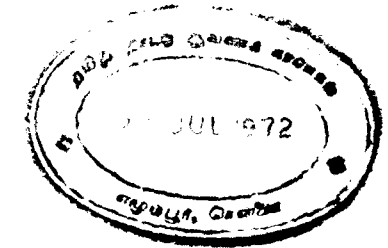


THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW OF
HISTORICAL STUDIES



VOLUME V

(1965-66)

NUMBER 1

EDITOR : S. P. SEN

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL STUDIES
CALCUTTA

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EDITORIAL

Fifth Year:

With the present number the *Quarterly Review* steps into the fifth year of publication. We take this opportunity to thank all our readers, contributors and well-wishers for their kind support and encouragement. It seems that the most difficult period of struggle for a new journal is over. We have turned the corner and can now look forward to a long period of steady progress and useful service to students of Indian history.

It is a matter of both pleasure and pride that the utility of the journal is now well recognised and appreciated in academic circles, and we are now getting readier response from Universities and other centres of advanced studies to our requests for information about the progress of historical research. We are now more hopeful than before of being able to cover more fully and regularly research information at all the Universities and other centres in India. Regularity of news is of course essential for the purpose we have in view. Sporadic compilations are hardly of any tangible benefit to research students. We are now more hopeful of achieving this, thanks to the

ready co-operation of University teachers and research supervisors. It is also pleasing to note that we are now getting reports on the progress of research in Indian history from more and more foreign Universities and research centres. This will help us in achieving our objective, making the *Quarterly Review* a clearing house of information on the progress of Indian studies all over the world.

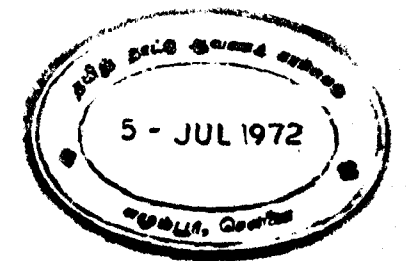
It was with deep regret that we had to raise the rates of annual subscription from the current volume. This step was forced on us by the increased cost of publication and postal charges. We can only hope that our subscribers will appreciate our difficulties and will not grumble at the little additional sacrifice they have to make to keep the journal going. We feel very apologetic about it, but we really had no option.

In the present number we are publishing two papers on *Research Projects and Inter-University Co-operation* read at the Second Annual Conference of the Institute of Historical Studies in 1964. It also includes some talks delivered at the Discussion Meetings of the Institute. We have in

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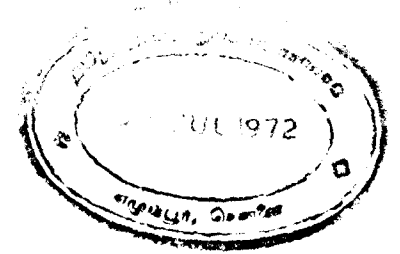
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hand a large number of talks given at Discussion Meetings, but in view of the shortage of space it will take quite a long time for all of them to be published.

Dictionary of Nationalist Biographies Project:

We have also given in the present number the Annual Report of the Institute for 1964-65, which includes a detailed account of the progress made in our Research Project, Dictionary of Biographies of Indian Nationalist Leaders. A list of leaders on whom collection of biographical material according to our Research Format (published in Vol. II, No. 3&4) had been completed till the end of May 1965 has also been given. This list must not be taken as our complete list, which includes 1200 names, nor should the names given in the present list be misunderstood as being considered more important than the others to be covered later.

The object in publishing this first list is not merely to give an account of the progress made so far, but also to seek the active help and co-operation of our readers. Our Research Fellows have mostly collected their material on the basis of published works, some unpublished documents, and, in some cases, personal interviews. It is quite likely that some of our readers may have in their possession private papers of some of the leaders included in the published list or may have personal information on them not usually available in published works. They may also be in a position to give us clues to information not generally known or available. We, therefore, take this opportunity to appeal to our readers to go through the List of Leaders published very carefully and check up if on any particular leader or leaders they are in a position to supply us information not generally known and not available in any published work. It will be a great help to us in making our material collection more thorough and comprehensive, and we shall thankfully acknowledge such help in our Dictionary volumes when published. We do expect a good response to our appeal in view

of the national importance of the Project.

Annual General Meeting:

The Annual General Meeting of the Institute was held on September 19. Although conditions in Calcutta at the time were not very favourable for a successful academic gathering, because of the Indo-Pakistani conflict and consequent black-out and other restrictions in the city, the meeting was very well-attended, which was a most encouraging proof of the popularity of the organisation and the enthusiastic interest of its members. The Annual Report for 1964-65, presented at the Meeting and published in the present number, presents a quite happy picture of the activities and progress of the institution in its fourth year. It is to be hoped that the progress will be maintained in future and the Institute will fully justify its position among the great national academic bodies of the country.

New Fellows:

The Annual General Meeting also recorded the election by the College of Fellows of the following eminent scholars as new Fellows of the Institute:

- DR. J.N. BANERJEE, *Calcutta.*
- DR. G.S. DIKSHIT, *Karnatak University, Dharwar.*
- DR. J.N. SARKAR, *Jadavpur University.*
- DR. SATISH CHANDRA, *Rajasthan University, Jaipur.*
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- PROFESSOR BALABOUSHEVICH, *Moscow, U.S.S.R.*
- DR. DIETMAR ROTHERMUND, *Heidelberg University, West Germany.*

Teaching of History in Degree Colleges:

The Symposium on *Teaching of History in Degree Colleges*, organised on the same occasion, was also a great success. The principal participants were: Dr. K.C. Chowdhury, Principal, Maharaja Manindra Chandra College; Dr. Sisir Kumar Mitra, Sanskrit College; and Mr. Gautam Chatterjee, Surendranath College. All of them expressed their views in a remarkably candid and courageous manner, a clear demonstration of the zeal with which the ideal of academic freedom is cherished in our educational institutions. It is a matter of regret that for want of time many of those who wanted to contribute to the discussion could not be given full scope. It was felt by many that the same topic should be discussed again more thoroughly on a suitable future occasion.

It was also suggested that in addition to a comprehensive discussion of the various problems connected with the teaching of History in Degree Colleges, some concrete steps should be initiated by the Institute in matters, like, modification of the courses of study for B.A. (Hons.); inter-Collegiate co-operation in Honours teaching; proper teacher-student ratio; tutorials; library facilities with particular reference to the availability of reference books; refresher courses for college teachers; and opportunities of periodical exchange of ideas. The Institute is primarily concerned with post-graduate teaching and research, but it was the opinion of many that not much success could be expected in that sphere, unless adequate attention was paid to the improvement of the base, i.e., teaching at the B.A. (Hons.) level. In view of the general

consensus of opinion it was agreed to convene early in 1966 a more representative meeting of History teachers in Degree Colleges to determine what concrete steps should be taken and how to implement them without rocking the boat too dangerously.

Third Annual Conference:

The Third Annual Conference of the Institute will be held at Allahabad on January 1, 1966. The Conference will be divided into two Sessions. In the first Session will be discussed a few selected papers bearing on the following general themes:

1. India's Foreign Trade in the Ancient Period.
2. Social Conditions in Medieval India.
3. Growth of Indian Nationalism in the 19th and 20th centuries.

In the second Session there will be a Symposium on *Some Problems of Higher Education and Research to be taken note of by the Education Commission*. Five of the most eminent historian-scholars, representing different Universities, are expected to participate in the Symposium. It is hoped that the Symposium will focus attention on some of the specific problems of higher education and research with particular reference to historical studies, which will lead to the formulation of some concrete representations to be placed before the Education Commission in the form of a memorandum on behalf of the Institute of Historical Studies and the general body of Indian historians.

Our general experience about top level all-India Commissions of this kind is that for the most part they are content with rather vague generalities in their investigations and recommendations. A realistic outlook and appreciation of concrete problems and their remedies is, unfortunately, not much in evidence. The results in many cases are: rather superficial investigation, formulation of too pleasantly vague ideals, avoidance of really thorny problems, and lack of concern about the practicability of the mea-

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EDITORIAL

Lal Bahadur Shastri:

We mourn with a heavy heart the sad death of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, the great leader of the Indian nation. Shastriji had given India a new sense of national dignity and pride and had inspired a new feeling of determination to resist any dishonour or humiliation to national prestige. He was a man of steel, and India will always remain grateful to one who had shaken her from her spirit of pessimism and resignation. His untimely death under unfortunate circumstances is a national calamity. But let us hope that the India which Shastriji had created will live up to his great ideals—peace but no dishonour, determined action and no high-sounding and empty words.

Our New Home:

The Institute of Historical Studies shifted to its new premises, at 21, Kenderdine Lane, Calcutta-12 on 1st December 1965. We had been experiencing acute accommodation difficulties in our old premises. The present building is much more spacious and will fulfil the accommodation needs of the Institute for many years.

We request all our Members and Subscribers to kindly make a note of our new address.

Discussion Meetings:

In the later half of 1965 Discussion Meetings could not be held at the Institute for several months due to lack of accommodation in our old building. After we shifted to our new building on 1st December, 1965, we were able to resume our regular series of Meetings. Five Meetings were held in December-January. Mrs. Kalpana Bishui (U.G.C. Research Fellow, Calcutta University) spoke on *The Nationalistic Indian Press Vis-a-Vis the Conservative Anglo-Indian Press on Nascent Indian Nationalism*; Dr. J.P. Singhal (Joint Secretary, Arsh. Itihas Parishad, New Delhi) spoke on *The Problem of Indian Aryans*; Dr. Barun De (Indian Institute of Management, Calcutta) spoke on *The Impact of the Conquest of India on the 18th Century British Constitution: the Dundas Papers, from 1773 to 1801*; Mr. Sumit Sarkar (Lecturer in History, Burdwan University) spoke on *Some Problems of Bengal's Swadeshi Movement (1903-1908)*; Dr. A.C. Banerjee (Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Calcutta University) spoke on *The American Archives*. All the Meetings were very well-

asures suggested or how to meet an obdurate resistance on the part of some institutions to the implementation of the measures recommended.

The responsibility, of course, lies not wholly with the Commissions, but to a large extent with the body setting up the Commissions and primarily concerned with the execution part of the work. But even then much can be done by the Commissions themselves by concentrating their attention on specific problems and hard realities and also making practical recommendations to the appointing authority for their implementation. It is to be hoped that the Symposium to be organised by the Institute will, in its own limited sphere, attempt to pin-point some of the specific problems of higher education and research, which will be of great help to the Education Commission and may lead to a real improvement in the present sorry state of affairs.

Indian History Congress:

The 27th Session of the Indian History Congress will be held at Allahabad from 29th to 31st December, 1965. As in previous years, it is expected that a large number of historians will attend the Session and take part in its deliberations. The Indian History Congress is the most representative all-India organisation of Indian historians. Established in 1935, it has steadily built up a reputation for solid scholarly achievement, as reflected in more than 3000 research papers on various aspects of Indian History presented at different Sessions. A comprehensive classified list of papers was published by the Indian History Congress in its Silver Jubilee Souvenir Volume in 1963. The Volume is of inestimable value to every student of Indian History.

ANNUAL REPORT (1964-65)

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is with great pleasure that I present the Annual Report of the Institute of Historical Studies for the year 1964-65. The report shows another year of steady progress and sustained activity, earning for the organisation a recognised position among the leading all-India academic institutions.

Membership:

During the year under review the Institute had 5 Life Members and about 300 Ordinary Members. The increase in membership, while not disappointing under normal circumstances, was much below our expectations. The membership drive last year did not produce adequate results. I take this opportunity to emphasise the urgency of the situation and the pressing need of increasing our financial resources to offset the termination in 1966 of the General Support Grant, so kindly given by the Asia Foundation for three years. The Asia Foundation's grant enabled us to tide over our initial difficulties. But the time has come when we must do something on our side to increase the financial resources of the organisation. It has, therefore, been decided to launch an intensive membership drive all over India. Our target is 300 new members in 1965-66. This is not a very difficult thing to achieve. There are about 60 Universities and 1000 Degree Colleges in India. By any rough calculation the number of history teachers in Universities and Colleges would come up to 3,500. To get one fifth of this number enrolled as members of the Institute is not too much to expect, if the existing members extend their active help and co-operation.

One good feature about the membership of the Institute is that there has been a steady increase in enrolment from other States. The constitutional changes adopted last year, making the Executive Committee all-India in composi-

tion with representatives from all the major Universities, and the two Annual Conferences in Poona and Ranchi, produced very satisfactory results in securing the sympathy and co-operation of scholars outside West Bengal. We hope this trend will not only continue but also improve considerably in the current year, 1965-66. Even as it is, there is not a single State or a single University in India from where we do not have at least a few members. If the new membership drive proves successful, we shall be in a position to implement our plan of setting up a number of branch organisations in different parts of India.

Fellows:

Some new Fellows, both Indian and foreign, have been elected this year by the College of Fellows of the Institute. They are all scholars of high reputation in the field of Indian history. Their names will be announced at the Annual General Meeting.

Under the Constitution new Fellows are to be proposed and elected only 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 eleven Discussion Meetings. Professor Satish Chandra (University of Rajasthan, Jaipur) spoke on *Aurangzeb and the Rajput Problems* and *Some Aspects of the Fall of the Mughal Empire*; Professor James McGregor Burns (Chairman of the Department of Political Science, Williams College, Massachusetts) on *American Political History: Pragmatism and Ideology*; Professor S. B. Chowdhury (Burdwan University) on *History of the Indian Gazetteers: Need for Revision*; Professor Peter Harnetty (University of British Columbia, Canada) on *Lancashire, India and the Cotton Supply*.

attended and the discussions were lively as usual.

Apart from our old type of Discussion Meetings, from December 1965 we started our scheme of Research Students' Seminar. The procedure followed at the Research Students' Seminar is: the speaker explains why he chose the subject of his research and its importance in the context of the present state of historical knowledge. He then gives an account of the nature of material he has collected, outlining the difficulties he might have encountered. This is followed by an account of the problems and difficulties he has to face in arranging the material in the proper way and in giving it an orderly and systematic shape.

The Third Annual Conference:

The Third Annual Conference of the Institute was held in Allahabad on January 1, 1966. In the Morning Session the following selected papers were read:

I. INDIA'S FOREIGN TRADE IN THE ANCIENT PERIOD

- (1). Dr. Bratindra Nath Mukherjee,
Impact of Foreign Trade on Political History of Ancient India.
- (2). Dr. Lalanji Gopal,
Impact of Foreign Trade on Society in Ancient India.
- (3). Dr. (Mrs) Bela Lahiri,
Impact of Foreign Trade on Coins of Ancient India.
- (4). Dr. Kalyan Kumar Das Gupta,
Foreign Trade and Gandhara Art.
- (5). Mr. Ramchandra Jain,
Pre-Aryan Foreign Trade of India with Sumer.

- (6). Dr. A.B.L. Awasthi,
Skandapurana on the Dwipantara Trade

II. SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF MEDIEVAL INDIA:

- (1). Dr. Satish Chandra,
Social Background to the Growth of Religious Reaction during the 17th Century.
- (2). Dr. M. Rama Rao,
Social Conditions in Medieval Deccan.
- (3). Dr. Mohammad Yasin,
Social Conditions in Medieval India as reflected in the accounts of Al-Biruni, Ibn-Batuta, Babar and Bernier.
- (4). Dr. A.B.L. Awasthi,
Hindu Society in Bhaktamala of Navadasa.

III. GROWTH OF INDIAN NATIONALISM IN THE 19TH CENTURY:

- (1). Dr. V.D. Rao,
The Beginning and the Growth of Nationalism in the 19th Century Maharashtra.
- (2). Dr. Tarasankar Banerjee,
Indian Nationalism and Religion, with special reference to Bengali.

In the Afternoon Session, there was a Symposium on *Some Problems of Higher Education and Research to be taken Note of by the Education Commission*. The principal speakers were: Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, Professor of History, Delhi University; Dr. S. Nurul Hasan, Professor of History, Aligarh Muslim University; and Dr. K.K. Pillay, Professor of History, Madras University. There was a frank expression of views on some of the main defects in the organisation of higher studies and research and some concrete suggestions were formulated to remove these defects. It is planned to forward the results of the Symposium discussions to the Education Commission set up by the Government of India.

State of Historical Studies:

In the present number we are publishing information about the state of historical studies at two Universities, Karnatak University (Dharwar) and Lucknow University. There is a wide difference in the courses of study between the two Universities. Karnatak University has only one Department of History, and students have no choice in selecting papers for B.A.(Hons.) and M.A. examinations, the prescribed papers for each examination being common to all. Possibly, this is because the University is comparatively new and the History staff is small in number, which stands in the way of offering students a choice in the selection of papers for specialisation. We appreciate the difficulties of the Karnatak University, but we feel that the University should expand its Department of History as early as possible and at least in the M.A. stage the students should be given choice of specialisation in two papers out of eight, i.e., covering a quarter of the entire course. The present syllabus for M.A. is heavily weighted in favour of ancient Indian history. It is interesting to note that Karnatak is one of the few Universities in India, where there is a compulsory paper for M.A on Historical Method and Thought.

Lucknow University, on the other hand, has gone to the other extreme and is offering to students a bewildering number of choices. For history degree, both at B.A(Hons.) and M.A levels, there are two segregated divisions, one covering only Indian History and the other Western History. It means that those who take up the first group do not have to study the history of countries other than India. Similarly, those who take the second group can take their B.A(Hons.) and M.A degrees in History without a single paper on Indian History. That is the strangest thing one can think of in an Indian University. Specialisation in undoubtedly good, but such extreme specialisation is not desirable. It has to be kept in mind that the majority of students going in for History degrees at Universities do not really

intend to carry on research or to pursue specialised studies in later years, but primarily to acquire a general liberal education with particular reference to historical developments in the principal areas of the world.

There is, of course, a third group for M.A at Lucknow University which includes Medieval and Modern Indian History and History of England and of Europe. Since we do not know how many students go in for this group of studies as compared to the other two specialised groups, we really do not know how far the system of three groups is serving the needs of History students. The syllabus for the Composite Modern History course does not include American, Asian or African History, while the History of England covers a quarter of the entire course.

Besides the three courses in History, there is a separate Department of Ancient Indian History, again divided into two main groups, offering a wide variety of choice to students for specialisation. This system is in keeping with the tradition set by the University of Calcutta nearly half a century ago, to separate Ancient Indian History, as a department and as a course of study, from the main stream of historical studies. It is time that our educationists should reconsider the position in the light of the practical needs of History students in general and examine carefully whether it would not be more desirable to have one common stream of historical studies with facilities for specialisation covering half the total area of study. Watertight compartmentalisation is, in our opinion, not producing satisfactory results, except for a few who want to prepare themselves for a research career.

The rules for research degrees at both Lucknow and Karnatak Universities follow the general pattern in India, with no provision for regular courses or seminars for research students. Lucknow University has a written and viva-voce test at the end of six months after registration as a Ph.D candidate and also insists on linguistic

Question (1861-65); Dr. Blair Kling (American Institute of Indian Studies, Calcutta Centre) on *Dwarkanath Tagore and the Beginnings of Industrialisation in Eastern India*; Dr. J. R. Mac-Lane (American Institute of Indian Studies, Calcutta Centre) on *The Importance of the First Partition of Bengal*; Mr. S. Roy (Deputy Director, National Archives of India) on *The National Archives of India: Some Practical Hints for Research Students*; Dr. Biman Behari Majumdar (Patna University) on *The Inner Circle in the Congress in the Pre-Gandhian Era* and *The Congress and the Moslems*; Professor Tapan Kumar Roy Chowdhury (Delhi University) on *The Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations and the Indian Economy (1550-1700)*.

All the talks were very well attended and the discussions most lively. Some of them have been published in *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, and the rest will be published in due course.

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 acute accommodation problem for us. We are trying to secure a larger house, which would enable us not only to cope with the increasing attendance at Discussion Meetings but also provide adequate library and reading room facilities. We are hoping to be able to shift to new quarters before the end of this year.

On the occasion of the last Foundation Day Anniversary we had organised a Symposium on *Ideas of History in the Ancient, Medieval and Modern Periods*. The principal speakers were: Dr. Bra-tindranath Mukherjee (for Ancient Period); Dr. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar (for Medieval Period); and Dr. Tapan Kumar Roy Chowdhury (for Modern Period). The first two papers were published in *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1&2. On the same occasion Professor Kristof Glamann (Copenhagen University, Denmark) also gave a talk on *The Danish Trade in Bengal*.

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 own subjects and benefit by an exchange of ideas. 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 longfelt need in our research system.

Annual Conference:

In 1963 the Institute undertook a new programme of holding 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. This was made possible by a generous grant from the Asia Foundation. The First Annual Conference of the Institute was held in Poona on December 30, 1963. The Second Annual Conference was held in Ranchi on December 31, 1964. The Conference was divided into two sessions. In the first session the following papers were read:

(i) *Foreign Influence on Indian Culture in the Ancient Period.*

Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dr. Sudhakar Chatterjee (Visva Bharati University), Dr. R.S. Sharma (Patna University), Dr. S. K. Mitra (Sanskrit College, Calcutta), and Dr. Bratindranath Mukherjee (Sanskrit College, Calcutta).

(ii) *Economic Policy of the Mughal Government.*

Dr. A. L. Srivastava (Agra University) and Dr. J. N. Sarkar (Jadavpur University).

(iii) *India's Foreign Policy in the 20th Century.*

Dr. R. Rahul (School of Interpatational Studies, New Delhi), Mr. P. N. Khara (Historical Division, Ministry of Defence, New Delhi), Dr. V.D. Rao (Shivaji University, Kolhapur), and Mr.

Y. Vittal Rao (W.G.B. College, Bhimavaram, Andhra Pradesh).

In the second session, there was a Symposium on *Research Projects and Inter-University Co-operation*.

The principal 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).

All the papers read have been published in the *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol. IV, No. 4.

In the first week of August the Institute, in collaboration with the U.S.I.S., Calcutta, organised a Seminar on *Biography as History*. The leader of discussion 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: (i) The Biographer as Historian; (ii) Business History; (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.K. Ghosal (Bihar University), Dr. Barun De (Institute of Business 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 organised a Seminar in collaboration with the U.S.I.S.

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. III, No. 4, and Vol. IV, Nos. 1&2

(combined), 3 and 4. We regret that the publication of the journal had been sometimes delayed due to difficulties in the press, as also in securing necessary information from different Universities about progress of research in history. We, however, hope that the publication will be fully regularised and brought up-to-date by the end of the current year, 1965-66. During the year under review the journal maintained its regular feature of giving research news at different Indian Universities and also published a number of research papers which were highly appreciated in the scholarly world. A new feature, *Book Reviews*, was also added.

Library:

Considerable additions had been made to the collection of historical journals in our library during the year under review. It is pleasing to note that the collection of historical journals in our library now is much larger than in any other library in Calcutta. We have at present historical journals, Indian, British, American, Canadian, Australian, French, German, Italian, Russian, Polish, Czechoslovakian, Hungarian, Yugoslavian, Japanese, Indonesian, Philippino, Vietnamese and Burmese. When we shall shift to new quarters we hope to provide proper reading room facilities for our members.

We also made substantial additions to our library in books, pamphlets, reports etc, bearing mostly on the Nationalist Movement in the 19th and 20th centuries. Since we do not have adequate funds to build up a general library on history, we concentrated on books of a biographical nature which would help our Dictionary of Nationalist Biographies Project. We have, however, been trying to secure funds to enlarge the scope of our library and equip it with important reference books on history for the benefit of research students.

Research Service Bureau:

The Research Service Bureau also showed considerable activity during the year under

equipment needed for research in the particular field chosen. There is also provision for a detailed progress report at the end of each term. These are all good provisions, necessary to ensure regularity of work on the part of the research student.

About subjects chosen for research, we are happy to note that the list published for Lucknow University covers a very wide field in Medieval and Modern Indian History. We could not get the list for Ancient Indian History yet, and hence it could not be included in the present number. From the list given it is pleasing to note that there is no undue emphasis on regional or local history, so common in the case of many other Universities. There is no doubt more concentration on political history, which is quite understandable in the context of the trend of historical studies in the past, but social, economic and administrative history have not been altogether neglected.

The list of research subjects for Karnatak University shows concentration on regional and ancient history. No one is working on any topic relating to later medieval and modern periods of Indian History or on an area not connected with Karnatak History. This is possibly due to the small number of supervisory staff available in the History Department. We hope that with the expansion of the Department, attempts will be made to introduce researches in later medieval and modern periods, and on areas not connected with Karnatak History. Within the present range of topics for research at Karnatak University, we are happy to note that social, economic and administrative aspects have received their due shares of importance.

Dictionary of Biographies Project:

The Dictionary of Nationalist Biographies Project has been maintaining its steady progress since our last issue. The collection of material has been going on according to schedule in all the Zones. In some regions, like Orissa,

Bihar and Assam, work will be completed shortly. A list of leaders covered till May 1965 was published in our previous number. From June to December 1965, 246 leaders had been covered. For want of space we could not publish the list, as announced earlier, in the present number, but shall do it in the next. Our target for the year 1965-66 (June to May) is 500 leaders. If the present rate of progress is maintained, we shall achieve the target. Only 375 names will remain to be covered in 1966-67.

Our budgetary position, however, is causing us grave anxiety. Out of the total Project Budget of Rs. 3,37,540/-, we have received from the Asia Foundation Rs. 2,43,184/-. The balance, Rs. 94,346/-, we had hoped to raise from other sources, Government of India, State Governments and Indian Educational Foundations. Unfortunately, our hopes in this respect have not yet materialised. Except a very small amount sanctioned by the Government of West Bengal, we have not yet been able to secure assistance from any other source. We are quite aware of the financial difficulties of the Government of India and of the State Governments, particularly in a period of emergency and with so many pressing problems to be tackled. But we wish we could get at least some modest financial assistance as a token of recognition from the Government. With the funds at our disposal we can at best complete collection of biographical material on 1,200 leaders. But unless we can get additional funds from other sources, we shall not be in a position to undertake the editing work. In view of the great national importance and academic value of the Project and of the good progress already made on an all-India scale, it would be most depressing indeed if the work has to be left half done for lack of funds. We appeal to the Government of India and to the State Governments in all earnestness not to allow such an end to a Project which deserves the sympathy and co-operation of every patriotic Indian, to preserve the memories of those illustrious leaders who created modern India.

THE CONGRESS AND THE MOSLEMS

DR. BIMANBEITARI MAJUMDAR

There is a belief prevalent even amongst scholars that the Indian Moslems as a body kept themselves aloof from the Indian National Congress during the first three decades of its existence. It is further held that they did so at the advice of Sir Syed Ahmed, whose influence was paramount during his lifetime and became much greater after his death. Thus Prof. Hafeez Malik in his research work recently published by the Public Affairs Press, Washington, and accepted as an official publication of the American Congress, writes: "Men like Rahmatullah M. Sayani and the Hon'ble Mr. Badrud-Din Tyabji, who were conspicuous in the early Congresses as the *solitary* examples of Moslem collaboration with the All-India Congress failed to persuade their co-religionists."¹ Rev. C. F. Andrews and Prof. Girija Mukherjee have stated that "the decision of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan to oppose the Congress and his advice to hold aloof from it received after his death in 1898 almost a religious sanction." They further added that in the north of India his counsel prevailed and his verdict was quoted as sacrosanct for "a whole generation."² The object of this paper is to examine the validity of such statements.

At the very outset it may be stated that a close analysis of the list of delegates appended to the Official Report of the Congress each year does not bear out any one of the two observations quoted above. Syed Badruddin Tyabji (1844-1906) was not a solitary Moslem at the Madras session of the Congress in 1887. The Introduction to the Report states that as many as 83 Moslems were present. We could find, however, only 79 names of Moslem delegates in the official List of Delegates. Of these 58 came from the various districts of the Madras

Presidency, 3 from Deccan, 1 from Bombay city, 4 from Belgaum, 1 each from Bijapur, Karwar, Nagpore, Indore, Lahore, Agra, Azamgarh, Lucknow and Hooghly, and 2 each from Partabgarh and Aligarh, the centre of activities of Sir Syed Ahmed. Mahomed Shafi wrote in course of a letter published in the *Pioneer* a few days after the Madras Congress that the majority of the Moslem delegates who attended the last Congress "were of that type who, being themselves in a lower status in society were always ambitious of moving in the higher orbit."³ But one of the two persons who went from Aligarh was Syed Md. Maki, Zamindar, and the other was Hafiz Md. Abdul Rahim, a pleader. The *Pioneer* itself admitted that in the Madras Congress the North Western Provinces was represented by 44 Hindu and Moslem gentlemen including 8 Journalists, 17 Pleaders, 2 Barristers, 3 Education Officers, 5 Zamindars, 4 men of business and 5 miscellaneous persons. The *Pioneer*, of course, refused to call them representatives because over half of them were pleaders and editors, and a quarter of them Bengalees, settled in the N. W. Provinces. The latter were, in the opinion of the *Pioneer*: "strangers, repudiated equally by Mahomedans and Hindus."⁴ Theodore Beck (1859-1899), whom Sir Syed Ahmed appointed in 1883 as Principal of the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, when he was 24 years of age, clarified in what sense the Congress could not be called a representative body. He wrote to the *Pioneer* on the 2nd November, 1885: "No assembly like the National Congress could be regarded as representative, while 90% of the whole population of India consisted of peasantry absolutely ignorant of politics." It could have been contended by the Beck-*Pioneer* school of thought that since out of 79 Moslem delegates

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.

DICTIONARY OF NATIONALIST BIOGRAPHIES PROJECT :

The Dictionary of Nationalist Biographies Project made very satisfactory progress during the year under review, in spite of numerous problems and difficulties, characteristic of the initial stage of a large scale all-India Research Project of this kind.

Lists of Leaders :

The first lists of leaders for different zones had been submitted to the Advisory Board for scrutiny at its Meeting in June, 1964. Research Fellows were asked to revise the lists in the light of the following suggestions:

(a) names of persons who came into prominence only after 1947 not to be included;

(b) not to put undue emphasis on the recent period, i.e., after 1921, but to pay proper attention to the 19th century and the early part of the 20th;

(c) to classify names into groups, like political figures, journalists, educationists, men of letters, scientists, social and religious reformers, men of liberal professions, industrialists and businessmen, etc.;

(d) in drawing up names of political leaders, special care has to be taken to see that all the major parties or groups are represented;

(e) the objective of the Dictionary is not to cover every participant in the nationalist movement, but only leaders, i.e. men who led or influenced or inspired others.

The revised lists were submitted by Research Fellows in November-December 1964. They covered all the States in India and Pakistan. The lists were circulated in February 1965 among members of the Advisory Board, Project Committee and Zonal Committees and Consultants for comments and suggestions. Valuable suggestions were received from several persons, which helped us to draw up the third revised lists, in May, 1965. In drawing up the third revised lists, we had to keep in mind our financial limitations, and hence the original lists had been considerably shortened. The present lists include 1200 names. For the present we are concentrating on leaders of all-India and of provincial importance. Whether we would be in a position to take up district level leaders would depend on our budgetary position after 1966-67.

It would possibly have been better in one sense to give wider publicity to our lists of leaders to ascertain fuller public opinion on our choice of names. But we felt the need of exercising caution in not giving unrestricted publicity, particularly in the popular press, to the lists of leaders to be covered in our Dictionary, in order to avoid pressure from interested political or communal groups. We have to keep our Project on a purely academic and non-partisan basis.

Meetings of Research Fellows and Supervisors:

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 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 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.

Scrutiny and Co-ordination System:

One of the main problems is to ensure a definite and uniform standard in the nature and extent of material collection. The Research Fellows work 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 two ways—by holding periodical meetings of Research Fellows and by setting up an effective scrutiny and co-ordination system.

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, whenever

necessary, the folder files and entry cards are sent back for revision. The system has been working satisfactorily and has proved quite adequate for the purpose in view.

An effective check has also been maintained to ensure regularity of progress in the collection of material. A new check-up system was introduced in November 1964. 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 also 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 estimating progress.

Progress in the Collection of Material:

Till the end of May, 1965, material had been collected on 325 leaders. The zone-wise break-up of the number is:

Eastern Zone (Bengal, Bihar, Assam and Orissa)—105;

Western Zone (Bombay, Gujarat and Maharashtra)—60;

Northern Zone (U.P., M.P., Delhi, Rajasthan, Panjab and Kashmir)—90;

Southern Zone (Madras, Mysore, Kerala and Andhra)—70.

The total figure is, on the whole, satisfactory, considering the special problems and difficulties of a Project of this kind in the initial stage. It can be confidently expected that progress in 1965-66 will be speedier.

A full list of leaders covered by our Research Fellows till the end of May, 1965, will be published in the *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies* Vol. V, No. 1. Arrangements will also be made for adequate publicity in the leading newspapers in India, with an appeal to those interested to supply us whatever information on any leader or leaders they may have in their possession. In

as many as 58 were from Madras, they did not represent the Moslems of the whole of India. But they did not raise this point because it was usual and natural for the Province in which the Congress met to contribute the majority of delegates.

Rahmatullah M. Sayani presided over the Calcutta session of the Congress in 1896, though according to the painstaking researches of Prof. Hafecz Malik conducted in the U.S.A. it was in 1894!⁵ Sayani was not the solitary Moslem gentleman present in the Calcutta session. He was accompanied by 53 other Moslem delegates coming from different parts of the country.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan began his campaign against the Congress even before the meeting of the second session in Calcutta in December, 1886. The Congress in its very first session had passed resolutions demanding the reconstitution of Legislative Council on representative basis to a certain extent. Sir Syed opposed this idea vehemently in an article published in the *Allypore Gazette* which was quoted in the *Statesman* dated the 23rd November, 1886. He asked: "Is the state of the country adapted to popular government?" and "How will the mixture of nationalities in India affect the working of (Indian) Parliaments?" He had already emphasised the difference of religious and social customs of the Hindus and Mahomedans in his speech in the Supreme Legislative Council on the C. P. Local Self-Government Bill in 1883. He said on that occasion: "The system of representation by election means representation of view and interests of the majority of the population, and in countries where the population is composed of one race and one creed, it is no doubt the best system that can be adopted. But, my Lord, in a country like India, where there is no fusion of the various races, where religious distinctions are still violent, where education in its modern sense has not made an equal or proportionate progress among all the sections of the population, I am convinced that the introduction of the

principle of election, pure and simple, for representation of various interests on the local boards and the district councils, would be attended with evils of greater significance than purely economic considerations."

He elaborated these ideas in the paper contributed to the *Allypore Gazette* and deliberately used the term 'Nationalities' to denote the different communities residing in India. Here he held out the threat of physical violence, in place of veiled language used in the Supreme Legislative Council. His exact words were as follows:—"In India two sections of the people are ready to hand, and two sections whose interests and prejudices constantly clash, and which differ in a far more radical way than any two parties in England, and there seems no reason to doubt that the two parties would correspond with these fundamental divisions. We find a tendency towards this already in municipalities. And if at any future time there should be a parliament with Hindus and Mahomedans sitting on the two sides of the house, it is probable that the animosity which would ensue would far exceed anything that can be witnessed in England. For the safeguard of the English system is—that the party in power is always in dread of being left in a minority by the defection of some of its adherents, but this safeguard would not exist in India because a Hindu would not turn Mohamedan and *vice versa*. Moreover, the Mahomedans would be in a permanent minority and their case would resemble that of the unfortunate Irish members in the English Parliament, who have always been outvoted by the Englishmen. The majority in Parliament has absolute control and a study of the habit of assemblies point to the conclusion that bodies of men are less generous in regarding opponent than individual rulers are. If this were so, and one side were perpetually outvoted, there is only too much fear that the minority would ultimately take the matter into their own hands and see if they could gain by force what they were unable to obtain by constitutional means."⁶ Hume gave a crushing reply to these contentions and wrote:

"Let me say, to begin with, that the majority of Hindus and Mahomedans are practically of the same nationality and not of different ones. Their religious creed is different and their prejudices may at times clash, but as for their essential interests, these are absolutely identical, for all are equally interested in an efficient protection to life and property, moderate taxation, a just land revenue system, and generally a wise administration of the country in all respects. Nothing is more absolutely false than that the public interest of Hindus and Mahomedans are in any way divergent."⁷

Sir Syed Ahmed's propaganda must have influenced the Central National Mahomedans Association and the Mohamedan Literary society to publish the letters interdicting the Congress on the eve of the Calcutta Session. The *Statesman* commented: "The Mahomedan community at Madras have sent delegates to the Congress, and so have the Mahomedans of Bombay, the North Western Provinces, Oudh and the chief towns and cities of Bengal and before taking so serious a step as that which Mr. Amir Ali and the Nawabs have taken, they will themselves admit, we think, that they ought to have ascertained beyond doubt, that the community which they are supposed to represent, desired them to take such action."⁸ Nawab Raza Ali Khan of Lucknow said in course of seconding the motion for the election of Dadabhai Naoroji as President of the Calcutta session, 1886: "The Association that has done us the honour of deputing us is largely composed of leading Mahomedans, Nawabs and Wasekars, Political pensioners, and scions of the once Royal House of Oudh, and I assure you that our Association and my brother Mahomedans generally of Oudh, will utterly repudiate and condemn any unworthy attempt to create dissensions in our ranks, by unfounded statements as to our supposed want of sympathy with the present movement. Hindus or Mahomedans, Parsees or Sikhs, we are one people now, whatever our ancestors six or eight hundred years ago may have been and our public interests indivisible and identical. Gentlemen, I pray

you disregard any such slanders; we Mahomedans (at least such of us as can think at all), think just as all thinking Hindus do on these public questions, and believe me when I say that you will ever find us side by side with you in every legal constitutional endeavour to raise the political status of the people of our common home and country."⁹

Throughout the year 1887 the Aligarh group carried on propaganda against the Congress. Syed Amir Ali again asked his co-religionists to desist from joining the Congress. Badruddin Tyabji who presided over the Congress session at Madras in 1887 was also approached. But he wrote on the 13th January, 1888 to Syed Amir Ali and Syed Ahmed Khan: "I have not been able thoroughly to understand the grounds on which this abstention is sought to be justified but it does seem to me to be a great pity that on matters affecting all India as a whole, any section of the Mussalman community should keep aloof from the Hindus and thus retard the national progress as a whole. I understand your humble objection to be that the Hindus being more advanced than ourselves would profit more by any concessions made by Government to educated natives but surely it is our duty if possible to raise ourselves in the scale of progress, rather than to prevent other people from enjoying the rights for which they are qualified."¹⁰ In reply to this letter, Syed Ahmed Khan wrote to Badruddin Tyabji on January 24, 1888: "I do not understand what the words 'National Congress' mean. Is it supposed that the different castes and creeds living in India belong to one nation, or can become a nation, and their aims and aspirations be one and the same? I think it is quite impossible and when it is impossible there can be no such thing as a National Congress, nor can it be of equal benefit to all peoples. You regard the doings of the misnamed National Congress as beneficial to India, but I am sorry to say that I regard them as not only injurious to our own community but also to India at large. I object to every Congress in any shape or form whatsoever—which regards India as one Nation

future a list of names on which data collection will be completed in each quarter will be regularly published in the *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*.

Research Staff:

At the beginning of the year under review we had a Research Staff of 5 whole-time and 4 part-time workers:

Bengal	—2 whole-time Research Fellows.
U.P., M.P. & Rajasthan	—1 whole-time Research Fellow.
Punjab & Kashmir	—1 whole-time Research Fellow.
Bombay-Gujarat	—2 part-time Research Fellows.
Maharashtra	—2 part-time Research Fellows.
Mysore-Madras	—1 whole-time Research Fellow.

The Research Staff had to be considerably increased during the year under review, and at present we have 10 whole-time and 6 part-time Research Fellows:

Bengal	—2 whole-time Research Fellows and 1 part-time Research Fellow.
Bihar	—1 whole-time Research Fellow.
Orissa	—1 whole-time Research Fellow.
Assam	—1 part-time Research Fellow.
U.P., M.P., & Rajasthan	—2 whole-time Research Fellows.
Punjab & Kashmir	—1 whole-time Research Fellow.
Bombay-Gujarat	—1 whole-time Research Fellow & 1 part-time Research Fellow.
Maharashtra	—1 whole-time and 1 part-time Research Fellow.
Madras-Mysore	—1 whole-time Research Fellow.
Andhra	—1 part-time Research Fellow.
Kerala	—1 part-time Research Fellow.

With the expansion of the Research personnel,

four additional Research Supervisors were appointed during the period under review:

1. Dr. S. Gopal, Director, Historical Division, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, New Delhi;

2. Dr. V. A. Narain, Head of the Department of History, Patna College, Patna, Bihar.

3. Professor H. K. Barpujari, Head of the Department of History, Gauhati University, Gauhati, Assam.

4. Professor M. N. Das, Head of the Department of History, Utkal University, Bhubaneswar, Orissa.

Revised Project Plan:

When the Project Plan was first drawn up in 1963 and budget estimates were made, we did so on a very modest scale without anticipating the difficulties and financial involvements of a big all-India Project like this. We had then hoped that the collection of material could be completed in three years' time, 1963-64 to 1965-66, and that the work could be done with the help of only 7 whole-time Research Fellows. From our actual experience of work we realised by the middle of 1964 that these calculations were much too optimistic. So we had to revise our plan size and budget estimates from the beginning of the year under review. The two principal points in this revision are: first that the Project cannot be completed in less than 5 years, that is from 1963-64 to 1967-68, if it is to serve any useful national purpose; second, in place of the original estimate of 7 whole-time Research Fellows, we must have 10 whole-time Research Fellows and 6 part-time Research Fellows, for proper regional distribution according to linguistic and cultural areas.

In order to complete the Project by 1967-68 we had to reduce the number of leaders to be covered to 1200. The Zone-wise break-up of this figure is:

Eastern Zone	(Bengal, Bihar, Assam and Orissa)
	—325;

Northern Zone (U.P., M.P., Rajasthan, Punjab, Kashmir and N.W.F. Province)
—325;

Western Zone (Bombay-Gujarat and Maharashtra)—275;

Southern Zone (Madras-Mysore, Kerala and Andhra)—275.

Out of the number 1200, collection of material has been completed on 325. Calculating on the existing strength of the Research Staff, we may expect collection of material on 525 leaders during the year 1965-66. The remaining number 350 may be covered in 1966-67. Editing work may start from June 1966, and will be completed by May 1968. In 1966-67 editing will go on side by side with collection of material; 1967-68 will be devoted entirely to editing work.

Usefulness of the Project :

Our actual experience of work so far has proved that the Project will amply fulfil two of its main objectives. The first is the collection of a valuable mass of data on nationalist leaders, of a detailed and authentic nature which may be utilised by other Research workers in future for their own purpose. Apart from compiling the projected Dictionary, the very fact of such a collection of material should be deemed as fully justifying the Project. The second is the training in research methods which our Research Fellows are getting through their work on the Project. In fact, the research training facilities provided by our Project are far better than the normal system in Indian Universities. The difference is clearly reflected in the speed and quality of work. From this point of view, the Project is certainly serving its purpose. Besides, we allow our Research Fellows to use the Project material they collect for their own research work. In fact, we encourage them to do so.

Scope and Nature of the Project:

The appointment of an Editorial Board and the formulation of the exact nature of the biographical entries in the Dictionary will be taken

up by the Advisory Board in 1966. At this stage of our progress, however, it is worthwhile to reiterate our basic ideas about the scope and nature of the Project. First, we do not aim at giving any comprehensive biographical account. Even for the most eminent leaders, 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.

Second, 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.

Third, we aim at maintaining a high standard of scholarship and authenticity. 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, and whenever possible, a leader's ideas and attitudes will be brought out in his own words, with extracts from his own writings and speeches.

Co-operation of Universities :

During the year under review we requested all the Universities in India for co-operation with the Dictionary Project, particularly in the form of library and supervision facilities and provision

Lucknow, said in course of his speech in the Congress that the 'Anjuman-i-Islam' of Lucknow which had more than 400 members on its rolls had deputed "thirty distinguished delegates, including three Princes Royal, grandsons of the late lamented Mohammad Ali Shah III of Oudh, Sheikh Raza Husain Khan, Saheb Taluqdar, Mr. Ali Mohammad Bhunji and others to take part in the proceedings of the Congress—and no less than seventy Mohammedan delegates represent at this meeting our own province of Oudh. Now can you say how so many able and distinguished delegates have come to be returned from Oudh and specially from Lucknow? Gentlemen, I will whisper it in your ears. The truth of it is, that all this good result is due to the kindness of our brethren in the Aligarh camp—the opponent of the Congress. I assure you that if our hostile brethren had not made such a grand show of opposition the Congress would certainly not have been the success that it has been today. To my mind the National Congress is like the vine, which, the more it is pruned, the more it flourishes. There is no doubt that our kind opponents have spared no pains to prune it out of existence; but still the numerous branches which delight the eyes of spectators in the vast hall today are, to no small extent, the outcome of their persistent pruning."¹⁶

Syed Shurf-ud-din, who later on rose to be a High Court Judge and Executive Councillor in Patna, said in course of his speech in the Allahabad Congress in 1888: "In 1885 when the first meeting of the Congress was held at Bombay, it was said by adverse critics that it was a Congress of a few educated native gentlemen. Again you will remember that when the Congress was held in Calcutta in 1886, it was no longer called a Congress of a few native gentlemen, but a Congress of Bengalees; and in 1887, when the Congress was held in Madras it was not called a Congress of Native gentlemen or of the Bengalees but a Congress of Hindus. (Laughter and cheers). Now gentlemen, here in 1888, we have got before us not only Hindus, Bengalees and Mahrattas, but I am proud to say we have here

amongst us today more than 200 Mahomedans including scions of the ex-Royal families of Delhi and of Oudh. (Loud cheers)..... I may tell you that in 1886 when the Congress was held in Calcutta, owing to some local or temporary reasons, the Mohammedans were charged with holding aloof, but I can assure you that, at least in my province of Bihar, the Mohammedans have the fullest sympathy with the objects of the Congress."^{16a}

Doubts assailed the minds of even the orthodox religious leaders of the Moslem community with regard to the total abstention from political movements as advised by Sir Syed Ahmed. About the year 1889 Maulana Rashid Ahmed of Gangoh, head of the Deoband School, said: "Syed Ahmed may or may not be the real well-wisher of Islam, but an association with him, in the long run, would be poisonous to the (life of) Moslems and Islam. He administers sweet poison that is fatal. Therefore, do not join him. You may join with the Hindus." But this verdict was modified by certain qualifications which were laid down in the manner of the Delphic Oracle. "If, however," the Maulana added, "an association with the Hindus might lead to the commission of an act contrary to the *shariat*,—or if it might cause degradation or humiliation of the Moslems, or if it might even assist the progress of the Hindus then it is expressly forbidden."¹⁷

In spite of such a dictum from a high religious authority the number of Moslem delegates increased from 222 to 254 in the Bombay session of the Congress in 1889. At this session, one Moslem delegate from Lucknow (a friend of Sir Syed Ahmed) while speaking on the second Resolution relating to the Reform of Legislative Council demanded that the number of Moslem representatives to the Legislative Council should be equal to that of the Hindus. Another Moslem gentleman hailing from Moradabad went so far as to demand that there should be three Mohammedans for every Hindu. Hamid Ali, the renowned Barrister-at-Law from Lucknow, said in reply to these: "Permit me to say that we are

all endeavouring to create a United India and to form ourselves into one nation, so far, at least, as the political rights and wants are concerned." He further stated that if the Moslems demanded parity with the Hindus who were 15 crores** to the 5 crores of Moslems, the Parsees, the Jains, the Sikhs, the Eurasians and the Europeans also would claim to have as many members as the Moslems or Hindus. He, therefore, urged: "We must adopt some standard as a basis for a scheme of representation, and, on the whole, that of population is the fairest for all and certainly the most favourable to us. If, instead of population, property or education were selected as the basis, we should be far worse off—but one of these three must be adopted and adhered to, or the absurd result I have just indicated to you is arrived at." He tried to convince the Moslems that the interests of the Hindus and the Mohammedans were absolutely one and undivided. Even if it had not been the case, how could the Hindus injure the interests of the Moslems? He pointed out: "Are there not to be European and Eurasian members amongst those elected, besides Sikhs and Parsees in some Provinces? Are not one-fourth of the members to be officials who are ex-officio, and one-fourth to be nominees of Government amongst whom probably there would be some Mohammedans?" Here we find an array of almost irrefutable arguments, but the Aligarh group turned a deaf ear to all these.

In the Calcutta session of the Congress held in 1890, Munshi Sadruddin Ahmed, Zamindar of Allahabad, while moving Resolution II observed: "Glory in the first place to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the leader of disunion, the patriarch of jealousy, the parent of obstinacy, the ancestor of doggedness and the living saint of Anti-Congressists."¹⁸ Nasir Ali Shohrat of Delhi said: "There is no sort of disunion amongst Mahomedans and Hindus. All are of one mind. No doubt Sir Syed Ahmed and his now microscopic following tried to create such disunion,

** The correct number should be 20 crores. In 1901 the Moslems numbered over 62 millions, or between one-fifth and one-fourth of the total population.

but all see now with what conspicuous failure." Syed Saifuddin stated, that in the recent municipal election at Patna, out of 20 elected members 13 were Mahomedans.^{18a}

The total number of delegates, both Hindu and Moslem, fell at the Calcutta session in 1890. The number of Moslem delegates was 116 but it constituted 16.5% of the total number of delegates present in place of the 13.2% of the previous year. But the tension between the two communities became more acute on account of the agitation for the protection of the life of cows to which the Moslems took the most serious objection. In 1891 the number of Moslem delegates fell to 71, though next year 91 of them attended the Congress at Allahabad. In 1893 riots broke out in Western India. Swami Shraddhananda writes that a Muslim Mukhtar was engaged to enlist Moslem sympathy for the Congress at Jalandhar. His efforts appear to have been successful to a certain extent. The total number of Moslem delegates at the Lahore session in 1893 was 65. But many of them claimed exemption from the payment of delegation fee as well as the Messing Charge on the plea that they were religious preachers.¹⁹

The next session (1894) met at Madras. On account of the continuance of the riots many Moslem gentlemen kept themselves off from the Congress. Only 23 Moslem delegates attended the Congress. The majority of those who had enthusiastically joined the Congress in 1887 were absent seven years afterwards. Henceforward we find that both the absolute number and the proportionate ratio of Moslem delegates reached almost the lowest level whenever the Congress met in the southern Presidency. At the Madras session in 1898 it was 10, in 1903 it fell to 9 which again rose to 10 in 1908 but declined to 8 in 1914. The distance of Madras must have been one of the contributory factors responsible for the fall in the number of Moslem delegates. The low percentage of Moslem population in Madras was another factor. But the tension of feeling

of Research Fellowships for collection of material. It is gratifying to note that more than 30 Universities offered their help and co-operation and applied to the U.G.C. for the grant of Research Fellowships for the Dictionary Project, for which we are most thankful to them. Unfortunately, the U.G.C. decided in October, 1964 not to give any additional funds to Universities for this purpose during the Third Five Year Plan.

We had also applied to the U.G.C. in September, 1964 for the grant of Research Fellowships for the Dictionary Project tenable at different Universities. After the October decision of the U.G.C. we appealed to the Chairman in November, 1964 for a reconsideration of the case, but with no better luck. It is quite baffling to understand the difficulty of the U.G.C. in responding to the appeals of 30 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 may pertinently ask why cannot a small part be allotted to a planned Research Project, organised on an all-India and inter-University basis? We wish, we could get an answer.

I am happy to report that the Jadavpur University has decided to institute a Research Fellowship, for the Dictionary Project from its own resources. I thank the authorities of the Jadavpur University for their kind help and co-operation.

Finances:

The revised cost of the Dictionary Project year by year is given below:

	Rs.	P.
1963-64	33,192.67	
1964-65	84,068.05	
1965-66	90,279.28	
1966-67	70,000.00	
1967-68	60,000.00	
Total	3,37,540.00	

The Asia Foundation's contribution is:

1963-64	48,246.00
1964-65	69,294.00
1965-66	70,644.00
1966-67	55,000.00
Total	2,43,184.00

Thus the Asia Foundation will bear nearly 70% of the Project cost and we have to raise the balance of Rs. 94,356 from other sources. We have applied to the Ministry of Education, Government of India, for a grant of Rs. 50,000, and we have also applied to State Governments and Indian Educational Foundations to raise the balance of Rs. 44,356.

Without being unduly optimistic, it is not really too much to hope that we can raise this small amount of deficit, Rs. 94,356/-, in view of the great national importance of the Project and the good progress already made on an all-India basis. When a foreign Foundation has provided funds to cover 70% of the cost of a Project which is uniquely of Indian interest, it would be most disheartening, if we fail to raise the remaining balance from Indian sources, either Governmental or private. The Project certainly deserves support from every patriotic Indian, to preserve the memories of those illustrious leaders who created modern India.

It is to be deeply regretted that the reaction of the Governments has not been as quickly responsive as one could have wished and as could have been expected in the case of a national Project like this. But we are trying our best to break through *the rigid, elaborate and time-killing official formalities* by appealing to the Minister of Education, Government of India, and to the Chief Ministers of the States. We do hope that our appeal will have the desired effect, and we shall be saved from the shame and embarrassment of failing to secure even 30% of the funds

needed from any Indian source, while a foreign Foundation is paying 70% of the funds of a Project which is particularly of Indian interest.

I take this opportunity to express our grateful thanks to the Asia Foundation for having made a Supplementary Grant of Rs. 1,03,650/- for the Project cost in addition to their previous commitment of Rs. 1,44,000/-.

So far as the general side of the Institute is concerned, the financial position is far from happy. It can be easily appreciated that an organisation like this can hardly survive its initial years without external financial help. It takes time to build up the organisation, secure adequate membership and develop its financial resources. In the meanwhile, it has to be kept going. The Asia Foundation, appreciating the useful nature of the work we are doing, very generously came to our assistance in our struggling period and made a General Support Grant of Rs 13,500/- a year for three years, 1963-64, 1964-65 and 1965-66. This grant, which enabled us to expand our activities and offer additional facilities to our members, will come to an end in 1966. If we want to keep up the Institute's activities even at their present level, we have to

find out this money, both by developing our own financial resources and also by securing the help of the Central and State Governments. I would, therefore, particularly appeal to all our members to kindly exert themselves in enrolling new members, which would partially meet our financial needs and also strengthen our hands in seeking help from the Central and State Governments.

Conclusion:

Before concluding the Annual Report, on behalf of the Institute of Historical Studies, I offer our sincere thanks to the Asia Foundation for their generous financial assistance and to the Universities which have offered us their kind co-operation. 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 Executive Committee, 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.

September 1, 1965.
Calcutta-12.

S.P. SEN
Director

between the two communities must have been the main cause.

In 1896 Rahamatullah M. Sayani (1847-1902) discussed in his Presidential address most elaborately the alleged reasons for the comparative apathy manifested by the people of his community towards the Indian National Congress. He classified these reasons under seventeen heads and proved that there was absolutely no valid cause for their abstention. He made a lengthy quotation from a speech delivered by Syed Ahmed Khan at Aligarh on the 10th May, 1866 in which the Moslems had been exhorted upon to express openly and honestly their opinions as to the justice or otherwise of the acts of Government. Sayani made a fervent appeal to the Moslem community to join the Congress in larger numbers. He told them that they would get everything they demanded provided only that their number in the Congress was adequate. He even went to the extent of quoting with approval a remark made by the Hon'ble Haji Mohamed Ismail Khan of the North-West Provinces to the effect that the Congress should pass a resolution "recognising the absolute necessity of equality of number of Hindu and Mohamedan elected members in Legislative Councils, District Boards and Municipalities." The comment on such a preposterous suggestion offered by Rahamatullah M. Sayani was as follows: "It is a good suggestion, but so long as Mussalmans do not join the Congress movement in the same number and with the same enthusiasm as the Hindus do, the Congress cannot in fairness be asked to carry out such a suggestion in the manner and to the extent indicated in the suggestion."²⁰ This shows the difference between the attitude of a truly Nationalist Moslem thinker like Hamid Ali Khan and the much trumpeted President of the Congress.

The appeal of Sayani did not have much appreciable effect on his co-religionists in 1897 or 1898. Sir Syed Ahmed breathed his last in 1898 and this sad event might have influenced the members of his community in

abstaining from the Congress that year. Not a single Moslem from outside the Presidency of Madras joined the Madras Congress in 1898. Ananda Mohan Bose who was immensely popular both in Bengal and in Assam was the President of the session; but even his magnetic personality could not attract a single Moslem from the eastern, western or northern part of India.

This was, however, a purely temporary phase. The Moslems attended the Congress in unprecedented numbers when it met at Lucknow in 1899. The total number of delegates in the Congress that year was 739 and as many as 311 of them were Moslems. While the Moslems constituted 20% of the population of India, they formed 42% of those who attended the Congress as delegates. *India*, the organ of the Congress, published from London, quoted the *New Age* saying that 400 out of the 1,000 delegates assembled were Moslems. The *Tribune* of Lahore wrote: "Fully one-half of the colossal throng were Mussalmans. From the numbers of the ex-royal family and the aristocracy to the shopkeepers in the bazar, all were there."²¹

A section of the Moslem population of Lucknow started a vigorous campaign in the city against the Congress early in the winter of the year. The first step they took was to approach the Government with a request to the effect that no meeting should be allowed to be held in Lucknow lest the delegates from the Deccan bring the germ of plague which, however, was not raging there at that time. The Lt. Governor said that he did not like to put any unnecessary impediment to the Congress. A committee was then formed to dissuade the Moslems from joining the Congress. A meeting attended by some nine hundred of them was held. Bansi Lal Singh, the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Congress, observed: "The great demonstration has come and gone without doing any damage to the Congress cause, while the presence of about 300 Mohamedan delegates from Lucknow alone already indicates that for the Anti-Congress, in these

Provinces at least, the hour is not yet ripe." To be exact, the number of Moslem delegates from Lucknow was 290. Bengal sent one solitary figure, Moulavi Aliazzaman, B.A., Chairman of the Local Board, Faridpur. Poona sent one and Satara another. The rest came from the various towns of the N. W. Provinces. For example, Aligarh, Almora, Allahabad and Benares each sent three Moslem delegates. Sitapur, Bareilly, Agra and Barabanki sent one each and Gonda sent two.

Swami Shraddhananda, however, furnishes a most damaging account of the Moslem delegates in the following words: "Sitting on the dais, the first thing I noticed was that the number of Muslim delegates was proportionately fourfold of what it was at Lahore in 1893. The majority of Muslim delegates had donned gold, silver or silk-embroidered *Choga* over the ordinary coarse suits of wearing apparel. It was rumoured that these *Chogas* had been lent by Hindu moneyed men for Congress *Tamasha*. Of some 433 delegates only some 30 had come from outside; the rest belonged to Lucknow city. The majority were admitted free to delegates' seats, board and lodging. Sir Syed Ahmed's anti-Congress League had tried in a public meeting to dissuade Muslims from joining the Congress as delegates. As a counter-move the Congress people lighted the whole Congress camp some four nights before the session began and advertised that ingress that night would be free. The result was that all the 'Chandukhanas' of Lucknow were emptied and a large audience of some 30,000 Hindus and Muslims was addressed from half a dozen platforms. It was there that the Muslim delegates were elected or selected. All this was admitted by the Lucknow Congress Organisers to me in private."²² These lines must have been written in a spirit of extreme levity. Factual as well as logical errors abound in them despite the so-called confidential source of the Swamiji's information. First, the number of Moslem delegates at Lahore in 1893 was 65 and it rose to 311 and not 433 at Lucknow; in any case it was not fourfold but fivefold. Secondly, if all

but some thirty were citizens of Lucknow there could not have arisen any question of providing them with free board and lodging. Thirdly, if the Congress camp was lighted some four nights before the beginning of the session, there could not have been any *tamasha* inside the camp to which admittance was advertised to have been free. Fourthly, it is unbelievable that the Moslem delegates of Lucknow were so poor that they had to borrow *Chogas* from the Hindus and that the shape and the size of those who lent and of those who borrowed exactly tallied. Fifthly, from the List of Delegates we find that the prefix Nawab was added to the names of as many as 77 persons, excluding those who called themselves Nawab but described their occupation as service. ** There can be no doubt that many of them were highly respectable persons and some were actually descendants of the ex-royal families of Oudh and Delhi.

The enthusiasm of the Moslem community of the Punjab was much weaker than that of their brethren in Oudh. Only 56 Moslem delegates attended the Lahore session of the Congress in 1900. Next year when the Congress met in Calcutta their number rose to 76. Of these 34 were from Bengal proper, 20 from Bihar, 6 each from the N. W. Provinces and Oudh, the Punjab including Delhi, and Madras, and 4 from the Central Provinces and Berar. The same year witnessed the birth of an association entitled "The Political and Social Organization of the Moslems" with its headquarters at Aligarh. This evidently superseded the United Indian Patriotic Association of which nothing was heard of after the year of its birth in 1888.

By this time Lord Curzon had been openly denouncing the Congress activities and express-

** The serial number of delegates in 1899 Congress having the prefix Nawab was as follows: 204-209, 212-214, 238-240, 259-268, 264, 269-274, 277-283, 285-286, 288-289, 291-294, 297-298, 300, 303-305, 307, 309-311, 322-324, 326-328, 330, 334, 338, 353, 358, 360, 365, 366, 373, 375, 376, 379, 386, 396, 400, 405, 406, 424, 438 and 442. Many of them must have been called Nawab by courtesy.

DICTIONARY OF BIOGRAPHIES OF NATIONALIST LEADERS

NAMES OF LEADERS COVERED TILL MAY, 1965

Acharya, Narendradeva.
 Aiyar, Alladi Krishnaswami.
 Aiyar, P.S. Sivaswami.
 Ali, Aruna Asaf.
 Ali, Shaukat.
 Ambedkar, B.R.
 Ansari, M.A.
 Ayengar, A. Rangaswami.
 Ayyar, T. Muthuswami.
 Agarkar, Gopal Ganesh.
 Aiyar, G. Subramania.
 Aiyar, S. Subramania.
 Ali, Mohamed.
 Alluri, Sitaramaraju.
 Aney, M.S.
 Arundale, G.S.
 Ayengar, N. Gopalswami.
 Azad, Maulana Abul Kalam.
 Baba Kharak Singh.
 Baba Gurdit Singh.
 Baba Prithvi Singh.
 Bajaj, Jammalal.
 Banerjee, Krishna Mohan.
 Bari, Abdul.
 Barua, Hem Chandra.
 Ben, Mira.
 Bhai, Parmanand.
 Bhargav, Thakur Dass.
 Bharathi, S.
 Bhave, V.N.
 Bhopatkar, L.B.
 Bonnerjee, W.C.
 Bordoloi, Nabin Chandra.
 Bose, Khudiram.
 Bose, Rashbihari.
 Barua, Maniram.
 Bala, Nanda Kishor.
 Banerjee, Surendra Nath.
 Barua, Gunadaviram.
 Bhattacharya, Kamala Kanta.
 Besant, Annie.
 Bhargava, Gopi Chand.
 Bhandarkar, R.G.

Bhau Daji.
 Bhikshu Akhandanand.
 Bobbili, Raja.
 Bordoloi, Gopinath.
 Bose, Ananda Mohan.
 Bose, Rajnarain.
 Bose, Subhas Chandra.
 Chaki, Praphulla.
 Chaliha, Kuladhar.
 Chatterjee, Jogesh Chandra.
 Chaturvedi, Shri Makhanlal.
 Chakravarti, Tarachand.
 Cama, Madame.
 Chaturvedi, Pt. Banarsi Das.
 Chaudhuri, Asutosh.
 Chaudhuri, Khaliquzzaman.
 Chetty, R.K. Shunmugham.
 Chiplunkar, V.K.
 Chettiar, T.A.
 Chintamani, C.Y.
 Dar, Pt. Bishan Narayan.
 Das, Chittaranjan.
 Das, Madhu Sudhan.
 Das, Pandit Gopabandhu.
 Datta, Ashwini Kumar.
 Datta, Kanai Lal.
 Dutt, Romesh Chandra.
 Deb, Radha Kanta.
 Desai, Bhulabhai.
 Deshmukh, Hari Gopal.
 Deshmukh, Sardar Gopal Hari.
 Dalpatram, Kavi Nanlal.
 Das, Bhagawan.
 Das, Jatindra Nath.
 Das, Nilakantha.
 Datta, Akshoy Kumar.
 Datta, Bhupendranath.
 Dhekiel Phukan, Anandaram.
 De, Lal Behari.
 Deb, Shilp Chandra.
 Desai, Mahadev.
 Deshpande, Gangadhar Rao.
 Devadhar, Gopal Krishna.

Fule, G.B.
 Gackwad, Sayaji Rao.
 Ghosh, Barindra Kumar.
 Ghosh, Lal Mohan.
 Ghosh, Ram Gopal.
 Ghosh, Sisir Kumar.
 Gopalakrishnayya, D.
 Gupta, Deshbandhu.
 Guru, Narayana.
 Gadgil, N.V.
 Ghosh, Aurobindo.
 Ghosh, Girish Chandra.
 Ghosh, Monmohan.
 Ghosh, Rashbihari.
 Gokhale, G.K.
 Govindachari, A.
 Gupta, Maithili Sharan.
 Haque, Mazharul.
 Hans Raj, 'Wireless.'
 Hedgewar, K.B.
 Ismail, Sir Mirza.
 Iyengar, Kasturi Ranga.
 Iyengar, V. Bhashyam.
 Iyer, K. Seshadri.
 Imam, Syed Hasan.
 Iyengar, A. Rangaswami.
 Iyer, C. P. Ramaswami.
 Jayakar, M.R.
 Joshi, Vaman Malhar.
 Jambhekar, B.G.S.
 Joshi, G.V.
 Joshi, Vasukaka.
 Karve, Maharshi.
 Kaur, Rajkumari Amrit.
 Khan, Abdul Ghaffar.
 Katju, Kailash Nath.
 Khan, Aga (III).
 Khan, Hakim Ajmal.
 Khan, Syed Ahmed.
 Khare, N.B.
 Kalelkar, Kakasaheb.
 Kidwai, Rafi Ahmad.
 Koleswarerao, A.
 Krishnayya, D. Gopala.
 Kumaran Asan N.
 Kunzru, H.N.
 Khan, Azim Ullah.
 Kelkar, N.C.

Ketkar, Shridhar Vyankatesh.
 Kitchlew, Saif-Ud-Din.
 Kripalani, J.B.
 Kulabhaskar, Munshi Kali Prasad.
 Kumarappa, J.C.
 Lal, Jagat Narayan.
 Lala, Hardayal.
 Lal, Parmeshwar.
 Lahiri, Ramtanu.
 Lala, Harkishen Lal.
 Lala Lajpat Rai.
 Maharaj, Ravishankar.
 Mahashe, Rattan Chand.
 Majithia, Dyal Singh.
 Mallick, Rasik Krishna.
 Mavalankar, Dadasaheb.
 Meghani, Zaverchand.
 Mehta, Smt. Hansa.
 Mehta, Sumant.
 Menon, Kesava, K.P.
 Mian, Fazl-i-Husain.
 Misra, Gokaran Nath.
 Mirza, Ghalib.
 Mohamed Ali, Maulana.
 Mudaliar, Pachayappa.
 Mukherjee, Harish Chandra.
 Mukherjee, Satish Chandra.
 Madhavan, T.K.
 Mahashe, Krishen.
 Mahatma, Hans Raj.
 Malaviya, Pandit M.M.
 Mashruwalla, Kishorilal.
 Meher, Gangadhar.
 Mehta, Balawantray.
 Mehta, Pherozeshah.
 Mehta, V.L.
 Menon, Narayan Vallathol.
 Mishra, Pandit Godavarish.
 Mitra, Digamber.
 Mitra, Kissory Chand.
 Moosa, Sait, Khan Bahadur.
 Mukhopadhyay, Asutosh.
 Mukherjee, Jatindranath.
 Munshi, Iswar Saran.
 Nageswararao, K.
 Naidu, R. V.
 Nair, Chettur Sankaran.
 Nampoothirippad, Sankaran, E.M.

ing his strong disapproval of such persons as were contributing to the funds of the Congress. Sir Henry Cotton writes in his memoirs that the Secret Police shadowed even the Maharaja of Darbhanga, who was a strong supporter of the Congress. When the Congress met at Ahmedabad in 1902 only 20 Moslem delegates were present in it. Of these 17 were from Ahmedabad itself, 2 from Bombay and 1 only from Bengal.

The plan for partitioning Bengal was being considered by the Government seriously ever since the early months of 1903. It is generally assumed that the Mohammedans as a community were in favour of the partition of Bengal, while the Congress was deadly opposed to it. But Nawab Syed Ameer Hussain, the Secretary of the Central National Muhammadan Association, in his reply, dated February, 1904 to the query of the Government expresses the opposition of his Association to the Partition and said that it was neither necessary nor desirable. If, however, the Government was determined upon it the Province of Assam might be reconstituted with a Lieutenant Governor and a Council. On the other hand, a predominantly Hindu Association, called the Jorhat Sarbajanik Sabha with Jagannath Barua as President welcomed the idea of Partition on February 10, 1904 provided that certain rights for the Assamese were definitely reserved.

Tension between the two communities ran very high after the Partition. The number of Muslim delegates to the Congress fell to 18 at the Varanasi session of the Congress in 1905. But A. H. Gaznavi, Zamindar of Muktagacha of Mymensingh, in the speech on the Repressive Measures in Bengal (Resolution XIII) openly declared in the Congress: "The Government officials presided over public meetings and they told their friends that 'it is to your interests that you must not be united with Hindus. You will find it in the Koran that Hindus and Mohammedans should not join together.'" ²³ Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh quoted in his undelivered Surat speech large extracts from a Red Pamphlet distributed in 1907 at Jamalpur, Mymensingh,

exhorting the Muslims not to buy anything from a Hindu shop, not to touch any article manufactured by Hindu hands, and not to give any employment to a Hindu. The Government did nothing except binding its author for good conduct for one year only. Such an atmosphere was not conducive to the attendance of many Moslem delegates at the Congress. But on the 21st of December, 1906 the Bengal Mohammedan Association elected 7 representatives to the Congress, including A. Rasul, Barrister-at-Law. The total number of Muslim delegates to the Calcutta Congress rose to 45. Amongst them was Mohammed Ali Jinnah, who moved an amendment to Resolution No. IX relating to the scheme of representation in the Legislature. The official resolution had provided for certain reservations for such communities as were educationally backward. Jinnah delivered his memorable maiden speech in the Congress, in course of which he said: "I understand that by backward class is meant the Mohammedan community. If the Mohammedan is meant by it, I wish to draw your attention to the fact that the Mohammedan community should be treated in the same way as the Hindu community. The foundation upon which the Indian National Congress is based is that we are all equal, that there should be no reservation for any class or any community and my whole object is that the reservation should be deleted." The amendment moved by Mr. Jinnah was seconded by M. Abdul Kasim of Burdwan, who said: "If you have these words, then it will give a handle to Government to introduce any sort of reservation that they please. As to the Mohammedans, it is an insult to their intelligence and to their culture to suppose that they are not equal to combat with other races. As for minority, they should not be afraid of their being numerically few. Because, if in India we are in the minority, the Congress safeguards our interest. If we are in a minority, the Parsees are in a greater minority." Had the Muslims of India borne this advice in mind the history of India would have taken an altogether different shape. His was no solitary voice. In 1910 Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan of

Lucknow told the Congress: "Separate electorate for Mahomedan seats in the Councils reserved for Mahomedans in excess of their numerical strength are no doubt great allurements, for they bring immediate gain to a certain number of Mahomedan gentlemen, but in reality they are calculated to do no good to the community at large, for they are sure to alienate the Hindu sympathies from it, and, therefore, as long as the two communities remain divided from each other by sectarian jealousies and animosities, the larger and wider interests of the whole Indian nation are bound to suffer."²⁴

In 1911 Bishan Narayan Dar in his Presidential address at the Calcutta Congress showed that the rule allowing Moslem candidates to contest the general seats, not reserved for their community, gave representation to them over and above what was guaranteed to them by the weightage system. In 1912 Tej Bahadur Sapru moved the following amendment: "So long as separate electorates are in existence, those who are eligible to be voters or candidates in them should not be allowed to be voters or candidates in the general electorate." But the Hon'ble Mr. Mazharul Haque made a personal appeal to Dr. Sapru to the effect that at least for one year for the sake of the Mahomedan brethren he should drop the Resolution. Dr. Sapru withdrew the amendment.²⁵ This shows that the Hindu members of the Congress were ready to sacrifice even their legitimate interests for the sake of appeasing the Moslem delegates. In his speech before the Supreme Legislative Council in 1913 Mahomed Ali Jinnah declared: "I say, Sir, that I am proud that I belong to the Congress Party." He joined the Congress for the first time in 1906 when he was thirty years of age. He was then serving Dadabhai Naoroji as his Private Secretary. He took an active part in the deliberations of the Congress in 1908, 1910, 1913 and 1917. In 1910 he expressed his disapproval of the scheme of communal representation in Local Bodies. He was, however, much too busy a lawyer to attend every session of the Congress. He was absent

in the Congress in 1909, 1911, 1912 and also in 1915 when the session was being held in Bombay itself. He was one of the Congress delegates to England in 1914. He took much greater interest in the affairs of the Congress than Syed Badruddin Tyabji, Rahamatullah M. Sayani and Syed Hasan Imam. Yet he was never offered the Presidentship of the Congress. He left the Congress on September 30, 1921.

Since 1866 Sir Syed Ahmed had revised his opinion regarding the joining of political movement by the Moslems. From 1887 he had been preaching absolutely whole-hearted co-operation with the British Government. He had warned the members of his community against joining a political movement which savoured of Government opposition, however mild and constitutional it might be.²⁶ But the creation of the new Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam with a majority of Moslem population and the encouragement of the demand for special weightage for the Moslem community from persons in high authority in the Government of India made it necessary to organise the Moslem League in 1906. Sir Ali Imam in his Presidential address at the Amritsar session of the Muslim League in 1908 showed that there were many points of similarity in the demand for reforms between the Congress and the Muslim League. Within fifteen years of the demise of Sir Syed Ahmed the Moslem League declared the attainment of self-government to be their aim and objective. Sir Syed Ahmed would never have agreed to such a resolution. The Karachi session of the Congress held in 1913 congratulated the League by passing the following resolution: "That this Congress places on record its warm appreciation of the adoption by the All India Moslem League of the ideal of self-government for India within the British Empire." Thus the path was cleared for the formulation of the Congress-League scheme of reform of Legislature.

A clear view of the numerical extent of the participation of Moslems in the Congress may be had from the chart given below:

Narain, A. Jagat.
 Narayan, Chandavarkar.
 Naidu, K.V. Reddi.
 Naidu, Sarojini.
 Nam Joshi, M.B.
 Nana Saheb.
 Narain, Balkrishna Sharma.
 Narayan, Jai Prakash.
 Narain, Lala Jagat.
 Natarajan, K.
 Nehru, Motilal.
 Nariman, Veer.
 Pal, Kristo Das.
 Paliwal, S.K.D.
 Pandit, Bishambhar Nath.
 Pandita, Ramabai.
 Pant, Govind Ballabh.
 Paran, Mahadeo Shivaram.
 Paranjpe, Shivram Mahadeo.
 Patil, Bhaurao Paigounda.
 Phadke, Vasudeo Balvant.
 Phule, Mahatma Jotiba Govind Rao.
 Pillai, Chidambaram, V.O.
 Pillai, Ramakrishna K.
 Prasad, Braj Kishore.
 Pratap, Raja Mahendra.
 Pal, Bipin Chandra.
 Paul, K.T.
 Pandit, Ajudhia Nath.
 Pandit, Nanak Chand.
 Panicker, K.M.
 Pantulu, Ganjam V.
 Paranjpe, R.P.
 Parivrajak, Swami Satyadev.
 Patro, A.P.
 Phukan, Haliram Dhekial.
 Phukan, Tarun Ram.
 Pillai, Keshava K.C.
 Prakasam, Tanguturi.
 Prasad, Rajendra.
 Prem Chand.
 Rai, Radhanath.
 Rajagopalachari, C.
 Ranade, M.G.
 Rao, Raghunadha.
 Rao, V.P. Madhava.
 Reddi, G.R.
 Roy, M.N.

Roy, Ram Mohan.
 Raja, M.C.
 Rajwade, V.K.
 Ranga, N.G.
 Rao, T. Madhava.
 Rasul, Moulavi Abdul.
 Rehiman, Saheb, Muhammad Abdul.
 Roy, Praphulla Chandra.
 Sachar, Bhim Sain.
 Sarabha, Kartar Singh.
 Sanyasi, Bhawani Dayal.
 Sardar, Ajit Singh.
 Sarkar, Mahendra Lal.
 Sasmal, Birendranath.
 Sastri, Sibnath.
 Satyapal, Dr.
 Saadulla, Sir Syed Mahmud.
 Sai, Surendra.
 Sampurnanand,
 Sapru, Tejbahadur.
 Sardar, Bhagat Singh.
 Sarkar, Peary Charan.
 Sastri, Sashiah.
 Satyamurti, S.
 Savarkar, V.D.
 Sen, K.C.
 Sengupta, Jatindra Mohan.
 Shahu, Chhatrapati.
 Shibli, Maulana Nomani.
 Shraddhanand, Swami.
 Srinivasashastri, V.S.
 Singh, Bhakna Sohan.
 Singh, Ganesh Dutt.
 Sinha, Anugrah Narayan.
 Sinha, Srikrishna.
 Sitaramayya, Patabhi.
 Sunderlal, Sir.
 Swami, Shahajanand.
 Senapati, Fakir Mohan.
 Setalvad, Sir Chimanlal.
 Sharma, Pt. Bal Krishna.
 Shinde, V.R.
 Shyamji, Krishnavarma.
 Singh, Deep Narain.
 Singh, Kunwar.
 Sinha, Sarangdhor.
 Sinha, Sachchidanand.
 Sri Prakasa, J.

Swami, Dayanand.
 Tagore, Dwarka Nath.
 Tandon, Purushottam Das.
 Tayyibulla, M.
 Thakkar, Bapa.
 Thampi, Velayudhan Chempakaraman.
 Tyabji, Badruddin.
 Tagore, Debendra Nath.
 Tagore, Prosanna Kumar.
 Tata, Jamsetji.
 Telang, K.T.
 Thakurdas, Purshottamdas.
 Tilak, Lokamanya.
 Usman, Sir Mohamed.
 Upadhyay, Brahmabandhab.

(Names not in strictly alphabetical order)

Varma, Badrinath.
 Varma, Ravi, Raja.
 Vidyabhusan, Dwarkanath.
 Vidyasagar, Iswar Chandra.
 Vijayaraghavachariar, V.
 Vivekananda, Swami.
 Varadachari, K.
 Varma, Ganga Prasad.
 Verenelingum, K.
 Vidyarthi, Ganesh Shankar.
 Vijapurkar, V.G.
 Visvesvaraya, M.
 Vyas, Shri Jai Narain.
 Wacha, Sir Dinshaw.

<i>President</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Venue</i>	<i>Total no. of delegates</i>	<i>No. of Moslem delegates</i>	<i>Percentage of Moslem delegates to the total</i>
W. C. Bonnerjee	1885	Bombay	72	2	2.7
Dadabhai Naoroji	1886	Calcutta	434	33	7.6
Syed Badruddin Tyabji	1887	Madras	607	79	13.0
Yule	1888	Allahabad	1248	222	17.7
Wedderburn	1889	Bombay	1913	254	13.2
Sir Pherozeshah Mehta	1890	Calcutta	702	116	16.5
Ananda Charlu	1891	Nagpur	812	71	8.6
W. C. Bonnerjee	1892	Allahabad	625	91	14.5
Dadabhai Naoroji	1893	Lahore	867	65	7.5
Webb	1894	Madras	1163	23	1.9
Surendranath Banerjee	1895	Poona	1584	25	1.5
Rahamatullah M. Sayani	1896	Calcutta	784	54	6.9
Sankaran Nair	1897	Amraoti	692	57	8.2
Ananda Mohan Bose	1898	Madras	614	10	1.6
R. C. Datta	1899	Lucknow	740	313	42.0
Chandavarkur	1900	Lahore	567	56	9.8
E. D. Wacha	1901	Calcutta	896	76	8.4
Surendranath Banerjee	1902	Ahmedabad	471	20	4.2
Lal Mohan Ghosh	1903	Madras	538	9	1.8
Sir Henry Cotton	1904	Bombay	1010	35	3.4
G. K. Gokhale	1905	Varanasi	758	18	2.3
Dadabhai Naoroji	1906	Calcutta	1663	45	3.1
Rash Behari Ghosh	1908	Madras	626	10	1.5
Madan Mohan Malaviya	1909	Lahore	243	5	2.0
Sir William Wedderburn	1910	Allahabad	636	19	2.9
Bishan Narayan Dar	1911	Calcutta	446	9	2.0
Madholkar	1912	Patna	207	6	2.8
Syed Mahomed Bahadur	1913	Karachi	349	13	3.7
Blupendra Nath Basu	1914	Madras	866	8	0.9
Sir S. P. Sinha	1915	Bombay	2259	85	3.7

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¹ Hafeez Malik: *Moslem Nationalism in India and Pakistan* (1963); p. 196.

² C.F. Andrews and Girija Mukherjee: *The Rise and Growth of the Congress* (1938).

³ *The Origin and Constitution of the National Congress* (an Anti-Congress Pamphlet published in 1888 from the Pioneer Press) Appendix p. II.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 16.

⁵ Hafeez Malik Op. cit. p. 195. This researcher states in the same page that the first session of the All India Congress was held from Dec. 25 to 31, 1885, in Bombay. He consulted only the circular letter of Hume and did not care to find out whether the Congress did actually meet on these dates.

⁶ *The Statesman* (23.11.86) quoted in the *Hindu*, January 12, 1887.

⁷ *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, Nov. 1887.

⁸ *The Statesman*, 28th Dec. 1886 as quoted in the Report of the second Congress, p. 155.

⁹ RINC 1886, p. 51.

¹⁰ HFM II, pp. 67-69.

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 71.

¹² *Ibid.* pp. 81-82, 86.

¹³ *Speeches of Surendra Nath Banerjee, Part II*, p. 82ff.

¹⁴ Swami Shraddhananda: *Inside the Congress*, p. 19.

¹⁵ "The Seditious character of the Indian National Congress and the opinions held by eminent natives of India who are opposed to the Movement"—a pamphlet written

by Beck and printed at the Pioneer Press, Allahabad, 1888.

¹⁶ RINC 1888, p. 128.

¹⁷ Maulana Syed Muhammad Mian—*Ulama-i-Haq Aur vukāy Majahiddana Karhamy*, vol. I. p. 72 (Delhi 1946).

¹⁸ RINC 1890, p. 35.

^{18(a)} *Ibid.* p. 30.

¹⁹ Swami Shraddhananda: *Inside the Congress*, p. 24.

²⁰ RINC 1896.

²¹ *India*, January 19, 1900, p. 33.

²² Swami Shraddhananda: *Inside the Congress*, pp. 30-31.

²³ RINC, 1905, p. 77.

²⁴ RINC, 1910, p. 90.

²⁵ RINC, 1912, pp. 99-100.

²⁶ *Hindustan Review*, January 1909, p. 52.

INTER-UNIVERSITY COORDINATION IN HISTORICAL RESEARCH

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Last year in my paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Institute, I had drawn attention to certain weaknesses in our organisation of research in the Indian Universities. In that connection pointed reference was made to the lack of source material and library facilities, and the inadequacy of supervisory staff for guiding research students. I had also mentioned the need of advancing beyond the phase of guided individual research directed towards the award of the Ph.D. degree and undertaking projects of research engaging the cooperation of various members of the History Department and other cognate disciplines. The field for research is wide and many important aspects are awaiting the touch of historians, and there are a large number of subjects which do not admit of individual effort only. It was the general consensus of the Institute last year that not many Universities are equipped even slightly to indulge in the luxury of research. Yet the appetite for research is growing and the number of Ph.D. scholars is waxing year by year, largely owing to the mundane potentialities of this degree. There are some Universities where even in the remote, out of the way places, colleges have entered the field of research and are contesting for the honour to manufacture Ph.D.'s. Such colleges have no library worth the name, much less any collection of source material, and at the best there may be one or two ambitious Ph.D.'s or some other ambitious teachers who have never passed through the discipline of research themselves, who pose as research guides. Even in the Departments of History attached to the Universities, in many places, the situation is not much better, yet the process of creating Ph.D.'s there knows no relaxation. All these react adversely on the

quality of the output, and nothing better than a narrative, chronicle type of political history, of the least import to the world, and indifferently written, is all that is produced. The Universities largely have been unable to provide answers to the many problems which intrigue the intelligent reader of our history or to find answers to questions relating to the socio-economic processes which have moulded the life of the nation. There is no University where any substantial work is being done on the history of the nations of Europe or the people of Asia outside India. And as long as every University must raise its individual banner of research and function in isolation, no prospect of improvement can be entertained.

Last year in my paper, analysing the requisite conditions for research and lamenting the lack of them in Indian Universities, I had suggested inter-University cooperation and coordination of research activities. I had at that time emphasised the necessity of organising research on a corporate basis, projects of research being allocated to the Universities. At the same time I had pointed to the need of 'some rationalisation in research and allocation of certain fields to the various Universities.' This is an essential reform if research has to find any solid and scientific basis in this country. For many years to come 'every University will not have adequate means to undertake research in every period, field or aspect of Indian history'. This necessarily leads to the desirability, or I may say inevitability, of inter-University cooperation and coordination in historical research. It is this theme which I will develop today, though the subject is a delicate one and might hurt the vanity of some Universities.

There are certain basic requirements for undertaking research activities and three of which I consider fundamental are: the possession of a well-equipped research library, existence of an adequate research personnel in the faculty, and a rich tradition of research, in other words, proper atmosphere of research as a whole. As regards the first, at present, only a few of the older Universities may be fortunate in having workable research libraries. For the newer Universities it is difficult to build up, within any reasonable and foreseeable period, a research library in history, for most of the older books and published source material are either not available in the market or are selling at fancy prices. The flow of current literature in history is so vast that, I doubt, if any University library in India can even entertain the vision of possessing even one tenth of what is produced every year. Therefore, the limited resources doled out to the various Universities, from the one and only source, are seldom spared for acquiring older books or source material. Occasionally some Universities may be fortunate in getting a special grant for purchasing source material but the amount is small and the availability of books is so limited that but for purchasing a few sets of books on subjects of special interest to the Head of the Department or some enthusiastic teacher nothing better is achieved. For research in Indian history, it is not enough that the entire published source material, general books and monographs etc. must be there but that there should also be literature available in the library on cognate subjects, relating to the other countries, specially Europe and Asia. Most often we require books on sociology, economics, philosophy, religion, politics and literature for a proper appreciation of our subject of enquiry. This implies that not only the library should be rich in history but also in many other subjects, and I doubt if many Universities can boast of being fortunate in that respect. Secondly, the Universities should be able to maintain microfilm, microfiche, photostat or rotograph copies of unpublished source material also. In the older days when these methods of photocopying were not

developed, it was all right for scholars to be moving from place to place in search of materials and spending long periods in archives or manuscript libraries away from their supervisors. But now that these means are available and not too expensive either, Universities which have to build up research on an organised basis must possess as much of such material as practical, and thereby build up a good research library.

Taking the second one of the pre-requisite conditions, namely, the existence of a competent faculty, I have to confess to a sense of disappointment. Most of the Universities have inadequacy of staff even to teach the graduate classes and the existence of more than one Professor or even many Readers in a University department is a rare phenomenon. Many Universities have found it difficult to fill the place of Professor and even where such an operation has been completed the result has been, at least, the addition of one junior member to the existing staff. History is not a popular subject in many regions, and in various Universities the academic vision of the staff seldom transcends the regional outlook and studies are confined to local history or a limited dynasty. As for tradition for research or inter-disciplinary approach to problems of enquiry, this commodity is a rare one and may be met with only in a few places, if at all. Departmental jealousies or personal prejudices prevent communication between one discipline and another. This situation is a general one, but there are some Universities where certain disciplines have developed and an atmosphere of research has a greater prospect there. It is therefore apparent that the necessary facilities for research are not available in many Universities and that it will be pretty long before the newer Universities will succeed in developing them to any appreciable extent. No college is at all equipped to handle research of any sort, howsoever limited in scope. Hence it is out of the question that colleges should be permitted to organise research or enrol scholars to work within their jurisdiction. If there is some eminent

THE ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF THE SCHEME FOR THE FIRST PARTITION OF BENGAL (1905)

MRS. KALPANA BISHUI

The readjustment of the boundaries of Bengal was a long-standing problem. After the constitution of Assam as a separate province, it comprised Bengal proper, Behar and Orissa. In 1903, Bengal had an area of 189,000 square miles, with a population of 78,000,000. The problem was at first taken up by the Government of India to meet administrative requirements. The great Orissa famine of 1866 and the huge loss of human lives therefrom directed the attention of the Secretary of State and of the Government of India to the defects of the existing system of government in Bengal. In 1868 Sir Stafford-Northcote referred to the greatly augmented demands that the outlying portions of Bengal appeared to make on the time and labour of those concerned in the Government of the province¹. Among other methods of relieving the overtasked administration, he suggested the separation from Bengal proper of Assam and possibly of Orissa. It was decided that Orissa should remain attached to Bengal but Assam proper and certain other districts on the north-eastern frontier of Bengal were formed into a separate Chief-Commissionership directly under the Government of India in 1874. The principle of territorial division was accepted but the suggestion of an Executive Council to assist the Lieutenant-Governor was shelved, in deference to the opinion of the Governor-General, Sir John Lawrence, and his supporters who held the view that Council Government was inferior to personal Government.²

The attention of the Government of India was again directed in 1892 to territorial readjustments on the Eastern Frontier of Bengal in connection with the administration of the Lushai Hills. The Conference, held at Calcutta

in January 1892 to examine certain questions relating to the country of the Lushai and Chin tribes, recommended that if the South Lushai Hills with their avenues of access through the Chittagong District were transferred to Assam, the whole Chittagong Division should also be transferred. The Government of India resolved that the Chittagong District should be transferred and that the question of transferring the whole division should be further considered.³

The question was opened again in 1896 when it was referred to the Governments of Bengal and Assam for their opinion in January, 1896. In the opinion of Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, the justification of the proposed measure was to be sought solely in the plea of administrative convenience. But the strongest reason (i.e. the necessity of giving relief to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal) on which the proposal to transfer the Chittagong Division (as apart from the reasons connected with Lushai land) had always rested did not find favour with him. "It cannot be argued," he stated, "that the transfer of the Division to Assam is called for in order to afford relief to the Bengal Government". He did not think that any particular burden was imposed on that Government by the Chittagong Division. Moreover, the Division itself would not benefit by being transferred to Assam. "The transfer then must be justified", he asserted, "solely on the ground that Assam needs expansion for the general improvement of its administration and the progressive development of its material prosperity as a province". On the whole he made it clear that the Local Government would have no objection to the

proposal if the Government of India were satisfied that for administrative reasons (viz. in the interests of Assam alone, and not of Bengal) it was desirable to make the transfer⁴.

Sir William Ward, the then Chief Commissioner of Assam, was in favour of the transfer of the entire Chittagong Division. He believed that the transfer would benefit Chittagong (differing in this from Sir A. Mackenzie). From one point of view Sir William Ward considered the proposal to be specially desirable, as with the enlargement of the Province it would be possible to take a substantial step towards the creation of separate services for the Province. He further suggested the possibility of the transfer of Dacca and Mymensingh districts along with the Chittagong Division to Assam. This further proposal he justified mainly on the ground that it was doubtful whether the transfer of the Chittagong Division alone would make the province large enough to admit of separate services being maintained for it⁵.

It may be mentioned here that in answer to questions put by Babu Mohini Mohan Roy on the 26th of February, 1896, Sir John Woodburn, the then Home Member of the India Government, stated in the Supreme Council that the Government of India had made no proposal that Dacca and Mymensingh should be transferred to Assam and that no such proposal was at present under their consideration.⁶ This indicates that the idea of this transfer was not seriously mooted except by Sir William Ward. The question of the transfer of Dacca and Mymensingh was not even referred to the Government of Bengal for its opinion and very little value was attached to Ward's opinion, as this proposal was not even considered in the Council.

The administrative ground which Sir William Ward adduced in justification for the transfer of the Chittagong Division, nay even of Dacca and Mymensingh districts, did not find support from his successor, Sir Henry Cotton. He did

not think it to be possible nor even desirable to have separate services for Assam as proposed by Sir William Ward. He rejoined further that the Chittagong Division would not gain in any respect by being transferred to Assam and that any civilised portion of Bengal would not gain by "being detached from the advanced portion to which it belongs and attached to a comparatively backward province". He also expressed the opinion that the separation of Chittagong from Bengal would not materially lighten the burden of the Bengal Government. The suggestion for the transfer of Dacca and Mymensingh districts was vigorously opposed by him and he prophesied that if it were made public "it would excite a storm of protest."⁷

It would not be irrelevant to mention here that the Judges of the High Court of Calcutta regarded the proposed transfer of the Chittagong District, or of the Chittagong Division, to the Government of Assam, as then constituted, as a "retrograde and mischievous step", in regard to the legislative needs of the district or districts concerned⁸.

In view of the opinion of Sir Alexander Mackenzie that the work of the Bengal Government would not be seriously lightened by the transfer of the Chittagong Division and in view of the strong resistance offered by Sir Henry Cotton, the then Chief-Commissioner of Assam, the proposal was not carried through and was postponed *sine die*⁹. But the opinion was expressed by some members of the Council that the question would be revived again before many years would elapse and that the Chittagong Division be separated from Bengal¹⁰. Eventually it was decided to limit immediate action to the transfer of the South Lushai Hills from Bengal to Assam.

A study of the relevant state-papers in connection with the readjustment of the boundaries of Bengal clearly indicates that it was solely for administrative reasons that the question was considered by Lord Elgin's Government. The administrative grounds on which the

researcher, he will better find scope for his merit at the University or a centre of research which may be developed. Of the Universities also, it may be said without hesitation, that every-one of them should not indulge in this costly recreation but pool its resources with others to develop strong centres of research on a cooperative basis.

Apart from the lack of research libraries or the inadequacy of higher research staff, which inevitably preclude the possibility of research being organised efficiently and profitably at every University centre, there is another aspect also which points to the necessity of coordination. Guided research for the first doctoral degree which has been the main preoccupation of Universities is not enough to reveal the mighty past and solve the problems of socio-economic and cultural development which intrigue the present generations. What is required is to tackle these problems in a concerted manner with an inter-disciplinary approach and provide a clear picture of how the present Indian society has evolved and what forces have influenced it in its process of growth. I need not here spell out the subjects which call for historians' touch but their number is large and each one will involve a labour of many years for a band of scholars, even from many disciplines, who have at their disposal large libraries and comprehensive source material, and have adequate assistance. Such projects of research will have to be allocated to the various centres which may again work in cooperation with each other. This type of research is what I contemplate for the future when I lay stress on coordination in the matter of research, for on such research alone will the Universities of India attain a place on the map of knowledge. Then there is need for organising studies and research in the history of the countries outside our own. It is a matter of real regret that we have no Professors in histories of Europe, American or even Asian countries; and most Universities find it difficult to teach such histories even to the undergraduate and M.A. classes. We have, except

at peril to our security and national glory, to organise research in the history of China, Japan, South East Asia, Iran, Arab lands and Central Asia, which are so close to our borders and with whose people in some form or other there had been contacts since the ancient past. Even for a clear comprehension of our own history it will be desirable to study the history of these lands closely. This will involve collection of published and unpublished historical literature on these lands and also developing the necessary linguistic equipment to examine it. Even for European history, we should be able to study it from our angle, for the contacts with Europe have been very old and in the recent centuries European movements have intimately affected our entire existence. Even today the world is swayed by the passions, interests and actions of the rulers of Russia, America or England. We cannot ignore them and we cannot depend entirely on their historical writings for a clear analysis of the trends which govern the future direction of human history. We have to view the changes and developments in these countries from an independent angle and thus bring to bear a fresh approach on the problems of the world. All this will involve projecting historical studies in India in these directions.

The tasks are mighty and the responsibility of the Universities as creators and disseminators of knowledge is great. It is not possible for the individual Universities to develop these facilities unaided and achieve any standard of highest excellence which alone will matter these days in the hard competition which we have to face in the world. National resources are not adequate to promote the growth of every University to the extent necessary. Nor can such development brook any delay. Hence a scheme of inter-University cooperation and coordination in historical research has to be adopted, which will achieve the desired end without impinging on the autonomy of the Universities, or injuring their *amour propre*, and yet provide the necessary facilities to scholars for pursuing research and help create knowledge of the past. It is clear that many Uni-

versities do not possess the necessary means and resources to develop research in history, and it will take them a few years before they can even organise post-graduate teaching efficiently. Such new Universities will have to postpone their research programmes for a time and send their deserving students and younger promising teachers, keen for research, to the centres of research which might be developed or to some older Universities where the necessary facilities are available. This will involve a scheme of scholarships, study leave and other financial grants and aids, which will pay rich dividends subsequently and enable the young Universities gradually to be staffed with competent, research-oriented teachers. Meanwhile they can develop their libraries and also collect source material, primarily dealing with the local or regional history in which they may seek to specialise later, or in any one branch on which they may concentrate. The problem of the new Universities is that of finding the direction of future growth and they should be properly advised so that they might plan rationally and not dissipate their energies and limited resources. There is a tendency for the proliferation of Universities in many States and the growing numbers of students and vast distances provide the compulsions for it even if political and prestige considerations are ignored. For the States whose resources are extremely thin and who are unable to provide funds even to match the grants sanctioned by the University Grants Commission, the only way is to adopt a system of inter-University cooperation, within their region at least, for post-graduate teaching, and to concentrate research in a selected centre and there develop the necessary facilities. At one stage, in U.P., there was a proposal for rationing history courses among the two Universities then established. It did not materialise then, but similar proposals have been made later also. Such rationing of courses is not very scientific, but within a region mobility of scholars and teachers may be feasible and with that research facilities in a special branch may develop at one place while in another branch at the other.

But much more scientific will be to develop historical research and higher studies at one centre in U.P. region where the best talents and library facilities are available and where there is scope for that clash of minds which alone leads to advanced thinking. The States can best husband their resources by developing one of their Universities only as centre of advanced studies in a few related subjects only and curb the tendency to have little of everything everywhere.

I will go beyond such regional coordination and put in a plea for cooperation among Universities and coordination of research activities and facilities on a national basis. Unfortunately, in our country, tradition for research has not developed except in a limited way at a few places only and it will be difficult to say that even there any particular school of history has developed or fullest facilities are available for work in any field. But it is in these centres that foundations, however feeble, exist on which a strong superstructure can be built up. It will be desirable to select each of them as an Advanced Centre, in the terminology used by the University Grants Commission, and create the conditions necessary for advanced research. Each Centre may specialise in a particular branch or period of Indian history where teachers and advanced students should go for periods of stay and pursue research. These Centres should undertake projects of research for which adequate staff should be provided. No Centre can function efficiently without a number of professors and other senior teachers, and the best in the subject should be brought to the Centre to produce results. It will be invidious for me to indicate the places, but it is not difficult to indicate the fields on the basis of which such Advanced Centres may be allocated. Ancient Indian History may be divided into two parts or even three, as Pre-History up to 600 B.C., 600 B.C. to 600 A.D., and 600 A.D. onwards. For the Medieval Period, there may be up to two centres, one or two for the Modern Period, one for South Indian History, one for Rajputana

Government of India were disposed to favour the proposal for the transfer of the Chittagong Division to Assam were discussed by Sir John Woodburn (then Home Member), in reply to Honourable Babu Mohini Mohan Roy's question in Council, on the 26th February, 1896. They were: (i) the necessity of giving relief to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal; (ii) the benefits both to Assam and Chittagong to secure a direct communication for Assam with the Sea; and (iii) to place the Assam Bengal railway under one Government.¹¹ But the main justification, in the opinion of Sir William Ward, the Chief-Commissioner of Assam, for the transfer of the Chittagong Division to Assam was, of course, the necessity of creating separate services in all its branches for the efficient administration of that province. Political considerations did not overshadow the reasonings and arguments of the Government of India in deciding the question in 1896-97. W.B. Oldham, the Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, was the only officer who foresaw the political advantages of the formation of a province of Eastern Bengal with Dacca, or perhaps even Chittagong as its capital. He expressed the hope that "it would unite the most important part of the Muhammadan population of Eastern India under a system, the benefits of which for Muhammadans have, in the case of Sylhet and elsewhere, been proved". In his opinion "the present position of the Hindu minority among the great Aryan Muhammadan population of Eastern Bengal appeared to be politically threatening in the same way, if not in the same degree, as what is called the Bania Raj, which has been allowed to grow up in the Punjab and in Hindustan, and to be as anomalous as the claim made by Poona Brahmins and Madras Mudeliars and Bengalis at large to competence and fitness for governing the martial races"¹². Oldham's suggestion did not find a single mention either in the deliberations of the Governor-General's Council or in the letter of the Bengal Government¹³.

The problem of the readjustment of the

boundaries of Bengal, as it is evident, was not solved in 1897, it was only shelved. The problem arose again out of a note, dated the 5th October, 1901, written by Sir Andrew Fraser (then Chief-Commissioner of the Central Provinces) on the substitution of Hindi for Uriya as the Court language in the Sambalpur district which was then under his control. With a view to put an end to the administrative inconveniences arising out of the language difficulty in the Sambalpur district where the majority of the people were Uriya-speaking, he hinted that he was prepared "to hand over Sambalpur to Bengal rather than make it give up the Uriya language". In the course of this observation he made the suggestion in a casual way that if Bengal was too large a charge already "it might be well to consider whether the Orissa Division might not be transferred to the Central Province"¹⁴. The former proposal was not accepted by the Government of India as they had no desire to add to the already overwhelming charge of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal¹⁵ and the question of the transfer of Orissa to the Central Provinces was decided to be taken up as part of a large scheme of readjustment of boundaries¹⁶.

It is curious to note that for fourteen months Lord Curzon was not aware that any rearrangement of boundaries was in active contemplation. In his famous "Round and Round Note"¹⁷ he observes, "It seems to me a most extraordinary thing that this discussion should have been going on for more than a year without any mention of the matter ever being made to the Head of the Government" and he was vexed as well as surprised to find that during this period "Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries have been calmly carving about and rearranging provinces on paper, colouring and recolouring the map of India according to geographical, historical, political, or linguistic consideration in the manner that appealed most to their fancy". He indignantly asked, "Is there no such thing as a head of the Government and what are the Secretaries for but to keep him acquainted with the administration?" He also alluded

to the evils of departmentalism and was annoyed to find that he had been invited only to register the concluding stage. "Round and Round, like the diurnal revolution of the earth", he observes, "went the file, stately, solemn and sure and now, in due season, it has completed its orbit and I am invited to register the concluding stage". He sent the file back and the approaching incorporation of Berar afforded Lord Curzon and his Government an opportunity to take up the question of the readjustment of boundaries all round¹⁸.

Though unaware of departmental proceedings, Curzon himself had begun to show interest in the question of the readjustment of provincial boundaries. He had already in April, 1902 expressed his desire to the Secretary of State, while writing to him on the question of placing Berar in the administration of the Central Provinces, of looking into the larger question of the boundaries of the Local Governments in general and Bengal in particular, for Bengal was unquestionably too large a charge for any single man¹⁹. Again on June 17, 1903, he wrote to Godley, the Under Secretary of State for India, about his intention of fixing the provincial boundaries which, in his opinion, were "antiquated, illogical and productive of inefficiency" for the next generation²⁰. The "Round and Round Note" leaves no room for doubt that Lord Curzon did not initiate the matter. The question of the rearrangement of provincial boundaries, which was a long-standing problem with the Government of India, cropped up during his Viceroyalty as the natural result of prolonged official investigation. The approaching incorporation of Berar into British India hastened the taking up of the problem by his Government in a serious way. The discussion for some time drifted mainly towards the question of the future of Berar. As there arose some difference of opinion, as regards Berar, between Lord Curzon and Denzil Ibbetson, the Home Member, who was intent on "giving Berar to Bombay in order to filch Sind for the Punjab"²¹, a copy of those notes was proposed by the Viceroy to be

sent to Sir Andrew Fraser who had just recently served as the Chief-Commissioner of the Central Provinces. It was deemed valuable to know his general views as to the community of interests which Berar possessed respectively with Central Provinces and Bombay.²²

Sir Andrew Fraser's note (the incoming Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal) written from Lahore on the 28th March, 1903, in answer to the queries raised in the Viceroy's aforementioned note, gave a new and decisive turn to the deliberations in the Council. He gave his opinion in favour of the incorporation of Berar into the Central Provinces and strongly endorsed the political argument, emphasised upon by Lord Curzon in his previous note dated the 6th March, 1903. In his opinion, the transfer of Berar to Bombay would involve (as it seemed to him) "the tremendous political blunder of consolidating the whole Maratha Community of India under the influence and guidance of Poona". He went beyond the precise reference made in the Viceroy's note of the 6th March and expressed his opinion with regard to the prospective re-arrangement of the boundaries of Bengal. He thoroughly agreed with the proposal raised in Mr. J. P. Hewett's (the Home Secretary) note²³ (28.8.02) for the transfer of the Chittagong Division to Assam. It seemed to him to be expedient in Chittagong's own interests, to be practically necessary in the interests of sound administration in Bengal, and also for making Assam large enough for efficient administration. He would go further even. He revived the proposal for the transfer of Dacca and Mymensingh districts to Assam. William Ward's suggestion was made mainly from the standpoint of Assam's interest for the creation of a separate and independent service in Assam. The incoming Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal adduced several other grounds for the transfer of Dacca and Mymensingh districts along with the Chittagong Division to Assam. One such reason was the defective administration prevalent in that region and the necessity of bringing them into contact with a strong personal Government, and he

History and one for Western India including Maratha history. I do not very much appreciate the division of history, as social or economic or literary history, for purposes of specialised research, and allocation of Advanced Centres on that basis will cut across the main currents of history and will give a distorted picture of our national development. Among these Centres, there has to be a continuous stream of movement of persons and ideas and to these must flock all seekers of knowledge for inspiration and the wherewithals for higher work. Here libraries and research material can be collected. These may later develop into schools of history.

In addition to research in Indian History, there is need for developing some centres for the study of non-Indian history. This can best be done by adding one or two fields to each of these advanced centres, according to provision of facilities, or separate centres of higher studies may be developed at other places. But what is essential is that such studies are initiated at the earliest possible date, and as far as practicable, they should be in close cooperation with the Centres of Study of Indian History, so that the impact of one on the other may be easily identified.

For inter-University cooperation, and that is inevitable now, it is necessary that a comprehensive scheme of scholarships and travel grants, as well as study leave should be drawn up. Expense on this account should not be grudged, for ultimately it will mean immense economy. It should also be possible to frame regulations to enable the scholar enrolled in one University to seek guidance and work in the library of another University where facilities for study in the subject of his choice exist. Also there may be provision for temporary

attachment of scholars of one University to another. I see no reason why my scholar working on a problem of Maratha history should not work in Poona under the guidance of a supervisor there. Such exchange of scholars, according to the specialisation of the Professors etc., should be provided for. Then the Universities should be able to grant leave for short or long periods to their teachers to work in another University or an Advanced Centre, rather some rule may be there to make it obligatory for teachers to do so. In the matter of availability of source material, again, there can be a method of cooperation and the funds at the disposal of various Universities should be devoted to the purchase of material with mutual consultation and so far as possible by avoiding multiplication. There should be inter-University mobility of such material and rules can be made for the purpose. But what is essential is that some important centres of advanced studies must be built up immediately, and these should be not one University's property but may be regarded as joint property, so that the facilities there could be utilised by all of them without any hesitation or feeling of jealousy. What we desire is work and that must have precedence over all other considerations.

I hope the University Grants Commission and the various Universities will give thought to this matter and facilitate inter-University coordination in research. A Committee of the various Heads of Departments may be formed as a Standing Committee to lay down the blue-print for such cooperation and supervise its implementation. I have faith that the scholars of history, will, in the interest of scholarship and the promotion of historical research, subordinate all other considerations and help the growth of inter-University cooperation in research and thereby raise research in this land to its rightful place.

COORDINATION OF RESEARCH IN HISTORY IN INDIAN UNIVERSITIES

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History is one of the oldest and well-established disciplines in India, but even in the case of this subject it has not been possible to institutionalise research. Whatever research is being carried on in different Universities is managed on individual basis, and the relation between the research student and his supervisor is more of an irregular, personal nature than of an institutional nature. But if research is to make progress it has to be made an integral part of the normal routine work of the history departments. Research students need not only regular guidance, which should be provided in the departmental time-table, but they also need library facilities. In the first instance therefore we have to create the necessary conditions for research in every University, and only as a next step can we think of co-ordination between the research work carried on in different Indian Universities.

Talking of coordination, it must begin at home, i.e. first in one's own University, because we have departments dealing with ancient on the one hand and medieval and modern India on the other in the same University. In some cases we have also departments exclusively concerned with Islamic history. All these departments feel happy in carving out their little empires and function separately in their narrow jurisdictions, and the research students and the teachers of one department do not care to know what is going on in the other allied departments of history on the same campus. Sometimes even the books possessed by one department are made inaccessible to the students and teachers of the other departments although

they deal with the same broad subject and belong to the same University. But in the interest of research it is essential that teachers and students of history, artificially cut up into various departments such as ancient, medieval and modern in the same University, should come together either in the seminars or symposia, so that they may get an opportunity of exchanging their ideas with one another. This applies all the more strongly to those research students and teachers who deal with the social, economic and administrative history of India. It may be possible to function in a narrow groove in the study of political history although there also some coordination is necessary, but in order to find out the typical economic developments of a particular period it is necessary to have some idea of the period that precedes it and the period that succeeds it. Only then can a student be able to distinguish his period from other periods. The common notion in the case of economic and social history is that there have been few changes in the whole range of Indian history, and that all periods and all areas are, more or less, alike. It is, therefore, necessary that occasional seminars representing the various periods of history should be held together in the same University in order to develop a correct historical vision.

As regards coordination of research work going on in different Universities, the first need to which I would like to draw attention is that of providing some general information about the nature of historical collections and holdings, either of printed materials or of unpublished

believed that "Dacca and Mymensingh would give far less trouble if they were under Assam". He also believed that "Eastern Bengal would not be so painfully prominent a factor in Bengal administration if this transfer were made"²⁴. As the proceedings of the Governor-General's Council testify, little value was attached to Sir William Ward's suggestion for the transfer of Dacca and Mymensingh districts to Assam by Lord Elgin's Government. But Andrew Fraser's proposal and the arguments in support of it led to a reorientation in the thinking of the members of the Council and of the Viceroy himself and gave a decisive turn to the policy of Lord Curzon's Government in connection with the re-arrangement of the boundaries of Bengal. So long the question was being considered from the standpoint of administrative necessities but Sir Andrew Fraser for the first time in his note as well as in his discussions with the Home Member, Denzil Ibbetson, and with the Viceroy put the greatest emphasis on the political aspect of the question and influenced to a great extent their reasonings and arguments. Denzil Ibbetson's note dated 23-4-03 and Curzon's minute dated 1-6-03 would be strongly corroborative of this fact. Ibbetson writes in his note, "Sir Andrew Fraser is very strongly in favour of the transfer. He has discussed the matter with me, and his feeling is that the influence of Eastern Bengal in the politics of the province is great, out of all proportion to its real political importance, in so much that the Bengali altogether overshadows the Behari, who is in everything save the use (or abuse) of language immeasurably his superior. Sir Andrew regards it as an object of great political and administrative importance to diminish this influence by separating one of its great centres from the others....."²⁵.

Sir Andrew's line of thinking seemed to impress the Viceroy also, as could be inferred from his Minute dated 1/6/03 on territorial redistribution in India. He writes in his minute, "There remains an argument to which the incoming Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir A. Fraser, attaches the utmost weight and which cannot

be absent from our consideration. He has represented to me that the advantage of severing these Eastern districts of Bengal which are a hot-bed of purely Bengali movement unfriendly if not seditious in character and dominating the whole tone of Bengal administration, will immeasurably outweigh possible drawbacks....."²⁶. Sir A. Fraser had also apprised the Viceroy of his conviction, which he had gathered from his enquiries in those parts in connection with the Police Commission, that "nowhere in India are the officers of Government more ignorant of, or more divorced from, the people". Sir Andrew thought that "it would be an unqualified advantage to Bengal to lose these elements of weakness and dissension", and he opined that "they would be more easily reduced to their proper level of importance if transferred to another administration."²⁷

The political necessities of the severance of the Eastern districts of Bengal seemed to be outweighing the administrative ones at least in the opinion of the incoming Lieutenant-Governor. As regards the Viceroy, the Home-Member and the other members of the Council, though they put emphasis on the administrative requirements (i.e. the reinvigoration of Assam and relief of Bengal), it is evident that their reasonings and arguments were being gradually coloured more and more by political considerations.

The severance of the districts of Dacca and Mymensingh along with the Chittagong Division from Bengal was strongly recommended by Lord Curzon. At the same time the unification of all the Uriya-speaking tribes and tracts under one Government in a single province was pressed by him.²⁸ A.T. Arundel (Member of the Council) in his note dated 19/6/03 drew attention to the fact that it would be unwise to unite the Uriyas of Orissa, the Central Provinces and Madras to comply with their political aims. "The political union of the Uriya-speaking race", he writes, "which is sought by the authors of this movement contains, in my opinion, elements of trouble and unrest from which we are at present free and should not be permitted

without stronger reasons in its favour than any which have been put forward."²⁹

The Viceroy and the Home-Member did not seem to be impressed³⁰ with the political argument, which Mr. Arundel adduced against the union of the Uriya-speaking people, for the Uriyas were not considered to be "a formidable body of men with pronounced political aspirations, and capable of being a thorn in the side of Government like the Bengalis on the one side of India and the Marathas on the other".³¹ It is relevant to mention here that it was for political reasons, which Sir D. Ibbetson admitted to outweigh all other considerations, that the natural union of the Mahratta Brahmins of Berar with those of Bombay was ignored. Lord Curzon's note, dated, 6/3/03, leaves no scope for doubt on this point. After considering all other factors in favour and against the incorporation of Berar either into the Central Provinces or into Bombay he writes, "But there is another consideration which affects me more powerfully still. I cannot contemplate any proposal which would add strength or solidarity of the Maratha Community with anything but dismay..... I can see no wisdom and great possible danger in such a step".³² No wonder that Sir Andrew's arguments for severing the eastern districts from Bengal proper would impress the Viceroy forcefully.

It is necessary here to make a proper assessment of the part played by Lord Curzon and Sir Andrew Fraser in the formulation of the scheme and policy of the partition of Bengal in its early stage before the publication of Risley's letter.

It was Sir Andrew who revived William Ward's proposal for the transfer of Dacca and Mymensingh districts to Assam though there was no reference to it in Lord Curzon's order dated 3rd March, 1903. Whereas William Ward's proposal was not at all considered by the Council, Sir Andrew's proposal was not only discussed seriously in the Council as a practical suggestion, but also it definitely influenced the reasonings and arguments of the members of the

Council and of the Viceroy specially. It gave a new and decisive turn to the policy of Lord Curzon's Government in regard to the re-adjustment of the boundaries of Bengal. It remained no longer a purely administrative question but became a political one. Political considerations, introduced for the first time by Sir Andrew Fraser in connection with the re-arrangement of the boundaries of Bengal, gained more and more emphasis in the formulation and materialisation of the scheme for the first Partition of Bengal. It was Sir Andrew again who for the first time raised the question of the defective administration of Eastern districts of Bengal as a plea for their severance from Bengal proper. In that sense Sir Andrew Fraser may be called the originator of the scheme for the first Partition of Bengal.

To do justice to Lord Curzon, it must be admitted, he had no share in originating the scheme whereby Dacca and Mymensingh districts along with the Chittagong Division were proposed to be transferred to Assam. Before the receipt of Sir Andrew's note dated the 28th March, 1903, he considered the question of the re-arrangement of the boundaries of Bengal from purely administrative point of view. But Andrew's note found a congenial soil as Lord Curzon himself had been overruled by political factors in deciding the future of Berar.

The Government of India's scheme for the territorial reconstruction of Bengal was made known to the public for the first time by Risley's letter, dated 3rd December, 1903,³³ which was published in the Gazette of India on the 12th. So far as it could be inferred from that published letter, the Government of India seemed to have been guided by three main objects in formulating this scheme:—

- (i) The necessity of giving relief to the Government of Bengal and for making provision for the more efficient administration of some of the outlying districts of the province.

records, in the custody of the various Indian Universities. Very few University libraries have printed catalogues of books on history, with the result that students working in the University of Patna can have no knowledge of the collections of books on history in the possession of the University of Calcutta unless they go to Calcutta. This difficulty is experienced by researchers and students in almost all the Universities in India. It will be, therefore, helpful if we could prepare a guide to library facilities for research on history provided by the different Universities. They should not aim at giving a complete list of books or records in the possession of a University, but should indicate the particular field in which printed material or micro-film holdings or records are available in considerable number. For instance, in the case of Patna it can be pointed out that we have a large number of printed books on the history of 18th Century India. We also possess splendid collections of manuscripts stored in the Oriental Public (Khudabux) Library, and so far as ancient history is concerned we have practically all the published material except the archaeological reports and inscriptions of South India. When I suggest that some information should be supplied about the library resources in history of the various Universities, I mean this type of information and not a comprehensive catalogue. I think this kind of work can be fruitfully taken up by some all-India agency.

The other field where we can visualise co-operation between different Universities relates to the exchange of personnel, namely, the exchange of supervisors who guide research. The University Grants Commission have already drawn up a scheme according to which teachers from one University can stay for a year at another University. But here perhaps the idea is not so much to promote research as to help teaching. Perhaps it would be desirable to shorten this period and make it three months or even two months, and those who have specialised in a particular field of history may be invited to deliver lectures and hold seminars in that field for a few weeks in another University. This sort of

work has recently been started by the University Grants Commission Centre for Advanced Studies in Ancient Indian History in the Calcutta University. Such an exchange is all the more necessary in the case of scholars of social and economic history which is a growing subject in our country and in which the number of specialists is limited. But since the subject is developing fast and rousing more and more interest in different Universities it is desirable that the scholars concerned should be a little mobile, so that they may transmit the results and methods of their study to a wider group of research students.

The periodical exchange of research supervisors between one University and another may further be supplemented by the bringing together of the research students working in the same field or in the same period of Indian history. From time to time general conferences can be held on, say, administrative history, and all those who have been working in that field can be given an opportunity of sharing their views with one another, which surely will raise many new questions and will stimulate research in the subject. Of course, all this has financial implications, and only if sufficient funds are coming forth such projects can be undertaken.

Another point I would like to raise is the necessity of avoiding overlapping in research. The quarterly journal published by the Institute of Historical Studies has been doing good services in publishing from time to time the lists of theses which are in progress in various Universities. But these do not include what is being done on Indian history outside India, and besides the lists appear in the journal only after the student has worked on his subject for one or two years. And if after two years it is found that a student in Patna is working on a subject on which somebody has been working in Calcutta for three years, it becomes difficult and impracticable to change the topic at such a late stage. Therefore it would be helpful if information about the choice of the subject for doctoral dissertations in various Indian Universities is made available to the parties concerned as soon as the student begins his work.

Lastly, I would like to underline the necessity of keeping our researches in Indian history up-to-date. One of the limitations from which our theses suffer is that they do not take account of even those publications in English which appear within five years of the submission of the thesis. It is not so much the fault of the candidate or even of the supervisor, for they are at the mercy of the authorities for making these books available to them in time. It will be, therefore, helpful if something is done in this connection. Perhaps coordination here may not be of much use but a printed or a cyclostyled list of the latest books on the subject in the possession of the important University libraries may be made immediately available to other Universities which are not in such a fortunate position. Important institutions such as the National Library and National Archives may also be persuaded to circulate the lists of their latest acquisitions in history to various Universities.

As regards the books published in languages other than English, it seems that in the theses being prepared in our Universities these books are not practically consulted. There is no doubt that Indian studies are making fast progress in Russia, Germany, France, Japan and so on. But

since we do not know their languages we are not able to utilise the results of their studies. This affects our own research in two ways. In some cases we repeat what has already been done either in German or Russian or French, and in other cases we betray ignorance of these foreign studies and do not take advantage of them in promoting our own studies. This difficulty can be avoided if we have some agency in the country which prepares abstracts in English of the articles and the books which are published on Indian history in important European and Asian languages. If the scholars find that these abstracts have some bearing on the subject, they can get the whole stuff translated and can pursue the original article further. Every history department may like to have at least one person who is proficient in at least one non-English language, such as Russian or German, so that he can help his co-workers with the translation of articles etc. This is, therefore, another field in which some kind of coordination is necessary because it is beyond the means of one particular University to provide translation of articles and books in various languages on Indian history. I think the Institute of Historical Studies and similar other agencies can undertake fruitfully the type of work that has been suggested in the present note.

- (ii) The development of Assam and creation of separate administrative services in that province.
- (iii) The unification of all scattered sections of Uriya-speaking people of Bengal, Madras and the Central Provinces under one administration for administrative convenience and to make that administration Bengal.

The means by which the Government of India sought to secure these objects were the transfer of the districts of Dacca and Mymensingh as well as the Chittagong Division to Assam, the union of all the Uriya-speaking people of Madras, Central Provinces and Orissa under Bengal and the transfer of the greater part of Chutia-Nagpur to the Central Provinces. The utmost emphasis had been put in Risley's letter on the administrative necessities for incorporating the districts of Dacca and Mymensingh with Assam. The drawback of an imperfectly supervised administration in these outlying districts on the eastern border and the necessity of bringing the people of these districts into closer contact with the head of the local administration had been advocated as one of the strongest reasons for the severance of these districts from Bengal. Risley's letter was based upon a minute of Lord Curzon dated 1/6/03.³⁴

Ever since the question of the incorporation of Berar in British India had arisen, Lord Curzon had seemed to give a strong lead in the deliberations of his Council in such cases. He himself writes to Lord George Hamilton, the Secretary of State for India, on June 10th, 1903, in connection with the question of Berar, "..... I only had to state the case to council to get them unanimously to accept my view..... I do not think that any previous Viceroy, has given so strong a lead in such cases"³⁵ Subtle modifications had to be made in the above-mentioned minute of Lord Curzon when it was going to be published in the form of Risley's letter dated 3rd December, 1903. If the letter to Bengal were published in its present form, Lord Curzon

apprehended that "it would create absolute consternation, and would effectually defeat *the very end*" that they had in view.³⁶ He writes in his confidential noting on 13/11/03, "when I wrote my minute for the confidential information of my colleagues, it never occurred to me for a moment that its contents could be or would be practically reproduced to be dissected by every newspaper scribe, English or native, in Bengal."³⁷ He further added the significant remark "What I could safely say in the privacy of the Council Chamber is not necessarily suitable for proclamation on the house-tops".³⁸ A copy of his minute was not sent home but was proposed to be sent privately to the Secretary of State to explain "the inner meaning of much that it has not been found altogether advisable to say in the letter to Bengal".³⁹ A comparison of Risley's letter with the above-mentioned minute clearly indicates that the portion giving expression to political consideration which was in their motive for dissecting Bengal was suppressed. Does not this secrecy tell something against the arguments adduced by the Government that it was for administrative reasons that Bengal was going to be partitioned?

The publication of Risley's letter, dated the 3rd December, 1903, embodying the plan of transferring the Chittagong Division along with Dacca and Mymensingh districts to the Chief-Commissionership of Assam led to an intense agitation and loud outcry among the people of Bengal. It was taken as a sinister attack on the growing solidarity and nationality of the Bengal people and regarded as a retrograde measure in view of the loss of Lieutenant-Governorship, the Legislative Council, the jurisdiction of the Board of Revenue and possibly of the High Court.

In order to remove some of the objections which were regarded by the Government as of great importance and for winning over at least a section of the oppositionists to the scheme, the Government of India, in collaboration with the Government of Bengal⁴⁰, hit upon a plan of forming a new province out of Eastern and Nor-

thern Bengal under a separate Lieutenant-Governor with a Legislative Council and a Board of Revenue. This scheme attained its finality in the confidential despatch, dated the 2nd February, 1905 of the Government of India to the Secretary of State and conveyed to the public in the form of a Government Resolution, dated the 19th February, 1905, and published in the Calcutta Press on the 20th.

The intervening period between December, 1903 and July 1905 was devoted to the preparation and formulation of the larger scheme which was never officially placed before the public and which never formed the subject of discussion by the people concerned before its final publication in the form of a Resolution.

The scheme for the partition of Bengal passed through several stages and at every stage it was being gradually expanded and at last it got its final form whereby Bengal proper was divided into two halves. A careful analysis of the relevant state papers, the proceedings of the Council and the private confidential correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Viceroy shows unmistakably that at every stage the policy of the Government was getting more and more political in complexion and it was political considerations that ultimately overruled the authorities concerned in India in brushing aside all other alternative schemes for the better administration of Bengal and in sticking to their plan of dividing the Bengali-speaking people into two distinct halves.

Soon after the publication of Risley's letter, dated the 3rd December, 1903, a fresh correspondence of Mr. Risley, dated the 23rd December 1903, in response to Mr. Macpherson's letter dated the 21st December, 1903, conveyed the idea of constructing a new province to be called the "Eastern Province or the North-Eastern Provinces" with perhaps its capital at Dacca and including a considerable portion of Eastern Bengal and Assam.⁴¹ In calling for opinions on the proposal contained in the Home Department's letter of 3rd December, 1903, the Lieu-

tenant-Governor of Bengal asked that this enlarged proposal of forming a new province consisting of the Dacca and the Chittagong Divisions and the province of Assam might also be considered.⁴²

In February, 1904, Lord Curzon undertook a tour of Eastern Bengal to make "a local examination of the problem of territorial redistribution"⁴³ and to answer the criticisms that had been levelled against the proposal.

Lord Curzon's tour and his speeches at Dacca and Mymensingh constitute a definite stage in the process of the evolution of the scheme for the partition of Bengal. He foreshadowed in a series of speeches, delivered in reply to public addresses, the formation of an Eastern Province, organised on the scale of a Lieutenant-Governorship with a Legislative Council and an independent Revenue authority and involving the transfer to Assam of a tract of country extensive enough to justify this large project. This suggestion was claimed by the Government of India to have emanated from public discussion and public opinion rather than from the Government itself.⁴⁴ The Viceroy referred to it as "deserving of attentive consideration"⁴⁵ and indicated the grounds on which it might be regarded as more acceptable. It may be added here that the popular conviction was that the alternative scheme was the work of the Government and that the local authorities of the Dacca Division with the help of the Nawab Bahadoor sought to secure the so-called popular support to this view.⁴⁶

It was in the course of his tour in Eastern Bengal that Lord Curzon was more hardened into his conviction that Bengal should be cut asunder. He became more and more convinced of the strength and solidarity of the Bengali nationalism and the danger it would spell for the British rule in India. It was this political consideration which more than anything else persuaded him to devise the comprehensive plan of dividing the Bengali-speaking people into two distinct halves. His astute mind

EVALUATIONS OF THE SEMINAR ON THE STUDY OF HISTORY AND COLLEGE HISTORY TEACHING

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There was a brief description of this seminar in an earlier issue of *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies* (Vol. IV, Nos. 1&2, pp. 86-87). What follows is a summary of those evaluations of the seminar which might be of some value to those who are interested in conducting similar seminars. (The full report of the seminar will be appearing shortly under the title, *The Study of History and College History Teaching*.)

The major objective of the seminar was to improve the quality of teaching of those who attended it. It was our conviction that we could do this only by first increasing the participants' ability to use the methods of historical inquiry and then showing them how they might initiate their students in the use of similar methods. The seminar therefore began with a short series of lectures on some of the issues involved in historical study as such (generalisations in history, the nature of historical explanation, etc.) and some lectures on the specific concepts and interpretations used by historians when dealing with various periods of Indian and European history. After this short course of lectures each participant joined a workshop in either ancient Indian, medieval Indian, modern Indian, or modern European history. There, under the guidance of the leader he both wrote a paper on a topic mutually agreed upon and prepared a teaching plan on a topic he normally teaches—the former in order to put the knowledge gained from the lectures to use on a particular historical problem and the latter in order to translate study methods into teaching methods. In addition, there were throughout the seminar daily discussions devoted to our objectives as history teachers, to a variety of concrete problems which adversely affect our teaching, and to teaching methods. Out of these discussions came the re-

commendations on aims and objectives, teaching methods, textbooks, syllabi, examinations, and administrative matters made by the seminar as a whole.

Two important things emerged from the evaluations made by the participants and leaders alike. The first was that the fundamental problem faced by history teachers was correctly analysed: i.e. their lack of adequate grounding in historiography. Without that their ability to improve both as scholars and as teachers is seriously limited. Secondly, our approach to this problem was also fundamentally correct. Whoever wishes to learn the methods of historical inquiry can do so only by trying to use them on a particular historical problem; lectures alone are not enough.

Most of the problems the seminar faced could be traced to two sources: the leaders' ignorance of the amount of knowledge the participants brought to the seminar, and a shipping strike in the U.S.A. which delayed the arrival of the books assigned for reading in advance. The following suggestions made when the seminar was being evaluated might help others avoid some of the problems we had to face.

1. The seminar should be a *minimum* of three weeks in duration and should have no more than 10 participants per leader.

2. The participants should write the first draft of their papers before the seminar begins. This will not only give the leaders a fairly accurate idea of the level of their knowledge of history but it will also help the participants understand the historiography lectures better, as they will have a specific problem to which to relate the issues raised.

3. The participants should be given a limited choice of topics on which to write their papers. If the papers and resulting interests of the participants become too diversified, the workshop discussions will not be able to hold the interest of all the members.

4. Workshop discussions can be devoted not only to the specific problems arising from the papers but also to some of the problems inherent in research methodology as such. In addition, some time should be devoted to a consideration of how a topic on which a paper has been written might be taught.

5. Since the history teaching discussions and resulting recommendations will have brought to the attention of the public the concrete problems history teachers face (as well as their impact upon teaching), such discussions can be abandoned in the future. They can be replaced by a combination of lectures and discussions on the

implications of the issues raised in the historiography lectures for teaching methodology. For example, given the understanding of causality in history mentioned in those lectures, how can we best teach such topics as "The French Revolution" or "The Revolt of 1857" to our students?

6. Lectures should be given on the mechanics of historical research (note-taking and the like) and perhaps on the lives, methods, and interpretations of some outstanding historians as well.

In conclusion, let me mention two recommendations made by this seminar which may serve as both an evaluation of our experience and, hopefully, as an inducement to others who have convictions about the study and teaching of history similar to ours. The first is that such seminars should be held frequently and regularly. The second is that historiography should be made a compulsory paper in every M.A. syllabus.

understood that it would be the most effective means of destroying the solidarity of the Bengali people. His letter to St. John Brodrick the Secretary of State for India, dated February 17, 1904, while he was on tour in Eastern Bengal, gives a definite clue to the inner motive by which he was being swayed in formulating the scheme of "cutting up of Bengal". He writes, "The Bengalis, who like to think themselves a nation, and who dream of a future when the English will have been turned out, and a Bengali Babu will be installed in Government House, Calcutta, of course, bitterly resent any disruption that will be likely to interfere with the realisation of this dream. If we are weak enough to yield to their clamour now, we shall not be able to dismember or reduce Bengal again; and you will be cementing and solidifying, on the eastern flank of India, a force almost formidable, and certain to be a source of increasing trouble in the future".⁴⁷

Besides claiming several administrative advantages that would accrue to the people of Eastern Bengal from the partition scheme, Lord Curzon stated in his speech at Dacca that the proposal would make Dacca the centre, and possibly the capital, of a new and self-sufficing administration. Moreover, it would invest "the Muhammadans in Eastern Bengal with a unity which they have not enjoyed since the days of the Mussalman Viceroys and Kings.....".⁴⁸ The consideration for the Muslim interests had been for the first time put forward by the Government as one of the grounds for the partition of Bengal. It would not be doing an injustice to Lord Curzon to say that he was being influenced by the motive of breaking the solid flank of opposition of the Hindus and Muslims to the partition scheme. His motive was too transparent to elude the eyes of the Muhammadans. The *Moslem Chronicle* one of the leading newspapers, stated on 19th August 1905 in the article "*Reflections on the Partition*" that the Muslims had been told that in the new province, "the Muhammadan population being predominant", they would have better prospects of employment in the

various departments of the administration. According to that article, the bait was laid "to enlist the sympathy" and to "dissuade the opposition of the Muhammadans" towards the Partition.^{48a} Mr. Risley's (Home Secretary) confidential note dated 6/12/04 adds strength to the afore-mentioned argument. He writes, "Their (i.e. Congress wire-pullers) constant effort, hitherto defeated mainly by the influence of the Dacca Nawab, has been to induce the leading Muhammadans to submit to their influence. If Dacca is made the capital of the new province, these chances of capturing the Bengal Muhammadans will become still more remote".⁴⁹ It would be superfluous to say that the "chances of capturing the Bengal Muhammadans" not by the so-called Congress Wire-pullers but by the Government itself were successful to a great extent as the later events showed. The scheme of partition had definitely assumed a new aspect since Lord Curzon's tour and speeches at Dacca and Mymensingh.

The Bengal Government's letter of 6th April, 1904 carried the idea of an enlarged scheme a stage further, and proposed to give up to the new province the whole of the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions and the districts of Pabna, Bogra and Rangpur, forming the eastern half of Northern Bengal. This would be a large and important province, which might well be called the "North Eastern Provinces". The Lieutenant-Governor strongly recommended that Dacca, on account of its historical importance and also on account of its present position and importance, should be made the capital of that province. At the same time he deprecated the transfer of any of the British districts of Chutia Nagpur to the Central Provinces while he accepted the additions of territory from Madras on the basis of his experience regarding Sambalpur. This enlarged scheme, it was claimed, would result in several benefits and administrative conveniences for the newly constituted province, for the transferred areas and also for Bengal proper.⁵⁰ After considering the proposals put forward by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and the views expressed by the

Governor of Madras and the Chief-Commissioner of the Central Provinces and Assam, the Government of India proposed a further reduction of the territory of Bengal in their letter dated the 13th September, 1904. They proposed to add to the area to be transferred the districts of Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Malda and the state of Cooch Behar.⁵¹

Both the local Governments of Bengal as well as of Assam accepted the enlarged scheme readily and without any material criticism and both concurred in the opinion that the new province would be characterised by a prominence of Mussalman interests.⁵² The Government of Bengal further added, "In the new province the Muhammadans will have power and influence, which will enable them much more easily to attract attention to their necessities and their rights than in this province, where the Hindu population of these districts is so much more in touch with the influential Hindu elements in the other districts of Bengal."⁵³

After Lord Curzon's return to India, the Government of India sent home their final proposals to the Secretary of State for India in the confidential despatch, dated 2nd February, 1905. According to the final scheme the new province would consist of the present Chief-Commissionership of Assam and of Eastern and Northern Bengal—the Chittagong, Dacca and Rajshahi Divisions, excluding Darjeeling but including the state of Hill Tipperah. It would comprise an area of 106,540 square miles and a population of thirty-one millions, of whom eighteen millions will be Muhammadans and twelve millions Hindus. It might properly be called "The North-Eastern Provinces". The Province of Bengal, while ceding these large territories on the East, would gain on the west Sambalpur and five Uriya States of Patna, Kalahandi, Sonpur, Bamra and Rairakhol from the Central Provinces and would surrender to the Central Provinces the five Hindi-speaking states of Jashpur, Sarguja, Udaipur, Korca and Chaug Bhakhar. It would thus be left with

an area of 141,580 square miles and a population of fifty-four millions, the Hindus numbering forty-two millions and the Muslims nine millions. The present project, it was claimed, would divide the territory now comprised in Bengal and Assam into two compact and self-contained provinces, each of them fairly homogeneous in character, situated within definite boundaries and equipped for administrative purposes on the scale which modern conditions would demand. Besides administrative advantages, this extended scheme "would concentrate in the new province the typical Muhammadans of Bengal and would constitute the city of Dacca the natural capital of such an aggregation."⁵⁴

This new scheme was approved of by the Secretary of State with minor modifications on June 9th, 1905⁵⁵ and the Resolution of the the Government of India promulgating the decision was dated the 19th July, 1905.⁵⁶ The day fixed for the Partition of Bengal was announced as 16th October, 1905.

It did not elude the eyes of the Secretary of State that there was a tendency on the part of the Government of India to undervalue the strength and substance of the sentiment by which the popular feeling against the partition-scheme was created. It appeared to him to be in no way surprising that "a large and upon the whole homogeneous community of 41½ millions now concentrated under the Government of Calcutta, with that city as their centre of culture and political and commercial life, should object to the transfer of three-fifths of their number to a new administration with a distant capital involving the severance of old and historic ties, and the breaking up of racial unity".⁵⁷ What was not mentioned clearly in the Government of India's despatch but what was visible to everybody was the fact that the Bengali-speaking Hindus would be in a minority in both the provinces. In the new province they would be 12 millions against 18 million Muhammadans and in the old province there would be left only two-fifths or

INDIA'S FRONTIER PROBLEMS IN THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES WITH TIBET AND CHINA : HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

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India's northern frontier, which is nearly 2,500 miles long, from the Maztagh and Aghil mountains in the far north to the junction with Burma in the east, has lain approximately where it now runs for nearly three thousand years. This northern frontier of India is for much of its length the crest of the Himalayan ranges. The majestic arc of the Kuen Kun and the Great Himalayan Ranges defined the boundary so clearly that no major dispute regarding it existed till the Chinese Government questioned it in 1959. Because of the very high altitude and inhospitable climate the areas along this vast frontier are very sparsely or not at all inhabited. India's administrative system, including tax collection and the enforcement of law and order has naturally taken the form appropriate to the geographical terrain and to the population.

Throughout the centuries of Hindu rule in India the Himalayan regions often changed hands, but it was almost always between Indian rulers. Only once—and that too for a very short period—did a part of this territory come under Tibetan sway. But Tibetan and Chinese influence never gained a permanent footing on the Indian side of the Himalayas. The Muslim conquest began from the north-west and not from the north and for the next five hundred years, various Muslim rulers established their authority right up to the Himalayas.

In fact, the northern boundary of India dwindled in significance, attention being centred more on the north-west. The attempt of two Muslim rulers to conquer Tibet and push their frontier beyond the Himalayas ended in disastrous

failures which served to limit the territorial ambitions of Indian rulers to the Himalayas. The mountains came to be regarded as a natural barrier, to be watched carefully but not to be crossed.

When in the 18th century, European Powers entered the political scene, they moved in from the northern frontier regions of India. With the disintegration of the Mughal empire a number of principalities came to be established in central and northern India. The central sector of the Himalayan range formed the boundary of the Kingdom of Oudh, while west of it sprouted a number of small kingdoms. In 1801, Wellesley first thrust British influence into Oudh and it gradually increased and culminated in annexation by Dalhousie in 1856. In the early years of the 19th century, the Gurkhas of Nepal had occupied Garhwal and the neighbouring hill states, and turning their attention to the plains came into clash with the British. War dragged on for three years, from 1813 to 1816, till the Gurkhas were finally defeated; and by the Treaty of Sagauli, the Raja of Nepal recognized British sovereignty over these border areas.

In the Punjab, Ranjit Singh had set up a strong Sikh Kingdom. In 1818-19, he occupied Kashmir; and between 1834 and 1841, Ladakh was conquered by Gulab Singh of Jammu, then a feudatory of the Sikhs, and annexed to his kingdom. In 1841, one of Gulab Singh's generals, Zorawar Singh, invaded Western Tibet. He was defeated and killed, but when the Tibetans, with the aid of the Chinese troops despatched by the Chinese Emperor, advanced to Leh, they were in their turn driven back. A peace treaty was signed in 1842 by Kashmir

and Ladakh on the one hand, and Tibet and China on the other. The treaty of 1842 which was in the form of an exchange of documents embodying the undertakings given by each side to the other dealt with the restoration of peace, non-interference in each other's territory and facilities for trade. The Tibetan and Chinese representatives assured the authorities of Ladakh and Kashmir:

"We shall neither at present nor in future have anything to do or interfere at all with the boundaries of Ladakh and its surroundings as fixed from ancient times and will allow the annual export of wool, shawls and tea by way of Ladakh according to the old established custom".

The Kashmir and Ladakh authorities on their part promised the Tibetan and Chinese authorities:

"We shall remain in possession of the limits of the boundaries of Ladakh and surrounding dependencies, in accordance with the old custom, and there shall be no transgression and no interference beyond the old, established frontiers. We shall remain within our own limits and boundaries".

Since the frontiers between Ladakh and Tibet were well-known and did not require any formal delimitation, the 1842 treaty referred merely to the "old established frontiers". Even a treaty concluded two centuries earlier between Ladakh and Tibet in 1684 stated that the "boundaries fixed in the beginning, when Skyid-Idangeemagon gave a kingdom to each of his three sons, shall still be maintained". There was a constant flow of trade between Ladakh and Tibet during these centuries as provided for by these treaties and no boundary conflicts ever arose.

In 1864, Kashmir came under the suzerainty of the British. Gulab Singh was recognised as the Maharaja of the whole area, including Ladakh, but some months later, Spiti was

taken over by the British in exchange for certain other territory, and added to Kulu district. The British Government also sought during this period to discuss a small sector of traditionally delimited boundary between Ladakh and Tibet and received an affirmation from the Chinese Government, through a very senior official, that the "ancient frontiers" between Ladakh and Tibet had been distinctly and sufficiently fixed and that there was no necessity to determine them further. It was thus made clear that there was no boundary question to settle. Again in 1852, an agreement was reached between the local Ladakhi and Tibetan officials of the area, confirming the existing boundaries, as there had been a local dispute. "The boundary between Ladakh and Tibet will remain the same as before".

Between 1847 and 1899 there were no proposals for any further formal definition. In 1899, consequent on a discussion regarding the status and rights of the ruler of Hunza, the British Indian Government, in return for certain concessions, offered to transfer a part of the Qara Qash basin to China; but the then Chinese Government preferred to abide by the traditional customary alignment. The British Government had also provided the Chinese Government with a detailed description of the northern boundary of Kashmir with Sinkiang. The Chinese Government did not raise any objection to this definition of the boundary and seemed to consider that there was no necessity for any formal definition of what was a well-known and well-recognised boundary.

In 1919 there arose the question of the determination of the ownership of a few pasture grounds in one particular area north of the Pangong Lake. In August 1924 a joint meeting was arranged between the Representatives of Kashmir and Tibet and Major Robson, the joint British Commissioner of Ladakh, at Dokpo-Karpo. Kashmir was represented by Ferozechand Wazir of Ladakh and Tibet by one of the two Garpons of Gartok and a 'Motabir' of the second Garpon. A statement signed

17 millions against 37 millions speaking other languages, chiefly Hindi and Uriya. It was a master-stroke of Curzon's policy to reduce the Bengali-speaking Hindus, who were going to be a source of political danger in the future, to impotence by dividing them into two halves.

Lord Curzon did not find a "single argument" and saw nothing but "rhetoric and declamation" in the prodigious agitation against the proposed partition of Bengal⁵⁸. But in view of the amount of feeling that had been aroused by the Partition-scheme as proposed by the Government of India, the members of the India Council with Indian experiences were willing to suggest a practicable alternative scheme for securing relief to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. Their opinion was that "a good deal might be done by establishing commissionerships like those of Sind, and avoiding so drastic a measure".⁵⁹

The idea of a "Sind Commissionership" came as a "bombshell" to Lord Curzon and he brushed aside the suggestion with his characteristic vehemence. The reasons adduced by him for the down-right rejection of the proposal were as usual administrative necessities but greater emphasis was laid on the fact that a great impetus would be given by the acceptance of the alternative plan to the "disloyal Bengali movement" and that a great discredit would accrue to the Government of India.⁶⁰

The matter required rather delicate handling and a good deal of persuasion on the part of the Secretary of State, by making a "judicious use" of Lord Curzon's opinion upon the so-called Sind-Commissionership, to induce the "recalcitrant element" in the India Council to surrender at discretion. Without the vigorous help of the Secretary of State there was every possibility that the matter would have been postponed⁶¹. Seeing the strong view that Lord Curzon had held upon it, the Secretary of State backed the whole of the scheme sent by him⁶². Moreover, he was at a prodigious disadvantage as he had no Indian experience⁶³

and he showed great deference to the views of the Indian Government.

If it were simply an administrative question, the problem of Bengal would have been solved by the adoption of various other alternative schemes that were suggested at that time. Each of these schemes was discussed by the Government of India in their despatch, dated 2nd February, 1905, and was rejected forthright.

One of the most popular schemes for giving relief to the Bengal Government was the idea of making an organic change in the form of Government in Bengal by the conversion of the Lieutenant-Governorship into a Governorship with an Executive Council, like that of Bombay and Madras. But such an organic change, in the opinion of the Government of India, would lead either to constant discussions or to impotence or stagnation. It was their conviction that the personal methods of Government were better suited to the circumstances in India, and would produce superior results. Besides other reasons, the adoption of such a scheme "would establish a permanent obstacle to the further development of Assam and would perpetuate intolerable defects in its system of recruitment".⁶⁴

Another such alternative scheme, which Lord Curzon knew to be representing "the line of least resistance"⁶⁵ and which would excite no opposition on the part of the Bengalis was the formation of a Chief-Commissionership of Behar and the transfer of Orissa to the Central Provinces and the conversion of that province into a Lieutenant-Governorship. It was considered important to criticise and reject such a scheme⁶⁶ as this might possibly be put forward for the serious consideration of the Secretary of State by the "Opponents"⁶⁷ of the Government of India's proposal.

The arguments, put forward by the Government of India, for the rejection of that alternative scheme deepen the suspicion that it was mainly for political reasons that no other scheme than

the division of Bengal proper into two separate halves for giving relief to the Bengal Government did appeal to them as the best solution of the problem. All the reasons were not, of course, stated in the despatch which was sure to be published but did find mention in the deliberations of the Council and these reasons are still more illuminating on this point.

"Such a scheme," it was admitted, would be popular with the Bengali opponents of reconstruction, as involving a practical surrender to their agitation against any division of Bengali-speaking territory". It might be thought by some that it would also appeal to local sentiment in Behar. But, in the opinion of the Governor-General in Council, the scheme was open to some serious objections which would greatly outweigh any supposed advantages that might be claimed for it. Firstly, the proposed Commission would not be large enough to recruit for itself. [It is to be mentioned here that the erection of Behar with Monghyr, Bhagalpur and the Sonthal Pergunahs into a Chief-Commissionership would have given a separate charge fully equal to that of the Presidency of Bombay⁶⁸]. Secondly, it would take from Bengal all its best districts and would make the province very unpopular. Thirdly, it would establish a final and insurmountable obstacle to the territorial expansion and administrative development of Assam.

Apart from these administrative reasons there was the objection, which may be termed political, which was mentioned in the despatch. There was the objection that "it would tend still further to consolidate the influence of Calcutta over the Bengali-speaking population". "This", in their opinion, "would be an unhealthy rather than a healthy symptom". The true ideal, in their view, was to create wholesome centres of provincial opinion, rather than to strengthen the predominance of those political organisations in the capital which, they thought, used their power in a manner that could only be described as tyrannical.⁶⁹

To attach Orissa to the Central Provinces was examined and condemned in the Home-Secretary's (Risley) letter of 3rd December, 1903. To the objections there stated was added a further reason in the Government of India's despatch that it was undesirable then to raise the Central Provinces to the status of a Lieutenant-Governorship and that this could be done at the cost of stereotyping the existing condition of Assam⁷⁰. It is relevant to note here that Curzon himself had expressed the opinion a few years before that "the Central Provinces will and ought to develop by sundry of these accretions into a Lieutenant-Governorship"⁷¹.

The formation of a Chief Commissionership out of Orissa and the adjacent Uriya-speaking country would be, in the opinion of the Government of India, altogether too small either to give effective relief to Bengal or to support a full service of its own. Its formation would again stand in the way of creating a Lieutenant-Governorship in Eastern Bengal and Assam⁷².

The political danger, that was involved in the consolidation of the Bengali race, for the future of the British rule in India, was not clearly stated in the despatch which was "sure to be published". But it did find mention not only in the private correspondence of Lord Curzon and of Sir Andrew Fraser⁷³, but also in the confidential notings of the Home-Secretary, Home-Member and other members of the Council. One of the objections, discussed in Risley's note dated the 6th December, 1904, to the separation of Behar from Bengal instead of East-Bengal was that "it would tend still further to consolidate Bengali influence and the so-called national sentiment. Instead of breaking up the present combination of political agitators and creating wholesome centres of provincial opinion, it would strengthen the predominance of the political organisations in Calcutta.....". In the same note Risley gives vent to his feelings about the protest against the division of the Bengali nation. He writes, "Under this head (i.e. loss of National

jointly by Regchi Pa Garpon and 'Motabir' of Garpon on the Tibetan side and Major Robson and Wazir Ferozchand on the Indian side on 9 August 1924 stated that:

"The Garpon of Gartok relying upon the statement of Zamindars of Ujang states that the boundary should be fixed along the hills i.e. from Kie Gang La along the crest of the hills right up to Niagzu. From Niagzu the boundary runs to Thole Konka from which it proceeds along the crest of the ridge which ends at the point named Gaponaga thus including the whole of the grazing plot of Ote and Khurnak Fort, also Dokpo Karpo, together with the three minor Nalas, viz., Mipal Goma, Mipal Yagma, Rong Goma in Tibetan territory."

The Tibetan side wanted the question to be examined and evidence recorded regarding the alignment in one short particular sector. However, later on the Tibetans did not show any inclination to pursue the matter and the traditional Indian alignment in this sector continued to be respected by both sides.

The boundary between India and Tibet in Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Punjab lies throughout along the main watershed in the region between the Spiti River and the Pare Chu, between the tributaries of the Sutlej and between the Ganges and the Sutlej basins. The boundaries of the early Indian border states of Bashahr and Garhwal lay along this watershed. These areas were ruled successively by the Katyuri, Chand, Pala, Malla and other Garhwali dynasties right up to the latter half of the 18th century. Then some of these areas were conquered by Nepal but recovered by the British Indian Government in 1815. Except two short alignments in the Barahoti and Nilang-Jadhang area which were the subject of correspondence between the British Indian Government and the Tibetan Government there had never in history been any dispute regarding the boundary in this region.

Barahoti, a camping ground $1\frac{1}{2}$ square miles in area, is part of the village of Kurkuti in Patti Malla Painkhanda of Pargana Painkhanda in the Garhwal District. Malla Painkhanda is the northernmost Patti of the District and Manu, Niti and Kurkuti are its northernmost villages. Garhwal and the adjacent areas together formed the Kingdom of Garhwal founded about the 14th century by Ajaipal of the Chand dynasty. Nepalese troops overran Kumaon in 1790 and Garhwal in 1803 but were expelled. At the close of the Anglo-Nepalese War of 1814-15 the Nepalese Commander signed a Convention on 15 May 1815 by which he agreed to withdraw all Nepalese troops east of the Kali river and gave to the British all Nepalese territories from Kumaon to the Sutlej. Kumaon and Garhwal were annexed as British districts.

E. Gardner was appointed Commissioner for the Affairs of Kumaon and Garhwal with Traill as his Assistant. The latter brought Malla Painkhanda, of which Barahoti was a part, under his seven revenue settlements and gave them a measure of judicial and police administration. The revenue settlement of the area was regularly carried out in 1823, 1842, 1866 and 1896. The Niti-Barahoti area was surveyed in detail during 1868-77. The boundary in the Barahoti area became a subject of exchanges between the Tibetan and the Indian Governments when some Tibetans intruded into this area in September, 1889. Durga Dutt, the Patwari of Malla Painkhanda, handed over to two Tibetan officials, Jampal and Panda, a letter signed by the Commissioner of the Kumaon Division for transmission to the Garpon at Gartok saying that persons from the Tibet Region of China were straying into Barahoti in Indian territory. The Tibetan officials promised to explain to the Garpon at Gartok the contents of the letter.

A year later Pandit Paramanand Joshi, Deputy Collector of Garhwal, was sent to Barahoti to explain the case personally to Tibetan officials. While he was at Barahoti from 5 to 7 September 1890, Mr. Joshi showed an

official Indian map of the area to a Tibetan official and explained to him the correct alignment of the boundary in this sector and pointed out that Barahoti was clearly within Indian territories. Again on 10 July 1914, Sir Charles Bell, Political Officer, Sikkim, made clear to Lonchen Shatra, the Tibetan Premier, with the help of a sketch map of the area showing the watershed boundary in the region, that the boundary between India and Tibet near Barahoti ran through the Tung Jung and Shal Shal Passes. The Tibetan Government did not raise any objection to the alignment as described and shown on maps by the Indian Government, and thus formally the matter was settled.

Nilang-Jadhang is part of the Taknore Patti of what was Tehri-Garhwal and is now the Uttar-Kashi District of Uttar Pradesh. Jadhang is a hamlet of the village of Nilang. The people are Garhwalis, with permanent houses at Gangotri and Dhunda, fifty miles down the Bhagirathi, which they inhabit in winter. In the 17th century the area was a matter of contention between the Indian Kingdoms of Bashahr and Garhwal, but never ceased to be a part of India. In 1804, Garhwal was conquered by Nepal. After the Anglo-Nepalese War it came under British dominion in 1815. G. W. Traill, Assistant to the newly appointed Commissioner for the Affairs of Kumaon and Garhwal, reported in 1815 "The northern boundary (of Garhwal and Kumaon) as recognised by the Tibet Government extends to the commencement of the table-land". A part of the kingdom of Garhwal in which Nilang and Jadhang lay, was created into the state of Tehri-Garhwal.

In the years immediately after 1815, when the Government of India reconquered Garhwal, some Tibetans seem to have taken advantage of the confused situation to coerce the people of Nilang and to intimidate traders and travellers from this area. But this state of affairs did not last long. The rulers of Tehri-Garhwal had this area under their administration and continued to collect land revenue as before.

The regular topographical surveys of this area were carried out by Strachey in 1849, by Johnson in 1853-54 and by officials of the Survey of India during 1867-1876. There had also been detailed revenue surveys in 1849. The Tehri State carried out settlement operations at regular intervals and also made maps of the cultivated areas of these villages.

In 1920 the Tibetans claimed that Gum Gum bridge belonged to Tibet. In 1921 the Dzongpen of Tsaparang, which is the nearest Tibetan district, sent a letter to His Highness the Raja of Tehri asking him to send an official to settle the question; to which the Raja replied that the matter must be raised through the Government of India.

A Boundary Commission was first proposed in 1924, and it was finally arranged that it should meet at Nilang on 15 June 1926.

During these discussions the Tehri State produced a variety of records going back to the 17th century to prove its ownership of the area; and the Tibetan side could produce only one book in which the trade dues paid by the villagers of Nilang and Jadhang to the Dzongpon of Tsaparang, when they visited the Tibetan trade marts of Poling and Toling, were entered as taxes. While the Tehri representatives gave a precise definition of the Tehri-Tibet boundary, the Tibetan representatives referred to only one point—Gum Gum or Gungoong bridge—on the alignment claimed by them and could not say how the line would run east and west of this point. The Government of India, being anxious to settle a minor dispute lest it impair the prevailing friendly relations between India and Tibet and despite the fact that Tehri's claim was indisputable, proposed a compromise. A settlement could not be arrived at and the people of Nilang and Jadhang who used to move deeper south during winter and go to Tibet to trade in the summer were subjected to such repeated coercion by the Tibetan authorities that they ceased going into Tibet for trade.

Unity) it is alleged that the division of Bengali nation into separate units and the disruption of its historical, social, and linguistic ties will seriously interfere with the intellectual, social and material progress of the people. This states in somewhat indefinite language the Congress objections to the scheme. Bengal united is a power, Bengal divided will pull several different ways. That is what the Congress leaders feel: their apprehensions are perfectly correct and *they form one of the great merits of the scheme.*" He further adds, "It is not altogether easy to reply in a despatch which is sure to be published without disclosing the fact that in this scheme as in the matter of the amalgamation of Berar to the Central Provinces *one of our main objects is to split up and thereby weaken a solid body of opponents to our rule.*"⁷⁴

The further advantage that would be gained from the splitting up of the Bengali race was that it would encourage the growth of local centres of opinion. Risley adds the remark, "If the numerical preponderance of Bengali Hindus is reduced by dividing up the province, it may be expected that such centres will arise among the Muhammadans at Dacca, among the natives of Behar at Patna, and among the Uriyas at Cuttack, and that it will no longer be possible for a small knot of men at Calcutta to manipulate public opinion throughout the whole of Bengal".⁷⁵ Was not the Government encouraging the rule by division?

In educational matters also decentralisation was specially desirable. Concentration of Colleges in Calcutta, it was reminded, was bad for the health and the morals of the students and encouraged them to take an active part in political agitation.⁷⁶

A similar sentiment had been expressed by Denzil Ibbetson, the Home Member, in his confidential noting, dated the 8th February, 1904. He remarks, "but there is much in the feeling against the division of what is called the 'Bengali nation'..... I think, however, that

the agitators clearly perceive that the transfer will put an end to, at any rate greatly weaken, the existing preponderance in the provincial politics of Bengal proper, which absolutely overshadows Behar, Orissa, etc. But this 'preponderance' is an evil, and it is most desirable to diminish it. The arguments which told against including Nagpur and Poona under the same Government tell something for separating Dacca from Calcutta."⁷⁷ It would be superfluous to give any further proof that the Government of India were being overruled by political considerations in dissecting Bengal proper.

The administrative reasons that had been advocated for taking such a fateful step do not also stand the test of validity. Various defects, anomalies and inconsistencies had been detected in their reasonings and arguments not only by the amateur Bengali politicians but by the veteran Bengal officers such as Messrs C.C. Stevens, Buckland and Savage. It was claimed in the Government of India's despatch, dated 2nd February, 1905, that there was a perfect unanimity of official and authoritative opinion in favour of the scheme, propounded by them. But no reference was made to the strong, dissenting notes, written by the above-mentioned officers, nor were their minutes sent along with the other enclosures to the despatch to the Secretary of State. "They are not worth it and the despatch must be very long as it is", was the comment of A.T. Arundel (Member of the Council) on these notes.⁷⁸

As regards the administrative aspect of the question, the necessity for partition was based on the alleged fact that modern progress had placed an undue strain "on the head of the Government and upon all ranks of his subordinates". Then again, it was told that in Bengal the work of Government had come to be less personal in its character than any other Indian administration and this evil was the more grave because, as Bengal was mostly permanently settled, the District Officer was less in personal touch with the people than was the case elsewhere.⁷⁹ But if the "link of close knowledge,

and mutual understanding between the District Officers and the people is wanting," "the present proposals," Sir C.C. Stevens asserts, "contain no suggestion for any improvement in the relations between the local officers and the population of their charge",⁸⁰ though these relations were the foundation of British rule in India. He could not find any trace in this paper of any suggested mode of improving the District work. "If the base is faulty, is it an improvement to make the pyramid stand on the apex".⁸¹

The next general observation calling for notice is "that there is no portion of Bengal where the drawbacks of an imperfectly supervised administration are more evident than in these outlying districts on the eastern border, and that nowhere is the absence of close and intimate touch between the officer of Government and the people more apparent or regrettable".⁸² The difficulty of ruling these eastern districts, as Sir C. C. Stevens affirms, had always been recognised by the Bengal Government and that officers had been usually specially selected for them. Assam would not be able to pay for officers having the experience, or the future prospects of such men. How then the people would gain by coming under Assam was not very clear. As Sir C.C. Stevens remarks, "The physical circumstances would not change; the condition, temperament, and character of the people would not change; the permanent settlement must remain unaltered, and there is no reason to suppose that more able officers would be available for either local or departmental administration. How then is the change of boundary to bring the local officers into closer touch with the people?"⁸³ Moreover, as Mr. C.E. Buckland, another veteran Bengal officer, remarks, Bengal had long passed off the stage of personal rule. Past Governments were responsible for this result and whatever might be the prejudice against the Bengal system, it was impossible to put back the clock.⁸⁴

Though the "desirability of reducing the territorial jurisdiction of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal" with the object of lightening his

excessive burden had been stated as the object of the proposals, the perusal of the Government letters, despatches etc. suggests that the increase of Assam was really treated as a matter of equal and even of more importance and many of the arguments, advanced by the Government of India, were adopted more for what was termed "the erection of Assam into a vigorous and self-contained Administration"⁸⁵ than for the relief of the Bengal Government. The relief of the Bengal Government could have been secured in a more practical and statesman-like way either by organic changes or by the separation of Behar or of Orissa, but none of these alternative schemes got the endorsement of the Government of India apparently for the reason at least that the adoption of any one of these methods "would establish a final and insurmountable obstacle to the territorial expansion and administrative development of Assam".⁸⁶

So far as the administrative necessities of Bengal were concerned, the arguments advanced by the Government of India do not stand scrutiny. The relief of the Bengal Government, if it was the main and primary object of the Government proposals, could have been secured by other alternative methods without dismembering Bengal proper.

The development of Assam, both territorial and administrative, was another main object of the Government proposals. But a close scrutiny of the arguments, adduced by the Government of India in favour of their contention, clearly reveals that these were not so very imposing as to make the Partition of Bengal unavoidable.

Assam required, in the opinion of the Government of India, territorial expansion in order to give to its officers a wider and more interesting field of work. It required a maritime outlet in order to develop its industries in tea, oil and coal. The whole Assam Bengal Railway line, if it was to be utilised in the interests of the province, ought to be under a single adminis-

The natural, traditional and customary boundary between Sikkim and Tibet was confirmed by the convention signed by the British and China at Calcutta in March 1890. Article I of the Convention laid down that

“The boundary of Sikkim and Tibet shall be the crest of the mountain range separating the waters flowing into the Sikkim Teesta and its affluents from the waters flowing into the Tibet Mochu and northwards into other rivers in Tibet”.

It was found, however, that the Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1890 and the Trade Regulations of 1893, which had been concluded without Tibetan participation, could not be enforced because of Tibetan defiance of agreements which did not have their concurrence. The provisions could be implemented only after they had been re-negotiated in 1904 in Tibet. The provisions of the 1904 Convention was further confirmed specifically in the Convention signed between Britain and China in 1906.

The boundary between Assam and Tibet follows the highest watershed ridge of the Himalayas. The sub-montane region was ruled in the beginning successively by the Vernams, the Salasthambas, the Palas and the Ahoms. During the Ahom rule, who held sway for nearly six centuries, the relations with the tribes in the area were in the hands of duly appointed frontier Wardens and Governors. For example, the Sadiya-Khowa Gohain was in charge of conciliating the tribes of Sadiya country and the Barphukan and Darrang Rajas were in charge of the Bhutias. They had in their offices a number of men versed in the languages, customs and habits of the tribes. There were also tribal experts at the court of the King. In 1826, Ahom authority in the area was finally displaced by the British. The British policy in the area was one of acquiring loose political control over these areas, with the minimum of interference compatible with the protection of these tribesmen and restraining them from raiding neighbouring territories. Regular ad-

ministration had gradually to be established and the frontier between Assam and Tibet ascertained. This was not just a question of political division. The tribesmen in the area—the Monbas, Akas, Daflas, Miris, Abors and Mishmis—were ethnically different from the Tibetans.

The leaders of the Aka tribes bound themselves in 1842 and 1844, in return for stipends, to maintain the peace. Over forty years later, in 1883, they raided a forest office, and a military expedition was despatched against them. They, however, surrendered in 1888, and signed an Agreement under which their stipends were to be restored after a probation of two years. Thereafter, they kept the peace, and when Nevill visited the area in the winter of 1913-14, he found the rajas and people friendly. “The most excellent relations”, he reported, “were established with the Akas. I believe this friendliness will be permanent”. But less amenable from the start were the Daflas. Though they agreed informally in 1835, 1837 and 1852 to curb their raiding activities, they did not desist from attacking their fellow-tribesmen living on the plains. In 1874-75, the British sent a military force into the hills. There were no disturbances after that, nor was there any cordiality towards the British. When Nevill’s mission visited the area in 1913, it was ill-received and he even opened fire on one occasion.

The Miris and Abors, two tribes in close relations with each other, were very friendly in the beginning. But there was a conflict in 1848 and a serious raid ten years later; and a British military expedition into the hills was turned back. A second expedition was sent the next year and the Abors overawed into submission. Three treaties were signed between November 1862 and January 1863, and a fourth in 1866, with various branches of the tribe. One curious feature of the agreements with the Abors was that the stipends were to be in kind, in articles such as hoes and salt which could be distributed among the whole

community. It was in a sense a recognition of the democratic nature of the Abor system of government. In 1893 they attacked an outpost, and in consequence an expedition was sent. It was by no means a success. The Abors were never really subdued, and in March 1911, an Assistant Political Officer who ventured into the area was murdered. Once more an expedition was sent to punish the Abors and exact reparation, and advantage was taken of the occasion to ascertain the frontier with Tibet.

In the north-eastern corner of India lived the Mishmi tribes. The British concluded no written engagements with them, and despite numerous raids for long took no stricter measures than occasional blockades. In 1899, what Lord Curzon termed a “miniature army” was sent, but with little result. In 1910, it was learnt that the Chinese had occupied Rima in Tibet, entered the Delei Valley in Mishmi country and planted their flag at Menikrai also in Mishmi territory. The Assam Government, therefore, recommended that the Mishmis should be brought definitely under regular administrative control. A friendly Mission was sent in 1911, and soon after road-building was commenced and British administration carried into this area.

The British took nearly seventy-five years to establish administrative control over all the territory that had been formerly parts of Assam. Throughout the tribal areas, whatever the difficulties of the British administrators, normally their problems were not complicated by the presence of Tibetan influence and control. By 1912-13, sufficient information about the frontier had also been acquired to enable the definite delineation of the Assam-Tibet boundary. Further the quick and total collapse of Chinese power in Tibet (1911-13), Chinese attempts to retrieve the lost position by force of arms in 1913 and Tibetan preparedness to resist had caused the British concern about the security of the north-east frontier of India. They were anxious that the status of Tibet should be defined in such a way which “would offer the best hope of restitution of peace and

prosperity to the inhabitants of an extensive area adjoining the frontiers of China and British India”.

A tripartite conference of Britain, China and Tibet met in Simla on 6 October 1913 to discuss relations both between China and Tibet and between Tibet and India. At the conference the Tibetan Representative submitted detailed statements defining the limits of Tibetan territories. All that the Chinese Representative wanted was that the question of the political status should be taken up first. The British side pointed out that the political status of Tibet could be discussed only after the limits of the country were defined and proposed a discussion of the Indo-Tibetan boundary by the British and Tibetan Representatives. The Indo-Tibetan boundary question was discussed between British and Tibetan representatives in February and March 1914. The explorations and surveys of the tribal area north of the Brahmaputra had given the British thorough information to define the boundary in general terms and they knew accurately the limits of Tibetan and Chinese occupation. It was on the basis of all this detailed information that alignment of the boundary was settled between India and Tibet.

The boundary agreement between India and Tibet was concluded by an exchange of letters between the British and Tibetan Plenipotentiaries on 24-25 March 1914. The exact alignment of the boundary from the east of Bhutan to the tri-junction of India, Tibet and Burma, was delineated on a 1"-8 miles map in two sheets. The letter of the Tibetan Plenipotentiary accepting the boundary so delineated stated:

“I have now received orders from Lhasa, and I accordingly agree to the boundary as marked in red in the two copies of the map signed by you, subject to the conditions mentioned in your letter, dated the 24th March, sent to me through Mr. Bell. I have signed and sealed the two copies

tration. Above all, it required an independent service of its own in all its branches.⁸⁷

Firstly, Assam with an area exceeding that of England, and a population greater than that of Canada and nearly double that of Australia with all its problems of administration and development cannot be regarded as a contracted area with "restricted opportunities".⁸⁸

Secondly, there were so many other railways such as the Bengal Nagpur Railway and the East India Railway which were worked in more than one province. Was it necessary that Assam Bengal Railway should be more favoured?

Thirdly, the fact of the whole railway being under the Assam Administration would not create greater facilities for trade, for, in the opinion of the Committee of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, "no change in the Seat of the Administration will divert trade from its natural channels. Trade will always follow the cheaper route, regardless of the jurisdiction under which it is carried on". Moreover, in the event of the transfer of Dacca and Mymensingh together with Chittagong to a new province, the Committee did not consider that such a transfer would of itself constitute Chittagong the port and natural commercial outlet of the new province.⁸⁹

One principal argument advanced for the transfer of Chittagong to Assam was that the port required fuller development than it appeared to be susceptible of attaining under the Administration of Bengal and that the Assam Province would gain by the transfer of the port to Assam. But in the opinion of an experienced Bengal officer like C.E. Buckland, there was nothing to show that the Government of Bengal had in any way starved the port of Chittagong. Moreover, if a greater expenditure was required, a large Government like that of Bengal was in a position to spend more than a comparatively poor province like that of

Assam. As regards the need of Assam for a port, C.E. Buckland very pertinently remarks, "the very same arguments as have been adduced might have been adopted for a proposal to transfer the port of Calcutta to the Administration of the United Provinces".⁹⁰ On the whole, the improvement of the Chittagong port could not be a valid argument for the dismemberment of the Province of Bengal.

Lastly, there remains the arguments of giving to Assam a service of its own, offering a career that would attract and retain men of ability and mark. On this point there was no consensus of authoritative opinion. Sir William Ward, for the first time, suggested the idea, but Sir Henry Cotton was completely at variance with his predecessor's opinion. Sir J. B. Fuller, the next Chief-Commissioner of Assam, while admitting that a great benefit would accrue to the European official services by the transfer of the eastern districts of Bengal to Assam, thought that such a self-contained commission would be a very unpopular one for some years to come.⁹¹ It is to be noted here that the possibility of the removal of all healthy districts from Bengal stood in the way of the separation of Behar and its conversion into a Chief-Commissionership,⁹² but no such argument was considered in the case of the constitution of a separate commission for Assam which would have the unpopular and comparatively unhealthy districts of the Chittagong Division and certain Eastern Bengal districts attached to Assam.

So far as the interests of Assam were concerned, there remained two other considerations to which Mr. J. B. Fuller, the Chief-Commissioner of Assam, drew attention but which were overlooked by the Government of India.

Firstly, there was no community of feeling between the Assamese and the people of Eastern Bengal and fears were expressed by some Assamese gentlemen of prominence that if Eastern Bengal would come under the same administration, people from Bengal would

secure more than their fair share of posts under the Government. There was, however, a further objection to the wide extension of provincial boundaries, that with larger and more complicated interests to be considered it was likely that the Administration would pay less attention to the districts that constituted Assam proper—"in fact that Assam would be lost in Eastern Bengal".⁹³ The Chief-Commissioner of Assam, at least in the initial stage of the discussion, gave his opinion, rather in a hesitant way, in favour of the addition of the eastern districts of Bengal to Assam. It is pertinent to mention here that J. B. Fuller himself suggested the erection of Behar into a Chief-Commissionership as the most convenient method of relieving the Bengal Government.⁹⁴

Then there remains the fact that Assam, being a poor country, could not pay for a more expensive administration or for more rapid development. The remedy proposed by the Government of India was to attach some of the richer districts of Eastern Bengal to Assam, so that their revenues could be spent in the old Assam districts. "Thus the advancement of the old Assam districts," remarks C.E. Buckland, "will necessitate the retardation of the progress of the districts to be transferred from Eastern Bengal".⁹⁵ No wonder that the proposals under discussion were not approved either by the inhabitants of the districts concerned or by the Bengalees at large.⁹⁶ There was nothing but injustice to the districts of Eastern Bengal, which it was proposed to transfer, so that they might pay, to their own detriment, for the development of the old Assam districts.

It may seem surprising that the Bengal Government could allow the districts which had more or less flourished under its sway to be subjected to such a treatment. Lord Curzon found a nice accomplice in Sir Andrew Fraser, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in the formulation and materialisation of the scheme for the Partition of Bengal. Even before he had become the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, he expressed his desire of getting rid of the

eastern districts of Bengal. No wonder, therefore, that he would be of opinion that a reduction of the area of Bengal was necessary to render the administration of that province reasonably efficient and that the reduction ought to be made not in any other way but by the transfer of the eastern districts of Bengal. No wonder that the counter-proposal that Bengal should be administered by a Governor or Lieutenant-Governor with an Executive Council did not seem to him to be a sound one.⁹⁷ It is relevant to mention here that while Andrew Fraser was advocating for the Partition of Bengal by the transfer of the Chittagong Division and of Dacca and Mymensingh districts to Assam for securing sound administration in Bengal in March, 1903, he had still then no practical experience of Bengal administration. On the other hand, those with experience in Bengal administration were advocating just the opposite course. Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, Acting Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, wrote in a private letter to Lord Curzon on June 21st 1903, "..... I cannot pretend to be prepossessed in favour of a proposal which will deprive the province of any considerable portion of its territories. To an officer who has been trained, the administration of it does not seem an insuperable task though the work is heavy and responsible. We are proud of the burden and of the importance and magnitude of our province, and do not shrink from the labour".⁹⁸

Sir C.C. Stevens who had also long experience in Bengal administration and who had also served as the Acting Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal laid great stress on the maintenance of the territorial limits of Bengal in tact and on the formation of an Executive Council and on decentralisation for giving relief to the Lieutenant-Governor.⁹⁹

It is certain that without the hearty concurrence of Sir Andrew Fraser who was at that time the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal it would not have been possible for Lord Curzon's Government to carry out the scheme for the Partition of Bengal. It is to be remembered

of the maps. I have kept our copy here and return herewith the other”.

The conditions mentioned in the British Plenipotentiary's letter were: (1) The Tibetan ownership in private estates on the British side of the frontier would not be disturbed. (2) If the sacred places of Tso Karpo and Tsari Sarpa fell within a day's march of the British side of the frontier, they would be included in Tibetan territory and the frontier modified accordingly. The possibility contemplated in the second condition did not arise because it was later found that both Tso Karpo and Tsari Sarpa lay on the Tibetan side of the boundary. The traditional Indo-Tibetan boundary thus confirmed was also shown by a red line on the map attached to the Convention initialled by the Plenipotentiaries of India, China and Tibet on 27th April, 1914, and finally signed by the Plenipotentiaries of India and Tibet on 3rd July 1914. Article 9 of the Convention described the boundary in the following terms:

“For the purpose of the present Convention the borders of Tibet and the boundary between Inner and Outer Tibet shall be as shown in red and blue respectively on the map attached thereto”.

This formalized the natural, traditional, ethnic and administrative boundary in the area.

The British frontier policy in India was to a considerable extent influenced by their policy

towards Tibet during the years after 1880. The British Government were eager to buttress rather than to belittle the position and strength of China, and therefore sought to minimise the aspirations and claims of Tibet. This was because they were anxious to prevent Russia from obtaining a foothold or influence in Tibet. In the few discussions which took place over the northern boundary of Kashmir and over minor disputes such as in Nelang-Jadhang and Dokpo Karpo, British policy was to offer a compromise to Tibetan advantage even though both sides recognized the traditional alignment, and so to persuade Tibet to settle her political and territorial disputes with China in the north. During these years, the then Central Government of China, in fact, fully reaped the benefit of European imperialist rivalries in Central Asia. If the British were anxious to incorporate areas beyond the traditional boundaries they could easily have advanced far beyond the Kuen Lun, the Aghil and the Himalayan Ranges and acquired territories which were more valuable economically and strategically.

The present Indian frontiers have always been the historic frontiers but administration in the British period was only gradually extended up to these frontiers. Shortly after India attained independence in 1947 the Government of India decided, as a matter of policy, to bring these frontier areas under more direct administrative control to enable them to share in the benefits of a welfare state, subject to the protection of their distinct social and cultural patterns.

Discussion Meetings

D. R. BHANDARKAR

(Eminent Indian Historians Series)

N. N. DAS GUPTA

University of Calcutta.

The youngest son of late Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Devadatta Ramakrishna Bhandarkar was born in 1875. Educated at High School and Deccan College, Poona, he had a brilliant academic career. In 1911 he became the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, and continued as such till 1917, when he came over, at the instance of late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, to Calcutta as the Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture of Calcutta University. Here, in Calcutta, he became in that year a member of the Board of Trustees of the Indian Museum and also the Officer-in-Charge of the Archaeological Section of that institution. He was also appointed a Corresponding Member of the Indian Historical Records Commission and Hony. Correspondent of the Archaeological Department, Government of India. In recognition of his scholarship the Degree of Ph. D. (Hon.) was conferred upon him by the University of Calcutta.

For two terms, from 1911 to 1917 and from 1928 to 1932, he served as the Joint Editor of the *Indian Antiquary*, and when that journal became defunct in 1932, he became in 1933 the Joint Editor of the *Indian Culture*. He was elected in 1936 the President of the first Indian Cultural Conference at Calcutta, and two years later the President of the Indian History Congress, Allahabad Session. These and many other distinctions he came to enjoy in token of his vast erudition. His scholarship was not confined to any particular branch of Indology or to the local history of any particular province of India. Amongst his many literary works, his *Asoka*, and his *Carmichael Lectures*, delivered in 1918 and 1921,

are widely studied even to this day. With the collaboration of a number of his students he brought out a *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, which was published as appendix to the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vols. XXI ff. and which has proved to be a very useful publication to the students of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology. He also completed the *Revised Edition of Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III (Gupta Inscriptions). Amongst his other valuable contributions, reference must be made to the *Origin of the Gurjaras*, *Origin of the Lakulisa Pāśupata Sect*, *Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population*, *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture*, etc.

He was proficient not only in Sanskrit but also in Pali, and could thus freely draw from original sources. His command over English was great enough, and he always wrote in a lucid and simple style. What was most characteristic of his writings was his logic, and he used to move in a logical way from one step to the next, from premises to the conclusion. He was indeed a great scholar, who could think independently and assert boldly. Some of his theories (for instance, his identification of Rāmagupta with Kāca) are hardly accepted and bitterly criticised but unlike many other scholars he could stand criticism perfectly well, and even very unkind criticisms did not upset him.

In the Preface of his *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, he wrote, “The Bengalis are a loving and lovable people”, and he justified this statement by his stay in Calcutta even after his retirement from Professorship in 1935. He died at his residence at Lovelock Street, Calcutta, in 1950, at the age of seventyfive.

that the strong opposition of the Madras Government prevented the transfer of the Ganjam district to Bengal, though various reasons including administrative conveniences were advocated for it by the Government of India.¹⁰⁰

The inconsistencies, which could be detected in the arguments put forward by the Government of India in support of their various proposals, could only be explained by the underlying political motive by which they were being goaded into action. In the case of Orissa the linguistic argument was mainly advocated in support of the proposals to unite the whole of Uriya-speaking people under the Bengal Administration, but no weight was attached to the linguistic argument when it was proposed to attach Chittagong, Dacca and Mymensingh to Assam. If the Uriya-speaking people desired to be united, was it not very natural that the greatly more numerous and more advanced speakers of Bengali should strongly object to be divided? How was it then that when the local Uriya opinion was quoted with some sympathy and support, objections from Eastern Districts were discounted by the remark that

"no temporary opposition in the transferred towns or areas, no artificial agitation or interested outcry, would be permitted to divert the efforts of Government from the main object?"¹⁰¹

The agitation of the Bengalis against the violent dismemberment of their province had all along been belittled by the Government of Lord Curzon as an artificial one, organised mainly by the educated class and based on interested motives.¹⁰² The turmoil, in Lord Curzon's opinion, was mainly of an artificial description. He did not find a single argument, and there was nothing but rhetoric and declamation.¹⁰³ This attempt to minimise the volume and intensity of the agitation and to overlook the depth of feelings stirred by the Partition of Bengal is indicative of the political myopia from which the bureaucrats generally suffer. They became imperceptible to the forces of the new age, to the new spirit of nationalism that had dawned upon Indians. With wilful obstinacy, they plunged headlong into a course of action which became so very fateful not only for the province of Bengal but for the whole of India.

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³⁶ Curzon's note dated 10/11/03. Home (Public)—A—December 1903, Nos. 149-160.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Risley's note dated 1/9/04. Home (Public)—A—February, 1905, Nos. 155-167. Risley (the Secretary to the Home Department, Government of India) writes, ".....

Sir Andrew Fraser was present at the Council Meeting of the 14th February at which the line to be taken by Lord Curzon during his tour in Eastern Bengal was discussed, and he was aware that the Government of India were disposed to regard with favour a substantial enlargement of the scheme. Consequently he now proposes to make over to Assam the whole of the Chittagong and Dacca Divisions and three districts of the Rajshahi Division, Pubna, Bogra and Rangpur."

⁴¹ No. 2556—J. From W.C. Macpherson, Offg., Secy. to The Government of Bengal. To: The Secy. to The Government of India, Home Department, dated Calcutta the 6th April, 1904. Home (Public)—A—February 1905, Nos. 155-167.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Curzon papers*—Private Correspondence of Lord Curzon with St. John Brodrick, the Secretary of State for India, dated the 17th February, 1904.

⁴⁴ Despatch No. 3 of 1905 (Public)—Feb. 2, 1905. To The Secy., of State for India—Home (Public)—A—Feb., 1905, Nos. 155-167.

⁴⁵ Bengal letter—From W.C. Macpherson, Offg. Chief Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal. To The Secy. to the Govt. of India. Home Dept. Calcutta dated the 6th April, 1904. Home (Public)—A—Feb., 1905, Nos. 155-167.

⁴⁶ *Amrita Bazar Patrika*—February 16th, 27th 1904. Letter of the Special Correspondent of the Patrika and the telegram received from Babus Ananda Chander, Mahendra Kumar and Sarat Chandra, published in the Patrika. In the joint address of District Boards and the Municipalities the prayer was inserted to the effect that, as partition was inevitable, the Government should include some other districts in the scheme of the transfer in addition to Dacca, Mymensingh and the Chittagong Division. The Nawab and the Dacca officials sought to palm it off as one which had the sanction of the representatives of the people. Of the nine men composing address committee six were officials and the Nawab's men, and only three representing the three sub-divisions of the district of Dacca. The three representative members recorded their dissent and the address was approved and passed by the majority who were either officials or Nawab's men. (It is interesting to note here that even before Lord Curzon's tour in East Bengal some of the top-ranking officials of that area such as the Magistrates of Dacca and Mymensingh and the Collector of Backergunj suggested the formation of a new province, by uniting the greater part of East-Bengal and even some portions of North Bengal with Assam, under a Lieutenant-Governor with a Legislative Council. It would be mainly a Muhammadan province and the Mussalmans would obtain a greater share of Government's attention than they usually did. (c.f. the letters from J.T. Rankin, Magistrate of Dacca, dated the 28th Jan., 1904, from W.B. Thompson, Magistrate of Mymensingh, dated the 5th Feb., 1904, from H.C. Streathfield, Collector of Backergunj, dated 1st Feb., 1904.) Home (Public)—A—Feb., 1905, Nos. 155-167.

⁴⁷ *Curzon papers*—Private Correspondence of the Viceroy with the Secretary of State, St. John Brodrick, dated February 17th, 1904.

⁴⁸ Lord Curzon's address at Dacca on 18th February, 1904. (Home Public A. February 1905 Nos. 155-167.)

⁴⁹ Quoted in "Indian National Congress"—by Dr. P.C. Ghosh—Page 121.

⁵⁰ Risley's note dated 6/12/04—Home (Public)—A—February 1905, Nos. 155-167.

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⁵⁴ No. 2789—J.D. From the Offg., Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal. To: The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department—dated Darjeeling, 26th September, 1904—Home Public A February, 1905 Nos. 155-167.

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Discussion Meetings

THE INNER CIRCLE OF THE CONGRESS IN THE PRE-GANDHIAN ERA

DR. BIMANBEHARI MAJUMDAR

There was no constitution of the Congress during the first fifteen years of its existence. We cannot, therefore, locate the inner circle of the Congress in the Congress Committee, because no such body existed before 1899. But there is no reference to the election or selection of any such body in 1901 and 1902. A chorus song sung in English and in Gujarati at the twentieth session of the Congress at Bombay in 1904 gives an idea as to who were the leading persons in the estimation of the admirers of Pheroze Shah Mehta, who happened to be the Chairman of the Reception Committee. It ran as follows:

Onward Congress soldiers
Leaders of the Land
Cheer the heart of India
And united stand.
Hume, the Congress-father,
Cotton in the Chair,
Wedderburn and Tyabji
Shine like stars so fair!
Dadabhai and Mehta,
Romesh Chandra great
Sail the ship of Congress
Through a stormy strait.
Ranade and Wacha,
Banerjee and Iyer
Drive the car of Congress
'midst a muddy mire.
Telang, Gokhale, Rampal,
Madan Mohan, Ghose,
Through the ranks of soldiers
See Ayodhya, Bose!

If we follow the Upanisadic method of investigation by elimination (*neti neti*), we may dismiss those who have got little or no claim to be

considered as belonging to the inner circle of the Congress. Sir Henry Cotton presided over the Congress in 1904, and was highly sympathetic towards Indians no doubt. Apart from himself, his father, grandfather and son were also members of the Civil Service in India and his great-grandfather served the East India Company. In spite of such long connection with India as a member of the ruling group, he was not arrogant. He gave a dinner party on the 19th February, 1887 at his 3 Kyd Street, residence in Calcutta and it was attended not only by the big European officials and Moslem grandees but also by leaders of the Congress like A. O. Hume, W. C. Bonnerjee, Surendranath Banerjee, Monomohan Ghosh, Lalmohan Ghosh, Ananda Mohon Bose and Narendranath Sen. It is interesting to note that Cotton mentions among those who responded to his invitation Mr. and Mrs. Satyendranath Tagore, Jyotirindranath and his brother "Rabindranath, the famous poet"². The publication of his book *New India* in 1904 must have been one of the factors responsible for his selection as the President of the Congress. In this book he put forward all the important causes for the growth of Nationalist Opposition to the British Government in the following sentence: "Legislation designed to curtail the liberty of the Press and speech; the crusade against so-called sedition; the attempt to abolish trial by jury; the forcible introduction of harsh plague regulations, subsequently withdrawn; the blows that have been dealt at local self-government, especially in Calcutta; the systematic discouragement of popular institutions; the deliberate encouragement of provincial segregation; the substitution of a system of nomination to Government service in the place of competitive examinations;

the practical declaration of race disqualification for public offices; the hampering and fettering of unaided colleges and schools and the general sinister drift in favour of officialising all branches of education;.....these and other measures have had their effect in inspiring the Opposition with fresh life"³. He quoted with approval from his brother's book entitled *India* and published by Macmillan & Co. in 1883 in the English Citizen series, the opinion he held about the attainments of Indians as follows: "Men who speak better English than most Englishmen, who read Mill and Comte, Max Muller and Maine, who occupy with distinction seats on the judicial bench, who administer the affairs of native states with many millions of inhabitants, who manage cotton mills and conduct the boldest operations of commerce, who edit newspapers in English and correspond on equal terms with the scholars of Europe—these can no longer be treated as an inferior breed"⁴. But so far as the Congress organisation was concerned, Cotton was an outsider. Ananda Charlu says that Cotton attended the first Congress on the last day⁵; but he himself writes that he visited the Congress for the first time in 1886⁶. He did not attend any other session of the Congress either before or after the year of his Presidentship.

Similar was the case with Syed Badruddin Tyabji. He did not attend the first or the second session of the Congress; though he presided over the third session at Madras in 1887. He was elevated to the Bench in 1895 and was thus free to attend the Congress between 1888 and 1894, but he never cared to do so. The letters which Sir Syed Ahmed wrote to him produced such an effect on him that he proposed to Hume in 1888 that the Congress should cease to meet for the next five years, after which period it might be considered whether there was any need of such an organisation. Hume, too, took up the suggestion so seriously that Dadabhai Naoroji had to write to him: "The Congress meetings should not be stopped. Such an action will put back India's progress a generation, or at least for years".

Romesh Chandra Datta (1848-1909) presided over the memorable Congress session held at Lucknow in 1899. He had, however, little opportunity to take an active part in the Congress. He entered the Indian Civil Service in 1869 and tendered resignation in 1897, when he was less than fifty years old. As he had to spend the greater portion of the next six years in England, he could not devote much time to the Congress work in India before 1904. The only Congress in which he delivered speeches as a delegate was the Varanasi session, held in 1905. He, therefore, cannot be considered a member of the inner circle.

The same remark applies to Ananda Mohan Bose and Lal Mohan Ghosh, who adorned the Presidential Chair at Madras in 1898 and 1903 respectively. It may be mentioned in this connection that Madras seemed to have a special fascination for Boses and Ghoshes. Between 1885 and 1917 the Congress was held six times at Madras. While the sessions in 1887 and 1894 were presided over by a Moslem and an Irish Christian; in 1898 and 1914 Ananda Mohan Bose and Bhupendranath Basu were in the Chair and in 1903 and 1908 Lal Mohan Ghosh and Rash Behari Ghosh were put at the head of the Congress organization respectively. Calcutta, however, never returned the compliment. During the aforesaid period Calcutta invited the Congress seven times, of which five sessions were presided over by distinguished citizens of Bombay, like Dadabhai Naoroji (1886 and 1906), Sir Pherozeshah Mehta (1890), Rahamatullah M. Sayani (1896) and Dinshaw Edulji Wacha (1901). Bishan Narayan Dar (misspelt in the official Congress Report and in Annie Besant's book as Dhar), a Kashmiri Brahman settled in the Uttar Pradesh, and Dr. Annie Besant were selected as President in 1911 and 1917 respectively. The Congress met four times in the Bombay City itself and three times at Poona (1895), Ahmedabad (1902) and Surat (1907) within the Bombay Presidency. Out of these seven sessions two were presided over by Englishmen—Wedderburn (1889) and Cotton (1904), three by Banerjees

Secy., of State for India -Home (Public) A Feby., 1905 Nos. 155-167.

⁵⁵ No. 75 (Public) dated, London, 9th June, 1905. From the Secy., of State for India to the Governor-General of India in Council -Home (Public) -A (confd.), Oct., 1905 Nos. 163-198. The chief amendments made by the Secretary of State were the substitution of a Board of Revenue for the proposed Financial Commissioner and the christening of the new province as "Eastern Bengal and Assam" instead of the "North Eastern Provinces", as suggested in the Government of India's despatch. In the opinion of the Secretary of State, it was undesirable to permit the name of Assam, so widely associated with Indian tea, to disappear from the list of Indian Provinces. Mr. Brodrick's suggestions were accepted by the Government of India.

⁵⁶ Resolution. No. 2491 -Simla, the 19th July, 1905.

⁵⁷ No. 75 (Public) dated, London, 9th June, 1905. From the Secretary of State for India to the Governor-General of India in Council -Home (Public) -A (confd.) October, 1905. Nos. 163-198.

⁵⁸ *Curzon papers* -Private Correspondence of Lord Curzon with the Secretary of State for India. St. John Brodrick, dated December 31st 1903, and January 28th 1904.

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⁶⁵ Risley's note, dated 6/12/04 -Home (Public) -A-Feby., 1905, Nos. 155-167.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ Despatch to the Secretary of State No. 3 (Public), dated 2nd February, 1905 -Home (Public) -A-February 1905, Nos. 155-167.

⁶⁸ Opinion, expressed by Sir C. C. Stevens before the *Englishman's* Special Correspondent about the Partition scheme. Extract from "All about Partition" -by P. Mukherjee.

⁶⁹ Despatch to the Secretary of State No. 3 (Public) dated 2nd February, 1905 -Home (Public) -A-February, Nos. 155-167.

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⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

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⁷⁹ Risley's letter. To: The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 3rd Dec., 1903. Home (Public) -A-December, 1903; Nos. 149-160.

⁸⁰ Note on the proposals of the Government of India for the relief of the Government of Bengal, by Sir C.C. Stevens, dated the 6th April, 1904. Home (Public) -A-Feby., 1905, Nos. 155-167.

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⁹⁷ Bengal letter, dated the 6th April, 1904. No. 2556-J. Home (Public) -A-Feby., 1905, Nos. 155-167.

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AHOM AND THE ASSAMESE BURANJIS

DR. (MRS.) LAKSHMI DEVI

I refer to the paper *Ideas of History in Medieval India* by Dr. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar published in Vol. IV, Numbers 1 & 2 (1964-65) of the *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*. I could not agree with the remark made by Dr. Sarkar on page 24 regarding Ahom and the Assamese Buranjis. Myself, having made a special study of one of the most important aspects of the Ahom period (1228-1826 A.D.) of Assam History (The relations of the Ahom Kings with the tribal peoples of Assam), I consider it to be my duty to give a correct information about the chronicles of the Ahom Kings known as Buranjis to the readers. Further, I do not agree with his remark given on page 21 also, that Kashmir is the only area of India with a tradition of historical writing and that the Kashmir historian Kalhana, the author of *Rajatarangini* (1148-9 A.D.), stands alone among Indian historians, ancient and medieval, and notwithstanding some defects, occupies an honoured place among the frontrank historians of ancient and medieval ages in the world. This opinion is held not only by Dr. Sarkar but by many other Indian scholars. This, no doubt, is the result of an inadequate knowledge of the chronicles of the Ahom Kings of Assam known as Buranjis. The Assamese word 'Buranji' (meaning history) is a Tai or Shan word, whose literal meaning is (Bu--fool, ran--to know, ji--storehouse)--Storehouse of knowledge. A knowledge of the Buranjis was considered by the Ahoms to be an indispensable part of education and culture. A proper evaluation of the Buranjis will make it clear that Kashmir is not the only area of India with a tradition of historical writing. Assam, the easternmost State of the Indian Union has got a glorious tradition of having continuous history of its own from the beginning of the 13th century

to the establishment of British rule in Assam in the early part of the 19th century. As remarked by 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 the absence of direct historical literature. In order to remove the wrong notion from the minds of the scholars, it is necessary, therefore, to give a proper estimate of the Buranjis in Ahom and Assamese languages.

The Ahoms were endowed with a highly developed political sense which actuated them to record the chief events of the reigns of sovereigns in officially compiled chronicles or Buranjis. This system can be traced to the command of Sukapha, the founder of the Ahom Kingdom in Assam, that "the Pandits should write down all particulars, whenever an incident takes place, when a person dies and when we acquire new followers."¹ Besides, the official chronicles kept by the government, the Ahom priests and the leading Ahom families also possessed Buranjis which were periodically brought up to date. They were written on oblong strips of bark and were very carefully preserved and handed down from father to son. This system of compiling Buranjis has conferred upon the Assamese the unique distinction of possessing historical masterpieces in prose.

During the early period of Ahom rule in Assam when the Ahom language was the mother tongue amongst the Ahoms, the Buranjis were written in the Ahom language. But later on, when the Assamese language came to occupy the place of mother tongue amongst the majority of the Ahoms, most of the Buranjis came to be written in Assamese and the knowledge

(W. C. Bonnerjee in 1885 and Surendra Nath in 1895 and 1902), one by Rash Behari Ghosh (1907) and another by Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha (1915).

Ananda Mohan Bose, with his brilliant academic career and the ownership of a big Tea estate in Assam, occupied a higher social status than most of the leaders in Bengal. He was the founder-secretary of the Indian Association and continued to discharge the duties of the post from 1876 to 1885. As a member of the Bengal Legislative Council in 1886, he established his reputation for being an excellent speaker and debater. When the Congress met for the first time in Calcutta in that year we find him as a leader of a considerable number of Bengali delegates. Hume writes: "Messrs Ananda Mohan Bose and Surendranath Banerjea managed to get together, elsewhere, informal committees of over a 100 of the Bengal delegates, ascertain their views and communicate to other leaders of Provinces"⁸. While Surendranath Banerjea threw himself heart and soul into the Congress work from 1887, we find Ananda Mohan keeping away from it during the next nine years. He did not join the Madras Congress in 1887. His name did not occur in the Delegates' list even in 1890 when the Congress was meeting in Calcutta. He did not go to the Poona session of the Congress in 1895 when his friend and colleague was honoured as the President. Like Surendranath he was then a Member of the Bengal Legislative Council. On the 3rd August, 1895 he had to oppose the Bengal Sanitary Drainage Bill which Romesh Chandra Datta, as a nominated official member, claimed to have given its final shape. Ananda Mohan condemned the Bill by stating "We have Mill's high authority for stating that taxation of this character is partial confiscation and a violation of Justice"⁹. He was one of the finest orators of the age. The *Indian People* of Allahabad wrote that he was the first Indian to be elected as a delegate to and address the National Liberal Federation and that when he seconded a resolution moved by Morley condemning the work of the Tory

Government, people said that his oration was the more effective¹⁰. It is strange that such a powerful speaker and organiser kept himself away from the Congress platform prior to 1896. He did not deliver any speech in the Congress before 1895, nor did he ever appear on the forum of the Congress after the delivery of his Presidential address in 1898.

Lalmohan Ghosh (1894-1909) was such a forceful orator that before the birth of the Congress the Indian Association had sent him twice (1879 and 1883) to England to plead the cause of political advancement of India. John Bright paid high tributes to his oratorical power. He was twice selected by the Liberal Party as a candidate for election to the House of Commons. But curiously enough such a person did not take any active part in the Congress movement. He did not attend any Congress at all before 1890, in which year he spoke in the Calcutta Congress on the expansion and reform of the Legislative Council. Nor did he stir out of Calcutta to join any other Congress session before or after his election as President in 1903. The resolution he moved in 1896, 1901 and 1906 was merely a vote of thanks. Pherozeshah Mehta while proposing Lalmohan as President in the Madras Congress referred to him, not with a very good grace, as a political *Togi*,¹¹ who had retired long from active political life. The criticism was not entirely unjustifiable. It is needless to say that such a person cannot be considered as belonging to the Inner Circle. But during the agitation over the partition of Bengal he came out of seclusion and suggested that the Bengalees should observe mourning for twelve months and relinquish all honorary offices.

Raja Rampal Singh, a rich Talookdar of Oudh, was a person of the most original character. He had lived in England for ten years and had studied there Latin, French and German languages and diverse subjects like Music and Logic. In 1883 he became the President of the National Representative Committee in London. He married an English

lady. But, as Nagendra Nath Gupta relates, neither his prolonged stay in England nor the English mode of living had produced the slightest effect upon his appearance and speech. He had long hairs flowing down his neck. According to G. Parameshwaram Pillai, he moved about with an enormous stick in hand and stammered when he spoke. This, however, did not deter him from making speeches. From a report published in the *Hindu* we learn that he went to Madras on a lecture tour nearly a year before the birth of the Congress and delivered a lecture at Madras on "India under Lord Lytton and Lord Ripon and its Future"¹². Raja Rampal Singh joined the Congress in 1886 and delivered as many as four speeches on subjects ranging from felicitation to Queen Victoria to the throwing open of the Army to Indian volunteers. He was rather regular in attending all the sessions of the Congress till 1896 and invariably spoke on three or four resolutions every year. He was entrusted with the duties of Secretary of the Reception Committee at the Allahabad session of the Congress in 1888. But he never rose to top-ranking leadership.

K. T. Telang (1850-1893) was one of the founders of the Indian National Congress. Soon after his death Dadabhai Naoroji referred to him as the 'first hard-working Secretary' of the Congress in Bombay. He added: "From the very first he had taken a warm interest and active part in our work, and even after he became a judge his sound advice was always at our disposal". But it appears rather inexplicable that he did not attend the second and third sessions of the Congress held in Calcutta and Madras. He was present, however, in the fourth Congress at Allahabad in 1888. Next year he was elevated to the Bench and as such precluded himself from open participation in Congress activities. His connection with the Congress was too short to make him a member of the inner circle.

The same remark applies to another great son of India, Pandit Ayodhyanath (1840-1892),

the distinguished father of the renowned public man Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru. He was an erudite scholar, an impressive speaker and an excellent organiser. Dr. Sachchidanand Sinha describes him as "a venerable figure. Though by no means tall, he looked majestic with his long flowing beard streaked with grey; and dressed as he was in the head-gear and the flowing costume, which obtained in Upper India in those days he impressed the audience as much by the *tout ensemble* as his address"¹³. As the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Congress at Allahabad in 1888 he fought like a lion against the stiff opposition of the highest officials of the Province and made the session highly successful. He attended and addressed every subsequent session of the Congress so long as he lived. He was one of those who insisted in 1891 that the Congress should continue to meet so long as all its demands were not fulfilled. He was a great force in the Congress, indeed, for four years, that is, from 1888 to 1891. Had Telang and Ayodhyanath lived longer they would have been able to guide the activities of the Congress with great distinction.

Both G. Subramania Iyer and S. Subramania Iyer were founder-members of the Congress. But while the former continued to take an active interest in the Congress till 1906, the latter did not attend any Congress after 1889. This absence cannot be explained by his appointment as a Judge of the Madras High Court, because he occupied that post from 1895 to 1907. He exerted considerable influence on the Congress organization during the first five years. G. Subramania Iyer wielded a powerful pen. He was the founder-editor of the *Hindu* and one of the organisers of the Madras Mahajana Sabha. He moved or supported important resolutions in the Congress at every session he attended. But he was never selected as President of the Congress, though within the period of thirty-three years covered by us only two Hindus from Madras, Ananda Charlu and Sankaran Nair, were ever asked to preside, as compared to 9 Bengalis, 3 Maras

of the Ahom language came to be confined to the Deodhai or priestly caste amongst the Ahoms. Chiring Phukan, the head of the Ahom priestly class, was employed at the court to maintain correspondence in the Ahom language with the Shan kingdom of Mogaung or Nara on the other side of the Patkai mountain in Burma. Under him worked a number of men versed in the Ahom language who had to read the ancient Ahom scriptures and copper plates and were thus the custodians of the Ahom language. The Ahom language therefore continued to be cultivated at the Ahom court till the end of Ahom rule in Assam and this is confirmed by the existence of copper plates and coins in the Ahom language of the reigns of later Ahom kings. The Deodhai Ahom Pandits continued to write the Buranjis in the Ahom language till the advent of the British.

Because of this circumstance we get Buranjis written both in the Ahom and the Assamese languages. The Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies (D.H.A.S.), Gauhati, has collected and preserved many such Buranjis, both Ahom and Assamese. As the Ahom language is practically a sealed book to us, we are to depend exclusively on the few translations of Ahom Buranjis made by Ahom scholars either into English or into Assamese. The English translation of one such Buranji "from the earliest times to the end of Ahom rule" by the late Golap Chandra Barua with the help of some Deodhai Pandits was published by the Government of Assam in 1930 under the title "Ahom Buranji". The same writer translated several other Ahom Buranjis also, and all those Buranjis were used by Sir Edward Gait in compiling his "History of Assam". Unfortunately, however, except the published Buranji mentioned above, the other translated Buranjis used by Gait are lost. The D. H. A. S., Gauhati, has preserved some other transcripts of Ahom Buranjis translated into Assamese by an Ahom scholar named Nandanath Deodhai Phukan. The same department has published several Buranjis in Assamese.

Regarding the Buranjis of the Ahoms, Gait remarked that they contain a careful, reliable and continuous narrative of Ahom rule in Assam². He further remarked that: "The historicity of these Buranjis is proved not only by the way they support each other, but also by the confirmation which is afforded by the narratives of Muhammadan writers, wherever these are available for comparison. Their chronology is further supported by the dates on various records which have been collected and collated for the purpose of checking it, including those on about 70 Ahom coins, 48 copper plates, nine rock and 28 temple inscriptions and six inscriptions on cannon."³ This remark of Gait of course, cannot be applied indiscriminately to all the Buranjis, both published and unpublished. In the first place, there is much discrepancy in several Buranjis written in Assamese in regard to dates given in the Saka era. Secondly, there are some Buranjis wherein some unhistorical facts have been incorporated in the midst of historical facts and again there are some Buranjis in which the events have not been narrated in a chronological order. The discrepancy in dates generally occur in the first half of Ahom rule in Assam. Even the date of Sukapha's entrance into Assam from Burma is not the same in all the Buranjis. This chronological defect of the Buranjis written in Assamese most probably arose due to the fact that the system of writing Buranjis in Assamese came into vogue at a much later period of Ahom rule, presumably when Assamese came to occupy the place of mother tongue amongst the majority of the Ahoms. The later writers writing in Assamese, therefore, had to depend regarding the regions of earlier Ahom kings, on the interpretations of the Ahom Buranjis made by the Deodhai Pandits. But the dates of the Ahom Buranjis were given in Ahom Laklis* and the Assamese Buranjis generally

* For an explanation of the Ahom Laklis (the Ahom system of chronology), refer Gait's *History of Assam*, second edition, Appendix B, pp. 367-68; Bhuyan, S.K., *Deodhai Assam Buranji*, First Edition, pp. 219-222. A conversion table has been given in the *Deodhai Assam Buranji*, illustrating the method of conversion of Ahom Laklis into dates in Saka era and Christian era.

dated events according to Saka era, save a few where Ahom Laklis were also used (e.g. Deodhai Assam Buranji). It is most probable that many of the errors in dates that crept into the Assamese Buranjis was the result of mistakes committed by the new writers in converting the Ahom Laklis into dates in Saka era. As the Buranjis used to be largely copied from one to another, these chronological errors also automatically passed from one Buranji to another. From the 17th century, the dates of the different Buranjis generally agree with one another. This suggests that the system of compiling Buranjis in the Assamese language came into vogue most probably either towards the end of the 16th or the beginning of the 17th century. As Dr. B. K. Barua says—"The dates of the composition of all these Buranjis have not definitely been ascertained; they were perhaps compiled over a long period, beginning from the late sixteenth to the early nineteenth century."⁴ Because of this circumstance some unhistorical facts, which were most probably written from oral reports, found their place in the Buranjis along with historical facts. This circumstance also explains to some extent why the chronological order has not been maintained in several Buranjis in describing the events. The dates given in Ahom Laklis are generally found to be correct. The chronological defects of the Buranjis, therefore, can be easily rectified by making a comparative study of the different Buranjis using Ahom Laklis and Saka era. This task is rather much easier than the task of solving the still unsolved chronological puzzles of the early period of Indian History. A critical and comparative study of the different Buranjis helps to solve the other defects as well. The remark of Dr. Sarkar that they (i.e. the Buranjis) are weak in content and chronology is therefore untenable. Highly rich in content, the Buranjis are the chief and original sources of information regarding the Ahom period of Assam history (1228-1826 A.D.). Without the help of the Buranjis it is impossible to write the Ahom period of Assam history in all its aspects, viz., political, social, economic and cultural. The

Buranjis primarily deal with political history no doubt; but there are many Buranjis which deal with social, economic, religious and cultural history of the Assamese people. Buranji Viveka Ratna, Part II, by Maniram Dutta Barbhandar Barua Dewan (unpublished), Assam Buranji by Padmeswar Singha Naoboicha Phukan (unpublished), Deodhai Assam Buranji (published), Assam Buranji by Hara Kanta Barua (published) etc. fall within this category. Besides dealing with political history, these Buranjis deal with administrative, social, economic, religious and other cultural aspects of the Assamese people. An unpublished Buranji entitled "Rajniti" exclusively deals with the functions, insignias and precedence of the principal officers of the Ahom government. The remark of Dr. Sarkar that the writers of the Ahom Buranjis 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 and that these limitations make these works unsuitable for political history is totally baseless. Both the Deodhai Pandits and Hindu Brahmans attributed a divine ancestry (descendants of Lengdon or Indra) to the Ahom rulers no doubt, but in narrating the story of the origin of the Ahom kings they actually narrated the story of real human beings and not of non-human agencies as remarked by Dr. Sarkar. This tendency of attributing a divine origin to the royal families can be traced in many parts of the world in the medieval period. The Stuart monarchs of England claimed divine right of kingship as late as the 17th century. Under these circumstances we should not be surprised in attributing a divine ancestry to the Ahom rulers. In this connection we may refer to Kalhana, the author of *Rajatarangini*, who is regarded by the Indian scholars to be the only Indian historian of ancient and medieval times. Kalhana emphasised the need for impartial veracity in historical writing and held that the 'historian, like a judge must be free from likes and dislikes in narrating the events of the past.' But in actual practice he fell far short of the ideal

this, 3 Parsis, 3 Indian Moslems, 2 U.P. men and 5 Europeans. One of the reasons which stood in the way of his selection was that on account of his advanced views on social reforms he was not liked much in his home province or in the conservative circle in other provinces. He was bold enough to practise what he preached. He gave his widowed daughter in marriage. He advocated through his paper that the Congress should not remain neutral on questions of social reform. Thus he wrote in 1891. "By giving prominence to certain social problems, it (the Congress) would run no risk of narrowing its national character. It would not repel politicians and it would attract many who are not primarily politicians..... It is not entirely a question of convenience. It is one that will ultimately have to be decided on grounds of moral duty and historical necessity and the time for the decision cannot be far distant"¹⁴. It was on this question, however, that the first split in the rank of Mahratta leaders took place in 1895. Damodar Hari Chapekar, who was hanged for the murder of Rand, writes in his autobiography that the social reformers were far more pernicious than the Congress agitators.¹⁵ G. Subramania Iyer was selected as one of the Congress delegates to England to represent the cause of India, when he ventured to go there, in violation of the caste rules, to give evidence before the Welby Commission.

We have, so far, eliminated 9 out of the 18 names mentioned in the song sung in chorus at the sitting of the Congress in 1904. Of the remaining nine, Allan Octavian Hume (1829-1912) stands out foremost. He was maligned during his lifetime by the official circle in India and the Imperialists in England. In the House of Commons one Mr. Maclean said during the debate on the India Council Bill on April 25, 1892 that "Mr. Hume, the Secretary of the Congress, a pensioner of the Government who under a less mild rule than ours would be hanged or shot as a traitor". In a letter dated June 23, 1886, addressed to Northbrook, Dufferin characterised Hume as "cleverish, a

little cracked, excessively vain and absolutely indifferent to truth". In a letter to Cross, dated November 18, 1888 he called Hume an idiot. In another letter dated December 3, addressed to the same person he said that many persons had been watching with wonder "the immunity extended to what in its views are the insubordinate proceedings of the Congress-wallahs, such as Mr. Hume's foolish threats of insurrection and dissemination of the libels and calumnies contained in the Tamil catechism and similar publications"¹⁶. It is against all canons of historical criticism to place absolute reliance on the estimation of the character of a person by his professed political opponents. But some recent writers have disregarded this elementary principle while writing about Hume. He has even been disowned as the father of the Congress and depicted as one forlorn figure, disclaimed by his colleagues, Indians as well as Europeans. The circular letter Hume addressed to every member of the Congress on the 16th February, 1892, was marked "private and confidential", but the *Morning Post* of Allahabad published it in extenso. In it Hume pointed out that poverty, injustice and despair might drive the people to take recourse to revolution. The only way to avert this was to get implemented the reforms advocated by the Congress. He, therefore, implored the members of the Congress to make handsome contributions so that deputations might constantly be sent to Great Britain and large number of pamphlets, leaflets etc. printed and circulated there. These were, according to him, the only means of awakening the British public to a sense of duty to India. The mere talk of revolution, frightened men like P. M. Mehta, D.-E. Wacha and Pandit Bishumbhar Nath so much that they induced the Bombay and Allahabad Standing Committees to stop the circulation of the letter. It is probably on account of these that W. C. Bonnerjee considered it safer to state in his Presidential address in 1892: "The Congress movement is only to some extent, and I may say, only a limited extent due to the influence which Mr. Hume has exercised over us". But Eardly Norton, speaking on behalf of

Madras Committee, said that the letter "breathed nothing but a simple strain of the purest loyalty to the Queen". He further added that Mr. Hume "was a man than whom no Englishman had a better knowledge of the native aspirations and the causes from which they spring"¹⁷. Gokhale also said: "All that the Indian National Congress had done during the seven years of its existence was principally Mr. Hume's work"¹⁸. Had Hume lost his influence over the Congress, almost all its leaders would not have pressed him to continue as Secretary in 1893. He left India finally in 1894 but year after year he was elected Secretary, sometimes on a motion from the Chair, till he relinquished the post in 1906 at the age of 77. So long as he was in India he took meticulous care to indicate the particulars of those who delivered speeches in the Congress by putting against their name, their serial number in the list of Delegates. As this practice was given up after 1896 and as numerous mistakes disfigured the official Report of the Congress it became extremely difficult to find out who was who among the Congress speakers.

Hume was revered by every Congressman as the father of the Congress. Like a father he would sometimes rebuke even an elderly Congressman like Wacha, who complained about it once to Dadabhai Naoroji. The latter wrote him on May 31, 1889, "Trust him as one with whose scolding we must put up as we would do of an elder brother or father. We cannot repay him adequately for what he has done and is doing for us"¹⁹. G. Parameshwaram Pillai wrote of him in 1899: "A man of strong feelings and pronounced views, he is strong in his adjectives and even vehement in his denunciations. But beneath his vehemence you perceive the swell of his soul, his sleepless humanity"²⁰.

At a memorial meeting held in the Town Hall, Calcutta on the 28th August, 1912, Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh said that in founding the Congress Hume showed the highest form of courage.²¹ At Bankipore session, the Congress

placed on record that Allan Octavian Hume was the father and founder of the Indian National Congress. The motion was moved by Bhupendra Nath Basu, and seconded by Pandit Motilal Nehru. Basu related how on meeting Hume after a lapse of twenty years in the Committee Room of the British Committee of the Congress he bowed his head to the ground and took the dust of his feet. Hume was then 85 years old; and yet he recognised Basu, embraced him and shed tears of joy²². Pandit Motilal Nehru said: "He taught us how to fight bloodless battles of constitutional reform. He took us by the hand; he adopted us, if I may say so, as his children, and he taught us the right way to take Well may we, our children and our children's children remember the name of Mr. Allan Hume through succeeding generations with gratitude and reverence"²³. But within 52 years of the utterance of these words some Indian scholars have rushed forward to disclaim his fatherhood of the Congress and to describe him as a mere wet nurse. R. N. Mudholkar in his Presidential address described Hume as "the father, the founder of the Congress, he who worked for it day and night, winter and summer, through good repute and ill, to tend, to nourish, the child of his affection." It has been said that maternity is a certainty while paternity is a matter of opinion. Is it reasonable to deny his fatherhood of the Congress when so many eminent leaders of India attribute it to him?

Hume with his enormous influence could have become the President of the Congress any time he liked. But he seems to have passed a self-denying ordinance against himself. During the last eighteen years of his life he preferred to carry on the work of the Congress from England. Sir William Wedderburn was closely associated with him in all the activities undertaken by the British Committee of the Indian National Congress. Wedderburn was an official of the Bombay Government when the first Congress met in Bombay. He attended the session and ever afterwards took a keen interest in promoting the aims and objects of the

historian. Because, he not only repeated legends and stories of the past in respect of ancient history, but stated some absurd facts without any comment. He says that king Ranaditya ruled for three hundred years and that Megha-bahana conquered Ceylon by the grace of the God Varuna who made the sea rigid so that Kashmir troops could cross it on foot.⁴ In this respect the writers of the Ahom and Assamese Buranjis seem to be superior to Kalhana. They possessed a fully developed historical sense. For, in none of the Buranjis do we find the writers attributing an unusually long period like three hundred years to a single ruler. Except a few legends which describe some exaggerated facts, the Buranjis deal with the activities of human beings. They are therefore not quasi-historical literature as remarked by Dr. Sarkar, and these were never written to please the patron or amuse the people. They

not only supply materials for political history, but also for social, economic and cultural history. In other words, the Buranjis are indispensable for writing the Ahom period of Assam history. Under these circumstances, it is difficult to accept Kashmir as the only area possessing a tradition of historical writing, and Kalhana as the only Indian historian of the ancient and medieval times.

The method of writing these Buranjis was, of course, archaic. It differs completely from the modern scientific method. But we must be cautious in this respect and should not try to judge the works of the medieval period with the modern standard. It would not be proper to expect a perfect style of writing in the medieval period when human knowledge about many things of the world was quite imperfect.

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⁵ *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol. III, Number 3, 1963-64, p. 114, paper read by Dr. K.K. Pillay, Prof. and Head of the Department of Indian History and Culture, University of Madras, on the Symposium on Historical Research in Indian Universities.

COURSES OF STUDY

Karnatak University (Dharwar)

B.A. EXAMINATION (HISTORY MAJOR)

Paper I Indian History from the early times to 1206 A.D.

Paper II Modern Europe (1789—1950)

Paper III Indian History (1206—1707)

Paper IV Indian History (1707—1950)

Paper V Constitutional History of Modern Britain (1485—1950)

or

Constitutional History of Modern India (1485—1960)

Lucknow University

B.A. HONOURS EXAMINATION

Group A

Paper I Arabs and Turks in India (712—1206 A.D.)

Paper II History of Indian National Movement (1885—1946)

Paper III Cultural History of Medieval India (1200—1707 A.D.)

Paper IV The Age of the Mughals (1556—1707 A.D.)

Paper V Rise of the Marathas (From Shivaji to Balaji Baji Rao)

or

History of the Rajputs (1200—1707 A.D.)

or

History of the Sikhs (Down to the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh)

Paper VI Modern Great Britain (1801—1950)

Paper VII Modern India. Political, Constitutional and Administrative Aspects

Group B

Paper I Classical (Græco-Roman) Civilisation

Paper II The Middle Ages

Paper III History of Greece and Rome

or

The Middle Ages

Paper IV English History (1485—1760)

Paper V The Age of the French Revolution (1763—1815)

Paper VI English History (1760—1914)

Paper VII One of the following:—

(a) British Colonial History

(b) History of the Near and Middle East (1815—1915)

(c) History of the Far East (1815—1914)

Congress. He was the only Britisher to be elected President twice—in 1889 and 1910. When Sir Henry Cotton came to India to preside over the Bombay session in 1904, Wedderburn accompanied him and delivered a short speech on the need of sending a delegation to England. This is the only occasion when he chose to speak from the Congress platform as an ordinary delegate. Though he usually spent his time in England, yet he may be said to be one of the few persons in the Inner Circle of the Congress. He wrote numerous letters to Gokhale and other leading personalities of the Congress, giving advice as to the course to be adopted by the organization. His letters to Gokhale are preserved in the original in the National Archives. It was a habitual practice of the Congress to move a vote of thanks to Wedderburn almost every year.

Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917) is rightly considered as a patriarch of the Congress. He was one of the founders of the Bombay Association in 1852 and of the East India Association in London in 1867. He is the only person who was called upon to preside over the Congress session three times during the period selected by us (1889, 1893 and 1906). But like William Wedderburn he spoke at only one Congress as an ordinary delegate. This was in 1885 when he delivered two speeches on the reform of the Legislative Council and one each on resolutions relating to the Enquiry into the Condition of India and the Covenanted Service. He was at that time a member of the Bombay Legislative Council. In March, 1886, he went to England with a view to standing as a candidate for election to the House of Commons. He came back to India just to preside over the Calcutta session of the Congress and went back to England, where after an effort of six years he succeeded in winning the election from the Central Finsbury constituency by a majority of three votes (2959 to 2956) on July 6, 1892. As the first Indian M. P., he was honoured by the Congress with a second term of Presidentship in 1893. But he had to spend practically all his time in England till 1907 when at the

eighty-third year he finally came back to India to spend the rest of his life in retirement. He had thus very little opportunity for guiding the Congress affairs in India from day to day. But London was the heart and centre of Congress activities in those days. Dadabhai Naoroji collaborated with Hume, Wedderburn and W. C. Bonnerjee in enlisting active support for the political aspirations of India. He also wrote a very large number of letters to the active workers of the Congress in India. Mahatma Gandhi has described how he found him in England "writing his letters in copying ink", and preparing press copies himself in his garret which was "perhaps eight feet by six feet". In his letters he offered advice as to what sort of person should be selected as President of the Congress²⁵ and how the fight for the rights of Indians should be conducted in South Africa. Gokhale admitted that he could think of no mean thought and conceive no mean project in the presence of three persons, namely, Dadabhai Naoroji, M. G. Ranade and M. K. Gandhi²⁶.

In the nineteenth century Dadabhai Naoroji was actuated by a strong faith in the sincerity of desire of the Britishers to follow a just and right policy in India. In his Presidential speech in 1893 he said: "The British people are willing to grant what is shown to be reasonable". In 1906, however, he admitted that the disappointments he had met in his political efforts "were sufficient to break any heart, and lead one to despair and even, I am afraid, to rebel". Some Nationalists dared to jeer at Naoroji for this change of front²⁷. Gokhale replied "whether Mr. Dadabhai used mild words or bitter words, our place is round his standard—by his side. Whoever repudiates Dadabhai he is none of us. Whoever tries to lay rude and irreverent hands on him, strike him down"²⁸.

In 1903 Lalmohan Ghosh referred to some people becoming Despots in the Congress circle. Pherozeshah Mehta (1845-1915) thought that the reference was to his own self and replied: "can there be any greater calumny

on a mild Parsee than that"? Commenting on this incident the *Madras Standard* wrote: "Even if Mr. Mehta be a despot, we would rather have the Congress led by him than by the most popular of our democrats. If the Congress is to be under the despotism of one man, it will be to its advantage to be under the despotism of such a man as Mr. Mehta, perhaps the ablest and the most picturesque of Congress leaders". The question arose because he got the Reception Committee of the Ahmedabad Congress to select Surendranath Banerjee as President in 1902 in disregard of the wishes of many who wanted to honour Kalicharan Banerjee as the first Indian Christian President of the Congress. Men like G. Subramania Iyer and Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha condemned this step as undemocratic because the Congress Committees of other Provinces were not consulted. In the Bombay session of the Congress in 1904 Lala Murlidhar, a Pleader of Ambala, complained in the Subjects Committee that Pherozeshah bore down all opposition and carried away everything his own way. Pherozeshah Mehta asked as to why the members did not press their views upon the Committee and carry it with them. Lala Murlidhar interjected: "but your personality carries everything before it". Mehta quickly retorted: "I can't help my personality, gentlemen, can I?"

When did Pherozeshah Mehta become the leader of the Congress? His biographer puts his activities in the years between 1889 and 1890 under the caption "Leader of the Congress". But the official reports of the Congress reveal that his attendance at the Congress throughout the last fifteen years of the last century was most sporadic. He took active part, indeed, in the Congress in 1885, but he was absent in the Congress sittings both in Calcutta and at Madras in 1886 and 1887. Had he got a genuine interest in the Congress in these formative years he would not have absented himself. He was present, indeed, at the Allahabad session of the Congress in 1888. In 1889 he was the Chairman of the Reception Committee for the Bombay session. Next year

the leaders of the Congress tried to persuade Herbert Gladstone and several others to accept the Presidentship of the Congress, but as their efforts did not succeed, they offered it to Pherozeshah M. Mehta. He attended the Congress at Nagpur in 1891 but practically for the whole of next eight or nine years, 1892 to 1900, we find him absent from the Congress. In the list of delegates to the Congress session held at Poona in 1895, his name occurs indeed, but we do not find him as a speaker on the Congress platform. It is highly improbable that he remained merely a silent spectator. It is likely that after having got his name registered, he did not attend, or that he just paid a flying visit to Poona for a few hours. How could he maintain his leadership in spite of such long absence? It must be stated in this connection that Pherozeshah M. Mehta was an exceptionally busy man. Apart from his extensive practice at the Bar, he had to look after the affairs of the Bombay Corporation of which he was a member for 46 years and of the University of Bombay, of which he was a member of the Senate for 40 years. He had to devote considerable time to the Supreme Legislative Council, and the Bombay Legislative Council, of which according to the rules of those days, one could be a member simultaneously. He had to absent himself from the Governor General's Legislative Council too. For example, we find him absent at most of the sittings of the Supreme Legislative Council of 1894. He, however, began to take greater interest in Congress affairs from 1901. His leadership, therefore, became effective in the Congress circle during the last fifteen years of his life. Gokhale wanted that people should obey him implicitly. In a speech delivered in Madras he said: "It is true that we have not got many single-minded leaders in the country to lead us, but we are not wholly without them. We have one such man in Sir Pherozeshah Mehta—earnest and patriotic, possessing high abilities and qualified in every way to lead the country"³¹. Tilak and his Nationalist followers, however, offered stiff opposition to his leadership. The rift between the two groups was avoided with

Karnatak University (Dharwar)**M.A. EXAMINATION**

Paper I Archaeology and Ancient History of India (till 1000 A.D.)

Paper II British Constitutional History

Paper III Modern European History (1789—1950)

Paper IV American History (1765—1960)

Paper V A special period of Karnatak History (Vijaynagara till 1565)

Paper VI Ancient Indian Political Thought and Institutions (from the earliest times till 1000 A.D.)

Paper VII Historical Method and Thought

Paper VIII A Century of Asian History (1860—1960 A.D.)

Lucknow University**Group A**

M.A. PART I.—Four Papers of B.A. Honours

M.A. PART II.—Four Papers and a viva-voce test

Paper I History of Avadh from Shuja-ud-daula to Wajid Ali Shah

or

Medieval India (1206 to 1556 A.D.)

or

Dissertation

Paper II Medieval Indian Monuments

Paper III Indian History (1740—1805)

Paper IV Indian History (1813—1856)

Group B**M.A. PART I**

Paper I Political History of England (1485—1815)

Paper II Constitutional History of England (1485—1714)

Paper III The Age of Revolution (1789—1848)

Paper IV Modern Europe (1848—1914)

M.A. PART II

Paper I England since 1815

Paper II History of the U.S.A.

Paper III The Western World since 1914

Paper IV One of the following:—

(a) The Middle East, 1815—1945

(b) The Far East, 1815—1945

(c) South East Asia, 1815—1945

(d) History of Latin America, 1815—1945

(e) Modern Africa since 1884

Group C—Composite Modern History**M.A. PART I**

Paper I Babar to Shah Jahan (1526—1656)

Paper II History of India (1851—1939)

Paper III History of England (1485—1815)

Paper IV History of Europe (1500—1789)

M.A. PART II

Paper I Alamgir to Alamgir

Paper II History of India (1740—1856)

Paper III England since 1815

Paper IV History of Europe (1789—1918)

Ancient Indian History and Archaeology**B.A. HONOURS**

Paper I Political History of Ancient India (B.C. 185—A.D. 320)

Paper II Political History of Ancient India (500—800 A.D.)

Group A

Paper I The Ancient Civilisations of the World (with special reference to Sumeria, Babylonia, Egypt, Assyria, Iran and China)

Paper II History of Ancient India from 600 B.C. to 269 A.D.

Paper III Aśoka (with a study of his inscriptions in the original)

Paper IV Religious, Social and Economic Life in Ancient India

Paper V Field Archaeology

Paper VI Hindu Iconography

Group B

Papers I, II, III, IV—same as in Group 'A'

Paper V Hindu Polity

Paper VI Historical Geography of Ancient India

or

Political and Cultural History of South and South-East Asia (Part I—Ceylon-Burma)

M.A. PART I**Group A**

Paper I History of Ancient India (600 B.C.—269 A.D.)

Paper II Aśoka (with a study of his inscriptions in the original)

Paper III Religious, Social and Economic Life in Ancient India

Paper IV Field Archaeology

Paper V Hindu Iconography

Group B

Paper I History of Ancient India (600 B.C.—269 A.D.)

Paper II Aśoka

Paper III Religious, Social and Economic Life in Ancient India

Paper IV Hindu Polity

Paper V Historical Geography of Ancient India or Political and Cultural History of South and South-East Asia (Part I—Ceylon-Burma)

great difficulty in 1906. G. S. Khaparde writes in his unpublished Diary, dated the 24th December, 1906: "Sir Pherozeshah was very gushing, put his arms round my neck and did other things which very much surprised me. This means there was to be strife between the old and the new school. He is said to be an adept in imposing his will on others both by cajoling and threatening"³². The Moderates or Constitutionalists were forced to admit Tilak's amendment in the Subjects Committee. Khaparde gives an inside view of the Subjects Committee thus: "Sir Pherozeshah Mehta wished to sit near the President. This was objected to and there was a good deal of discussions. One thing very noticeable was that Sir P. Mehta and all old leaders generally had lost their influence. Sir P. Mehta tried to lecture the delegates but they would not stand it. He was repeatedly told to sit down. Even the President had to rule him out of order. Madan Mohan Malaviya made quite an exhibition of himself and Gokhale walked about and talked like a woman with a complaint"³³. Lala Lajpat Rai invited the Congress to Lahore, but his offer was declined as the Punjab was then seething with great discontent. Nagpur was selected as the next venue of the Congress. But when it was found in September, 1907, that the Nationalists were very powerful there, the Congress Committee met at the house of Pherozeshah and decided to have the meeting at Surat. Several Nationalist gentlemen had gone to Bombay to plead for Nagpur but Mehta's Darwan turned them out. G. S. Khaparde states in his Diary that a shoe was hurled at Tilak in the Surat Congress, but it struck Surendranath and Pherozeshah M. Mehta.³⁴ That the shoe was aimed at Tilak is also corroborated by Jayakar³⁵ and the Bombay Police Report,³⁶ though all the biographers of Tilak are silent about it.

Pherozeshah M. Mehta was selected as President of the Lahore session of the Congress in 1909. But he resigned only six days before the meeting without stating any reason. The Bombay correspondent of the *Capital*, however,

stated that he apprehended big demonstration against him by the discontented Nationalists and therefore considered it prudent to decline the honour. He was determined to keep out the Nationalists from the Congress at any cost. When Bhupendra Nath Basu asked his opinion for the proposed reunion of the parties, he ridiculed the idea as "mawkish sentimentality". His unbending attitude was responsible for the weakening of the cause of the Congress. The number of delegates dwindled to 243 at Lahore, 446 in the Calcutta session in 1911 as compared to 1663 in 1906 and to 207 at the Bankipore session in 1912.

The influence of W. C. Bonnerjee (1844-1906) was far greater than that of any other Indian leader in the nineteenth century. Thus writes G. Parameshwaram Pillai about him in the last year of the last century: "Throughout India, no Congressman commands greater respect from his countrymen than Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee. It was he who captured brains and money for it (the Congress). He captured brains when he captured Bradlaugh. He captured money when he captured Darbhanga"³⁷. He was senior to Surendranath by four years only but the number of his friends in the official and aristocratic circle was far greater than that of Surendranath. It was he who arranged for the "Boarding house" for Surendranath when the latter went to England to compete for the I. C. S. examination. He defended Surendranath in the famous contempt case and went with him to England on deputation for the Congress in 1890. There does not appear to have been any jealousy or rivalry between Surendranath and W. C. Bonnerjee. He must have been one of the few persons who were responsible for selecting Dadabhai Naoroji as the President in 1886. Dadabhai said in his Presidential address that he got intimation about his selection only two days before the meeting. W. C. Bonnerjee must have been eager to return the compliment he had received from the Bombay leaders. He gave an insight into the process of selecting the President when in course of proposing William Wedder-

burn he said that a Hindu, a Parsee, a Muslim and an Englishman, George Yule, had been selected as Presidents in the four years and in 1889 "the next President ought, according to the process which we followed, to have been a gentleman belonging to the Eurasian community". He even mentioned the name of D. S. White but as the latter was lying ill and soon afterwards died, a retired British official was selected to succeed a non-official person of the European community. Khaparde relates how on the 31st. December, 1897, when he was the Chairman of the Reception Committee at Amraoti: "Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee in parting said that he would see me President of the Congress in a year or two. It was very kind of him to say so and I thanked him"^{38a}.

W. C. Bonnerjee was generally very regular in attending the Congress. He could not be present in the Calcutta Congress in 1890 because of the illness and death of his third son. The resolution for election of the President and the appointment of Hume as Secretary was usually moved by him in the early years of the Congress. He was one of the three Standing Counsels of the Congress, the other two being Pherozeshah Mehta and Ananda Charlu. Like Hume and Wedderburn he attached much more importance to the propaganda work in Great Britain than in India. He does not appear to have been present in the Congress in 1898, 1899 and 1900, probably because of his failing health. He finally settled in England in 1902, where he lost his eye-sight in 1904 and died in 1906.

Like W. C. Bonnerjee, Surendranath was twice elected as President. C. Y. Chintamani writes: "Whoever might be President, Surendranath Banerjee was, session after session, the central figure in the Congress"^{38b}. Nevins paid a handsome tribute to his oratorical power when he wrote: "Except for Mr. Gladstone, I have heard no speakers use the grand rhetorical style of English with more assurance and success"³⁹. G. Parameshwaram Pillai states more emphatically: "If there is one man in all

India who at the present moment could, by the power of his tongue, stir up a rebellion or suppress a revolt, that is Mr. Surendranath Banerjee"⁴⁰. He further writes: "President or no President, he is recognised as one of the pillars of the Congress. Long before the Congress had become a reality, he had developed himself into a power in Bengal". But it is curious to note that he never acquired the influence which Hume, W. C. Bonnerjee or Pherozeshah Mehta exercised. Bepin Chandra Pal writes with absolute frankness: "Though the Congress leaders dared not keep him out, and was subsequently ever ready to exploit Surendra Nath's powers and influence in aid of their work, it is needless to conceal the fact that he never came to the actual leadership of this body; but on the contrary, with the spirit of accommodation, characteristic of the man, he has all along submitted to be led and exploited by his rivals, many of whom never cared even to conceal their want of regard for his personality or their want of appreciation of his worth"⁴¹.

No other person in the Congress was more regular in taking an active part in the deliberations of the Congress than Surendranath. Between 1886 and 1917 he was absent only at the Karachi session in 1913. We find even the energetic Secretary of the Congress like Wacha absent from the Congress platform in 1887, 1896, 1901, 1905, 1906. Malaviya did not deliver any speech in 1895, 1898, 1911, 1913 and 1914. Gokhale considered it prudent to remain silent from 1897 to 1903 because some demonstration was staged against him for his tendering an apology to the Government for a statement he made in England regarding the oppression of officials entrusted with the prevention of plague. R. N. Mudholkar was another regular figure on the Congress platform, but he too was absent during the first three years of the life of the Congress as well as in 1889, 1897, 1902, 1909 and 1910. Whenever there was any need of appealing for funds Surendranath was requested to make the appeal, which invariably evoked immediate response.

M.A. PART II

Group A

Paper I The Gupta Age (Either Sources or General)

or

Essay or Thesis.

Paper II Epigraphy

Paper III Numismatics

Paper IV Architecture, Sculpture and Painting.

Group B

Paper I Same as Paper I of Group 'A'

Paper II Vedic Age (upto 700 B.C.)

Paper III Ancient Indian Monuments

Paper IV Political and Cultural History of South and South-East Asia upto 1300 A.D. (Part II—Hindu States in South-East Asia)

or

Bronze and Copper Age in India

RULES FOR RESEARCH DEGREES

(Summarised from Official Regulations)

Lucknow University

(i) FOR PH. D. EXAMINATION

I. Applications for permission to enter upon a course of study for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy must be made at the commencement of any University term through the Head of the Department concerned, and the Dean of the Faculty of Arts, mentioning the name of the teacher under whom a candidate proposes to work and also the subject of research.

Students obtaining less than 48% marks in the aggregate in the M.A. examination be not admitted to Ph.D. class.

II. A candidate may indicate the supervisor under whom he desires to pursue research. But the approval of the supervisor will be made by a Committee consisting of the Head of the Department and the internal members of the Board of Studies concerned with powers to co-opt any specialist, if necessary. The period of his registration will be counted after the prescribed test.

Before the subject is approved it should be scrutinised and recommended by the Committee of internal members of the Board of Studies in the Department concerned. The supervisor will be co-opted to the Committee by the Head of the Department and he may co-opt any other member in consultation with the Dean.

Only members of the Department with a minimum of 5 years teaching experience of post-graduate class or with a doctorate degree shall be appointed as supervisor to guide the Ph.D. thesis. Retired members of the staff can also be appointed as supervisor to guide Ph.D. thesis.

III. The Head of the Department and the Supervisor concerned will conduct a written and

viva voce test at the end of six months of a student's admission to Ph.D. class. His admission and registration will be cancelled if he fails in the test.

IV. Before a candidate is permitted to supplicate for the degree of Ph.D. he must be certified by the Head of the Department and the Dean to have been engaged in his research work for not less than two Academic Sessions or six terms.

Candidates who have taken the M.A. degree of the Lucknow University shall be exempted from residence in Lucknow by the permission of the Dean on the recommendation of the Head of the Department concerned.

Candidates who have taken the M.A. degree of any other University shall be required to reside in Lucknow for six terms before presenting their dissertations. The Head of the Department may grant permission to a candidate to reside outside Lucknow for purposes of collecting material for his thesis for not more than three terms out of these six terms; such exemption shall not be granted either for the first term or for the last (i.e. the sixth) term, nor for more than two consecutive terms.

Teachers and Research Assistants in the University or Associated Colleges who hold the degree of M.A. of this or any other University, may be permitted by the Faculty to present a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy after three years' service in the University or Associated Colleges.

V. A candidate will not be eligible to supplicate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy unless he has obtained a Certificate of Proficiency or a Diploma or Degree of this University or of any other approved University in a language included in one of the following groups:—

Dinshaw Edulji Wacha (1844-1936) was the Joint Secretary of the Congress from 1896 to 1906 and its Secretary from 1906 to 1912. As Hume had left India for good in 1894 the task of conducting the routine work of the Congress fell upon him in 1896. He discharged his duties so efficiently that he was selected as President of the Congress in 1901. He did not consider it beneath his dignity to resume the duties of the Joint Secretary after the expiry of the period of his Presidentship. The same was the case with Gokhale, who was elected as an associate of Wacha in performing the duties of Joint Secretary in 1904, was selected the President next year and again reverted to the post of Joint Secretary in 1906. Nawab Syed Muhammad Bahadur of Madras presided over the Congress session at Karachi in 1913 and immediately afterwards was elected its Secretary. This shows that the post of the Secretary was not less dignified than that of the President. D. A. Khare who was Joint Secretary of the Congress from 1909 to 1913 never rose to the position of the Secretary. The numerous letters which Dadabhai Naoroji wrote to Wacha from England even in 1885 show that he was considered to be a member of the Inner Circle of the Congress long before he became the Joint Secretary in 1896. Dadabhai Naoroji asked him on August 31, 1888 to induce Telang and Mehta to finance Digby's Agency in London. In another letter Dadabhai directed him to select an European as President of the Congress.⁴² In Economics, Wacha was an apt disciple of Dadabhai Naoroji. His political views were the same as held by Pherozeshah Mehta. He was equally rude to all who dared to talk of making any sort of compromise with the Nationalists. Jayakar relates how for this offence he was turned out of his house when he went there on an invitation from Setalvad and Jinnah.⁴³

Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915) attended the Congress for the first time in 1889. He was then a youngman of 23, and he was selected to be one of the speakers on two resolutions, namely, Reform of Legislative Council

and Employment of Indians to Civil Service. Ranade had got him selected as the Editor of the quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha in 1887, when he was only 21 years of age. He was the youngest of the Congress Presidents in 1905 when he was only 39 years of age. He probably owed this honour to the unique success he achieved in 1904 when as a member of the Congress delegation he delivered 45 speeches in 50 days in England⁴⁴. Surendranath Banerjea writes in his memoirs that it was Ranade, who sent a telegram to him offering the Presidentship of the Congress. He further adds that in those days: "The Reception Committee selected the President and their decision was acquiesced in without demur"⁴⁵.

Mahadeva Govinda Ranade (1842-1901) was the Small Cause Court Judge of Poona when the first session of the Congress was held in Bombay. But the meeting was more or less an informal gathering and Ranade did not hesitate even to make a speech in the Congress. As T. Allen Reid, President of the Phonetic Society of Great Britain, was entrusted with the task of taking down shorthand notes during the first eight years of the Congress, we have got a verbatim report of what Ranade said in the Congress in 1885. Though Ranade could never be a normal delegate to the Congress, yet in the words of Surendranath, "he was the power behind the throne, guiding, advising and encouraging the Congress leaders in their work". Even N. C. Kelkar, who belonged to the opposite camp, writes: "who does not know that Mr. Ranade was not only one of the founders of the National Congress but invariably used to avow his connection with it so far as an afternoon attendance at the assembly at the right hand of the President would show it"⁴⁶. Srinivas Shastri testifies to the influence of Ranade in the following words: "Precluded as he was from direct participation in the daily work of politics, his figure could always be seen in the intimate discussions of the Subjects Committee of the Congress. In every crisis he would interpose with his great authority

and the Congressmen of those days, giants though they were, were proud to acknowledge that Mr. Ranade kept them straight on the road of progress"⁴⁷. Swami Shraddhanand too, corroborates this with reference to the drafting of a resolution at the Lahore session in 1893, which was attended by Ranade, though he had been elevated to the Bench of the Bombay High Court shortly beforehand.⁴⁸

The song referred to at the beginning omits several important names like those of Ananda Charlu and Sankaran Nair of Madras, and Chandavarkar of Maharashtra, all of whom had become Presidents of the Congress before 1904. Ananda Charlu was the first South Indian to adorn the Presidential office in 1891. He was persuaded by Ranade to accept the office of the Joint Secretary in the Congress session held in 1892. In course of a paper on the Congress contributed by him in 1903 he wrote that the office of Joint General Secretary was forced upon him, and that Ranade assured him that "within a year or two of it, he, Mr. Ranade meant to retire on pension and become virtually whole-timed Indian Secretary—a step he was prevented from taking much to the detriment of the Congress—though for a wider benefit to himself and his country in other respects". Ananda Charlu, however, was too busy a lawyer to be able to perform the duties of Joint Secretary for more than a year. He regretted that none of the top-ranking leaders of the Congress could devote their whole-hearted attention to the Congress work. As regards Chandavarkar it must be stated that he remained absent from the Congress consecutively for nearly a decade, from 1890 to 1899, and was yet selected as President in 1900.

It is rather strange that no person from Bengal was ever officially elected as Secretary or Joint Secretary of the Congress upto the year 1917. But Janakinath Ghoshal, husband of Swarnakumari Devi and father of Sarala Devi, discharged practically many of the duties of the Secretary. At the Lahore Congress in 1893 Dadabhai Naoroji referred to him as "the in-

defatigable Secretary". The resolution for the election of the Secretary used to be moved by W.C. Bonnerjee, but as he was absent in 1893, Dadabhai Naoroji called upon Ghoshal to move it. Ghoshal said in his speech that he had been associated with Hume even before the birth of the Congress and found him arriving at the venue of the Congress several days before the meeting and departing last of all.⁵⁰ This shows that he was a collaborator with Hume in making arrangements for the Congress sessions. G. Parameshwaram Pillai corroborates this when he writes "*First to come, last to go, Mr. Ghosal is the pivot round which the Congress turns*". According to him Hume was the father of the Congress, Ghosal was its mother; and Raghunath Rao and G. Subramania Aiyer were the nurses that assisted at its birth. He further states: "Mr. Ghosal is the righthand man of the Congress President, who always sits to the President's left at the Congress. He is the President's encyclopaedia, his authority, his mainstay, his backbone, his adviser, his high priest, his plaything".⁵¹ In the Congress Reports we invariably find him reading out the rules of procedure for conducting the meeting. It was mainly his influence which stood in the way of the adoption of a formal constitution for the Congress before 1899. He was of the opinion that rigid rules would fetter the healthy growth of the Congress and he cited the example of England which had no written constitution at all. His influence was so great that even when the Constitution was adopted in 1899 on a motion from the Chair, which was occupied that year by Romesh Chandra Datta, many of its provisions were not given effect to. Ghoshal loved to display high social rank by constantly keeping at his heels a Moslem *chaprasi* with a flowing beard and attractive livery.

In conclusion, we may say that the task of the inner circle of the Congress was rather simple in those days. The drafting of a few resolutions, collecting a few thousands of rupees, especially for the British Committee of the Congress, and its organ, *India*, and leading a few deputations to the Government in India and more so to Britain were practically all that they had to do.

- A. German, French, Russian.
- B. Sanskrit, Pali, Arabic, Persian, Chinese.
- C. Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, Tamil.

Provided that the language chosen is not the mother tongue of the candidate.

VI. A maximum period of four years will be allowed for submitting the thesis, provided in special circumstances an extension may be given by the Dean, on the recommendation of the Supervisor and the Head of the Department concerned, provided further that no extension will be given after the expiry of a period of seven years from the date of admission of a candidate to the Ph.D. class or from the commencement of research work.

VII. There will be no exemption from payment of regular fees. Each case will be treated on its own merit as in the case of other students, provided that the Readers, Lecturers and Research Assistants of Lucknow University and teachers of Associated Colleges teaching under-graduate classes shall be exempted from payment of tuition fees.

VIII. A detailed progress report about the work of each research student will be submitted to the Dean, by the supervisor through the Head of the Department concerned at the end of each term. If the progress is not satisfactory in three consecutive terms his registration shall be cancelled.

IX. A candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy must submit three printed or type-written copies of the thesis accompanied by the prescribed fees. He shall also submit a brief abstract of his thesis and indicate in a prefatory note what part of the thesis he claims as original and what sources he has used.

A thesis which has already been presented for the M.A. degree will not again be accepted for the degree of Ph.D. but it may be wholly

or partly included in an extended investigation, provided that the part so included be clearly indicated. The thesis shall embody a definite contribution to knowledge.

X. If the examiners consider the thesis to be of sufficient merit they may recommend that the candidate should receive the degree without further examination or they may require him to undergo an examination, which may be written or oral or both, on the subject of his thesis.

The reports of examiners shall be laid before the Results Committee. If the Committee is satisfied that the reports of the Examiners are unanimous and definite, they may recommend to the Executive Council that the result be published. If, however, the reports show a divergence of opinion between the examiners, the Committee may direct that the reports be exchanged between them, the examiners being requested to submit a joint report, if possible. The Committee may, at its discretion and shall, if the reports are conflicting even after an exchange of views, refer the thesis to another external examiner.

XI. A candidate who is otherwise declared successful shall be required, before being awarded the degree, to undergo a *viva voce* test to be conducted by two examiners of whom one shall be an external and the other internal. Where the external examiners evaluating the thesis are from outside the country, one other external examiner may be specially appointed for the purpose.

XII. A printed or type-written copy of each accepted thesis will be lodged in the University Library where it will be open to public inspection.

A summary of not more than 1,000 words shall also be furnished by the candidates, to be published as the University may direct.

(ii) FOR D.LITT. EXAMINATION

I. Applicants for the degree of Doctor of Literature shall have taken the Ph.D. degree of the Lucknow University or any other approved University not less than five years before submitting their work for the D.Litt. degree.

Provided that a candidate who has not taken the Ph.D. degree from the University shall have carried on research for not less than three terms under the supervision of the University.

Provided further that the period of five years may be reduced in the case of Ph.D.'s who are first class M.A.'s of more than 10 years' standing with the approval of the Head of the Department concerned and the Dean of the Faculty of Arts.

Teachers and Research Assistants who have previously obtained the Master's degree and have been in the service of the University for not less than ten years, may be permitted by the Faculty to supplicate for the D.Litt. degree without having first obtained the Ph.D. degree.

II. The Faculty shall approve the subject of the candidate and appoint a supervisor to guide his research in the same manner as for Ph.D. candidates provided the supervisor had 10 years' teaching experience in post-graduate classes.

Provided further that permanent and whole-time teachers of the University undertaking post-graduate lecture work in the Faculty of Arts who are eligible to supplicate for the D.Litt. degree may, at their discretion, do so without any officially appointed supervisor.

III. Every candidate for the D.Litt. degree should submit the whole of the research work with all particulars about the portion which he claims as his own and what had been previ-

ously submitted and approved for another degree. Joint work may be submitted in support of candidature, but the degree shall not be awarded solely on the basis of this work.

IV. There shall be a *viva voce* examination as in the case of Ph.D.

V. A candidate for the degree of Doctor of Literature must submit three printed or type-written copies of the thesis together with three printed copies of the detailed summary of about 50 pages of the thesis accompanied by the prescribed fees.

VI. A thesis which has already been presented for the Ph.D. degree will not again be accepted for the degree of D.Litt., but it may be wholly or partly included in an extended investigation, provided that the part so included be clearly indicated. The thesis shall embody a definite contribution to knowledge.

VII. If the examiners consider the thesis to be of sufficient merit they may recommend that the candidate should receive the degree without further examination or they may require him to undergo an examination on the subject of his thesis.

The reports of the examiners shall be laid before the Results Committee. If the Committee is satisfied that the reports of the examiners are unanimous and definite, they may recommend to the Executive Council that the results be published. If, however, the reports show a divergence of opinion between the examiners, the Committee may direct that the reports be exchanged between them, the examiners being requested to submit a joint report, if possible. The Committee may, at its discretion and shall, if the reports are conflicting, even after an exchange of views, refer the thesis to another external examiner.

VIII. In the case of candidates who supplicate directly for the D.Litt. degree, under the existing rules or under those prevailing prior

It was not considered a part of their duty to mobilise public opinion before the Swadeshi agitation. Thoughtful persons felt the need of selecting an eminent person as the undisputed leader of the country. In 1904 Gokhale suggested Pherozeshah Mehta for leadership. Rabindranath Tagore suggested the name of Surendranath Banerjea in a lecture delivered at Baghbazar, Calcutta, in the spacious compound of Pasupatinath Basu on the 28th April, 1906.⁵² He described Surendranath as the foremost of all those who were famous as leaders, as one whose head raised like the peak of sky-reaching mountain in the midst of clouds impregnated with thunders. He did not expect that everybody would agree to such a proposal, but he called upon those who did so to free him from his daily worries, so that he could maintain the dignity of the supreme leader of the country. It was in response to his call that a ceremony described as the coronation of Surendranath was held. But

as it smacked of setting up a rival authority to that of Edward VII, those who participated in the function tried to belittle its importance. Nevins on must have been giving their version when he wrote: "Surendranath was honoured by a *common Indian ceremony of 'benediction'* in a private house on September 5, 1906. It was an affair of an umbrella, a chaplet garlands and the recitation of verses from the Vedas. An English correspondent described that as a solemn coronation of Mr. Banerjee"⁵³. The fact was that neither the people were ready to obey the leader implicitly, nor was the leader prepared, either in eastern or in western India, to sacrifice everything for the sake of his people and the country. The Inner Circle of the Congress, wedded to the safe policy of constitutional movement, succeeded in keeping out of power the two *Togis*—Sri Aurobindo and Lokmanya Tilak, who would have been ready to make any sacrifice for the motherland.

Abbreviations:

HFM Source Materials for the History of Freedom Movement (Bombay)
RINC Report of the Indian National Congress

References:

- ¹ RINC 1904, pp. 2-3.
- ² Henry Cotton—Indian and Home Memories, p. 203.
- ³ Henry Cotton—New India, p. 6.
- ⁴ Ibid., p. 71.
- ⁵ Hindustan Review, 1906 October and November, p. 301.
- ⁶ Indian and Home Memories, p. 199.
- ⁷ R. P. Masani—Dadabhai Naoroji, p. 31.
- ⁸ RINC 1886, p. 11.
- ⁹ Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Council, 1895, p. 494.
- ¹⁰ The Indian People, Feb. 9, 1905, p. 82.
- ¹¹ RINC 1903, p. 7.
- ¹² The Hindu, January 9, 1885.
- ¹³ To the Gates of Liberty, Congress Commemoration Volume, 1947, p. 129.
- ¹⁴ The Hindu, January, 14, 1891.
- ¹⁵ Autobiography of Chapekar, printed in the HFM II, p. 978.
- ¹⁶ Letters of Dufferin have been quoted from an article entitled "Hume, Dufferin and the origins of the Indian National Congress" by Anthony Parel, published in the Journal of Indian History, Dec. 1964, pp. 707-720.
- ¹⁷ HFM II, pp. 116-123.
- ¹⁸ Speeches of Gokhale (Natesan), p. 897. Also see William Wedderburn's Life of A. O. Hume, p. 63 for

Gokhale's estimate of Hume's services.

- ¹⁹ R. P. Masani—Dadabhai Naoroji, p. 309.
- ²⁰ G. Parameshwaram Pillai—Indian Congressmen (Madras, 1899), p. 37.
- ²¹ Speeches by Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh (Calcutta, 1915), p. 191.
- ²² RINC 1912, p. 50.
- ²³ Ibid., p. 52.
- ²⁴ Masani's Dadabhai Naoroji, Foreword of Mahatma Gandhi.
- ²⁵ Ibid., p. 311.
- ²⁶ Srinivas Sastri—My Master Gokhale, p. 220.
- ²⁷ N. C. Kelkar on Dadabhai Naoroji, published in the quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha, 1916, p. 162.
- ²⁸ William Wedderburn—A. O. Hume, p. 95, where Gokhale's speech delivered in 1905 is quoted.
- ²⁹ Homi Mody—Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, p. 251.
- ³⁰ Ibid., p. 255.
- ³¹ Srinivas Sastri: *op. cit.* p. 249.
- ³² National Archives, Khaparde Papers, p. 509.
- ³³ Ibid., p. 517.
- ³⁴ Ibid., p. 550.
- ³⁵ M. R. Jayakar: The Story of my Life I, pp. 82-83.
- ³⁶ HFM II, pp. 151-152.
- ³⁷ G. Parameshwaram Pillai: *op. cit.* p. 7.
- ³⁸ National Archives—Khaparde Papers, p. 466.
- ³⁹ C. Y. Chintamani: Indian Politics since the Mutiny, p. 46.
- ⁴⁰ Nevins on—The New Spirit in India, p. 215.

- ⁴⁰ G. P. Pillai: *op. cit.* p. 19.
- ⁴¹ Bipin Chandra Pal—Indian Nationalism, its Principle and Personalities, p. 98.
- ⁴² Masani—Dadabhai Naoroji, p. 306 and 311.
- ⁴³ M. R. Jayakar, *op. cit.* I, p. 2.
- ⁴⁴ J. S. Hoyland—Gopal Krishna Gokhale, p. 107.
- ⁴⁵ HFM II, p. 982.
- ⁴⁶ Surendranath Banerjea—A Nation in Making, p. 138.
- ⁴⁷ N. C. Kelkar—Pleasures and Privileges of the Pen,

- p. 108.
- ⁴⁷ Srinivas Sastri—My Master Gokhale, p. 212.
- ⁴⁸ Swami Shraddhananda—Inside Congress, p. 27.
- ⁴⁹ Hindustan Review, July-August, 1903.
- ⁵⁰ G. Parameshwaram Pillai—Indian Congressmen, p. 39.
- ⁵¹ Rabindra Rachanavali, Vol. X, p. 652 (Visvabharati edition).
- ⁵² Henry W. Nevins on—The New Spirit, in *India*, Sept. 5, 1906.

to 1937, the Committee may ask the examiners to say whether in the event of their considering the thesis submitted not to be of insufficient merit for the D.Litt. degree, they would recommend that the degree of Ph.D. be awarded to the candidate.

IX. A printed or type-written copy of each accepted thesis will be lodged in the University Library where it will be open to public inspection.

A summary of not more than 1,000 words shall also be furnished by the candidate to be published as the University may direct.

Karnatak University, Dharwar

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III. No candidate shall be registered for a Master's Degree and Ph.D. simultaneously, provided always that a candidate who is registered for a Master's degree by research may be permitted on the recommendation of the University teacher guiding his studies, notwithstanding the fact that the teacher may be a recognized teacher for Master's degree only to submit a thesis for the Ph.D. Degree

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IV. A candidate will not be permitted to submit as his thesis, a thesis for which a Degree has been conferred on him in this or in any other University; but a candidate shall not be precluded from incorporating work which he has already submitted for a Degree in this or in any other University in a thesis covering a wider field, provided that he shall indicate in a written statement accompanying the thesis any work which has been so incorporated.

V. Each candidate for the Degree shall send three type-written or printed copies of his thesis embodying the results of his research and stating whether the work is based on the discovery of new facts by the candidate or of new relations of facts observed by others, and how the work tends to the advancement of knowledge. The candidate shall further forward a statement indicating the sources from which his information has been derived and the extent to which he has based his work on the work of others, and shall indicate which portion or portions of his thesis he claims as original. Where a candidate presents a joint work, he shall clearly state the portion which is his own contribution as distinguished from the portion contributed by his collaborator. This statement shall be certified as correct by the University teacher as well as the candidate. The candidate may also forward with his application three copies of any original contribution or contributions to the advancement of knowledge on the subject selected by him for his thesis or any cognate subject published by him independently or jointly

with others upon which he relies in support of his candidature. The thesis shall be written or printed in English.

VI. The Academic Council having before it the suggestion or suggestions of the appropriate Board of Studies shall recommend to the Syndicate the names of two referees, one of whom shall be the University Teacher who has guided the candidate's work. When the Syndicate have appointed the referees, the Registrar shall forward the thesis to them. The referees shall report to the Syndicate whether the thesis shall be accepted or rejected, and their report shall be final. In the event of a difference of opinion between the referees, the Syndicate shall appoint a third referee and the Syndicate shall decide, after considering the reports of all the three referees, whether the Degree shall be conferred.

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(ii) FOR D.LITT. EXAMINATION

I. The Degree of Doctor of Letters may be conferred upon Bachelors of Arts, Masters of Arts and Doctors of Philosophy (Arts) of this University and upon teachers in the Colleges affiliated to this University who hold the Master's or Doctor's degree in Arts of any other University which is recognised as equivalent to the Master's or Doctor's Degree of this

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The referees shall make a joint report to the Registrar for submission to the Academic Council stating whether they consider the work to be a valuable contribution to learning and deserving of the Degree. The Academic Council shall then send its recommendation thereon to the Syndicate.

A work that has been rejected may be re-submitted after due revision.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Tamil country under Vijayanagar by Dr. A. KRISHNASWAMI (Published by the Annamalai University, 1964, pp. v-367).

The author has undertaken the most stupendous work of writing out the history of the Tamil country under Vijayanagar with commendable success. The subject of his enquiry begins with the conquest of the Tamil land by the Vijayanagar ruler, Harihar I in 1346 and ends with the death of Sriranga III in 1672, covering a period of three centuries and a quarter. The book consists of 15 chapters and its aim, as the author himself says, is not to write the political and administrative history but to discuss some problems connected with them. He has critically examined the date and circumstances leading to the Orissan inroad, the Oddiyan Kalabai in 1463 under Kapileśvar Gajapati and his son Kumar Hāmavira. (Chapter VII).

As to the battle of Talikota, 1565, and the extent of damage, both physical and cultural, caused to the empire, Dr. Krishnaswami holds a different view and brings in arguments to show that the city suffered terribly but not the empire which 'continued to exist for a century till the battle of Toppur in 1616' and that the final stage of the decline did not set in till the reign of Sriranga III.

The next problem relates to the effect of the above battle on the fortunes of the feudatories (the Nayaks—Chapter XI) of the Vijayanagar empire. The writer rejects the theory advanced by Ferishta and some modern scholars that Talikota tended to sow the seeds of feudatory revolt resulting in the speedy assumption of independent power by the feudatories. On the strength of available epigraphic and foreign literary sources the author categorically denies

the spirit of disloyalty and disaffection among the feudatories.

Another interesting question discussed by the author is that of the decay and disappearance of the local institutions like Sabha, Ur and Nadu and the autonomous village assemblies dating from the time of the Cola King, Parantaka I (Chapter VI). In the period under review they are less frequently mentioned in the inscriptions. Their decay and final disappearance in the 14th and 15th centuries is judiciously attributed to the Muslim invasions of Malik Kafur, Mubarak Shah and Muhammad bin Tughlak, to the feudal and military basis of the governmental organisation and to some extent to the apathy of the Vijayanagar rulers themselves.

The author of the present volume deserves congratulations for his painstaking and dependable work. It is a valuable contribution in the field of historical research. A good bibliography and an exhaustive index have added to the merit of the book. Credit goes to the Publishers also for avoidance of printing errors and correct impression of diacritical marks.

BIMAL KANTI MAJUMDAR.

South India and Ceylon by Dr. K. K. PILLAY, M.A., D.LITT., D.PHIL. (OXON) (Published by the University of Madras, 1963)

Whatever may be the geographical and geological connections between Ceylon, the island-state in the Indian Ocean, and the Indian Peninsula, there is no denying the fact that there is a long history of culture-contact between the two neighbour states from the prehistoric days down to the modern historical epoch; and the stream runs on even now. Little

wonder that India exercised a more abiding influence, political and cultural, on its adjacent state, naturally less developed in many respects. But the normal processes of culture-contacts show that it can never be a one-way traffic, and that when two peoples meet, when two cultures coalesce, in whatever circumstances it may be, there must be a spirit of mutuality among them, even if either of them happens to be more powerful or culturally more accomplished. The history of Ceylon reveals once again the truth of this universal theory.

Dr. K. K. Pillay, in his book under review, has attempted in a lucid manner to discover the material facts of history bearing on the close relationship that subsisted between South India and Ceylon in the ancient and medieval periods. In view of the fact that this was the time that went to form the bedrock of the growth and development of the cultural make-up of the modern state of Ceylon and its people, Dr. Pillay's study appears to be of immense value to all students of history in India as well as in Ceylon.

Dr. Pillay has divided his treatise into 12 Chapters. He opens with an examination of the geographical and geological data as well as references in the traditional literature of both the countries that throw light on the connecting links, physical and emotional, in Chapter I, and he continues it in Chapter II, where he brings his focus on anthropological and archaeological evidences of the prehistoric age. It must be mentioned that the author has steered clear of the controversial theories and presented his thesis in a matter of fact manner in a rather short compass. In Chapter III the highly interesting topic of commercial contacts between South India and Ceylon is introduced. On an analysis of the evidences, literary and epigraphic, the author has drawn up an account of the commercial traffic in its volume and in its content, between the two countries in the different periods. But as Ceylon served as a centre of commercial intercourse between the East and the West, it would have been all the more useful for the students of Economic History if he

would have shown to what extent Ceylon served as a clearing house of Indian commodities, particularly through re-export, either by Ceylonese agencies or by foreign traders that flocked to its ports.

Chapter IV deals with the literary data of the Tamil Sangams which bear testimony to the affinities between the two cultures, mainly in social and religious spheres. In chapter V to VIII the author discusses more or less the political contacts between the different South Indian dynasties and Ceylon. In these pages Dr. Pillay appears to have made a particular study of the military conquests and invasions undertaken by a number of rulers of the mainland in different periods and the political impact of such expeditions on the local people. Such an account has no doubt its own historical value, but from a scholar of the calibre of Dr. Pillay, it is more expected that these incidents are placed in a wider perspective to show the continuity of cultural and economic relationship between the two peoples.

The account of the kingdom of Jaffna in Chapter IX contains a lot of information culled from literary traditions, supplemented in some cases by epigraphic evidences. The Chapter on Colonisation (X), really speaking, describes the steady flow of men of diverse characters—traders and preachers, sailors and adventurers, with widely divergent ends in view, at all time from the mainland to the island. Some of them no doubt made it their home, temporarily or permanently, but still it is to be pondered carefully whether we can call it 'Colonisation', since the particular expression has come to acquire a somewhat rigid connotation in history. The last two chapters (XI & XII) on social life and institutions and on cultural influences leave scope for closer treatment at the hands of the learned author.

Nevertheless *South India and Ceylon* is a very well-written compendium on an important phase of Indo-Ceylonese history and the book will be welcomed by scholars everywhere.

S. K. MITRA

ENROLMENT FOR RESEARCH DEGREES

University of Lucknow

AWARDED PH.D. IN HISTORY

<i>Name</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Supervisor</i>
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Ram Hari Misra	Secondary Education in British India—1800-1900.	-do-
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Madhuri Misra	Education in U.P. from 1858 to 1900.	Dr. N. L. Chatterji.
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Ram Chandra Singh	Rao Maldeo of Jodhpur.	Dr. B. Kishore.
Shobha Jauhari	Durga Das Rathore and his Times.	-do-

<i>Name</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Supervisor</i>
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B. N. Tandon	Great Britain and Persian Gulf States—1857-1907.	Dr. G. S. Misra.
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B. D. Gupta	Bundelkhand under the Maratha Domination—1730-1805.	-do-

University of Karnatak (Dharwar)

AWARDED PH.D.

Koppar Dhirendra Hanamant	Social and Economic Conditions under the Hoysalas.	Sri R. S. Panchamukhi, Director, Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar.
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Studies: Historical and Cultural by (MOHAMMAD YASIN M.A., LL.B., PH.D., Jammu, 1964. Price Rs. 8. pp. 188 including an index)

Dr. Mohammad Yasin, the distinguished author of *A Social History of Islamic India* (1958) and *Tarikh i Jai'ze* (1962) has now presented to the scholarly world this brochure. The 13 articles contained herein were written, as he notes in his preface, during the last fourteen years of his "professional career as a teacher and research worker."

An analysis of the articles will give an idea of the scope of the work. In the first essay on 'Akbar and Indian Nationalism' the author has criticised the views of Smith and Tod and shown that the greatness of Akbar was due not to his brilliant military career, nor to his political and financial reforms, but to his nation-building scheme (p. 1). In the second essay ('Akbar through his buildings') the author has shown how Akbar reflected himself in his buildings. As he puts it: "Akbar was eclectic in religion and philosophy, so was he in his architectural taste" (p. 26).

The third article (An unknown history of Agra) is about "Tarik i Tajganj Agra" written by Sayyid Inayat 'Ali, the care-taker of the Taj Mahal (1837), in Urdu. It gives an archaeological survey of the buildings in and around Agra as well as historical notes on the Mughal Emperors and members of the royal family. In the fourth article (Architect of the Taj) the author has discussed the old question 'who built the Taj?' Formerly Ali Mardan Khan, Geronimo Veroneo and Ustad 'Isa were credited with the honour of being the architect of the mausoleum. It was in 1931 that Sulaiman Nadvi suggested the name of Ustad Ahmad Lahori as being the architect and Dr. Abdullah Chughtai supported him in 1937. The author has shown that this view is based on *Diwani i Mahandis* of Hafiz Lutfullah Mahandis, second son of the architect.

The fifth essay is about Haji Waris Ali Shah, "Ascetic of Dewa Sharif" in BaraBanki district. In his sixth article the author has shown that the "Chinese Art of making Porcelain" was first invented under the Han dynasty between 185 and 80 B.C., 1600 years before it was known to the western world. In the seventh essay Dr. Yasin has attempted to assess the role of Mahatma Gandhi in terms of History. To quote his exact words: "Gandhiji comes third in the temporal series as far as historical personages are concerned—Asoka, Akbar and Mahatma Gandhi" (9p. 49).

In the eighth article the author has surveyed the evolution of Indo-Muslim architecture in India under the Sultanate and the Mughal Empire. He has rejected in the ninth essay (Origin and authorship of Quth Minar) the theory of Hindu origin but has left the controversy regarding Quth and Itutmish open. In the tenth essay (Religiosity of 'Umar Khayyam) Dr. Yasin remarks that behind the epicurean philosophy he is in search of the Ultimate Reality. In the eleventh article on Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur Dr. Yasin has explained the reasons of the admixture of Hindu and Muslim elements in the architecture of Jaunpur. In his twelfth article (Sher, Akbar and the link) the role of Islam Shah as being responsible for the glories of Akbar's reign has been stressed.

The last essay is the longest and has a detailed bibliography. It deals with a critical review of the career and role of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid of Rae Bareilly. Our author regards Sayyid Ahmad Shahid as the third Mujaddid (Regenerator) of Indian Islam after Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi and Shah Waliullah. As Shah Waliullah considered the Marathas the first enemy of Islam, so Sayyid Ahmad Shahid concentrated his activities against the Sikhs. His movement became anti-British by 1839 and was suppressed. All the essays are marked by sobriety, lack of orthodoxy and scholarship.

JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR

Malda District Census Handbook 1961

By

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Deputy Superintendent of Census Operations, West Bengal

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S. H. Ritti	The Yadavas of Devagiri.	Dr. P. B. Desai, Director, K.R.I., Dharwar.

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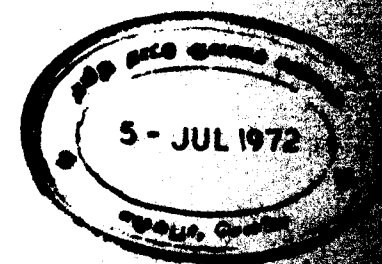
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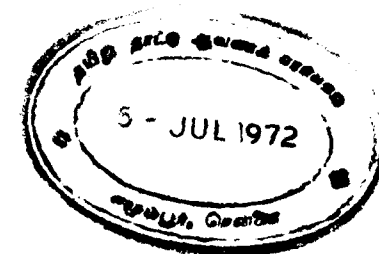
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EDITORIAL

Government Grants :

We are happy to announce that the Government of India have recently sanctioned a grant of Rs. 50,000/- to the Institute of Historical Studies for the Dictionary of Nationalist Biographies Project. In view of the large gap between our Project budget and our resources, we would have been placed in a most difficult situation if the Government of India had not come forward with financial assistance. Even with the utmost economy and cutting down the Project size, we could not have completed the work in any meaningful way without additional funds. We are particularly thankful to the Education Minister, Government of India, for his kind interest and sympathetic attitude. The grant from the Government of India, apart from its financial importance, is significant as a gesture of appreciation on the part of the Government of the national importance of the Project and of the way in which we have been carrying on the work since 1963.

We are also happy to announce that we have received grants of Rs. 2,000/- each from the Governments of West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh for the year 1965-66. We are thankful to the Chief Ministers of West Bengal and Uttar

Pradesh, who had so kindly responded to our appeal for financial assistance. We do hope that as our work progresses we shall be helped with larger grants by these two Governments for the next two years of the Project. We are also hoping that our appeals to the Chief Ministers of other States for financial assistance will meet with a favourable response in the current year. We need about Rs. 1,00,000/- more to be able to complete our Project in the way we want it, so as to make our Dictionary a fitting homage to those illustrious men and women who have created modern India. We do hope that, with so much gratitude in the present generation for the selfless leaders of the past who made India what it is to-day, a Project of this nature will not remain incomplete for lack of adequate financial resources.

Asia Foundation Grant :

We also take this opportunity to offer our thanks to the Asia Foundation for having made a grant of Rs. 55,000/- for the year 1966-67 for the Dictionary of Nationalist Biographies Project. This brings the total to Rs. 2,43,184/- It is a very generous help, and we do appreciate the spirit in which it was given.

Dictionary of Biographies Project :

The Dictionary of Nationalist Biographies Project has been making very good progress. In the present number we have published a list of leaders on whom biographical material, according to our Format, had been collected from June 1965 to March 1966. The earlier list of leaders covered till May 1965 had been published in Vol. V, No. 1. The main objects for publishing from time to time lists of leaders on whom biographical material has been collected are two. The first is to keep our readers informed about our steady progress of work, so that they can know whether we are maintaining our schedule as previously announced. Our second object is to elicit from our readers any information that they may have on any of the leaders in the lists, which will supplement the material already collected by our Research Fellows. It is most likely that some of our readers may have known the leaders or their close associates personally and may have in their possession material not commonly available to others. We shall appreciate if our readers write to us about any piece of information they can supply on any of the leaders included in the list published in the present number. It is only with the willing co-operation of a large number of public-spirited and patriotic men and women that a Project of this kind can be brought to a successful completion.

According to our present calculations we shall cover about 800 leaders by the end of May 1966. The remaining leaders, about 400, will be covered in 1966-67. Editing work will be taken in hand from June 1966, and is expected to be completed by the middle of 1968. We do hope, we shall be able to maintain this schedule.

Discussion Meetings :

Since our last issue eight Discussion Meetings have been held at the Institute of Historical Studies. Mr. Phanindra Nath Banerjee (Jaipuria

College, Calcutta) spoke on *The Background of the Cornwallis Code*. Dr. Johannes H. Voigt (Oxford University) spoke on *Historical Writing in Western India with Special Reference to the Influence of Nationalism*. Dr. John R. Broomfield (University of Michigan) spoke on *The Bengal Muslims and September 1918*. Professor Louis Hartz (Harvard University) spoke on *Economic Policy and Democratic Thought in the U.S.A.* Mr. Chittabrata Palit (Burdwan University) spoke on *Indigenous Business Enterprise in Bengal (1780-1880)*. Dr. Sunil Sen (Rabindra Bharati University) spoke on *Bengali Entrepreneurship in Coal Industry (1884-1913)*. Dr. V.C. Joshi (Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi) spoke on *Archival Material in India*; and Dr. Toru Matsui (Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo) spoke on *The Study of Indian History in Japan*.

As usual the talks were all well attended and the discussions most lively. The talks will be duly published in the *Quarterly Review* from time to time.

It is particularly gratifying to note that our Research Students' Seminar is functioning very well and proving most useful not only to those who are engaged in research but also to others who are thinking of taking up research. They get very fruitful hints from the experiences of older Research students, particularly in relation to problems of collecting material and of giving it a proper shape. The increasing attendance at the Research Students' Seminar is a clear indication of the interest roused among the freshers and of the utility of the experiment.

State of Historical Studies:

In the present number we are publishing an account of the state of Historical Studies at two Universities, Bhagalpur and Mysore. Bhagalpur is a new University, just a few years old. The course of study for B.A. (Hons.) examination in History is quite well balanced and gives proper attention to Indian history

and the history of other major regions of the world. The course of study for M.A. also has that quality, except that Indian history as such is not compulsory and one can take M.A. degree in History without studying it. One special feature of the M.A. Syllabus deserves note, and that is the inclusion of a survey type paper, as for example, Ancient World from 3000 B.C. to 600 B.C. This seems to be a common feature in the courses of study at all Universities in Bihar. As we had commented in an earlier issue, the inclusion of a survey type paper in the M.A. Syllabus is not desirable. At the M.A. stage the period should be so limited as to allow study in sufficient depth.

The University of Mysore does not have any B.A. (Hons.) course at present, although, curiously enough, this is overlooked in the rules for research degrees, which provide that a candidate possessing B.A. (Hons.) of the University of Mysore is eligible to be enrolled as a Ph.D. candidate. The course of study for the M.A. examination in History is well balanced. There are, however, three things which deserve comment. First, it is interesting to note that Mysore is one of the few Indian Universities which provide the study of historical methodology as a compulsory paper for M.A. students. Second, a *viva-voce* examination is also compulsory. We had commented in an earlier issue of the journal on the usefulness of a *viva-voce* test for M.A. students. We are still of the opinion that an oral test is desirable for a proper evaluation of the merits of candidates. Third, there is no provision for optional or special papers, all the papers being compulsory. We reiterate our views published in the previous number that in the M.A. stage students should be given some choice of specialisation, at least in two papers out of eight.

We have published in the present number rules for research degrees at the two Universities of Mysore and Bhagalpur. The University of Mysore has provision for a tuition fee of Rs. 400/- (or Rs. 200/- per year) for students enrolled

for the Ph.D. degree. Mysore is one of the very few Universities in India which impose regular tuition fees on Research students. As we had commented in an earlier issue of the journal, the provision of at least a nominal tuition fee is very useful and necessary in order to eliminate a large number of half-hearted and ill-qualified students, who are not at all serious about their work and leave as soon as they feel like it, not caring at all about the wastage of the Supervisor's time. The imposition of a tuition fee also implies that the University takes its responsibility towards Research students seriously and provides facilities for regular supervision and seminar work. At Bhagalpur University, the rules are similar to those in most Indian Universities and no special comment is needed.

We regret that till the time of going to press we did not get a list of enrolment for Ph.D. degree at Bhagalpur University. It will be published in a later issue of the journal. In the present issue we are publishing the enrolment list at the University of Mysore. The subjects taken up for research are very important and interesting, but we regret we have to repeat what we had said in the previous issue in the case of Karnatak University. The list of research subjects at the University of Mysore shows concentration on regional history. No one is working on any topic not connected with regional history. While we appreciate that regional history should be the main concern for the majority of students, it is definitely desirable that at least some students should feel interested in the history of other regions of India. This should be kept in view by the History Research Board or by the Supervisors when making new enrolments.

Indo-U.S. Foundation :

The news about the setting up of an Indo-U.S. Educational Foundation will be welcomed by all who are genuinely interested in developing higher education and research. The project originated from the accumulation of a

huge PL-480 rupee fund in India in the hands of the U.S. Government. It was a generous move on the part of the U.S. Government to propose utilising a part of this accumulated fund for helping educational and research projects in India. It was also a most sensible move to propose associating the Government of India on a footing of perfect equality in the administration of the fund. The response of the Government of India was, naturally, one of appreciation and fruitful collaboration. The Education Ministry had duly consulted the U.G.C. and, with the latter's approval, had gone ahead with the project. The tentative scheme is to place the fund in the hands of a Board of Trustees, half the members being Indians nominated by the Government of India and half Americans nominated by the U.S. Government. The Chairman, according to the original plan, was to be an Indian or an American by turn. Later, it has been suggested that the Chairmanship is to be permanently in Indian hands.

The proposal, on the face of it, should be welcomed by every right-thinking person interested in developing higher education and research in this country, and it should not have raised any controversy, taking away all the grace from this attempt at Indo-U.S. constructive collaboration. It is most unfortunate, therefore, that so much acrimonious controversy has been started in certain circles in India over the move of an Indo-U.S. Foundation. When politicians oppose any move, one can always understand that they oppose not because of any inherent defect of the plan but because they act on political motives. But it is painful to see that so many even in academic circles have expressed their opposition to the scheme. They ought to have known better and should have considered the scheme in its proper perspective. It is only because criticisms have been levelled even from academic circles that we feel it necessary to take note of the controversy and answer the main points of opposition.

We dismiss straightaway one ground of opposition that any move on the part of a foreign country to give constructive help is to be looked upon with suspicion. Living in the present day world and particularly in the economic condition in which we find ourselves at present, such an attitude is wholly misconceived and harmful to national interests.

The critics of the Indo-U.S. Foundation scheme seem to be particularly obsessed with their misconception about the motives of the donor country and they see red at any suggestion of collaboration with that country in any sphere. They do not show their bias very openly, for obvious reasons, but operate under cover of being zealous to preserve national dignity and honour by refusing any offer of collaboration with any foreign country. One can, however, see through their real mental attitude. They would not have raised any clamour if this offer of co-operation had come from the country they secretly prefer. They would have hailed such an offer as a unique gesture of good-will and friendship. The real trouble is, these critics do not openly admit the main ground of their opposition but try to camouflage it in a very clever way.

It is difficult to understand how at such a late stage can a clamour be raised against accepting American financial help for educational and research purposes. It has been loudly proclaimed that the Indo-U.S. collaboration will lead to the subversion of Indian culture and way of life and the enslavement of the Indian mind. Indo-U.S. collaboration has been undertaken on a large scale in Poona, Hyderabad and Banaras, to name only a few centres, and nobody has cried 'the wolf' yet. All the major Universities in India have, at one time or other, sought and accepted funds from American Foundations. No one has yet grumbled that harmful or undesirable strings were attached to such aids. Indian culture has not yet been subverted and the Indian mind not yet enslaved.

The critics do not express dogmatic opposition to American financial assistance for the development of education and research in India. They cleverly argue that what they object to is American partnership in the administration of the Fund. They naïvely demand that the fund earmarked for the Foundation should be handed over entirely to the Government of India and that the U.S.A. will not have any share in its administration. On the face of it the demand is so irrational and illogical that it hardly deserves any serious comment. The PL-480 Fund belongs wholly to the U.S.A., as price of the wheat imported by India over the years. The U.S.A. is perfectly entitled to spend the amount on American educational projects in India, like the American Institute of Indian Studies at Poona, with branches elsewhere. That the U.S.A. has of its own accord offered to use a part of the accumulated rupee fund for helping Indian education and research projects is a gesture of her good-will and friendship. But to expect that the party which offers its own money for specific purposes should be totally excluded from the administration of the fund would be betraying a lack of realism and practical sense.

We honestly cannot understand how the operations of the proposed Indo-U.S. Foundation can be harmful to our national interests. Half the members of the Board of Trustees of the Foundation will be Indians, nominated by the Government of India. There is no reason to assume that these gentlemen, eminent edu-

cationists and strong personalities, will be less mindful of the country's interests than the loud critics of the Foundation scheme. On the other hand, it is more reasonable to assume that the Indian members will be vigilant and assertive, and no decision detrimental to national interests can be taken by the Foundation against the opposition of half the members, particularly when the Chairman also will be an Indian. To argue still that there is some danger will only betray a lack of confidence in our own Government and our own educationists. If anybody has that attitude, he deserves to be just quietly ignored.

We whole-heartedly approve of the scheme of an Indo-U.S. Educational Foundation. Faced with many pressing problems, food, industry, defence, communications, community development etc., our Government has only limited financial resources to spare for education and scientific research. Our Universities have to suffer from a chronic lack of funds for even ordinary maintenance and many necessary projects cannot be undertaken to upgrade their standard. In these circumstances any extra help from a friendly source is most welcome. We do hope that the new Foundation will fruitfully supplement the aids now given by the U.G.C., the Government of India, the State Governments, and the older American Foundations whose contribution to the development of education in this country must be gratefully acknowledged.

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PSYCHOLOGY AND HISTORY

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PLACE OF MODERN PSYCHOLOGY

Mathematics as a tool subject has interwoven the physical sciences in a well recognized pattern imparting a specific texture to distinguish these disciplines from the humanities and speculative branches of studies. With the aid of statistics it now affords stimulus to the organic sciences, and also humanities, rendering new directions to these disciplines. Lately, contemporary psychology appears to have attained a similar role in the field of bio-social sciences. Modern psychology has grown into a cementing material holding together many disciplinary subjects which had hitherto remained isolated. In the sphere of organic evolution for instance it is recognized as not profitable to indulge in speculating on the possibility of the emergence of a species of supra *Homo Sapiens*; it would prove more fruitful to scrutinize the possibility of new mental dimensions emerging in the modern man,¹ since there are reasons to doubt whether in the brain he is endowed with². Anthropology now frequently transcends its traditional barriers and the anthropologist's queries are no longer limited to the empirical observations of a community structure; ethnological differences are now believed to be co-related in a substantial way to the personality network, which is fundamentally a psychological issue. Anthropologists lately have been evincing keen interest in studying interpersonal relations or interaction among individuals in arriving at cross-cultural perspectives in mental diseases and in these matters they take to configuration of psychological or typological approach to

cultural behaviour³. In sociology, psychology of course is inextricably mixed with it as it may be seen by giving a cursory glance at any standard book on the subject.⁴ Psychology has unobtrusively made inroads upon literature and art (though after reading a 'psychological' novel a psychologist may tend to lose his self-confidence). This subject cannot be ignored by students of politics and economics (the 'bulls' or 'bears' in the share market may reveal less of the industrial state and more of the mental state of the buyers and sellers); and, psychology now contends to lay claims on historiography.

This all is understandable since the psychologist has begun to realize that whatever pertains to man, the peculiar animal, also pertains to psychology. Though it is the oldest discipline in which man first took interest, it ranks as the youngest science, albeit flourishing lately with vigour never witnessed before. It has succeeded, at any rate in the Euro-American countries, in snapping the old ties with philosophy and after borrowing its requisite needs from other disciplines like biology and statistics, physiology and electronics, it now rightfully claims its separate identity. Looking round, psychologists also have begun to take notice of the fact that there are numerous doors standing ajar for intercommunication and historiography unmistakably is one of these. For semantical unanimity it may be worthwhile to glance at the contour of historiography.

ON HISTORIOGRAPHY

History apparently does not end in chronicle

ing the lives of the *dramatis personae*, nor is it limited to the narrating of events though at the initial stage it has to rely on the factual evidence gained through various sources. In this respect the indirect means often prove less fallible than the direct means of collecting facts. A seal or pottery, ballads and ancient fables, personal correspondence and legal documents, even the origin of a word may provide valuable proof of events and throw light on individual personalities and on events.

The function of historiography, it is maintained, lies in the interpretation of events and personalities, but then interpretation is one of those enigmatic expressions which contain too much in too little. Carr in his elegant phrase has defined history as the dialogue between the society of today and the society of yesterday. The function of history he says is 'to promote a profounder understanding of both past and present through the interrelation between them.'⁵ This dialogue evidently is not limited to the answering of 'what' but extends to the sphere of 'how' and 'why'. Incidentally, similar queries are also raised in science but the vexation here is resolved by analyzing the underlying conditions. In science there is no room for 'why', 'how' meets the needs, since an analysis of the underlying conditions in which a phenomenon may take place would give an answer to 'how'. It is also through an extensive dialogue that the historian endeavours to analyze the pre-requisites against the hypotheses that nothing happens out of nothing, everything has a history. However, it is not that all historiographers share Carr's outlook. Isaiah Berlin, a staunch opponent of this deterministic outlook, observes, 'And one common characteristic of all such (deterministic) outlook is the implication that the individual's freedom of choice ... is ultimately an illusion, that the notion that human beings could have chosen otherwise than they did usually rests upon ignorance of facts; with the consequence that any assertion that they should have acted thus or thus, might have avoided this or that... rests upon the presupposition that

some area at any rate of their lives cannot be exhaustively determined, by laws.'⁶

We may notice here that the field of historical interpretation has not shaken off as yet the dilemma that once plagued psychology, more precisely, problems implying the origin of motivation. Eschewing the extreme views in philosophy, psychology now shares the view of other scientific disciplines that human behaviour results neither from unalloyed free will nor is totally determined by the antecedent states, actually it is an admixture of both while emphasis may shift from one occasion to another. In our everyday life we are no doubt free to choose any way and yet our action patterns tend to be selective. In the Free Association Test when a person is asked to respond to the stimulus word Black he is free to answer by giving any word that may come to his mind but a large number of responses when analysed do not fail to reveal a distinct trend in the responses. Likewise, an historical event may not be predicted *a la* palmist, and yet the implicit trend of events is not difficult to discern. From this point of view determinism in history cannot be ruled out, after all the subject matter pertains to man. Yet, the place of free will cannot be ignored. The number of cells in the cortex and the role of the hypothalamus give an enormous supremacy to man over other animals in respect of possible ways of reacting. Taking for an example, a Ram Mohan Roy in Indian history might have been expected, but not an Iswar Chandra, though both were pioneers in Bengali renaissance. Economically affluent, a man who was not tied down to the past by diehard traditions, one who had access to varied cultures, one who knew the East well but was not ignorant of the West, this was Ram Mohan. His progressive role is understandable and his advent not unpredictable. But not Iswar Chandra. His earlier life was beset with all the known handicaps against progressive ideals of the day. Born and reared in an atmosphere of extreme orthodoxy, he fought in his later life for social changes as did Ram Mohan, yet the private life of Iswar Chandra was marked with tradi-

tional living. It is such ambiguous characters which leave a gap in our understanding of the psychology of renaissance. The best among the most of those engaged in creative activity are the products of free will though they may have been aided, or even hindered at times, by their antecedent conditions. However, the danger in using this extreme *and-or* method of seeking for the reasons of individual or social behaviour may be avoided if we remember that in psychosocial sciences it is the probability of an event which is of significance. This attitude, it now appears, has permeated even into the field of history. As Carr has said in the same essay, 'History, compared with modern physical theories deals with the probabilities of taking place' (P-62) and, 'The historian is not really interested in the unique but what is general in the unique' (P-57). Equipped with his outlook, we may look forward to historiography moving on scientific lines which may provide ways and means of predicting the future. It was in this context that another well known author on the subject has observed, 'I mean by historicism an approach to the social sciences which assumes that *historical prediction* is their principal aim, and which assumes that this aim is attainable by discovering the 'rhythms' or the 'patterns', the 'laws' or the 'trends' that underlie the evolution of history.'⁷ But then it may be questioned how far do we actually know of what we presume to know?

OBJECTIVITY IN HISTORIOGRAPHY

A phrase or an expression sometimes may gain currency by virtue of its repetition. The cliché of maintaining objectivity in history appears to be one such phrase which often is used to warn young students of history and goes unheeded more often.

Actually the issue of maintaining objectivity in psychology grew as a reaction to the traditional ways of looking upon the man as a reflexion of the supreme being, and a fresh reaction may well expect an antithesis. There were a few sceptics too. William James had

cautioned long ago, 'But the *object* of your thought is entire content or deliverance, neither more nor less. It is a vicious use of speech to take out a substantive kernel from its content and call that its object; and it is equally vicious use of speech to add a substantive kernel not articulately included in its content, and to call that its object.'⁸ Since then it has been the endeavour of the psychologist to *reduce* the subjectivity in interpreting other's behaviour. Imbibing the spirit of the physical scientist the psychologist makes use of his tools and tests and yet is well aware of the fact that a pure state of objectivity in observation is something in the nature of a pure myth. Even the physicist now does not hesitate to express scepticism in this respect. In the words of a reputed physicist turned psychologist, 'we are coming to recognize that it is a simple matter of observation that the observer is a part of what he observes and that the thinker is a part of what he thinks. We do not passively observe the universe from the outside, but we are all in it up to our necks, and there is no escape.'⁹

Modern psychology, particularly experimental social psychology, has grown rich in scientific evidence to convince that our own susceptibilities somehow do find ways of being projected on what we see, what we do or what we think. For instance, a child of modest means actually *sees* a coin larger in size compared to a child born in an affluent home. A radical teacher projects his attitudes unawares and thereby influences his pupils, compared to a conservative teacher, and this he does despite his efforts to obviate this self projection. It has thus come to be widely accepted that 'attitudes do interfere with psychological processes such as learning and remembering. The selective distortion of these processes is a prominent feature in social psychology.' By way of concluding it may be said that objectivity in historiography or psychology need not be construed on lines of the output of an IBM computer. It will do if we remain alert to the fact that an event may bear more than one facet, and that

we are tempted to emphasize one which has bearing on the interpreter's psychosocial preconditioning. If this hypothesis were found acceptable, we may then proceed to look into the interrelationship between history and psychology and see if there is a meeting ground for the historiographer and the psychologist.

Looking casually, the two disciplines may present uncorrelated pictures, yet they cover a considerable meeting ground in their contents. The fundamental query posed before a student of human nature is: if man *behaves* thus why does he? Whereas, a student of history inquires if man *behaved* thus why did he? Actually, it is in the temporal field that the two disciplines show their distinction. Let me hasten to add that it would not be true to say that psychologists are not interested in the past acts of the man or that the historians treat the present as out of bounds. Nevertheless, it would be true to say that each of these disciplines tends to rely more for its coverage on a specific temporal field. Both are equally interested in the man and his propensities, though to the psychologist the approach is much easier compared to the task of the historian. There is yet another difference, and this difference lies in the attitude adopted by the historiographer and the psychologist towards interpreting man's behaviour.

The student of human behaviour has now come to accept the fact that no two men are exactly alike and yet all men do evince in their reaction penumbras of similarities. This species of *Homo Sapiens* like all other animals is guided by the primary motivating drives of hunger and sex, is propelled by the secondary motivating agents of, say, lust and power, unmistakably shows signs of developmental phases during his ontogenic progress, exhibits infallibility in perceiving illusions and hallucinations, grows in attachment to the fear of the unknown, and so on. In other words if we were to seek for an apposite interpretation of man's behaviour it would be reasonable to expect the interpreter's acquaintance with the

essentials of human behaviour. Every student of psychology before turning professional has to go through the mill. A historian at this stage may impatiently assure us that he does take into account all the psychological quaintness of the man and he may be granted this much of elementary common sense. As a matter of fact, serious students of history have more than once discussed interrelationship, or lack of any, between history on the one hand and psychology on the other. Nevertheless, by glancing over the views of these authors one would be inclined to conclude that the advances of the maid psychology have consistently been misunderstood. As we know, modern psychology has grown as an offspring of philosophy, but this is now a matter of historical value. To quote Locke and Hume in order to prove or disprove the utility of employing psychological concepts to historiography is as futile as is—and here lies another school of fallacy—to equate psychology with psychoanalytical thinking.

Collingwood has repeatedly explained his difference with psychological approach to history, but the round of his psychologists does not stretch beyond the traditional circle of Plato and Aristotle, Mill and Bentham.¹⁰ Popper equates 'the so-called Gestalt school of psychology' with *the* psychology. The present author is one with Carr for his deriding the 'claim of some enthusiasts to throw light on the behaviour of the great men of history by the methods of psychoanalysis.' Renier out of his enthusiasm to press psychology into service has devoted in his book a whole section on psychology.¹¹ But then his acquaintance with psychology any teacher of psychology would hesitate to expose before his undergraduate students.¹² What is somewhat perturbing is that even the modern trends fail to give an indication to any radical departure from the traditional outlook in historiography. Duvau in his psychosocial analysis of motivation in history has observed 'History operates like a psychoanalyst', and lucidly he observes 'often men who are physically or psychologically ailing, or wounded

—the wound resulting more from defects inherent in the human condition than from social injustices—use revolutionary upheaval for revenge, and the limits of cruelty are extended.¹³ And who has not heard the psychological gossip that the first world war might have been avoided if the good Kaiser had not an ingrained feeling of inferiority arising out of his maimed arm, or that Napoleon's aggressiveness had its roots in his short stature? There are however few who have escaped this confusion and Hockett is a welcome exception. Delineating the utility of applying psychological tools in historiography he has observed 'In recent years experimental psychology has aided the historian by revealing how the human mind reacts in certain situations. One result has been an enhanced sense of the difference between competent and incompetent eyewitnesses and a new emphasis on the importance of *trained* observations.'¹⁴ The illustrations that he has employed to strengthen his point are illuminating and scientific. It is this aspect of psychological history, or *historiopsychology* that we may look into a little more closely.

A CASE FOR 'HISTORIOLOGY'

In answer to the question: what are historical facts, Becker in his characteristic convincing manner has replied that it is 'preposterous' to hold the notion that 'a historian has nothing to do but present all the facts and let them speak for themselves.' It is preposterous 'first, because it is impossible to present all the facts; and second, because even if you could present all the facts the miserable things wouldn't say anything, would say just nothing at all.'¹⁵ Statement of facts here does not exclusively mean proving the authenticity of an event, this of course is the preliminary step but a historian does not stop there. Facts in history are testament of causality and in this respect the subject-matter verges towards scientific documentation. As Bronowski has stated, 'Suppose that someone wished to give his whole life to science. Suppose that he therefore sat down, pencil in hand, and for the next twenty, thirty, forty years recorded in notebook after note

book everything that he could observe. He may be supposed to leave out nothing: today's humidity, the racing results, the level of cosmic radiation and the stock market prices and the look of Mars, all would be there. He would have compiled the most careful record of nature that has ever been made, and, dying in the calm certainty of a life well spent, he would of course leave his notebooks to the Royal Society. Would the Royal Society thank him for the treasure of a lifetime of observation? It would not. The Royal Society would treat his notebooks exactly as the English bishops have treated Joanna Southcott's box. It would refuse to open them at all, because it would know without looking that the notebooks contain only a jumble of disorderly and meaningless items.'¹⁶ In fact the historiographer, like a scientist, has no other alternative but to *select* his facts; he uses his discernment in choosing among many alternatives in the same way as do all men engaged in creative activity. In order to get a complete *gestalt* of the personality of a man or of an event the historian perforce selects some facts and does not pick them up randomly since he is out to find the link between cause and effect. As Carr has pointed out: 'It does not follow that, because interpretation plays a necessary part in establishing the facts of history, and because no existing interpretation is wholly objective, one interpretation is as good as another.' Therefore, if we have to accept history as a 'selective system', to use Poincaré's expression, we have also to be mindful of the selector in his various aspects including the pitfalls awaiting in his selection. It is here that we find modern psychology merging into history as a complementary discipline.

The historian, like others, reacts in consonance to the individual and environmental forces acting upon him and there is no escape. It is not necessary here to dilate upon the common psychological propensities manifested in one's personality and temperament. No creative output of a man can be looked upon dissociated from the man itself. A man's altruistic

motives or otherwise, his drive for gaining power (a dominant motive behind political ambition), the religious values that he upholds, his sense of utility related to economic values, and all these contribute to the man's total image. To ignore these is to ignore the author's resources in motivation. These psychological forces may be enumerated under the broad heads of specific and general nature, some of these are intimate and personal, applicable only to the individual historian, whereas there are other psychological propensities which are common to all men including the historiographers and we may therefore consider these separately.

A historian's output does not fail to reflect his own temperamental and attitudinal reactions, his social-educational make up and the historical epoch in which he lived. 'A historian' Hockett said 'with the more honest intentions will find it difficult to be impartial because of his own preconceptions, party, sectarian, racial, national, or other group associations and resulting bias. It is not given to men to escape bias altogether'¹⁷ Bias implies our floating attitudes that we project unawares and which tend to cling round a person, an object or a situation and thus may lend a peculiar perspective to an idea, a community or an event. In this respect we may be guided by factual evidence or it may be, more often than not, the mere opinion that we may hold.

It is not that this fact is not known to the historians but it is feared that sufficient emphasis has not been laid. Becker, for instance, has clearly stated that 'the historian cannot eliminate the personal equation.' Burkhardt almost echoes Becker when he says 'Even in history, our desire for knowledge is baulked by a thickset hedge of opinions which seek to pass themselves off as records. Nor can we ever rid ourselves entirely of the views of our own time and personality, and here, perhaps, is the worst enemy of knowledge.'¹⁸ Only that Becker and Burkhardt have not isolated the strands of psychosocial traits involved here. When a

person is temperamentally cautious and conservative, shows his preference for remaining adhered to conventions, he cannot be expected to alter his temperament in order to look into a new direction when it comes to judging historical events.

The issue of socio-educational make-up only stands next in the hierarchy. The socio-educational influence in a way is no less pervasive and it influences more directly than the historical environment. It is this conditioning in the social and educational spheres that is very often responsible for causing crass divergence in the views of two authors examining the history of the same event. It is this socio-educational make up, constituting the core of one's religious faith and political beliefs, ideals pursued, pull of the past, extended vision of the future, imbibed value judgment, etc., that is by and large responsible for producing two diametrically opposite types of result. Hume's history of England is a different story from the history by James Froude. George Bancroft generally speaking gave a different interpretation to many phases of American history from that presented by, say, S.A. Morison and H.S. Commager, and yet these historians had the same access to the original materials. In this respect Indian history provides a brilliant example in Akbar, the renowned Muslim monarch. Two chroniclers of his time viz., Abul Fazl and Abdul Quadir Badauni have left records of almost diametrically opposite types and yet both had witnessed the events that they had recorded and both were well acquainted with the personalities historically treated by them. However, one of them was a Shia Muslim and the other was an orthodox Sunni, one was a clever social climber whereas the other for varied reasons was frustrated in his life, one was directed by the monarch to chronicle the events of his time whereas the other did the same but of his own accord; and all this made a lump of difference in their attitudes and outlook reflected in the output of the two.

Judging the psychological elements which may contribute towards a historiographer's personality, the issue of his historical epoch is perhaps the most notable factor from the professional point of view. A historian, as Carr has observed, is the product of history, he only can think as his epoch would permit him the latitude to think, it would be unfeasible to react otherwise. For example, a historian who lived in the feudal era could not be expected to anticipate the industrial age to usher later and therefore his approach is bound to be substantially different from some one else's view a hundred years ahead of his time. To take another example, it would be incongruous to expect a Hindu historian in the Muslim period, if there were any, dilating upon the social shortcomings of the Hindu monarchs when the very existence of the Hindus remained threatened under the excruciating conditions of the Muslim rule and therefore depended very much on the former's closing ranks at least in matters socio-religious. Thus, living in an era very much determines the historian's attitudinal reactions and such reactions are liable to become pronounced if the historical materials were treated by a person not having gained the perspectives of a historian. We may find a typical example in the varied interpretations of the events that occurred in India in 1857. The British rulers plainly labelled those incidents as nothing but Sepoy Mutiny and this label was accepted by the historians for over half a century. Later, a political rebel, Savarkar, glorified the happenings as the first struggle for freedom and he, not a historian by any account, lived in the early twentieth century when the political aspirations in the people were fast crystallizing. With further intensification of the political upheavals, in which Savarkar's labelling came quite handy, 1857 came to be tacitly presumed to be the most important landmark in the freedom movement. It took about half a century, and an altered backdrop, for a reputed historian to declare that 'the so-called First National War of Independence in 1857 was neither the First, nor National, nor a War of

Independence.'¹⁹ One is left to conjecture if the same author could have mustered courage during the British regime to take a look back with this utter frank statement of utter historical importance.

The historical environment, socio-educational make up and personality-temperament combination work very much in an hierarchical manner. For an author to believe that he can extricate himself completely from the bondage of this psycho-social triumvirate, in order to give a purely objective account, is to cling to a purely dogmatic approach. Such influences cannot be obliterated, though they may be considerably reduced.

Apart from these broad areas in which the historian is liable to project his own image or personality traits while interpreting an event or an individual, there are also other psychological phenomena which may cause considerable distortion in judgement and finally give rise to wrong inferences. Even a trained psychologist does not feel free from apprehensions of his own limitations in avoiding the psychological pitfalls; the historian's task naturally grows in enormity since he has to rely only on the extant documents. His resources are limited in comparison to the psychologist's access. It is therefore all the more necessary for him to reduce the margin of errors by scrutinizing them against the accepted premises in psychology. But which psychology, the historiographer may ask.

Even a quarter of a century ago it was common to hear of the prominent names of the schools in psychology to which the promoters clung as a matter of prestige. We have witnessed considerable change since then and 'what once was good in all schools (of psychology) is now simply part of psychology.' The Gestalt concepts are not only applicable to visual phenomena, wherein they had originated, but have outflown the pail of psychology. The experimental techniques employed by the faithful in behaviourism continue to be adopted in

many more sectors of psychology though one need not subscribe to all the theories of behaviourism. This does not mean that psychology has now entered into a straight jacket of viewing things. There is ample scope for divergence of opinions, based invariably on experimental findings, in this phenomenon or that. Half a dozen theories in learning jostle to make headway but they do not ignore each other. Psychologists now can and do 'sponsor a series of analysis in which interrelationship issues are considered as they effect, not specific and fragmentary theories, but more broadly conceived bodies.'²⁰

The intention behind this minor digression merely was to alienate the misunderstanding that has lingered long; in order to gain psychological insight into a problem, it is not necessary to exclusively adhere to a particular standpoint. Neither is it necessary to gain even nodding acquaintance with all the recognized branches of psychology, since it is spreading its tentacles far and wide. It would give the basic know-how if one were acquainted with the principal elements of general psychology and social psychology which broadly contain such topics and items which often are relevant to historical studies. A few illustrations may make the point clear. Incidentally, the author here may be found quoting frequently from the life of Akbar (1542-1605) but this is not accidental. This monarch had inherited a small kingdom but soon extended his empire comparable only to the Asokan (273-232 B.C.) and later the British in the 18th century. Akbar, as against other Muslim rulers, has continued to receive most generous treatment in the hands of all historians, barring perhaps Vincent Smith who has reasonably maintained a more critical attitude. After going through the bio-data of Akbar any non-committed observer, and in this respect a student of psychology may reasonably assure himself of not committed to the traditional outlook, may feel justified in inquiring if Akbar's life has not been very much misconstrued particularly by the Indian historians. To a student

of modern psychology Akbar poses as an enigma, and also his biographers.

Unlike his predecessors, or successors, Akbar possessed rugged personality and stubborn character, he was of go-getter and dare-devil type and this aspect of his personality is understandably glorified by all historians but little attempt has been made to analyse the personality texture woven out of the peculiar circumstances of his early childhood and youth.

Akbar²¹ in his boyhood days was significantly free from disciplinary pressure from any adult male. His father Humayun was constantly kept engaged outside the capital in retaining his hold over the limited areas of his conquest in India and Akbar was left to grow under petticoat discipline in the days when women exercised little influence over men. If we add to this fact that it was a case of Muslim boy reared under the conservative Muslim women, Akbar's unhindered freedom can be better envisaged. Even in the year 1965 it is not uncommon to come across in an Indian street a hoard of elderly burqua-ed Muslim women shepherded by a young lad by his sole virtue of being masculine in gender. Further, being born in a royal family, Akbar had the advantage of being looked after not by one but ten female nurses who must have vied with each other in giving royal indulgence. Reared in this atmosphere Akbar, with above the average I.Q. and will, grew into what is nowadays labelled as problem child and actually he posed a big problem in his literary education and indiscipline. He successfully resisted every effort on the part of his tutors to gain a minimum of literacy and he remained an illiterate even when he became emperor of India. His boyhood and youth were spent untrammelled by any disciplinary obstacles and his adult life continued to bear signs of unabated adolescence, viz., obstinacy and adventurism in his action, fiendish impulsiveness, oscillating between moods of oriental sentimentality and barbaric cruelty, a keen desire to know for himself and understand and yet suffer from diffidence.

Even though all these psychological shortcomings in Akbar are palpable in his biographies, a gap in our understanding is left owing to the fact that very little has been done to reveal the formative period of his life when it is recognized that the ways of the early years in life often leave deep impression on the oncoming adult stage. A student of psychology therefore is surprised that A. L. Srivastava intending to complete Akbar's history in three volumes (the first volume consisting of over 500 pages) should feel satisfied to devote only eighteen pages to Akbar's birth, his upbringing and earlier career.

Akbar never grew out of his uncharted adolescence. Despite his overt rationalism he was superstitious as most of his contemporaries. Despite his sporadic but spontaneous kindness bestowed upon his subjects now and then he permitted his prisoners to be massacred 'whose heads were sufficiently numerous to furnish eight sky-high minarets.' Taking pity in the hungry he 'gave orders that everyday some hungry persons should be fed with some of the food prepared for himself, and that afterwards he should be served.' We may compare this bounteous beneficence with its none-too-pleasant counterpart. One evening when the emperor was visibly perturbed over the news from Deccan in the south, where he had despatched his army for additional conquest, the king 'happened to come out sooner than usual...and at first found none of the servants in the palace. When he came near the throne and couch, he saw a luckless lamplighter, coiled up like a snake, in a careless death-like sleep, close to the royal couch. Enraged at the sight, he ordered him to be thrown from the tower, and he was dashed into a thousand pieces.'²² Inconsistencies of this kind and sharp contradictions in behavioural expressions a psychologist would interpret as the sign of maladjusted personality common in children or psychotic patients and it does not fit in with the picture of a supposedly wholesome or stable personality that the bio-graphers of Akbar have tried to reconstruct.

This trend in Akbar's personality disorder is often reflected in his inability to make up his mind when too many facts were simultaneously presented. We are often reminded of the monarch's toleration for all religious beliefs, but a little reflexion would reveal the fact that it was something more. Toleration means to 'allow or endure without protest', it does not thereby mean that the person must succumb to the idea and accept it as his own. This is actually what Akbar did when it came to his listening to the representatives of the various religious groups. Judging Akbar's overt reactions it appears he not only was a Muslim, Hindu, Zoroastrian, Buddhist and Christian at different times but, also, induced others to follow him. Only when he realized that his persuasions proved fruitless that he desperately launched upon a curious technique of averaging all the known religions and the product subsequently came to be known as Tauhid-i Illahi or Divine Monothcism. This religious movement remained very much ignored in his life time and was unceremoniously scrapped off by his successor.

These illustrations do give an indication that the scope for judicious application of psychological techniques to historiography has not yet been examined. To a student of human behaviour it will remain an open question whether the silhouette of a man can be adequately drawn while neglecting his developmental sequences or by ignoring to examine scientifically the personality structure. By employing the appropriate psychological viewpoints an additional advantage may be gained; these may provide us with a tangible and stable yardstick. It is not that historians do not at all take into consideration the personality of an individual, but the very word personality may bear varied significance in the hands of different historians. Yet it is a psychological concept that they have to handle. Would it not be then profitable to search for a common denominator, and psychology can provide that denominator.

The psychological issues under discussion

here are not interrelated into a system as some others were found in the earlier part of this section. These disjointed phenomena are brought in here only as pointers to the main argument.

As another illustration showing how psychological analysis may prove prudential we may consider the case of phenomenal memory attributed to Akbar.

It is rather surprising that very little effort has been made to scientifically verify the fact; instead, historians appear to have relied more often on anecdotes.

Abul Fazl writes 'I have heard from the sacred lips of his Majesty, the king of kings, as follows: 'I perfectly remember what happened when I was one year old, and especially the time when his Majesty Jahanbani proceeded towards Iraq and I was brought to Qandahar. I was then one year and three months old. One day Maham Anaga,...'²³

Here Fazl narrates what he had heard from the emperor about a Turki ritual that took place when he was young. What is of significance is that Akbar is alleged to have described in details a ritual that took place when he was less than two years old. It may be recalled that Abul Fazl commenced writing *Akbarnama* when the emperor was 34 or 35 years, and it took him seven years to complete the task. It may be reasonably inquired if a man of forty can correctly recollect an event that had taken place when he was one year and three months old! Yet students of history have accepted the fact uncritically and this is what interests here. Srivastava has observed 'Akbar vividly remembered the incident and used to say...' ²⁴ and he did not consider it necessary to cast any doubt on the statement. What is surprising is that even Vincent Smith has failed to maintain his usually critical stand; 'The exceptionally powerful memory' he says 'which Akbar is known to have possessed

in mature life evidently began to develop at an extraordinary early age.'²⁵

We may now look into another kind of obstacle which is liable to distort the historian's judgement in rating a person, and which in psychological terminology is known as *halo effect*. In brief it is 'the tendency in making an estimate or rating of one characteristic of a person, to be influenced by another characteristic or by one's general impression of that person.' For instance in testing a person's general intellectual ability the psychologist makes an assessment of the person's sample behaviour in several unrelated faculties and rates each of the mental faculties separately. He is however conscious of the fact that unwittingly he may give a high score in one type of psychological ability because of the subject's scoring high in many of the other abilities. The psychologist is faced with a similar vicissitude in making personality studies when several personality traits (or ingredients) are separately assessed in order to obtain a total picture of the individual's personality. The historian is faced with a similar problem while adjudging a character.

It is not denied that Akbar had brought in a series of substantial changes in the social and economical conditions of his time and which had remained very much neglected in the past. Mention may be made of the settlement of the land revenue system, fixation of the units of measurement, division of the administrative units, introducing a rigid system to maintain law and order, and so on. Some of the measures that he took in the field of administration were not only retained by the British but, later still, by the Indian Government. All these virtues went to create an awesome halo round his name creating blind spot against his unexplained errors in judgement.

It is understandable if he considered Agra, the then capital, to be 'unlucky' for some reasons. It is also understandable if he desired to build

a fresh capital somewhere else. What however is not understandable is that a man attributed with all the administrative virtues should have spent millions of rupees and some fourteen or fifteen years of labour to set up a new capital without prior investigation of the availability of water supply, and for which reason alone he had to forsake the new capital and return to Agra once again after some years. Hardly any historian has criticized him for this imperial folly.

The Hindu historians in particular have unanimously held Akbar above board in matters of religious sectarianism and the monarch is frequently portrayed as a man without parochial outlook and a gem without a parallel among the Muslim monarchs. This attitude stems from the fact that Akbar was perhaps the only Muslim monarch who had employed Hindus to the posts of ministers and contrary to the then conventions had raised Hindus to the peerage. He also had removed the tax against the Hindus imposed on them by the former rulers.

Now, it is true that two or three Hindus, viz., Birbal, Man Singh and Todar Mal, were selected by Akbar for ministerial posts but then their character, as we understand by the term, remains to be properly evaluated. It was Man Singh who was responsible for grabbing Hindu territories for his Muslim master but we never hear Man Singh being criticized on this account; yet, historians have never failed to criticize Mir Jaffar for playing not a dissimilar role on behalf of the British adventurer Lord Clive and the name of Mir Jaffar today stands for treachery. Again, Man Singh did not hesitate to give his adopted sister in marriage to Akbar's son to gain personal benefits. This dastardly action on the part of an orthodox Hindu and which bears great significance is quietly ignored by the Hindu historians!

Further, a curious picture would emerge if

the list of grantees of the Empire as drawn up by Abul Fazl in the *Ain-i-Akbari* was closely scrutinized. In all there were 415 recognized noblemen out of whom only 54 (13%) were Hindus, and half of the Hindu noblemen were related either to Bir Bal or Man Singh—the latter not only was prolific in producing offspring but, like the proverbial Scotch in London, knew the art of multiplying the number of the grantees in his own house. Looking into the different categories of the grantees we find that they ranged from the highest nobleman who commanded 10,000 horses to those commanding only 200 horses at the lowest rung of the ladder. Thus there were in all 19 categories of the grantees. If the total number of gradations were divided into two halves viz., the upper and the lower, the names of only 16 Hindu noblemen are to be found lodged in the first half and 38 in the second half; the difference between these two figures is statistically significant which means that the difference in the number of the Hindu noblemen under the two categories was not accidental. This all means that Akbar did not have to offer his generosity to more than a paltry 5 or 6% of Hindus outside the three dominant families in order to attain never diminishing popularity. This is not without a reason.

Akbar was the first Muslim monarch who had the ambition to conquer the whole of India and he was a clever person beyond dispute. While expanding his empire he had to keep a cautious eye over the Muslim governors deputed by him in the different provinces—the expression 'Mughul Court intrigues' still survives. By tyrannizing the Hindus, as it was the practice among the Muslim monarchs, Akbar would have had to fight on two fronts and this he diligently avoided at the critical period of his rule. Abul Fazl has not failed to make a fighting mention of this fact which is winked at by the Hindu historians. At the initial stage of his rule Akbar like the succeeding Muslim rulers took keen interest in forcibly converting Brahmans to Islam and of this there is a record in the *Akbarnama*. In all,

this means that if Akbar was a perplexing character in history, his biographers pose no less perplexity. A word against Akbar would still touch off quite a bit of historiogenic squabble and that is mainly because of lack of unanimity in the necessary psychological approach.

These few isolated cases of psychological

significance are raised here by way of suggesting that a beginning is yet to be made to introduce psychology in the sphere of historiography. The branches of psychology which deal with social issues may be treated with purpose as complementary to historical science. Both the disciplines may thereby be benefited.

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- ¹⁴ A few illustrations. 'There is an obvious connection between a man's facial expression and his character' (P.194). 'Women are better judges of character than men, till their passions, which are easily aroused, obscure their powers' (P. 195). 'Each historian works out his own theory about human behaviour' (P. 200). With this knowledge of psychology it is no wonder that 'To advocate the application of the results of contemporary psychological investigation in a circle of English historians is to expose oneself to accusations of amateurishness and lack of scholarship.'
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SOME GEO-POLITICAL CONCEPTS OF KAUTILYA

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Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, a practical treatise of the 4th Century B.C., on Indian statecraft, written for the guidance of his royal master, Chandragupta Maurya¹, contains a rich ore of geo-political principles and views to be systematically and carefully smelted and analysed². In this paper, a succinct and comprehensive analysis of Kautilya's geo-political principles and views has been attempted in the light of the geo-political structures and conditions obtaining in the country during his times. The ideas and concepts, bearing on the territorial extent, elements of sovereignty, population, boundaries, capital, political divisions, the means of communication, internal and external relations, including the power of the State and other related problems, have been examined in brief critically.

Territorial Extent

Kautilya aimed at an extensive State, embracing a large territory within the Indian sub-continent which is gleaned from the following statement in the *Arthashastra*:

"the land which extends north to south from the Himalayas to the sea and measures east to west a thousand *yojanas* (7250 Kms.) is the *ksatra* (that is, the sphere of influence of a *Chakravartin* (that is, an imperial ruler of India))".³ Obviously, Kautilya's objective had been to eliminate small warring States of the past within the sub-continent and to bring about a united State, co-extensive with it, to establish peace, order and security of life and property throughout its length and breadth, with the lofty ideal of setting up a Welfare State to

promote economic growth and prosperity of the people. Kautilya seems to have derived inspiration and guidance for constituting an *all-embracing* territorial State from *Aitaraya Brahmana*.⁴ Surprisingly enough, even in the ancient times, the urgent necessity of achieving an all-embracing, extensive and formidable State could be visualised to ensure human welfare and well-being. In actual practice, under Chandragupta Maurya's regime, to a large degree, Kautilya succeeded in fulfilling his ambitious, noble and lofty design of an extensive State, the boundaries of which touched upon the seas and extended into the *Daksinpath*, south of the Narmada, normally the furthest limit of the earlier imperial States⁵. He also succeeded in freeing the western frontiers from alien domination by pushing back and keeping out waves of foreign aggression of the Greeks, under the successors of Alexander the Great⁶. Evidently, Kautilya aimed at the formation of an extensive State in preference to a small one, although one may not disagree with Dr. V. A. Smith's observation that the text of the treatise does not "provide for the needs of an extensive empire, and it is obvious that the work deals with the state of things as existing before the Mauryas had acquired paramount power."⁷

Population

No extensive territory without population can ever constitute a State. Kautilya's vision of an ideal State included a thickly populated country, for he points out that it is a State "in all its senses."⁸ His insistence on the loyalty and good character of the people, for the maintenance and continued existence of the State

can hardly be disputed at any time⁹. He poses the question whether scattered people or a concentration of people is to be preferred in the State. His categorical answer to it is:

"The former is better in as much as it can be kept under control and is not susceptible to the intrigues of enemies, while the latter is intolerant of calamities and susceptible of anger and other passions."¹⁰ Kautilya envisaged the colonisation of empty tracts of the State "by inducing foreigners to immigrate or by causing the thickly peopled centres of kingdom to send forth the excessive population".¹¹

Kautilya had a strong inclination to promote a rapid growth of male population as can be inferred from his suggestion that a man "may marry any number of women; for women are created for the sake of sons."¹² This policy is in complete accord with his concept of population, advocated by him for the maintenance of a large army for defensive and offensive warfare. He seems to favour a large man-power from the military standpoint, even of indifferent character, ability and capacity within the State. In this connection, he observes:

"My teacher says that of the two countries, one with a large number of effete persons, and one with a small number of brave persons, the latter is better in as much as a few brave persons can destroy a large mass of effete persons whose slaughter brings about the destruction of the entire army of their master.

Not so, says Kautilya, *a large number of effete persons is better* in as much as they can be employed to do other kinds of work in the camp; to serve the soldiers fighting in the battle-fields, and to terrify the enemy by their number. It is also possible to infuse spirit and enthusiasm in the timid by means of discipline and training."¹³

Elements of Sovereignty

No populated territory can ever claim the status of the State without being sovereign, in other words, any State worth the name should be unfettered by any other authority within its territory in the exercise of its powers and functions and be free from external or foreign control and interference. According to Kautilya, the king, the minister, the fort, the treasury, the army and the friend constitute the elements of sovereignty.¹⁴ It hardly needs to be asserted that without these elements of sovereignty the State would be put into jeopardy and its very existence would be threatened.

Boundaries and their functions

The pointed reference to the Himalayas and seas as limiting the territorial extent of the State,¹⁵ obviously implies Kautilya's marked and logical preference for natural boundaries. V. A. Smith correctly evaluates the achievement of Chandragupta Maurya in this field in the following statement:

"The first Indian Emperor, more than two thousand years ago, thus entered into possession of that 'scientific frontier' sighed for in vain by his English successors, and never held in its entirety even by the Moghul monarchs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries."¹⁶ As the natural boundaries by themselves could not afford protection to the State and its people, he urged strongly the erection of defensive fortifications on all the four quarters of the boundaries.¹⁷ His classification of forts include mountain fortification (*parvata*) such as a rocky tract or a cave, desert (*dhanvana*) such as wild tract devoid of water and overgrown with thicket growing on the barren soil, or a forest fortification (*Vanadurga*) full of wagtail (*Khajana*), water, and thickets. Of these, water and mountain fortifications were regarded as the best suited to defend populous centres; and desert and forest fortifications were habitations in wilderness (*ata-visthanam*).¹⁸

The functions of boundaries relating to the restriction and regulation of entry and exit of persons and commodities, as obtaining in modern times,¹⁹ were recognised and practised in the Mauryan Empire. The crossing of frontiers by the provision of pass-ports seems to have been strictly enforced in cases of foreign visitors. Any violation of this rule was visited with punishment²⁰. The unfettered flow of commodities was forbidden by law and a higher rate of toll than that on indigeneous goods was levied on imported goods as a protection against unhealthy competition arising out of the latter, though foreign traders were encouraged to establish commercial relations in the empire and home-made goods were exported to foreign countries.²¹ In other words, smuggling of goods across the State borders was considered a crime.

Capital

The allusion in the *Arthashastra* to the location of the capital of the State with reference to its boundaries for natural protection and defence in depth manifests the geographical consideration which Kautilya bore in mind. Kautilya says in this connection that the king may have his fortified capital, "as the seat of his sovereignty (*Samadayaasthanam*) in the centre of his kingdom; in a locality naturally best fitted for the purpose, such as the bank of the confluence of rivers, a deep pool of perennial water, or of a lake or tank, a fort, circular, rectangular or square in form, surrounded with an artificial canal of water, and connected with both land and water paths (may be constructed)".²²

Administrative divisions

Not very illuminating details about the administrative divisions of the State occur in the *Arthashastra*. Viceroyalties in the Mauryan Empire during Asokan regime were as follows:²³

1. The N. W. territories, with Taxila as headquarters, comprising the Punjab, Sind, countries beyond the Indus and Kashmir.

2. The Eastern territories, including Kalinga, with headquarters at Tosali.
3. The Western territories of Malwa, Gujarat and Kathiawar, with headquarters at Ujjain.
4. The Southern territories, beyond the Narbada.

The administrative division next in rank below the Viceroyalty seems to be a district (*rastra*) with its chief, known as *rastra-mukhya*.²⁴

The administrative organisation of the lower rank below the district has been described, while dealing with the formation of villages, as follows:

"Either by inducing foreigners to immigrate or by causing the thickly populated centres of his own kingdom to send forth the excessive population, the king may construct villages either on new sites or on old ruins."²⁵

"Villages consisting each of not less than a hundred families and not more than five-hundred families of agricultural caste, with boundaries extending as far as a *krosa* (2250 yards or 2286 metres); and capable of protecting each other shall be formed".²⁶ While setting up new villages, it has been urged to take advantage of the nature of the tracts concerned. "Boundaries shall be denoted by a river, a mountain, forests, bulbous plants (*grishti*), caves, artificial buildings (*setubandhas*) or by trees, such as *Salmali* (silk cotton tree), *Sami* (*Acacia Suma*) and *Kshiravriksha* (milky trees)."²⁷

"There shall be set a *sthaniya* (a fortress of that name) in the centre of eight-hundred villages, a *dronamukha* in the centre of four-hundred villages, a *kharvatika* in the centre of two-hundred villages and *sangrahana* in the midst of a collection of ten villages."²⁸

It can be a safe conclusion from the admini-

strative structure obtaining in the Mauryan Empire that Kautilya exhibited his firm conviction in the unitary type of strong, powerful, and efficient central government, able to control and regulate all minute administrative details to the lowest rung of the administrative ladder.

The Means of Communication and Transportation

It had been realised that effective means of communication were essential to keep the far-flung empire well-knit and to provide for quick and prompt deployment of military troops to the areas where they were needed in times of emergency and danger. Kautilya seems to have not neglected water transport, though he considered that it "is not long-standing".²⁹ The *Arthashastra* also throws much light on the encouragement to navigation and shipping in Kautilya's times, with a view to promote commerce and trade in the empire.³⁰ It need hardly be said that the then existing primitive means of communication compare unfavourably with those of modern times, but they must have served the requirements of the contemporary period quite effectively. The details of the classification, the nature and character of the communication cannot be discussed at length in this brief paper. Elaborate measures were taken for the maintenance, protection and regulation of traffic on roads.³¹ In short, the means of communication were arteries of trade and commerce and the life-blood of the State.

Internal relations

Besides adopting a policy of public welfare with socialistic trend of State functions, Kautilya did not neglect the dangerous and troubled spots within and outside the State. Though his expressed objective, intention and purpose had been to build up an absolute and paramount monarchy within the Mauryan Empire, republics and corporations were allowed their continued existence. But their irredentist activities were frowned upon by Kautilya and he even urged their extinction by sowing seeds of discord among them, if found to be disloyal

and engaged in threatening the peace, order and security within the State.³²

Inter-State Relations

The Mauryan Empire did not and could not exist in inert and passive isolation from the contemporary whirls of political and international currents. The existence of elaborate regulations concerning foreigners,³³ "is a conclusive proof that the Mauryan Empire in the third century B.C. was in constant intercourse with foreign states and that large numbers of strangers visited the capital on business."³⁴

"The inter-state relations, as expounded and preached in the *Arthashastra* may apparently smack of undiluted imperialism, shorn of all moral considerations and qualms of conscience. However, the *Arthashastra's* geo-political thinking, views and principles cannot be interpreted without due reference to the contemporary geo-political structure and conditions. The author of the *Arthashastra*, having made a penetrating and apt analysis of the then existing political world, had been convinced that the house divided against itself could not halt waves of foreign attacks and invasion into the country and it could easily fall a helpless prey to any powerful alien invaders, outside the Indian territory. It is not surprising that the realisation and attainment of at least outward cohesion and unity in the country was imperative to weld the far-flung and extensive territory of the Indian sub-continent into a single strong, paramount and sovereign state or *Cakravarti-ksetra*.³⁵

Undoubtedly, the *Arthashastra* may be regarded as the Bible of absolutism in the ancient Indian tradition³⁶. Though the *Arthashastra's* geo-political tenets may seem to bear an outward resemblance to Karl Haushofer's brilliant exposition of aggression on foreign lands, Kautilya's absolutism had been tempered with resolute, laudable and commendable aims and ideals of national unity to ward off foreign invasions from without. The cardinal creed of his inter-

state relations is enshrined in the following aphorism:

"it is power that brings about peace between any two kings (States)."³⁷ The truth and reality of this creed can hardly be doubted and challenged even in the so-called "enlightened" world of today, whenever the problem of preservation and protection of national territorial integrity arises and has to be dealt with in a practical way.

Kautilya regarded that permanent peace between neighbouring States was unattainable. As a consequence

"Whoever is superior in power shall wage war"³⁸
 "Whoever is rising in power may break the agreement of peace"³⁹,

The king who is situated anywhere immediately on the circumference of the conqueror's territory is termed the enemy."⁴⁰

A systematic and critical exposition of international relations and affairs embodied in the *Arthashastra* can be treated *in extenso* in a separate and independent paper to judge them in a proper historical perspective.

However, one cannot lose sight of the fact that the relations between kingdoms prior to the consolidation of the Mauryan Empire involved an "unceasing struggle for existence."⁴¹ It is not surprising that "no considerations of morality were allowed to influence statecraft, which avowedly preferred the use of insidious and treacherous means, including every form of secret assassination."⁴² The ends, therefore, justified the means.

The brief discussion points to the conclusion that the international relations, postulated in the *Arthashastra*, have to be examined, matched and interpreted against the background of India's contemporary geo-political history to seek a clear understanding and valid justification. Karl Haushofer's geo-politics has only apparent, but no real, resemblance to that of the *Arthashastra*. The German geo-politician was a votary of imperialistic designs of his country, whereas the *Arthashastra* championed the cause of a paramount power in India for the protection and defence of the territorial integrity and national unity of the country against foreign domination.

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- ¹ E.H.I., 151-3.
- ² W. A. Douglas Johnson: Politics and Geographic Relations. p. 124
- ³ K.A., Bk. IX, pp. 412.
- ⁴ Cf. "Monarchy at its highest should have an empire extended right up to the natural boundaries. It should be territorially all embracing, uninterrupted up to the very ends and should constitute and establish one state and administration up to the seas." (Krishna Chaitanya—International Relations in Indian History, Times of India, dated 24-1-65). The italics are mine.
- ⁵ H.M.E., 145.
- ⁶ H.M.E., 121.
- ⁷ E.H.I., 138.
- ⁸ K.A.; Bk. VII, Ch. 9, 364. He further remarks: "What can depopulated country like a barren cow be productive of?"
- ⁹ K.A.; Bk. VI, Ch. 1 320.
- ¹⁰ K.A.; Bk. VII, Ch. 11, 364.
- ¹¹ K. A.; Bk. II, Ch. 1, 51.
- ¹² K.A.; Bk. III, Ch. 2, 195.
- ¹³ K.A.; Bk. VII, Ch. 12, 366-7.
- ¹⁴ K.A.; Bk. VI, Ch. 1, 319.
- ¹⁵ See *supra* reference no. 3.
- ¹⁶ E.H.I., 120.
- ¹⁷ K.A.; Bk. II, Ch. 3, 56.
- ¹⁸ K.A.; Bk. II, Ch. 3, 56.
- ¹⁹ G.W.P.; Ch. VII, 105.
- ²⁰ K.A.; Bk. II, Ch. 35, 166-7.
- ²¹ K.A.; Bk. II, Ch. 21 & 22, 137-40 and also Bk. II, Ch. 12, 99.
- ²² K.A.; Bk. II, Ch. 3, 57.
- ²³ E.H.I., 163-4.
- ²⁴ K.A., Bk. IX, Ch. III, 420; Ch. II, 65 (Shamasastri has translated Rastra as 'country-parts.' 65) and Bk. II, Ch. XV, 112.
- ²⁵ K.A., Bk. II, Ch. 1, 51.
- ²⁶ Ibid.
- ²⁷ Ibid.
- ²⁸ Ibid.
- ²⁹ K.A., Bk. VII, Ch. XI, 363.
- ³⁰ K.A., Bk. II, Ch. XXVIII, 156-9.
- ³¹ K.A., Bk. II, Ch. IV, 60-63.
- ³² H.M.E., 145.
- ³³ K.A., Bk. XI, Ch. I, 456.
- ³⁴ K.A., Bk. II, Ch. XXXIV, 177 and also E.H.I., 127.
- ³⁵ E.H.I., 127. See also *supra*.
- ³⁶ The contention of Krishna Chaitanya in calling the *Arthashastra* the Bible of imperialism cannot hold good in view of my interpretation of its geo-political thinking.

(Refer "The Times of India", dated 24-1-65 for Krishna Chaitanya's opinions).

³⁷ K.A., Bk. VII, Ch. III, 333.

³⁸ K.A., Bk. VII, Ch. I, 327.

³⁹ K.A., Bk. VII, Ch. XXII, 383.

⁴⁰ K.A., Bk. VI, Ch. II, 323.

The *Arthashastra* deals with the inter-state relations elaborately in Books VII, IX, XII, XIII and XIV.

⁴¹ E.H.I., 139.

⁴² Ibid.

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¹ R. Shamasastri: Kautilya's Arthashastra (Government Press, Bangalore, 1915). (K.A.).

² V.A. Smith: Early History of India. (Oxford University Press, Third Edition, 1914.) (E.H.I.).

³ Satyaketu Vidyalankar: History of the Mauryan Empire (in Hindi, Indian Press, Samvat 1985.) (H.M.E.).

⁴ Lucile Carlson: Geography and World Politics. (Prentice-Hall, First Edition, 1962.) (G.W.P.).

⁵ W.A. Douglas Jackson: Politics and Geographic Relations. (First Edition, Prentice-Hall, 1964.).

⁶ R.S. Pandit: Visakhadatta's "Mudra Raksgasa or the Signet Ring." (English Translation, New Book Company, 1944).

THE ROADS FROM SURAT TO AGRA IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

DR. (MRS.) USHA AGARWAL

The study of the roads connecting the two important commercial towns Surat and Agra is of great significance. Surat, being situated on the south bank of the Tapti river and at the mouth of the Bay of Cambay, was 'The prime Mart of India' in 1695.¹ The goods imported at Surat were generally sent to Agra for their further distribution to the various parts of the country. Thus, Agra was renowned as a great commercial centre and the roads from Surat to Agra were mostly frequented by *Kafilas* trading in these goods.²

For convenience of study and relying on the data available, we can safely account for the four main roads running from Surat to Agra:

1. *Via* Burhanpur
2. *Via* Petlawad and Ujjain
3. *Via* Ahmadabad
4. *Via* Petlawad, Ajmer and Jaipur.

The route from Surat to Agra *via* Burhanpur has been described by various travellers and geographers mentioned below. Roe, in 1615, indicated the important stages from Surat to Burhanpur while on his way to Ajmer to meet the Mughal Emperor Jahangir. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, Finch and Delaet recorded the main stages on the road from Surat to Agra *via* Burhanpur and Ujjain. In November, 1630, Mundy travelled from Surat to Agra *via* Burhanpur and Sironj. Tavernier, an eminent French merchant, traversed the same road in the third quarter of the seventeenth century. An account of the stages

from Mandia to Agra has been given by the author of *Chahar Gulshan* and identified by J. N. Sarkar. Tieffenthaler and Rennell have also indicated the important stages from Sironj to Narwar and Sironj to Agra respectively.³

The road, however, ran through the following main stages as identified on the quarter-inch sheets of the Indian Atlas. *Surat* (Jah., Roe, Fin., D.L., Mund., Tav., C.G., Mal., RRB., Tieff.)⁴, 4½ m. east *Kumbharia* (D.L.-Combariauw, Mund.—Cumwarra), Fin., D.L.-Mutta? 5 m. south-south-east *Karodra* (D.L.-Caroden), Fin., D.L.-Curca? 14 m. east-south-east (of Kumbharia and on the left bank of the Mindhola river), *Bardoli* (Mund.-Barnolee, Tav.-Barnoly), Fin., D.L.-Nacanpore? 19 m. east (across the Mindhola river) *Vyara* (D.L.-Beca, Mund.-Bears)⁵, 15 m. d.a.c.f. east-north-east *Khokar Vada* (Mund.-Kirka, Tav.-Kerko), 35 m. east (of Bardoli and on the right bank of the Rongavali river, an affluent of the Tapti), *Navapur* (Mund.-Nauapora, Tav.-Nowapura), 10 m. north-north-east (on the left bank of the Nagan, a tributary of the Naisu river), *Dhaita* (D.L.-Dayta, Mund.), 7 m. east (across the Nagan river), *Bhadvad Budrukhi* (D.L.-Badur, Mund.-Baadoore), 10 m. east-north-east *Nandurbar* (D.L.-Nonderbar, Mund.-Metherbhurre, Tav.-Nasarbar), 21½ m. east (on the left bank of the Aravali river), *Daul Mandan* (Tav.-Dol Medan), 13 m. east-south-east *Sindkheda* (D.L.-Sindkerri, Tav.-Seuquera).

From *Nandurbar* Mundy went *via* 'Nimgul' or *Limbgoore* (D.L.-Lingue) 20 m. east of *Nandurbar*, 18 m. east-south-east (on the right bank of the Tapti), *Tankwara* (Telvad), 13½ m. d.a.c.f. east (of *Sindkheda* and on the right

bank of the Tapti river), *Thalner* (D.L.-Taulner, Mund.-Talncar, Tav.-Tallener), 25 m. east *Chopda* (D.L.-Chupra, Mund.-Chopra, Tav.-Choupre), 28 m. east-south-east *Sakli* (Tav.-Senquclis).

From *Chopda* Mundy went *via* *Rawood* or *Adavad* (D.L.-Rawad) 10 m. east-south-east of *Chopda*, 14 m. east-south-east *Taval* (D.L.-Beawle, Mund.-Beawly), 9 m. east *Nhavi* (Mund.-Navee, Tav.-Nabir), Tav.-Baldelpoura? 26 m. east-north-east (of *Taval*), *Raver* (D.L.-Ravere), 26½ m. east *Bahadurpur* (D.L.-Badurpore, Mund.-Baderpore), 4 m. east-north-east (on the left bank of the Tapti), *Burhanpur* (D.L.-Barampore, Mund.-Brampore, Tav.) Tav.-Piombi-Sera? 12 m. north *Asingarh* (Mund.-Pansure), 19 m. north-north-east (of *Burhanpur*) *Mandha* (Tav.-Pander), 15 m. d.a.c.f. north-north-east *Balwara* (Mund.-Burghkhee Sara, Tav.-Balki-Sera), 36 m. north-east (of *Asingarh*), *Chainpur* (Mund.-Cheenapour, Tav.-Chcinpour, C.G.-Seraï Chinpur), C.G.-Seraï-Nim? 18 m. d.a.c.f. north-east *Charwa* (Mund., Tav.-Choroua, C.G.-Charwa), 18½ m. d.a.c.f. north *Bichhola* (Mund.-Bichola, Tav.-Bechoula, C.G.-Seraï Bijhola), 10½ m. north-east (on the left bank of the Narbada) *Handia* (Mund.-Handcea, Tav.-Andy, C.G.-Hindia), Mund.-Tombree? Tav.-Onquenas, Tinquery, Toolmedan, Nova Sera? 43 m. north-north-east *Ichhawar* (Mund.-Eechahoore, Tav.-Ichavour, C.G.-Ichhawar), 13 m. north *Sehore* (Mund.-Seehore, Tav.-Signor, C.G.-Sihor), 6½ m. north *Shaikhpora* (Tav.-Chekaipur), C.G.-Seraï Nimak? 12 m. north-east *Duraha* (Tav.-Dour-Ay, C.G.), Tav.-Ater-Kaira? 15 m. east-north-east *Dillaud* (Mund.-Dclawood, Tav.-Telor), Tav.-San-Kaira? 32 m. north-east *Barrai* (Mund.-Barowe), 18½ m. north-east *Pamaria* (Mund.-Pomareea), 1½ m. east (of *Barrai*), *Barkhera Yaqub* (C.G.-Bhath Khira Seraï), C.G.-Cutch-Seraï? 12 m. d.a.c.f. north-east *Baroda* (C.G.-Seraï of Baroda), C.G.-Seraï Basantbaria, Seraï Kankar, Seraï Nivaria? 51 m. north-north-east (of *Dillaud*), *Sironj* (D.L.-Syrange, Mund.-Serongee, Tav.-Seronge, C.G., RBA., RRB.-Seronge), 10½ m. north *Surantal* (RRB.-Surrantal), RRB.-Cueswa?

15 m. north *Mughal Seraï* (Mund. Tav.-Megal Ki Sera, C.G.-RRB), 2½ m. north *Chhipon* (RRB.-Chepounee), Tav.-Paulki—Sera? C.G. Afgan Seraï? 9 m. north (of *Mughal Seraï*), *Kachnar* (D.L.-Cuchenary, Tav.-Kasari Ki Sera, C.G.-Kachher Seraï, RBA., RRB.-Kutchhnar Scray), 2½ m. north *Pathari* (Mund.-Patari)⁶, 5½ m. north-north-west *Bhurakheri* (RRB.-Bomby), 6m. north *Bamori* (RRB.-Bunera), 15 m. north-north-west (of *Kachner*), *Shahdara* (D.L.-Shahaura, Mund.-Sendhore, Tav.-Chodolki Sera, RRB.-Sarourah), RRB.-Serunge? 4½ m. north-north-west *Chiroli* (RRB.-Cherouly), 5 m. north *Barkhera* (RRB.-Burkeira), RRB.-Mohary? 5 m. north (across the affluents of the Sind river) *Nai Sarai* (RBA, RRB.-Nia Sera)⁷, 5 m. north *Kala Bag* (D.L.-Collchad, Tav.-Collabas, C.G. RBA.-Kallabang, RRB), RRB.—Ackoy? Tav.-Akmate? 5½ m. d.a.c.f. north (across the Sind river), *Ghunwar* (RRB.-Gooriar), 2 m. d.a.c.f. north-north-west *Badarwas* (Mund.-Seraï Abul Hasan? RRB.-Buderwur, Tieff.-Badarras), 4 m. north *Digod* (C.G.-Tumadu-Nagar, RBA.-Booradung, RRB, Tieff.-Bouredoungar), RBA.-Dundywaso? 5½ m. north-north-east *Lukwasa* (RRB.-Luckunwas), 3 m. north *Deharda* (RRB.-Derda), 6½ m. north *Kolaras* (D.L.-Qualere, Mund.-Collaroze, Tav.-Collasar, RRB.-Kularus, Tieff.-Colares), 6 m. north *Sesai Buzurg* (RBA.-Soosayo, RRB.-Seysee, Tieff.-Seschi), 5½ m. north (of *Kolaras*), *Shivpuri* (D.L.-Cypry, Mund.-Sipri, Tav.-Sheopur, C.G.-Sawari Village, RBA.-Sipparry, RRB.-Siperoo, Tieff.-Scheupori), Mund.-Dungree, Tav.-Dongry, C.G.-Dongri, RRB.-Dongree Gaut, Tieff.-Dongri? 24 m. north-east (across the Sind river), *Narwar* (D.L.-Norwar, Mund.-Nurware, Tav.-Nader, RBA, Tieff.-Narvar), 15 m. north-east (on the right bank of the Parbati nadi), *Palaichha* (D.L.-Palaichan, Mund.-Pelacha, Tieff.-Palaitsha), C.G.-Nun-Ka-Seraï, RBA.-Nankaseraï, Tieff.-Nounki Saray? 18 m. d.a.c.f. north-north-east (across the Nun nadi), *Bar-Ki-Sarai* (Mund.-Burre-Ka-Seraï, Tav.-Barqui-Sera, C.G., RBA, Tieff.-Barki Sarai), 1½ m. north *Kachhava* (C.C.-Cutch Sarai), 6 m. north-north-east *Antri* (D.L.-Antri, Tav.-Trie, C.G., Tieff), 12½ m. north-north-west *Gwalior* (D.L.-

Gualere, Mund., Tav., C.G., RBA, Tieff.-Gualiar), 5 m. north-north-west *Rairu* (RRB-Raroon), 3½ m. north-north-west *Bamor* (RRB-Bamrool), 5 m. north-north-west (on the left bank of the Sankh river), *Nurabad* (RBA, RRB-Noorabad, Tieff.), 10½ m. north-north-west *Mudia Khera* (D.L.-Mendake, Mund-Mundia-Khera), 3 m. north-north-west *Jarcva* (RRB-Jaurua), RRB-Borairy, Buroker? 17½ m. north-north-west (of Nurabad) *Chotaki Serai* (RBA-Chaola, RRB-Choolah Serai, Tieff.-Tshola), Tav.-Paterki-Sera? Tav.-Quariquei-Sera, C.G.-Serai Kanwar, RBA-Karrica-Serai? 12 m. north-north-west (across the Chambal [or Tshambal—Tieff] river) *Dholpur* (D.L., Mund., Tav., C.G., RRB, Tieff.-Daulpour), 7 m. north-north-east *Sadikpur* (C.G.-Serai Sadiq), C.G.-Edulpore? 9 m. north *Mania* (Tav.-Minascuesera, RRB-Muncach), 7m. north *Hironda* (RRB-Hunnodh), 7 m. north (of Mania, and across the 'Utagong' or 'Gambheer' river) *Jajau* (D.L.-Jajau, Tav., RRB-Jahrow, Tieff.-Zazao), Mund.-Sikandrabad? 9 m. north *Saiyan* (Mund.-Saiyan, C.G.-Serai Shaikh, RBA.-Shazah), C.G.-Kakuba? 8½ m. north-north-east *Bad* (RRB-Baad), 16 m. north-north-east *Agra* (D.L., Mund.-Tav, C.G, RBA., RRB, Tieff.⁸) (Map).

2. Surat to Agra via Petlawad and Ujjain

The road from Surat to Agra via Petlawad and Ujjain was traversed by Malet and his party in 1785⁹. The main stages *en route* recorded by Cruso are as follows: *Surat*, 4½ m. north *Variao* (Veriow), 31 m. north-north-east *Broach* (Baroche), 1 m. west *Vejalpur* (Vezelpore), 22 m. north-north-west *Raja Tankaria* (Tackarea), 22 m. north-north-east *Miya Gam* (Meah Gaum), 9½ m. north-north-east *Itola* (Etola), 14 m. north-east-*Baroda* (Brodera), 13 m. north-east (across the Suree or Surwa river), *Jarod* (Jarode), 11 m. north-east *Halol* (Halool), 10½ m. north-north-east *Malao* (Mallow), 13½ m. north-east (on the left bank of the Goma or 'Gomah' river) *Simalia* (Seemlee), 6½ m. east-north-east *Gholav* (Gorlah), 8 m. east-south-east *Juna Bariya* (Barreah), 18 m. east-north-east *Umara* (Cum-

marcah), 16 m. east-north-east *Dohad*, 12 m. east-north-east *Tanda* (Taundah), 13 m. north-east *Thandla* (Tandlah), 14 m. east *Petlawad* (Pitlabad), 8 m. south-east *Jamli* (Jamliah), 14 m. east-south-east *Rajod* (Rajoud), 12 m. east-north-east *Badnawar* (Boodnaw), 24 m. east-south-east *Nolana* (Noulaw), 7 m. d.a.c.f. east-north-east *Borali* (Bulleyree), 24 m. north-north-east (across the 'Chumbal' or *Chambal* and *Gambir* rivers) *Ujjain* (Oojai), 19 m. d.a.c.f. north-east (across the Chhoti Kali Sindh or 'Chota Colla Sind' river) *Tarana*, 16 m. north-east (on the Tilar nadi or 'Teckun' river) *Shajapur* (Shah-Jehan-pore), 16½ m. north-east (on the bank of the Kali Sindh or 'Cotta Sind' river) *Sarangpur* (Sarungpoor), 16 m. d.a.c.f. north-north-east *Rajgarh* (Rajcghur), 50 m. d.a.c.f. north-north-east (across the Newaja or 'Nuaje' and *Parbati* or 'Parbuttee' rivers) *Raghugarh* ('Rogoghur'), Jercocn? 15 m. d.a.c.f. north-east *Mahalpur* (Maulpoor), Boora, Doongre, Durdeh? 71 m. north-north-east *Kolaras* (Colarecs), 7 m. north *Sesai Buzurg* (Sasye Seroy), 8 m. north *Shivpuri* (Sceprece), 19 m. d.a.c.f. north-north-east (across the Amar nadi or 'Ummir river') *Dholgarh* (Dowlah Gaum), 33 m. north-north-east *Dhoha* (Dooa), 8 m. east-north-east *Barai* (Berye)¹⁰, 12½ m. d.a.c.f. east-north-east (of Dhoha) *Chhoua* (Cherowray), 13 m. north-east (of Barai) *Gwalior* (Gwalier), 14 m. north-north-west (on the Sankh or 'Saunk' river) *Nurabad*¹¹, Choonda, Keytree? 24 m. north-north-west (across the Asan or 'Afsan' and *Chambal* or 'Chumbal' rivers) *Dholpur* (Dolepoor), 8½ m. north *Mania* (Munnea), 8 m. north (across the *Gambhir* or 'Gumbeer' river) *Jajau* (Jajew), 2½ m. south (of Agra and across the *Khari* or 'Karra' nadi) *Uknarra* (Oakwala), 16½ m. north-north-east (of Jajau) *Agra*.¹²

3. Surat to Agra via Ahmedabad and Sirohi

Another highway of note running from Surat to Agra via Ahmedabad has been sketched mainly from the itineraries of Mundy, Mandelslo, Tavernier, Thevenot, Fryer, Malet and Rennell. Mundy traversed the road from

Surat to Agra via Ahmedabad and Hindaun. Mandelslo and Thevenot marked the stages from Surat to Ahmedabad in 1638 and 1660, respectively. In the middle of the seventeenth century Tavernier described the road from Surat to Agra via Ahmedabad, Ajmer and Hindaun. Fryer, Cruso and Rennell have also recorded the main stages from Surat to Broach¹³.

Surat, 4½ m. north (across the Tapti river) *Variao* (D.L.-Periaw, Mund.-Bereawe, Mandel., Thev.-Beriao, Fry.-Bereaw, Mal.-Veriow, RRB.-Veriow)¹⁴, 5m. north-north-east *Sayan* (RRB.-Sewan), 22m. north-north-east (across the Kim river) *Panoli* (RRB.-Pandolly), 7m. north *Anklesavar* (Mund.-Unclesere, Thev.-Oklesar, Fry.-Unclisser, RRB.-Orclisser), 4 m. north (across the Narbada river) *Broach* (Mund.-Barroche, Tav.-Baroche, Thev.-Baroche, Mal., RRB-Baroche), 14 m. north *Podria* (RRB.-rodreca), RRB.-Ekur? 14 m. north-north-east *Miyagam* (RRB.-Meahgong), 10½ m. north-north-east *Itola* (RRB.-Ecktola), 17½ m. north-north-east *Jambuwa* (RRB.-Jumbooa), 6 m. north-north-east *Baroda* (Mund.-Brodera, Mandes., Tav.-Broudra, RRB.-Barode.) (Map).

From *Broach* to *Baroda* Mundy went *Via Saran* 14 m. north-west of *Broach* (Saron), 37½ m. east-north-east *Karvan* (Caravan Sarae), Mandel.-Karawanet), 19m. north-north-west *Baroda*. (Map).

1. From *Baroda* to *Ahmedabad* Mundy and Mandelslo went *Via Vasad* 14½ m. (on the left bank of the Mahi river) north-north-west (Mund., Mandel.-Vasad), 9m. north-north-west *Chikhodra* (Mund.-Charsoo) 6m. north-north-west *Boriavi* (Mund.-Borabee), 19m. north-north-west *Mehamadabad* (Mund.-Mahmud Avad), 16m. (across the Watrak river) north-north-west *Issanpur* (Issun Pore), 5m. north-north-east *Ahmadabad* (Ahmudavad). (Map).

2. Tavernier traversed the road from *Baroda* to *Ahmadabad* *Via Nadiad* 37m. north-north-west

(of Baroda) and 40m. south-south-east of *Ahmadabad* (Neriade).

3. Thevenot recorded the following stages from *Broach* to *Ahmadabad*: *Broach*, 22m. north *Sarbhon* (Sourban), 19m. north *Dabka* (Debca), 18½ m. north-north-west *Pellad* (Petnad), 7m. north-north-west *Sojitra* (Mandel., Thev.-Sousentra), 16m. north-north-west *Matar* (Mader), 15½ m. north-north-west *Bareja* (Baredgia), Githagh? 15m. north-north-west *Sarkhej* (Serquech), 5½ m. north-north-east *Ahmadabad*.

Ahmadabad, 6½ m. north *Chandkhera* (Mund.-Chandungame), 3½ m. north-north-west *Pansar* (Mund.-Pansere, Tav.-Panser), 11m. north-north-west *Jornang* (Mund.-Jurnucke), 15m. north-north-west *Mehsana* (Mund.-Messana, Tav.-Masana), 15m. north-north-west *Unauwa* (Nowa), 13m. north-east (on the right bank of the Saraswati river) *Sidhpur* (Mund.-Seedpore, Tav.-Chitpour).¹⁵ (Map).

From *Sidhpur* to *Jalor* Mundy went (1) *via Sirohi* and Tavernier took the road (2) through *Dantiwada*. The main stages of these roads are given below.

Sidhpur 14m. north-north-east *Magarwada* (Mogurwarra), 14m. north-north-west (*via* Tav.-Palanpur and across the Amardasi river) *Gola* (Goola), 12m. north-north-west *Ghod* (Godora), 14m. d.a.c.f. north-north-west (on the left bank of the Banas river) *Sarotra* (Sheroutra), 5½ m. east-north-east *Roho* (Roc), 7m. d.a.c.f. east-north-east *Mungthala* (Mugtola), 8m. north-east *Amtharo* (Ametola), 11m. d.a.c.f. north-north-east *Nitura* (Nytora), 10m. d.a.c.f. north-north-west *Makrora* (Macrouree), 5m. north-north-east *Sirohi* (Sheroy), 8m. north-north-west *Ud* (Oonde), 10m. north-north-west *Siwana* (Shehana), 11½ m. north-north-west *Bagra* (Bagra), 18m. north *Modran* (Mund.-Modra, Tav.), 14m. north (of Bagra) *Jalor* (Mund.-Jallor, Tav.) (Map).

Sidhpur, 18m. north-north-east *Palanpur* (Balambour), 19m. north-north-west (on the

right bank of the Banas river) *Dantiwada* (Dantiuar), 26m. north-north-west *Bargaon* (Bargant), 26m. north *Bhimmal* (Bimal), 20m. north-north-east *Modra* (Modra), 23m. north-east *Jalor* (Chalaour).

Jalor, 19½m. north-north-west *Bharwani* (Mund.-Bourane) 8m. north *Khandap* (Mund.-Chunducke, Tav.-Cantap), 19m. north-north-east *Dunara* (Mund.-Danoora), 18½m. north-north-east (Via Tav.-Sutlana), *Kankani* (Mund.-Cacanec), 30m. north-east (across the Luni river), *Pipar* (Mund.-Peeperce, Tav.-Pipars).

From *Khandap* to *Pipar* Tavernier went via *Sullana* 32m. north-east (on the right bank of the Luni river-Setlanan), 34m. north-east *Palasani* (Palavaseny), 19m. north-east *Pipar*.

Pipar, 21½m. east-north-east *Bitan* (Mund.-Betun), 18½m. north-east *Merta* (Mund.-Mirta, Tav.-Mirda). From *Merta* to *Bandar Sindri* Mundy recorded the following stages: *Merta*, 15m. south-east *Rian* (Arrea), Budwaree? 45m. south-east (of Merta) *Ajmer* (Adgemeere), 18m. east-north-east *Kishangarh* (Kissungurre), Setila? 11m. east-*Bandar Sindri* (Bander Sunder) (Map).

After *Merta* Tavernier marked *Bharunda* 27m. east of *Ajmer* (Boronda), 30m. east *Kuchil* (Coetchieli), 20m. south-east *Bandar Sindri* (Bander-Sonnery).

Bandar Sindri, 22m. east-north-east *Mozambad* (Mund.-Mezbad), 26½m. east-south-east *Piplio* (Peepeelegame), 13m. east-south-east *Chatsu* (Chatsoo).

Tavernier, from *Bandar Sindri* to *Chatsu* went via *Ladana* 42m. east (Ladona), 26m. east-south-east *Chatsu* (Chason).

Chatsu, Mund.-Jampa? Tav.-Nuali? 30m. east-south-east *Lalsot* (Mund.-Lallsoote), 20m. east *Bamanwas* (Bamangame), 16½m. east-north-east *Sop* (Somt Ca Sara), 23m. south-east *Hindaun* (Mund.-Tav.-Hindoo), 8m. north-east *Suroth* (Mund.-Soroto), 11m. north-east *Bayana*

(Mund.-Biana, Tav.-Baniana, 11m. east-north-east *Nibnera* (Mund.-Necmbra), 7m. east-north-east *Khamua* (Connoway), 8m. east-north-east *Fatehpur Sikri* (Mund.-Futtapore, Tav.-Vettapore) 23m. east-north-east *Agra* Mund.-Tav)¹⁶ (Map).

4. Surat to Agra via Pellawad, Ajmer and Jaipur

Last but not the least, the road from *Surat* to *Agra* via *Pellawad*, *Ajmer* and *Jaipur* is described by Jahangir in his memoirs and Rennell in his Road Book.¹⁷ Up to *Pellawad* the main stages marked by Rennell are similar to those mentioned in Cruso's itinerary described in route (ii). From *Pellawad*, this road leads to *Ajmer*, *Jaipur* and *Agra*. The important stages on route, as indicated by them, are as follows: *Pellawad* 8m. north-north-east *Sarangi* (RRB-Sarungee), 7½m. north-north-east (on the left bank of the Mahi river) *Chayen* (RRB-Chacen), 2m. north-north-east (across the Mahi river) *Palas* (RRB-Tallas), 14m. north-north-east *Railam* (RRB-Rutlam), 23m. north-north-east *Jaora* (RRB-Jowra), 12m. north *Piplia Jodah* (RRB-Peepliah), 2½m. north *Katchuara* (RRB-Kutchuara), 6m. north *Dalaoda* (RRB-Dul-louch), RRB-Andany? 9m. north *Mandasor* (RRB-Mundisoor), 8m. north-north-west *Tharod* (RRB-Tirode), 10m. north-north-east *Narayangarh* (RRB-Narraingur), 4½m. west *Malhargarh* (RRB-Mulhargur), RRB-Rilsharah, Githya, Doorchairy? 14m. north-north-west *Nimach* (RRB-Necmuch), 9m. north-west *Nayagaon* (RRB-Nuwaggaum), RRB-Seekea? 6m. north-west *Nimbherra* (RRB-Necmarrah), 8½m. north-north-west *Sinduri* (RRB-Sandookerra), RRB-Urneco? 7m. north-north-east *Khor* (RRB-Keira), 6m. north *Chitor* (RRB-Chittoor), 12½m. north *Gangrar* (RRB-Gungraon), 7m. north *Gajra* (RRB-Gaunjror), 14m. north-north-east (on the left bank of the Banas river) *Mangrur* (RRB-Mangrope), 10m. north (across the Banas), *Bhilwara* (RRB-Belara), 12m. d.a.c.f *Mowa* (RRB-Mowah), 7m. north-north-east *Dhikola* (RRB-Denkolah), RRB-Tennah? 16m. north-north-east *Kanesan Kalan* (RRB-Cumnayasan), 9m. north *Dhanob* (RRB-

Dantrope), 9½m. north *Champaneri* (RRB-Champancer), 23m. north-north-west *Kumharia* (RRB-Koomairia), RRB-Naumda? 12m. d.a.c.f north-west *Rajgarh* (RRB-Rajgurh), 11m. north *Ajmer* (RRB-Ajmere), 7m. north-east *Gangwana* (RRB-Gugwana), 9m. east-north-east *Kishangarh* (RRB-Kishengur), 14m. east-north-east *Khera* (RRB-Jurkeira), RRB-Meitgaon? 9m. east *Harsoli* (RRB-Hutsoree), 8m. east-north-east *Khudala* (RRB-Kodowloo), 6m. d.a.c.f east-north-east *Mozabad* (RRB-Mojabad), 16½m. north-east *Bagru* (RRB-Bugroo), 17m. east-north-east-*Jaipur* (Jypore).¹⁸ (Map).

There were two roads from *Agra* to *Jaipur*: (1) *Via Fatehpur Sikri* and (2) *via Bharatpur* as indicated in Rennell's Road Book.

1. *Jaipur*, 16m. east-south-east *Mohanpur* (Mohunpore), 8m. east *Jatuware* (Jutwara), 7m. east *Daosa* (Dewsah), Kundaulee? 8m. east-north-east (on the left bank of the Banganga river) *Sikandra* (Secundra), 17m. east-north-east *Balahera* (Balahara), 6m. east *Mahwah* (Mowah), 7m. east *Bhasawar* (Besower), 8m. east *Wer* (Weer), 10m. east *Farsu* (Pursea), 14½m. east *Kurka* (Koorka), Gerowtee, Bowpore? 16½m. east-north-east *Fatehpur Sikri* (Futtehpore), 8½m. east-north-east *Kiraoli* (Kerowly), 10m. east-north-east *Malpura* (Malpoora), 3m. north-east *Agra*. (Map)

2. *Jaipur*, Dhor, Dewra? 22m. east-north-east *Newar* (Naywar), 4m. east-north-east *Lalwas* (Lalwass), 7m. east-north-east *Rampura* (Ramoor), Saway? 9m. d.a.c.f east-south-east *Beroli* (Barole), 8½m. north-east *Gurha* (Goodah), Kaisrypoora? 17½m. north-east *Jamrauli* (Jamrol), 7½m. east *Danpur* (Dhonpore), 6m. d.a.c.f north-east *Gothra* (Gotra), Leckinpore? 19m. east-north-east *Garu* (Kairo), 6½m. east-north-east *Katara* (Kutaro),

Vadowye? 6½m. east-south-east *Gadoli* (Gadowly), Bucktory? 12m. east-north-east *Bharatpur* (Bhurt pore), Busuny? 9½m. east *Chaksana* (Chuckosany), 5m. east *Achhvera* (Atchnaira), 13m. south-south-east *Malpura*, 3m. south-east *Agra*¹⁹.

As regards the general condition of the roads from *Surat* to *Agra*, we find a few references in the contemporary accounts. Finch described the road from *Burhanpur* to *Dipalpur* (near *Ujjain*) to be 'exceeding stony and bad'.²⁰ And about one and a half centuries later, Malet traversed a very stony and difficult road while on his way from *Ujjain* to *Gwalior*.

All the same, these highways, being commonly frequented by various *Kafilas*, were on the whole well provided with numerous amenities like trees, wells, tanks *sarais* (inns) etc. Mundy gives an elaborate account of "many faire wells called Beaulees, running brookes of water, and Tanks" he came across on his way, particularly at *Vyara*, *Schore* and *Barki Sarai*.²¹

Near about the third quarter of the eighteenth century, Malet saw, at *Kolaras* "the remains of tanks" and "a bouree or large well", of very superior architecture.²² The tanks, the remains of which Cruso talked about in his journal, obviously existed and were used about the middle of the eighteenth century.

Besides, the road from *Agra* to *Ajmer* was particularly bordered by small stone pillars known as *Kos Minars*, which were erected at Akbar's order when he made a foot pilgrimage to *Ajmer*.²³ These pillars were set up at a regular distance of a *Kos* or approximately two miles and served as the road and distance indicators.²⁴

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¹ *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 111, 122.

² W. Foster, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, 1, 88.

³ W. Foster, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, (1926),

I, 86-89; W. Foster, *Early Travels in India* (1921), 136-46; De Laet *The Empire of the Great Mogol* Tr. by J. S. Hoyland (1928), 11, 40-64; Tavernier *Travels in India* ed. By V. Ball

(1889), I, 49-65; J. N. Sarkar *India of Aurangzeb* 1901, CXIV-CXVIII; P. J. Tieffenthaler *Description Historique et Géographique de l'Inde* (1791), I, 177-88; *Road Book* of James Rennell.

⁴ *Joh.-Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* tr. by A. Rogers and B. Lowe, ed. by H. Beveridge (1909-14); Roe-*The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe; Fin-Observations of W. Finch; De Lact The Empire of the Great Mogols; Mund The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia* (1914); Tav-*Taverniers Travels in India* ed. by V. Ball (1889); C.G.-*Chahar Gulshan* by R. Chatarman tr. by J. N. Sarkar in *India of Aurangzeb*; Mal-*Oriental Memoirs* by J. Forbes (1834); Tieff.-*Tieffenthaler*; RRB-*Road Book of James Rennell*.

⁵ From Bardoli Tavernier goes via Belor instead of Vyara to reach Kerkoo (*Khokar Vada*). Belor may be identified as Valod in I.A.S. 46 G, situated at about 11 miles east-south-east of Bardoli, on the right bank of the Purna river in Lat. 21°03'N. and long. 73°15'E.

⁶ From *Mughal Serai* Mundy went direct about 11½ miles north to Pathari.

⁷ In his Bengal Atlas Rennell marked the following stages from Kachner to Nai Sarai: Kachner, 4½ m. north-north-east Kachua (Kukkrowly) 24°29'N., 77°39'E. Mechapow? 16½ m. d.a.c.f. north-north-west (and about 7½ m. south of Shahdara) Mudra (Murlah, 24°43'N, 77°35½'E), 6m north Nai Sarai.

⁸ I.A.S.-Quarter-inch sheets of the Indian Atlas, 46 C, G, K, O, 55C, B, E, F, 54 H, G, K, J.

⁹ J. Forbes *Oriental Memoirs* (1834), II, 391-410; *Ibid.* (1813), IV, 5-37.

¹⁰ After Berye Cruso mentions Naigow which he visited to see the mines 'leaving the Gwalier road on the left'. This place may be identified as Nayagaon in I.A.S. 54 J, situated in latitude 26°02'N. and longitude 77°48'E. J. Forbes *Oriental Memoirs*.

¹¹ Cruso refers to the famous bridge of Nurabad saying

'Where was the handsomest bridge he had yet seen in India'. J. Forbes *Oriental Memoirs* (1834), II, 408.

¹² I.A.S. 46 C, F, J, I, M; 55 A; 54 D, H, G, K, J, F, & E.
¹³ *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia* ed. by L. Col. R.C. Temple (1914) II; *Travels in Western India* by Johann Albrecht Mandelslo ed. by M.S. Commissariat 1931, 13-19; *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri* ed. by S. N. Sen 8-9; *Tavernier's Travels in India* ed. by V. Ball, I, 66-89; J. Forbes *Oriental Memoirs* (1813) II, 214-17; J. Fryer *A New Account of East India and Persia* ed. by W. Crooke (1909), II, 214-17; *Ibid.*, III 150-59; *Road Book* of James Rennell.

¹⁴ Mandel-*Travels in Western India* by Johann Albrecht Mandelslo ed. by M.S. Commissariat (1931); Fry- J. Fryer *A New Account of East India and Persia*, ed. by W. Crooke (1909).

¹⁵ I.A.S. 46 C, F, B and A.

¹⁶ I.A.S. 46 C, F, B, A; 45 D, C, F, J, N; 54 B, F and E.

¹⁷ Beni Prasad *History of Jahangir* (1922), 303-4.

¹⁸ I.A.S. 46 C, B, F, J, I, M; 45 P, L, K, J, N; 54 B, A and E.

¹⁹ *Road Book of James Rennell*; I.A.S. 45 N; 54 B and A.

²⁰ W. Foster *Early Travels in India* (1921), 142.

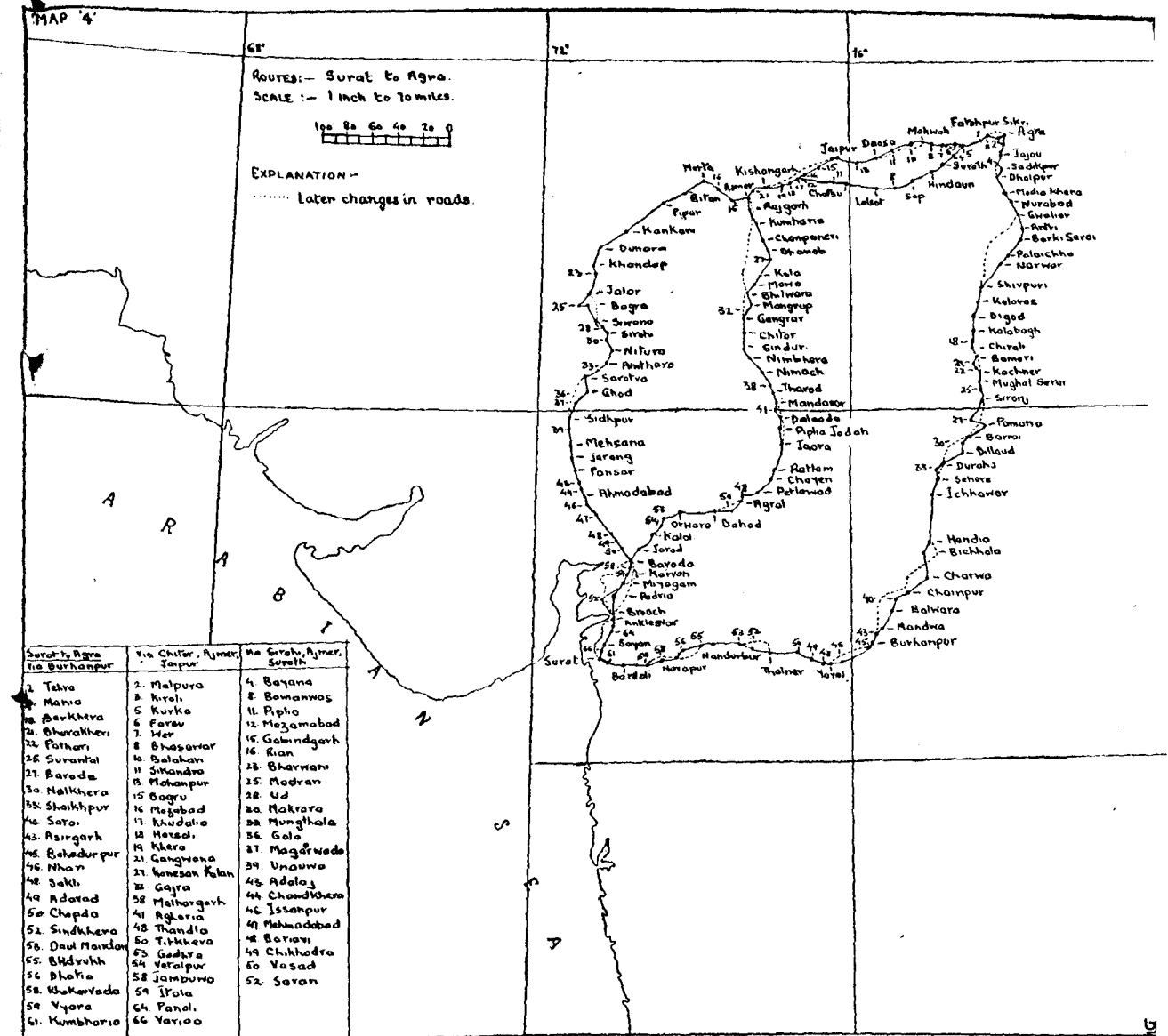
²¹ *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia*, II, 40, 55, 60; W. Foster *Early Travels in India* (1921), 136; De Lact *The Empire of the Great Mogol*, 28.

²² J. Forbes *Oriental Memoirs* (1834), II, 401.

²³ W. Foster *Early Travels in India* (1921), 148-49.

²⁴ Kos Minar has been described by Monserrate as a 'Pyramid from which are measured the distance for the mile-stones (or rather half-mile stone, for such they are), which have been placed after the Roman manner along the roads eastwards to Agara (Agra) and westwards to Azimiris (Ajmer).

The Commentary of Father Monserrate on his journey to the Court of Akbar, Tr. by J.S. Hoyland and annotated by S. N. Banerjee (1922), 31.



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- (a) Whether the degree be awarded to the candidate;

- (b) Whether the thesis is fit for publication;

- (c) Whether the thesis be rejected;

- (d) Whether the candidate be allowed to resubmit the thesis after revision.

He shall forward the same to the Chairman, Board of Examiners.

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A candidate registered for the degree may be permitted to modify the scheme of his research work or the nature or scope of his subject with the express permission of the Council of Post-Graduate Studies and Research.

III. Every candidate for the Ph. D. degree shall be required to carry on research work at least for two years from the date of his registration under the guidance of a supervisor appointed by the Council of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in one of the departments of the University. The Council of Post-Graduate Studies and Research may permit a candidate to work under an approved supervisor in another University. The candidate, however, will be normally required to reside at the same place where his supervisor resides.

Provided that the Council of Post-Graduate Studies and Research may allow a candidate working in a College under the University to

carry on the research work without the guidance of a supervisor.

IV. (1) Every candidate for the degree of Ph. D. shall state in his application for examination the special subject upon a knowledge of which he rests his qualifications for the degree, and shall, with his application, submit four copies, printed or typewritten, of his thesis on the same subject.

(2) Every candidate must also forward with his application:

(i) A certificate from the Supervisor that the subject matter of his thesis is a record of work done by the candidate himself under his guidance and that the contents of his thesis did not form a basis of the award of any previous degree to him or to the best of his knowledge, to any body else;

(ii) An account of the extent to which the subject matter of the thesis leads to the advancement of knowledge in the particular subject and the amount of independent work done by him.

(iii) A candidate may submit with his thesis four copies of any other previous work done by him and published in journals and periodicals.

V. A thesis for the degree of Ph. D. shall,

(a) be composed upon some special portion of the subject stated in the candidate's application;

(b) embody the result of research;

(c) show evidence that it is a piece of research work characterised either by the discovery of new facts or by an attempt at a fresh interpretation of known facts and theories. It shall also evince the candidate's capacity for originality; critical

examination and judgment. It shall also be satisfactory in presentation so far as language, style and form are concerned;

(d) include an abstract of the subject not exceeding sixty lines.

A candidate shall indicate clearly and extensively in the preface to his thesis and specially in notes, the following:

(a) the source from which 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, or under advice, or in co-operation with others.

VI. The thesis shall be examined by a Board of three examiners, one internal and two external, appointed by the Examination Board, on receipt of the recommendations of the Council of Post-Graduate Studies and Research. The internal examiner shall ordinarily be the person under whom the candidate has studied and worked for Ph. D. degree.

In case of disagreement between the examiners the following action will be taken:

(a) If two of the examiners do not recommend the thesis for the degree, the thesis will be disapproved;

(b) If two of the examiners recommend the thesis and the third examiner disagrees, the thesis will be submitted to a fourth examiner and his opinion shall be regarded as final.

(c) In case even one of the three examiners suggest a revision of the thesis, the candidate will be required to submit a revised

thesis within a year from the date of the instruction.

The examiners will continue to be the same. A thesis once submitted, and if disapproved, may be permitted to be revised twice and no more.

VII. (i) If the thesis of the candidate is approved by the examiners, he may be required to sit for a written examination, if so required by any of the examiners, and shall submit to an oral test. At the oral test at least the internal and an external examiner should be present, preferably one of the two external examiners of the thesis.

(ii) The written examination shall consist of two papers of three hours' duration each, one upon the special subject mentioned in the application of the candidate and the other upon the subject of the thesis.

(iii) The oral examination shall be with reference to the thesis and the special subject which he offers.

(iv) The examiners shall report to the Examination Board the result of their examination of the thesis and of the written and oral examination. The Examination Board with their opinion shall then place the report before the Council of Post-Graduate Studies and Research whose recommendation will be placed before the Academic Council.

VIII. (i) If the Academic Council, after considering the report of the Council of Post-Graduate Studies and Research, are satisfied

that the candidate is worthy of the degree of Ph. D. they shall cause his name to be published with the subject and the title of his thesis.

(ii) If the thesis of a candidate is not approved by the examiners, the Academic Council may, on the recommendation of the examiners, permit him to re-submit the thesis only once again after such revision and modification as may be suggested by the examiners.

In no case, permission shall be granted to re-submit the thesis a third time.

(iii) If the candidate fails to satisfy the examiners at the oral examination, the Academic Council may, on the recommendation of the examiners, permit him to appear again at the oral examination after six months, but within the period not exceeding one year following the date of his failure.

IX. (i) If in the opinion of the examiners, the thesis and any other original contribution submitted by the candidate are of such excellence as to be suitable for the degree of D. Litt. then the Academic Council may order the award of such degree to the candidate provided he otherwise fulfils the condition for such degree.

(ii) Every candidate registered for the Ph. D. degree in Arts shall also have the option, on the explicit recommendation of the Supervisor, subject to the approval of the Academic Council, to supplicate the University for the consideration of his thesis for the higher degree of D. Litt.

ENROLMENT FOR RESEARCH DEGREES (1956-65)

University of Mysore

Name	Subject	Supervisor
*Sri B. Mudda Chari	Mysore-Maratha Relations in the 18th Century	Dr. B. Sheik Ali
Sri C. Sivanna	Mysore under Krishnaraja Wodeyar IV	Dr. B.S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar
*Smt. Syeda Mallika Banu	Administrative Policy of Tipu Sultan.	Dr. B. Sheik Ali.
*Sri G. R. Rangaswamaiah	Vira Ballala II	Dr. B.S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar.
Smt. M. B. Padma	Position of Women in Medieval Karnataka	Dr. B.S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar.
*Sri B. R. Keshava Murthy	Krishnaraja Wodeyar III and his Times	Sri D. S. Achyuta Rao.
Sri K. S. Shivanna	Agrarian System in Karnataka 1300-1800 A.D	Dr. B. Sheik Ali
Smt S. Vyjayanthi	History of Social Legislation in Mysore 1830—1940	Dr. B. Sheik Ali
Sri Hiriyannaiah, K. N.	Minor Dynasties of Karnataka 1000-1300 A.D.	Dr. S. Srikanta Sastri

* Asterisks indicate These Completed

SUPERVISION OF RESEARCH WORK

University of Mysore

Recognised Supervisors	Major Publications
1. Dr. B. Sheik Ali, M.A., Ph.D., Professor and Head of the Department of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in History, Mysore University.	British Relations with Haidar Ali.
2. Dr. S. Srikantha Sastri, M.A., D.Litt.	Sources of Karnatak History.
3. Dr. B. S. Krishnaswamy Iengar, M.A., D. Litt.	

Research Projects Undertaken by the Department of History

The Department wants to publish *Sources of Karnatak History* in eight Volumes, for which enough work has already been done.

Comments by Supervisor

Dr. B. SHEIK ALI, Professor and Head of the Department of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in History, University of Mysore.

The Department of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in History is still in its infancy, and it has to make up a good deal of lost time to come up to a satisfactory level. It is only five years old, and has to build itself from the scratch.

We have yet to build up a Research Library which could provide enough material for our scholars. At present we send our students to Madras, Poona, Bombay and Hyderabad to collect material. The difficulty is not of money to buy the books but of the availability of research material. Our students are being encouraged to be strong on language side, as at present they know only English and the regional language. The quality of our students is quite good, with enough ability to grasp the subject and express their thoughts.

To remove paucity of material we are thinking of building up a Microfilm Library and to conduct an extensive survey of Karnataka to find out what material is available in private hands. Our Government Record Office and Oriental Research Institute are also helping us by placing their records at our disposal.

THESES PRESENTED

Karnatak University (Dharwar)

THE SEUNAS (THE YADAVAS OF DEVAGIRI)

DR. SHRINIVAS RITTI

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Political Scene In the Deccan Before Bhillama V

When Bhillama was rising to power, the political conditions in the Deccan were favourable to him. The fading supremacy of the Chalukyas gave him an opportunity to lay his claim over their territory. He had, however, to fight hard with the Hoysala king, who also was a rival claimant. The Kakatiyas in the East, however, tried in vain to extend their sway over this territory. Conditions in the Paramara and Chaulukya kingdoms also were not peaceful.

CHAPTER II: THE BEGINNINGS

I(A). Origin and Genealogy

Different theories regarding the origin of the family are examined. The claim that they belonged to the race of Yadu is legendary. The titles like *Sellavidēga* and *Karnata-rava*, the numerous records in Kannada, Kannada proper names, the matrimonial alliances—all indicate their home in the Kannada area. Like many other families, they were also governors in their early career, in the northern part of the Rashtrakuta kingdom which came to be known as Seuna-desa.

The name of the family is Seuna.

I(B). Genealogy

Genealogy of the family has been fixed by co-ordinating the different accounts given in various records and literary sources.

II. Early Rulers

The political activities of the rulers from

Seunachandra II down to Mallugi II have been described. All the sources available up to date are utilised and the views of different scholars examined.

CHAPTER III: THE RISE—BHILLAMA V AND JAITUGI I

I. Bhillama V

Bhillama's succession was not smooth. He wrested power from the son of his brother Kaliyaballala. Bhillama had to fight with many an enemy before proclaiming himself king. The toughest of them was Hoysala Ballala II, who did not allow him to move down below the Malaprabha.

The capital of the Seunas was first Tenevalage, modern Tadavalaga in Bijapur District. Later on Bhillama chose Devagiri, i.e. Daulatabad in Aurangabad District. Actually his son Jaitugi I made it the capital.

II. Jaitugi I

Jaitugi also could not face Ballala. The only important incident in his short career was the defeat of the Kakatiya Rudradeva, who together with his brother Mahadeva died in the battle. The latter's son Ganapati was taken captive by Jaitugi but later released.

CHAPTER IV: THE ZENITH

Singhana II

A conclusion regarding the date of accession of Singhana is arrived at, after studying about more than 70 epigraphs giving different dates for the event.

Singhana had to fight with all his neighbours—and successfully—in order to extend his territory. He attacked Lata twice and defeated the Paramara Arjunavarman. The Kadamba Kesiraja, Silahara Bhoja II and the Rattas were put down. The Sindas of Belgutti were subdued. Hoysala Ballala had to retreat. Singhana could extend his sway upto Banavasi. Ballala's son Narasimha could not stand the onslaught of Singhana. Many battles were fought with the Vaghela chiefs, Lavanaprasada and Viradhavala. The bank of the Narmada became the battle scene. Many minor chiefs in the North were put down.

CHAPTER V: THE STABILITY

Kannara and Mahadeva

If Singhana's rule was one of expansion, that of his grandsons Kannara and Mahadeva was one of stabilisation. In their period too the enmity with all the neighbours continued.

Mahadeva ruled jointly with his brother for some time. He fought with the Gurjaras, Paramaras and the Hoysalas. He subdued the Silahara chief.

CHAPTER VI: THE DECLINE

Amana and Ramachandra

Amana occupied the throne after the death of his father Mahadeva. But the rightful heir was Ramachandra, the son of Kannara. Ramachandra killed Amana and seized power. Ramachandra continued his hostile activities against his neighbours. He helped Ambadeva, a feudatory of the Kakatiya Rudramba, to rise against her. He fought many battles with the Hoysala king.

CHAPTER VII: THE DOWNFALL

Last Days of Ramachandra, Singhana III and Harapala

The last two decades of Ramachandra's rule saw the beginning of the end of the Seuna rule. Mallik Gharshasp, the nephew of the Delhi Sultan Jalal-ud-din Khalji, got the information

about the wealth of the southern kingdoms and attacked Devagiri. Ramachandra's son Singhana III was not present in the capital. On return, he fell on the Muslim army, in spite of the treaty that had already been entered into by his father with Mallik Gharshasp. The result was not favourable to the Seuna.

Mallik Gharshasp became the Sultan by the name Ala-ud-din Khalji. His general Malik-Kafur attacked Devagiri again. Ramachandra was taken captive to Delhi but sent back honourably. The Seuna kingdom lost its independence.

Later Malik-Kafur raided the south twice—once the Andhra area and the second time the Hoysala kingdom. On both the occasions Ramachandra helped the invader. He died in the year 1312 A.D.

Singhana III tried to revolt, but in vain, against the Muslim authority. He was put to death by Malik-Kafur.

After the death of Singhana, petty chiefs like Mallideva and Harapaladeva (the latter being the son-in-law of Ramachandra) tried to free themselves from the Muslim yoke. But their efforts ended in disaster. Harapala was mercilessly killed.

Thus ended the Seuna rule in the Deccan.

CHAPTER VIII: THE EPILOGUE

A review of the ability and achievements of the Seuna rulers and the reasons for their fall.

CHAPTER IX: ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE

I. Administration

Need for a leader for protection resulted in kingship. In course of time leadership developed into a well organised State.

Succession to the throne was hereditary and the Yuvaraja was given necessary training to take up the responsibility of governorship.

An instance of joint rulership is found in the Seuna history.

The designations of the Ministers were not clear, nor their duties defined. Administrative and military duties were entrusted to them. They were placed as administrative heads of territorial units.

Provincial administration was of two types, some provinces were governed directly by the men appointed by the king while in others it vested in the feudatory chiefs who owed allegiance to the king.

Village administration was looked after by the non-official bodies like the *Mahajanas*, in addition to the government officials such as the *Heggade*, *Prabhu* and the like.

Law was interwoven with religion and ethics. Village assemblies acted as courts. The judges were called *Dharmadhyakshas*. Ordeal was some times resorted to for judging disputes.

Infantry, cavalry and elephants formed the main components of the army designations of military personnel.

II. Finance

Main source of revenue was land. Assessment of land was based on different types of land such as *Gadde*, *Makki*, *Ere*, *Beddale* and *Kengadu*. Units of land were such as *Mattar*, *Hada*, *Kamma* or *Kamba* and *Nivartana*.

Commercial tax, property tax, profession tax and cess on social functions formed the other sources of revenue. *Sunkadhikari* and *Sunkaverggade* were the tax officers.

Coinage

Coins like *Nishka*, *Dramma*, *Gadyana*, *Pana*, *Kani* etc. were current in the Seuna kingdom.

Trade conditions and trade guilds are described.

CHAPTER X: SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS

I. Social Conditions

Caste system was in vogue. Birth decided the caste but classification was not rigid. *Brahma* form of marriage was the generally accepted one. The succession to property went to the eldest son but to the daughter in the absence of male issues.

Women took active part in social, religious and administrative activities.

II. Religious Systems

Buddhism, Jainism, Saivism, Vaishnavism and the new faiths of Virasaivism and Mahanubhavi sects are described.

CHAPTER XII: EDUCATION AND LITERATURE

I. Education

System of education in ancient days is discussed. Educational institutions were of four types—*Mathas*, *Ghatikasthanas*, *Brahmapuris* and *Agraharas*—each being different in nature and scope.

II. Literature

Sanskrit works on Grammar, Astronomy, Music and Philosophy were written in this period. Not many works in Kannada are found in this period, though the numerous inscriptions of the period shed light on the literary achievement. Marathi literature saw its rise in the period.

Appendix I: Contains an account of minor Seuna families—one which governed in the Masavadi division in Mundaragi Taluk and the other in Panungal in former Hyderabad State.

Appendix II: Contains fresh information about the families of the feudatory chiefs, viz the

Guttas of Guttavolal, the Kadambas of Karadkal and Nurumbada and the Haihaya chiefs of Morata and Aralu.

Appendix III: Contains a description of the

territorial divisions in the Seuna kingdom.

Appendix IV: Contains a discussion on the sources of the Seuna history.

LOCAL SELF GOVERNMENT IN MEDIAEVAL KARNATAKA

DR. G. S. DIKSHIT

The subject matter of the present work is confined in area to the Kannada speaking tract (the present Mysore State) and in point of time, from the rise of the Chalukyas of Kalyana to the rise of Vijayanagara. It seeks to enquire how the people governed themselves in this area during this period by means of their assemblies in villages and towns and in sub-divisions or groups of villages and towns. Since its main concern is with self-government, it does not deal generally with other aspects of local administration.

The plan of the work is simple. Chapter one begins with a survey of the sources and reviews the political history of the period. This is followed by a description of the administrative system at the centre and in the provinces. The extent of mediaeval Karnataka and its various divisions and the way these divisions were made are then described.

In the next chapter a description of an assembly known as the *Mahanadu* is first given. This is followed by an account of the smaller popular assembly known as the *nadu*; its officers, its assembly, and its functions are described in that order.

From the *nadus* we come to its units, namely, the villages. Their executive councils, officers and assemblies are dealt with one after the other in one chapter. In the next chapter, the way in which the village assembly functioned is first

described and then the relations between the village assemblies and other assemblies. Lastly, some aspects of life in a few villages under their assemblies are depicted.

The next units, the *agraharas*, form the subject-matter of two chapters. In the first, their early history and the way they came into being are described. Then there is an account of their executive, which is followed by a section of their assembly. In the second chapter on the *agraharas*, the hamlets under them are taken up first, and then the *brahmapuris* are compared and contrasted with the *agraharas*. Some aspects of the economic life of the *agraharas* are then taken up, and finally there is a sketch of the life in one *agrahara* throughout our period.

The towns form the subject-matter of the last two chapters. In the first, there is an account of the way they came into existence, followed by a description of the organisation of some selected towns. This is followed by an account of the executive councils and officers of the town-assembly. In the last chapter, there is first an account of the composition of the town assembly, and then the assemblies in charge of the different parts of the town—the quarters and the wards—are described. An account of the amenities provided by the town follows. Two general topics, one relating to the future of assemblies, and the other to some of the results of this survey bring the work to a close.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS UNDER THE HOYSALAS

DR. D. H. KOPPAR

I. Society

A. The individual—his relation to society—a link in the succession of life—individuality and its features in our period—impact of religion on the individual—individuality as depicting 'culture-personality'—the individual representing two stages of culture in our period.

B. The family—its social significance—the Hoysala family essentially a joint family—some salient features of the family in our period—social and religious implications of the family—impact of the Vira Shaiva movement on the family—some problems of the medieval family—status of women relatively fixed by custom—religious control over family—absence of dynamism—The State and the modern family.

C. The community—its definition—union of families sharing basic conditions of common life—common life and community sentiment as criterion of community—the village community of the Hoysala country—otherwise known as 'Sangras'—the role of community as Socio-Economic organisation—was there a problem of population in our period?—community as a centre of social activity—three types of expression of community sentiment—'the we-feeling'—sentiment of locality—community as larger home for the individual—some disruptive tendencies in the medieval village community—the revolution of the 12th century.

D. The Association—its definition—a group organised for a group of interests in common—various kinds of associations—their significance in society—levers of individual and social progress.

E. Society: a necessary condition of every fulfilment of life—a system of control of human behaviour and of liberties—a web of social rela-

tionships always changing—likeness and difference—both as ingredients of society—society as a process and a product—some features of society of our period—a focus of group affiliations—predominance of religious traditions on socio-economic relations—prevalence of community sentiment—weight of rigid codes and customs—compact and self-sufficient—control of religion over social, economic and political life—a note of harmony—predominantly a Vedic society.

II. Social Institutions

A. *Caste System*:—antiquity of caste—caste system in the Vedic, Buddhist and Mauryan periods—castes under the Hoysalas—'Varnashrama Dharma' as the foundation of Hindu Social structure—'Chatus-Samaya-Samuddharanam' as title of Ballala-II—the term 'Dusta-Nigraha-Sista-Pratipalana'—the Brahmanas-Kshatriyas—the Settis as an important organ of middle class—their status in Society—the industrial classes—divisions of castes into sub-castes and reasons thereof—the untouchables and their counterparts elsewhere—Hindu Caste System as a fixed order of occupations—Western impact on caste system—caste as a result of evolutionary process.

B. *Guilds*: An expression of group life—definition of the guild—essentially a democratic socio-economic institution—origin of guilds—kind-guilds as a social organisation—classical sanction for guilds—and their legal status and the Mitakshara—backbone of material prosperity of the Hoysala Kingdom—influence of the merchant guild—the Vira-banajas of Karnataka—their organisation and status—collectivism in action as a feature of the guilds—locality as another factor in their unity—leadership of guilds—wealth as the main determining factor—nature and character of leaders—the Pattanaswami and his functions—craft guilds—the Vira-Panchalas—their participation in social life—

their position in the Village economy—guilds as schools of social democracy—represent any advanced state of society—training ground for public life.

III. Corporate Activities

Hoysala Kingdom as an illustration of contribution of people for common cause—co-operation as the key-note of peoples' actions—corporate activities in all fields.

A. *Religious*: Giving gifts and making endowments to temples—purification of race as a cause of gifts and offerings—ensuring co-operation among all religious joint activities of Brahmins—endowments for charitable purposes—grants for worship of temples and their festivals—grants for recitation of the Vedas.

B. *Social*: 'Sarva Manya' Kodages for purposes of conferring offices and honours—issue of Samaya-Sasanas relating to 'Siddhaya', niyama sasana, regulating shops—Patra Sasanas, regarding exchange of lands—framing rules and regulations in common averting legal disputes—grants of lands to individuals in recognition of services—grant of Kodages.

C. *Political*: Sense of solidarity in the political sphere—boundary disputes—raising of memorial stones for heroes in this respect—protection of cows—grant of nettaru-Kodage—other presents for those dying while recovering cows—grant of villages to individual for political services—joint action in legal matters concerning socio-political affairs—the public in relation to the state—awareness of Kings to desires and demands of people—conclusion.

IV. *Economic Life of the Village*: General remarks.—republican tradition in Karnatak during middle ages—the village communities—a significant unit of our polity—India a land of villages—Ibn Batuta—the testimony of inscriptions—impressions of foreign travellers—village as an economically self-sufficient unit.

The constituents of a village—'grama'—agra-

haras—as a special class of villages—a study of a typical village and its functions—the village assembly as a feature of democratic tradition and institution—the grama karyas—duties and obligations of the assembly towards the King—powers and functions of the assembly—economic functions of the village assembly—assembly as land-owner and banker—the sources of revenue.

The temple as an economic factor in village life—collaboration between assembly and temple—secular functions of the temple—as an employer—as a landlord—as a consumer—privileges of the temple in economic sphere—wealth of the temple—village industries—conclusion.

Agriculture: Agriculture as the main occupation of people—importance of agricultural wealth in rural economics—biggest source of State revenue—co-operation between community and State towards progress of agriculture—the two ideals before Hoysala kings—area of land under cultivation—the economics of reclamation—some features of land policy of the Hoysalas—encouragement and inducements—the problem of water-supply, irrigation and its importance in agriculture—Hoysala efforts in this regard—Co-operation between individual and the State—Views of Vijnaneshvara—constituents of irrigation works—execution of works under the Hoysalas—problems of irrigation—State encouragement for constructive works—individual and collective action in this regard—sources of finance for maintenance works—temples and irrigation works—problem of distribution—settlements of disputes among people—responsibility of the village assembly—cultivation and protection of lands—yield of land and agricultural labour—conclusion.

Industries: General remarks—types of industries—objectives before Hoysala Kings—State patronage and co-operation by people—the metal-industry—and its types—nature of production—textile—ship-building—pottery—interest of Hoysala Kings in developing handi-

crafts—the Vira Panchalas—conclusion.

Trade and Transport: Trade, back-bone of a country's progress—encouragement by Hoysala kings—kinds of trades—trade guilds and their activities—influence of merchant-guilds in social

and political life—position of trade during Hoysala period—the question of transport—bullock cart as the principal means of transport—condition of roads—other means of transport—royal protection to weavers—naming of shops after their patrons—conclusion.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Sphinx Speaks by Dr. JWALA PRASAD SINGHAL. Published by Sadgyan Sadan, 7A, Pandara Road, New Delhi 11. Demy Oct. pp. xii-160-x and two maps. Price Rs. 4.50.

Under the sub-title "The Story of Prehistoric Nations", *The Sphinx Speaks* by Dr. J. P. Singhal tells about "Aryans, Sumerians, Egyptians, Kaspian, Hyrcanians, Mayas, Incas, Toltecs, Aztecs, Nagas, Gandharvas, Devatas and others". Dr. Singhal puts forth a theory that the plains below the Hindukush mountains were the original home of the Aryans and the Dasyus inhabited the Kashmir Valley: the Aryans actually saw the rising of the floor of a lake in neighbouring Kashmir and the flowing waters forming seven rivers which ultimately created the land of the Sapta-Sindhu, which the Aryans occupied: they moved to Armenia when there occurred the Great Flood and came back to the Sapta-Sindhu after centuries, and this return is misinterpreted as the Aryan invasion. Several people such as the Mayas, Toltecs, Aztecs, Incas, Sumerians went to different parts of the world: the date of the *Rigveda* is about 500,000 years.

Unfortunately, no sound arguments are given in support of this thesis. It rests on Dr. Singhal's interpretation of the Rigvedic hymns and the finds of the stone implements of the pre-Soan

Culture people whom Dr. Singhal equates with the Dasyus mentioned in the *Rigveda*. No co-ordination has been attempted. Dr. Singhal is not worried about proving the antiquity, habitat and language of the authors of the *Rigveda*. For placing the Aryans in the slopes of the Hindukush and the Dasyus in the Kashmir Valley, the only evidence given by the author is: "It appears that...the first Aryans lived on the foothills of Hindukush and Pamir mountains cut off from Kashmir, while in Kashmir lived the Dasyu people of Ahi origin whose chief was Vritrag". The fact that such geological transformations as the rise and subsidence of the crust of the earth do not occur in a short time but take aeons, makes it very hard to swallow the author's statement that the Aryans actually witnessed the catastrophe. He seeks support for this view by stating that the Aryans had intimate knowledge of the names of the tribes, their chiefs and their relations! It is surprising that corroborative evidence for almost all statements is sought from sources which are post-Rigvedic and also dependent on the *Rigveda*.

Anticipating an argument on the basis of the chronological position of the language of the *Rigveda*, Dr. Singhal puts forth the theory that the original language of the *Rigveda* has been changed in course of time, though the

content is the same. This, however, runs counter to the well-established tradition that there has been no change or variation in the text of the *Rigveda* as handed down orally during the course of centuries, there being only a solitary instance of a variant.

It is interesting to see how Dr. Singhal calls Vishnu the king of Tibet. "The Sanskrit name for Tibet is Trivishtap, which means "thrice folded", and is the name given to Vaikunth in the Hindi Kosh or dictionary, the residence of the supreme God Vishnu of the Puranas." A few specimens exhibiting similar reasoning are given below:

"Anyway the Greek historian Herodotus and Strabo, the geographer, do lay down that this mountain (i.e. Caucasus) got its name from the Sage Kaspios or Kaspian. Therefore the Kaspian people who lived near the Kaspian Sea must have lived on the banks of the river Daitya and must have been called Daityas as well." "The word Pani is also the same as Phani which is a name of the snakes. Pani is a non-Aryan tribe mentioned in the *Rigveda* as well. However it may be, in view of the existence of the Nagas even today their existence in prehistoric times, as referred in the *Puranas*, cannot be doubted. It is also evident that their original country was Turkistan where the main branch of Takchhaks resided." ... "One wonders whether the very name America may not have been derived ultimately from "Mahatal" after many transformations." ... "Rawan was so named because he was the worshipper of "Ra" or Sun-God (according to the traditions of his forefathers."

The simple reason of the absence of the mention of "the present provinces of U.P., Bihar or Mithila, Bengal, Assam and Rajputana, Gujarat, the Deccan" is that the Aryans had not penetrated in those regions during the period of the *Rigveda* and not that there existed the Tethys sea in those days. *Ayas* in the *Rigveda* does not mean "iron". The wars of Sudas were fought in the Sapta-Sindhu, not in Kashmir. It is not correct to state that the list of incarnations in the *Puranas* beginning with "Matsya" is later and is given only in a few *Puranas*. The distinction brought out between the Vedic and Puranic Devatas is not borne out by facts. Despite the testimony of the *Puranas* on the location of the river Kritamala, Dr. Singhal equates it with the Sarasvati. Further, though the date of the *Rigveda* is put as 500,000 years, the introduction of Saivism is taken to be due to the Harappans. This chronology goes against the author's dates for Rama, Ravana, "Lord Narsing", and others. There are several contradictions, twisting of meanings, incorrect statements, fanciful interpretations; and it is not possible even to indicate them here.

The book is full of speculation and wishful thinking. Similarity of sounds carries immense weight as evidence with the author. Despite Dr. Singhal's mention of weighty authorities, we do not feel convinced of the tenability of his arguments. He is, however, to be complimented on the tremendous labour spent by him in this work.

A.D.P.

REPORT ON THE MEDIEVAL HISTORY SEMINAR

(UNIVERSITY OF DELHI—NOVEMBER 1965)

MISS DIPTI DATTA

The Department of History, University of Delhi, organised a most interesting Seminar on *Ideas Motivating Social and Cultural Movements and Economic and Political Policies in Medieval India*, from 15th to 18th November, 1965. The principal organiser of the Seminar was Dr. K. S. Lal of the University of Delhi. The Seminar was attended by many distinguished historians from all over India. It was inaugurated by Dr. C. D. Deshmukh, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Delhi.

The Seminar was divided into six sessions. The first session was on *Social Structure in Medieval Times*. The discussion was initiated by Dr. K. S. Lal. Among the most interesting papers read in this session two deserve particular mention: Dr. B. B. Majumdar's paper on *Conflicting Trends in the Caste System in the 16th and 17th Centuries*; and Dr. M. A. Ansari's paper on *Certain Ideals of the 16th Century Motivated by Concrete Conditions*.

The second session was on *Social and Economic Structure*. Dr. Ifan Habib initiated the discussion. Among the principal speakers were Dr. K. S. Lal, who dwelt on the *Causes of the Impoverishment of the Peasantry*, focussing attention on the economic policy of the State, and Dr. Fauja Singh, who dwelt on the *Social and Economic Ideas of the Sikh Gurus*.

The third session was on *Politics and Government in Medieval India*. Dr. Satish Chandra presented a most interesting paper on the *Jizyah*, pointing out that the current notions about Aurangzeb's policy in reviving the *Jizyah* need to be revised in the light of a

detailed study of the political and economic conditions of the time. Another interesting paper was by Dr. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, *The Influence of Political Expediency on Muslim Policy in the pre-Akbar period*. He highlighted the secularism of some Muslim rulers before Akbar. Dr. A. L. Srivastava, in his paper, *An Apologia*, maintained that the real understanding of the nature of the Medieval State in India is to be found in the Islamic Jurisprudence. The Civil Law was subordinate to the religious Law.

Session IV was on *Cultural Ideas and Achievements in Sanskrit, Hindi, Bengali and Marathi Literature*. One of the most important papers was Professor S. H. Askari's *Some Trends of Linguistic Assimilation in Early Medieval India*. Professor Askari analysed the process of intermixture of words, of Persian, Arabic, Prakritik and Apabhramsaik origins, which started with the conduct of trade and business and social and commercial intercourse between the ports of Western India and the Islamic lands. Miss Prova Dikshit's paper was on the *Ideas of Tulshidas*. Dr. Tarachand also gave a talk on *Ideology and Material Basis of Medieval India*.

Session V was on *Religion*. Dr. Krishna Sharma, initiating the discussion, spoke on the impact of religion on the social, cultural and political life of Medieval India. Dr. S. A. A. Rizvi spoke on the divine nature of Lordship and the impact of the theory of *Insan-i-Kamil* on the 16th Century Northern India. Dr. G. H. Khare's paper was on *Maharashtra Dharma of the 17th Century and Rama-*

nanda's Contribution in bringing Maharashtra Dharma nearer to Secularism of Modern Times.

India. Another interesting paper was on *Rajasthani Painting and Mughal Art* by Dr. G. N. Sharma.

Session VI was on *Art*. Dr. U. N. Day, initiating the discussion, critically analysed the evolution of a technique and school of painting in Malwa. Miss Dipti Datta read a paper on the *Art of Dancing in Bengal in the 16th Century*. Miss Tara Ramaswami also read a paper on the *Temple and Dance in Medieval*

The Seminar was undoubtedly a most successful one. The papers presented and the points raised in discussions covered a very wide field. The full proceedings of the Seminar, when published, will be welcomed by every serious student of Medieval Indian History.

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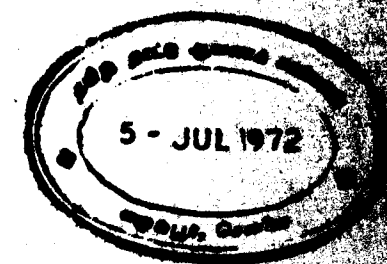
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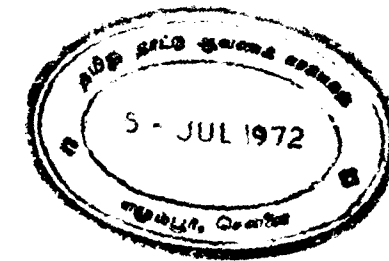
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EDITORIAL

Five Years Completed:

On the occasion of the completion of the first five years the Institute of Historical Studies has brought out an attractive illustrated Brochure, giving the history and activities of the organisation. It is really most pleasing to note how the Institute, starting as an informal gathering of University and College teachers and research students, with no formal constitution or funds, except modest contributions from the early members, has developed in the course of just five years into a large all-India organisation and is recognised to-day as one of the foremost academic institutions in the country. The names of members of the Executive Committee, of the Fellows of the Institute, and of the different Committees and Boards of the Research Project, as given in the Brochure, will indicate at once the all-India popularity of the Institute and of the esteem in which it is held by scholars, not only in India but also outside. During the first five years the Institute has shown remarkable activity in organising Discussion Meetings, Seminars, Symposia and Annual Conferences. The list of speakers and subjects, as given in the Brochure, will bring home to everybody the wide range covered and the valuable contribution made to advanced studies in History. The Institute, through its Research Service Bureau,

has also been rendering constructive service to scholars both in India and abroad in the collection of material for individual research projects. Finally, the Institute has removed a longfelt need in the field of research by compiling and publishing regularly in its journal information about the progress of historical research in different Universities. This has been of the greatest utility to all research scholars. Indeed, the record of the Institute's progress, as outlined in the Brochure, holds out the brightest promise for its future.

Annual Conference:

In the present number we are publishing the papers read at the Third Annual Conference of the Institute held in Allahabad on January 1, 1966. For the Annual Conference the system followed is to set a broad theme for each of the periods of Indian history and to study it from different aspects. How useful the system has proved will be evident from the collection of papers published in the present number.

Elections:

Under the Constitution of the Institute an election of the Director and 24 members of the Executive Committee was held in June, 1966.

The following were duly elected and will hold office for a period of 3 years.

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23. Dr. Ganda Singh (Patiala).
24. Dr. V.G. Hatakar (Bombay).

Discussion Meetings :

Since our last issue five Discussion Meetings had been held at the Institute of Historical Studies. Dr. Bimal Kanti Majumdar (Jadavpur University) spoke on *The Role of Indian Religion in South East Asia*; Dr. Kalyan Kumar Das Gupta (Calcutta University) on *The Tribal Coins of Ancient India, 2nd century B.C. to 4th century A.D.*; Mr. Ashok Bhattacharyya (Sanskrit College, Calcutta) on *Painting in the Shilpa Shastra*; and Dr. A.D. Pusalkar (Director, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona) on *Pre-Bharata War History from the Puranas*; and *Pre-Harappan, Harappan, and Post-Harappan Culture; Review of Recent Research; and the Aryan Problem*.

The talks were well-attended and they will be duly published in the *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*.

Seminars :

The Indian Institute of Advanced Study in Simla organised a Seminar on *Social and Economic History of India: Work in Progress in Indian Universities* from 13th to 30th June, 1966. The objects of the Seminar were:

(a) Exchange of detailed information among advanced workers in this and other allied fields about their current work and cross-fertilisation of ideas through mutual criticism and discussion;

(b) Analysis and discussion of methods and techniques, especially the relevance of social sciences like economics, anthropology, sociology, human geography etc., within a specific framework of reference.

The Seminar was attended by about 40 scholars from different parts of India. About 30 papers were read and discussed. Among the most interesting papers may be mentioned: *Some Reflections on the Meaning and Study of History* by Dr. Jayanta Kumar Roy; *The Economist as Economic Historian* by Dr. Morris David Morris; *Sources of Economic History of Maharashtra in the 17th century* by Dr. A.R. Kulkarni; *The Importance of Middle Asian Studies in Indian Social and Economic History* by Dr. Audrey Joan Ahmad; and *Some Muslim Responses to Western Studies in Islamic Legal History* by Professor Hans Kruse.

The discussions at the Seminar were most lively. We are looking forward to the publication of the full proceedings which will undoubtedly be a valuable contribution to our knowledge on the subject. We congratulate Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray for his able leadership in organising the Seminar.

The Visva-Bharati University organised a Seminar on *Writing of Indian History: Retrospect and Prospect* from 29th August to 1st September,

ber, 1966. It was organised by Professor. S. Bhattacharyya of the Department of History and Professor S. Chattopadhyaya of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture. The object of the Seminar was to study the writings on Indian History so far completed and to point out the gaps still to be filled up. A fairly good number of scholars from different parts of India attended and some interesting papers were read, covering the different periods and aspects of Indian History. We shall publish a fuller report on the Seminar later.

Education Commission :

The Education Commission set up by the Government of India has recently submitted its report. The full report of the Commission has not yet been released to the public. Detailed comments on the various aspects of the report cannot be made, in fairness to the Commission, until the full report is available and studied carefully. Only a few general observations can be made at this stage. The Commission has rightly recognised the importance of raising the emoluments of teachers in all grades, an essential in any attempt to improve the education system. But we feel that the Commission has not been bold enough to suggest elimination of the wide disparity still to remain between the emoluments of teachers and those of others in corresponding services. What is really needed is a total change of attitude in this respect. Otherwise, we are afraid, even if the higher grades as recommended by the Education Commission are introduced, the better attraction for the administrative services will still persist.

Secondly, the Commission has taken due notice of the present confusion in the transition from the school to the University stage, and has most properly recommended restricting admission to Universities to only those who are fit for higher education. We do not know how this will be actually implemented. The problem is whether adequate alternative opportunities can be provided at the end of the school

stage to absorb the increasing number of students passing out of secondary schools.

The Commission has noted with dismay the falling standards in University education, and has suggested remedies to stop the downward trend. The problem, however, is really complicated and we doubt whether any quick improvement can be effected. The fall in standards, one must admit, is closely linked with the overnight expansion of University education. New Universities have been created without planning and adequate resources and without a realisation of the limited number of properly qualified teachers available. A factory can double or triple its production within a short time, but the production of University teachers cannot be suddenly increased even by a huge financial outlay. The mistake already committed cannot be rectified and the country has to pass through a fairly long period of low standard of University education until by the normal process of growth an adequate number of qualified teachers are available. We are happy to note that the Education Commission has strongly disfavoured the creation of new Universities in the thoughtless manner of the past.

In the field of research, it has to be admitted that apart from Universities much good work has been and is being done by numerous academic institutions, private or semi-official. The Education Commission no doubt took into its scope of investigation the large-scale and officially supported research institutes, but completely ignored the role of smaller societies, the sum total of whose contribution to the research output in the country is not at all negligible. We wish the Commission had taken a more comprehensive view and had recommended better support of the Government and the U.G.C. to the smaller research institutions which are doing a fine job despite official neglect and chronic financial difficulties.

In the matter of medium of instruction at the University level, the Education Commission has taken a view which, we are afraid, will

prove harmful not only to higher education but also to national integration. We quite appreciate the embarrassment of the Commission placed between two fires, between those who want a quick replacement of English by Hindi and those who oppose the imposition of Hindi. The Commission has taken the easy path of compromise and has suggested the replacement of English by the numerous regional languages. We hope that such a drastic and disruptionist step will not be taken in the end.

Dictionary of Biographies Project:

A meeting of the Advisory Board of the Project was held in New Delhi on June 10-11, 1966. The progress made so far in the collection of material was reviewed and lines of work for the two remaining years of the Project were laid down. The Report for 1965-66 shows better progress than in the previous two years and now it can be confidently expected that the Project will be completed according to schedule, i.e. by the middle of 1968.

The Advisory Board took up for consideration the fourth revised lists of leaders for final check up and additions and alterations wherever necessary. Opinions of experts, including eminent public figures, have also been sought, and the lists may be expected to be finalised by October this year. The collection of biographical material in all the zones will be completed by the middle of 1967. In finalising the lists of leaders special care is being taken to ensure that no name at least equal in importance to the names given in the existing lists is left out through oversight, and secondly that no name is finally included in the Dictionary which is not in conformity with the fundamental principles drawn up at the Advisory Board Meeting in June 1964.

The Advisory Board also set up an Editorial Board consisting of twelve eminent scholars, with powers to co-opt not more than three. The names of members of the Editorial Board are given below:

1. Dr. S.P. Sen.

2. Dr. K.K. Datta.
3. Dr. S. Gopal.
4. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad.
5. Dr. Muhammad Mujeeb.
6. Dr. S. Nurul Hasan.
7. Dr. P.L. Mehra.
8. MM. D.V. Potdar.
9. Dr. G.M. Moraes.
10. Dr. K.K. Pillay.
11. Dr. M. Rama Rao.
12. Dr. P.K.K. Menon.

The Advisory Board also laid down the principles of selecting contributors for biographical entries in the Dictionary. It was felt that the association of some eminent public figures as contributors would enhance the value and utility of the Dictionary. So it was decided to request about 100 men of eminence in public life, not necessarily historians, but closely associated with the leaders concerned, to write the biographical entries on the lines of the standard pattern. The data collected by the Research Fellows will be made available to them. No one in this category is to be requested to write more than one entry. The rest of the work is to be distributed among 100 professional historians, on the basis of 10 to 12 entries each. In order to maintain high academic quality and uniformity of standard, the Editorial Board will have the authority to reject any entry or to make whatever changes may be considered necessary in the interest of the Project. It was also decided that the entries should vary from 400 to 2,000 words according to the eminence of the leaders, and at the end of each entry there is to be a bibliography.

We are happy to announce that we have recently received a grant of Rs. 2,000 from the Government of Madras for the Dictionary of Nationalist Biographies Project. We offer our thanks to the Government of Madras for this kind financial assistance. We hope that during the current year the other State Governments will also offer us their support, following the examples of the Government of India and Governments of Uttar Pradesh, West-Bengal and Madras.

IMPACT OF FOREIGN TRADE ON POLITICAL HISTORY—AN ILLUSTRATION

DR. B. N. MUKHERJEE

(Sanskrit College, Calcutta)

Man's domination over man and country for the love of gain is a commonplace of history. A financially affluent or commercially prosperous region allures outside invaders more than an arid zone or an economically backward territory. At least the courses of many incidents of the past may be explained logically when judged from this angle of view.

One of such incidents may have been the advent of the Kushanas in Shen-tu. According to the *Hou Han-shu*, Shen-tu, also called T'ien-chu, was situated on the bank of a large river and was stretched upto Kao-fu (or Kabul) on the western side, to the Western Sea (i.e. the Arabian Sea) on the south-western side and to P'an-chi on the eastern side.¹ This territory was conquered by Yen-kao-chen², i.e. V'ima Kadphises, the Kushana emperor and the son of Kujula Kadphises.³

The term *Shen-tu* can be philologically related to the word *Sindhu*⁴, which was also the name of a country to the west of the Lower Indus.⁵ It appears from *Hou Han-shu's* description of Shen-tu⁶ that it also lay on the Lower Indus and may have embraced some regions on the western side (and perhaps also an area on the eastern side) of that river.⁷ The same territory may have been included in the region called Scythia⁸, mentioned in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*,⁹ (a work of the 1st century A. D.)¹⁰. It refers to the internecine struggle among the Parthian princes of Scythia.¹¹ It is generally assumed that these Parthian princes were successors of Gondophares I¹² and were ruling in the Lower Indus country before the invasion of the Kushanas.¹³ In fact, V'ima Kadphises may have annexed Shen-tu from these Parthians.¹⁴

The significance of Yen-kao-chen's, i.e. V'ima's, conquest of T'ien-chu or Shen-tu is also indicated by the *Hou Han-shu*. It states that "since then (i.e. the conquest of Shen-tu) the Yüeh-chih have been extremely rich and strong. In the various countries (their ruler) is always referred to as the king of Kuei-shuang; but the Han, basing themselves on the old appellation, speak about the Great Yueh-chih"¹⁵.

It is clear from this statement that the annexation of Shen-tu to the empire of V'ima Kadphises was of capital importance for the growth of the Kushana power.

This achievement probably ended the Parthian or the Indo-Parthian rule in the western and perhaps also in parts of the eastern divisions of the Lower Indus country. It also appears that the motive for this conquest lay in the logic of the Kushana expansion in the Indo-Parthian dominions in India. That motive, however, does not appear to have been merely political. For the Parthian or Indo-Parthian rulers of Scythia, quarrelling as they were among themselves probably almost on the eve of the invasion in question, could not possibly threaten the territorial integrity of the Kushana empire. Nor could the area in question be of any great strategic value to a northern power like the Kushanas. Hence, if the conquest of the region resulted in the phenomenal growth of their power—as stated explicitly in the Chinese source—then the real inspiration for that achievement should have been something else.

The statement of the *Hou Han-shu*, that the Yueh-chih (the Kushanas) became extremely

rich as a result of their conquest of T'ien-chu or Shen-tu, should imply that economic factors played a vital role in motivating them to invade that territory.

The *Periplus* alludes to brisk commercial activities in Scythia.¹⁶ Again, in connection with the description of T'ien-chu or Shen-tu apparently of the time of the Yuch-chih occupation, the *Hou Han-shu* indicates the existence of regular commercial relations between this region and Ta-ch'in,¹⁷ i.e. the oriental possessions of the Roman empire.¹⁸ No doubt, the final stage of the development of the sea-route from the west to India, leading the sailors straight to Muziris (near the mouth of the Periyar river)¹⁹, must have been reached by A.D. 77, when the *Naturalis Historia* of Pliny, referring to it,²⁰ was dedicated.²¹ Nevertheless, the testimonies of the *Periplus* and the *Hou Han-shu*, mentioned here, clearly suggest that the discovery of the new routes did not minimise overnight the importance of the ports of the Lower Indus country. In fact, the *Periplus* indicates that at least for some time three sea routes—including the one leading to Scythia and the other reaching Damirica (in South India)—were frequented *paripassu*.²² Again, the ports of the Lower Indus country were among the first important Indian trading stations for sailors from the Persian Gulf.²³

To the merchants of North-Western India these ports provided the quickest opportunity for the transshipment of their commodities. These trading stations were connected not only with different parts of India, but also with those of Central Asia. Hence the controllers of these places could gather immense wealth by levying taxes on commerce.

To the Kushanas the importance of the localities in question should have been crystal clear. The *Ch'ien Han-shu's* chapter on the western regions, which does not appear to include any information of the time of Yen-kaochen, i.e. V'ima Kadphises,²⁴ refers to two roads running from China to the "western

countries". The southern one ran through *inter alia* So-chu (Yarkand), the Sung-ling mountains (the Pamir region), (the lands of) the Ta-Yuch-chih, and An-hsi (Parthia). On the northern route lay Sho-lu (Kashgarh), the Sung-ling mountains, (the land of the) Ta-Yuch-chih, Ta-yuan, K'ang-chu and Yen-ts'ai.²⁵ Articles of Sino-Roman silk trade, which began to be brought to Rome in quantities probably from the time of the emperor Augustus (27 B.C.—A.D. 14)²⁶ and so from a period prior to any conceivable date for the rule of V'ima,²⁷ must have passed, at least in earlier phases, through either or both these routes. It is noteworthy that the *Hou Han-shu* refers to the people of Kao-fu (i.e. Kabul), who were conquered by the father of Yen-Kao-Chen or V'ima Kadphises, as excelling in commerce and as wealthy.²⁸ So the Yuch-chih must have been aware of this trade—and may have participated in it as intermediaries—even before the reign of V'ima.

With the increasing, from the time of Augustus,²⁹ of the tendencies to avoid the routes through the dominions of the inimical and exacting Parthians³⁰ and also to use the less arduous and more economic sea route between the Roman empire and India,³¹ much of this trade was diverted from Central Asia to the Indian ports.³² In fact, the *Periplus* refers to raw silk, silk cloth and silk yarn (*serikon*) being brought from Thina (i.e. China) and through Bactria (in the Kushana dominions) to Barygaza and also along the Ganges (and by sea) to Damirica.³³ The silk yarn must have been taken also to the Lower Indus country. For the same work mentions *serikon* (silk yarn)—and also seric skin (*serikon dermatata*)—as being exported from Scythia.³⁴

V'ima may have been allured by the prospects of gain from the annexation of Shen-tu. For such a conquest would empower him to control completely at least one of the routes of the vital silk trade, lying beyond the area of the Chinese influence and up to the sea.³⁵

Such a complete mastery would also increase the flow of international trade. For in the changed conditions the merchants would face a minimum number of tariff-posts while covering a great part of the Sino-Roman trade route. Moreover, articles of trade would move through a secure road protected by a strong central authority.

These reasons might induce the merchants to pay the maximum possible taxes, resulting in the accumulation of great wealth for the Kushanas.

The conquest of the Lower Indus country would also enable the Kushanas to regulate and thereby to profit from other commercial transactions carried on through that region between Central Asia and North-Western India on the one hand and the Roman Empire and other western countries on the other.

These observations explain naturally the *Hou Han-shu's* reference to the Kushanas becoming extremely rich and powerful as a result of their conquest of T'ien-chu or Shen-tu. Economic considerations seem to have played a vital role in inducing V'ima to invade that territory. It appears that the annexation of the latter served as the key-stone for the economic structure of the Kushana empire.

Thus the advent of the Kushanas in Shen-tu or the Lower Indus country, which must have been an important political event, appears to have been motivated largely by the prospects of gain offered by its thriving Indo-Roman commerce. The dependence of the Kushana prosperity on the foreign trade is further indicated by the simultaneous beginning of the decline of the empire in the reign of Vasudeva I³⁶ and of that of the foreign influence on the Kushana coinage.³⁷

Ptolemy denoted by the term *emporion* an oriental market town, lying on or near the sea-coast and beyond the Roman empire, in the commerce of which entrepot Roman sailors

were interested.³⁸ Hence it is remarkable that he did not place any such market town in his Indo-Scythia,³⁹ which included the Lower Indus region.⁴⁰ This suggests cessation of or at least serious decline in trade relations between the Lower Indus area and the Roman Orient by the date of Ptolemy's *Geography*. With a regular and skilful use of the trade winds the Roman sailors could, by that time, reach easily and regularly the ports of Southern India, where they could procure and sell all kinds of merchandise, including those available in the Lower Indus region. Therefore they did not probably feel the necessity of visiting the Lower Indus area. This probably caused a serious damage to the economic condition of that territory by about the date of Ptolemy's *Geography*, i.e. about the middle of 2nd century A.D.⁴¹

We do not know whether the embassies sent by the Bactrians i.e. the Kushanas,⁴² to the Roman emperors Hadrian (A.D. 117-138)⁴³ and Antoninus (A.D. 138-161)⁴⁴ were in the nature of an attempt to revive, though apparently without any success, the Roman trade with the Indus region. The gradual fall in this trade as well as the fact that by c. 150 A.D. the family of Rudradaman I usurped authority over the Lower Indus region⁴⁵ led to the decline of the Kushana-Roman commerce. An almost simultaneous beginning of the decline of the Kushana empire probably suggests that a vital alteration in its economic structure forced the pace of change in its political arena.

The importance attached to foreign trade by the rulers of India is also indicated by other sources. The commercial character of the Indian embassies sent to Augustus is now well-recognised.⁴⁶ Strabo speaks of a letter of an Indian king to Augustus expressing the desire to grant him "the right of access" wherever he wished to go and to assist him in any good enterprise.⁴⁷ This perhaps suggests the Indian monarch's eagerness to allow the Romans to move freely on lawful business and to promote Indo-Roman transactions.

The results of such diplomatic activities can be traced in the expression *emporion enthesmon* or "lawful market town" applied to Calliena (i.e. Kalyan near Bombay)⁴⁸ in the *Periplus*.⁴⁹ It appears from this text, that Calliena attained this status in the days of Elder Saraganes, but later it became blockaded by another power.⁵⁰ The latter diverted to Barygaza (Broach)⁵¹ all Greek vessels bound for Calliena (Kalyana).⁵² Saraganes may be identified with one of the Satavahana rulers called Satakarni;⁵³ and the instance recorded in the *Periplus* may perhaps be attributed to a phase of the Kshatrapa-Satavahana struggle.⁵⁴ The enemies of the Satavahanas blockaded a port obviously to deprive them of financial gain from commercial transactions between their subjects and the foreign merchants. The usual profit from such kind of trade was probably considerable enough

at least to give succour to the state; otherwise there would have been no reason for the political enemies to try to impose this economic sanction.

The controlling authority of a port as well as a market town could levy taxes on articles of export and import. It was natural that thriving market centres would attract the coveting eyes of political powers. Hence without further citing instances of the nature discussed above from the pages of ancient Indian history, we may perhaps safely infer that kings and kingdoms took active interest in and were influenced by different natures of India's trade with the outside world. In a period, when India was very much in the map of the commercial world, foreign trade thus helped, along with other forces, in shaping her political destiny.

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- ⁴ B. Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese*, no. 869; B. N. Mukherjee, *The Lower Indus Country*, (in press), Book I, Ch. II; *Monthly Bulletin of the Asiatic Society*, August 1966, p. 5; S. Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, pt. I, p. LXVII.
- ⁵ See n. 4.
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- ⁸ See n. 7.
- ⁹ *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, sec. 38.
- ¹⁰ Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, pp. 7 f.
- ¹¹ B. N. Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, book I, ch. I.
- ¹² *Periplus*, sec. 38.
- ¹³ *CII*, Vol. II, pt. I, pp. XXVI, LXVI and LXVII; B. N. Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, book II, ch. I and II etc.
- ¹⁴ See n. 12.
- ¹⁵ See n. 12.
- ¹⁶ *HHS*, ch. 118, p. 9.
- ¹⁷ *Periplus*, sec. 39.
- ¹⁸ *HHS*, ch. 118, p. 9. In the *Hou Han-shu*'s description of T'ien-chu the trade between the latter and Ta-ch'in is referred to after indicating the Yueh-chih as the reigning masters of T'ien-chu. Hence the trade in question was in existence after the Kushana invasion of T'ien-chu and during their rule in that country.
- ¹⁹ *TP*, 1915, s. II, vol. XVI, p. 690.
- ²⁰ V. Kanakasabhai, *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, p. 18.
- ²¹ *Naturalis Historia*, VI, XXVI, 100-101 and 104; E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India*, pp. 45-46.
- ²² *NH*, Preface, sec. 3. It is believed that revisions
- still proceeded at the time of Pliny's death in A.D. 79 (M. Cary et. al., *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, p. 704).
- ²³ *Periplus*, sec. 57.
- ²⁴ See also E. H. Warmington, *op. cit.* p. 291.
- ²⁵ The *Hou Han-shu*, which records the events of the period subsequent to that dealt with by the *Ch'ien Han-shu*, does not refer to V'ima Kadphises. He is mentioned in the *Hou Han-shu*.
- ²⁶ *CHS*, ch. 96A; *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Vol. X, pp. 21 and 48.
- ²⁷ E. H. Warmington, *op. cit.*, p. 175. References to the true silk used for clothing, pillows, cushions and so on began to appear in Roman literature from the time of Augustus. (*Ibid.*) For references to the original sources, see *Ibid.* p. 366, n. 63.
- ²⁸ No current theory assigns to an age earlier than the second quarter of the 1st century A.D.
- ²⁹ *HHS*, ch. 118, p. 9.
- ³⁰ E. H. Warmington, *op. cit.*, pp. 34 f.
- ³¹ *HHS*, ch. 118; *TP*, 1907, s. II, Vol. VIII, p. 185; *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. XI, pp. 97-98 and 121 f; N. C. Debivoise, *A Political History of Parthia*, pp. 143 f.
- ³² E. H. Warmington, *op. cit.* pp. 30, and 50 f.
- ³³ For an account of this trade, see *ibid.* pp. 1 f.
- ³⁴ *Periplus*, sec. 63.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, sec. 39. There is no reason to agree with the view of J. Kennedy that the amount of the sea-borne silk, referred to in the *Periplus*, was small (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1912, pp. 986-987.)
- ³⁶ Even prior to his conquest of T'ien-chu or Shen-tu, V'ima probably had under him Ta-hsia and the regions immediately above it, Bactria, Kao-fu and Chi-pin. Ta-hsia and the regions immediately above it, to the north of the Oxus, were under the Yueh-chih even before the rise of the Kushana branch. The area covered by the Kushansahr, as described in the Nakshi-Rustam inscription of Shahpur I, includes these territories. So they

were under the Kushana empire until the time of the downfall (see *Indian Studies Past & Present*, vol. V, 1964, p. 272). Hence they were probably within V'ima's empire. Bactria proper, (Pa-ta), Kabul (Kao-fu) and Chi-pin (in North-Western India) were conquered by Kujula. V'ima must have inherited them.

Within the limits of these territories and of Shen-tu was a silk-route, running outside the regions under the Chinese influence and up to the ocean.

³⁶ K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (editor), *A Comprehensive History of India*, vol. II, p. 247.

Sharp decrease in the mean quantity of pure gold (*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, vol. XX, p. 170) as well as the remarkable disproportion between the waning of the average weight and of the gold content in the Kushana coinage of the days of Vasudeva I (*ibid.*) may indicate that evil days befell the empire by sometime during his reign.

³⁷ R. A. Whitehead, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Punjab Museum*, Lahore, vol. I, pl. XVIII, 1 f; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 790.

³⁸ B. N. Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, book II, ch. IV, see also E. H. Warmington, *op. cit.*, p. 107; M. Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, pp. 151-152; and *Classical Quarterly*, Vol. XLV, p. 157.

³⁹ Ptolemy, *Geographike Huphegesis*, VII, 1, 55-61.

⁴⁰ B. N. Mukherjee, *op. cit.* book II, ch. I, see also *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pp. XXVI, LXVI and LXVII.

⁴¹ G. Vissowa (editor) *Paulys Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. XXIII, no. 2, col. 1789-1790; B. N. Mukherjee, *op. cit.* book I, ch. 1.

⁴² *Indian Studies Past and Present*, 1964, vol. V, pp. 271-272.

⁴³ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Hadrian, XXI, 1, 4.

⁴⁴ Aurelius Victor, *Epitome*, XV, 4. Here the form Bactri is probably a mistake for Bactrii or Bactriani.

⁴⁵ *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. VIII, p. 44; R. C. Majumdar (editor), *Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 184-185; etc.

⁴⁶ P. R. Coleman-Norton, (editor), *Studies in Roman Economic History*, p. 141.

⁴⁷ Strabo, *Geographikon*, XV, 73.

⁴⁸ Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 197.

⁴⁹ *Periplus*, sec. 52.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 180.

⁵² *Periplus*, sec. 52.

⁵³ *Journal Asiatique*, 1936, vol. CCXXVIII, p. 62.

⁵⁴ E. J. Rapson; *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Ksatrapas, the Traikutaka Dynasty and the Bodhi Dynasty*, pp. XXVI, CXVIII, etc.; Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 197; etc.

INDIA'S FOREIGN TRADE IN THE ANCIENT PERIOD—ITS IMPACT ON SOCIETY

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There is as yet no systematic history of India's foreign trade in the ancient period. Vincent's *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients in the Indian Ocean* appeared in 1807 and in 1898 Kennedy wrote on India's early commerce with Babylon. But over-emphasis on India's achievements in other spheres tended to push this particular aspect out of the focus of attention. However, Dr. R.K. Mookerji's efforts to bring into relief India's past activities in the material and practical spheres was a pioneer venture. His *History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity* (1912) contains much material on sea-trade. It was however Warmington's *Commerce between the Roman Empire and India* (1928) which for the first time showed how the different problems of foreign trade are to be studied and analysed. Beginning with Mrs. Rhys David's article in the *Economic Journal* and the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1901) we find monographs on economic life of ancient India discussing foreign trade also, some of the important ones being by J. N. Samaddar (1922), M. A. Buch (1924), S. K. Das (1925) and N. C. Bandyopadhyaya (1925). In a similar work for South India A. Appadorai made a useful study for the period 1000-1500 A.D. Following the lead of A. N. Bose¹ (1941, 1944) recent studies on economic life for different periods of ancient India² reveal a keener appreciation of the points to be investigated in a study of foreign trade and attempt a critical analysis and not merely a static cataloguing of the references. Our list will be incomplete without two books in Hindi. Prof. K. D. Bajpai³ gives a general survey of the history of India's trade and commerce not only for the ancient period but also for the medieval and the modern periods. Dr. Moti

Chandra⁴ analyses evidence from diverse sources with a bearing on trade and trade-routes in general.

There were two distinct spheres of India's trade relations as they concerned countries situated to the east or west of India. Such a division is applicable both to overland trade and sea-trade. Though trade relations with one region had some influence over relations with the other region, we find that they can be conveniently studied separately also as they generally have their independent line of development. Thus whereas one may trace the trade with the west back to chalcolithic times,⁵ that with the east begins several centuries later.⁶ The political vicissitudes in the west condition trade activities in their area but those in the east remain untouched by these changes. Again the overland route to the west seems to have been in use even in the early medieval period,⁷ but in the east its use did not enjoy the earlier popularity.⁸ In the west Indian traders found active rivals in the Persians and then in the Arabs. But the Indonesians and the Chinese were slow in actualising their desire to compete in the sea-trade.⁹ We see a distinct difference in the items of import from and export to the two regions.

The technological developments, which are a vital factor at least for maritime trade,¹⁰ are often ignored. We get an idea of the construction of the ship, its different parts, size and speed. The planks of the ships were stitched and iron was not used to fasten them. It seems that some sort of a log book was also maintained.¹¹ But in the early medieval period the decline

in India's maritime activity may have been due to Indian skill in the construction of ships lagging behind the skill of the Arabs and the Chinese.¹² The skill and the experience of the pilot were duly respected.¹³ A knowledge of the course of winds in different seasons was also cultivated.¹⁴ It was the knowledge of the monsoon that resulted in more frequent voyages by Western traders from the first century onwards.¹⁵ Before mariner's compass came in use sailors resorted to different ways and means to determine direction and find out land.¹⁶ So far as overland trade is concerned one would like to know about the means of transport and communication and the way the traders negotiated the different physical obstacles on their way including the arrangement for provisions.

Trade routes were the nerves through which throbbed the foreign trade. After the painstaking studies by Foucher¹⁷ and Aurel Stein¹⁸ not much has been done in this sphere. By coordinating information gleaned from diverse sources, Chinese travel accounts, Arabic and Persian geographies, Greek and Roman texts, and excavation reports of areas concerned we can restore the actual routes in use. We find a somewhat conservative approach in the use of the routes in the sense that a route once known tends to persist through different periods. The Central Asian routes were of vital significance inasmuch as they connected China and the Western world with India. Both in the matter of sea route and overland route we notice a constant effort to find a safer, shorter and more convenient route. From time to time kingdoms connected with the foreign trade are seen trying to dominate the routes or to divert them through their respective areas. This can be noticed best in the case of kingdoms situated on the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea.¹⁹ A shorter route often intensified trade contacts. In the beginning, however, sea routes were generally near the coast but later on routes across the sea also came into use. So far as routes to China are concerned we find a general tendency to favour sea routes as against the overland routes.²⁰

Foreign accounts yield many names which were the ports or emporiums in this trade relation. We notice changes in the fortunes of the ports. Sometimes a port will cease to be of much use on account of natural factors. Thus Tamralipti which was the main port for ships sailing to or coming from South-east Asia could not retain its earlier utility because of the silting up of the mouth of Sarasvati and the shifting of its course.²¹ Political considerations also in some cases affected the prosperity of ports. We have the testimony of the *Periplus*²² that in the time of the elder Saraganus the city of Calliena became a lawful market town but since it came into the possession of Sandares the port is much obstructed, and Greek ships landing there may chance to be taken to Barygaza under guard. Sometimes a new port was developed as a rival to another under the control of an inimical power. Thus, it has been suggested that the Gurjara-Pratiharas developed Cambay or Stambhatirtha as a rival port to Broach, which was under the Rastrakutas.²³ Generally ports on the eastern coast served trade with the east while those on the western coast were used for trade with the West. Some ports, such as Quilon²⁴ and Debal²⁵ developed as the centre in the larger trade contacts between the East and the West. As regards the destination for Indian merchants we find centres shifting from time to time both in China and in the West. In the east Canton, Tongking, Tsuan-chou and Kedah in different periods enjoyed the advantages of being the main centre of trade.²⁶ In the seventh century the western terminus was Basra, from where it was transferred to Siraf and then successively to Kish and Hormuz.²⁷

Commercial organisations have played an important role in the foreign trade. In view of the many difficulties hindering trade activity traders must have found joint action safer and more effective. Medhatithi²⁸ indicates that guilds of traders had a stronger bond of unity than was to be found in the guilds of artisans or craftsmen. Here we may make a special reference to the trade guilds of the south. Their activities spread to Siam.²⁹ However, a full

length study of the activities of these guilds based on the epigraphic data is a long felt desideratum.

Likewise the connection between Indian coins and the fortunes of the foreign trade has not been seriously and systematically investigated.³⁰ It is to be remembered that the literally golden period of Indian coinage system was the period which witnessed India's trade activity at its peak. On the other hand in the period when India's foreign trade is known to have gone down in volume we find a decline in the use of coins both as regards number and the purity and value of the metallic contents. All this needs full focussing.

In this trade activity beyond mountains and seas and involving different countries, in the absence of any international trade organisation, letters of credit could not have played any major role. In these circumstances traders could feel safe and have confidence only through payment in cash or kind.

In the sources pertaining to foreign trade we get names of imports and exports. Warmington³¹ analysed the commodities involved in the Roman trade. Similar detailed studies are required for other periods, in particular for the later period when we have enough relevant evidence in Chinese and Arab accounts. A comparative study of the lists of commodities for different periods and regions may yield important results. India received spices from South-east Asia and silk from China and exported them to the West with huge profits. It is significant that in return the West did not have much to offer. This would explain the drain of Western gold to India. In later periods, however, India paid heavily for importing horses³² which thus brought about some balance in the value of exports and imports. The commodities involved in foreign trade in the ancient period were essentially meant for luxury. Generally traders aimed at selecting articles with less bulk but having

more value. With the limitations of the period, the time and distance involved and the imperfect technique and comparatively smaller size of ships, nothing better could be expected. But here again we can notice some change in the commodities which became the main attraction in different periods.³³

The fortunes of this trade have been deeply influenced by the political conditions prevailing in countries with which India had trade relations. Insecurity on the routes on account of the incapacity of a weakened administration to extend protection to traders would diminish the volume of the trade or push it towards some safer routes and kingdoms which had a settled state of affairs. Unity and uniformity of administration over a wide area would ease things for traders and the peace and prosperity of a well-governed kingdom enabled its people to consume costly and luxurious articles from abroad. It is significant that the first indication of India's trade with the West becoming sizable in volume belongs to the period which witnessed an extensive empire well-governed by the Achaemenids in Persia. The conquests of Alexander which brought India close to the West as part of one single political structure were instrumental in increasing the volume of trade in an unprecedented manner. However, in the later Hellenistic period the political fragmentation and frequent political changes could not foster trade activities as in the earlier period. A similar change is to be noticed in the case of the early and later periods of Roman empire. The policies of the Roman empire were deliberately oriented to curb the volume of imports from India.³⁴ The political upheavals in Central Asia affected the overland trade through that region. The expansion of Arab state and its relations with the contemporary powers also determined the trade relations between them. In the case of China likewise we find that peace and stability following a unified imperial administration promoted foreign trade. We notice distinct changes in the trade relations as a result of changes in the policy of the government.

But it was the impact of Islam which was of the greatest significance in this context. It was the rise of militant Islam which diminished the volume of trade with the Christian Europe, the antagonism of the two religions hampered trade relations between the two areas.³⁵ The rapid expansion of Islam towards Central Asia strangled the dying trade along the Central Asian routes. In the flush of missionary zeal Islam proceeded towards the east and very soon came to monopolise a large part of the Asian trade of those times, especially the sea-trade.

Political factors as they existed in India were by no means less consequential. Here we have to note that the stability of imperial administration, which we find under the Mauryas, Satavahanas, Kushanas and the Guptas, fostered trade with foreign countries. The political fragmentation which resulted from feudal conditions in the early medieval period were detrimental to the interest of foreign trade. In the earlier period several states made active efforts to protect and promote foreign trade.³⁶ In the later period, however, because of their limited resources on account of their smaller size the states were often unable to safeguard the interests of traders effectively. They made their best efforts to attract foreign trade to their kingdoms.³⁷ Thus it seems that the Rashtrakutas patronised Arab merchants to a large extent because of economic reasons.³⁸ It may also be gathered from the relevant sources that the danger of the foreign competition was realised and in some cases efforts were made to protect the interests of local merchants through protective tariffs.³⁹ Some states like that of the Colas seem to have been very much alive to the realities and forcefully asserted to control the trade.⁴⁰ But in several cases it would seem that smaller feudal states found piratical activities more paying as they had not enough resources to compete with more powerful rivals.⁴¹ Piracy appears to have increased in the period because it could not be effectively kept in check by the states with weakened resources.⁴² Feudal conditions can be said to have influenced foreign

trade in another respect. The increase in the number of chiefs who imitated the glory of their imperial lords created a larger need for articles of luxury and thus encouraged import.⁴³

It may be emphasised here that in the study of foreign trade we should not limit our enquiry to economic and political factors. The correlation of foreign trade with cultural and social factors is also to be investigated because in some cases the trade conditions are best reflected in these factors. Often on account of the paucity of relevant details of economic life we have to depend on the course of cultural contacts to suggest the possible developments in material spheres. In the case of China we can interpret the increase or decrease in the number of scholars or pilgrims coming from and going to China to reflect the frequency of trade journeys in their respective periods.⁴⁴

The changes in the fortunes of the foreign trade are to be inferred from their tangible effects upon India. In this respect the researcher has to be very alert to seize the slightest casual indication even in unexpected quarters. Such indications can be very valuable and, though they cannot be expected to present a connected account, they can fix up several important stages in this history. Thus the decline in India's silk trade with Rome can be connected with the history of the silk weavers of Gujarat who were compelled to move to Mandasor.⁴⁵ The memory of the trade with the West, especially of their big ships laden with costly wares, of the ports frequented by them and the localities inhabited by them, is best preserved in Tamil texts. The trade with South-east Asian islands finds many references in literary texts.

It is significant that vicissitudes in the fortunes of this trade are often reflected in the Smriti works. The writers of the Smriti works try to change the laws and develop them in accordance with the history of foreign trade. Thus we find that the increase in the number of voyages to the West in the period of Persian, Macedonian and Mauryan rule is reflected in the *Dharma-*

sutras which are generally taken to belong to the period from the sixth to the fourth century B.C. The *Baudhayana Dharma-utra* regards sea-voyage as forbidden to the brahmanas⁴⁶ but it at the same time remarks that it was a peculiar custom of the northern brahmanas to make voyages,⁴⁷ most likely without any reprobation being attached to them. The increase in the volume of this profitable trade led Baudhayana⁴⁸ and Gautama⁴⁹ to legislate that the king should levy duties on the shipowners.

In the later period we find that there had grown a definite taboo against sea-voyages. Thus, the *Brihannaradiya Purana*⁵⁰ includes the undertaking of sea-voyage (*samudra-yatrasivikarah*) in its list of practices which, being unfavourable for the attainment of heaven and disliked by the people, have been forbidden for the Kali Age. Underlying this restriction must have been the feeling that on a ship one cannot observe his religious rites and rituals in all their meticulous details, especially as regards ceremonial purity. It is to be noted that in earlier periods when India's foreign trade was in a flourishing condition no such taboo seems to have been respected. Fa-hsien⁵¹ clearly refers to brahmanas and other high castes as undertaking voyages without incurring any blemish. This is supported by some literary references to brahmanas proceeding to these islands without the least suggestion of any social stigma.⁵² Epigraphic records from these islands in no way alter the picture. I may here refer to the suggestion made by Prof. A. L. Basham⁵³ that the intensification of religious prejudices was the expression of the decay of Indian maritime activity due to practical and economic reasons.

Medhatithi and Laksmidhara, two legal authorities of the early medieval period, show how the decline in the shipping activity of the Indians affected the credit laws. Thus, Manu⁵⁴ had laid down that the interest to be paid is to be fixed by persons expert in sea-voyages and those capable of calculating the profits in connection with a particular place and time. Commenting on this, Medhatithi observes

that the sea-voyage has been mentioned only by way of illustrating a journey; the sense is that whatever interest is fixed by traders, who know all about journeying by land and water, it should be determined as the exact amount to be paid. Laksmidhara⁵⁵ also explains the expression "experts in sea-voyages" to refer by implication to the merchants in general.

It would seem that the activities of the merchant and the priest were not unconnected. Without a thorough examination we cannot say how far the activities of a merchant engaging in foreign trade were blessed by the priest and how far the priest was supported by the merchant. But we may casually mention some interesting and suggestive references. Thus the *Mahavastu*⁵⁶ contains the story of a brahmana proceeding from Varavali to perform a sacrifice for a trader at Samudrapattana which is suggested by Dr. Moti Chandra⁵⁷ to stand for Sumatra.

Religion seems to have had an important bearing on sea-trade in another respect. It may be noticed from the early Buddhist literature and inscription that in earlier times Buddhism was quite popular among merchants. It has been suggested that as Buddhism demolished the barriers of caste and the exaggerated regard for the purity of blood and did not subscribe to the many sacramental restrictions imposed on sea-voyages, its general ascendancy provided a great fillip to trade activity beyond the seas.⁵⁸ The missionary character of the religion had a vital role to play in this respect. It is not mere chance that the period of the expansion of Buddhism coincided with the period of feverish trade activity. The early medieval period was apparently one of decline for Buddhism. Instead we find Jainism flourishing among the merchants near the coast. Without committing ourselves to any definite view, we may pose the question if there was something intrinsic in the two religions which accounts for the difference in the attitude of the traders in the two periods. So far as the second period is concerned we find

that the traders were often apprehensive of the dangers and would not brave daring voyages;⁵⁹ they were generally content with the disbursing trade and often confined them to coastal voyages.

It is fair to expect that the fortunes of the trade affected the life of several social groups connected with it. The only difficulty is that evidence confirming the connection is not easily forthcoming. Dr. S. K. Maity,⁶⁰ however, noticed the effect of the vicissitudes of trade with Rome on the fortunes of the guild of silk-weavers in Gujarat who had to move away into the interior of the country and to give up their original profession for several other activities.

It is in the south that we find the best examples of merchant guilds which engaged in trade beyond the seas also. In their home country they played an important role in several social and cultural activities. If a full length study of these guilds is attempted we may be in a better position to appreciate the correlation between the foreign trade in which they engaged and the social life of the period.

We have several references to indicate the enormous profits which merchants derived from this trade. This concentration of wealth made these merchants an important factor not only in the social but also in the political life of the period. We often read descriptions of the opulence of the multi-millionaire businessmen called *kolisvaras* in literary works.⁶¹ Like feudal chiefs they in several cases enjoyed distinctive social privileges. We know that these merchant princes had a close grip over the political life of their respective countries.

The decline in India's foreign trade is often connected both as cause and effect with feudal institutions. As this question is not so unknown⁶² we shall not give details to illustrate the point. But in order to bring home its importance we may add that the nature of trade activities is found influencing the different features of a

localised and rural economy associated with feudalism.

It should not be supposed that the remote countries with which India had trade relations mattered only for the traders. Gradually these countries were brought closer to the mental horizon of the cultured people who were expected to have an authentic information about the dress, custom, economic products etc. of these countries. It is to be noted that according to the *Upamitibhavaprapancakatha*⁶³ besides trade, sight-seeing was another reason for coming to these islands. The visitors used to take a keen interest in seeing forests, monasteries, gardens and paintings, etc. Rajasekhara mentions a sojourn in these islands as a qualification of literary men.⁶⁴ It was the growing familiarity with the Indonesian lands that led Rajasekhara to observe that in describing things of *dvipantara* one should be faithful to its dress, customs and other details.⁶⁵ But at the same time he observes that the poets should not refer too much to the countries and their mountains and rivers lest they become difficult for the ignorant reader to follow.⁶⁶ In the literary works of the period, e.g., *Ramayana-manjari*,⁶⁷ *Samaraiccakaha*,⁶⁸ *Brihatkathamajari*,⁶⁹ *Brihatkathasloka-sangraha*,⁷⁰ *Kathakosa*,⁷¹ *Birhathakathakosa*⁷² and *Kathasaritsagara*⁷³ we notice an improved knowledge of the geography of the area. But the most interesting of all these is the *Tilakamanjari*⁷⁴ which describes a naval attack on *dvipantara*. The descriptions given in this connection are so graphic and realistic as regards the culture and industrial products of the region that they imply a thorough and intimate, if not first-hand, knowledge of these areas.

Here we must carefully study the list of articles which India was receiving from the foreign countries in exchange for her own goods. These commodities may throw welcome light on many aspects of the social life of the people, their ways of living, their consumption habits, the importance of different economic products and the comparative importance of occupations connected with them. We may

here refer to some suggestive items. Thus the term *kapisayana*⁷⁵ for wine suggests that wine from Kapisa came to India. Earlier evidence, including actual discovery of Roman wine jars from different parts of the country, confirms the drinking habits of the people. Likewise we have references to show that India received asafoetida and saffron from Bahlika (Balkh) and the Ramathas (living between Ghazni and Wakhan)⁷⁶. Beginning with Kalidasa we have several references naming the spices and other agricultural products which India received from the South-east Asian islands.⁷⁷ We have an interesting reference in the *Uktivaktiprakarana*⁷⁸ which shows that even an ordinary teacher in Varanasi could taste fruits brought from these islands (*dvipantara*). In later times horses from the West, especially Persia, Arabia, Kamboja, Balkh and Sind were the major items of import.⁷⁹ The number of the horses imported was considerable and the high price paid for them meant that India spent huge sums on them⁸⁰. The demand for horses is to be connected with the increasing use of horses in war and the increase in the number of feudal lords and chiefs in the period. Silk from China was very fashionable in those times and finds frequent reference in literary works.⁸¹ The mathematical text *Ganitasarasangraha*⁸² sets two problems referring to numerous large pieces of Chinese silk. India's poverty in metals is proved by the fact that different metals from countries both in the east and the west were a regular item of import.⁸³

Likewise an analysis of goods exported may yield evidence valuable for the social and economic status of occupations connected with them.

It is but fair to expect that through the channel of trade India received not only goods but also some ideas and some influences on social life. It is quite another thing that in the present stage we are not able to trace such influences in all cases. But we must take note of evidence which speaks of Indian merchants who were maintaining regular trade relations with foreign

countries. Similarly it is idle to suppose that foreign traders who were regularly visiting India and in some cases having their own establishments could be without some influences or suggestions on the material aspect of culture, dress and decoration, utensils, food etc. This may to some extent be confirmed by utensils and jewellery of a distinctly Hellenistic make which have been reported from Taxila.⁸⁴ That Indian merchants who were directly concerned with the trade could not but be influenced even in such a delicate matter as concept of purity or impurity of food receives a welcome support from the accounts of Abu Zaid.⁸⁵ We learn from him that Indian merchants used to visit Siraf in large numbers and that they had very friendly relations with the Muslim merchants of that place. He says that when one of the principal merchants of Siraf invited the Indian merchants of the place there would be about hundred guests.

At the end we may note the challenge of the fact that though we have standard works on the sea-trade of the Persians, Arabs and Chinese with due emphasis on their respective source material we do not have a parallel to offer which may present an account of the sea-trade by a thorough analysis of Indian evidence. Here we may underline the value of Jain sources which are often neglected. They contain valuable references to the different activities of merchants. In this connection two more lines of study are to be attempted. The Chinese sources have been largely used for the earlier period.⁸⁶ But those belonging to later periods have not received a careful and systematic analysis. Again Central Asia which was the nerve-centre of the overland trade of ancient times has not received its due. Researches of Russian scholars can be utilised to illumine the real state of affairs. Excavations by Russian archaeologists may help in restoring the history of the Central Asian routes. Here is a field full of promise in which we can seek coordination from Russian scholars.

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IMPACT OF FOREIGN TRADE ON COINS OF ANCIENT INDIA

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India has been carrying on commercial intercourse with countries far and near from time immemorial. A few early epigraphs and literary texts throw some light on such trade contacts, specially with the Western countries. We shall in this paper endeavour to trace the impact of foreign trade on the coinage of ancient India (up to about 600 A.D.).

The discovery of two seals of the Indus Valley type at Elam and Mesopotamia and a cuneiform inscription at Mohenjodaro indicates commercial intercourse between India and these far off places in the protohistoric period. The Boghaz-koi inscription of the Mitannies testify to the connection of the Indian Aryans with Western Asia in the 14th century B.C. The Jewish chronicles narrate the story of King Hiram of Tyre making a voyage to the east and bringing back many precious things from the port of Ophir, generally identified with Abhira or Suppara on the western coast of India. The *Baveru Jataka* preserves the memory of India's trade with Babylon.

India carried on foreign trade both by land and by sea. By the land route India was connected with Bactria (Northern Afghanistan) to which converged all the main arteries of overland trade to the east as well as to the west. The destination of all commercial dealings by land was Seleucia in Babylon and Antioch in Syria. Thence the Phoenician traders carried them to Greece and Egypt. The sea-route which was not at first much encouraged ran from the mouth of the Indus along the shore of Baluchistan and Persia and reached the Persian Gulf

where the merchandise changed hands to the Arab traders.

The establishment of the Achaemenid empire over almost the whole of Western Asia and Iran, and extending upto the Indus in the east and Greece and Egypt in the west, brought India into closer contact with the Western world. So long the foreign trade of India with the Western countries consisted of direct trade with Babylon and Western Asia and indirect trade with Greece and Egypt. Consequently, the knowledge of the Greek world about India was rather vague. It was the account of Herodotus which for the first time acquainted the Greek world with information about India. The sea-voyage made by Skylax of Carianda who was sent by Darius I to explore the feasibility of sending an army through the Indus, and who ultimately reached Egypt by sea, extended the sea-route from India up to the Red Sea, whence the Arabs took charge of the trade.

The invasion of Alexander, which opened up four distinct lines of communication between India and the West by land as well as by sea, and the subsequent establishment of the Seleucid empire over Syria and Iran brought India into closer contact with the Greek world. The first three Mauryan monarchs maintained intimate connection with the Greek kingdoms of the west, and Asoka in his Rock Edict XIII claims to have sent missionaries to the five Greek kingdoms of the Mediterranean region. A special board was in charge of the foreigners in India in the Mauryan administrative system.

But after the successive establishment of the Scythian, Parthian and the Sassanian supremacy in Iran, the overland route towards the west was much disturbed, and that led to the popularity of the sea-route. Skylax of Carianda had already shown that Egypt was directly accessible by sea from India. Moreover, the destruction of Tyre and the foundation of Alexandria on the Egyptian shore by Alexander facilitated trade with Egypt. During the time of the Ptolemies, direct commercial intercourse between India and Egypt was carried on. *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* throws a welcome light on India's trade activities with the Western world in the first century A.D. And we have reason to believe that Indian traders settled at distant Madagascar, as in Socotra.

During the first century of the Christian era, a number of circumstances facilitated the foreign trade of India. First, the discovery of the monsoon winds by Hippalus (about 45 A.D.) not only shortened the journey by enabling the ships to sail right across the Indian ocean but also reduced the danger of pirates, and thus resulted in a great increase in the maritime trade. Secondly, the establishment of the Roman Empire brought peace and facilitated communication by securing trade routes. Lastly, the Indian articles of luxury were in great demand in the Roman Empire. All these resulted in an unprecedented increase in the volume of foreign trade of India in the 1st century A. D. particularly with Rome. Pliny informs us that Rome had to pay annually nearly 50 million *sesterces* (estimated to be about half a million sterling or Rs. 65,00,000 in modern Indian money) for the balance of trade to India, and he greatly deplores this heavy drainage on the economy of the Roman Empire. The actual discovery of a large number of Roman gold coins (specially belonging to the period from Augustus to Nero) from India, particularly from the south, testifies to the statement of Pliny. Although active commerce with the Roman world began to decline after the third century, it continued till the 6th century. For, when Alaric spared Rome in

408 A.D., he demanded and obtained, as part of the ransom, three thousand pounds weight of pepper, which were evidently of Indian origin.

A good currency system is the handmaid of trade and commerce. As Herodotus informs us, it was Lydia which first evolved a coinage in the ancient world (about 700 B. C.) and the knowledge of the numismatic science was communicated to other Western countries through Greece by way of commerce. Indian coinage was, however, evolved independently on indigenous lines about the same time. Gold and silver being precious metals were generally used by all countries for foreign trade. India was noted for her possession of gold from the earliest times. The Indus Valley people made ample use of it and the gold of Ophir was proverbial to the Phoenician traders. The Vedic literature refers to various terms denoting definite weights of gold, viz. *Nishka*, *Satamana*, *Suvarna*, *Krishnala*, etc., while the Jatakas also make reference to *Nishka*, *Suvarna*, *Satamana* and *Karshapana* as a gold media of exchange. As informed by Herodotus, India formed the 20th and the richest satrapy of the Achaemenid Empire and paid an annual tribute of 360 talents of gold dust, comprising nearly half the amount paid by the other dependencies of the empire.

India was therefore fabulously rich in gold. But all this gold was not produced in India itself. Alexander's mining engineer Gorgos informs us that India had very elementary ideas about mining and refining, while Megasthenes states that the Indians did not even know how to separate gold from dross. Whatever gold was produced in India came from the washings of river-beds, viz. those of the Upper Ganges and its tributaries, which are referred to by Megasthenes and Pliny and probably later on by the *Kanaka* or gold-region in the topographical list of the *Brihatsamhita*. The river Indus and probably also the Son earned the name of *Hiranyavaha*, i.e. 'the carrier of gold', to which the Greeks referred as the

Erannaboas. But the gold derived from the gold-dust (which incidentally did not need any refinement) was not sufficient to meet the demand of India, and she had to import large quantities of gold from far-off places like Siberia and probably also from the rich river-washings of Yunnan and the neighbouring provinces, which were the main sources of supply of gold in the early times. The stories about the so-called 'ant-gold' narrated to Herodotus and Megasthenes (and mentioned as *pippilika-suvarna* in the *Mahabharata*) probably referred to this gold; and the fairy tales about ants as big as foxes digging up gold were probably concocted toward off Western merchants from the real source of its supply.

In spite of the fact that India was anyhow rich in gold, it is curious that the earliest extant coins of India are not of gold, but of silver, a metal which was always rare in India. In fact gold coins before the time of the Kushanas are extremely rare. While no indigenous gold coins are extant, we know only of a few legendless Indo-Greek staters (probably issued by Queen Agathocleia) and the two unique Indo-Scythic gold pieces bearing the names of Athama and the city-deity of Pushkalavati. The *Periplus* refers to the otherwise unknown gold coins called *Kallis*, which circulated in the eastern coast of India. The oldest extant South Indian gold coins are the rare specimens which weighed about 52 grains and were originally known as *pon* in Tamil, which became *hon* in Canarese.

The absence of any gold medium of exchange as mentioned in the oldest Indian literature, viz. *Nishka*, *Suvarna* and *Satamana*, may be due to the fact that they were not in the shape of regularised coins of modern times but were specimens of primitive currency not much different from lumps of gold of specific weights. Naturally, such primitive money was liable to be melted at the earliest opportunity, and it is no wonder that we do not come across any gold piece identifiable with the *Nishka*, *Suvarna* or *Satamana*.

Soon after the reign of Darius, the gold route to India was cut off by the movement of some nomadic tribes in Central Asia, and the gold trade of India was paralysed. It was not till the beginning of India's trade with the Roman Empire during the time of the Kushanas that gold again began to pour into India in the form of Roman coins as payment for the balance of trade, which was always in favour of India. This influx of Roman gold into India is clearly reflected on the Kushana coinage. The Kushanas were the first rulers in India to adopt gold as the standard currency. Not only that, the Kushana gold currency was based on the weight-system of the Roman *dinarius aureus* of 124 grains, and their first king Kozola Kadaphes even put the effigy of a Roman emperor (Augustus, Tiberius or Claudius) on some of his copper money. The Guptas who were the successors of the Kushanas were the first among the rulers of Indian origin to strike a gold coinage in abundance. It was possible only because of the great influx of Roman gold into India during the Kushana period. The Gupta gold issues were at first struck on the Roman *dinarius* standard, as introduced by the Kushanas, but later on (from the time of Skandagupta) conformed to the indigenous *Suvarna* standard of 80 ratis or 146 grains. The ultimate result of the decline of Roman trade (which probably took place from the third century) reflected itself on the later Gupta gold coins which tended to be more and more debased.

India was never famous for silver. In fact she produced little or no silver at all. The Indus Valley people who were acquainted with silver used it sparingly. But it is curious that India's earliest coins, viz. the punch-marked pieces, which had begun to be issued in the early historic period, and in great abundance, are mostly in silver. The silver for the minting of these coins evidently came through trade. The Phoenician merchants who monopolised all trade between the East and the West, because of their unique position, brought the

silver plates of Tarshish in exchange of the gold dust of Ophir.

The earliest known silver coins of India are the so-called bent-bar pieces of somewhat archaic look, containing two punches on the concave side. They generally come from the north-western India which was once under the Achaemenid occupation. And since their average weight is about 173 grains, Allan believes that they are of the Persian standard and are equivalent to double-darics (a daric weighing 86.5 grains $\times 2 = 173$ grains). According to the Indian weight-system, however, these bent-bar coins conform to the 100 rati denomination, a rati weighing about 1.75 grains. Anyway, the strange inter-connection between the Indian and the Persian weight-systems seems to have been due to commercial intercourse.

Next come the innumerable silver punch-marked coins which have been discovered in various hoards all over the country from the Himalayas to the Cape Comorin and from Seistan to the mouth of the Ganges, and which can be easily identified as the *Puranas*, *Dharanas* or *Karshapanas* of ancient Indian literature. According to Manu, the weight of a silver *Purana* was 32 ratis, i.e. about 56 grains, and the punch-marked coins conform to this standard. It may be pointed out in this connection that the Phoenician small unit or $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Hebrew shekel (of 224 grains) weighed just 56 grains. We do not know if this inter-connection between the Phoenician and Indian weights was also due to commercial intercourse. Again, it is interesting that the Persian *danake* (which weighed 14.41 grains and was one-sixth of the *shekel* of 86.5 grains) was just equivalent to a quarter of the Indian *Karshapana* of 56 grains.

The silver coinage of the Achaemenids consisted of the *sigloi* or *shekels* of 86.45 grains each, twenty of which were equal in value to one gold *daric* (weighing about 130 grains). Now, silver being a rare metal in India, it was comparatively of high value. The ratio between gold and silver was 1:8 in India as against 1:13 in Persia. The inevitable result was that there

was a flow of Persian *sigloi* into India, where it got a free and profitable market and where it remained in active circulation. This is also suggested by the occurrence of some counter-marks resembling the symbols on the punch-marked coins and some stray Brahmi and Kharoshthi letters on a few of the Persian *sigloi* found in the north-western fringes of India. The silver mines in the Panjshir river to the east of the Hindu Kush and in the Salt Range (which was opened by Alexander's mining engineer Gorgos), both within the Persian empire, were probably the principal source of the silver that went to the manufacture of the punch-marked coins. By the time of Kautilya, the science of mining must have been well-known to the Indians, probably through intercourse between India and the Persian empire; for, Kautilya devotes a whole chapter (Book II, Ch. 12) on "Conducting Mining Operations and Manufacture".

The imitation 'Athenian Owl' coins have an interesting bearing on the trade connection between Greece and India. The originals minted at Athens, mainly for international trade, were so widely circulated and popular, that with the stoppage of the source of supply as a result of the Macedonian invasion, imitations of these coins were taken recourse to. And very soon three series of these imitations were evolved. The first series has the 'Head of Athena' on the obverse and the figure of an 'Owl' on the reverse, like the originals; the second series supplanted the reverse 'Owl' by an 'Eagle', while the third one bore the 'Head of a Warrior' on the obverse and the figure of a 'Cock' on the reverse. It is interesting to note that while most of these imitations conform to the Attic standard, the didrachms and drachms of the second or 'Eagle' series are of a lighter weight-system, of which the drachms weighed 56 grains, just like the Indian *Puranas*. The third series bears the name of one Sophytes, who probably ruled in the Salt Range, where the silver mine was opened by Alexander.

Tarn suggests that the Greek rulers of Bactria

encountered a shortage of silver and one of the reasons of their invasion of India was the quest for precious metals, but they were greatly disappointed there. It may be due to this shortage of silver that the Greek rulers of India struck coins on a lighter standard and that very few Attic tetradrachms of these kings are known. The Indo-Scythians somehow maintained the Indo-Greek system of issuing silver coins, but deterioration set in with the advent of the Indo-Parthians, whose so-called silver coins are highly debased. The silver coinage of the Kushanas are practically non-existent.

In the post-Mauryan period, silver was very sparingly used for coinage by the rulers of Indian origin. The few Indian silver coins known to us were struck on the Greek model by some oligarchical tribes like the Audumbaras, Kulutas, Kunindas and others, who dwelt on the borders of the Greek kingdoms in the Panjab and North-Western India, and hence had commercial intercourse with them. It thus appears that the supply of silver from the north-western source gradually dwindled from about the first century B. C. The Western Satraps who ruled in the Malava-Saurashtra region from

about the second to the fourth centuries A. D., however, issued an extensive series of silver coins and this was probably due to the close connection of their capital Ujjaini (Ozone of the *Periplus*) with the great port of Barygaza, through which they could acquire the silver they needed for their coins. The few rare silver pieces of the Satavahanas that have come to light were apparently meant for circulation in the territories once occupied by the Western Satraps, and were accordingly modelled on their coinage. The conquest of Western India by Chandragupta II, which gave the Guptas an access to the western sea-board resulted in the issue of a regular series of Gupta silver coins, in imitation of those of the Western Satraps and meant for circulation in the region once ruled by them.

Lastly, the names of some foreign coins were sometimes suitably Indianised. The more important of them are the *dramma* (or *darma*) and *dinara*, which were respectively derived from the *drachm* of the Greeks and the *dinarius* of the Romans. Both the names occur in various epigraphs and literary texts of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods.

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FOREIGN TRADE AND GANDHARA ART

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Sometime between the 1st century B. C. and the 1st century A. D. there developed a current of art in Gandhara corresponding to modern north-western region of Pakistan. Though known after the name of its place of origin, it transcended its geographical limits in the course of time. As a result of recent excavations and explorations, the area of this art seems to be so wide as to be bounded on the south and east by Taxila and the upper valley of the Swat, on the north-west by Airtam near Termez (ancient Tairmita) on the Oxus and on the west by Balkh and Bamian. Recently Ghazni has also been proved to be a centre of Gandhara art. Modern authorities hold that Gandhara art endured up to the fifth and sixth centuries A. D., much longer than previously believed.

Important not only in terms of space and time, the art of Gandhara is interesting and to an extent intriguing in respect of form and style. Thematically it is Indian, Buddhism being its source of inspiration; plastically, it is foreign, absorbing Hellenistic and Roman fashions and formulae. Thus the Gandhara Buddha looks like an Apollo wearing costumes whose 'wet' drapery is derived from Classical art. While Indian sages and priests are clearly reminiscent of bearded philosophers and sages of the Hellenistic and Roman art-repertoires, Yakshas, Garudas, Nagas and other semi-mythical beings appear to be the Eastern versions of the bearded genii, Atlantes, Bacchantes, Zeus, Herakles Eros, Hermes or Poseidon. In short, in physiognomical forms of draperies, in the wavy treatment of the hair or in the use of the Corinthian colonette as a space-divider in relief composi-

tions, for example, Gandharan artists betray an intimate knowledge of Hellenistic and Roman art.

The obvious reason for the alien character of Gandhara art is geographical. For, Gandhara being situated in what is known as the region of Indo-Iranian interpenetration had always been in ancient times exposed to cultural encounters and fusions. It was indeed a sort of turntable on which for a long time Western and indigenous cultural traditions revolved. Plastic dictions of the West are thus a natural phenomenon in the art of Gandhara.

But there are other factors, no less important than the geographical one, which determined the character of Gandhara art. Art of Gandhara, it is to be remembered, is co-eval and co-existent with the later phase of Hellenistic art. Hellenistic age, a period of international hybrid, gave birth to an art whose keynote was eclecticism. If Gandhara art is eclectic in character (or 'hybrid' as Cocmaraswamy described it), it is mainly due to its Hellenistic background. The Roman strains of Gandhara art are similarly accounted for by the background provided by Roman art, the successor of Hellenistic art.

But how this Hellenistic and Roman background of Gandhara art was composed? The period of growth and prosperity of Gandhara art, as has been already noted, synchronises with the Hellenistic and the Roman age. Though the extant remains do not enable us to push back the beginning of Gandhara art in pre-Christian centuries, it may be said to have derived its inspiration from the Indo-

Greek coinage which is justly famous for its elegant execution and the refined realism of the portraits it bears. Some of these portraits offer striking specimens of Hellenistic art. But art in these coins deteriorated, followed by a revival as noticed in the early Kushan coinages based on the Roman model. It may be recalled here that some of the elegantly executed gold coins of early Kushan emperors like Wema Kadphises were issued, mainly for foreign trade. It may be noted here again that the undoubted anthropomorphic representations of Buddha is first met with on a few gold coins of Kanishka. Thus the origin of the Buddha image in Gandhara art may be said to have emerged in the 1st century A. D., if Kanishka is to be assigned to that period. The commercial impetus in the beginnings of Gandhara art may in that case be reasonably underlined.

In this context one cannot lose sight of the fact that Hellenistic and Roman culture-epochs witnessed the emergence of cosmopolitan capitalism¹ consequent to active trade and commerce between Europe and Asia. With the addition of older ones, new overland and maritime trade-routes were opened up. Geographical barriers were crossed over and the growth of a sort of economic internationalism led to the creation of a hybrid outlook.

The new bourgeoisie of the age became an effective and substantial clientele of art-works. Wealth of private individuals may have led to an increase in the demand for art, raising its economic value and heightening the status of the artist. *Art for art's sake was replaced by art for money's sake.* Art-works were produced in accordance with the taste of the buyers, most of whom, it may be supposed, became rich by trade and commerce. A realistic and eclectic art was born and it soon developed a *koine* occupying a very wide area of the West and the East.

The art of Gandhara was no exception to this phenomenon. Gandhara indeed formed a part

of this extensive art-complex. *Its art flourished with the patronage of Buddhism as well as the new capitalism.* History says that this capitalism was the result of active trade-relations of Gandhara with the West. History and archaeology attest the existence of this trade and commerce through overland routes, a few of which will be presently referred to. Though material evidence is lacking, it may be surmised that Asoka's goodwill missions to the West were followed up by missions of trade. The *Milindapanho*, the surviving version of which is datable in the first quarter of the 1st century A.D., contains references to maritime trade between India and foreign lands such as China and Alexandria. Towards the close of the 1st century B. C., practically at the end of the Hellenistic period, India's trade began to increase in volume. And with the establishment of the Empire, Augustus took steps to organize commerce and to take over the bulk of trade in Arabian and Indian merchandise. By checking the plundering raids of the Arabs of the Red Sea, by driving back the Ethiopians of the South and by adopting a number of other effective measures, Augustus did much for the development of the Indo-Roman trade. This trade was accelerated by the discovery of the monsoons by Hippalus. Somewhat later, the Kushans, noted for business-mindedness and commercial pursuits, further contributed to the development of this trade, a fact reflected in the gold coins of their early rulers in India. In the 1st-2nd century A. D. the bulk of Indo-Roman trade was carried through Alexandria, and cotton and probably silk of India were worked up in the factories of Alexandria. In the 3rd century A.D. there was a decline in the Indo-Roman trade with the comparative loss of importance of Alexandria. India's trade with the West, however, did not stop entirely. The late duration of India's trade relations with the West, and hence of Gandhara art in a way, is confirmed by a statuette of St. Peter, evidently a copy of the well-known statue in St. Peter's, Rome, recently discovered in Charsadda, ancient Pushkalavati, one of the capitals of Gandhara.

To revert to Gandhara which played an important role in the history of Indo-Roman commerce. Two cities of Gandhara, Begram and Taxila, both situated on the Balkh-Gandhara route, may be noted in this connection. Indeed, no other place than Begram has more illustrated the importance of the part a trade-centre can play in the history of an art with a strong economic backbone like that of Gandhara. At Begram have been found the ruins of a 'Palace' assignable to the 2nd-3rd century A.D., two rooms of which have yielded a hoard of Mediterranean and Oriental wares. These include glass vessels from Syria and Egypt, Indian ivories, bronze bowls from Western factories, steelyard-weights in the form of busts of Minerva or Mars, a good deal of specimens of Roman art, such as the figures of Harpocrates, Hercules and grotesque 'philosopher' of the Alexandrian type and the remains of lacquer bowls from China as well. While Wheeler regards this Begram treasure as a Customs depot for the receipt of dues in kind collected by the Kings or Viceroy of Kapisa from the caravans which traversed the adjacent highway in the luxury traffic of Orient and Occident, it appears to be equally likely that this hoard was the warehouse of a certain merchant or more probably of a mercantile organisation. Whatever may be the nature of this storehouse, the fact remains that at Begram these art-objects from different countries could come only in the course of trade. Besides a number of objects of Roman inspiration like statuettes or reliefs of Cupid, Venus and the like which were probably locally produced, bronze saucepans with tubular handles, a series of circular stone toilette trays etc discovered at Taxila, mention is to be made of some likely imports from the West. Thus a charming bronze statuette of Harpocrates with the right forefinger raised to his lips or two gems—a gold-set carnelian bearing figures of Eros and Psyche with a small child and a nicolo engraved with a winged Cupid running after a bird—are believed to be imports from the Roman world.

But more important than all these finds are

a large number of stucco works of the 3rd-4th century A.D. These stucco objects (e.g. the head of a smiling child from Janlian near Taxila, the head of a satyr with pointed ears and snub nose from Sirkap, the life-size head of a youth from the Dharmarajika monastery) bear such a marked affinity with the Roman works, that they appear to be the products of a Roman atelier. The suspicion that they could have reached Taxila by way of trade is not unnatural. It may be noted that gypsum which is the raw material of stucco is abundantly available in the vicinity of Alexandria, where such articles may have been manufactured. Thus it was the Alexandrian trade with the Kushan empire which resulted in the diffusion of the stucco-technique in Gandhara and subsequently in the northern and eastern regions as far as the border of China.

It is quite likely that with art objects artists were also imported from the Roman West. It may not be possible at the present state of our knowledge to agree thoroughly with Buchthal in his view that the Buddha image was but a copy of a Roman toga statue. But the suggestion of Soper that a sculptor may have been brought from Rome to Peshawar where he initiated, or materially advanced, the art of Gandhara, cannot, however, be regarded as groundless in view of the strongly Roman character of many of the Gandharan art objects. A 3rd-century legend says that St. Thomas was brought to the court of Gondopernes (c. A.D. 19-45) at Taxila for his skill as a builder of 'pillars, temples and courthouses for kings'. Whatever the historical value of this legend, the reputation of Yavana or Western craftsmen which it implied, is of significance. The reputation of Yavana craftsmen is also attested by early Tamil literature. Such craftsmen must have usually been appreciated by the local gentry flourishing as a result of international trade.

To sum up, the art of Gandhara, eclectic in character, was born under the stimuli which were at work in the growth and development

of Hellenistic art, and hence it was but an integral part of Hellenistic art, which was essentially based on a cosmopolitan commerce. In the course of time quite logically it came to absorb Roman art tradition. Gandhara art became indeed an integral part of the contemporary art complex at this stage. Gandhara art derived its sustenance from Buddhism and

capitalism, the latter being an outgrowth of Indo-Roman commerce. Alexandria which played the role of an active agent in the Indo-Roman trade also participated in the spread of Hellenistic and Roman art to contemporary India which could not have been as successful as it turned out to be without the trade background.

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¹Terms like 'capitalism' or 'bourgeoisie' used here should not be taken strictly in their modern sense. They have references to conditions prevailing at the time of Gandhara art which to an extent resemble those with which they are related. An analogous instance of the use of modern terms in the context of ancient culture is furnished by the application of terms like 'Baroque' or 'Rococo' to denote certain phases of Hellenistic art.

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PRE-ARYAN FOREIGN TRADE OF INDIA WITH SUMER

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India's foreign trade with Sumer goes down to the earliest period before the famous Sumerian flood which has been dated between 3500 and 3000 B.C. The al-Ubaid, the Uruk and the Jamdat-Nasr periods go to make the Sumerian culture. The later two are the post-diluvian while the al-Ubaid culture is the pre-diluvian. This al-Ubaid culture could boast of a far-flung trade to the West, upto the shores of the Mediterranean and to the East upto India. Two beads made of amazonite, a stone of which the nearest source is the Nilgiri hills of central India have been found in the house ruins under the flood silt at Ur. The discovery of terracota figurines of slender-bodied nude females, skillfully modelled, with queer reptilian faces with the high bitumen-covered head-dress¹ point towards the fact that these traders were the matriarchal Ahi people of India. Ubaid people knew the art of constructing boats.² The Indian merchants used both land and sea routes and the sea-route was constantly used. The Indian merchants used boats trading in Indian waters as large and nearly as well-equipped as the sailing vessels used by native sailors at the present day.³ India carried on extensive foreign trade with Sumer during its pre-diluvian age.

Gilgamesh is the eminent ruler fifth in line in the first dynasty of Erech after the flood. He may thus safely be dated in the first quarter of the third millennium B.C. The first Erech Dynasty may be identified with the Jamdat-Nasr period of the Sumerian culture.⁴ Gilgamesh was brought by Urshanbi, the ferryman; to Utnapishtim who lived in the land of Dilmun.⁵ The land of Dilmun in that age was

considered pure, clean and bright, the land where the lion kills not, the wolf snatches not the lamb, unknown is the kid-devouring wild dog, unknown is widow, where none is sick and old, none wails or laments; the land of material abundance with grains, fruits and vegetables.⁶ Kramer identified the land of Dilmun with the land of Indus Valley civilization. The journey from Dilmun to Uruk in Sumer in the west took fortyfive days.⁷ Gilgamesh was so well-known in India that he appears on an earlier found seal from Mohenjodaro, nude and with horns.⁸ Nudity in ancient India was associated with high spiritualism and horns were the emblems of suzerainty. This relationship between India and Sumer testifies to the extensive trade between the two countries.

The Sumerian civilization, as given earlier, was built up from the amalgamated elements derived from al-Ubaid, Uruk and Jamdat-Nasr cultures. Jamdat-Nasr people appear to have been alluded to in the famous Sumerian legend which tells that a race of people, half human and half fish, came from the Persian Gulf, led by one Oannes and settled in the cities of Sumer and introduced the art of writing, of agriculture and of working in metal, and since that time no further inventions have been made.⁹ This clearly reveals that these people were expert mariners skilled in the art of engineering. They came from the east, according to Kramer¹⁰. The nearest eastern sea-port was Sutkagen-dor, the greatest western trading centre of the Bharatiya people. The Early Dynastic Ages began in Sumer when the land was resettled after the ravages of the great Sumerian Flood. India soon after resumed its

foreign trade with Sumer. They established factories in the Sumerian cities. The Indian traders acquired a business which was already flourishing by about 2300 B.C. Their resident representatives in Ur and Lagash and other centres of trade used characteristic Indian seals on merchandise and documents. This trade was sea-borne up the Persian Gulf and the fortified station at Sutekagen-dor played a great part in this trade.¹¹

Indians had, in that age, a well-organised agriculture and well-developed industries. The existence of big granaries adjacent to, or forming part of, citadel areas in Indus towns reveals that large agricultural and industrial products were stored therein. Indians exported cotton cloth, raw cotton in bales, food stuffs and precious metals to Sumer. They, in return, perhaps imported copper, lead and tin, in ingot form which were melted and fashioned by the Harappan smiths.¹² The nature of this trade indicates that India possessed highly developed industries flanked by a very flourishing and extensive agriculture. The links between India and Sumer became more pronounced during the age of Sargon of Agade in the twenty-third century B.C.¹³ The Indian caravans crossed the mountains and deserts of Iran and argosies traversed the Arabian Sea from Peninsular parts to the Euphrates cities in the third millennium B.C.¹⁴ The import and export trade in Sumer was organised at the centre¹⁵. We may well conclude that the Indian state exercised control over the surpluses stored in the granaries near or in the citadels. The state managed the international trade with the foreign countries through its own officers or employed private merchants. We, thus, find that the Indo-Sumerian foreign trade was carried on at state levels and was the monopoly of the two states.

Our foreign trade with Sumer continued uninterrupted since the earliest times to the end of the third millennium B.C. Ancient Persia, populated by the non-Aryan peoples of the same race as that of India¹⁶, the westernmost province of Bharata, was the connecting link

between Sumer and India. The Aryans, the peoples from the mountains, violently entered north Iran in the beginning of the second millennium B.C.¹⁷ The times of troubles set in West Asia. The Aryans had reached Anatolia by the same time, c. 1950 B.C. Their superior military might, by and by, conquered the whole of West Asia and our land routes to Sumer via Persia thus became disrupted and our trade through land-routes came to a standstill. But southern Persia still was a part of Bharata and its various sea ports remained within our suzerainty. Our Gedrosian sea-ports, Gwatar, Jiwanry, Take-dap, Ganz, Gwadar, Jabal Mehdi and others¹⁸ were still thriving and our sea-borne trade continued as usual but perhaps sufficiently reduced in the changed circumstances.

The Amorites of Mari in the west came to be the masters of Babylonia, the successor name of the erstwhile state of Sumer and Agade, in the first half of the second millennium B.C., but we do not possess records that throw any light upon her foreign trade with India. Perhaps Babylonia was engrossed too much with its northern and eastern neighbours. The Kassites of the east conquered and ruled over Babylonia in the second half of the second millennium B.C. Its famous king Kuri-galzu II took upon a very ambitious building programme.¹⁹ The Indian ports of Gedrosia and inland trading posts are still thriving undisturbed by the yet to come Aryan military might by the middle of the second millennium B.C. We may presume that Indian trade with Sumerian sea ports probably continued upto the peaceful and flourishing times of Kuri-galzu II. The Aryans of West Asia began to look towards east, to Bharata, in the third quarter of the second millennium B.C. and it appears that our foreign trade with Sumer became disrupted in this age. The Aryans through the Arachosian and Gedrosian routes marched with their highly organised military might to Bharata and finally conquered her c. 1100 B.C.

Our foreign trade with Sumer upto the

Mediterranean countries was again resumed in the first quarter of the first millennium B.C. The unsettled conditions of the Mediterranean, due to the Aryan conquest of Greece and the Aegean countries in the twelfth century B.C., stimulated a great exodus of expert navigators and skilful merchants to their known land of Bharata to the east. They first come here for

trade, and later, in the first quarter of the first millennium B.C., through the Gedrosian sea-route, and the land-routes of coastline western Indian cities, penetrated the South, conquered it and finally made South their permanent home. We today know these people as our brethren, the Dravidians. But that is the subject of another research paper.

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SKANDA PURANA ON THE DVIPANTARA TRADE

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Bharata-varsha is surrounded by the seas in the east, west and south.¹ The seas played very important role in the expansion of Bharati beyond the physical frontiers of India. They linked India with islands situated in the Southern sea.

Bharatavarsha comprised nine islands (Bharatam Varsham navadvipam) viz., Indradvipa (Andaman), Kaseru (Malaya), Tamraparna (Ceylon), Gabhastiman, Nagadvipa (Nicobar), Kataha (Kedah in Malaya), Simhala (Ceylon), Varuna (Borneo), and Kumardvipa.² Varaha Purana (Chap., LXXXV, p. 365) refers to Bharata as a name of the ninth dvipa. It omits the names of Kataha and Simhala and comprises those of Saumya and Gandharva, as we find them in the list of Navabhedas given by Rajasekhara in Kavyamimamsa³ (p. 92. 7-9). Thus in ancient times, "during the Gupta period, the name Bharata included the islands of the Indian ocean, like Ceylon, Andaman, Nicobar, Java, Bali and Sumatra".⁴ These islands separated by sea from one another (sagarantaritah sarve) were styled Dvipantara, which had very close contact with India in her social, religious, political and economic life.⁵

Trade (Vanijya) is believed to be the most exalted means of livelihood (vanijyam manyate sreshtham jivanaya),⁶ as compared to agriculture.⁷ Skanda Purana asserts that the traders should be fair and square in their enterprise based on honesty and piety (amaya-yaiva).⁸ Devi-Bhagavata Purana refers to the goddess as the presiding deity of trade residing with the traders (Vanijyarupa vanijam).⁹ It

is not at all surprising, for the traders in the moments of peril caused by shipwreck needed some super-human power for their support and sustenance.

Literature, foreign travellers, inscriptions and coins uphold the development of foreign trade in Ancient India. Skanda Purana not only exhibits a flourishing state of Indian trade with the different parts of the country, but it also champions the glory of advanced maritime trade with Dvipantara. It refers to two-fold activities of trade viz., Svadesajam (i.e. inland trade with the different parts of India) and Paradesajam (i.e. foreign trade), the latter is stated to be very profitable.¹⁰

There are numerous references in the Skanda Purana to ships (mahapota,¹¹ pota,¹² jalayana¹³), boats (navo,¹⁴ plavo¹⁵) and rafts (udupa)¹⁶ sailing on the southern sea. Skanda gives us a graphic account of sea-voyage to Champakavati¹⁷ (Champa) across the seas placed in Patala (Dvipantara). Similarly ships sailed between Simhala (Ceylon) and Stambhatirtha (Cambay).¹⁸

Skanda refers to a merchant (vaisya) named Somasarma, son of Sukesa, who entered into commercial partnership (vyavaharam) with his poor, but highly skilled, friend named Sahadeva. Somasarma told him that both of them would go to the 'other side of the coast' (pavam tiram) by means of ships and boats (samudrayanena gachchhavottaranaili subhaili) laden with a large amount of merchandise (bhandam bahu samadaya) for the sake of getting wealth (dravyasadhane). The profits

and prosperity were to be shared equally among them (utakarshas tvavayohi samah). Thus after deciding and deliberating on the terms and conditions of partnership, both of them started on their voyage across the Lavanodadhi. They gained large quantity of gold and various jewels by their transactions of the business. After selling their goods and loading wealth on their boats and ships, they started homeward. In the course of their voyage Sahadeva threw away his partner, Somasarma, into the sea; so that he got hold of the entire wealth.¹⁹ It should be noted here that Param-Tiram²⁰ or Pāram represents Pāram-Param, Pāre-Sindhu or Palesimūṇḍ (Ceylon),²¹ which had close cultural and commercial contact with India. Rajasekhara refers to it as an associate unit of Dakshinapatha.²² Skanda Purana refers to Simhala-Dvipa²³ (Ceylon) and Lanka-Desa²⁴ in the list of the 72 Provinces of Bharata-varsha comprising 36 and 10 thousands of villages

respectively. Vamana Purana refers to Upendra as the exalted deity of Simhala (Upendram Simhala-dvipe).²⁵

Skanda asserts that hundreds of merchants sail for Brahmottara country spurred by the lucrative trade:

Panyanam satasamkhyanam vyavahara
nidarsinah,
Brahmottarani tanvanti vanijo labhakanks-
hinah.²⁶

From Dvipantara were imported such exalted articles of trade as aguru (a fragrant wood), karpura (camphor), chandana (sandal), and many such commodities of different types,²⁷ viz., manis and manikyas.²⁸ Thus we see that the trade with Dvipantara (Insular India) was held high in the commercial life of Ancient India.

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SOCIAL BACKGROUND TO THE GROWTH OF RELIGIOUS REACTION DURING THE 17TH CENTURY

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It is usual to speak of the nobility as a single social class. Nevertheless, a close study reveals that there was considerable difference, not only of emoluments but of social status, between the upper and the lower classes. Persons holding ranks below 500 Zat, called mansabdars as distinct from amir and amir-i-umda, should be considered a separate social class.

An analysis of Shah Jahan's nobility at the end of the twentieth regnal year, as given by Lahauri, gives the following picture:

Total number of mansabdars, barpandaz etc.—8000

	Total awarded	Living Percentage to total
5000 and above	32	21 .25
2500 to below 5000	85	58 .72
500 to below 2500	472	280 3.50
TOTAL	589	359 4.47

Thus, the conclusion follows that the small mansabdars constituted something like 95% of the total mansabdars.

The chances of the small mansabdars rising to the category of the great mansabdars must be considered slender. We find them complaining that the great mansabdars took all the best and most easily manageable jagirs. An even more objectionable practice, one that was apparently never stamped out was of the high grantees selecting the best mahals in each

pargana, leaving the small mansabdars with the mahals with poor yields. When posted away from their jagirs, the small mansabdars had frequently no option but to let their jagirs out on ijara, either to the local faujdar, a large jagir-holder in the area, or the mahajan from whom the mansabdar may have borrowed money. In the latter years of Aurangzeb's reign, an order was passed that mansabdars with Zat rank below 300 were not to have Sawar ranks. However, this order seems not to have been followed in practice. Or it may have been made applicable to those reluctant to be burdened with the management of a jagir and preferring a cash salary.

Thus, the relationship of the small mansabdars with land was tenuous. In practice, they should be classified with the large class connected with administrative duties at various levels—the amils, munsaddis, wakils, peshkars etc. The growth of this class is a marked feature of social life during the 17th century. This class, apparently, had close connection with another social class—the holders of maddad-i-maash. These formed the basis of the religious and intellectual classes of the period, and also provided recruits to the lower levels of the administration. The bulk of the chroniclers were drawn from these classes and reflect their attitudes, beliefs and convictions.

Little attempt has so far been made to study the actual living conditions of these intermediate strata. There is some evidence that the struggle for jobs and preferment in these sections was very severe. Hence, they tended to look as-

kance at policies designed to give the Hindus a larger share in the public services.

The only real solution to the problems of this section lay either in a rapid territorial expansion of the empire or in a rapid industrial and commercial expansion of society. But the expansion of the empire was dependent on a number of political factors, and Aurangzeb did not consider it feasible to embark on a policy of large scale aggrandizement till 1676. Trade and industry, too, did not expand rapidly enough, and in any case, the competition from the Hindus and the European merchants was likely to be even more acute in this sphere.

This apparently is the social background to the growth of an orthodox reaction among a section of the Muslims in India during the 17th

century. It can be shown that many of the orthodox measures of Aurangzeb were in effect designed to appease and alleviate the distress of this section. In this connection, reference may be made to Aurangzeb's order reserving fifty per cent of the posts in the revenue department for Muslims, the institution of the post of muhiasibs, imposition of discriminatory cess upon the Hindu merchants, etc. Even the revival of jizyah was partly designed to provide jobs and financial relief to this section.

The growth of religious orthodoxy during the 17th century has many complex social, economic, political and intellectual factors. However, the development of a large lower-middle and middle-middle class, dependent largely on state employment, support and patronage, and the resulting clash of interests, must be considered an important factor in the process.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN MEDIEVAL DECCAN

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The Deccan, and particularly eastern Deccan, enjoyed great prosperity during the medieval times (1060-1500 A.D.). This part of the country was free and independent even after the fall of the great Hindu empire of the Kakatiyas of Warangal in 1323 A.D. Various local families like those of the Reddis of Kondavidu and Rajahmundry, the Padmanayakas of Devarakonda, the Musunuri chiefs and the Sangama family of Vijayanagara, formerly subordinates of the Kakatiyas, established independent principalities on the ruins of the Kakatiya empire and restored and maintained peace and order after the deluge of the Muslim invasion under Prince Juna of Delhi. The prosperity of the times is very well reflected in the social, economic, religious and cultural life of the people.

It is necessary to mention, at the outset, a few prominent features of the history of this period which affected life in all its aspects. The first of these features is the prevalence of continuous peace and the avowed objective of all the rulers of the time to undo the evils of the Muslim invasions and to restore and maintain general conditions as they existed before these invasions. The second feature is an unprecedented religious fervour created by the Saiva, Virasaiva and Vaisnava movements. The third is a great social upheaval which led to the gradual diminution of the power of the old Kshatriya families of the lunar and solar lineages and the seizure of political power and government by the Sudra community, familiarly mentioned as the *Caturthakula*. The fourth feature is the emergence of the brahman as the *Laukika*, who dominated the

political arena as minister, general and loyal secretary. The last prominent feature is a general laxity in the rules of caste conduct and the prevalence of promiscuity and frivolousness.

Of all aspects of life in the middle ages, the study of the condition of the people, their attire, their diet, their ornaments, their customs and pastimes and their occupations and festivals, is of fascinating interest.

Sources: Numerous sources, literary and epigraphical, and the writings of foreign visitors throw plenty of light on the social life of the people of the Deccan in the middle ages. Mention may be made here of the writings of travellers like Conti and Barbosa. Among Sanskrit works, the *Abhilasitarthacintamani* of Somesvara, the *Vratakhanda* of Hemadri, the *Sangitaratnakara* of Sarjnadeva, the *Nrittaratnavali* of Jaya, the *Sangitacintamani* of Pedakomativ Vema and the *Vasantarajiyaya* of Kumaragiri throw plenty of light on the dance and music that were practised in this period. Among Telugu literary works, the *Kridabhiramamu* describes vividly social life in the city of Warangal in the early 14th century. The *Keyurabahu-caritramu*, the poetic compositions of Srinatha, the *Simhasanadvatrimasti*, *Sivadharmottara*, *Pandurangamahatmayamu*, *Bhojarajiyamu*, *Basavapuramu*, *Mallikarjunapanditaradhyacaritramu*, *Hari-vamsamu*, *Kavyalamkaracudamam*, *Palnativira-caritra*, *Ramevilasamu*, *Vemabhupalacarita* and others are of great importance. Inscriptions, particularly the portions describing the donees, are of use for determining the basis of differentiation between several groups. Traditional works,

like the *Ksatriya-gotra-sisamalika* and the *Vaisyapuramu* are also useful.

Caste system: The old *Varnasramadharm* continued to prevail in this period and was the bed-rock of social organisation. Besides the Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra, there were the untouchables and Mlecchas who came to be recognised as a permanent part of the population from the end of the first quarter of the fourteenth century. The brahmanas, who were scholars of the *Veda*, *Vedanga*, *Itihasa*, *Purana*, *Sastra* and many of the secular arts and sciences as well, were patronised by all the royal families of the time. They were distinguished and divided on the basis of the *Veda*, *Sakha*, *Sutra* and *Gotra* to which they belonged, besides various territorial divisions of the time like *Venginadu*, *Kasolanadu*, *Kammanadu*, *Velnadu*, *Pakanadu* and *Mulikinadu* in which they lived. Several members of this community gave up exclusive scholarly pursuits and entered service under various rulers. Thus there came about a general division of this community into *Vaidikas* and *Laukikas*. Numerous Kshatriya families flourished in this period though shorn of their political importance. They continued to be feudatory rulers of small principalities. These Kshatriyas were a comparatively closed and conservative community belonging to a few *gotras*. The Vaisyas were a rich and prosperous community. Numerous minor and large scale industries developed in the country and there was brisk internal and overseas trade. Several merchant guilds, like the *Svadesi*, *Paradesi*, *Nanadesi*, the *Nagaramu* and the *Pekkandru*, controlled this internal and external trade.¹ They were popularly known as the *Komatis* and were distinguished on the basis of their *gotras* and the *nadus* or territorial divisions to which they belonged. The Sudras formed the bulk of the population and were divided into eighteen communities or the *astadasa-praja*, including toddy-drawers, weavers, potters, barbers, bamboo workers, oil millers, tailors, sellers of perfumes and others.² These divisions were based upon the professions and occupations pursued by their members. Many

of them occupied prominent positions like those of *Nayakas* or 'governors of territorial divisions, commanders, ministers, secretaries and royal agents. The army absorbed a good percentage of this community.

Dress: The dress of the people of this period was varied. It was made of coarse or fine cloth, linen, silk or wool, of many colours and often embroidered with silver and gold thread. The men generally wore a piece of cloth, called the *dhovati*, wound round the waist, with one end arranged into folds and tucked in the front and the other tucked behind. Another piece was thrown on the shoulders so as to cover the chest. The officials and people of the higher castes wore a cap, called the *Kulla*, and wound a piece of cloth called *Koka*, some times coloured and laced and wound round it as a turban. There were two kinds of coats, *mahakurpasa* or *nindu catta* which was long and *Kancuka* which was short and known as *ara catta*. The lower classes generally wore a *dhoti*, shorter in length and a turban, though the body was left bare. The women wore a saree or *cira* and a *raika* or bodice, plain or embroidered, white or coloured. Women of the higher castes wore a *duppati* or upper cloth on the shoulders.³

Hair styles: Hair was grown long by both the sexes and worn in different styles. The men tied it in a variety of knots, tight or loose, called *Krommudi* either on the crown of the head or above one ear. Men of the higher classes had the ends curled up. Young women wore long plaits and older women tied either in a knot tucked to one side called *Koppu* or arranged the hair in the shape of a bun behind the head.⁴

Foot wear: Sandals of wood or leather were worn by all classes. Rich people had tassels hung to leather sandals which made a creaking noise, called *Kirru*, as they walked. Canes with heads fashioned like those of lions and elephants with fine inlay work were carried by the well-to-do sections. The poorer classes carried a stick. Umbrellas, both open and foldable, were

another favourite. Temples, kings and high feudatories had white parasols with tassels while the poorer sections carried umbrellas of palm leaves.⁵

Ornaments: An immense variety of ornaments were worn by both sexes. The head, ears, neck, hands, fingers, waist and ankles were adorned with these ornaments. These were made of gold, silver, copper, brass and shell. They were often studded with precious stones. A pendant with a chain, named *cerucukka* or *simanta-bhusana* was laid on the parting of the hair. *Sasi* and *ravi* or *ragidi* which was round and *candravanka*, which resembled the crescent, were worn on the sides of the head. Another, named *bimbamu*, was worn at the back of the head. The *paccadapu-gandu* was a chain ornament worn on the plait of hair. The ears were adorned with *kundalas* of different varieties and hangings named *jukalu* or *jalli* and *cakkattu* the hara or garland, *kanthika* or *kanthe* and *patteda* or necklaces adorned the neck. The *mukkara* or nose-screw was a popular ornament for women. The rich wore it with tassels of pearls. The upper part of the arm was adorned with *keyuras*, *angadas* and *bhujakirtulu*. Amulets, named *tayettulu* were also worn round the upper part of the arm. *Kankana*, *valaya* or *murugu*, plain or studded with gems, was a popular wrist ornament. The poorer sections got these made of shell, conch silver or copper. *Molanulu*, corresponding to the *kati-sutra*, with pendants and hangings of pearls and bells, and *oddanamu*, a plate of gold, sometimes studded with precious stones and containing various designs, was another feminine ornament for the waist. Various ornaments like *kadiyamu* and *andelu* or *Manjiras* adorned the anklets. Small rings, called *mattelu* and *sekharas* were worn on the toes. Men of the time decorated themselves with *kundalas*, *kanthamalas*, *banuvalayas*, *kankanas* and finger rings. Heroes, wrestlers and kings wore the *ganda-pendera* or anklet of gold above the left ankle.⁶

Diet: Though the poor were satisfied with

a frugal meal consisting of rice or pounded millet and a vegetable, the higher classes enjoyed rich and varied food. Hotels, called *putakutillu*, which catered to the tastes of the visitors, existed in bigger towns and cities. The menu supplied in a hotel at Warangal in the 14th century for a *ruka*, consisted of wheat pudding, a handful of sugar, ghee freshly boiled, plantains, two sweets, four or five vegetable dishes, and curds. There were, besides, a number of *satrams* or chouldries which fed visitors with rich food. The temples too distributed food offered to the deities, several times on each day.⁷

Customs: The people of the time followed strictly several customs coming down from times of yore. The *Pancanga* or calendar was consulted every day and all activities were regulated by auspicious days and times. The *Ghadiyaramu* or clock tower existed in every public place and in the royal palaces, and time was indicated by bells or the sounding of a gong. The *samskaras* prescribed by the *Sastras* like *cuda-korma*, *upanayana* and *vivaha* were gone through carefully. It was customary for devotees to indulge in various acts of sacrifice like cutting the limbs, hook-swinging and cutting off of tongues and heads. Particular places were reserved in temples for this purpose and these acts attracted large crowds. Fire-walking out of religious fervour was another custom.⁸ There are numerous instances of *Sati* or *Sahagamana*.⁹ Numerous *Vratas*, prescribed by the *Sastras*, including the *Dvadasi-vrata*, which was very popular, were performed by people of religious persuasion. The worship of the heroes or *Vira-puja* was popular among the lower classes.¹⁰

Festivals: The people of this period took delight in performing a number of festivals. The *Vasantotsava* or spring festival, was very popular. It came into vogue in the Kakatiya period and was improved and popularised by the Reddi kings.¹¹ These were occasions for the display of poetic skill, skill in arts and music and of general frivolity. The *Dasara* and the

Dipawali were common festivals celebrated with enthusiasm. The *Sri-Jayanti* for the Vaisnavas and the *Sivaratri* for the Saivas were of great importance. Eclipses and the two solstices were also celebrated on a wide scale.

Pastimes: There were several pastimes and amusements which both entertained and enlightened the people. The Drama, which consisted of song, dance and action, was a popular entertainment. The themes were mostly from the epics and Saiva and Vaisnava mythologies. Next in popularity was the puppet show or shadow play, named *tolu-bommalu*, conducted by groups of trained artistes who moved from place to place.¹² Magic and jugglery and acrobatic shows also attracted and entertained large numbers of people. Bull and ram fights and cock fights were another means of public entertainment. Gambling and dice-play were popular indoor entertainments.¹³ The higher classes, which had plenty of spare time, cultivated music and dance. Several rulers of the time like Pratapa-Gangaraja, Kumaragiri Reddi and Visvesvara-Calukya, Devaraya I and Pedakomati Vema Reddi, were adepts in music and authors of standard works on musicology. Inscriptions and literary works of the period mention many varieties of *Vina* and other musical instruments and accompaniments. The *pada*, *gita* and *jajara* were popular compositions sung in different *ragas* and to a variety of *talas*. There were famous courtesans at royal courts who were reputed exponents of both instrumental and vocal music. Next to music, dance or *Natya*, was a favourite pastime for the higher classes. Dance was an essential part of temple worship, worship in royal palaces and public celebrations. There were groups of skilled danseuses attached to temples and royal courts and some of them enjoyed as high a status and patronage as scholars and poets of great reputation. The dance of this period was of two main varieties; *Marga* described in

the *Natyasastras* and *Desi*, which was of indigenous origin. A further subdivision of the art was into *Tandava*, a virile and sometimes violent variety performed by men, and *Lasya*, which was more gentle and more graceful, performed by women. Contemporary literary works mention and works on *Natya* describe numerous forms of *Desi-lasya* like *Perani*, *Gondli* or *Kundali*, *Dandalasaka*, *Kanduka-krida*, *Jakkini* and *Hallisaka*. Saivism and Vaisnavism, which were in the full swing of their glory during this period, made full use of dance. We have detailed descriptions of dance performances given by Saiva devotees on the occasion of the *Sivaratri* festival at Srisailem. Almost every young woman of the higher classes learnt *Natya* along with the other arts known as the *Catus-sasti-kalas* or 64 arts.¹⁴

General laxity: The orthodox caste system was assailed by contemporary religious movements. Virasaiva was very popular in both Andhra and Karnataka. It attacked caste distinctions, treated all devotees of Siva as of one fraternity and looked down upon the orthodox section as *bhavis*. Similarly, the Vaisnavism of Ramanuja was also popular and its more liberal aspect inspired a cosmopolitanism in social matters. Another form of laxity was in morals. Concubines existed everywhere and were in great demand. The ordinary classes resorted to the *Vesya* or the common prostitute, while the higher classes patronised the *Ganika*, an aristocratic and accomplished public woman. Rulers, feudatories, generals and other prominent men of the time assumed titles like *Raya-Vesya-bhujanga* and *Vara-nariyavvana-vana vasanta*. The *Kridabhiramamu* states how women of the lower classes moved freely with men of corresponding status.¹⁵

Thus, the people of eastern Deccan led joyous lives, free from worry, and indulged in pleasure and frivolity in the medieval times.

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⁸ In the famous temple of Mallikarjuna at Srisailem, there was a separate *mutapa*, named the *Vira-Sivomantap* set apart for this purpose.

⁹ *Palnati-Vira-Caritra* p. 22.

¹⁰ A fratricidal war was fought in Palnadu in the Guntur

district in the 12th century. Warriors who died in this war were deified and worshipped. The *Kridabhiramamu* describes in vivid detail the worship of the *Vaude* or heroes.

¹¹ Many of these kings had the title, *Vasantaraya*. This festival was celebrated on a grander scale at Vijayanagara by all its ruling families.

¹² The *Panditaradhyacaritramu* describes these entertainments in the *Parvataprakasana*.

¹³ The *Kridabhiramamu* contains vivid descriptions of these pastimes.

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SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN MEDIEVAL INDIA

(As Reflected in the Accounts of Al-Biruni, Ibn Batutah, Babur and Bernier)

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Social conditions in Medieval India could be studied from various view-points and under various heads. Medieval India is usually taken to be the period between 1000 A.D. to 1707 A.D. During this span of seven hundred years we come across certain landmarks. The writer has ventured a departure from the usual practice in the treatment of the subject. Instead we have preferred to see the social conditions during the period under review as they struck foreign eyes. Fortunately, we have Biruni, Batutah, Babur and Bernier—Al-Biruni at the dawn of the medieval period, Ibn Batutah during the heyday of the Sultanate, Babur when India entered a new epoch and Bernier who saw the sun of the Mughal Empire reclining towards the west. Thus the total picture of the Indian society during medieval period could profitably be studied and compared and contrasted at different times giving an idea of its evolution as well as degeneration.

The broad features of social conditions in Medieval India were not very much unlike conditions obtaining in other parts of the civilized world corresponding to our period, with this difference that conditions in Indian environment changed quickly, and on the whole, for the better. Abu Raihan Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Al-Biruni was a well read and widely travelled man. According to him Mahmud of Ghazni "utterly ruined the prosperity of the country (of India), and performed those wonderful exploits by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions."¹ This was the state of the country at the opening scene. When Al-Biruni entered India no bonds of friendship existed

between the Hindus and their new masters. The Pala dynasty, once ruling over the Punjab and the adjoining areas, had disappeared from the theatre of history, and their former dominions were in the firm grip of Mahmud of Ghazni and under the administration of his Turkish slaves. The princes of North-Western India had been too self-centred, too blind in their self-conceit, and utterly impolitic. They failed to appreciate the gravity of the Muslim menace. They did not unite for the common defence of the country and drive out the intruder. Single-handed Anandapala had to fight it out, and had succumbed. All those who would not bear the brunt of the foreign yoke fled and took up their abode in the neighbouring Hindu empires.²

Al-Biruni found the Hindus entirely different from Muslims; "they differ from us in everything which other nations have in common."³ The Hindu fanaticism was directed, according to him, "against all those who do not belong to them—against all foreigners. They call them *Mleccha* i.e. impure, and forbid having any connection with them, be it by inter-marriage or any other kind of relationship, or by sitting, eating, and drinking with them, because thereby, they think, they would be polluted."⁴ This rendered "any connection with them quite impossible", and constituted the widest gulf between Hindus and non-Hindus.⁵ The Hindus believed that "there is no country but theirs, no nation like theirs, no kings like theirs, no religion like theirs, no science like theirs."⁶ "According to their belief, there is no other country on earth but theirs, and no created beings besides them have

any knowledge or science whatsoever.”⁷ Al-Biruni regards it as “peculiarities of their national character” and comments: “folly is an illness for which there is no medicine.”⁸

Dealing with social strata, Al-Biruni remarks: “State or society rests in some degree on religion; these twins, state and religion, are in perfect harmony, and their union represents the highest development of human society, all that man can possibly desire.”⁹ But he adds: “They forbade people of different classes to have intercourse with each other.....They did not allow anybody to transgress the limits of his class, and even punished those who would not be content with their class.”¹⁰ Al-Biruni feels that “this is the greatest obstacle which prevents any approach or understanding between Hindus and Muslims.”¹¹

So the picture is by no means rosy. The Indian society in the eleventh century A.D. suffered from the complexes following in the wake of the Muslim conquest. The new-comers were also in a disorganized state socially. Camp life took away the very essence and sublimity of social existence.

Abu Abdullah Muhammad, popularly known as Ibn Batutah, crossed the Indus in 1333 A.D.¹² Ibn Batutah inspires the imagination of the modern student of Indo-Muslim sociology and enables him to realise how far Muslim society had been affected in the course of three hundred years and what was its impact on Indian social institutions.

The *Rehla* supplies invaluable information by giving an eye-witness account of Indian women—Maratha, Hindu and Muslim—as well as of Indian tastes and the people’s pleasures and sorrows. He finds “similarity between the Hindu and Muslim womenfolk, the only distinction mark being that the former had their ears bored while the latter had not. But their fate was common at the hands of the Mongol raiders who used to carry away Indian women indiscriminately.”¹³ In the town of

Hinawr and in many of the towns along the Malabar coast women who were beautiful and chaste and knew the Quran by heart put on *saris* and each wore a gold ring in her nose.¹⁴ In his age the woman really enriched the life of man and her acquisition was deemed a matter of pride. “It is an Indian custom”, says Ibn Batutah, “for the bridal party to stand at the gate of the house whence the bridegroom takes the bride to his own house; as he goes there in company to fetch the bride, they cannot enter unless they overpower the bride’s party. In case they are unable to do so they have to pay thousands of *dinars* to the bride’s party.”¹⁵

On his way from Delhi to Malabar, i.e. the city of Mangalore (*Manjarur*), Ibn Batutah “saw a Musalman who used to take lessons from the *jogis*”¹⁶ When he reached Khajuraho¹⁷ he found “Many Musalmans follow them (i.e. the *jogis*) in order to take lessons from them”.¹⁸ When he proceeded further he discovered that “the road runs completely in the shade of trees and at every half mile there stands a wooden house in which there are benches on which the wayfarers, infidels as well as Muslims, sit”.¹⁹

The city of Hili²⁰ stood “in high regard with the Muslims as well as with the infidels because of its congregational mosque, which enjoys plentitude of blessings and radiates the light of heaven”.²¹ In Dahfattan (perhaps modern Dharamapattam) the congregational mosque stood near a soft and green tree, known as the “tree of testimony” (*Darakht-i-Shahadat*). Ibn Batutah was “informed that a leaf falls from this tree every year in autumn..., and that on this leaf there stands written with the pen of nature—*La Ilaha Illallah Muhammad-ur-Rasul Allah*... As the time of dropping of the leaf approached, reliable Muslims and infidels would seat themselves under the tree. As soon as the leaf fell Muslims would take one half of it, while the other half was deposited in the treasury of the heathen ruler (*Sultan*). The natives consider it a cure for the sick”²²

The close of the fifteenth century clearly demonstrates that socially India was passing through a period of transition. The unavoidable contact and association between Hindus and Muslims and the Muslim domicile of five hundred years in India, accelerated the process of cultural synthesis.

Babur’s observation on Indian social life is no less important as his conquest of the country. The founder of the Mughal Empire declared: “Hindustan is a country that has few pleasures to recommend it. The people are not handsome. They have no idea of the charms of friendly society, of frankly mixing together, or of familiar intercourse; they have no genius, no comprehension of mind, no politeness of manner, no kindness or fellow-feeling, no ingenuity or mechanical invention in planning or executing their handicraft work, no skill or knowledge in design or architecture; they have no good horses, no good flesh, no grapes or muskmelons, no good food or bread in their bazars, no baths or colleges, no candles, no torches, not a candlestick”.²³ He says, “The country and towns of Hindustan are extremely ugly. All its towns and lands have a uniform look... In Hindustan, the populousness and decay, or total destruction of villages, nay of cities, is almost instantaneous”.²⁴

Babur observes: “Peasants and people of low standing go about naked. They tie on a thing called *languta*, ... Women also tie on a cloth (*lang*) one-half of which goes round the waist, the other is thrown over the head.”²⁵ But he had to admit: “Pleasant things of Hindustan are that it is a large country and has masses of gold and silver.”²⁶

In Babur’s view “Another good thing in Hindustan is that it has unnumbered and endless workmen of every kind. There is a fixed caste for every sort of work and for everything, and it has done that work or that work or that thing from father to son till now.”²⁷

Babur was a high-stung foreigner who had

moved in the polished societies of Central Asia and Persia. He suffered from superiority complex. Babur is particularly severe against Afghans as a people. He found them without any grace or refinement in their dress or manners.²⁸

Mughal India is a link between the ancient and modern periods. Scholars differ in their approach and assessment of the social conditions of the period. Some are of the opinion that “social and religious life of the people in later medieval India was more or less the same as in early medieval times”.²⁹ Others hold: “India of the Mughal period was very much like that of today.”³⁰ The truth lies somewhere between the two. The most notable contribution of far-reaching consequence was the change in the organization and general tenor of life at the Mughal court. The court life served as the norm for the people in general; its spirit permeated throughout the country. Of course, the Indian society had to travel two hundred years more for its claim to modernity.

Among the travellers who visited India during the seventeenth century, Francois Bernier occupies a privileged position. He stayed here for twelve years and traversed the land from Kashmir to Golkunda and from Surat to Qaim Bazar. Bernier says: “Gold and silver, after circulating in every other quarter of the globe, come at length to be swallowed up, lost in some measure, in *Hindoustan*.”³¹ But he adds: “The inhabitants have less the appearance of a moneyed people than those of many other parts of the globe.”³²

Astrology is taboo in Islam, though the Hindus practised and believed in it as an article of faith. But Bernier came across both Hindu and Muslim astrologers. “These wise doctors”, he says, “remain seated in the sun, on a dusty piece of carpet, handling some old mathematical instruments, and having open before them a large book which represents the signs of the zodiac. In this way they attract the attention of the passengers, and impose

upon the people, by whom they are considered as so many infallible oracles. They tell a poor person his fortune for a *payssa*... Silly women, wrapping themselves in a white cloth from head to foot, flock to the astrologers, whisper to them all the transactions of their lives, and disclose every secret..."³³ Bernier emphatically asserts: "The whole of Asia is degraded by the same superstition. Kings and nobles grant large salaries to these crafty diviners, and never engage in the most trifling transaction without consulting them. They read whatever is written in heaven; fix upon the *Sahet* (*sa'et*, i.e., propitious moment), and solve every doubt by opening the *Koran*".³⁴

Babur had many grievances against India regarding the ordinary amenities of life. Perhaps it was the outcome of Mughal impact that Bernier found "many confectioner's shops in the town". "Bakers also", he says, "are numerous". "In the *bazars* there are shops

where meat is sold roasted and dressed in a variety of ways".³⁵

"Wine ... can be obtained in none of the shops at Delhi", observes Bernier.³⁶ "To say the truth, few persons in these hot climates feel a strong desire for wine".³⁷ Bernier's statement is in total contrast to the assertion of Manucci that except Aurangzeb everyone else was a toper.³⁸ Was the pace of degeneration after Shahjahan so quick?

In the beginning of the medieval period of Indian history, confusion and chaos reigned supreme. There was almost no contact between Hindus and Muslims. At the close of the medieval period we notice the emergence of a synthetic Indo-Muslim society, though its vigour had been undermined because of the degenerate tendencies and activities. At least they were unable to face the Western onslaughts—both political and social.

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- ³ *Ibid.*, p. 17.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 20.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 20.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 22.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 23.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 22.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 99.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 99, 100.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 100.
- ¹² He stayed in India for about fourteen years (1333-1347 A.D.) of which about eight years were spent at Delhi (1334-42 A.D.). He was appointed the Chief Qazi of Delhi by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq.
- ¹³ *The Rehla of Ibn Battuta*, trans. Mahdi Husain, Baroda, 1953, Introduction, p. xxv.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xxiv.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 79.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 164.
- ¹⁷ Kajarra, Kajrao, Khajrao or Khajuraho, was an old city of the Chandel Rajputs of Bundelkhand lying south of Mahoba and north-east of Ujjain. It was the centre of Hindu learning and piety.

- ¹⁸ *The Rehla of Ibn Battuta*, p. 166.
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- ²¹ *The Rehla*, pp. 185, 186.
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- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, 222.
- ²⁵ Obviously he is referring to *Sari*.
- ²⁶ Cf. *Memoirs*, Beveridge, 518-20.
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- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 250.
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HINDU SOCIETY IN THE BHAKTAMALA OF NABHADASA

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India like the rest of the world was shocked and surprised by the Arab avalanche which shook the foundations of Bharata and Bharati. The social inequalities, religious animosities and political conflicts led to the conquest of Sindh by the Arabs. It was followed by the age of destruction and demolition—a furious fire threatening to destroy the Hindu culture and social ideals. The unimpeachable evidence of the epigraphs refers to Tajikanala as a great scourge which pained all the people (*ascshaloka samtapa kalapadah tajikanalah*).¹ It stirred the national mind represented by Kumarila, Sankara and Ramanuja to turn divided India into a solid rock of resistance, against which Turkish arms struggled to carve out a Muslim State in India. The Sultanate came into being, but resistance did not die out. Its pace was exhilarated by the medieval poets and thinkers, who analysed the causes which led to the collapse of the Hindu Power.²

The foreign origin of the Pratiharas is a sheer speculation and the association of Gurjara with Central Asia is a mere jugglery. The space here does not permit me to enter into the detailed discussion. But I have to remind the learned scholars, that after having conquered Kachchha, Gurjara etc., Arab invaders wanted to conquer the Deccan.³ They were crushed and curbed at the gates of Southern India by Pulakesin Avanijanasraya. An imperative need was felt to guard the doors of Madhyadesa near Arbudaranya. So the Kshatriyas, the defenders of the country, in the Gurjara Desa who claimed descent from the old celebrated dynasty of Raghu were entrusted the task of defending the doors of the country by throwing off the

vandal (*pratiharana vidhe yo Pratihara asit*). So the old Pratiharakula was reinstated on the pinnacle of glory based on their adherence to Kshatradharma.

Skanda Purana is an important source for the study of Indian history and culture from 9th century to 13th century A.D. It divides Sudras into two classes—Sachchhudras and Asachchhudras.⁴ The former still adhered to the tenets of Varnasramadharma. Similarly, we notice two classes of Kshatriyas viz., Satkshatriyas⁵ and Kshudra-kshatriyas, who violated kshatravrata.⁶ The former was still devoted to kshatradharma—protection of country and culture, while the latter class indicated the degraded kshatriyas who were being scared by the terror of Turkish onslaughts. Such kshatriyas, devoted to running away (*palayanapara*) due to fear or cowardice, were deprecated. The Sura-Vira was intensely devoted to the defence of one's own country, which was worthy of protection. Thus Vira-dharma⁷ developed in the early Medieval India and it took the shape of the romantic militarism of the Rajputs. Bhavabhuti, an ardent exponent of Viradharma, like the other thinkers of the age, upholds valour as the basis of kshatriyadharma (*kshatriya ... pratapa-vikrama dharma*).⁸

The shrieks of bewailing caused by the Turkish arms are noticed with their reverberating sound in the Puranas and other works:

ha svasa me hrita Mlechchhair,
ha ha arih prapa marmabhit.⁹

Thus the advent of the Matanga-Mlechchhas

stirred the Hindu society with a challenge for her survival. The age of social crisis led to social consciousness and national integration based on political, social and religious unity.¹⁰

Thus emerged the Bhakti Movement to curb and control the wild elephant¹¹ (Matanga-Mlechchha). Mr. Jaffar is right, to some extent, when he observes: "With the establishment of the Muslim Empire in India, Islam became supreme and it launched upon a new career of conversion. As a result, Hinduism was adversely affected. Some attracted by the teachings of the Muslim Faith, others actuated by economic advantages went over to the religion of their rulers. For full five centuries this state of affairs continued uninterrupted, but when conversions were accelerated into mass movements, there arose in this country a host of Hindu religious reformers who made earnest efforts to recover their lost sheep. The method they adopted to achieve their object was reconciliation with Islam and the result was the Bhakti Movement, which preached the unity of God and propagated the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity".¹² Bhaktamala of Nabhadasa with the commentary of his disciple Priyadasa is an authentic account of the national movement of liberty, fraternity and equality in Medieval India, roughly from 8th century A.D. to 17th century A.D. (V.S. 1769) when Priyadasa finished his commentary.¹³ The great saint claims an impartial and unbiased account, which aimed at bringing good to all the people:

Pakshapata nahi vachana savana ke hita
ki bhakhi.¹⁴

Broadly speaking the society was divided into two classes viz., Hindu and Turuka (Turk).¹⁵ The former still adhered to old social order viz., Varnasrama¹⁶ comprising four varnas and asramas (chari barana asrama)¹⁷. The four varnas are styled dvija-vipra,¹⁸ Bambhana (Bh.T., 455), or Brahmana (Bh. T., 464), Rajavamsa¹⁹ (Kshatriyas), Vaisya (Banika or Bania)²⁰, and Sudra.²¹ The Kshatriyas are

also styled Rajaputa (jati Rajaputa)²², who are stated to be the descendents of Manu Svayambhuva Prajapati, Prayavrata, Bharata, Ikshvaku and Yadu. Thus the two-fold social organisation was still viewed by an orthodox-indigenous school as Arya (Araja)²³ and Mlechchha, the latter comprised Turks (Turaka)²⁴ and Mughals.

In addition to the four varnas we find references to many castes viz., Mali (Bh., 82, gardener), Svapacha (Bh.T., 75), Kayatha (Bh.T., 340), Kahara (Bh.T. 390), Kasai (Bh.T. 394), Sunara Jati (Bh.T. 118, 406, goldsmith), Tambori (Bh.T. 100, betel-seller), Badhika (Bh.T. 51), Doma (Bh.T. 255), Bhana (Bh.T. 255), Mochi (Bh.T. 300), Gujar (Bh.T. 304), Napita (Bh. T. 63, barber), Banjaro (Bh.T. 296, 297), Julaha (Bh.T. 272), and Kumhara (Bh.T. 567). Thus the society was marked by the tinge of high and low (nichha jata)²⁵. But the saints recognised only two classes viz., the God and his devotees:

Bhajabe ko doi sughara,
Kai Hari Kai Haridasa.

The spirit of high and low, the sense of pride (varnasrama abhinana)²⁶ was deprecated. Raidasa upheld the spirit of Love²⁷, and so did Kabir, who challenged the institution of Varnasrama²⁸. They thus preached the gospel of true love:

Santa Sakhi jane sabai,
pragata prema kaliyuga pradhana²⁹.

Thus the idea of jati-panti was censured³⁰ and the glory of Bhakti (same as Love) was upheld.³¹

We also notice the two broad bases of society viz., the ruler and the ruled (raja-ranka)³². The former also comprised the nobles, and aristocrats—saho, raja, amira, kaji, diwana, sachiva and zamindara who led the life of luxury (nana raga-bhoga)³³. The latter represented the poor people, whose livelihood depended on service (tahala).³⁴

In addition to these social features—high and low castes, untouchability, parda, and other vices, Hindu society lived in the reign of terror (bhiti)³⁵ when life and honour was imperilled (garcehluri).³⁶ But the advent of the Akbarian era was marked by a policy of tolerance and the protection of the Hindus. Suradasa prayed:

Ika tana andhiaro karai
Sunya dai puni tahi
Dasatama te raksha karo
Dinamani Akbarasaha.³⁷

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THE BEGINNING AND GROWTH OF NATIONALISM IN MAHARASHTRA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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Nineteenth Century Maharashtra has been almost a closed book to many a man outside Maharashtra. This is because most of the source material is in Marathi. In the present small paper an attempt is made to acquaint the students of modern Indian history, with the history of Maharashtra under the early British Rule.

The idealism of Shivaji waned in the eighteenth century and totally disappeared in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Bajirao, by his own action, set an example for licentious behaviour. Security of person and property was almost unknown. Little wonder, therefore, that a large section of people welcomed the British with both hands. On the social front the condition was still worse. The entire society was tied hand and foot by the shackles of superstitions. Under Bajirao the Brahmins had become flatterers and indolent. The flashing sword of the Marathas had moved from Tanjavur to Attock. To their great dismay, they discovered that their sword was no more in demand. Soon the proud Maratha "Shipai" the soldier, became "Shipai", the peon.

The reaction of those who had lost their vatans was a little different. They felt that they were deprived of something which legitimately belonged to them. Within a decade of the fall of the Peshwas, the Ramoshis created disorder round about Poona. They were scattered over a large area. It was difficult if not impossible to control their predatory activities. The British policy in those early days was to pacify the

Ryots. The British, therefore, showed leniency and the Ramoshis were silenced for the time being. In 1830 the Kolis raised the standard of revolt, but they were soon put down. In 1844 the Ramoshis again rose to regain their lost autonomy. The names of Umaji Naik and Raghu Bhangarya were wellknown for a time. Raghu threatened those who accepted alien rule. He used to cut off the noses of the Patils who were pro-British. The Ramoshis, however, failed to gauge the British might. Soon Raghu (1848) and Umaji (1850) were captured.

It may be noted here that both the Ramoshis and the Kolis belonged to the backward tribes. They were illiterate, yet they had played a noble part under Shivaji and the Peshwas. These freedom-loving tribal people had no knowledge about the British. Their own resources were very much limited. Yet the fear of defeat did not deter them. Unlike the so-called advanced classes, these sons of the soil found it very difficult to swallow the bitter pill of domination.

The reaction of the early British rule on the advanced classes was much different. The liberal nature of the British rule had a great appeal for the early educated Indians. They looked upon the British as saviours. In this mood Lokhitvadi (Sardar Gopal Hari Deshmukh, 1823-1892) declared that the British were sent by God to uplift the Indians from the mire of superstitions¹. During the last few decades of the rule of the Peshwas, their regime had become very much caste-ridden. The Brahmins, who were the custodians of all the

religious knowledge, exploited the ignorant non-Brahmins. The ideas of high and low in the caste-system had degenerated to the lowest level. There were different laws for the Brahmins and non-Brahmins. Naturally a thinking non-Brahmin like Jotiba Phoolley (1827-1890) preferred the rule of the British to that of the caste conscious Brahmins.

Bombay was under the British for a hundred and fifty years before the end of the rule of the Peshwas. By and large, the people in Bombay had appreciated and enjoyed the government of the British, wherein there was sufficient scope for individual initiative and enterprise.

The beginning of the demand for the participation by the Indians in the affairs of their country may be traced to Juggannath alias Nana Sunkersett (1803-1865). He made a small beginning in this direction. In 1826 he sent a petition signed by a few leading men of Bombay to Parliament praying that Indians might be appointed Justices of the Peace. The petition was placed before Parliament by Mr. W. Wynn.² After three years of persuasion, in 1829 the Indians got the right to sit on the Grand Jury.³ It required five years more for the actual appointment of Indians as Justices of the Peace.⁴

Nana was alive to the subordinate condition of India. He was feeling for the loss of Indian independence. This could be seen from a minute he wrote on December 15, 1849 about the continuance of the teaching of Sanskrit.⁵

Lokhitvadi, who had welcomed the British, felt that after the British mission of educating the Indians was over, the British should leave India. He wrote a series of articles between 1848 and 1850, known as *Shatapatre*, through the columns of the *Prabhakar* edited by Bal Mahajan. In one of his letters he suggested that Indians should demand a Parliament from Her Majesty. He wanted this Parliament to be composed of two members from each district and one person from each town.⁶

It is not very clear whether he wanted these people to be elected or selected. For he wrote that all people should think properly and then appoint two wise men as their representatives. He believed that such a parliament would give the lie to the British belief that the Indians were fools. He also argued that if such a parliamentary government was given the Indians would discern the difference between a monarchy and a republic. He further advised that only learned people of good character should have the right to govern irrespective of their birth or wealth. A seer as Lokhitvadi was, he warned the British that if they did not leave when asked to leave by the Indians, the story of the American War of Independence might be repeated⁷. He felt that it would require two hundred years for this to happen, but he had absolutely no doubt that this would happen.

Writing in 1865 under the caption "What should the Government do", he opined that the best government was the one which governed the least. He wrote that under a good government the power of government should progressively decrease and that of the people increase. According to him, making of law and administration of law should be entirely in the hands of the people. In a backward country the government was either in the parental position or was a thief. Only in advanced countries the government was looked upon as the servant of the people. He openly pleaded for higher rights of the people, and advised that the people should fight with the government to get laws which were beneficial to the people⁸.

While Lokhitvadi was thinking aloud discussion was going on in the press about the Company's Charter which was to be renewed in 1853. Everywhere in India educated people were talking about the possible changes in the Company's Charter.

On October 29, 1851 the British Indian Association was founded at Calcutta by Deben-

dra Nath Tagore. In December he wrote to "a few people at Poona and at Madras requesting them to form branches of this association or to establish similar associations". The Madras Native Association must have come into being before the Bombay Association, because the third resolution of the latter "seeks co-operation of the societies formed for the same purpose at Calcutta and Madras".¹⁰ In January 1852, the Sardars and Inamdars of Poona founded the Deccan Association.¹¹ Bombay could not lag behind. On August 18, 1852 Nana Sunkersett called a few leading citizens of Bombay to his bungalow to discuss the efforts to be made for the political advancement of the people.¹² The persons present decided to call a public meeting of the citizens of Bombay on August 26, 1852.¹³ On that day was born the Bombay Association. The object of the Association was defined in the following resolution:

"That the Association shall from time to time, on occasion arising, memorialize the Government authorities in India or in England for the removal of existing evils and for the prevention of proposed measures which may be deemed injurious, or for the introduction of enactment which may tend to promote the general interests of all connected with this country".

The Bombay Association submitted a petition to the Parliament. One of the demands in the petition was for creation of a University at Bombay.¹⁴ For a few years the Association was very active and became the centre of the nationalist activities in Bombay. The atmosphere of universal suspicion created by the outbreak of 1857 slackened its working. Yet the Association succeeded in its task of making the people politically conscious. This Association later on developed into the Bombay Presidency Reforms Association, the leaders of which took a prominent part in the establishment of the Indian National Congress.

Eighteen-fiftyseven had a feeble echo in Maharashtra; a few soldiers from a battalion

at Aurangabad were planning to join the soldiers in the north, but their plan was discovered and a few of them were hanged.¹⁵

There was unrest amongst the soldiers at Kolhapur. A few of the Kolhapur soldiers killed three English officers on July 31, 1857.¹⁶ Perhaps this was the work of the U.P. soldiers stationed at Kolhapur. As the local troops did not join them, the conflagration did not spread on a wide scale. By August 14th the British troops from Satara and Bombay succeeded in putting down the rebellion. Neither the Maharaja of Kolhapur nor his Maratha troops had any hand in the attempt. Yet the British officers were quite vigilant about the affairs at Kolhapur. Chimasahab, the younger brother of the Maharaja, was very carefully organizing an uprising. On December 5, 1857 a few of the followers of Chimasahab closed the gates of the City. There was an uproar. On hearing the outcry, the British officer of the Kolhapur regiment at once attacked them. Many of them were killed, only a few escaped. The next morning those who were captured alive were executed.¹⁷ There was no sufficient evidence to prosecute Chimasahab. He was very popular and was the brother of the Maharaja, who was loyal to the British. On March 31, Chimasahab was called under a pretext to the Residency. He was arrested and sent to Karachi, where he died in 1869.¹⁸

In May Babasaheb Bhaye, the Jagirdar of Nargund rose against the British. On May 29, he attacked and killed Manson, who had come to Nargund to trace the mutineers. On June 1, the British army took Nargund and captured Bhaye. He was hanged on June 12 and his jagir was confiscated.¹⁹ The main reason behind Bhaye's attempt was the discontent the Deccan Jagirdars harboured against the British for the working of the Inam Commission.

In Bombay there was marked unrest amongst the soldiers. But Forjett, the Commissioner of Police, took prompt steps to nip the attempt in the bud. He followed a strong repressive

policy and arrested a large number of persons on mere suspicion. He smelt a conspiracy of the Sepoys. He at once got in touch with the military authorities. Without loss of time the ring leaders were arrested and two of them were blown at the mouths of guns.²⁰

Chhatrapati Pratapsinh of Satara was accused of fomenting anti-British feelings and was deposed in 1839. His brother who succeeded him, died in 1848. He had no male heir. Before his death he had adopted a son. Dalhousie refused to recognise the adoption and annexed the State of Satara. The loyal servants of the Bhonsle family thus harboured a grudge against the English. Yet some of them believed that though the Company's rule in India was unjust, the British Government in United Kingdom would give them justice. Chhatrapati Pratapsinh also had the same faith. He sent Rango Bapuji Gupte to plead for him to London. While Rango Bapuji was in England, Pratapsinh died in 1847. Yet Rango Bapuji thought it was his duty to get the just cause of his master accepted by the British. He spent twelve years in London and returned to India in 1853 fully disappointed with the British sense of justice. Since his return he was waiting for an opportunity to rise against the Company's rule. He organised a band of Ramoshis, Kolis and a few Marathas. In June 1857 there was an attempt to raid the government treasury at Pandharpur. Quite a few people were arrested and seventeen of them were executed,²¹ including a son and a brother-in-law of Rango Bapuji. Rango Bapuji himself disappeared and could not be traced.²²

Major Basu in his *Story of Satara* refuses to believe that Rango Bapuji had any hand in this episode. Rango Bapuji was a shrewd politician and polished diplomat. It is difficult to accept that he could take part in sporadic risings like the one mentioned above. Major Basu argues that the Company's authorities wanted to placate Rango Bapuji, hence they accused him of being an accomplice in the plot.²³

In June 1857, a Maratha soldier of the Satara artillery informed the officers that the artillery men were out to rebel. The people were suddenly transferred to Aden and their attempts were foiled. After inquiry it was found that the adopted son of the late Chhatrapati and his mother had a hand in the proposed plot. Both of them were arrested and sent to Butcher Island near Bombay.²⁴

It may be noted that Rango Bapuji, if he had a hand in the attempt, was trying to regain for his master the throne of Satara. Bhaye of Nargund also was one of the disgruntled. Chimasahab of Kolhapur, however, stands in a group by himself. He had nothing to gain by rising against the British. It may be surmised that he was the one who was actuated by nationalist motives.

The Indian Councils Act of 1861 enlarged the Governors' Councils for the purpose of legislation. Nana Sunkersett was one of the five men appointed to the Council of the Governor of Bombay.²⁵ When an attempt was made in the Council to discriminate between European and Indian prisoners, Nana opposed it on the ground that no discrimination be made between Her Majesty's subjects.²⁶ Thus through the Council Nana carried on his mission of improving the condition of his people.

A political thought much ahead of the times came from unexpected quarters. Vishnu Bhikaji Gokhale (1825-1871), popularly known as Vishnu Buwa Brahmachari, was a social and religious reformer. In 1867 he published a paper on 'The Ideal State'. Copies of the English translation of this paper were sent to the Queen, the Members of Parliament and the authorities in India. He also sent these copies to the leading people in China and in America. His views on the subject may be briefly summarised as under.²⁷

That the land should belong to the community and should be cultivated by the com-

munity. While doing so care should be taken to produce a particular type of corn or plant in a place where the soil is best suited for its production. Efforts should be made to get the yield throughout the year. The produce should be stored in godowns in different areas in the country, and should be distributed to the people according to their needs. The same should be done with regard to all industrial products and even to jewellery. We find a reflection of the communist principle "from each according to his capacity and to each according to his needs" in this writing of Vishnu Buwa.

Vishnu Buwa held still stranger views about the private lives of the individuals. He suggested that a department of State should be established for marriages. If a man or a woman did not like his wife or her husband, he or she should have the right of divorce and remarriage. All children after the age of five should be handed over to the State for being brought up and educated. He seems to be far ahead of his times, hence he was not taken seriously.

Both Lokhitvadi and Nana Sunkersett addressed themselves to the elite. Lokhitvadi mercilessly attacked the superstitious beliefs of the Brahmanas. Nana got together the citizens of Bombay for demanding a share in the governance of India. Till we come to the middle of the 19th Century no one had paid much attention to the sons of the soil. This work was now taken up by Jotirao Phoolley. Jotiba, as he was popularly known, opened a school for women in 1848.²⁸ He made a virulent attack on the Brahmin superiority. He believed that the Brahmanas had deliberately put down the lower classes in order to win for themselves a higher position in the society.²⁹ Jotiba tried his best to emancipate the untouchables. He was supported by the missionaries and a few well meaning Europeans. The Government also recognised his services in the field of education. Hence Jotiba believed that the British were sent to India by God, to emancipate the Shudras from the slavery of the

Brahmins.³⁰ He was the first non-Brahmin, who was alive to the social slavery of the non-Brahmins. The casteless British administration which treated the Brahmins and non-Brahmins alike was held by him as a bliss from Heaven. He severely condemned the uprising of 1857 and openly expressed his unbounded joy at its failure.³¹ He believed that a victory of the Sepoys would bring back the power of the Brahmins with their sense of caste superiority. Yet he was conscious of the fact that one day or the other the British would go.³² He, therefore, wanted the backward classes to be emancipated from the subjection of the Brahmins before the British would leave the shores of India. His aim seems to be to prepare his people for an eventual take over of power from the British. In 1873 he established the "Satya Shodhak Samaj"³³ which developed into a strong organisation of the non-Brahmins in Maharashtra. Many of the present day Maharashtrian leaders have taken inspiration from the writings of Jotiba.

By this time a new star was visible on the political firmament of Maharashtra. It was Mahadeo Govind Ranade (1842-1901). Because of his erudition and keen intellect, he has been correctly called the 'Prince of Graduates'. During his lifetime, Ranade took a leading part in every intellectual activity in Maharashtra. In politics, Ranade was moderate to the core. That an intellectual like him should believe in the theory of 'Divine Dispensation' speaks volumes about his place in the nationalist movement. Yet he was the brain behind a number of political movements. He believed in attempting to persuade the British authorities to give to the Indians a share in the government. In 1874 he sent a petition to the Parliament suggesting that eighteen representatives of India should be given seats in the British Parliament. These representatives should be elected by those who paid rupees fifty and more as tax. All questions concerning India should be decided with their consent. He knew that it would be long before so drastic a demand was conceded. Hence

alternatively he suggested enlargement of the Governors' and Governor-General's Legislative Councils.³⁴ In his political ideology he would never accept conflict with the Government. He had a profound faith in the sense of justice of the British. He, therefore, refused to harbour suspicion about the British Government in India.

Ranade was one of the founders of the Indian National Congress. In the very first session of the Congress, he spoke on a resolution demanding abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State.³⁵ He was one of those who attended the Congress sessions very regularly. He believed that social and political progress must go hand in hand. According to him, "This interdependence is not an accident, but is the law of our nature."³⁶ He looked upon every movement, whether social or political, as a means of educating the people. Even in the political movements, he found an opportunity to give training in public life to the people. His political activities were aimed at popular education and not against the Government. As he believed in the theory that the British were God-sent for the good of India, he could never think in terms of strife with the British. A devout Prarthana Samajist, he looked at politics through a religious eye.

Following in the footsteps of Justice Ranade, Dr. Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar (1837-1925) and Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar (1855-1923), advocated a path of moderation in politics. Both believed that social reforms must precede political emancipation. Their aim was to help the British authorities to carry on the Government. They believed that this was the way for the Indians to get the necessary training.

While Ranade and his school of thought were busy in wooing the British authorities, a severe jolt came from another direction. Only the religious minded and the thinkers could understand and accept Ranade's thoughts.

The common man had no patience with his utterances. Quite a few people felt hurt at the subjugation of India by the British. The more impetuous amongst them felt like doing something that would give a violent jerk to the British administration in India. A typical representative of this thought was Vasudeo Balvant Phadke (1845-1883).

Phadke was born at Shirdhon, Tal. Panvel, District Kulaba. For a time he studied at the Grant Medical College, Bombay. Soon he had to give up his education because of pecuniary circumstances. He took a job in the Military Finance Department. All the while he thought about the loss of independence and the consequential misery of India. In his statement before the judge who convicted him, Phadke said, "Day and night I was thinking about the condition of India, I was planning to destroy the Europeans."³⁷ In this mood Phadke resigned his job and carried on a lecturing tour in the area round about. He was sadly disappointed at the apathy and coolness of the educated. He, therefore, turned his attention to the tribal people, especially the Ramoshis, who were well known for their loyalty to the accepted leader. The Ramoshis, who were discontented because of the loss of vatans, soon gathered round Phadke. He collected a small band of devoted men, but he required money to maintain them. For this purpose he took recourse to decoities. He looted a number of villages. His plan was to raise rebellions all over the country. He hoped to bring to stop the governmental machinery by closing post, telegraph and the railway communication. He thought this would force the British to leave India and then he would succeed in establishing a republic.³⁸

Unfortunately, the Ramoshis could not comprehend the high ideals of Phadke. They looked only to the loot. One of them, one Hari Damodar, looted a number of villages. Phadke was very much disappointed at the fruit of his endeavours. To escape the police, who were trying to hunt him out, he had to

move from place to place. In the meanwhile on May 13, 1879 someone set the Budhawar Wada (Poona) on fire. The Anglo-Indian press charged Phadke with the crime. The Government believed that the educated classes had a hand in it. Even Mahadeo Govind Ranade was suspected and was peremptorily transferred from Poona to Dhulia.³⁹ Phadke was arrested in July 1879. So panicky was the atmosphere, that a number of lawyers refused to accept his brief. Ultimately Ganesh Vasudeo Joshi (1828-1880), known as 'Sarvajani Kaka' defended him. He was transported to Aden, where he died in 1883.⁴⁰

Phadke had high ideals, but his efforts were an outcome of utter frustration. He asked the Ramoshis to loot savakars in order to provide funds for his movement. Once the Ramoshis tasted blood of loot they could not be controlled. Because of this, he was highly misunderstood. Even a staunch nationalist like Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar calls him a dacoit.⁴¹ Ranade, though he disagreed with the methods of Phadke, had high regard for his sense of patriotism.⁴² Phadke had uncommon daring. He could use with great skill a number of weapons. He was a good marksman. He did not get the support he expected and his attempts ended in a dismal failure.

With the exception of Chimasahab of Kolhapur, Vasudeo Balwant can be called the first Indian to launch an anti-British campaign in which there was not an iota of personal gain. He could not see the hopeless condition of his mother-land, hence he tried to beat the British in his own way. He can be called the first in the line of those who took recourse to direct action.

What Phadke did by arms Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar (1850-1882) did by his pen. Through the columns of *Nibandha Mala*, Vishnu Shastri attacked everything that was pro-British. He used both invective and satire to ridicule those who believed in the theory of "Divine Dispensation". With him begins the

school of blind patriotism. In order to attack the rule of the British, he opposed even the social reforms introduced by the British. At the age of twenty-four Vishnu Shastri started his *Nibandh Mala* and made virulent attacks on the social reformers. In order to revive the sense of self-respect of his people, he exposed in a ruthless manner the Western civilization and eulogised the Hindu traditions. The social reformers were drawing the attention of the people to the superstitions and harmful institutions of the Hindus. Vishnu Shastri thought that this attitude would weaken their self-confidence. Hence, he roared that God had not confined virtues only to one people (the Westerners).⁴³ According to him it was the height of folly to look upon the British as prophets.⁴⁴ He believed that the Indians were equal to, if not better than, the Westerners. This pseudo-patriotism of Vishnu Shastri was perhaps of some use in making the people self-confident, but it did cause great harm to the social and intellectual progress of Maharashtra. An unfortunate wave was thenceforth evident in Maharashtra wherein many of the staunch nationalists bitterly opposed social reforms.

Vishnu Shastri died young, but his mission was carried on with uncommon vigour by Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920). Tilak wrote about India's glorious past in order to create faith in the minds of the people about their potentialities. He started the 'Shivaji Utsav' and reminded the people of the valour of the great Maratha hero.

He knew that the rank and file of his people were basically religious minded. He, therefore, transferred the 'Ganapati Utsav' into a public festival. For ten days, at hundreds of places in Maharashtra, lectures were given by Tilak and his followers about the political servitude of India. Before his time political discussion was centered around the white-collared. Tilak took it to the backward classes. His two incarcerations (1897-1898 and 1908-1914) made him a martyr and a hero. He soon became

an idol of the people. In the pre-Gandhian age, Tilak was the one who perhaps did the greatest service to the spread of nationalism in India. His whirlwind tours throughout Maharashtra were a great success in making the people politically conscious. His *Mantra*, "Swaraj is my birth right and I shall have it", was soon echoed throughout the length and breadth of India. His work in the nationalist cause is too well-known to be detailed in this small paper.

Ranade had a great disciple in Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915). Gokhale followed his master's advice and was known as a great moderate. He established the "Servants of India Society" which soon became a bee-hive of scholar-politicians. An equally staunch nationalist Gokhale followed a path different from that of Tilak. Tilak believed in the gospel "educate, agitate and organise". Gokhale

treaded the constitutional path. True to Ranade, Gokhale believed in wooing the British authorities. Though he criticised a number of steps taken by the bureaucracy he abhorred the idea of opposing the British rule. When Sir Ali Imam referred to Gokhale as the leader of the opposition, Gokhale resented the reference very much. According to him he differed from the British, but did not oppose them. But in spite of these views he looked upon the civil disobedience and no-tax-campaigns as constitutional. He fully justified the Civil Disobedience Movement carried on by Gandhiji in Transval. Yet he would have liked Gandhiji to come to a compromise acceptable to the Europeans.

With Tilak and Gokhale nationalist movement in Maharashtra spread widely. The all-India stature of both of them put Maharashtra firmly on the nationalist map of India.

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INDIAN NATIONALISM AND RELIGION

(With Special Reference to Bengal)

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The rise of Indian nationalism is a very complex politico-sociological phenomenon, the like of which cannot be witnessed in other countries. Its background was prepared in the first half of the 19th century under the impact of Western education, ideas and civilization. At first there were only a few ripples on the surface but gradually there was a violent stirring of mind. India, especially Bengal, had awakened from a long deep slumber and started its journey along the path of nationalism which was still in its formative phase. It is a fact that India fell under the spell of a strong current of nationalist ideas that swept over Europe in the first half of the 19th century. The ideas of the French and American Revolutions and the struggle for freedom in general in Europe undoubtedly left a profound impression upon the educated Indian mind. It is, however, interesting to note that borrowing ideas from the West, Indian nationalism did not simply follow the pattern of the West. It chalked out its own formula according to the peculiarities of this country.

Nationalism in the West has essentially been what Tagore called "political nationalism". But he clearly realised that "our real problem in India is not political"¹. He did not believe in "an exclusive political interest" when he spoke of Indian nationalism.² Tagore could visualise that nationalism in this country was destined to be of a different brand. The remarkable feature of our nationalism, which gave it a distinctive character was its intimate connexion with religion. The near-saturation

mingling of our nationalism with religious ideas and appeals is really peculiar. At first sight it would appear ridiculous that a secular concept like nationalism should derive its life-blood in India from religion. But a deep probe into the sociological aspect of the problem will reveal that an appeal to religion was not only necessary, but it supplied a fillip and binding force to the new spirit of nationalism in its initial stage of growth. If one is to properly understand the rise of nationalism in India, one cannot overlook the religious movements inspired by Dayananda, Ramkrishna and Vivekananda or movements like the Wahabi movement in its refined form, the Aligarh movement and the Khilafat movement. Religion had provided the backdrop of nationalism in this country. It has always been a cementing factor in Indian culture and civilization. It was the only bond which could bind all diverse people. For this reason, men like Bankim Chandra, Bepin Chandra Pal, Sir Syed Ahmed, Aurobindo and Tilak wanted the union of the political spirit with the traditions and sentiments of the historic past and of both with the ineradicable religious temperament of the people. The naked truth is that nationalism in India, to be a success, absolutely needed the vitalising touch of history and religion. Hence we find the same appeal to the past and the same stand on indigenous values and traditions symbolised in the religious books.

The outward manifestation of this remarkable blending was to be found in the activities

of the nationalist leaders of that time. Nationalism as a practical concept began to take a definite shape only in the second half of the last century, and Rajnarain Bose was then the pioneer in the field. Rajnarain, who is affectionately called the "Grandfather of Indian nationalism" started a campaign to promote national feeling amongst the educated Bengalees. Founding the *Jatio Gaurab Sampadani Sabha* at Midnapore in 1866, he gave a clarion call to the Bengalees to reject everything foreign. In a lecture, he also took pains to prove the superiority of Hinduism over Christian theology and civilization. The ideas preached by him were given a practical shape by Nabagopal Mitra who started the *Hindu Mela* in 1867 in order "to promote the national feeling, sense of patriotism and a spirit of self-help among the Hindus". Like Rajnarain, Nabagopal based his nationalism on religion and expressed his conviction as follows: "Nationalism is based on unity which is brought about, sustained and promoted in different peoples by different means such as love of liberty among the Greeks, Romans and the English, and the Mosaic laws among the Jews. The basis of national unity in India is Hindu religion. Hindu nationality embraces all the Hindus of India irrespective of their locality or language."³ In the second annual session of the *Mela*, Ganendranath Tagore, its Secretary, declared that the first object of the fair was to unite the Hindus at the end of every year. Its second object was to firmly establish a spirit of self-reliance in India. Ganendranath then transcended those narrow limits of the unification of the Hindus and asserted that this unity was not for any self-pleasure or material prosperity or for any commonplace religious observances, but for furthering the interests of the motherland—India⁴.

Bankim Chandra, the "father of modern Indian nationalism"; gave a new meaning to the concept of nationalism. In his writings, nationalism itself was transformed into a religion which became the creed of the youth. In other words, it was a religious personification

of nationalism. His *Bande Mataram* instilled confidence and courage in Indian mind, and his *Anandamath* became the Bible of the revolutionaries. "The mother conceived by him is said to smack of idolatry, but she is a poetical symbol, and no poetical symbol, passionately imagined can be denuded of idolatrous associations."⁵ According to Bepin Chandra Pal, the mystical significance which Bankim gave to the idea of the motherland "imparted a new meaning to the current ceremonialism of the country and multitudes The wonderful transfiguration of the old Gods and Goddesses is carrying the message of new nationalism to the women and the masses of the country"⁶. It would not, perhaps, be incorrect to say that with Bankim ended the formative stage of Indian nationalism. Nationalist ideas had become crystallised by the seventies of the 19th century. There came further impetus from the Arya-Samaj, the Theosophical Society and other like organisations. When Swami Vivekananda preached the religion of nationalism in India and abroad, he infused the struggling elements with a new hope.

In the era of militant nationalism, religion still proved to be a force of solidarity and courage. The extremist leaders revived the memories of the Vedic past of the Hindus, the great phase of the reigns of Asoka and Chandra Gupta, the heroic deeds of Rana Pratap and Shivaji and the epic patriotism of Laxmi Bai. Aurobindo declared that "nationalism is a religion that comes from God". Throughout Bengal, the cult of Kali, the goddess of destruction was actively developed. Beneath the protection of the religious cover, widespread national agitation was conducted. To diffuse the spirit of patriotism and nationalism among the masses in Maharashtra, Tilak revived the Shivaji festival and transformed the traditional worship of Ganapati into an altogether new form. "He requisitioned into the national service two of the great forces which are calculated to deeply stir the national mind, namely, religion and history."⁷ The Shivaji festival was first

celebrated in 1896 at the Fort of Raigarh in honour of the birthday of Shivaji. The revival of the Maratha glory in the shape of this festival captured the Maratha imagination, and Tilak was successful in realising his objective. If with Bankim ended an era of nationalism, the entry of Tilak into all-India politics marked the beginning of another chapter. Under his guidance, the nationalism of Maharashtra was "gradually merged into the widely developing Indian nationalism."⁸

Side by side with Hindu nationalists, the Muslim leaders also tried to arouse the spirit of nationalism in Muslim mind. But, generally speaking, they lagged far behind because of their exclusiveness and aversion towards English education. This is why there was a marked divergence in the growth of nationalism among the Hindus and the Muslims. Not a single Muslim could be found in the Committees of the *Landholders' Society*, the *British India Society*, and the *British Indian Association*. However, a *Muhammedan Association* was started in 1856. When the *Hindu Mela* was organised, the *National Muhammedan Association* was formed by Nawab Amir Ali Khan in Calcutta. The sober section of the Wahabi leaders wanted to establish *dar-ul-islam* in place of *dar-ul-harb*. The Aligarh movement initiated by Sir Syed Ahmed in 1874 was also religious in its approach. Towards the end of the 19th century, Muslim national consciousness took a different pattern and assumed a separatist role. Whatever that may be, in their attempt to arouse the Muslim masses, they unhesitatingly appealed to religion like their Hindu brethren.

The above references are not isolated instances, but they reflect the pattern of Indian nationalism. What was true in the case of Bengal and Maharashtra was equally true in the case of Madras and the Punjab or any other area. Nationalism in India, in general, has received a great impetus from religion. This is not surprising because religion has always been a part and parcel of Indian life.

Religion is the buckle that fastens various classes of people, and it was extremely difficult at a time when the concept of Indian nationality was taking a positive shape, to rise above the all-embracing forces of religion. Very few men like Tagore could extricate themselves from the limits of what was called religious nationalism and preach for the humanity as a whole. "Even though from childhood", Tagore wrote, "I had been taught that idolatry of the nation is almost better than reverence for God and humanity, I believe I have outgrown that teaching, and it is my conviction that my countrymen will truly gain their India by fighting against the education which teaches them that a country is greater than the ideals of humanity"⁹. In his thinking Tagore was perhaps far in advance of his time. For most of the people, however, mingling of religion with nationalism in its political connotation was quite natural in Indian context. Even Gandhiji remarked without "the slightest hesitation" that "those who say that religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what religion means"¹⁰. "There are some", Gandhiji further stated, "who in the egotism of their reason declare that they have nothing to do with religion. But that is like a man saying that he breathes, but he has no nose"¹¹. Jawaharlal Nehru gave a different explanation to this recourse to religion. He remarked, "we sought relief in religious nationalism, in the thought that at least in the sphere of religion and philosophy we were second to no other people"¹². Nehru found that the main trouble was with the word 'religion'. "No word perhaps in any language", he wrote in his *Autobiography*, "is more likely to be interpreted in different ways by different people as the word religion. Probably, to no two persons will the same complex of ideas and images arise on hearing or reading this word". Nehru correctly diagnosed the disease. Though the inspiration supplied by religion to nationalism should not be viewed from a parochial point of view, in actual practice, the appeal to religion by a particular community was often interpreted differently by the other, only to create

enough of bad blood which vitiated the whole atmosphere.

The appeal to religion as a stimulant to nationalism has indirectly done some positive harm to the larger interests of the country. There is no denying the fact that the Indian nationalism had a predominantly Hindu character in the late 19th and early 20th century. "The revelation of India's past was one of the strongest foundations on which Indian nationalism was built, and gave it that stamp of Hindu character which made its influence felt in many ways at different stages of political evolution in India".¹³ Though there is some truth in the above statement, it certainly did not amount to a "back to Hinduism-call" as assumed by some scholars. Some Muslim writers in the past, and present historians in Pakistan have severely condemned this character of nationalism in India. Some modern Indian writers also have branded it as "Hindu nationalism". If the sense of nationalism emanates from patriotism and love of liberty in general, the term "Hindu nationalism" involves a contradiction. Patriotism or love of freedom cannot be stamped as Hindu or Muslim. It was no fault of the Hindus if they had taken the initiative, as the Muslims had not then awakened properly. It is, however, true that in their approach, the Hindus saw things from their own angle of vision. But, speaking generally, it was not due to any hatred or malice towards another community, but because a particular community was actively involved. If we accept the theory of Hans Kohn that "nationalism as a group consciousness is therefore a psychological and a sociological fact",¹⁴ we cannot, without injustice, blame the Hindus as a group when they tried to rouse the national sense by an appeal to their own religion and historic past which had a binding force on them. The critics of the so-called Hindu nationalism have not perhaps realised that religion was only a tool in the hands of the Hindu nationalists—a tool not purposely designed to hit others' interests. How can it be forgotten that the Muslims were also very naturally group con-

scious? It is a known fact that the Wahabi movement was a movement of the Muslims, for the Muslims and by the Muslims. Similarly, the Aligarh movement was also sectarian in its character. But these are all very natural developments in a diverse country like India. Group consciousness is not dangerous if it does not aim at suppressing the interests of any particular group.

The *Hindu Mela*, the *Shivaji* and *Ganapati* festivals are all stated to have injured the sentiments of the Muslims. Even Bankim was not spared. His *Anandamath* had been the object of savage attack, and his *Bande Mataram* was branded as the song of a heretic. In the pre-independence days, there was even a bon-fire of copies of the *Anandamath* by the Muslim League members. But we all know that these were politically inspired attacks. A complaint has often been made that in his enthusiasm for Hindu revival, Bankim was unfair to the Muslims. But to do justice to him, we must study these writings without a bias and try to discover the motive which was not certainly malicious. Men are not wanting even among the Muslims who unhesitatingly accepted that Bankim was not a Muslim-hater. We are, however, inclined to accept that the over-enthusiasm on the part of the Hindus in the late 19th century was not healthy, and it tended to produce a lot of misunderstanding. Some Pakistani writers have taken pains to prove how *Shivaji* festival and others alienated the Muslims. This has found an expression in Syed Razi Wasti's recent book, "Lord Minto and the Indian Nationalist Movement". "While *Sandhya*, the *Bharat Mitra*, and the *Yugantar* praised Tilak and Shivaji", Wasti wrote, "the *Soltan* (a Calcutta paper) ... suggested to the Hindus that if they must celebrate such festivals, why not find some hero who would not be obnoxious and unpalatable to the Muslims as Shivaji was. It asked the Hindus 'how can our Hindu brethren wipe away from the page of history the record of Shivaji's inhuman conduct towards Afzal Khan and his army? Cannot the annals of the Hindu race

point to a single hero whom even the tongue of slander will not dare call a chief of dacoits or a treacherous man?"¹⁵

With all respect to the sentiments of the Muslims, it must be said that the revival of *Shivaji* and other festivals had been misunderstood because they were always seen out of the context. Historical incidents have a definite perspective. They look distorted if they are not examined in their proper background. Is it not true that speaking good of one will not automatically mean speaking ill of others? The difficulty arises when we fail to understand that religion was designed to act like a "catalytic agent" in the crucible of nationalism. Moreover, the appeal to religion by the Hindus and the Muslims alike was simply a means to an end and not an end in itself. We must

look beyond the appearances and try to discover the reality—the true Indian nationalism. The goal was a noble one but the road to that was made thorny and precarious. In this connexion, we will always find men who will not accept the dictum: 'End justifies the means'. In spite of this, the fact remains that the mingling of religion with nationalism lay at the bottom of the bitterness between the Hindus and the Muslims. The cleavage between them which flowed from an initial misunderstanding and misinterpretation of others' viewpoints, gradually widened. The saddest part of the story is that in the interest of imperialism, the British rulers capitalised this superficial difference, perpetuated it by a shrewd handling of the disgruntled elements and finally carried it to its logical consequence—the partition of India.

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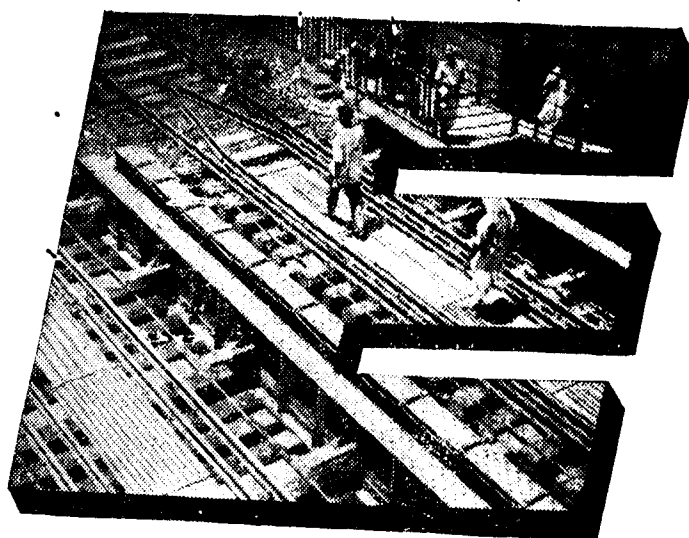
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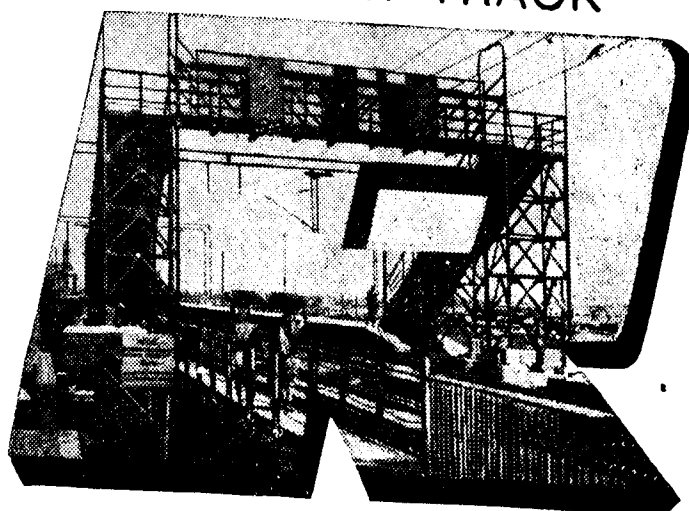


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