will faithfully execute the office of a pundit in this court, on questions put to me in writing, or by word of mouth, by the said court, or any judge thereof, what is in the shaster will declare, or give in writing. I will declare nothing not warranted by the shaster; if I declare anything not warranted by the shaster, I shall be deserving of punishment....and I promise and swear not to accept of any consideration, in money or otherwise, for any opinion or declaration of the law I may deliver as pundit of this court". Similar was the oath taken by the maulavi.²² Judicial Rules of Dec. 3, 1790 also ran on similar lines.

¹¹ Com. of Law Suits Progs, Feb. 1, 1779.

¹² G. G. P. Rev. Dept., April, 1779.

¹³ Ibid.—19 Feb. 1779.

¹⁴ Beng. Rev. Cons. August 3, 1773.

¹⁵ G. G. P. Rev. Dept., July 7, 1775.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Beng. Rev. Progs. 24 Jan. 1776.

¹⁸ Cal. Com. Rev. Dept., July 8, 1776.

¹⁹ G. G. P. Rev. Dept., March 26, 1780.

²⁰ Ibid.—14 July, 1780.

²¹ G. G. P. Rev. Dept., Nov. 3, 1780.

²² Ibid.—7 June, 1787.

The role of the law officers was taken into full consideration by the Code of 1793. The preamble to the Reg. XII of 1793 adumbrated: "It is essential to the due administration of justice, that the law officers in the courts of judicature should be held by men of integrity, well versed in the laws, and that they should be so constituted, as to render persons possessing the requisite qualifications, solicitous to obtain them, and to afford every encouragement to such persons, when appointed, to continue to discharge their duty with uprightness." The law officers were appointed by the Governor-General-in-Council and were not removable but for incapacity, or misconduct in the performance of their duty²³. They were to be well versed in the laws, and of unblemished character.²⁴ Any charge of corruption or extortion against any law officer was to lead to his dismissal or suspension from service by the Supreme Council. Any vacancy occurring in the office of a law officer was to be filled by a person, recommended by the official of a law court concerned or by a person nominated by the Supreme Council²⁵. On the appointment of Head Kazi and other Kazies Reg. XXXIX of 1793 laid down several conditions. They were stationed at principal towns and parganas for the purpose of preparing and attesting Deeds of Transfer and other law papers. They were to be persons of character with knowledge in laws. They were appointed by the Supreme Council and were irremovable except for incapacity or misconduct.

The Code of 1793 thus made the office of law officers an established institution in the judiciary of Bengal. The reports of the judges and magistrates of district courts and provincial courts of appeal in 1794 indicated that some of them were men of character and capacity and served the Company's courts faithfully. J. Champain, judge and magistrate at 24 parganas, observed²⁶ that the kazi and pandit

²³ Sec. I Reg. XII.

²⁴ Sec. 3, Ibid.

²⁵ Sec. IX, Ibid.

²⁶ G. C. P. Jud. Dept. Civil, Feb. 14, 1794.

of his court were well qualified. The kazi, Meer Golaum Murtejah, held the office of kazi for ten years at Birbhum and two years at the court of 24 parganas. He was well conversant in Muhamedan law and was also a man of integrity. The pandit, Callysunker Buttacharjee, resided in the court of 24 parganas for fifteen years and had an unblemished character. On another occasion²⁷ C. Keating and W. Douglas, magistrates at Murshidabad, reported on Feb. 3, 1794 that the kazi and mufti of the late court of circuit were in every respect qualified by their knowledge, integrity and purity of character. Similar was the observation of Thomas Brooke, magistrate of Birbhum.²⁸

Despite such reports of the judges and magistrates on the merits of the law officers, occasional misconduct on the latter's part was not infrequent. On Sept. 18, 1794 G. H. Barlow, Registrar to Sadar Dewani Adalat informed the Supreme Council that two pundits of the court, Goverdhum and Ramkaunt, were removed from their offices²⁹. On this occasion the Sadar Dewani Adalat expressed its approbation for the Muslim law officers, but was constrained to note the incompetency of the Hindu law officers. The Hindu law officers particularly had become an institution of scathing criticism also in the published writings of the times. W. H. Macnaghten observed: "...the Hindu law in its pure and original state does not furnish many instances of uncertainty or confusion. The speculations of commentators have done much to unsettle it and the venality of the Pundits has done more"³⁰. Similar was the observation of Mr. Strange. "...authority of many cannot be looked upon as very great." These strictures were repeated by Macaulay in his speech on Charter Act of 1833.

But such criticisms of the Hindu law officers in particular and the law officers in general

²⁷ Ibid., Feb. 21, 1794.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid., Oct. 10, 1794.

³⁰ Hindu Law—preface, pp. ii-iv.

should be taken with a grain of salt. It was natural for the European judge with his lack of knowledge in indigenous laws to suspect the Indian law officers. As Sir William Jones admitted: "I could not with an easy conscience concur in a decision merely on the written opinion of native lawyers in any cause in which they would have the remotest interest in misleading the court."³¹ Considering the newness of their judicial office, the smallness of their pay, the get-rich-quick atmosphere which the British adventurers had introduced into India, the ignorance of British judges and difficulties of detection, the suspicion of venality and prejudice occasionally had some foundations. But this should not brush aside the fact that there was no organisation for supervision of their work in different courts. The pandit was a religious teacher, a moralist rather than a lawyer and he was given no training for his judicial duties. Yet on occasions he brought interesting facets of Hindu law to light. On one occasion the pandits gave a valuable discourse on Hindu principle of Evidence. In a cause between one Sumpat Ram and Gopaul Kishen, the pandits were asked to furnish their opinions on the following question—What person's evidence is proper to be taken according to the shastra and what particular disorders or maladies render evidence improper. Thereupon the pandits gave a lengthy answer—"It is proper to take the Evidence of persons of Bramin, Khetree, Bice, Sooder and other castes but of these the Evidence of a person exceedingly old (or superannuated), a minor, a thief, a drunken person, an idiot, a devotee, a hermit, a pilgrim, a person degraded from his caste, an enemy, a disciple or deaf and blind man, a friend, a slave and such like is not proper to be taken. In disputes between women, the evidence of a woman is proper to be taken but in disputes between men the evidence of a woman is not proper."³² The pandits further pointed out that in matters of private and secret nature, the evidence of a

woman, a pupil, a friend, a minor, a person exceedingly old and a slave was proper to be taken. The evidence of an idiot and a person affected with leprosy or an incurable disease could not be taken. In matters not belonging to criminal jurisdiction a party in a cause might object to take the evidence of a person affected with leprosy even though he underwent the ceremony of "Prauschut" or purification. In criminal matters the evidence of a person affected with leprosy may be taken. This lengthy report on Hindu Law of Evidence was given by a group of brahmins. These brahmins were well conversant in Hindu Law.³³ Similarly, the Muslim law officers too occasionally brought several aspects of their law to light. Thus in connection with the cause between the widow of Assud Zumaun Khan, the late Raja of Birbhum and Bahadur Zumaun Khan, the brother of the deceased Raja, the Supreme Council at Fort William took the opinions of the Nizamat Adalat and its law officers³⁴. The question put to them was—Whether a Will executed by a Zemindar, Talukdar, or other proprietor of land possessing by Right of Purchase, Gift, Will or in whatever other measures in favour of another person, while he has descendants or heirs was legal or valid, agreeable to Muhamedan law. The following was the answer of the law officers:—"A Will such as is above described is binding, after such claims as take place of those of Inheritance or Will have been satisfied, provided that it is for no more than one third of the Estate. If such a Will is left in favour of an Heir, or makes a conveyance of a larger share than a third, it is not valid, unless consented to by the Heirs. The Rule is different in the case of a Gift."³⁵ In this connection the law officers quoted 'Allumgury': "I do not hold a Will in

³³ Hurry Narain Surmonoh.

Sectalawn "

Goury Kunt "

Kerpauram "

Shaum Soonder "

Hurry Deb "

³⁴ The Cauzy, the Mufty, Maulavy Mahomed Zaker, and other maulavies were—Syed Buzzoor Ally, Tajedu Deen, Shungul Allah, Mahomed Isracl, Mahomed Myar.

³⁵ G. G. P. Rev. Dept. July 21, 1778.

³¹ Elements of Hindu Law—vol-II, preface, pp. 21.

³² G. G. P. Rev. Dept., Oct. 19, 1787.

favour of an Heir to be legal, that is, unless it has been made with the Permission of the other Heirs". The same authority also noted—"A Will for a larger share than a third is not legal, unless consented to by the Heirs after the Death of the Testator, who must likewise have been a person arrived at the years of Discretion; an acquiescence of the Heirs to such Will during the life time of the Testator is not valid". In the 'Hedaya' and 'Ibrahimshahy' it has been said that what is left by a deceased person, must go to the heir. In consideration of these opinions the Supreme Council declared that the widow of Assud Zumaun Khan had not a legal power either by Will, Deed of Gift or

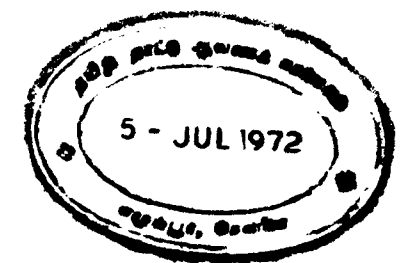
any other mode of conveyance to dispose of the succession of the zemindari of Birbhum.³⁶ Later on the widow appealed to the Supreme Council, but to no effect.³⁷

Thus expounding the indigenous laws the Indian law officers became the pivot of the Company's judiciary in Bengal. They made several aspects of these laws known to the British and thereby helped the growth of a modern system of law and justice in this country.

³⁶ Ibid—July 31, 1778.

³⁷ Ibid—Jan. 28, 1789.

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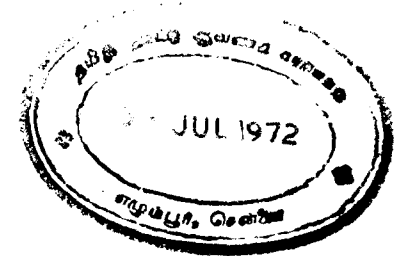
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EDITORIAL

Second Annual Conference:

We are publishing in the present number the papers read at the Second Annual Conference of the Institute held in Ranchi on December 31, 1964. The conference was divided into two sessions. In the first session were read papers bearing on the following three themes: (a) Foreign Influence on Indian Culture in the Ancient Period; (b) The Economic Policy of the Mughal Government; and (c) India's Foreign Policy in the 20th Century. On the first theme four papers were presented by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Professor Sudhakar Chatterjee (Visva-Bharati University), Professor R. S. Sharma (Patna University) and Dr. S. K. Mitra (Sanskrit College, Calcutta). On the second theme two papers were presented by Professor A. L. Srivastava (Agra University), and Professor J. N. Sarkar (Jadavpur University). On the third theme four papers were presented by Dr. R. Rahul (School of International Studies, New Delhi), Mr. P. N. Khera (Historical Division, Ministry of Defence, New Delhi), Dr. V. D. Rao (Shivaji University, Kolhapur) and Mr. Y. Vittal Rao (Bhimavararam College, Andhra).

The main object in selecting fixed themes for papers to be presented was to have a critical ex-

amination of a particular subject from different points of view or in its different aspects. This can hardly be ensured otherwise, as clearly shown by experience at the Indian History Congress Sessions where planned selection of topics is not insisted upon. Both the papers read and the discussions on them that followed at the Annual Conference of the Institute fully justify the procedure adopted.

For the second session of the Annual Conference was arranged a Symposium on *Research Projects and Inter-University Co-operation*. The main participants were: Professor Bisheshwar Prasad (Delhi University), Professor H. K. Sherwani (Hyderabad), Professor R. S. Sharma (Patna University), and Professor O. P. Bhatnagar (Allahabad University). For want of space in the present issue, the Symposium papers will be published in the next issue, Vol. V, no. 1.

Research Projects and Inter-University Co-operation:

The object of the Symposium was to bring out the need for inter-University co-operation in large-scale research projects which cannot be undertaken successfully by any single University. A thorough examination of this problem is

particularly needed because of the prevailing ideas of research in this country. In India the dominant notion still is that research in history can be fruitfully undertaken only on an individual basis. Collective work on big projects is generally looked upon with disfavour and scepticism. The only liberalisation of outlook that has come in recent years is that co-operative projects may be undertaken by the history department of any particular University. As an evidence of this, we note that in recent years collective research projects have been undertaken by the history departments of several Universities. But the outlook is still narrow and confined to the writing of regional history only, by scholars belonging to a particular University or a particular region. As yet there is no inclination to widen the scope of investigation and to undertake projects on an all-India basis with inter-University co-operation. It is even hardly realised that there are large projects which it is impossible for any single University to undertake with its limited resources, both financial and human, and which can be executed only if several Universities, representing all the regions of India, co-operate and pool their resources.

Here there is need for all-India organisations, like the Institute of Historical Studies and the Indian History Congress, which can sponsor big research projects with the co-operation of different Universities. So far as the teachers and research staff are concerned, there is possibly little difficulty in securing their support and co-operation, since all of them are actively connected with such all-India organisations and have intellectual interests transcending the limits of their respective Universities. But the difficulty lies in persuading the administrative bodies of the Universities. They are, for the most part, so keen on preserving the autonomy of their Universities that they are not readily inclined to co-operate with any project over which they do not have sole control.

But even this difficulty is not so great if the project is really a sound one and of national importance. When the Institute of Historical

Studies sought the co-operation and assistance of Universities for the Dictionary of Nationalist Biographies Project in 1964, about 30 Universities very kindly agreed to co-operate. They were even ready to take up a part of the financial burden of the project and approached the U.G.C. for a few Research Fellowships. The U.G.C., however, regretted inability to provide funds during the Third Five Year Plan.

We also had requested the U.G.C. to provide a few Research Fellowships tenable at the Universities which had applied. We even made a suggestion that if sufficient funds were not available to respond favourably to all the Universities which had applied, the U.G.C. could select just 6 or 8 Universities for the purpose on a regional basis. But, unfortunately, the U.G.C. could not be persuaded to incur even this small expenditure.

It is really baffling to understand the difficulty of the U.G.C. in responding to the appeal of the Universities, when the U.G.C. is still offering twice a year a large number of Fellowships to individual students, applying through Universities. When funds are available for research, one wonders why even a small part cannot be allotted to a planned Research Project, organised on an all-India and inter-University basis. The only possible explanation is that such Research Projects are not viewed with favour and sympathy by the U.G.C., which would rather like to finance projects sponsored and executed by individual Universities or by individual students and retired teachers.

This is then the real hurdle to undertaking any large-scale all-India Research Project, planned on an inter-University basis. University teachers may offer their co-operation. University administrative bodies may be sympathetic. But the only fund-granting agency for higher studies and research in India is reluctant to respond favourably to such projects. Perhaps, things will improve in future as more and more all-India organisations sponsor Research schemes and thus create, in course of time, more favour-

able climate of opinion in academic circles, which the fund-granting agency cannot altogether ignore.

Discussion Meetings:

We deeply regret that no Discussion Meeting could be arranged since the publication of our last number. There were a few in our scheduled programme, but they had to be postponed at the request of the speakers who could not find it convenient to come to Calcutta at the time. In view of the serious disturbances in the city in July and August, it was indeed very difficult to maintain our normal programme. We hope, we shall be able to arrange meetings as per schedule after the autumn holidays.

One of our main difficulties in organising regular discussion meetings is lack of adequate accommodation. We are trying to secure a larger house which will enable us not only to cope with the increasing attendance at discussion meetings but also to provide adequate library and reading room facilities to our members. This is particularly needed for the proper utilisation of the large collection of historical journals we have in our library, the largest in Calcutta. We have all the principal historical journals of the world—Indian, British, American, Canadian, Australian, French, German, Italian, Scandinavian, Russian, Polish, Czechoslovakian, Hungarian, Yugoslavian, Japanese, Indonesian, Philipino, Vietnamese and Burmese. We hope to be able to shift to new quarters before the end of the present year.

Seminar:

In the first week of August the Institute, in collaboration with U.S.I.S., organised a Seminar on *Biography as History*. The leader of discussions was the noted American historian, Professor Allan Nevins. About 50 scholars representing all the Universities in the eastern zone of India participated. The seminar was divided into 3 sessions: (1) The Biographer as

Historian; (ii) Business History; and (iii) Federal-State Relations.

Among the principal participants were: Dr. K. K. Datta (Vice-Chancellor, Patna University); Dr. M. N. Das (Utkal University); Dr. H. R. Ghosal (Bihar University); Dr. Barun De (Indian Institute of Management, Calcutta); Mr. Dipten Banerjee (Burdwan University); Dr. A. C. Banerjee (Calcutta University); and Dr. Panchanand Mishra (Bhagalpur University).

This was the second occasion on which the Institute had organised a Seminar in collaboration with the U.S.I.S.

Symposium:

On the occasion of the Fourth Anniversary of the foundation of the Institute, to be held in September, a Symposium will be arranged on *The Teaching of History in Degree Colleges*. The principal participants will be: Mr. A. W. Mahmood, Principal, Central Calcutta College; Dr. K. C. Choudhuri, Principal, Maharaja Manindra Chandra College; Dr. Sisir Kumar Mitra, Sanskrit College; and Mr. Gautam Chatterjee, Surendra Nath College.

It is to be hoped that the Symposium discussions will lead to some concrete suggestions for the improvement of history teaching in our under-graduate classes. The discussions will be published in the *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies* and will also be circulated among all the Degree Colleges.

Dictionary Project:

The Dictionary of Nationalist Biographies Project is maintaining its steady progress. Collection of biographical material is going on according to schedule in all the zones. With this rate of progress we expect to cover 525 leaders in 1965-66. By the middle of 1966 we shall complete about three-fourths of the material collection. This is very encouraging indeed.

We had hoped to publish in the present number the list of leaders covered by our Research Fellows till May 1965, but we could not do it for want of space. The list will be published in our next issue, Vol. V, no. 1. In each subsequent issue a list of leaders covered every quarter will also be published regularly. We appeal to our readers to supply us any information they may have on the leaders covered by our Research Fellows. Any help rendered will be gratefully acknowledged.

We take this opportunity to offer our sincere thanks to the Asia Foundation for sanctioning a supplementary grant of Rs. 25,000 for 1965-66.

The Asia Foundation's contribution to the total Project budget is about 70%. The balance 30%, we have to raise from other sources. We have applied to the Government of India, State Governments and Indian Educational Foundations. Without being unduly optimistic, it is not really too much to hope that we can raise the small amount of deficit, in view of the great national importance of the Project and the good progress already made on an all-India basis. The Project certainly deserves support from every patriotic Indian, to preserve the memories of those illustrious leaders who created modern India.

FOREIGN INFLUENCE ON INDIAN CULTURE IN THE ANCIENT PERIOD

DR. R. C. MAJUMDAR

In order to study the foreign influence on Indian culture it is first of all necessary to have clear grasp of the meaning of 'culture'. For though the word is nowadays used by a good many people, few of them care to understand its true import. On the occasion of the Inaugural ceremony of the All-India Cultural Conference, held in New Delhi, on 15 March, 1951, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is reported to have said that culture was something "very complicated and difficult to understand", and that he wished he could tell his audience more clearly what culture was. The difficulty is increased by the fact that different scholars have expressed widely different views on the subject. The chief difference centres round the question whether 'culture' and 'civilization' mean the same thing and are interchangeable terms. While some answer in the affirmative, others are decidedly of the opposite view. One of them, MacIver, even goes so far as to say that culture is the antithesis of civilization. But howsoever great the difficulty may be, a discussion of the foreign influence, in Indian culture must start with a generally agreed assumption of what culture means. If there is no such thing, there cannot be any fruitful discussion of the subject. In any case one who discusses it must state at the outset what one means by culture. In my opinion Civilization denotes "the results of human activity subsisting at a particular moment in the history of humanity as a whole or in that of a particular society." Civilization would thus include practically every external possession or internal feeling which characterizes a group of men, many of which must be common to all nations and countries or most of them. There are, however, certain features which distinguish a particular society of human beings from another and which may be

regarded as essential characteristics of that society, inasmuch as in spite of changes and modifications in course of time, caused by internal process of evolution or external influence or force, their basic character does not change beyond recognition. These features constitute culture, which an eminent authority has defined as "the expression of our nature in our modes of living and of thinking, in our everyday intercourse, in art, in literature, in religion, in recreation and enjoyment." It must be remembered, however, that different elements in this list are emphasized by different cultures and by the same culture at different times. The Indian culture, for example, during the ancient period laid emphasis on religious and social ideas and institutions. Each of these again had some basic factors which formed the essence of culture, everything else being secondary or subsidiary, and consequently of far less importance, in forming a fair estimate of the foreign influence on Indian culture. This important principle has always been kept in the foreground in the discussion that follows.

Another preliminary point must be settled for a fruitful discussion of the subject, namely, the upper and lower chronological limit of the ancient period. It is now generally accepted by historians that the Aryans came to India from outside. So they, too, must be regarded as foreigners if we take back the ancient period to the most primitive times. But as the Aryan culture forms the basis of what we call Indian culture, foreign influence in the present context can only mean any influence from outside the geographical limits of India after the settlement of the Aryans in this country. Similarly, though opinions differ as to the lower limit of the ancient period, it should be fixed for the present discus-

ssion at the end of the twelfth century A.D. before there was any large-scale settlement of the Muslims in India. I would proceed on this assumption.

The available evidence does not indicate any trace of foreign influence on the fundamental religious beliefs and practices of the Hindus, such as the belief in one Supreme God as well as a multiplicity of gods and goddesses and their worship through sacrifices as well as rituals and ceremonies, though there have been considerable changes through the normal process of evolution. The three modes of approaching God, namely *jñāna* (knowledge), *karma* (action), and *bhakti* (devotion), the ideas of soul and its transmigration, Divine incarnation, belief in different modes of worship suited to men of different types of intellectual calibre and in various stages of cultural evolution, all these and many other characteristic features have not been affected by any foreign influence.

It has been suggested that the transformation of Buddhism from Hinayāna to Mahāyāna form was influenced by the large influx of Central Asiatic tribes. But such influence, if any, is to be traced to the natural evolution which every religion undergoes by the effort to bring peoples of different stages of culture within its own fold. Similarly the theory that the idea of making image of Buddha was due to Greek influence lacks any solid basis and will be discussed later. But the most curious view that has ever been put forward by a historian is that Monism i.e., belief in one God as ultimate Reality preached by Sankarāchārya, was due to Muslim influence. Apart from the fact that the idea of one Supreme God can be traced to the *Rigveda*, it is to be remembered that the only Muslims with whom Sankara could possibly have come in contact in the formative period of his life were the ancestors of the Moplahs of Malabar Coast. The very idea that these Muslims, of whose learning we do not possess the least evidence, inspired Sankara with an idea which was familiar to Indians from a remote age, is too ridiculous to be entertained even as a theory

or hypothesis, although it has been started and sponsored by important personages. Equally ridiculous is the theory, once held by many, that the Bhāgavata cult of Kṛishṇa-Vāsudeva was derived from Christianity. The resemblance of the names Kṛishṇa and Christ and of some legends connected with their birth, and the analogy of some doctrines preached by both, formed the basis of this theory which has now been laid at rest by epigraphic evidence that the Bhāgavata cult was known in India long before the birth of Christ. It is unnecessary to refer to similar views, unsupported by any evidence, and it may be asserted without any hesitation that the religious beliefs of the Hindus do not exhibit any trace of foreign influence.

As regards social institutions, it has been suggested that the practice of burning the widows on the funeral pyres of their husbands was introduced by the Central Asiatic tribes who settled in India. But we have incontestable evidence that the *Sati* rite was practised in India as far back as 316 B.C., long before the settlement of these tribes in India. Of course social ideas and institutions underwent many radical changes since the Vedic period, but there is no evidence of any foreign influence, and we can trace their gradual evolution. This ought to be a corrective to those who are prone to look for foreign influence in order to explain any radical change.

So far as essential elements of Indian culture are concerned, there is one which has been ascribed to foreign influence by many eminent scholars. It is the knowledge of the art of writing which has revolutionized human culture in every country. There are good evidences to show that the Aryans in India were at first ignorant of the art of writing, or at least did not make use of it, and trusted to memory for the preservation of their sacred texts. This must have been the case with every human society till it acquired the knowledge of writing. The question, therefore, arises how and when the people of India came to possess this knowledge. Bühler propounded the view that the Indians derived the knowledge of alphabet from the Phoenicians some time about

800 B.C. or perhaps one or two centuries earlier. But the arguments by which he supported his view have never been regarded as very satisfactory, and it has not gained general acceptance. Cunningham derived Indian alphabet from the indigenous Indian hieroglyphics. Bühler rejected this view, also held by some other eminent scholars, on the ground that "it presupposes the use of Indian hieroglyphic pictures of which hitherto no trace has been found". But this objection has lost a great deal of its force by the discovery of the Mohenjodaro seals containing picture writing. Unfortunately, it has not been deciphered yet and so nothing can be definitely said about its relation, if any, with the oldest Brāhmī alphabet in India such as was used by Aśoka in the third century B.C. The foreign origin of Indian alphabet cannot therefore be regarded as certain. There is, however, no doubt that the Kharoshthi script which was in use in the north-western part of India from about the fifth century B.C. was derived from the Aramaic, a Semitic alphabet, used already in Assyria and Babylonia for official and business purposes side by side with the Cuneiform writing and introduced into India by the Achaemenian Emperors who ruled over some parts of India. But the Kharoshthi script went out of use in India in the early centuries of the Christian era, and has left no trace behind.

We may now discuss foreign influence on some secondary features of Indian culture. As regards polity and system of administration, the idea of imperial organization and the issue of royal edicts in the Asokan style might have been influenced by the Achaemenians. But their influence on Indian art is more problematic. There is no doubt that the Gandhāra sculptures and Indian coins of the first five centuries of the Christian era show unmistakable Greek influence. But no Indian sculptures since the Gupta period show trace of such influence and the coins of the post-Gupta period reverted to the indigenous system. So the Greek influence in these two respects was merely a passing phase and left no permanent impress upon Indian culture. The

Greek influence upon Indian literature, particularly drama is very doubtful, though the term *Yavanikā* to denote the front curtain on a stage may show a trace of it. The reference to Romaka Siddhānta certainly indicates a knowledge of Roman or Greek astronomy, and the use of technical terms shows that the knowledge of astronomy in India was influenced to some extent by the Roman system. It has been suggested with a great deal of plausibility that the idea of an era, i.e., reckoning time from a well-known event of known date came to India with the Greeks. Although no direct evidence is available, the theory derives considerable force from the fact that Aśoka never used any era in his inscriptions, and of the two eras which were mostly used in India, the Śaka era is definitely referred to a foreign king and the origin of the other, the Vikrama Samvat, is doubtful and is ascribed by some to Indian rulers of foreign origin. On the other hand, it is difficult to accept Greek origin of the idea of an era, because the Seleucid era, which is at the bottom of this theory, is not known with certainty ever to have been used in India. On the whole, no definite conclusions are possible on this point. The so-called Kaliyuga Era is an astronomical invention of a much later date and does not prove the existence of an era or any idea of it before India's contact with Greece. It is interesting to note in this connection that there is at least one instance of the use of a Macedonian month name in a Brāhmī inscription of Mathura recording a donation. It is just possible that the donor himself was a foreigner and used the month-name with which he was more familiar. There is, however, nothing to support the very bold assertion that 'Demetrius took the Seleucid calendar to India and there it gave birth to many other eras.' Similarly the existence of a small Ionian temple at Jandial does not prove any Greek influence on Indian architecture, for the unique temple might have been the work of a Greek architect. A later example at Taxila shows that the architect had probably heard of Greek tradition but made a wrong application of it. So these Greek traditions never influenced the growth of Indian architecture.

Older generations of European writers, obsessed with the superiority of Hellenic culture, detected Greek influence in many other spheres of Indian life, if they found even a slight resemblance, forgetting the very simple fact that human minds working on the same subject have a tendency to work on parallel lines. A German scholar, Niese, propounded the view that the entire development of Indian culture after the invasion of Alexander the Great was due to Alexander's institutions. But a modern writer has observed with greater truth that "except for the Buddha-statue, the history of India would in all essentials have been precisely what has been had the Greeks never existed."

The theory that the idea of making image of Buddha originated with the Greeks has been a subject of keen and protracted controversy, into which it is not possible to enter here. It will suffice to state that eminent scholars who are competent to express a view on this subject are almost equally divided in their opinion on this

question. Here, again, the theory of Greek influence is open to doubt.

Foreign influence has been suggested in connection with the Indian knowledge of the lunar mansions which can be traced to the Vedic *Samhitās*. According to different scholars India borrowed it from Arabia, China or Babylon. The first two are improbable on historical grounds. Keith who holds it as the most plausible view that the Indian knowledge of the *Nakshatras* was derived from Babylon himself admits that the direct proof of the existence of the knowledge of the *Nakshatras* at Babylon has yet to be discovered. Such theories stand self-condemned.

It may thus be safely maintained that the essentials of Indian culture were free from any foreign influence, and whatever influence might have been exercised on less important aspects, was slight and mostly a passing phase.

FOREIGN ELEMENTS IN EARLY HINDUISM

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Among the great religions of the world, Hinduism stands unique in not originating with a prophet. It is a people's religion. As the Indian people are a mixture of different ethnic groups, Proto-Australoids, Dravidians, Aryans, Proto-Mongoloids etc.—we can clearly trace different elements in this faith. In the historical period again tribes and nations living outside the boundaries of the land had been constantly pouring into its fertile plains. D.R. Bhandarkar points out how such people made India their homeland, adopted Indian mode of life and faith and contributed their own into the store-house of Indian culture. Thus in this people's religion, viz-Hinduism, we can trace a good deal of extra-territorial elements.

In the sixth century B.C., the North-Western Frontier Province, the Panjab and Sindh became parts of the vast Achaemenid empire of Iran consisting of diverse cultures and ethnic groups. In his Persepolis inscription, Xerxes makes the following interesting statement, 'And within these countries was (another) where formerly Davias were worshipped. Afterwards by the will of Ahuramazda I destroyed the place of Daiva worship. And I proclaimed: Daivas thou shalt not worship. Where formerly Daivas were worshipped there I worshipped Ahuramazda and the divine fulfilments'. In Old Persian *daiva* means a 'false god' and thus the passage may be taken to refer to any country in the Achaemenid empire. But it should be noted that it is only in India that the gods are called *devas* and so the passage should be taken as referring to a religious revolution in one of the latitudes of India. This is, perhaps, the earliest definite document showing the infiltration of a foreign creed on Indian soil.

D.B. Spooner's attempt to trace Iranian or Zoroastrian influence on Indian culture is only a partial success. It is doubtful if the Indian fire cult borrowed anything from abroad, but we can undoubtedly trace some amount of Iranian influence on the Hindu Sun-cult. This even was not a direct process but came through the Scythians or Sakas who, as the Achaemenid records show, lived within the Iranian empire and thus imbibed a good deal of Iranian influence. J. Przyluski has shown that the Sakas were living in India even before the time of Alexander and that the name of Sakala in the Punjab should be associated with them. Evidently when the country passed under the Achaemenid rule a branch of the Sakas came and settled there and introduced a new form of Sun worship into their new home. R.G. Bhandarkar points out that there is no reference to the temple of Sun in the Indian works dealing with the Saura system. Varahamihira enjoins, on the other hand, that installation and consecration of the images and the temples of the Sun should be caused to be made by the Magas who are regarded by the Mahabharata as the Brahmanas or the priestly class of the Saka community. Evidently the Magians entered India in the train of the Scythians and performed the priestly functions of the tribe. In the background of these accounts we may discuss some references from the classical works showing interesting light on the subject. Thus Philostrates states that there was a temple of the Sun at Taxila during the time of Alexander's invasion. Plutarch informs us that there was a temple of the Sun on the Hydaspes to which the elephants of Porus ascended on the advance of Alexander. Clearly this Sun cult was a foreign one and was evidently introduced into India by the Scythians and the Magians in the Achaemen-

id period. This cult remained a living force and we find the presence of the Magian solar symbol on the coins of the Indo-Greek king Philoxenos and Telephos. When the Scythians established their supremacy in India they naturally fostered their own cult and their influence led to a fusion of the foreign and Indian forms of Sun worship. J.N. Banerjee draws our attention to a small figure of Surya in black stone found in one of the sites of Gandhara showing the god seated on a chariot drawn by four horses, with boots on 'and a bearded Atlantes crouches beneath the chariot reminding one of the demons of the aforesaid composition.' Here we find a trace of the admixture of the Indian and the Scythian elements. This fusion is further illustrated by the story, as represented in the later Puranas, no doubt quoting earlier traditions, how Samba, the son of Krishna by Jambavati, was afflicted with leprosy and was advised to worship the Sun. Hence he constructed a temple on the bank of the river Chandrabhaga, but the Indian priests refused to worship there. Consequently Samba imported Magas from the Sakadvipa and they acted as priests there. We are further informed that these Maga-Brahmanas were the descendants of Jarasasta or Jarasabha, evidently the ancient Iranian prophet Zoroaster, and they wore a girdle around their waist and it was known as Avyanga which clearly signifies the Aivyaonghen of the Avesta and is identical with Kushti, akin to the Hindu sacred thread, worn by the Parsis of the present time.

The fusion of the Indian and Scythian cults that began in the early centuries of the Christian era became more prominent in the Gupta age. The Mandasor stone inscription of Kumara Gupta and Bandhuvarman, the Indore Copper Plate inscription of Skanda Gupta and the Gwalior inscription of Mihirakula referring to the temple of the Sun evidently point to the extension of this Indian-cum-Scytho-Magian cult from the north west to the Madhya Pradesh region. The popularity of this cult among the orthodox class is illustrated by the statement of the Matsya Purana that if an image of the Sun be constructed, the deity should have four arms and a fine moustache, a lustrous body of red colour covered with

a coat and be garbed in the dress of a northerner. Among the antiquities from north Gujarat, we find images of the Sun with boots reaching up to the knees and a girdle round the waist with one end hanging downwards. The dress of the god is entirely Scythian. The Bhavishya Purana further bears witness to the amalgam of the foreign and Indian solar cults and the great influence that it had upon the orthodox class of the country.

Considerable foreign influence can be traced on the Sakta cult. J. Marshall discovered in Taxila several terra-cotta figures that may have some connection with the Mother Cult. One of these figures wears wide trousers and a veil hanging from the top of the head down the back. The deity appears to be of foreign origin. In this connection, we may note a coin of Huviska having on it the figure of a male and a female with a monogram between them which has been interpreted as referring to the male as Oesa or Bhavesa and the female as Nana, who is identical with the Sumero-Babylonian goddess Ishtar. As again on some of the issues of the same king we have a female figure with the inscription Omma or Uma, and as in the later period we find that Durga absorbed many of the traits of the goddess Ishtar-Nana (cf. lion seat etc), it has been assumed that in the early centuries of the Christian era, the Babylonian goddess became merged in the Mother-Goddess of India.

Foreign elements became more prominent in Hinduism, when Tantric practices became an important factor in the Indian religious systems. As there is still much confusion regarding the character of Tantricism, it is better to say a few words beforehand on it. It should be borne in mind that Tantricism is not identical with Saktaism. The Tantric traditions assert that the Tantras make a synthesis of the Kriya-Kanda of the Vedas, the Jnanakanda of the Upanisads and the Bhakti of the Puranas and that each and every god can be worshipped by this method. As Tantricism was a synthesis, it absorbed many foreign factors as well. Further, of the different

sects, the Saktas became more inclined towards this method and hence to an ordinary man Tantricism appears to be identical with Saktaism.

The absorption of foreign elements became all the easier as the Tantras look upon the extra-Indian territories as included within its jurisdiction. Thus practically the whole of Asia lying to the north, north-east and south-east of India is divided into three zones—*asvakraṇṭa*, *visnukraṇṭa* and *rathakraṇṭa* and it is stated that three different forms of *sadhana* developed in these three regions.

While the Tantras refer to certain practices of worship known as *Chinachara*, it is asserted that these practices were introduced into India by the sage Vasistha from Mahachina, identified by Levi with Tibet. The Nilatantra makes the interesting statement that the Mahadevi or the great Mother was born in a lake called Col by the side of Mt. Meru. The Meru has been identified with the Pamir and this shows that many tenets of Tantric Saktaism came from Central Asia. The Yayadratha Yamala refers, on the other hand, to the practices of the Lamas and to the Sakinis and Dakinis, generally identified with the Sakas of Central Asia and the Dags of Dagistan.

It may be noted in this connection that though at present there are about 56 Tantric pithas, originally the number was only 4, as follows: Oddiyana, Jalandhara, Kamarupa and Purnagiri. While Purnagiri has not yet been identified, we know that Oddiyana or the Swat Valley and Jalandhara are in North West India and Kamarupa in Assam in Eastern India. As P.C. Bagchi has pointed out, 'all these three places are situated on the high roads leading to countries outside India—Oddiyana situated in the Valley of the Swat river, easily accessible from the upper valley of the Indus, has been the meeting place of peoples of different origin. It is situated on the high road that connects the upper valley of the Indus with Balkh, Samarkand etc. on the one hand and the Pamirs, Khotan, Kashgar etc., on the other, by the valley of the Gilgit. Jalandhara is situated on another highway that

connects Tibet with India through the Shipki Pass, and Kamarupa has to a great extent been the centre of activities of foreign peoples who have been coming down from the Northern and the North-Eastern hills since very ancient times'. The implication of the observation is that the rise of the conception of the pithas was at least to some extent inspired by foreign influence.

The problem of Christian influence on ancient Indian religion is far from solved and different scholars have maintained different views on the subject. Tradition asserts that St. Thomas, the Apostle, came to India during the time of the Parthian King Gondopharnes whose Takht-i-Bahi inscription is dated 45 A.D. and consequently it has been held that the influence of Christian doctrines can be traced on the Hindu tenets developing in the early Christian period. Earlier attempts to trace the influence of Christianity to the story of Narada's voyage of *Svetadvipa* in the Narayaniya section of the Great Epic, or the account of Gopala-Krishna in the Harivamsa or the Puranas have proved to be futile.

Elliot points out that 'there is little reason to regard Christianity as an important factor in the evolution of Hinduism, because (a) there is no evidence that it appeared in an influential form before the sixth century, and (b) there is strong evidence that most of the doctrines and practices resembling Christianity have an Indian origin'.

Recently a few scholars have dealt with the problem and have laid much emphasis on St. Thomas' activities in South India. It has been pointed out that according to traditions St. Thomas converted a large number of Brahmins of the Cera Kingdom to Christianity. He is further credited with the building of seven churches for the congregation at Cranganor, Quilon, Parur, Niranam, Chayil and Palur, and with the preaching of the Gospel in the Cola and the Pandya Kingdoms. It is difficult to determine how far such traditions are authentic, for as Levi points out many of the traditions connecting St. Thomas with South India are of late

origin. Writing in the fourth century, Jerome simply observes 'The son of God was present to all places: with Thomas in India, with Peter in Rome, with Paul in Illyria, with Titus in Crete, with Andrew in Achaia, and with every preacher of the Gospel in all the regions they traversed'. It is difficult to determine what is exactly meant by the term India in the above passage; possibly it means an 'India' which included the Indus Valley, but nothing to the east of it (Levi).

Against the background of the above account we may note the statements of the Periplus that at the Cape of Comari 'come those men who wish to consecrate themselves for the rest of their lives, and bathe and dwell in celibacy.....for it is told that a goddess once dwelt here and bathed. The name Comari or Kumarika shows that here we have a reference to a virgin goddess and several scholars are tempted to connect this Virgin goddess with Virgin Mary. The goddess may however be older than the Christian age, for Megasthenes in his Indica refers to this goddess evidently as Pandaea ruling over the Pandya country and as the daughter of Heracles. In the Taittiriya Aranyaka assigned to second century B.C. by competent scholars we find a reference to this Virgin goddess. In Punic Africa, Egypt, Asia Minor and Greece a Virgin goddess was worshipped along with a male god who was her son. Some historians think that this cult was of Cretan origin. Anthropologists maintain that the Dravidians of India came originally from the Mediterranean side and it is not unlikely that they brought with them the conception of the Virgin goddess into India.

Rufus, a contemporary of Jerome, maintains that St. Bartholomew came and preached in India. Father Heras thinks that Kalyana was the scene of his activities. Other preachers also came and in the fourth century A.D. a large number of Syrian Christians settled in Malabar and enjoyed prestige and position in the society. This may naturally lead us to think that Christian ideas must have influenced Hinduism in South India. We may note in this connection the sudden appearance of a passionate bhakti cult

among the Alvars and the Saiva preachers of the south. It may be noted that the Christian traditions in South India assert that the Saiva saint Manikka Vachakar caused the disappearance of the Christians in the Tamil country, just as Sankara caused the disappearance of Buddhism. He is said to have converted a large number of Christians and those who refused to be converted were driven over the Ghats to Malabar. There are interesting similarities between the writings of Manikka Vachakar and the preachings of the Christian Saints. It is quite likely, as has so often been the case in India, that Manikka who fought against Christians even to the extent of persecuting them must have himself been acquainted with their doctrines and was influenced by the same. Though we cannot be very dogmatic in our assertions, there is every possibility that the Alvars and the Saiva saints of the south were influenced by the Christian devotionalism.

In conclusion, I wish to discuss the following statement from the Bhagavad Gita which produced far reaching consequences in the evolution of Hinduism:—

'Whenever there is a decline of the law, O Bharat and an increase of iniquity, then I put forth myself (in a new birth). For the preservation of the pious, for the destruction of the evil-doers and for the establishment of the law, I am born in every age' (IV 7f).

Here we find for the first time the idea of incarnation. Though we find in the Taittiriya Samhita that Visnu taking the form of *vaman* conquered the three worlds, or elsewhere that Prajapati took the form of a boar or a tortoise, such accounts cannot be taken as referring to the doctrine of incarnation. They simply show that Visnu or Prajapati was absorbing the totem of the un-Aryan people of India, though in the post-Gita age the trend of such accounts took a new shape. The sudden appearance of the doctrine of incarnation is interesting. Evidences show that the doctrine originated in Egypt, and then, with Hellenism as its medium, it reached its highest form

in Christianity. If we agree with Garbe that the Gita should be assigned to C. 200 A.D. then we have to pause and think if the doctrine in India was due to an indirect influence of Christianity. But there are other scholars who assign the work to C. 200 B.C. Was it then inspired by Hellenistic influences? The whole problem needs a critical study from a competent hand.

In tracing foreign influences on early Hinduism, we must be cautious in not over-doing our task. Mere similarities between an Indian and a foreign doctrine must not blind us to historical method and procedure. It should be noted that there is a great similarity between the teachings of Buddha and Confucius, but neither was influenced by the other.

CENTRAL ASIA AND EARLY MEDIEVAL INDIAN POLITY

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India's contact with Central Asia assumed a new importance from the beginning of the Christian era. In the first three centuries of the Christian era, the Kusana empire embraced a very wide area extending from Khorasan in Central Asia to Banaras in India. Perhaps, under no other ruling dynasty such a large part of Central Asia was linked up with Northern India. Naturally Central Asian influence penetrated into India on a considerable scale. Although the Kusanas adopted many elements of Indian culture, they introduced certain new features in the political organisation of the country. For the first time they adopted titles which indicate some kind of feudal hierarchy in India. Although Asoka's empire covered practically the whole of India and parts of Afghanistan, he was satisfied with the title of *raja*. On the other hand the Kusanas adopted the title of *rajatiraja* and also some other pompous epithets. It has been suggested that these epithets indicate the exalted authority of the Kusanas. But actually they demonstrate some kind of decentralisation which began during this period. The Kusanas called themselves the king of kings and the chief of chiefs, which presupposes that they ruled over lesser kings and lesser chiefs. As a conquering minority they naturally had to build this type of feudal organisation. Although the Kusanas adopted these titles from the Parthians whom they had supplanted, the ultimate source was the Achaemenid. Whatever might be the source, it is clear that these Kusana titles indicate a sort of feudatory pattern which was not found at least in Maurya India. The feudatory system was adopted by Samudra Gupta to organise his conquests, and from that time onwards it became the characteristic of the Indian political system.

The Kusana titles *rajatiraja* and *sahanusahi* were not adopted by their Gupta successors, but the title *mahesvara*, the great lord, made some impression on the Gupta kings who called themselves *paramesvara*, the supreme lord, in imitation of the Kusanas. This title again implied the existence of lesser kings under the Kusanas and was again an important trait of the feudatory organisation which the Kusanas had set up.

Again, the Kusanas introduced in India the idea of the divinity of the king in a form in which it was never known before. Although the Vedic and post-Vedic texts give the impression that the king had some divine elements in him, they do not represent the king as the son of the god. But the Kusana inscriptions clearly describe the king as *devaputa*, that is the son of the god. It is suggested that this title was derived by the Kusanas from the Chinese. Whatever might be the source, this title came from Central Asia with the Kusanas, and a 3rd century Buddhist text of the period, the *Suvarnaprabhasottamasutra*, tries to justify this title. It argues that the king is called *devaputra* because he originally lived among the gods. And it seems that the passages on the divinity of the king which occurred in the law-book of Manu and in the Santi Parva were inspired by Kusana associations, as reflected in the Buddhist text. From this time onwards the law-books repeatedly state that the king contains the attributes of various gods, an idea also expressed in the Gupta inscriptions.

The Kusanas further strengthened the idea of the divinity of the king by establishing *devakulas* in which the images of the kings were installed and worshipped, which can be also said on the

basis of the drama of Bhasa. But the Kusana stress on the divinity of kingship should not be taken to mean that the Kusanas enjoyed more power than the Mauryas. On the other hand they took to this device to strengthen their power over the newly conquered people. Although the title *devaputra* and the practice of having *devakulas* were not adopted by the successors of the Kusanas, they certainly seized the idea of the divinity of the king, which came to be emphasised in the Gupta inscriptions.

The next group of people from Central Asia who left their mark on the political and social structure of early medieval India were the Hunas and the Gurjaras. The Hunas were foreigners, who came to be regarded as one of the thirty-six clans into which the Rajputs came to be divided. It seems that the Gurjaras came along with the Hunas from Central Asia. Recently this theory has been questioned by some enthusiasts who try to prove that the Gurjara-Pratiharas were an indigenous people. But there are several indications that the Gurjaras originally belonged to Central Asia. P.C. Bagchi suggested that the term 'Gurjara' was derived in the 4th century from the term 'Wusun', which was first changed into *gusura*. We may add that the term *gasura* literally means a member of the nobility and occurs in an inscription of the 3rd century A.D. from Abbotabad which also contains two foreign names. The foreign origin of the Gurjaras can also be inferred from the fact that many terms in the inscriptions of the Gurjara-Pratiharas are non-Sanskritic. Similarly several words in the inscriptions of the Guhilas belonging to the 7th century A.D. are also of foreign extraction. Again the Agnikula theory, which ascribes the origin of the five branches of Rajputs to a fire pit, suggests that they were foreigners who had to undergo some kind of purification rituals before they were assimilated in Indian society as *kshatriyas*. Thus there is little doubt that there was a strong element from Central Asia in the composition of the so-called Rajputs, who ruled over the major part of Northern India in early medieval times.

The Gurjara-Pratiharas and the other Rajput
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clans owing affinities to them introduced a new kind of fiscal system which was based on units of 12 villages or their multiples. This cannot be traced to the ancient Indian tradition, according to which the king should divide his territory into units of ten, hundred, thousand villages and should place them under the charge of officers appointed by him. Then from where did the duo-decimal system come to India? My hypothesis is that it came from Central Asia. A few pieces of evidence can be cited to support this. In the middle of the 7th century A.D. we hear that a Turkish chief had divided the province of Tokharistan into 24 units, which is obviously a multiple of 12. Recent archaeological discoveries made by Soviet scholars in 1961-2 show that there were close ethnic and cultural contacts between Tokharistan and India in the 6th-8th centuries. Further we hear of a Turkish tribe, Oghuz, which consisted of 9 clans in the 8th century but came to have as many as 24 clans by the 11th-12th centuries. This reminds us of the Rajput people who were supposed to be divided into 36 clans, again a multiple of 12. This would imply that when the Central Asian tribes came to India, they retained the practice of having 24 clans. It seems that in the course of their conquest each clan was given a territorial unit which meant 24 units or so. Apparently they extended the distribution of spoils among the members of the tribe to that of the conquered lands among the clans of the tribe. All this is not very clear. But to me it seems that Central Asia had something to do with the introduction of the fiscal and administrative units which consisted of 12 villages or their multiples.

What is the significance of these units? If we go by the information that we get about them in the Cahamana inscriptions, it will appear that these units were given as fiefs to the members of the ruling clan. It seems that in these units members of the royal family maintained law and order, administered justice, collected revenues and perhaps paid some tributes to their overlord. They may have also paid succession fees and supplied some troops. Thus the system of administration was entirely different from the old

decimal system, according to which the officers appointed by the king were not in the nature of vassals and hence did not treat the fiscal units placed under their charge as fiefs; on the other hand, only a very small portion of the whole area was granted to them as remuneration. It seems that while the old system prevailed in the dominions of the Palas and the Rastrakutas the new system was typical of the administration of the Pratiharas and their successors in Rajasthan, Malwa and Gujarat. In later times we find even units of 16 villages or their multiples. Many of these units came to be considered by the kinsmen of the ruling clan as their personal estates. Hence

the partition of the conquered territory among the members of the ruling tribe and the consequent imposition of clan aristocracies on the old settled villages may be regarded as a peculiar feature of the Rajput Polity, which seems to have been influenced by Central Asian practices. This may be considered as an important feudal trait in early medieval India.

The points that I have made are provisional, but there is no doubt that we can better appreciate the developments in the history of early medieval India if we pay more attention to Central Asian studies.

FOREIGN CULTURAL IMPACT ON ANCIENT INDIA

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Indian culture, that we find today, is not only a product of a long evolutionary process through many centuries of its early history, but also of assimilation and absorption of influences of various races and peoples that drifted into this country in the different phases of its history.

Commenting on the stable nature of Indian social system, a vital element of culture, J.H. Hutton observed in the Introductory Chapter of his book *Caste in India*, "It has proved capable of absorbing any intrusive society, and no intruders have yet succeeded in revolutionising it".

Hutton's statement, quoted above, may be generally accepted as indicating the lines on which Indian culture and civilisation attained their development through intermixture of races and groups of peoples who settled in this country. The Vedic people, if they came from outside, were at first foreigners to the soil, but gradually they settled here and spread themselves over a large part of the country. Similarly the Indus Valley Culture is supposed to be represented by different racial types. There is controversy about the origin of the people who formed the Indus Valley Culture. But it has been shown by skeletal and other remains that in the leading centres of the Indus Valley Culture, there must have been a mixed population consisting of a diversity of tribes. Recent excavations have brought to light new materials to show that this culture also spread over a large part of North India, and even penetrated to the South and the West. The most important thing to note in tracing the careers of these well-defined civilisations is that there was a process going on in which the fusion of various racial and cultural types was taking

place almost inevitably. There were other systems of culture of which enough materials have already been found, which came into contact with the Aryan and Indus Cultures. When these different peoples, from wherever they might have come, are known to have lived in this country and joined in the development of a common civilisation, there is no question of regarding them as foreigners. They were partners in the building of Indian Civilisation, which was a product of physical environments of the country, in which they lived and had their being, as much as of other factors that might not have been subsequently dependent on foreign sources for their nourishment. When this stage was reached, we are interested only in studying the process of the evolutions due to internal factors and not definitely known to foreign sources. It seems that one essential characteristic of Indian civilisation is that it could not be influenced from outside unless those who could have any influence on it came into the most intimate contact with the country. Hence if any foreign influence was imported, it was completely Indianised, so that while tracing such influences it becomes difficult to definitely identify their sources.

If it can be shown that India had close contacts in certain periods of her history with well-recognised peoples and their cultures, it will be difficult to say that India remained unaffected by their contacts. It need not be surmised that any influence that may have worked on Indian life and culture, must have remained an active force throughout her history since that influence began to operate. No influence can possibly last for ever. But once it enters the life of a people, it becomes a part of it. When history changes its

phases, such influences, having worked for ascertainable periods, are no longer perceptible or manifest.

There was a time when the *Kharoshthi* script was in use over not an inconsiderable part of ancient India. This script is generally believed to be foreign in origin. After a few centuries it fell into disuse due to political changes and other reasons. But so long as the script was in use it must have formed a vital element in our administrative, religious and cultural life. For some time also the Greek script and language must have been fairly cultivated in the Punjab and north western parts of India. Many experts hold the view that Buddhist art and iconography were to some extent influenced by Hellenistic models. For a time again, India came to know of the gods and goddesses worshipped by different peoples outside India as represented on coins issued by the foreign rulers of India.

We must appreciate the fact that not much has as yet been done in exploring the origins and complexities of the prolific mythology of the Puranas and the Epics. We are not, therefore, sure whether the Indians did not adopt ideas and motifs from outside, which however they may have been able to completely assimilate and Indianise beyond recognition.

It cannot be denied that foreigners contributed a lot to the evolution of the Indian currency system. It is not possible to enter into a detailed discussion on this subject, which is well-known to students of Indian history. The Gupta period shows the climax reached by India in the assimilation of foreign elements in the field of coinage, both from metrological and typological points of view. For a long period the terms '*dinara*' and '*drama*', derived from foreign sources were current in this country,

For a long time again India became familiar through daily experience with the administrative apparatus, brought into India by her foreign rulers. It must be said, however, that these foreigners were no less influenced by the indi-

genous system of administration. But they adopted it with certain modifications, which had their effect on the life of contemporary India. Certain political ideas, which became part of our philosophical speculations may have been basically of foreign origin, although in India conditions may have been found which were quickly responsive to the new ideas brought from outside. Asoka was contented merely with the title of '*raja*', but the tradition gave way to the widespread practice of using grandiloquent titles and epithets, which foreign rulers are known to have used.

If the idea of deification of kings ever became deeply rooted in the minds of our people, it may be that this was to a large extent imported from outside, specially from the Kushanas. We have to be very cautious in framing our theories on such matters; for, mere superficialities cannot definitely establish points of contact between different streams of ideas. In India there was a theory long before the foreigners began to rule, in which the germs of divinisation of kings or divine elements permeating the office of the king, may be traced, specially in the later Vedic literature. Subsequent development of ideas similar to this may have received an impetus from foreign usages.

While we study the probabilities of foreign influences playing a role in the history of our civilisation it seems to me that this study should proceed on regional lines as far as possible. Those parts of the country, which came into closer and deeper contact with a definite type of foreign culture, were naturally open to such influences as could be exercised on them. The difficulty is that when these influences are assimilated by the people most affected by them due to physical association, and in that changed form extends itself to wider areas within the country, it becomes impossible to recognise it as foreign. While we are discussing the regional aspects of the question, we may cite as an illustration a particular funeral custom prevalent in Kamrup (Assam) and some parts of East Bengal (Mymensing and its adjacent areas). There is a local tra-

dition that after the disposal of the dead body by fire, a small piece of burnt bone of the forehead is collected by the next of kin of the deceased person. This, ground with honey, is served as drink to a brahmin of a particular group, locally called '*Hadgila*' or bone-eater brahmin. Gifts of different articles of food, cloth, etc., are ceremonially offered to him. This tradition finds reference in the *Padma Purana* (*Sristi Kanda*) (c. 8-9th Cent. A.D.) and is quoted in the *Haralata* of Aniruddha Bhatta (c. 12th Cent). This quaint custom has some similarity with the distribution of bone remains of the deceased Lama among his disciples, and also with funerary ceremonies current among the Mongolian hill tribes. It may be that the local custom referred to was introduced as a result of the proximity of the peoples settled there.

We know of many institutions of Ancient India of which the origins are yet not so clear. Thus, for instance, we may refer to the system connected with production, distribution and tenure, which formed the bedrock of the economic life and organisation for many centuries in our country. Recently a serious approach to this subject was undertaken by the Centre of Advanced Studies in Ancient Indian History and Culture in the Calcutta University. It appeared from the discussions held over a week in this field of enquiry that an institution bearing affinity to some aspects of feudalism developed in this country. Here there is further scope for an investigation

of the question as to how much India received from outside to build up the foundations of a well-organised socio-economic structure.

The most orthodox and characteristic system of our social life has been the caste organisation, which is supposed to be very rigid in its form and technique. There was a time when inspite of its deepening rigidity it was flexible enough to accommodate foreign elements. We can refer to the works of Patanjali, Manu and other law-givers as well as the *Mahabharata*, which incorporate some of the foreign elements as members of the caste organisation, though they may not have been given a very high status. Some of them were even admitted as *Kshatriyas*, but later degraded as *Sudras*. Even Menander (*Milinda*), the Greek king, has been called a *Kshatriya* in the *Milindapanho*. We have historical instances of matrimonial relationships between some powerful indigenous ruling dynasties and foreign royal houses. Thus there was every opportunity for foreigners who carried their own cultural heritage to become absorbed in the expanding Indian society of the past. They were not only absorbed in the ocean of the Indian population, but naturally they must have contributed towards the enrichment of our many-sided cultural, religious and social life. Of course what is required, therefore, is a very intensive study of social institutions, rituals and ceremonies subsisting in the different parts of the country, and trace their origin and evolution with strict adherence to canons of historical research.

THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE MUGHAL GOVERNMENT

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The economic policy of the Mughal government was not one uniform policy throughout the Mughal Age (1526-1803). It changed from time to time, and may be divided into four well-marked periods, viz. (1) 1526-1562, (2) 1563-1658, (3) 1659-1719, and (4) 1720-1803. During the first period Babur and Humayun followed the Islamic fiscal policy, which was based on discrimination against non-Muslims. Whereas the land tax paid by Muslims was called *Ushr* and was one-tenth and in some cases one-twentieth, that paid by non-Muslims was designated as *Kharaj* and ranged from one-fifth to one-half of the produce. There was a similar disparity in the rates of industrial, excise and customs duties, i.e. 2½% in the case of Muslims and 5% in that of non-Muslims. Moreover, there were two special discriminatory taxes charged from the non-Muslims only. These were the *Jiziya* and a tax on pilgrimage. There were numerous other imposts or cesses, which, though abolished by a well-intentioned Sultan like Firoz Tughluq, continued to be realised by the local authorities. Babur showed lack of statesmanship by abolishing the excise duty for Muslims and retaining it at the old rate as far as the Hindus and other non-Muslims were concerned. It can be easily imagined that such a short-sighted fiscal policy must not only have caused a great deal of discontent among the general public, but it must have also retarded the progress of agriculture, industry and commerce.

This pernicious system remained in force until 1563 when Akbar the Great knocked the bottom out of it, first by remitting once for all the pilgrimage tax on the Hindus in 1563, and then abolishing the hated *Jiziya* in 1564, which, as Abul Fazl says, entailed the sacrifice of a considerable

revenue for the royal treasury. Dr. R.P. Tripathi does less than scant justice to Akbar when he says that the *Jiziya* had probably fallen into disuse, and that its abolition did not involve much sacrifice of the state income, a statement which is not based on any contemporary authority. Akbar followed up this early economic reform and soon abolished the discriminatory Islamic laws relating to the *Ushr* and *Kharaj*, and industrial and excise taxes. He established one uniform rate i.e., one-third of the produce of the land as revenue from all, irrespective of religious and sectarian affiliations. One uniform rate with regard to other taxes too became the rule. Besides numerous taxes, whose names are given in *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, were declared illegal. Akbar's land revenue policy was based on three principles, viz., the extension of the area under cultivation, production of superior crops, such as sugarcane, poppy and the like, and the encouragement of agriculture in general by advancing taqavi loans and providing irrigation and other facilities, and a just and efficient administration. A fair deal to the tillers of the soil and economic stability of the state were ensured by Akbar's ordinance known as the *Ain-i-Dahsala*.

Another notable feature of the state economy was the establishment of numerous *Karkhanas* or workshops, as many as 100 under Akbar, for the manufacture of articles needed by the royal household, the court and the nobility. This too was inherited from the past, but Akbar had increased the number of workshops and systematised their administration. These workshops, each of whom was like a little kingdom, manufactured silk and cotton cloths of numerous varieties and workmanship, embroidered in gold and silver

threads, gold and silver ornaments, jewellery, furniture, etc., and were worked on business lines.

Both the inland and foreign trade were in private hands and were conducted through private agencies to far off lands, in Asia, Africa and Europe. The government did not seem to have had any direct control over imports and exports, except forbidding the exportation of gold, silver and other precious metals to foreign countries, and deriving profit from duties imposed upon the manufacture and sale of articles and their imports and exports. The state enjoyed a monopoly of salt and traded on its own account in certain other commodities in the time of Shahjahan.

The economic policy enunciated and built so laboriously by Akbar and which enriched the country beyond measure endured for over a hundred years until its basis was altered by Aurangzeb some ten years after his accession. He reimposed the *Jiziya* and the pilgrims' tax on the Hindus and revived the *Ushr* and *Kharaj* rates of land revenue and abolished custom duties on trade in case of Muslim traders, retaining it at the old rate from the non-Muslim traders. As his reign advanced in years, the economic system began gradually to crumble, and by the time of his death in 1707 it fell almost into pieces. It is forgotten that his economic difficulties were the result and not the cause of his religious policies. Moreover, if he was really hard-pressed by economic difficulties and not motivated by other considerations, he would have increased the land revenue and industrial taxes at a uniform rate or all without regard to religious affiliations. Anyway, the Jat rebellion of Mathura and Agra which became the precursor of a countrywide revolt was not at its inception an agrarian problem.

The economic policy of Aurangzeb was followed by his successors up to the reign of Farrukhsiyar,

sometime successfully and at other times without success. The result, was, however, the same in both cases, viz., political, administrative and economic anarchy. Cultivation was gradually reduced and the revenues of the empire dwindled. The later Mughal emperors found themselves so bankrupt that they could not maintain adequate number of troops to defend the empire from foreign aggressions and to maintain internal law and order. Nor could they equip the small number of troops which they had in their service. They could not pay them regularly, and kept their salaries in long arrears. The provinces of the empire fell off one by one, the country was invaded by Nadir Shah and thereafter by Ahmad Shah Abdali as many as seven times. The *Khalisa* lands were usurped by unscrupulous ministers, who starved the imperial family in a literal sense. The Emperor Alamgir II had no conveyance to ride to the Jami Mosque for the Friday prayers and in 1754 for three days there was no fire in the royal kitchen. The imperial ladies rushed out of the harem in defiance of the rules of *purdah*, but were forcibly kept back in the men's quarters and prevented from going out of the palace to satisfy their hunger.

Dr. Irfan Habib is of the opinion that the Mughal rule became a victim of the agrarian problem. One can hardly single out any out of the economic, agrarian and religious factors, or the incompetence of the later Mughal emperors and their nobility as the sole or even main cause of the fall of the empire. But inasmuch as it is the man that manages the affairs of a country and devises its policies, political, religious and economic, one is impelled to blame men rather than other factors, for after all the economic and agrarian measures were laid down by men. These can be controlled, if not by those who were responsible for the birth of these measures, at least by their wise successors, who can put them in perspective. In the opinion of the present writer, therefore, the short-sightedness of those who were at the helm of affairs in that age, was responsible for the economic catastrophe.

MONOPOLIES AND MONOPOLISTIC CONTROLS IN MUGHAL INDIA

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One aspect of the economic policy of the Mughal Government was the establishment of monopolies and existence of monopolistic controls in certain goods and services. The agencies behind these were either (i) the imperial government, or (ii) the provincial governors or local officials.

A. IMPERIAL MONOPOLIES IN INDIGO & SALTPETRE

1. Motives & Methods

Imperial monopolies in the nature of general monopolistic developments were established on articles like indigo and saltpetre. Indigo was an example of commercialised agriculture in seventeenth century India. As a dye it was eagerly coveted by the European merchants in India, and at first occupied the first place in order of importance among the exports to Europe. It was rightly described as "the prime commodity" by Sir Thomas Roe. Saltpetre was in great demand for internal consumption, and being an essential ingredient of gunpowder, it was of great military value, not only for internal use in India, but also as supplying the needs of European nations. Monopolies in these two articles were established by the government for exigencies of state, financial or military. The references so far collected by me relate to Shah Jahan's reign.

The imperial monopoly in indigo was established as a means to replenish the treasury, after the conquest of Ahmadnagar in 1633. Emperor Shah Jahan was impelled by the motive of profit in establishing the monopoly. He "took that (indigo) trade into his own hands, with the idea of forcing all merchants to buy from him at his own

price, pay a year in advance and take whatever trash he might please to give them." Acting on the suggestion of Mir Musa Muizzulmulk, Governor of Surat, and in imitation of the Persian contracts in silk, the Emperor set up the monopoly in indigo. He made a contract with a *bania* named Manohar Das Danda, described as the "prime monopolist". The *bania* was granted the sole right of buying all indigo grown in the kingdom in return for payment of Rs. 11,00,000 at the end of three years i.e. Rs. 2 lakhs a year out of profit or 6 lakhs in three years and 5 lakhs by way of repayment of a loan. If the merchants refused to purchase from him and the indigo remained unsold, he would be exempted from making all payments except the debt i.e. he would pay only Rs. 5 lakhs.¹

The earliest reference of saltpetre being a state monopoly is in 1636. "Saltpetre is a prohibited commodity and hath always in all places paid some acknowledgment to the Governor of the place where it was bought".² The seller had to pay to the king a duty of 13%.³

State control was exercised in three ways:

(a) claim of purveyance or preemption in control of production, refinement and purchase of saltpetre, either for military or non-military purposes: "It is no currant commodity, nor required by any except the king (Aurangzeb) for his particular occasions, forcing what he hath to be purposely provided; for which, although he pay as much as we, yet the payment is not so good. Besides it is prohibited to all others to buy any and may lawfully be surprized as the king's

commodity, whenever the king's ministers are inclined to trouble them, which they are not backward to do till they have forced them to compound, making their advantages upon them" (1666).⁴

Government claimed monopoly of saltpetre for its military needs. In 1629 Shah Jahan forbade saltpetre to be bought at Agra till "he had been supplied with 10,000 mds of powder ordered to be made there". The necessities of N.W. Frontier and Central Asiatic wars (1647-48) led him to strictly prohibit the export of saltpetre and his officers prohibited 'boiling for any but the King's *Cirkar*' (Sarkar, Government).⁵

(b) The Mughal state also forbade unlicensed purchase and transport of saltpetre. In 1628 the English and the Dutch factors at Agra had troubles with the king "for buying and transporting saltpetre without his authority". Two English factors were detained for a day and a night in the Agra fort and it was only after enquiries that the English were granted licence. In 1646 the caravan carts of the English were also detained. In 1654 Shah Jahan's Diwan prohibited buying and transporting saltpetre from Ahmadabad. In Dec. 1655 Diwan Rahmat Khan granted the English permission to send away caravan of goods from Ahmadabad and Agra. In Feb., 1656 the English factors at Agra decided that their saltpetre supplies be detained neither at the place of manufacture nor at Agra but removed to Ibrahimabad near Biana, lest the imperial officers might seize it for "their master's occasions as they have heretofore done".⁶ (c) Occasional revocation of provincial government's orders. In 1654 Murad as Governor of Gujarat had permitted the English to buy as much saltpetre as they wanted. But when part of it was received and was being refined, the king's Diwan sent an order prohibiting them from buying or transporting any saltpetre from Gujarat, and the embargo could not be removed.⁷

2. Effects of Imperial Monopolies

The effects of the monopolies may be studied

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under four heads: production; prices; distribution; and organisation.

(i) *Effects on production*: The axe of the monopoly fell heavily on production:

(a) So far as the indigo peasants were concerned, the sturdy and resolute Rajputs, Jats, Ahirs and other classes, engaged in indigo cultivation, were not adequately rewarded for their labours and not given a fair price for their crop under the monopoly. They left their profession and their fields; production was curtailed and prices tended to soar up.⁸

(b) In saltpetre also the producers suffered. The manufacturers did not keep any saltpetre in stock beforehand and hence it took some time before raw saltpetre could be produced and refined. The manufacturers did not contract with the English factors except on such terms as would cover their expenses. The English factors had to suffer troubles to clear the saltpetre from the king's ministers.

The Mughal Government also farmed the cultivation of indigo, and the manufacture of saltpetre to particular persons. To meet the shortage of cultivation, caused by the flight of the regular indigo producers, the Emperor took recourse to farming of cultivation. The English were at first approached to farm the indigo area themselves on the same terms as Monohar Das. But the alien English factors declined for various reasons. Then the Emperor farmed out the land to a Persian noble, Mir Muhammad Amin, Mir Jumla, Shahrastani, then *Khan i Saman* of the Empire. He agreed on condition that if the Dutch and the English desisted from purchasing the indigo at his price consecutively for two or three years, the Emperor would bear the loss himself.⁹

The Mughal Government also occasionally farmed out the manufacture of saltpetre to particular persons, e.g. Mir Musa got such a farm in Gujarat (1646). But the farmer had no right to grant *dastaks* or licence.

(ii) *Effects on Prices*: With the curtailment of the area under indigo cultivation as a result of the monopoly, prices tended to soar up. Similarly the price of saltpetre also went up.

(iii) *Effects on distribution*: (a) *Indigo*: By causing the flight of the peasants and consequent decline in production and rise in prices the monopoly introduced an element of uncertainty into the trade, which affected the trade of the European Companies adversely. The future became wholly uncertain.

(b) *Saltpetre*: Owing to the monopoly in saltpetre, the Surat factors were not sanguine about the prospects of a supply (1655). The Emperor had "10,000 double mds. of saltpetre, once refined, very full of salt," costing (it was reported) Rs. 6-7/8 a mdl., lying ready at Ahmadabad. So long as any of this quantity was unsold, the English would not be allowed to purchase any saltpetre in the Empire or to procure the stipulated amounts from the manufacturers. The English factor at Ahmadabad suffered much trouble in the hands of the petulant Diwan, Rahmat Khan, who was "almost mad, as he could not enforce the monopoly by compelling the English or the Dutch to take the king's saltpetre".¹⁰

(iv) *Effects on Organization*: Monopoly contained within itself the seeds of its own destruction.

(a) The imperial monopoly in indigo lasted only for about a year. Its failure was due not to the decline of cultivation, but to the joint Anglo-Dutch contract of abstinence from purchase. The Governor of Surat, apprehensive of the falling revenues of his part, petitioned to the Emperor to restore freedom of trade in indigo.

(b) The monopoly in saltpetre was at times evaded in actual working. The producers and purchasers, who suffered on account of it, naturally tried to get rid of it and the state officers also were sometime seduced by the lure of private gain. English factory records contain numerous instances of the use of bribery and influence in mitigating the rigours of monopoly. In 1628 a

'little judicious bribery' and present enabled the English to secure the release of their factors from prison and even licence to buy an additional quantity of 2000 mds. of saltpetre and the carava was allowed to proceed. In 1647 the Agra factor hoped to procure saltpetre (in spite of monopoly) easily by "corrupting with small bribes". In 164 the Swally Marine factors hoped to procure 30 or 400 bales of saltpetre "by means of friends". In 1655, in spite of the monopoly, Jesson (at Agra) promised to send some quantity from Agra and the Surat factors hoped to smuggle away a small amount with the indigo. In 1666 the Masuli patam factors requested the Bengal factors to send them 100 tons or more "under colour of some Moor, with all the secrecy imaginable." Occasional evasion of authority was, however at best, only a negative and immediate remedy. A positive and more permanent remedy was felt necessary and in Golkonda the English factor tried (1667) for the first time to acquire a monopoly of saltpetre trade, while in Bijapur they tried to secure a partial exemption from customs or any saltpetre they might buy in future by sale of grenades, shells and mortars during Shivaji's invasion of Bijapur (1660). But the East India Company rejected the monopoly scheme in Golkonda (1668).¹¹

3. Failure of the Mughal Government

From the above facts, gleaned from European factory records, it is abundantly clear that the Mughal Government displayed lamentable weakness in its policy of monopolistic controls. Apart from the merit or otherwise of the inception of the policy, the implementation part left much to be desired. The wealthy and mighty Mughal Emperor failed to implement the indigo monopoly and had to eat the humble pie. He could overcome the recalcitrant attitude of the sturdy peasants and cultivators and remedy the shortage of cultivation by resorting to farming of indigo production. But perhaps neither he nor his principal adviser, Mir Musa Muizzulmuluk, anticipated the firm attitude of the English and Dutch factors, who concluded the contract of abstinence of purchase of indigo. By faithfully adhering to

it and never purchasing the indigo at the high monopoly prices, they reduced the customs revenue of Surat and brought down not only its Governor but even the Emperor to their knees. To the Anglo-Dutch co-operation must be added another factor, the power of influence in the then Mughal political system. The personal rivalry between two officers and the firm influence of one of them over the Emperor were cleverly utilised by the foreign traders to undermine the indigo monopoly and to gain their ends.

In saltpetre also the rigours of the monopoly were evaded by the foreigners,—here, too, by means of bribery and influence. This throws a lurid light on the inner administrative corruption of the Mughal political system. The economic control sought to be established by the Mughal Government was undermined from its very inception by deep-seated canker of corruption. The Mughal Government failed to check the corruption and failed to implement the monopoly. In fact the policy of monopoly was doomed from its very inception. The economic policy of the Mughal Government proved to be ultimately uneconomic.

B. LOCAL MONOPOLISTIC CONTROLS

1. *Sauda-i-khas*

Besides general imperial monopolies there were local monopolistic controls. Sometimes a provincial governor or his nominee would enter the market as a prospective trader in the sale and purchase of an article. This private trade or *sauda i khas* of local officials proved to be a great source of extortion. Even the repeated prohibitions of the Emperor were defied. Producers and consumers alike had to bear the oppressive burden of this indirect taxation. Many influential personages adopted this characteristic feature of India's economic life in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including Mirza Ishaq Beg (Governor of Surat), Mir Jumla in the Karnatak and Shuja, Mir Jumla, Shaista Khan and Azim us Shan in Bengal. Instances can be multiplied.

The case of Mirza Ishaq Beg illustrates the danger of having merchants as Governors. He was not only the Governor of Surat but also the greatest merchant of the place. From the complaints of the Surat factors to Afzal Khan, Diwan of Prince Khurram (1619), we learn that he endeavoured "to depress all others for increase of his own gain, without regard to the Prince's service and benefit." He prevented men from selling goods to the English. He also prohibited the English from importing certain commodities, though the customs revenue of Prince Khurram (then Governor of Gujarat) suffered in both cases. He forced them under pain of displeasure to sell him their goods at his own price, and then paid them at his pleasure. He did them no justice and his servants continually insulted and abused them. Having suffered injuries for three years President Kerridge of Surat, therefore, begged Afzal Khan to represent the matter to the Prince and have their grievances redressed.¹²

The basis of Mir Jumla's economic system in the Karnatak and Bengal was monopoly. He used to charge monopoly prices and tried to control internal production. He established a monopoly of the trade in all 'brown' or unbleached cloth in his 'new conquests', and they were sold at 20% profit. Again sale of grain seemed to be a strict monopoly. Paddy and other necessities coming to Madras through his jurisdiction had to pay customs while paddy was sold to the town people at 25% more than the market price. The English in Madras could not sell anything except the articles purchased from the men of Nawab's farmer at prices 50% higher than those prevailing in the neighbourhood. As Governor of Bengal (1660-1663), Mir Jumla endeavoured to become the sole stockist of all articles of necessity and then sell them at fanciful prices. In 1660 he offered to supply the English factors every year as much saltpetre as they would require for his personal profit. Next year (1661) he made an extraordinary levy in Bengal, demanding Rs. 50,000 from the grain merchants of Dacca as something like an excess profits tax of modern times on the pretext that the latter had made a profit of twice the amount due to the continued presence of the

Governor's large camp (on the eve of Kuch Bihar and Assam campaign). They were coerced to pay Rs. 25,000 in all, while city bankers, forewarned by such severity paid three lakhs.¹³

Shaista Khan, as Governor of Bengal, at first abolished the existing trade monopolies and the forbidden abwabs. But after a few years his subordinates were left free by his supine rule to squeeze the people and feed his prodigal luxury by reviving the old methods. "Merchandise was stopped at every outpost and ferry and custom duty charged over and over again in disregard of official permits; cesses (abwabs) abolished by imperial decree, still continued to be realised in practice... the Nawab practised a monopoly of the sale of salt, betel-nut and some other prime necessities of life", also in fodder, bamboos, firewood, thatch etc. The goods were distributed among the townmerchants at 10% to 15% higher than the market rate.¹⁴

Azim us Shan, Governor of Bengal (1697-1712), also tried to amass money by *Sauda ikhas* i.e. establishing a trade monopoly in most necessities of life and in many precious objects, engrossing goods at the places of origin or ports of unloading and forcing them on retail traders at exorbitant prices. Aurangzeb strongly censured him.¹⁵

This practice of engrossing articles of internal consumption was resorted to not only in normal times but also during famine times. We have a glaring instance of engrossing the supply of food even during the famous Gujarat famine by the Governor of Surat and one or two moneyed merchants (1632). This doubled the price of wheat at Surat (Rs. 4 the md. of 40 seers) as compared to Broach (Rs. 2). As biscuit was needed for the fleet, the Surat authorities directed Messrs. Wyche and Joyce, proceeding to Broach and Baroda (Feb. 18, 1632) to purchase 1000 mds. of wheat and send it down "to keep our bakers in action." As movements of food grains were controlled during the famine, the authorities proposed to forward "such presents as they desire... for the Governor and Customer, to facilitate the

passing of the goods through the Custom house".¹⁶

2. Control of Saltpetre Trade by Provincial Governors

(i) *For military purposes*: Saltpetre trade was controlled for military purposes not only by the Emperor but by the Provincial Governors as well. It was apprehended that during the Mughal invasion of Golkonda (1656) Aurangzeb, then Viceroy of the Deccan, might capture saltpetre caravans going via Burhanpur. Murad Bakhsh forcibly seized the saltpetre procured by the English at Ahmadabad for his military preparations during the War of Succession (1657). Shuja captured saltpetre for his use in 1660.¹⁷

(ii) *For non-military purposes*: Government control over saltpetre was exercised also for non-military purposes i.e. religious grounds. In 1646, Aurangzeb, then Governor of Gujarat, probably under the influence of *ulemas* or theologians, prohibited the sale of saltpetre to the English, lest gunpowder made from Indian saltpetre be used against a Moslem power. In 1689 at the request of the Sunni Sultan of Turkey, Aurangzeb forbade the sale of saltpetre to Christians, as it was often used against 'good Mussulmans'.

(iii) *For private gain*: Besides seizing saltpetre for local military needs, the Provincial Governors and Diwans also endeavoured to establish their own monopolies in this article. During 1660-61, Mirza Lutfullah Beg, Diwan of Patna, attempted to monopolise the sale of saltpetre for the benefit of the imperial revenues. He forced the dealers, in spite of their contracts with the Dutch, to deliver their saltpetre to him. The Dutch, whose Director Matheus van den Broeck at Hugli complained to Mir Jumla and to the English, alleged that these actions were secretly instigated by the English factor at Patna, Chamberlain, and his broker, Ganga Ram, who had promised to purchase saltpetre from the Diwan. Trevisa, the English Agent, disclaimed these allegations and agreed with the Dutch Director not to deal with the Diwan and not to purchase saltpetre except as before, directly from the dealers. Moreover

mir Jumla sent a *parwana* to Lutfullah, forbidding him to hinder the Dutch, who had assisted the Governor in his operations against Bahadur Khan of Hijli, from trading freely in saltpetre. It was expected that the Anglo-Dutch dispute would be settled. But, afterwards Chamberlain was accused of trying to buy saltpetre from the iwan (who had scraped together about 10,000 ds. of poor quality) secretly in violation of revisa's agreement.¹⁸

Shaista Khan, as Governor of Bengal, also tried to monopolise the entire saltpetre trade in his own hands and then to sell it to the English and Dutch 'at his own rates', as he knew that their ships could not 'go from the Bay empty'. In 1664 his *darogha* or agent came to Patna with a commission to buy 20,000 mds. of saltpetre, and orders to prohibit the Dutch and the English from advancing any money to the manufacturers. He prevented the English from weighing and receiving the stipulated saltpetre from them and put his 'seal on the several places of production'. So great was the oppression of the *darogas* on the manufacturers and merchants that used to run away daily (without fulfilling their contracts to the English Co.) and so the English factors held that the Nawab would not be able to procure more than 4 to 5 thousand mds. that year. On the other hand, Shaista Khan demanded of the English 20,000 mds. on the pretence of "buying for the king" and of "carrying on the King's wars" (i.e. Arakan wars).¹⁹

2. Official monopoly on Lead

There was an official monopoly on lead. This commodity was almost exclusively imported from

Europe to India. But the market at Surat was not free. The Mughal Government tried to establish control over it. The local Governor usually claimed the right of wholly engrossing it, i.e. buying all that was offered in the town. In 1619 the lead of the English E.I. Company was detained by the customs house officials for two months, which frustrated its sale for the year. The Surat factors were also hampered by the prohibition of its transport to other parts. The Mughal Government was reported to have been exercising greater control over it ("more narrowly looked into").²⁰ In November, 1621, President Rastell of Surat wrote to the Company: 'The sale of our lead was prohibited to all, and restrained only to the Prince's officers, who have long beat upon it, and in September (1621) bought all at 7½ mahmudis'.²¹

During the tenure of Nawab Saif Khan (Jahangir Shahi), Viceroy of Gujarat, the customer of Surat used to engross the entire amount of lead. At the time of his resignation large quantities remained unsold. These were forced on the traders of Ahmadabad. So Surat informed the Company that until this stock was exhausted there was little chance of their selling the imported amount which was "much more" than what would be sold at Surat in a year.²²

In 1628 lead was bought by the Governor of Surat for resale. Not more than 12 or 13,000 mds. was expected to sell per annum.²³

These facts tend to one conclusion, that private gain overbore the greater interests of the people and the country.

REFERENCES

- ¹ EF. 1634—36, pp. 69, 70, 72, 7—8; 1630—33, p. 209.
- ² Surat Letter: March 15, 1636, EF. 1634—36, p. 182.
- ³ EF. 1646—50, pp. 57—59.
- ⁴ EF. 1665—67, p. 28.
- ⁵ EF. 1624—29, p. 335.
- ⁶ EF. 1624—29, p. 270, XXX; 1646—50, pp. 57—59;
- ⁷ EF. 1651—54, pp. 299—300; 1655—60, pp. 17—18, 63—4.
- ⁸ EF. 1630—33, p. 325; 1634—36, p. 7.
- ⁹ EF. 1630—33, p. 325; 1634—36, pp. 7—8, 72. M.U.
- ¹⁰ EF. 1655—60, pp. 15, 17—18.
- ¹¹ EF. 1624—29, XXX; 1646—50, pp. 121—22, 203; 1655—60, pp. 15, 240—1, 370, 366, 371, 375; 1661—4.
- ¹² pp. 4—7; 1665—67, pp. 245, 247, 249, 253—55, 319—20, 42, 43; 1668—69, p. 129.
- ¹³ EF. 1618—21, pp. 147—8.
- ¹⁴ Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*; Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, *Mir Jumla*, pp. 38, 217.
- ¹⁵ Sarkar, *History of Bengal II*, 374—5.
- ¹⁶ Ibid. pp. 402—3.
- ¹⁷ EF. 1630—33, p. 209.
- ¹⁸ EF. 1655—60, pp. 63—4, 120—21, 397.
- ¹⁹ BDR. 1661. Letters of 29 Jan. and 10 Oct. EF. 1661—4, pp. 69—71.
- ²⁰ EF. 1661—65, pp. 394—397; 1665—67, pp. 134, 257.

²⁰ Surat to Co. (Nov. 1619) EF. 1618—21. p. 134. In spite of this embargo Surat requested the E.I. Company to send annually the amount previously advised. Does this imply that the Surat factors hoped to evade the embargo by judicious bribery?

²¹ "All not yet delivered, not one-third of the amount received". Surat to Co. Nov. 7, 1621, EF. 1618—21. p. 323.

²² Surat to Co. Nov. 29, 1621. EF. 1614—29. pp. 157, 152.

Saif Khan was dismissed by Shah Jahan. "The present Governor, being the lately deceased Price's servant doth not meddle with that or any other commodity." Surat was granted in Jagir to late Prince Parviz. EF. 1624—29. p. 152.

²³ Surat to Co. Jan. 4, 1628. EF. 1624—29. p. 196.

IMPACT OF INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY ON HER MILITARY POLICY AND THE ROLE OF THE ARMY IN INDIA, 1899-1921

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The foreign policy of Britain and therefore of the Government of India in the 19th century was marked by a Russophobia right from 1807 when Napoleon concluded the alliance of Tilsit with Alexander I of Russia, one of the details of which was a combined invasion of India by the land route. From that year, in the words of Sir Mac-Munn "the bear has always cast his shadow forward on the borders of India." The military policy in India was naturally conditioned by this fear and there is no doubt that the Government of India's measure to counter this apprehended danger on her north-west frontier led to the First and the Second Afghan Wars. When in 1884, Russia annexed Merv, a town 150 miles from the Afghan border and 200 miles from Herat, the dread of Russian danger to India was so acute among some diplomats and statesmen in Britain, that the Duke of Argyll said that the Government was suffering from 'Mervousness'. Soon after, on the suggestion of Russia, a joint commission to demarcate the northern boundary of Afghanistan was appointed, but while the Commission was still busy in its task, the Panjdeh incident occurred which brought the two great powers to the brink of war. The Russians forcibly occupied Panjdeh, a hundred and twenty miles from Herat, and to support their claim began moving forces from Trans-Caspia towards Afghanistan. The Indian Government replied by assembling a force at Quetta. A clash seemed imminent, but was averted by the sagacity of Amir Abdur Rehman who, not wishing to see his country turned into an arena of warfare, gave up his claim to Panjdeh. The boundary commission resumed its labours, and after protracted negotiations a Protocol was signed in July 1887 at

Petersburg defining the border up to the line of the Oxus. Another Anglo-Russian Convention signed in 1895 defined the border on the Hindu-kush side. This was the position when Curzon became the Viceroy of India in January 1899.

During his tenure as Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs from 1895 to 1898, Lord Curzon had generally been regarded as a protagonist of the forward school, and his appointment as Viceroy of India was therefore not received well in Russia. Judging from Curzon's views as expressed in Parliament and in his books, even in England some people apprehended that his policy as head of the Government of India might lead to a war with Russia. He was not a Russophobe to the extent of believing that Russia wanted to conquer India, but he believed that Russia would do everything in her power to create trouble for Britain in Asia in order to keep her quiet in Europe, so that Russia could pursue her ambitions elsewhere without check. "Russia's object was not Calcutta but Constantinople; not the Ganges, but the Golden Horn."

The military policy of the Government of India immediately before Curzon's arrival here was based on the theory of being prepared to meet an all-out attack of Russia against India. Since he did not sympathise with this extreme view, he reversed the trend of the military policy based on it. As he wrote—"Our military authorities are satisfied with nothing short of gigantic forts large enough to resist an attack by the whole Russian army." He refused to agree to any scheme of increasing the military forces of the country and scrapped the proposal for constructing costly

fortifications in the Khyber area. Similar schemes for Chitral and Samana were also cancelled. Help Afghanistan by all means, he said, and protect it as a buffer between India and Russia, but for that purpose the best deployment of forces was to be found in the withdrawal of British and Indian regular troops to bases within the administrative frontier—the advanced tribal territory to be held by tribal levies and the communications between such outposts and their bases to be provided, where necessary, by light narrow gauge railways.² He also abandoned the programme of railway line up the Khyber on economic grounds and also as likely to antagonise the Amir unnecessarily, since there were alternative routes up the Kabul Valley which could be used in case of necessity. Doubts were expressed by some writer in *The Times* whether the tribal levies would prove worthy of the confidence which Curzon proposed to place in them. To this Curzon's reply was: "I am hopeful, but not a bit over-sanguine, as to the success of the experiment. When, however, *The Times* says there is great risk, because the Waziri levies have already shown of what treacherous material they are made, the writer is ignorant of the difference between the old Sillahdari levies—who were salaried loafers and ruffians, and whom we are abolishing—and the new levies, who will be a semi-military corps, not under corrupt Maliks, but under British officers."³

If a war with Russia did break out, it would, in Curzon's view, be a war for Imperial interest and in support of British policy in Europe or elsewhere and not for the protection or defence of India. Clearly therefore the responsibility of such a war should be borne by Britain, and India should not be expected to embark on a costly policy of military preparedness. An elucidation of this point of view and policy of the Government of India came under the following circumstances in 1902.

In 1901 a Committee of the India Office, presided over by Lieut.-General Sir W.G. Nicholson examined the question of a war with Russia in Afghanistan and came to the conclusion that it

would take from 9 to 12 months *after* the start of the war for reinforcements to reach India. It therefore recommended substantial additions to the Army in India in order to enable India to sustain a war with Russia till reinforcements could reach it from the U.K. This proposal was examined in India by a Committee presided over by Lord Curzon. This Committee disagreed with the Nicholson Committee and the following pertinent passage from their report explains the views of Lord Curzon and the Government of India in the matter:⁴

"There is another aspect of the case which may fairly be presented to the authorities in England. The Indian Army, as at present constituted, can undertake the defence of India. If, however, it is entrusted with the vastly larger task of defending the prestige of the Empire, then it appears only reasonable that the Imperial Exchequer should bear its share of the burden. A war with Russia in Afghanistan would be an Imperial rather than an Indian war; since it cannot be doubted that not merely the credit, but the very existence of the British Empire, would be at stake. If, then, an Imperial war is to be waged in Afghanistan, it does not appear to be any more fair to expect that India should bear the entire charge of the necessary troops than it would be to call upon Canada to pay for resisting an invasion of Canada, or the South African Colonies to be exclusively responsible for the military forces maintained at the Cape. An examination, indeed, of these analogies very speedily leads to conclusions that are unfavourable to the present distribution (so far as India is concerned) of the military burdens of the British Empire."

The Government of India's views and arguments may be summarised as follows⁵:

- (1) The augmentation of forces in India recommended by the India Office Committee would result in enormous increase in expenditure of Indian revenues and should not therefore be sanctioned.

- (2) If at all, the augmentation is sanctioned,

the entire extra cost should be borne by His Majesty's Government.

- (3) If it was argued that India, as a part of the British Empire, ought to bear some burden of Imperial responsibility, then the Government of India's reply was that India was already doing so. As their Despatch of 21 August put it: "We maintain in this country a military force larger than would be required were it not for the possibility of war beyond our frontier with an European enemy in the interest of a larger stake even than India. With that force we are competent to defend ourselves, and even to take the initial steps in a great international conflict. More than this we do not think that we can legitimately be expected to undertake."

- (4) The Imperial Government's argument for having a larger army reserve in India rather than in England was that it would be immediately available to take the field after a declaration of war with Russia to avoid delay in sending out forces to India on account of the possibility of sea communications being disrupted *after* the war had begun. To this the Government of India's reply was that "if the naval forces of Great Britain cannot, for whatever period of time, ensure the command of the sea" for sending forces to India "then the cost of making good that reality appears to us fairly to devolve not upon India but upon Great Britain."

It is significant that this strongly worded despatch does not appear to have ever been answered.

All this does not mean that the Government of India under Curzon was pursuing a weak policy towards other European powers contemplating an extension of their influence in the countries bordering on India or controlling the sea routes to India. This had been demonstrated in the

very first year of Curzon's viceroyalty in India when he had come to know that the Sultan of Oman had granted the French a coaling station at Bunder Jissch near Muscat. The Government of India had promptly demanded that the lease to the French be cancelled and repudiated in public. Curzon had backed up the demand by sending a small naval squadron to the Gulf, and under a threat of bombarding the Sultan's palace had forced the Sultan to announce publicly the cancellation of the lease. This was a clear enough warning to all concerned that India would not countenance the extension of any European power's influence in the direction of India whether by sea or by land. This view was further reiterated by the British Foreign Secretary Lord Lansdowne's declaration of May 1903 and later by Curzon's visit to the Gulf and the construction of Quetta to Nushki railway. On this point Curzon was one with the Government at home. But he differed with the extreme exponents of the forward policy on the following points:—

- (1) There was in his view no danger of an all-out attack by Russia or France against India.
- (2) There was no need to have advanced bases or garrisons deep into the tribal territory, and
- (3) If a war did break out with Russia, the cost of maintaining a large army reserve in India should be borne by the British exchequer.

Although some critics considered this military policy unsound, it did secure peace for several years on the north-west frontier, better relations with the Amir and a recognition of Britain's naval claims in the Arabian Sea area. Russia's defeat in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5 also contributed to this happy result to some extent. Nevertheless, the bogey of Russian danger to India still exercised the minds of some British statesmen, and Lord Kitchener, who had come to India as C-in-C, at the instance of Lord Curzon, introduced many changes and reforms in the army or-

ganisation, which had, no doubt, a war with Russia in view. Meanwhile, in 1907, the British Prime Minister appointed a sub-committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence to examine the whole question of military requirements of the Empire particularly as affecting India, under the Chairmanship of Mr. (later Lord) Morley. Its terms of reference included, *inter alia*, the following words: "It is evident that the needs of India are the key to this question. In peace these needs mainly govern the normal size of the Army; in war, on our Indian land frontier, they would make the largest demands upon our military resources."⁶ The Sub-Committee made its report in May 1907. While recognising that Russian power had been crippled, as a result of the Russo-Japanese War, and that Russia was not likely for a 'longish time to come' to take the risk of a war with Great Britain by invading India, they agreed with Lord Kitchener on the possibility of a Russian 'advance by stages'. In order to meet such a threat they recommended among other things that the military organisation of Great Britain should be such as to enable 100,000 men to be despatched to India during the first year of the war.

Among other things, the Sub-Committee came to the conclusion that "the gates of India are in Afghanistan", and that the "deliberate crossing of the Oxus or the occupation of Herat by Russia would be the violation of a frontier which we are bound to defend," and that a Russian action of this kind "would be followed by a declaration of war with that power."⁸ The Sub-Committee, therefore, recommended that the Indian Field Army should be so organised as to provide nine divisions and eight cavalry brigades within the next six or seven years, and that the military organisation of Great Britain should be such as to enable 100,000 men to be despatched to India during the first year of the war.⁹ Nothing was, however, said about the financial aspect of the matter, the implication obviously being that India would pay for the expansion of her forces. The principles involved in the recommendations were accepted by the

Committee of Imperial Defence on 30th May 1907.

However, soon after this Report and the acceptance of its principles, the tension relaxed when an Anglo-Russian Convention was signed in August 1907, whereby Russia and Great Britain became friends, and the prospects of a quarrel receded for the time being. The British object in the negotiations resulting in the Convention was to secure themselves for ever, so far as a treaty could secure them, from further Russian advances in the direction of the Indian frontier.¹⁰ The prospect of a war with Russia in Afghanistan having thus receded, the military policy in India underwent a change and the principle that Indian troops and revenues could be used for an Imperial purpose was modified between the years 1907 and 1914. Incidentally, the division of Persia into British and Russian spheres of influence by the Convention, made Britain extremely unpopular in Persia and paved the way for a conflict with that country, which now began to look to Turkey and Germany for support.

1907-1914: During this period it again began to be understood that the Army in India was not to serve any Imperial purpose, but was meant only for maintaining internal peace and for meeting any danger threatening India's own security. In fact, just before the outbreak of the First World War an Army in India Committee had clearly laid down that the army in India had no Imperial commitments and that its role was confined to the two-fold object defined above. The extent and size of forces to be maintained in India was to be determined in accordance with that role.

The Government of India accepted the estimate arrived at in the majority report of the said Committee, of the strength and organisation requisite for the two main objects of the Army. The Secretary of State for India, in a despatch dated 20 March 1914, endorsed the view that the needs of external defence and maintenance of internal peace could be adequately met from

the armed forces then maintained in India.¹¹ Thus by implication, the Government of India as well as the British Government (through the Secretary of State) recognised the principle that the Army in India was not meant to serve an Imperial purpose. Soon after that came the Great War in which Russia and the U.K. found themselves as each other's ally. This set at rest all fears of the British regarding any trouble by Russia on the Afghan border and consequently the fear of Russian 'menace', as it was called, was at its lowest ebb during the years 1914-17. In fact the principle of 'no Imperial responsibility' by Indian armed forces was re-affirmed in 1915 by the British Parliament in the Government of India Act of that year.¹² Section 22 of that Act laid down:

"Except for preventing or repelling actual invasion of His Majesty's Indian possessions, or under sudden and urgent necessity, the revenues of India shall not, without the consent of both Houses of Parliament, be applicable to defraying the expenses of any military operations carried on beyond the external frontiers of these possessions by His Majesty's forces charged upon these revenues."

This naturally set a limit to the maximum forces to be maintained in India and the maximum expenditure to be incurred for maintaining such forces. When the Great War broke out, the equipment supplies, stores, vehicles etc. of the Army were governed and limited by a standard considered sufficient for the limited role of the Army. That is why a huge, all-round expansion had to be made during the course of the struggle.

Thus, although the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 and later the entry of Russia in the Great War of 1914-18 as an ally of Britain removed the danger of a major war on India's north-west frontier and beyond, the Great War itself made so many demands on military resources of India that the principle of 'No Imperial responsibility' was destined to be short-lived. It is not within the scope of this

essay to describe in detail the part played by India and her forces in that war. It is sufficient to say here that India's contribution both in men and money was enormous,¹³ and was recognised by all. Writing in 1923, an Englishman said:¹⁴ "What India did in the war is a matter of splendid history. None will forget the men of the Indian contingent in France who brought irreplaceable aid to our inadequate forces in 1914, and who helped to stem the German rush by dying in hundreds where they stood. In Africa it was the Army of India which bore more than half the brunt of our conflict with the flower of Germany's troops, in Mesopotamia, in Egypt, Palestine and the Dardanelles it played its part; and in fact India accomplished perhaps more than any other Dominion. Each one of the million and a quarter men she sent to the war would have been hard indeed to replace from elsewhere..... In her material resources and products too India was of solid value to us throughout the years of the war....."

The glorious part played by India in the Great War led to two entirely differing developments about military policy and role of the army in India. On the one hand, there arose a demand in India for defining and confining the role of India's armed forces to the defence of India and cutting down the military budgets of the country; on the other, a realisation of the tremendous importance and potentialities of the Indian army in a future Imperial war dawned upon the understanding of British statesmen with redoubled force. The Anglo-Russian friendship lasting for a decade (1907-1917), which had made the British Government acquiesce in defining the role of the Army in India as having no Imperial purpose, had also disappeared in 1917 as a result of the successful Bolshevik revolution of that year. This revived the Russophobia of Britain and the Russian 'menace' again began to influence British political and military thought. The pronouncements of certain Soviet leaders, particularly that of Lenin before a meeting of the Third International at Moscow in May 1920, lent further

colour to these fears. Lenin was reported to have said: "England is our greatest enemy in the world. British Imperialism is a pest which spreads everywhere. Our task is to root out the British Imperialistic spirit in Turkey, in Persia and in Asia generally. In India we must strike them hardest."¹⁵ And again later, he was supposed to have declared that "the road to London is through Kabul and India."¹⁶ Coupled with these factors was the Third Afghan War of 1919, which again focussed attention on India's north-west frontier. India's resources in men and money, harnessed and organised for the Great War were still in a state of readiness and were used to bring the Afghan War to a speedy conclusion. This further emphasised the usefulness of the Indian armed forces to the British. Thus the position in the years following the Great War was that, while the Indian leaders wanted a re-affirmation of the principle that India's army was not meant to serve an Imperial purpose, the British wanted to develop it in such a way as to make it of far greater value in a future Imperial war. It was in this state of atmosphere that the Esher Committee was appointed in 1919. This Committee's report, published in October 1920, gave rise to a heated controversy, particularly the recommendations relating to the role of the army and co-ordination of India's defence with that of the British Empire.

The Esher Committee consisted of some distinguished soldiers and civilians, mostly British, with two Indian members, namely Sir Krishna Gupta, a former member of the Council of India and Major Sir Umar Hayat Khan, a chieftain of the Punjab. The recommendations of the Committee embraced a wide variety of subjects, all of which need not be discussed here; we shall confine ourselves to only those recommendations which raised the controversy.

In the very beginning of their report they said, "We cannot consider the administration of the Army in India otherwise than as part of the total armed forces of the Empire..." By this

they meant that the Indian army reforms could be viewed only as part of a much larger scheme designed for the proper co-ordination of the fighting forces of the Empire. During the war, the Imperial War Cabinet had been established as a machine for the co-ordination of higher questions of military policy as affecting the Empire. The Esher Committee visualised a survival of that machine in some form or other in the post-bellum period. An implication of the survival of the Imperial War Cabinet, under whatever name, would be the exercise of some sort of control by the Imperial General Staff in England over military affairs and policy in India. And it was to this implication of the Esher Committee's report that an exception was taken in India. It was later on explained by Government spokesmen and also in a Government publication, 'India in 1920'¹⁷ that what the Committee had meant was only this, that the Imperial General Staff should exercise powers of "general co-ordination of military resources, requirements and organisation," and that it did not intend the "destruction of the fundamental British principle of control by the civil power over military matters."¹⁸ Anyhow, the words used in the Report were that the Imperial General Staff was to be allowed through its Chief to exercise "a considered influence on the military policy of the Government of India." Further in para 17 of their Report the Committee had suggested that the C-in-C in India should be directly in touch with the Chief of the Imperial General Staff regarding training, organisation etc. of the army "so as to develop the military resources of India in a manner suited to Imperial necessities." These words were interpreted to mean: (i) that the Indian Government, over which Indians were trying to obtain control, would be deprived of the unfettered control of the Army, and, (ii) that the Army would be used for purposes not relevant to the defence of India.

Indian Assembly discusses the Esher Report

The new Indian Legislative Assembly

(Central) constituted under the Reform Act of 1919 was inaugurated in February 1921. Shortly after this it had the opportunity to discuss the Esher Committee's Report and passed a comprehensive series of fourteen resolutions on the subject of army reform and policy in March 1921. The first of these resolutions relating to the role of the Army in India was as follows:—

Resolution No. 1. "This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council:

(a) That the purpose of the army in India must be held to be the defence of India against external aggression and the maintenance of internal peace and tranquillity. To the extent to which it is necessary for India to maintain any army for these purposes, its organisation, equipment, and administration should be thoroughly up-to-date, and with due regard to Indian conditions, in accordance with the present-day standards of efficiency in the British army, so that when the Army in India has to co-operate with the British Army on any occasion, there may be no dissimilarities of organisation, etc., which would render such co-operation difficult. For any purpose other than those mentioned in the first sentence, the obligations resting upon India should be no more onerous than those resting on the Self-Governing Dominions, and should be undertaken subject to the same conditions as are applicable to those Dominions.

(b) To repudiate the assumption underlying the whole Report of the Esher Committee:

(1) That the administration of the Army in India cannot be considered otherwise than as part of the total armed forces of the Empire, and

(2) That the Military resources of India should be developed in a manner suited to Imperial necessities."

This resolution was accepted by the Government of India and communicated to the Secretary of State with a partial reservation. The partial reservation read:

"Every effort is being made to equip and organise the Indian Army, so far as is practicable, in the same manner as the British Army, but complete assimilation will not take place owing to financial and other reasons."

The resolution read with the reservation was accepted by His Majesty's Government.

India had thus expressed her uncompromising opposition to the use of Indian troops for anything except the defence of India. This was because it was felt, firstly, that India, herself a dependent country, should not be instrumental in keeping any other country in bondage by fighting in a war for the preservation or expansion of the British empire; and secondly, because it was essential in the interests of the development of the country to reduce the defence expenditure which at that time was equal to, roughly, half of the total central revenues. As a result of the acceptance by the Government of the Assembly's resolution the position in the twenties was that the task of the army in India was limited to the maintenance of internal peace and tranquillity and the protection of the frontiers against tribal risings and against external aggression. How this conception of the role of India's armed forces underwent a radical change in the thirties or roughly during the decade preceding the Second World War makes an interesting story but is beyond the scope of this paper.

- ¹ Ronaldshay, *Life of Lord Curzon*, Vol. I, p. 297.
² Ronaldshay, *Life of Lord Curzon*, Vol. II, p. 40.
³ Ibid, pp. 42-43.
⁴ Quoted from the Proceedings of the Committee of Imperial Defence (Defence of India Sub-Committee), B. 77.

⁵ Summary based on the "Govt. of India Despatch, Military (Secret) No. 160 dated 21st August 1902." (Quoted in Proceedings of the Defence of India Sub-Committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence 1927).
⁶ Report and Minutes of Evidence of a sub-committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence appointed by the Prime Minister (1907).
⁷ Ibid.
⁸ Ibid, p. ix.
⁹ Ibid, p. xiii.

- ¹⁰ *Twenty-five Years* by Lord Grey, Vol. I, p. 159.
¹¹ *India's Contribution to the Great War (1914-18)*, published by Superintendent, Government of India Printing (1923).
¹² Act 5 & 6 George 5 (1915).
¹³ For details see *India's Contribution to the Great War (1914-18)*, published by Superintendent, Govt. of India Printing (1923).
¹⁴ *The Defence of India*, Arthur Vincent, published by Humphrey Milford at the Oxford University Press (Bombay).
¹⁵ Quoted from Arthur Vincent: *Defence of India*, p. 81.
¹⁶ Ibid.
¹⁷ This was an annual report on Indian affairs presented every year to the British Parliament.
¹⁸ *India in 1920*.

INDIA'S POLICY IN TIBET IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

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India's policy towards Tibet in the twentieth century, in both content and framework, hinges on the "cornerstone" of the inviolability and security of the Himalaya frontier from Assam to Kashmir including Nepal.

The British aim in Tibet originally was the expansion of the East India Company's trade across the Himalaya, in Tibet and Central Asia. Rumour of Russian influence in the counsels of Lhasa, and China's inability to prevent acts of aggression by Tibetans against Garhwal and Sikkim in 1870-1900 led eventually to the acquisition of special rights in Tibet. The Chinese regarded British penetration into Tibet in 1903-4 as an encroachment in a sphere historically their own. Chao Erh-feng, Warden of the Marches, who annexed several frontier States in Eastern Tibet in 1905 and established strong Chinese control in Lhasa in 1908, represented this new Chinese attitude. The Anglo-Russian Convention of 31 August 1907, which defined British and Russian spheres of influence in Central Asia and which provided for a specific understanding to deal with Tibet only through the agency of China, greatly buttressed the Chinese position there.

Growth of British influence in Tibet also sharpened Nepalese jealousy; it reduced the importance and prestige of the Nepalese agent in Lhasa, who had been intermediary between Tibet and the outside world heretofore.

Thus British relations with Tibet were rather shaky up to the eve of the revolution in China in 1911. On the establishment of the Chinese Republic on 1 January 1912, the British recognized China's suzerainty over Tibet, but objected to its right actively to intervene in Tibet's internal

affairs. The memorandum of 17 August 1912, declared that until China accepted this view the British Government could not recognize the Republic. Elimination of Chinese influence in Tibet by the Tibetans themselves in 1911-12 and the establishment of the connexion with Russia through Mongolia in 1912-13 were compelling factors in this stiff attitude of the British. Russia was then increasing the hold on Mongolia and drawing nearer Tibet. The conclusion of a treaty of alliance (11 January 1912) by Tibet with Mongolia, virtually under the protection of Russia, gave the latter a special though indirect position in Tibet.

The tripartite conference between the British, the Chinese and the Tibetans convened in Simla in 1913 to define the political status of Tibet broke down on the question of the China-Tibet frontier. The objective then uppermost in the British mind was an arrangement with China and/or Tibet so to secure Tibet's frontiers as to constitute a definite barrier to China's advance towards India. The 1913-14 negotiations between Britain, China and Tibet were, on the British part, directed to removing many provisions in old treaties detrimental to British interests or to those of Tibet.

This Conference, however, resulted in a bipartite agreement between the British and Tibet which established the frontier between Assam and Tibet. Definition of the Assam-Tibet frontier from Bhutan to Burma, which came almost as a *quid pro quo* for British help to Tibet over the settlement of matters then in dispute between China and Tibet, was not the prime objective of the Simla Conference. The underlying consideration was not so much the need to check Tibetan activity south of the main Hima-

laya range as the knowledge that behind Tibet, and ready to absorb her at the first opportunity, lay China, which in her expansionist period before 1911 had established posts in several places within the north-east frontier of India, including Menilkrai in the east and Tawang in the west.

A communication from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Lord Curzon, on 26 August 1921, reminding the Chinese Government of the nature of the British interest in Tibet, re-stated the British policy of maintaining the "autonomy" of Tibet and a Government in Lhasa able to keep peace and order along India's northern frontiers. Under the 1904, 1914 and 1921 arrangements between Britain and Tibet, India had developed special border and trade relations with Tibet. Neither Indians entering Tibet nor Tibetans entering India required passports, and there was no check on the movement of the people from one country to another.

The Government of India sent its representatives to Tibet to obtain first-hand information about events and developments on the Sino-Tibetan frontier as well as to show the Chinese that the British were in earnest about re-opening the abortive negotiations of 1913-1914. To promote reasonable negotiations between China and Tibet, the British advised the Government of Tibet to build up her army, for it was then held that China was unlikely to negotiate on a basis of equity and reason with a weak Tibet.

This enabled the British to exercise a measure of control over the military situation in Central Asia. Supply of arms to the Tibetans enabled the British Government to check the growing Japanese influence in Tibet, a prospect the British could hardly afford to regard with equanimity. So anxious indeed were the Tibetans to be on even terms with the Chinese that in the 1920s they imported considerable quantities of arms and ammunition from the Japanese to supplement those from the British. The Japanese flooded Mongolia, as well as Siberia near the

Mongol frontier, in 1919-21 with Japanese rifle to enable the Mongols and Siberians to resist the Bolsheviks.

After 1930, China vigorously endeavoured to reassert its old position in Tibet. Up to 1945 however, the Chinese Government was anxious not to offend the British Government, on which it was dependent for munitions for the war against Japan. The main problem for British diplomacy was whether the dominating Power in Tibet in future was likely to be China (Communist China, or Chiang Kai-shek driven out of the mainland) or a China dominated by Japan or the USSR. Would Britain, owing to her own needs, supply less munitions to China and the USSR supply more? How strong was the USSR in China and what was her game in the China-Japan war? Was China's real policy towards Tibet one of (i) definite penetration, or (ii) forward policy, or (iii) incorporation of entire Tibet in China? Though preoccupied with Japan, China devoted considerable attention and energy to forming a new province, Sikkim, out of Kham and the ethnically Tibetan western part of Szechwan.

A communication from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Anthony Eden, on 5 August 1943, in the wake of China showing readiness to adopt a threatening policy towards Tibet, re-stated the 1921 principle of the "autonomy" of Tibet. Realization of the British desire for the continuance of Tibet as an adequate buffer covering the entire Himalaya frontier including Nepal depended, however, primarily on the Tibetans themselves, aided no doubt by British diplomatic support in China and the help which the British extended to Tibet in various ways. British endeavour was always directed towards achieving this end; the 1913-14 negotiations were the first attempt in this regard. British policy, therefore, concerned itself with the search for the means to promote the fulfilment of this desire. The Tibetans fully realized that it suited the British that Tibet, pending or as part and parcel of the political settlement with China, should maintain her essential integrity. This

knowledge constituted the political bond between the British and the Tibetans.

The Tibetans had the Chinese communists and the Japanese to thank for keeping the Kuomintang too heavily occupied to have time for any strong move against their country up to the end of the Second World War in 1945. Tibetan sympathies were, therefore, always far more with Japan, as being a Buddhist country and one that was able to stop China from invading Tibet.

The main objective of the British policy in Tibet, especially from 1904 to 1947, was to possess a peaceful frontier in the Himalaya from Assam to Kashmir. All things considered, those in the Government of India concerned with its defence and security always regarded British interests in Tibet of much greater importance than their interests in China. Ascendancy of China or any other Power in Tibet could not only deeply strain British relations with Tibet but also seriously affect interests of Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal, and thereby of India, a contingency which could never be viewed with equanimity.

On the morrow of independence on 15 August 1947, sovereign India assumed, until fresh arrangements, this British position in Tibet along with all British rights and obligations under the Simla Convention of 1914. While the Government of sovereign India sought friendly relations with China in the wake of developments in Central Asia in 1949, it revised the old treaties with Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal in order to forestall any serious misunderstanding between them and Tibet, and also between them and India. Earlier Chinese claims to certain parts in India's borders with cultural and ethnic associations with Tibet had alerted the Government of India in this regard.

The advantages of existing relations plus the memory of the unique cultural connection which live to Tibet Buddhism (at the hands of men like Padmasambhava, Kamalashila and Srijnanipankar, to name only the greatest teachers

India sent to Tibet) would, it was then thought, surely inspire the national Government of India to continue the pre-1947 policy towards Tibet. For the economic and geographical factors, which especially determined and conditioned the old policy, remained as before in the post-1947 situation in Central Asia. It was also thought that exercise of office and acquaintance with the facts of Tibet will eventually moderate Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's love for China.

Before the Chinese take-over in Tibet in the summer of 1951, it was apparent to the Government of India that China wanted both to dominate and to incorporate as much of Tibet as possible but lacked the power to do so. Whether China would ever have the power, and would want to exercise it, was always the important question. British policy, therefore, aimed to preserve an autonomous, secluded and friendly Tibet on India's 2,500-mile long northern frontier. The formula of Outer Tibet (under Chinese suzerainty) and Inner Tibet (under a measure of Chinese rule) in 1914 was only a *pis aller*.

On the eve of the Chinese advance into Tibet in the autumn of 1950, India deprecated the use of force and protested. China ignored India's recommendation of peaceful method. In fact, China rebuked India for trying to counterpoise through diplomacy against "the desire of the Central People's Government for the peaceful liberation of Tibet."

India accepted the British position over Chinese suzerainty in Tibet, but refused to do more than send protest notes to China. This marked a departure in policy. India had special rights in Tibet under the Lhasa Treaty of 1904 but refrained from pressing the advantage. The Government of India was then shaping its policy of co-operation with China. India abandoned Tibet to the working of her manifest destiny in the larger interest of Indian policy towards China. The change in the juridical character of the Indian mission in Lhasa to a consulate-general on 15 September 1952 and the conclusion of an agreement on intercourse and trade vis-a-vis Tibet

by India with China on 29 April 1954 saw the end of the brief period of co-operation between India and Tibet on a basis of equality. This marked a basic change in India's foreign and frontier policy. Expert opinion in the country, however, was sharply critical of the Government of India's "abandonment" of Tibet in 1950-54.

Debates on the inscription of the question of Tibet on the agenda of the General Assembly in the wake of the great rebellion in Tibet in the spring of 1959 and the draft resolution calling for the cessation of the Chinese practices, depriving the Tibetans of their freedom and fundamental human rights in 1960, provided an interesting picture of changing foreign attitudes to Tibet. The attitudes of Britain and Japan, who paid special attention to the pivotal position of Central Asia in modern times, reflected more than a line-up of bloc alignment. China, whose anti-British bias always led it to underestimate the Tibetans' desire for freedom from Chinese overlordship, ascribed that desire to Indian machinations. Russia, historically Britain's chief rival for ascendancy in Tibet, regarded the situation there as entirely an internal affair of China. The U.S.A. which had always worked for Tibet to be an integral part of China, was for her dismemberment from that country. The most important development was the acceptance of Tibet as a part of China by Asia's major countries; Indonesia, which had only recently freed herself from foreign rule, was especially inclined to treat Tibet as part of China.

India's abstention from voting in the U.N. on the issue of China's action in Tibet (especially since the uprising of 10 March 1959) when the matter was brought before the U.N. in 1959 by Ireland and Malaya, in 1960 by Malaya and Thailand, and in 1961 by El Salvador, Ireland, Malaya and Thailand, had a positive significance against the background of developments on and

beyond India's Himalayan frontiers, even though India did not clearly condemn China for "atrocities" in Tibet. And, in the event of the question of Tibet coming up again before the U.N., India is most likely to support Tibet against China. This shift has been wholly due to a fuller realization of the importance to India of the integrity and autonomy of Tibet. Tibet is as ever a defence problem to India, and the basis of the security and solidarity of this country still determines her attitudes towards Tibet despite variation in the other major factors conditioning this policy from time to time.

Historians dispute China's claim to Tibet. China held sway over Tibet as over Mongolia but her suzerainty over Mongolia was reduced to non-existence by Russia in the early 1920s. And the act received no wild protests from China old or new. Mongolia, therefore, escapes "liberation" by China. Or does she? The Tibetans also anticipated the coming of help powerful enough to give them the chance to build Tibet into a democracy.

Lack of proper knowledge of the affairs and institutions of the Tibetans in the past led to their great killing during 1951-59. The death of Tibet has given birth to a China whose bellicose attitudes are a great threat to world peace. Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1951 immediately juxtaposed China and India, Asia's major Powers. And a solution of the present Sino-Indian disagreements does not seem to be in sight. Anyway Tibet's relations, or those of the "Tibet region of China", with Sikkim, Bhutan and Nepal will always influence India's frontier policy, especially in regard to the defence and development of the Himalayan borderlands, from Assam to Kashmir. Tibet will also always remain the focus of international interest for obvious reasons. In the event of a nuclear war, Tibet is likely to serve as a vantage point for China.

THE BACKGROUND OF INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

(A survey of the various resolutions passed by the Indian National Congress between 1885 and 1947)

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In recent years India's foreign policy has been an object of discussion in many countries and especially in America. It has been greeted both with brickbats and with bouquets. It has been hailed as the supreme effort to maintain peace in the war-torn world. It has also been belittled as a policy of inaction. Some have admired India as a nation which stands for her principles in the face of heavy odds. Others take delight in condemning India as an opportunist nation.

India is very grateful to her admirers, but has no quarrel with her critics. The foreign policy of a nation is necessarily guided by her own interests and her own concept of the general good. India is an infant nation, trying to find her feet on the international soil.

An attempt is made in the following lines to trace the background of India's foreign policy and to show that it is the continuation of the policy demanded for a long time by the Indian National Congress.

Until India became independent in 1947, the British foreign office acted for India in all foreign matters. The Indian National Congress, since its formation in 1885, gave expression to the views of the Indian public at its annual sessions. That the Congress represents the vast majority of the Indians is borne out by the fact that since 1947 the Congress has been continuously in office in the Government of India at New Delhi, and with the solitary exception of the Communist regime in Kerala (South India) for about twenty-seven months, in all the States too.

On the attainment of Indian independence, the Indian National Congress, as an organization ruling India, enunciated India's foreign policy in the following resolution:

"The foreign policy of India must necessarily be based on the principles that have guided the Congress in past years. The principles are the promotion of world peace, the freedom of all nations, racial equality and the ending of imperialism and colonialism. In particular, the Congress is interested in the freedom of the nations and peoples of Asia and Africa who have suffered under various forms of colonialism for many generations.

"With a view to advance the cause of world peace and cooperation, India associated herself with the United Nations. This Congress declares its full adherence to the principles underlying the Charter of the United Nations.

"It should be the constant aim of the foreign policy of India to maintain friendly and cooperative relations with all nations and to avoid entanglement in military or similar alliances which tend to divide up the world in rival groups and thus endanger world peace. The Congress would welcome her (India's) free association with the independent nations of the Commonwealth for their common weal and the promotion of world peace.

"India is especially concerned with her neighbour countries of Asia, and the Congress trusts that closer bonds of fellowship and cooperative

efforts for the maintenance of the freedom of Asian nations and their progress will be developed."¹

It is evident from this resolution that the main tenets of India's foreign policy are:

1. To avoid being involved in foreign entanglement.
2. The freedom of all nations, in particular of Asiatic and African nations which have suffered under various forms of colonialism.
3. The ending of imperialism and colonialism.
4. Racial equality.
5. The promotion of world peace and cooperation among nations.

To summarize briefly, India's foreign policy is anti-fascist, anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and pro-international cooperation and goodwill and, above all, liberty for all. India wants to follow the path of Buddha and Gandhi, where there will be victory for all and defeat for none.

I. To Avoid Entanglements

As early as 1904 the Congress protested against the policy of His Majesty's government which "threatened to involve India in foreign entanglement."² The language of this resolution shows the grave concern that the Congress felt over India's involvement in the affairs of foreign countries which did not affect her. The logical extension of this is found in the Congress declaration soon after India won independence. According to the Congress the aim of foreign policy should be to avoid entanglements in military or similar alliances which tend to divide up the world in rival groups and thus endanger world peace.³ It will thus be seen that the present policy of non-alignment pursued by the Government of India is merely the continuation of the oft-repeated Congress attitudes.

In order that the British commitments should not jeopardize their policy with regard to foreign entanglements, the Congress, soon after Gandhiji assumed leadership, declared that "the people of India regard most treaties entered into with the Imperial government by neighbouring states as mainly designed by the latter to perpetuate the exploitation of India by the Imperial power and would therefore urge the states having no ill-will against the people of India and having no desire to injure her interests, to refrain from entering into any treaty with the Imperial power."⁴ The resolution also "let it know (sic) to the neighbouring and other non-Indian states" that "the present government of India in no way represent Indian opinion."⁵

This resolution is a very significant step in the background of India's foreign policy. It let it be known to the neighbouring and other non-Indian States⁶ that the interests of Great Britain in the field of foreign policy may lead to perpetual exploitation of India, and hence would not be acceptable "when India has attained self government."

II. Freedom for all Nations

India knew the evils of dependence from her experience. Hence freedom for all nations was the mainstay of Congress policy. The first precise step in this direction was taken after the end of the First World War. During the war Turkey was aligned with the central powers. The British, therefore, had to fight with the Ottoman emperor who was also the Khalifa⁷ of the Muslims all over the world. The Indian Muslims were naturally interested in the well-being of Khalifa's office as well as in the territorial integrity of his empire.⁸ Led by Gandhiji, the Congress took up the Khilafat question and 'respectfully' protested against the hostile attitude of some of the British Ministers towards the Turkish and Khilafat question and appealed to His Majesty's government to settle the Turkish question in accordance with the just and legitimate sentiments of Indian Mussalmans.⁹ In spite of the hostile attitude of Lloyd George, when Ghazi Mustafa Kemal

Pasha succeeded in beating back the Greeks after the end of the First World War, the Congress hastened to congratulate him and to assure the Turkish nation of India's sympathy and support in its struggle to retain its status and independence.¹⁰ The next year the Congress again congratulated Kemal Pasha and the Turkish nation on their recent successes and recorded the determination of the people of India to carry on the struggle until the restoration of the Turkish nation to free and independent status.¹¹ After the successful termination of the Turkish war for freedom, the Congress congratulated the Turkish people and their great leader, Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha, and regarded their history as a sure presage of the removal of all alien control from the Jazirat-ul-Arab and the freedom of all the nations of the East.¹² The language of this resolution makes it amply clear that as early as 1923 the Congress stood for "the freedom of all the nations of the East." The Congress viewpoint in the sphere of foreign policy was now taking a definite shape.

During the last quarter of the 19th Century, England had brought Egypt virtually under her control. Led by the great patriot Zaglul Pasha, Egypt tried to break these shackles. Attempts were made by Great Britain to put down the popular risings in Egypt. India had suffered the same fate immediately after the First World War. Naturally the Congress tendered its respectful sympathy to the Egyptians and hoped that they would bear their sorrows bravely and rise above the terrorism set up in their land.¹³

The setting up of 'Mandates' by the League of Nations created new problems. Soon it was obvious that the Mandates were bound to be administered by the mandatory powers as colonies. According to the colonies, it was just old wine in new bottles. The people in these territories were clamouring for self-determination. Sailing in the same boat, the Congress could well appreciate their efforts and sent its warmest greetings to the peoples of Egypt, Syria, Palestine and Iraq and its assurances of full

sympathy with them in their struggle for emancipation from the grip of Western imperialism, which was interpreted as "A great menace to India's struggle for freedom."¹⁴

III. Pan Asiatic Federation

Perhaps this sense of having a common cause with a number of Asiatic nations led the Congress to think in terms of a Pan-Asiatic Federation. The Congress directed its working committee to correspond with the leaders and representatives of other Asiatic nations and to take other steps to summon the first session of a Pan-Asiatic Federation in 1930 in India.¹⁵ In a continuation of this policy, seventeen years after, the Congress declared, "A free India will inevitably seek the close and friendly associations with her neighbour countries, and would especially seek to develop common policies for defence, trade, and economic and cultural development with China, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia and Ceylon as well as the countries of the Middle East."¹⁶

IV. Anti-Colonialism

A sense of comradeship for the colonies led the Congress to send "a message of sympathy to the Irish people in their struggle for independence."¹⁷ On China being free from the clutches of the foreigners, the Congress sent its warmest greetings and its hearty congratulations to the people of China on their having attained their full and complete freedom and nationhood and their having ended the era of foreign domination in their country.¹⁸

During the Second World War European colonial rule in South-East Asia succumbed to the invading Japanese. After the defeat of Japan by the United States, the erstwhile European colonial powers attempted to reinstate their rule. The people of this area, on the other hand, endeavoured to utilize the political vacuum created by the sudden fall of Japan to regain their independence. In consonance with its policy of "desiring the freedom of all Asiatic as well as

other countries" the Congress "deeply resented the continuation of an imperialist policy in South East Asia." The Congress further declared that to continue imperialist domination over Burma, Malaya, Indo-China and Indonesia "under whatever name or guise would be a denial and repudiation of the professions made by the United Nations."¹⁷ The Congress watched with admiration and sympathy the valiant struggle in defence of their newly won republic and independence which the people of Indonesia had been carrying on. It "emphatically condemned the wanton invasion of Java.....in order to impose Dutch imperialist domination", and warned that any support from any quarter to imperialist designs in Indonesia, Indo-China and elsewhere shall be "resented throughout Asia as culpable violation of the professed aims of the United Nations."¹⁸ On Indonesia's success in its gallant struggle for freedom, the Congress sent its greetings and assured it of the goodwill of the Indian people and their desire to cooperate in the fullest measure with the people of Indonesia in the promotion of the freedom and advancement of the nations and peoples of Asia.¹⁹

V. Nehru's Role

Of all the leaders of the Indian National Congress, Jawaharlal Nehru was the one who more than any one else, assessed the Indian problem in relation to the international situation. He knew very well that one day or the other the British would have to quit India and the Indians would be required to carry on their foreign relations themselves. Since the time he began to take an active interest in the Congress organization, he had been the guiding star of Congress foreign policy. Nehru always looked at every international issue from a broader viewpoint. He certainly condemned the policies of British imperialism in India, but he was not concerned only with British imperialism. Wherever imperialism brought havoc, Nehru was there to denounce it. While he was in Europe in 1927, he heard about the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities to be held in Brussels. At his request the Indian Na-

tional Congress appointed him as India's representative to the Brussels Congress. This Congress was presided over by the famous leader of the British Labour party, George Lansbury. It formed a permanent organization called "The League Against Imperialism."²⁰ The Congress welcomed the Second World Congress of the League to be held the following year and authorized the working committee to appoint a representative on behalf of the Congress.²¹ On the eve of the Second World War the Congress warned the imperialist powers that in order "to establish world peace on an enduring basis, imperialism and the exploitation of one people by another must end."²²

VI. Anti-Imperialism - Western

The Congress looked upon the Indian struggle for Independence as a "part of the general world struggle against imperialism."²³ Hence the Congress persevered to combat imperialism wherever it existed and in whatever form it manifested itself. In its very first session the Congress deprecated the annexation of Upper Burma.²⁴ Before the turn of the century when the onward march of the British imperialism was in full swing, the Congress expressed its deep and earnest conviction that the frontier policy of the Government of India was injurious to the best interests of the British Empire in general and this country in particular. It therefore entreated the British nation to put a stop to this aggressive policy.²⁵ The Congress resented the use of Indian troops by the British Government to further their imperialistic designs in China. It further demanded the withdrawal of Indian troops, police and consulate guards from Mesopotamia and Persia and from all British colonies and foreign countries, wheresoever they may be.²⁶ In order that the Asiatic people should not misunderstand India because of the use of Indian troops in their countries, the Congress made it known to them "that the present government of India in no way represents the people of India."²⁷ By the same resolution it stated that the people of India had no quarrel with the neighbouring states or the other nations of the World and that they would

not permit themselves to be exploited by England to further her imperialist aims.

VII. Anti-Imperialism - Eastern

The Congress was equally emphatic in its condemnation of the Eastern brand of imperialism. It took serious notice of growing Japanese aggression in China and viewed with grave concern and horror the imperialist aggression of Japan in China attended with wanton cruelty and the bombing of the civil population. The Congress further offered its heartfelt sympathy to the Chinese people in their national calamity. This expression of sympathy was not just lip-sympathy, it was backed by action. It called upon the Indian people "to refrain from the use of Japanese goods as a mark of their sympathy with the people of China."²⁸ This action of the All India Congress Committee was subsequently confirmed in the open session, when the Congress assured the people of China of the solidarity of the Indian people with them in the common task of combating imperialism and achieving freedom.²⁹ As a proof potent of this assumed solidarity, the Congress decided to send a motor ambulance unit with necessary doctors and nurses to the Chinese National Government.³⁰ The next year it reiterated its deep sympathy to the people of China in their trial and privations, in their struggle against a ruthless and inhuman imperialism.³¹

VIII. Anti-Fascism

Liberty, being the guiding star of the Congress policy, it could not remain unconcerned at the rise of the totalitarian states in Europe. The Congress leaders were watching with anxious hearts the onward march of Fascism and Nazism. Very soon they realized that fascism was only the twin sister of imperialism. The reactionary nature of these forces made it clear to them that India could not have any sympathy for fascist political philosophy. During the Spanish civil war between the people of Spain and a military group aided by foreign mercenary troops and Fascist powers in Europe, the Congress declared

that the "struggle between democratic progress and Fascist re-action is of great consequence to the future of the world." The Congress on behalf of the people of India assured the Spanish people of their solidarity with them in this great struggle for liberty.³²

With the ascendancy of fascism reaching a high tempo in late thirties and the accompanying impotency of the League of Nations, the Congress began to feel very restless. After the infamous Italian campaign in Abyssinia, the Congress expressed the sympathy of the Indian nation for the Ethiopian people and condemned the great powers and the League of Nations for their policy in regard to the Italo-Abyssinian war.³³ The Congress leaders felt very keenly about this devastating march of fascism. One illustration will suffice to give a clear idea of the intensity of their feelings in this matter. Jawaharlal Nehru was in Europe at this time. He was elected to preside over the next session of the Congress. He was returning to India via Rome. On his way he received a message that Mussolini would be glad to meet him. Nehru politely refused. Yet on his arrival in Rome a representative of the Italian foreign office called upon him and he was informed that an interview between him and Mussolini was set up for that evening. Nehru was surprised. He knew very well that an interview between himself and the Italian dictator would be exploited for the fascist propaganda during the Italo-Abyssinian war. He remained firm in his decision to have no truck with fascism.³⁴ It may be mentioned here that it was at Nehru's insistence that the Congress decided to send medical supplies and food to China and Spain.³⁵

The Congress was following with great anxiety the political developments in Europe in the late thirties. It had already warned the British foreign office "seeking an arrangement with Nazi Germany that the British foreign policy was helping many that the British foreign policy was helping in the drift to imperialist world war."³⁶ After Hitler's antics in Czechoslovakia, the Congress viewed with great concern the unabashed attempts made by Germany to deprive Czecho-

slovakia of its independence and reduce it to impotence. It further resolved: "Being themselves engaged in a war, though non-violent but not the less grim and exacting against the greatest imperialist power on earth, India cannot but be deeply interested in the protection of Czechoslovakian freedom."³⁷ The part played by Great Britain during this period of organized terrorism of the Nazi Government incensed the people of India. The attitude of the British was such that the Congress recorded its entire disapproval of British Foreign Policy culminating in the Munich Pact, the Anglo-Italian Agreement and the recognition of rebel Spain. According to the Congress, this policy amounted to a "deliberate betrayal of democracy..... breach of pledges, the ending of the system of collective security and cooperation with..... avowed enemies of democracy and freedom." Indians believed that as a result of this policy the world was "reduced to a state of international anarchy where brutal violence triumphs and flourishes unchecked and decides the fate of nations." The Congress, therefore, dissociated itself entirely from British foreign policy. Being opposed to imperialism and fascism alike, the Congress was convinced that world peace and progress required the ending of both.

A question is sometimes asked that if the Congress was so anti-fascist, why did it not join hands with the Allies in the Second World War and translate the anti-fascist spirit of its resolutions into action. To understand the Congress viewpoint, it is necessary to examine the Congress's attitude towards war since the days of the First World War.

IX. The Congress Attitude toward War

As soon as the war broke out in Europe in 1914, the Congress conveyed to His Majesty "its unswerving allegiance to the British connection and its firm resolve to stand by the empire, at all hazards and at all costs." The Congress was very glad that the people of India were given an opportunity to fight for "right and justice."³⁸

The course of events in the early days of the

First World War touched the magnanimity of the Indian hearts and in its enthusiasm to support the cause of right and justice, the Congress urged upon the British the necessity, wisdom, and justice of throwing open the higher offices in the Army to Indians, in recognition of the equal rights of citizenship of the people of India with the rest of the empire.³⁹ No attention was paid even to a request like this which would have been of great help to both India and England if it was fulfilled. The Congress regretted that larger use was not made of the Indian man-power and once again urged that an army be raised immediately in India from the civil population under Indian commissioned officers for that purpose.⁴⁰ Despite the unresponsive attitude of the British government the Congress prayed for the success of the Allies⁴² and conveyed to His Majesty its congratulations on the successful termination of the war which was waged for the liberty and freedom of all the peoples of the world. This resolution was also conveyed to the governments of the Allied Nations and the United States of America.⁴³

The Congress had not yet lost faith in the sincerity and political honesty of the British Government. It urged "that in justice to India, it should be represented by an elected representative or representatives, to the same extent as the self-governing Dominions at any Conference that may be held to deliberate on or settle the terms of peace or reconstruction. In view of the shortness of time, and in anticipation of the request made in the preceding part of the resolution being acceded to by His Majesty's Government, this Congress elects as its representatives Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Mr. M. K. Gandhi and Mr. Hasan Imam."⁴⁵

X. Aftermath of the First World War

As could be expected this request of the Congress to send Tilak, Gandhi and Hasan Imam as India's representatives to the Peace Conference was promptly refused by the British Government.⁴⁶ Before this, in 1917 Mr. Subra-

manyam Ayyer, a retired judge of the Madras High Court, had written a letter to President Wilson requesting him to see that the principle of self-determination is made applicable to India.⁴⁶ But nothing was of any use. Instead what did India get for this "unswerving allegiance" to the cause of 'right and justice'? Early in 1919 the Rowlatt Act was passed, which gave to the Government of India sweeping powers of preventive detention on all suspected political agitators. Led by Gandhiji, the people of India pledged themselves to disobey the black law. "The main center of unrest in the aftermath of war was the Punjab, the reservoir of the Indian army." On April 13, 1919, the Hindu New Year Day, the Congress organized a public meeting at Jallianwalla Bagh, a public park in the heart of the city of Amritsar, Punjab, in defiance of the ban on public meetings. About 20,000 people gathered. Soon, General Dyer arrived with 150 soldiers. He ordered the crowd to disperse within three minutes, but there was no way out—the military had blocked the only exit. After three minutes, Dyer ordered "to fire at point blank range on the unarmed men."

According to the Hunter Commission of Inquiry, 379 were killed and about 1,200 wounded. The only reason the others were spared, according to Dyer's own testimony before the Commission, was that he had exhausted his ammunition.⁴⁷

Events like this shattered India's faith in the sincerity and goodwill of the British rule in India. In 1917 under the stress of war the Imperial War Conference had passed a resolution that Great Britain "should recognize the right of the Dominions and India to an adequate voice in foreign policy and in foreign relations."⁴⁸ So far as India was concerned, this resolution was never put into practice. All such sins of commission and omission on the part of the British had a profound bearing on the subsequent trends of the Congress policy towards Great Britain. The people of India had noted with acute sense of disappointment that after

the war the principle of self-determination was applied to the Czech, the Slav, the Magyar, but not to the Indian or the Chinese or the Egyptian. Henceforth they viewed with suspicion what might be interpreted as the imperialist struggle between the European powers. The duplicity of the British diplomacy was quite evident in giving India direct representation on the League of Nations, but keeping in the hands of the British Government of India the right to appoint the Indian delegates. Sometimes these so-called Indian representatives acted and voted against the pronounced wishes of the Indian people.⁴⁹

XI. Change in the Congress Attitude

Henceforth we note a distinct change in the Congress attitude towards European Wars. Being disappointed at the results of the Peace Conference, the Congress thought it necessary to carry on the propaganda for Indian independence beyond India.⁵⁰ In 1919 it congratulated Lala Lajpat Rai for his valuable services in the cause of the country in the United States of America.⁵¹ In 1921 it passed for the first time a resolution enunciating the Congress foreign policy and making it clear that the then Government of India in no way represented the Indian opinion.⁵²

It speaks very highly for the political sagacity of the Indian National Congress that in 1927 before Hitler rose to power, Japan became aggressive or Mussolini became a threat,⁵³ the Congress warned that the policy pursued by the British imperialism "must result in hastening a disastrous war" and asserted that it is the right of the people of India to determine whether or not they will take part in any war."⁵⁴

XII. For the Promotion Of World Peace

When the war clouds began to gather over Europe the Congress took a definite stand for world peace and resistance to war. The Con-

gress, therefore, gladly accepted the invitation of Monsieur Romain Rolland, Honorary President of the World Committee for the struggle against war and fascism, to participate in the World Congress for Peace, and stated that such a peace could be established on an enduring basis when the causes of war are removed and the domination and exploitation of nation by nation is ended.⁵⁵ The Congress appointed Shri V. K. Krishna Menon, as its representative on the World Peace Congress. While recording its appreciation of the part played by Shri Menon, the Congress wished to emphasize that "imperialism itself is a continuing cause of war and its elimination is essential in the interest of world peace."⁵⁶ The Congress, while being fully conscious of the necessity of facing this world menace in cooperation with the progressive nations and peoples of the world, and especially with those peoples who are dominated over and exploited by imperialism and fascism, warned the people that in the event of a world war taking place, there is a grave danger of Indian man-power and resources being utilized for the purpose of British imperialism. While advising the nation to resist all war preparations, the Congress demanded that "no credits must be voted for such a war."⁵⁷ With Europe laying prostrate at the feet of Hitler and Mussolini, the Congress resolved that British foreign policy, in spite of its evasions and indecisions, had consistently supported the fascist powers in Germany, Spain and the Far East and must therefore largely shoulder the responsibility for the progressive deterioration of the world situation. "That policy still seeks an arrangement with Nazi Germany and has developed closer relations with rebel Spain. It is helping in the drift to imperialist world war. India can be no party to such an imperialist war and will not permit her man-power and resources to be exploited in the interest of British imperialism. Nor can India join any war without the express consent of the people."⁵⁸

In view of the imminent danger of an international war the A.I.C.C. reminded the country of the national policy and declared that the

Congress was determined to oppose all attempt to impose a war on India and use Indian resources in a war without the consent of the Indian people.⁵⁹ With the war coming very near we find the Congress leadership divided on the issue. Gandhiji, the guiding star of the Congress was suffering in his mind. Pacifist from all over the world looked to him as their natural leader to secure peace. He was having almost mental crisis as he knew he was helpless in the matter. After deep thinking he advised the Congress "that India must not participate in the War even if such participation meant the achievement of Indian freedom." While Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Jawaharlal Nehru desired that "India should side with the democracies provided *she was free*. If, however, the British did not recognize Indian freedom, it was too much to expect that India should fight for freedom of other nations while she was denied her own freedom."⁶⁰ The Congress Working Committee, therefore, passed "India.... cannot be asked to give her resources for democratic freedom which is denied to her and which is likely to be betrayed."⁶¹

XIII. The Second World War

Immediately before the outbreak of the Second World War the Congress declared that it had repeatedly condemned fascist aggression in Europe, Africa and the Far East, and that its sympathies were entirely with the peoples who stand for democracy and freedom. Soon after the German armies entered Poland the Congress again condemned fascism and Nazi aggression and declared that peace and freedom can only be established by an extension of democracy to all colonial countries and by the application of the principle of self-determination to them so as to eliminate imperialist control.⁶² Nehru was so disgusted that he exclaimed, "The Russo-German Pact, the Soviet invasion of Finland, the friendly approach of Russia toward Japan, were there any principles, any standard of conduct in this world or was it all sheer opportunism?"⁶⁴

XIV. The Subhas Episode

Subhas Chandra Bose, who presided over the Haripura (1938) and Tripuri (1939) sessions of the Indian National Congress was accused of fascist leanings by the British. When Subhas Babu broke away from the Congress and formed his Forward Bloc, even Nehru thought that the reactionary forces might enter it to fight the anti-fascist policy of the Congress.⁶⁵ Subhas believed that "the next phase in world history will produce a synthesis between Communism and Fascism." He wanted to work out that synthesis in India. For that purpose he regarded "Government by a strong party bound together by military discipline, as the only means of holding India together and preventing a chaos."⁶⁶

Because of these views Subhas was against anti-Japanese, German or Italian resolutions, but to which he had to yield because the people of India were overwhelmingly anti-fascist.⁶⁷ This is sufficiently borne out by the fact that a number of anti-fascist resolutions were passed during the presidency of Subhas.⁶⁸ Subhas Babu escaped from the British detention in January, 1941 and reached Kabul in February despite a keen search by the British police. He aimed at reaching Moscow, but failed to contact the Soviet embassy. Frustrated in this attempt he contacted the German legation and with their help flew to Berlin.⁶⁹ After a year he began to speak on Berlin radio asking the Indians to throw out the British. Subsequently he went to Japan and organized the Indian National Army from among the Indian war prisoners. He marched on to liberate India from the British. In the meanwhile the war came to an abrupt end. For his alliance with the Axis, Subhas Babu has been condemned by the British Press with all possible abuses; he has been called 'traitor', 'quisling' 'the greatest and most sinister figure of the war in Asia.' The Indian Communists who, after Hitler's attack on Russia, overnight began to look upon the war, which they had all the while called 'imperialist' as 'people's war,' denounced Subhas as 'arch traitor to India's freedom'. The fact of the matter is

that Subhas was so much obsessed with the desire to drive the British out of India that he looked upon British enemies as virtual friends of India. Gandhiji referred to Subhas as 'patriot of patriots' but 'misguided.' Subhas symbolized India's sense of frustration in the struggle for freedom. Hence he tried to defeat only tyranny with a bigger tyranny; this was most certainly a counsel of despair.⁷⁰

Putting together the Congress non-cooperation with the Allies, and Subhas Babu's active co-operation with the Axis, some critics have accused the Congress of being only outwardly anti-fascist. Immediately after the outbreak of the war in Europe the Congress leaders met at Wardha (the place where Gandhiji lived) and passed a resolution which makes the Congress policy crystal clear. The resolution is so important that I quote it in extenso.

XV. The Congress Attitude toward Second World War Explained

"The Congress has repeatedly declared its entire disapproval of the ideology and practice of Fascism and Nazism and their glorification of war and violence and the suppression of the human spirit. It has condemned the aggression in which they have repeatedly indulged and their sweeping away of well-established principles and recognized standards of civilized behaviour. It has seen in Fascism and Nazism the intensification of the principles of Imperialism against which the Indian people have struggled for many years. The Working Committee must, therefore, unhesitatingly condemn the latest aggression of the Nazi Government in Germany against Poland and sympathize with those who resist it.

"The Congress has further laid down that the issue of war and peace for India must be decided by the Indian people, and no outside authority can impose this decision upon them, nor can the Indian people permit their resources to be exploited for imperialist ends. Any imposed decision, or attempt to use India's resources for purposes not approved by them, will necessarily have to

be opposed by them. If cooperation is desired in a worthy cause, this cannot be obtained by compulsion and imposition and the Committee cannot agree to the carrying out by the Indian people of orders issued by external authority. Cooperation must be between equals by mutual consent for a cause which both consider to be worthy. The people of India have, in the recent past, faced great risks and willingly made great sacrifices to secure their own freedom and establish a free democratic State in India, and their sympathy is entirely on the side of democracy and freedom. But India cannot associate herself in a war said to be for democratic freedom when that very freedom is denied to her, and such limited freedom as she possesses taken away from her.

"The Committee is aware that the Governments of Great Britain and France have declared that they are fighting for democracy and freedom and to put an end to aggression. But the history of the recent past is full of examples showing the constant divergence between the spoken word and the ideals proclaimed and the real motives and objectives. During the war of 1914-18, the declared war aims were, preservation of democracy, self-determination and the freedom of small nations, and yet the very Governments which solemnly proclaimed these aims entered into secret treaties embodying imperialist designs for the carving up of the Ottoman Empire. While stating that they did not want any acquisition of territory, the victorious Powers added largely to their colonial domains. The present European war itself signifies the abject failure of the treaty of Versailles and of its makers, who broke their pledged word and imposed an imperialist peace on the defeated nations. The one hopeful outcome of that treaty, the League of Nations, was muzzled and strangled at the outset and later killed by its parent States.

"If the war is to defend the STATUS QUO, imperialist possessions, colonies, vested interests and privileges, then India can have nothing to do with it. If, however, the issue is democracy and a world order based on democracy, then India is intensely interested in it. The Committee

is convinced that the interests of Indian democracy do not conflict with the interests of British democracy or of world democracy. But there is an inherent and ineradicable conflict between democracy for India or elsewhere and imperialism and fascism. If Great Britain fights for the maintenance and extension of democracy, then she must necessarily end imperialism in her own possessions, establish full democracy in India, and the Indian people must have the right of self-determination by framing their own constitution through a Constituent Assembly without external interference, and must guide their own policy. A free democratic India will gladly associate herself with other free nations for mutual defence against aggression and for economic cooperation. She will work for the establishment of a real world order based on freedom and democracy, utilizing the world's knowledge and resources for the progress and advancement of humanity.

"The Working Committee, therefore, invite the British Government to declare in unequivocal terms what their war aims are in regard to democracy and imperialism and the new order that is envisaged, in particular, how these aims are going to apply to India and to be given effect to in the present."⁷¹

This resolution, perhaps, will satisfy all those who wish to know the cause of the Congress non-participation in the Second World War. The A.I.C.C. subsequently confirmed the stand taken by the Working Committee and repeated the invitation to the British Government to state their war aims and peace aims.⁷²

XVI. For International Cooperation and Goodwill

International goodwill and cooperation has always been the cornerstone of the Congress's policy. In its very first resolution enunciating the foreign policy the Congress stated "that India as a self-governing country, can have nothing to fear from the neighbouring states or any state as her people have no designs upon them."⁷³ In its prophetic resolution giving

a warning about the impending war the Congress again declared, "That the people of India have no quarrel with their neighbours and desire to live at peace with them."⁷⁴ The next year the Congress again confirmed the same declaration.⁷⁵ In view of the grave danger of wide-spread and devastating war which overshadowed the world, the Congress desired to state afresh the policy of the Indian people in regard to foreign relations and war. "The people of India desire to live in peace and friendship with neighbours and with all other countries, and for this purpose wish to remove all causes of conflict between them. Striving for their own freedom and independence as a nation, they desire to respect the freedom of others and to build up their strength on the basis of international cooperation and goodwill."⁷⁵ The same policy was reiterated after the end of the war when the Indian independence was just being visible on the horizon. While sending its greetings to China and South East Asia the Congress expressed its deep satisfaction at the conclusion of the war and reaffirmed its policy. The A.I.C.C. stated "A free India will inevitably seek the close and friendly associations with her neighbour countries, and would especially seek to develop common policies for defence, trade and economic and cultural development with China, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, and Ceylon as well as the countries of the Middle East."⁷⁷

XVII. The Congress and the United Nations

Gandhiji always dreamed of a world of peace and happiness for all. Following his noble ideal, the Congress viewed world peace as one of its main objectives. It naturally welcomed the efforts that have been made by the United Nations to build up an international order to maintain peace and security and to develop friendly relations among the nations based on respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. While appreciating the work of the San Francisco Conference in this respect and realizing that any world organization must of necessity be

related to the realities, the Congress warned that "the world organization will only be effective when none of the Great Powers are interested in the dispute. While there is such an interest, as there is likely to be in most international disputes, a Great Power veto will prevent any action being taken."⁷⁸ It should be noted that these observations were made in July, 1945 when the United Nations had hardly started functioning. The subsequent history has borne out the truth in the Congress warning. The resolution speaks volumes for the political realism and astute foresight of the Congress leaders. In the same resolution the Congress opined that a full and frank recognition of the national independence, within the framework of the international order of colonial territories was necessary to give reality to the purposes and objectives of the new organization and to lay the foundations of a stable peace. In the same strain the Congress objected to the admission of Portugal to the United Nations; it opined "that it will be improper and against the basic principles of the United Nations to admit to their membership a country which has an authoritarian and reactionary administration and denies democracy and civil liberties and which in its colonies, carries on the worst form of colonial rule."⁷⁹ After the attainment of Indian independence, the Congress as the ruling party, in their resolution framing the foreign policy of India declared, "its full adherence to the principles underlying the charter of the United Nations" and associated India with the United Nations "with a view to advance the cause of world peace and cooperation."⁸⁰

In the foregoing pages I have made an attempt to state and discuss the various resolutions passed by the Indian National Congress during the pre-independence period. The resolutions are grouped in certain clauses like anti-colonial, anti-fascist, etc.

A study of these resolutions will enable a reader to find the roots of the present foreign policy of the Government of India. Perhaps the reading of these pages might make one feel

that the Indians are obsessed with colonialism. Some others might think that for the Asiatic Nations "lambasting of the West is an automatic reflex."⁸¹ This may be true to an extent, and the causes of this can be discerned by a casual glance at the modern history of imperialism.

The special concern that the Congress felt for the neighbouring countries in Asia did not blind it to the aggressive policy of Japan which was condemned with equal vehemence. Good of all seems to be the essential basis of the Congress foreign policy.

REFERENCES

[In the footnotes the name of the city, year and the Roman figure stand for the venue, the year and the resolution number of the annual sessions of the Indian National Congress respectively.]

¹ Jaipur, 1948, V.

² Bombay, 1904, IX.

³ Jaipur, 1948, V.

⁴ A.I.C.C. Delhi 1921, VI.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ They used the term 'non-Indian States' because at that time there were about 600 and some odd 'Indian States' under the protection of the British Government.

⁷ The Muslims believed the "Khalifa" to be the direct descendant of the Prophet, hence they looked upon him as their religious head.

⁸ Maulana Mohammad Ali addressing the jury at Karachi in 1921. cf. Ambedkar, *Pakistan and the Partition of India*, (Bombay, Thackeray, 3rd ed. 1916, p. 286).

⁹ Amritsar, 1919, XI.

¹⁰ Ahmedabad, 1921, VIII.

¹¹ Gaya, 1922, V.

¹² Delhi, Special 1923, XVI.

¹³ A.I.C.C. Belgaum, 1924.

¹⁴ Calcutta, 1928, VII.

¹⁵ Ibid, V.

¹⁶ A.I.C.C., Bombay, September 1945.

¹⁷ Nagpur, 1920, IV.

¹⁸ Calcutta, 1928, VI.

¹⁹ A.I.C.C., Bombay, September, 1945.

²⁰ W.C., Calcutta, December, 1945.

²¹ Meerut, 1946, VII.

²² J. Nehru, *Autobiography* (New York: John Day, 1942), pp. 124, 125.

²³ Calcutta, 1928, VIII.

The irony of this was that "the League against Imperialism veered more towards communism..... In 1931 because of my part in the Delhi truce between the Congress and the Government of India, it grew exceedingly angry with me and excommunicated me."—J. Nehru, *op. cit.* p. 127

²⁴ Haripura, 1938, IX.

²⁵ Calcutta, 1928, IV.

²⁶ Bombay, 1885, VII.

²⁷ Amravati, 1897, I.

²⁸ Madras, 1927, IV.

²⁹ Calcutta, 1928, IX.

³⁰ A.I.C.C., Calcutta, 1937, VI.

³¹ Haripura, 1938, VII.

³² W. C., Bombay 1938, IV.

³³ Tripuri, 1939, III.

³⁴ Faizpur, 1936, IV.

³⁵ Lucknow, 1936, VIII.

³⁶ Nehru, *op. cit.* p. 357.

³⁷ Ibid, p. 359.

³⁸ Haripura, 1938, IX.

³⁹ W. C. Delhi, 1938, XI.

⁴⁰ Tripuri, 1939, IX.

⁴¹ Madras, 1914, IV and V.

⁴² Madras, 1914, VI.

⁴³ Lucknow, 1916, XIV.

⁴⁴ Bombay, 1915, VI.

⁴⁵ Delhi, 1918, XIII.

⁴⁶ Tambhankar, D. V., *Lokamanya Tilak*, (London, John Murray, 1956) p. 286.

⁴⁷ E. S. Montagu, *An Indian Diary*, (London, William Heinemann, 1930) p. 123.

⁴⁸ Michael Brecher, *Nehru, A Political Biography* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1959) pp. 61-63.

It is interesting to read Brecher's reaction to these events in the Punjab. He writes "It was perhaps the worst crime in the annals of British rule in India, a massacre of defenseless people who couldn't even seek cover from merciless attack.....In his determination to 'teach the natives a lesson', Dyer ruled Amritsar with an iron hand. Public floggings were not infrequent. Detention of all nationalist leaders was the order of the day. But the most degrading measure was a 'crawling order' imposed on all Indians who passed a narrow lane in the city where a medical missionary, Miss Sherwood, had been assaulted during the disturbances. The humiliation of crawling on all fours to and from one's home, for many lived in this lane, was not to be forgotten or forgiven by those who were subjected to this indignity, or indeed by any sensitive Indian." (Ibid, p. 63).

⁴⁹ Proceedings of the Imperial War Conference, 1917 p. 40 quoted by R. Coupland, *The Indian Problem* (London Oxford University Press, 1944), p. 1, 83.

⁵⁰ Indian Council of World Affairs, *India and the United Nations*, (New York, Manhattan Publishing Co., 1957) p.

⁵¹ Nagpur, 1920, III.

⁵² Amritsar, 1919, XXIII.

⁵³ A.I.C.C. Delhi, 1921, VI.

⁵⁴ Nehru, *op. cit.*, p. 423.

⁵⁵ Madras, 1927, VI.

⁵⁶ Lucknow, 1936, VI.

⁵⁷ Faizpur, 1936, II.

⁵⁸ Faizpur, 1936, VII.

⁵⁹ Haripura, 1938, IX.

⁶⁰ A.I.C.C., Calcutta, 1939.

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THE FOREIGN POLICY OF FREE INDIA

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"The most convincing testimony to national sovereignty is capacity to exercise foreign policy."¹ Under the British regime, the foreign policy of India was the foreign policy of Britain, largely judged by British considerations and British party politics. But when once India attained national sovereignty, she became free to follow her own policy without restraint in regard to her dealings with other nations. An independent foreign policy is free India's achievement and for this Nehru was solely responsible.² In the earlier days of Independence, it appeared as though "every minister and Congress big-wig regarded foreign affairs as his special field."³ It only means that there was no unanimity in foreign policy and Pandit Nehru could express no consensus.⁴ Foreign policy remained a matter far removed from daily interests and worries of the masses, including those living in the cities.⁵ Why should this be so? It is because of several internal problems overwhelming in nature, and unless India evolved an economic policy, her foreign policy would remain vague, inchoate and groping.⁶ Nehru's statesmanship in this regard was more as a teacher instructing his people in the mysteries of international relations.⁷

The foreign policy of India has been closely associated with Pandit Nehru, and as in domestic policy, he was taken with a religious veneration even in foreign relations. No one could contradict him, and if he did so, he would content himself by leaving the decision to him, with "Panditji knows best". People seemed to be making a symbol in which India and Jawaharlal were one.⁸ Such a great confidence the nation had. The cardinal principles of foreign policy Nehru's were made again and again clear in his speeches. His foreign policy

was rooted primarily in what might be described as the principle of enlightened self-interest.⁹ India's foreign policy should be conditioned by India's needs, and it also resulted from a long history and background.¹⁰ As he said in a speech, the art of conducting foreign affairs of a country lay in finding out what was most advantageous to the country. Whether a country is imperialistic or socialist or communist, its foreign minister thinks primarily of the interests of the country.¹¹ While guided essentially by national interest, Nehru's internationalism due to the influence of Vivekananda, Tagore and Gandhi, also supplied the element of idealism.¹² So, the foreign policy of Nehru could be described as a combination of idealism with national interest.¹³

National interest would primarily mean the country's requirements in the wake of Independence, and hence it was observed by Nehru that ultimately foreign policy was the outcome of economic policy. At the same time, a straightforward honest policy, an independent policy was the best. Further, anything that was opposed to the democratic concept must be opposed.¹⁴ Another consideration for India was, as Nehru observed in his speech at the Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, that under the British relations with Asia were through the British window. But now India had all the countries of Asia as her neighbours, and there was what might be called the mind of Asia.¹⁵ With the independence of India and other Asian countries, he was of the opinion that there was a need for readjustment of the relations between Asia and Europe. The political and economic domination of the second over the first must end. Hence the removal of the last vestige of colonialism in Asia, as in

Africa, was a major plank of India's foreign policy.¹⁶

All these considerations contributed to the formation of objectives of India's foreign policy. They are peace, independent approach, liberation of subject peoples; freedom both national and individual; no racial discrimination; elimination of want, disease, ignorance affecting the greater part of the world's population.¹⁷ The objective of peace has been ingrained in India with a pacifist attitude, the influence of Buddha, Asoka and Gandhi. India is a peace-loving nation, and India's efforts under the guidance of Nehru were directed to establish a climate of peace.¹⁸ This was the factor that lay behind India's policy in the U.N.O. vis-à-vis the great power rivalry.¹⁹ Nehru spoke of not being frightened of the military might of this power or that.²⁰ India kept out of Power Blocs and followed a policy of non-alignment. Instructions were given to the Indian delegates at the U.N.O. to consider each question in terms of India's interest, and, if India was not affected, on its own merits. In no case was it to be taken just to please any particular power.²¹ The policy of non-alignment, however, was not to be of a merely negative character, but was intended to have a positive content as well, aimed at promoting peace and friendly cooperation.²² This is sometimes called dynamic neutrality, a positive approach to peace, lessening of tension and enlarging the area of peace. The policy of non-alignment was not a sudden growth; its foundation lay in a resolution of the Indian National Congress in 1920.

India had a deep faith in the moral and political potentialities of the U.N.²³ She considered the U.N. as an incomparable vehicle of communication, an instrument of negotiation, which could be utilised in the pursuit of peace.²⁴

To make non-alignment an effective force, India sponsored the creation of an Afro-Asian bloc.²⁵ That resulted in Bandung. The purpose was to extend through the Afro-Asian countries the area of peace.²⁶ The Panchasila of Bandung

"Mutual respect for each other's territory, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence" was only intended to enlarge the area of cooperation and peace.

Since 1954, India's policy seems to have been seasoned by certain events. Her Asian policy was proved to be out of tune with realities, causing her some serious disappointment. China's occupation of Tibet and aggression on Indian soil brought India from the clouds of idealism to hard realities.

During the period of Sino-Indian honeymoon, two of the greatest countries of Asia, each inheritor of a great past, marched hand in hand to shake off foreign domination and build a brave new world on the basis of freedom and democracy.²⁷ When the People's Republic in China came into existence, India was for recognising her and was for her admission into U.N., in the face of the opposition of some big powers. Then came the abrupt change, after China's occupation of Tibet. The tragedy of Tibet cast a deep shadow on Sino-Indian relations. It undermined India's faith in Chinese bona fides.²⁸ The Chinese attack in 1962 opened India's eyes, warranting a serious rethinking of her foreign policy.²⁹ Her policy of non-alignment stands, but she banks heavily on America and the Commonwealth countries for aid and support.³⁰ It might have resulted in diplomatic complications, which were averted by Soviet Russia's rift with China. Moreover, Chinese nuclear explosion still further necessitated a more serious rethinking of foreign policy. It is being increasingly realised that to persist in forbearance from the manufacture of nuclear weapons is an unrealistic policy in the new context.³¹

In the wake of the unilateral cease-fire by China after crossing the MacMahon line in India and unjust occupation of Indian territory along the northern border, and the abortive Colombo peace plans, it is but essential

hat a new orientation must be given to our foreign policy. To a question whether our foreign policy is undergoing a change since the death of Nehru, the present Prime Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri replied that a progressive country must learn with changing times and conditions.³²

The unresentful Indian spirit, and Indian people's 'freedom from rancour'³³ are responsible for their endurance in the face of the Chinese attack and Pakistani pin-pricks. The recent developments in Asia and particularly the rapprochement between China and Pakistan have made the old thinking on Asiatic lines idle for the moment. Under these circumstances,

"non-alignment by itself is not enough to ensure our security or achieve the containment of an unscrupulous and cynical regime that is quite prepared to gamble on an atomic war."³⁴ The policy must be dynamic to meet the dangerous situation and to protect our freedom and democracy.³⁵ Some alliance for a military action solely directed against Chinese penetration not only in India but also in the whole area of Laos, Cambodia, and South Vietnam, is necessary. U.N. help may be invoked in a constructive way and Russia also may be made to co-operate to diminish the influence of China in this area. For this, it is not very difficult to reach an understanding with the West and the Soviet Union.

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favour of an Heir to be legal, that is, unless it has been made with the Permission of the other Heirs". The same authority also noted—"A Will for a larger share than a third is not legal, unless consented to by the Heirs after the Death of the Testator, who must likewise have been a person arrived at the years of Discretion; an acquiescence of the Heirs to such Will during the life time of the Testator is not valid". In the 'Hedaya' and 'Ibrahimshahy' it has been said that what is left by a deceased person, must go to the heir. In consideration of these opinions the Supreme Council declared that the widow of Assud Zumaun Khan had not a legal power either by Will, Deed of Gift or

any other mode of conveyance to dispose of the succession of the zemindari of Birbhum.²⁶ Later on the widow appealed to the Supreme Council, but to no effect.²⁷

Thus expounding the indigenous laws the Indian law officers became the pivot of the Company's judiciary in Bengal. They made several aspects of these laws known to the British and thereby helped the growth of a modern system of law and justice in this country.

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