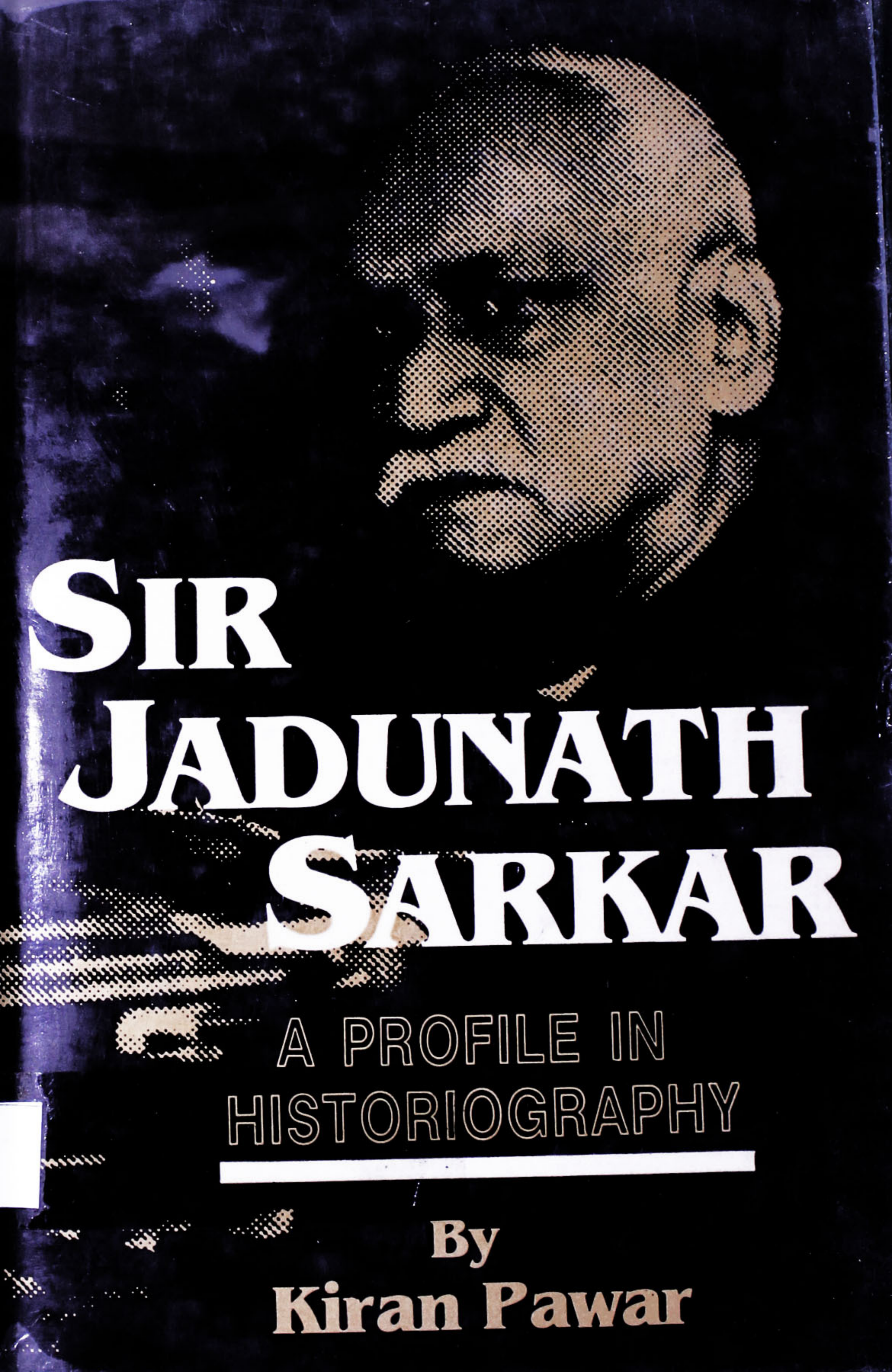

SIR JADUNATH SARKAR

A PROFILE IN HISTORIOGRAPHY

By
Kiran Pawar

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پنجاب یونیورسٹی لائبریری میں محفوظ شدہ

SIR JADUNATH SARKAR : A PROFILE IN HISTORIOGRAPHY

KIRAN PAWAR

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Dedicated to
the memory of my Parents
Professor Mahavir Singh and Shrimati Laj

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PREFACE

Recent scholarship on Medieval Indian History has moved towards a study of historiography. A few works like C.H. Phillips (ed.), *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon* (1960); Peter Hardy, *Historians of Medieval India* (1960); Mohibbul Hasan (ed.), *Historians of Medieval India* (1968); J.S. Grewal, *Muslim Rule in India : Assessments of British Historians* (1969); S.P. Sen (ed.), *Historians and Historiography in Modern India* (1973); Harbans Mukhia, *Historiography and Historians of Akbar* (1976); Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *History of History Writing in Medieval India* (1977); K.A. Nizami, *On History and Historians of Medieval India* (1983), have already appeared. It is a new field to which these pioneering works have opened up new vistas for a systematic study of the history of historians, which is as important as history itself, notwithstanding, the criticism of this 'second order' history. However, their works are either of a general nature covering a number of historians in a single monograph or surveys of some of the trends in the modern writing on Medieval India. It may be, because most of the British historians and those who followed them, were perhaps writing no more than 'text books' based on English translations of Persian sources done by John Briggs, Sir Henry Elliot and John Dowson. Of course, the modern historiography on medieval India began with British administrators-turned scholars of evangelical, utilitarian and romantic schools. Most of them had a subtle motive, to prove the superiority of the British rule *vis-a-vis* the Muslim rule. Beginning with Alexander Dow's *History of Hindustan*, 3 volumes (1768-1772) British scholars held the sway till the first Indian competitor Sir Jadunath Sarkar emerged on the scene.

Historical research underwent a revolution under the guidance of Sarkar. He was the first Indian Historian who perfected the *apparatus criticus* and attempted the huge task of reconstructing the history of Medieval India, and in the process founded

the so called Sir Jadunath School of Historiography, that rejected the motivated traditional historical interpretations popularised by the English historians. According to him a proper study of "India's inner life and outer growth" was to be the right way of assessing India's past. The size of his corpus frightens the student and the researcher. His underlying conception of evolution and unity in history has often eluded many. Hence, an attempt to study the *Savant* could not perhaps have been more valid than it is now. His relevance is as much in the context of English historical writing in the nineteenth century as in the quicksand reorientations of some of the current writings on Medieval India.

In preparation of this book, I owe a deep debt of gratitude to Professor R.C. Jauhri, Department of History, Punjab University, Chandigarh for his masterly guidance throughout. His meticulous direction has been an experience in itself to cherish and to emulate.

I have also had the privilege of benefiting from some of the living members of Sir Jadunath Sarkar's family like his grandson Shri Chanchal Sarkar and his nephew Shri A.K. Sarkar. I am obliged to some of the distinguished pupils of the historian: Prof. H.R. Gupta, Dr. Raghubir Sinh, Dr. J.N. Chowdhuri, Shri P.C. Roy Choudhury and Mrs. Indu Roy Choudhury, for their valuable information and suggestions.

I am grateful to the authorities of Panjab University for granting me sabbatical leave for the work. I am also obliged to the authorities of the National Library, Calcutta, in particular to Shri H.C. Gupta, Deputy Librarian and Shri A.B. Roy, Incharge of Reprography Section, Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta, in particular its General Secretary, Shri Amalendu De, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi, Panjab University Library, Chandigarh and Dwarka Das Library, Chandigarh for providing me facilities for my study. I am thankful to Shri Indramohan Sharma of Books & Books for undertaking the publication of the work, its efficient handling and the get-up.

I shall be failing in my duty if I do not acknowledge the encouragement I have received from my father-in-law, Shri I.D. Pawar, and the co-operation and indulgence of my husband Shri R.C. Pawar in working out this book.

Chandigarh
August 16, 1985

Kiran Pawar

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CHAPTER I

LIFE SKETCH—1870-1958

Jadunath Sarkar was born on December 10, 1870, at Karachmaria in Rajshahi district of Bengal; and caught the last rays of the nineteenth century Renaissance. The initial reckless rapture was over and India was settling down to 'review and revalue'[1] the new ideas borrowed from the West in the context of her own ancient heritage. In the shaping of Jadunath Sarkar's personality, however, both heredity and environment appear to have played almost equal roles.[2] The clue to the innermost recesses of Jadunath's character lies as much with his father, who was as potent a force in the moulding of Jadunath as the specific forces and developments in the country in general and Bengal in particular.[3]

The British experiments with the land-system in Bengal in the second half of the eighteenth century created a class of hereditary *zamindars*, who being mostly pervenus, looked at this new situation of power and prestige from a purely mercenary point of view.[4] Equally significant was the emergence of educated middle class in Bengal during the first half of the nineteenth century. Babu Raj Kumar Sarkar, Jadunath's father, was connected with both the factors; he was an exception to the first and a product of the second. The untimely death of his father made him abandon his studies after having done brilliantly till F.A. class. Though barely nineteen, he had inherent qualities of organising men and matters. He prevented chaos overtaking the family fortunes, in his *zamindari* of Karachmaria. He reared a family of seven sons and three daughters by his worthy consort Harisundari, well known for her nobility of character and aptly called 'Ratnagarbha'—the jewel wombed—for the brilliant sons and the happily-placed daughters she bore.[5]

Babu Raj Kumar was an extraordinarily enlightened landlord, not only in his day, but by any standards. He was against the prevailing practice of being an absentee landlord and spent considerable amount of his income for the welfare of his *ryots*. He established primary schools in his *zamindari* and subsidised a *kaviraj*[6] for free medical treatment of his tenants. Such public charities were indeed rare at that time in the countryside. Something of the 'knight errant' in him meant at times concern and monetary losses even for the sake of people living outside his *zamindari*. His challenge to the tyranny of European Indigo-planters in defence of the legitimate rights of cultivators of Maricha Diara Char in Murshidabad, where he had no interest of his own, was a deed of rare courage. It involved him in tiring and extensive law suits, one of which was obstinately fought up to the Privy Council, with success.[7] His solid virtues did not go unnoticed; Mahrshi Debendranath Tagore appointed him as one of the trustees of the Brahmo Sabha of Rajshahi, despite his being a conservative Hindu.[8] His public services also got him a certificate of Honour in the Proclamation Darbar of Queen Empress Victoria in 1877.[9]

In his intellectual outlook, Jadunath's father was a product of the Indian Renaissance in the nineteenth century. The fact that a countryside *zamindar* had built up a fairly well-equipped library on English literature, History and Science, was a news in those days. History was then very much related to literature and histories of Clarendon, Robertson, Gibbon, Macaulay, Carlyle, Motley, Froude and Green often formed the chief form of recreation for the officials, posted at distant districts. Raj Kumar Sarkar secured books from the collections disposed of by members of the Indian Civil Service when they went home or retired from service.[10] The family library, supplemented by other journals and newspapers like the *Hindu Patriot* and *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* etc., broadened the general outlook of the children, some of whom turned to science, others to literature, while love of history seemed common heritage of all. No wonder Jadunath was taken aback to find pages of the volumes of Russel's Modern Europe in the Presidency College Library uncut; volumes he had read in his early teens in the family library.[11]

Jadunath's early years were spent in the simple and serene rural surroundings. Jadunath is said to have been the favourite of his mother.[12] He learnt the Bengali alphabet perhaps at the age of four

and received early education at the village vernacular school. At the age of seven, he was brought to Rajshahi along with his elder brothers and admitted to the Collegiate School. He started with Murray's Spelling Book, but before the session was over, he was removed to Calcutta and admitted to Hare School. His father rented a house in Baniatola and Jadunath was placed under the guardianship of his elder brother Kumudnath. Jadunath recollected having seen Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar and having been taken to Mahrshi Debendranath Tagore, by his father, during his sojourn in Calcutta.[13] In 1881, he came back to Rajshahi High School. In 1887 he passed his Entrance examination (equivalent to present day Matriculation Examination), securing a first grade scholarship and sixth position in order of merit of the Calcutta University.[14] His innate brilliance and habit of hard work was fast radiating itself. Jadunath was not physically frail but every year suffered from attacks of malaria that raged entire northern Bengai annually, almost without fail. He had to be carried in a *Palki* to the examination hall when he appeared for his F.A. Examination, the malady having left him so weak. In 1889, Jadunath was admitted to the third year class of the Presidency College, Calcutta, and was to be a boarder at the Eden Hindu Hostel. Even at the time of admission he had been convalescing after a severe attack of malaria. He was, however, determined to fight out the ailment that had even affected his performance in the F.A. Examination, not that he did not secure, despite it, a first grade scholarship.

Luckily one of his room-mates, Suresh Chakravarti was a noted sportsman, the goalkeeper of the Sobhabazar Football team.[15] Owing to his influence, Jadunath soon became a keen, if not a front rank, footballer and also became Secretary of the hostel football team, may be more for his organizing capacity than for his standing as a player. Later, he along with his room-mates received a warning from the Superintendent for kicking shots at midnight in the courtyard of the hostel. It seems football was more of a therapy and a booster to study than anything else. He was successful in fighting out malaria and had the last of its attacks during the B.A. studies in Calcutta. Otherwise too, he enjoyed his stay in the hostel, except for the insipid food. Jadunath supplemented the hostel food by boiling milk for himself and preparing *halva* and sea crabs. As he told later, in 1890, a student could manage comfortably with only Rs. 12 a month; paying for his seat, rent, medical

attendence and two full meals.[16]

Jadunath took double Honours in English and History in 1891 and was awarded a scholarship of Rs. 50 per month. He 'parted with history' for a while as he decided to take his M.A. in English. He was the favourite pupil of the famous trio Tawney, Percival and Row—names to conjure within the field. Jadunath once recalled the efforts of exchange of knowledge between Tawney and the Sanskrit scholar Mahesh Chandra Nyaya-Ratna.[17] Jadunath's M.A. result in 1892 created a sensation in the University when he obtained the record marks of 90%, 92%, 95% in three papers and a little less in other papers.[18] For the extraordinarily brilliant achievement, the Government offered him a scholarship for higher studies in England, which he declined. The offer was accepted by one of his classmates, Albion Bannerji, who successfully appeared for the I.C.S. examination along with Aurobindo Ghose. Whatever reasons Jadunath may have had for declining the most tempting offer for a brilliant young man in those days, it proved to be a permanent gain for history.

Jadunath decided, instead to work for the prestigious Premchand Roychand scholarship.[19] It had most coveted prize under the Calcutta University. The 'preparation itself gave a new turn to his work in life'. The examination involved a specialized study of many subjects, the English language, History, Economics and Political Science with extensive courses attached to each. For example, study of English required a complete knowledge of English Philology, a thorough acquaintance with Anglo-Saxon or old English; later changes in it during medieval and modern times and an intimate knowledge of the different periods of English literature and its sources, both in prose and verse. One of the other requirements for the examination lay in the deep study of history of India with reference to original sources. Jadunath had the brilliance and the capacity for sustained hard work to appear for such a test. He was well up in English and Sanskrit, and when he decided to take up the study of Aurangzeb and of Medieval India as the subject of original research, he learnt Persian in which most of the original sources of the subjects of his study were available.

He put in nearly five years of strenuous hard work after his M.A., appeared for the scholarship in 1897 and was the envy of the world of scholars around when he won the coveted prize in 1897. It consisted of a gold medal and a cash prize of Rs. 7,000

to be paid in five years. As per conditions of the scholarship, after receiving two instalments, the candidate had to pass through another test which required presentation of an original thesis in some unexplored field. For this, Jadunath chose to work on Aurangzeb's life. He took pains of collecting original sources on the subject available in India and abroad. After nine years of intensive study, he submitted his theis *India of Aurangzib* in 1901 and received the remaining instalments of the award.[20]

While still studying for the scholarship, Jadunath Sarkar had been appointed a lecturer in English at Ripon College, Calcutta in 1893.[21] His oldest research pupil K. R. Qanungo (though not his pupil at Ripon College) has drawn a very vivid picture of Jadunath's first day of teaching.[22] He was asked to lecture for the Fourth year class, consisting of extremely rowdy 'young men' whose leader was Babu Sarat Chandra Sharma, then nearing forty, with numerous failures in the previous class and only two in his B.A. at that time.[23] He however was 'junior to other veterans' as regards age and failures in examinations, among his class-fellows. The students took the 'youngman of slim built and austere mien' to be a First year student looking for his classroom. But he walked to the dais and started teaching with such eloquence and confidence that 'the whole class sat mute as if spell bound'. When they recovered from their surprise 'a whisper passed around that he was no other than the intellectual prodigy, Jadunath Sarkar, the wonder and envy of the student community and the favourite pupil of Percival.[24] The Principal who had some apprehensions after sending such a young teacher to the most tumultuous and senior class, walked quietly outside the class, only to find pin drop silence and none even raising his head from the desk. This was Jadunath on the first day of this teaching career and there is nothing to suggest that his later dedication to History affected his competence as a teacher of English language and literature.

One of his pupils, G.S. Das, Head, Department of History, Ravenshaw College, Cuttack where Jadunath had taught both History and English, recalls that once Jadunath was asked to teach English as a stop gap arrangement due to the absence of the Head of the Department of English, an Englishman, a Cambridge Tripos, I.E.S., and that he impressed the students far more with his deep knowledge and eloquent manner of speech, than his predecessor. In their youthful appreciation of Jadunath's ability as a teacher, the

students would often exclaim "Put all the English and Indian Professors on one side of the scale and place Jadunath alone on the other and the latter will balance them".[25]

After about three years at Ripon College, Jadunath was appointed Professor of English at Vidyasagar College and taught there for two sessions. In 1898 he was selected to the Provincial Education Service and appointed Professor of English at Presidency College, Calcutta, where he served for one year before he was transferred to Patna College, which he served from July 1899 to June 1901. He was called back to the Presidency College for six months (July 1901—December 1901) and transferred to Patna again at the urgent call of its Principal, C.R. Wilson.[26] Meanwhile *India of Aurangzib* had been published (1901) which established his reputation as a 'first rate researcher and historian'.[27] A History Department was established in Patna College in 1909 and Jadunath began to teach history.

What weaned a student and a teacher from English literature to Indo-Muslim history, was partly revealed by Jadunath's radio talk in 1950[28] [later published in the Bengali Journal (*Prabasi*)], that it was his father who implanted love for history in his young mind and he wistfully recalled the days at Rajshahi when he would be engrossed in the study of history books bought by his father from the magistrates and judges of the district. Jadunath also recalled in the talk that he had entered the field of research in Indian history through the 'gates of Western History'. It is well known that in Jadunath Sarkar's M.A. days, students of English literature were required to study European history, more than what students read today for their M.A. degree in History. Jadunath like his younger contemporary G.M. Trevelyan at Harrow, a truant from English to History might as well say, Shakespeare and Milton, Keats and Tennyson meant to him 'quite as much as Gibbron and Macaulay, Carlyle and Ruskin'.[29] Notwithstanding his almost total dediction to history, his allegiance to English literature was almost 'sentimental to the last'.[30] Of the roles of history and English literature in his life, Amales Tripathi has drawn an interesting parallel.[31]

In August 1917, Jadunath joined the Banaras Hindu University as Professor and Head of the Department of History, keeping his lien of Government post. He was offered the job by Sir Sunder Lal, Vice-Chancellor, for organizing a newly established Department. In addition to the History Department, he took up organization

of Sports and a Departmental Library. His organizing capacity and interest in sports made him extremely popular and he also did thorough planning about equipping the History section of the University Library for general utility and research purposes.

In 1918, he was promoted to Indian Education Service when the Government at last woke to his high fame as a historian and as an educationist; he was then posted to Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, as a Professor of History and English literature. His experience of a "Politicians' University" made him prefer an exile to Cuttack, rather than to bear the 'Pinpricks of intriguing non-descripts' . . . of the 'city of the dead and the dying'.[32] He took up the new appointment in July 1919. He wrote to his friend, G.S. Sardesai, in a letter dated 7th July, 1919, from Calcutta, "I have left the Hindu University on account of factious opposition and unscrupulous tactics, which have thoroughly discredited the institution among educationists."[33] Jadunath was a 'wonder and a tale' to the admiring public and students. He also undertook to teach Bengali in addition to History and English. Even science students completely 'innocent of History and Literature slipped into his classes'. He encouraged historical research to the extent of picking up earnest research scholars and providing them with board and lodge, as his oldest research pupil K.R. Qanungo narrated, himself being one such researcher under Jadunath's roof and guidance.[34] After four years, he was transferred to Patna in October 1923 and here in his own house at Bhikna Pahari, he accommodated his library as well as his research scholars.

On 9th December, 1926, at Patna College, arrangements went on to bid Jadunath farewell on his retirement day and the students were certain that he would not be lecturing on the last day of his service. They, however, were mistaken for Jadunath taught every class to the last minute. With the farewell party over, he heaved a sigh of relief, at his emancipation from the bondage of service.[35] The relief was also at the thought of having all the time at his disposal for devotion to Clio. However, he was nominated as Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, the final exaltation of his professional career. About his reaction to the offer and reasons for acceptance, he wrote to G.S. Sardesai.[36] The Vice-Chancellor-ship, the way Jadunath Sarkar took it, proved more mental and physical strain on him than his entire career as an educationist, 'working at his desk 3 to 8 p.m., the way no Honorary Vice-

Chancellor before and after him ever did.[37] The indiscipline and evasion, paper-setting and tabulation, the mockery of examinations were all becoming an open scandal. All this could not be set right in two years when everyone involved in the malfunctioning of the University, so long accustomed to corruption and indiscipline longed for the old regime. He declined a second term of Vice-Chancellorship. It had not only kept him away from his first object of devotion—historical research, but also the strain began telling upon his health. Jadunath Sarkar wrote to Sardesai, dated at Calcutta, 4th August, 1928, "Hurrah : I am a free man again and feel cheerful like a bird escaped from its cage. My term expires on 7th instant and I have declined, on grounds of health to accept another term".[38]

Since August 1928, Jadunath was able to devote the next three decades to the task he was most dedicated to.

The following is a list of Sir Jadunath Sarkar's major works :[39]

1. *India of Aurangazib, Its Topography, Statistics and Roads*, 1901.
2. *Economics of British India*, 1909.
3. *History of Aurangazib*. Vol. I, July 1912, Vol. II, July 1912; Vol. III, July 1916, Vol. IV, 1919, Vol. V, December 1924.
4. *Anecdotes of Aurangzib and Historical Essays*, 1912.
5. *Chaitanya : His Pilgrimages and Teachings*, 1913 (Its Second edition entitled, *Chaitanya's Life and Teachings*, 1922).
6. *Shivaji and His Times*, 1919.
7. *Studies in Mughal India*, 1919.
8. *Mughal Administration* (in three parts—1st series, 1920; 2nd series, 1925). The combined volume was published in 1925.
9. *Later Mughals* by W. Irvine, edited and continued by Jadunath Sarkar with three chapters added by him. Vols. I and II, 1922.
10. *India Through the Ages*, 1928.
11. *Short History of Aurangazib*, 1930.
12. *Bihar and Orissa during the Fall of the Mughal Empire*, 1932.
13. *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, 1932; Vol. II, 1934; Vol. III, 1938; Vol. IV, 1950.
14. *Studies in Aurangazib's Reign*, 1933.
15. *Massir-i-Alamgiri* (edited and translated into English), 1949.
16. *Poona Residency Correspondence* (edited), Vol. I, 1930.
17. *House of Shivaji*, 1940.
18. *Ain-i-Akbari* (edited), Vol. III, English translation by Jarrett,

1948, Vol. II, 1950.

19. *Persian Records of Maratha History*, (translated into English), Vol. II, 1958, *Mahadji Scindhia as Regent to Delhi*, 1953.
20. *Dacca University History of Bengal*, Vol. II (edited and wrote 10 chapters besides the bibliography).
21. *Nawabs of Bengal* (Sir William Jones Bicentenary series No. 1), The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1952.
22. *Aurangzib* (Hindi edition).
23. *Shivaji* (Hindi edition).
24. *History of Dashnami Sect*, Vols. I-II (both English and Hindi), n.d.
25. *Military History of India*, 1960 (published nearly one and a half years after his death).
26. *Shivaji's Visit to Agra* (Calcutta, 1963), *Dingal* Letters transcribed in Devnagri and translated into English, edited by Raghubir Sinh.

He was peerless in his field in India and abroad, and got ample appreciation for his distinct contribution as a historian and for his reputation as a distinguished educationist. He was not only one of the founder members of the Indian Historical Records Commission, but the only one amongst them to remain associated with the Commission for the longest period (1919 to 1941).[40] He made outstanding and many-sided contribution to it.[41] In 1923, the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland recognized his eminent service to Indian history and conferred on him its honorary membership which is confined to only 30 scholars in the world.[42] It was three years later that the Indian Societies of learning followed suit. The Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay awarded him the Campbell Gold Medal and also conferred on him its honorary membership in 1926. The Dacca and Patna Universities conferred on him the Honorary degree of D. Litt. He was honoured with the title of C.I.E. in 1926. In the year 1929, he received knighthood from the British Government when 'mother'[43] asked "I hear that you have become something. Is it true?" "Yes", he replied in good humour. "From today people will call you Lady Sarkar." In 1935, the Royal Historical Society of England appointed him its honorary Corresponding Member, a distinction, again confined to about 30 members from all over the world. The American Historical Association, Washington, D.C.,

also appointed him its honorary life member. In his day, he was the only Asian scholar thus hononred by these societies of world fame.[44]

After leaving Calcutta in 1928, Jadunath Sarkar spent about thirteen years at Tonga Road, Darjeeling, where he built a big Villa to accommodate his family, his library, and his research scholars. He proposed calling it "Jetavan",[45] after the Buddhist legend and even secured the scene, in plaster of paris, of the gift of that garden to Lord Buddha as found at Bharhut. However from 1941, onwards he found the high altitude of the hill too much for his lungs. The Darjeeling House was sold to the Everest conqueror, Tensing Norkay Sherpa[46] and Sir Jadunath Sarkar finally settled down at 10 Lake Terrace in south Calcutta.

Sir Jadunath, in the later years of his life, reminded one of a Greek patriarch. In a letter to G.S. Sardesai dated 7th February, 1944 from Calcutta, he wrote, "I had never cared for money or pleasure in life, but I could never imagine that my old age would be so burdened with cares and anxieties for no fault of mine."[47] That he had financial anxieties to fulfil his family responsibilities is evident from one of his letters to Sardesai, as is his justly holding the Government indirectly responsible for it.[48] The severest blows, however, came from another quarter, for the dusk of his life brought many mishaps in his family life. One of his sons-in-law died young leaving the responsibility of looking after his widow and seven daughters on Sir Jadunath. His youngest son-in-law was a victim of the Second World War, at Singapore. His eldest son was stabbed to death in 1947, in the communal riots at Calcutta, while he was returning from his press. Jadunath lit the funeral pyre of his second son too.[49] His youngest daughter Rama, the family's favourite and a brilliant science scholar was also claimed by death while doing research in England and his wife remained an invalid for years.

All these tragedies he seemed to have borne with a 'stoic fortitude' and hardly allowed his work to suffer.[50] N.B. Roy, however, noted that "Sir Jadunath is outwardly calm and resigned but I have seen him sitting alone and looking out vacantly into the open. Kindly do what you can to console him".[51]

Like Ranke, Sir Jadunath lived long enough to be recongnized as the greatest historian of India and to see his pupils in command of most historical chairs in India.[52] Unlike Ranke, Jadunath at

the age of 88 had a desolate home. Yet his face would gleam when he would tell his grandchildren, "I have another and older family, my pupils and their pupils".[53] In fact this 'large family' was one consolation, his library, another, during the last tragic and lonesome years of his life. In one of his last letters to G.S. Sardesai, dated 7th December, 1955, he wrote "I am facing my 86th birthday without joy and without that serene look at the future which is the reward of a well spent life. I do not share your happy lot in standing on the brink of Eternity, as an absolutely detached creature, free from all earthly entanglements and ready to drop into the eternal slumber at a moments notice".[54] Sir Jadunath Sarkar dropped into the eternal slumber on 19th May, 1958.[55]

Sir Jadunath—the man, emerges, as distinct a personality, as he does as a historian, from the accounts of his pupils and others who had the privilege of coming into contact with him, to use his library and share with him afternoon tea and sometimes breakfast, like H.R. Gupta, S.R. Sharma, S.N. Rao and others of the more lucky ones like his old pupils: K.R. Qanungo and A.L. Srivastava who lived under his roof and enjoyed his hospitality as research scholars.[56] From their impressions of the master, the man in him was perhaps a greater source of inspiration than Sir Jadunath, the historian. The two in any case were inseparable. It is no coincidence that nearly all who came into contact with him have, in their accounts, compared him to the unpeeled fruit of the coconut tree, if a crude comparison be permissible. The fruit has a rough exterior and a thick crust, but once the inside is reached, one is awarded with probably the most delicate of juices and kernal, the like of which is hard to come by. Jadunath Sarkar was no different.[57]

The owner of a tall stature with 'the determined grip of his lips and his grave yet serene countenance, relieved sometimes by the faint outline of kindly smile,[58] and a 'pair of dark penetrating eyes' that fixed an onlooker and forbade him to look full into the face. Dressed usually in an unpretentious *dhoti* and *chadar*, he invariably made the impact of his presence.

In fact, simplicity was the keynote of his personality, and for a born aristocrat, whom nothing was denied, the almost incredible simplicity in everything about him was a wonder to many. He could be as contented in the most austere kind of residence as in the luxurious royal guest-houses of Indian princes. In his own

house he studied and worked on a wooden bed, had no almirahs and his books laid piled up on open iron shelves 'going up the ceiling and for convenience a bamboo ladder was always in the room'.[59] He did not smoke or drink, did not chew betel leaf, had no craving even for tea, and had no costly habits except procuring rare books and manuscripts. While travelling he put books and manuscripts in carefully packed suitcases whereas trousers and coat went with the bedding as was once revealed to the astonished Mrs. R.C. Majumdar whose guest he happened to be in Dacca.[60] He would spend money beyond his means to obtain rare manuscripts but he could not be persuaded to replace the old shaving razor that had given him eighteen years service.[61] For his food, he was contented with two ordinary Bengali meals a day and his favourite sweet remained the extra sweet and less expensive *do-paki-mudki* (parched rice twice boiled in new *gur* or sugarcane) and preferred it to the much prized *sandesh* of Calcutta or other such delicacies in sweets. His second choice on the basis of being extra-sweet and less expensive could be naturally *jilebi* which was served with tea to his gentlemen at letters.[62] Even in personal day-to-day chores, he would rather do things himself, than leave to others and no wonder he always remained the least served man, even at a time when there was more than one servant for each member of his family. Whenever he was a guest in Sardesai's house at a time of dearth of servants, he washed his own clothes and would even clean the cup and saucer that he used. To any objection raised by the host,[63] he would quote Socrates, "He who has the fewest wants is most like the gods".

Sir Jadunath was not only a man of few wants, but was also frugal in personal as well as public expenditure. His valuable notes and translations of rare manuscripts, now in the National Library, Calcutta, are all written on short slips, tied up in bundles. He would invariably return the visiting card after the interview and would himself use a postcard if it could contain all that he had to convey. He would not allow wasting even the waste paper; those with writing space on one side were used for writing notes and first drafts.[64] At meal times a glass, full of water, was not to be placed before him, for his need was two-thirds of a tumbler.[65] This frugality and simplicity in living style proved to be of great help in discharging his unusually heavy financial responsibilities after several tragedies in the family.

All those who have seen Sir Jadunath at work agree that hard work was the religion with him, bordering on passion and addiction. His capacity for sustained hard work, first manifested in his preparation for the Premchand Roychand Scholarship, seemed ever on the increase. He could work days and nights whenever pressure of work obliged him like the period of his Vice-Chancellorship; rather he was at his best at times of severest pressures, official or personal. To him, hard work was a source of intoxication as he once wrote to Sardesai, "The intoxication of work especially a work on which one has set his heart,—makes us forgetful of everything else,—external disturbances, physical fatigue, even the sadness of bereavement. But when work is finished and leisure is gained at last, then comes the lassitude of body and mind, exactly as the drunkard feels when the excitement of alcohol is over and he sinks into enervation of body and depression of mind."[66] No wonder the genius aided by extraordinary retentive memory[67] and powers of tenacious hard work, produced monumental corpus in history, the like of which no Indian historian before or after has done.

Another trait of Sir Jadunath, complimentary to his life of sustained hard work, was that he was 'thorough through and through' whether it was translating a manuscript, identifying a place or keeping a regular account of his daily household expenditure. He would prepare an itinerary of a proposed journey months ahead and anyone who was to be responsible for some or the other work invariably received minutest instructions. Even his senior G.S. Sardesai received the instructions along with a packet of Darjeeling tea: "Take the kettle of boiling water down from the fire, pour into it one teaspoonful of tea leaves for every person, with one spoonful extra. Keep the kettle carefully closed for full six minutes".[68]

Regularity and punctuality were some of his other characteristics. The research scholars staying with him found him at work, daily from 6 a.m. and he would retire for lunch at 12 noon. At 1.30 p.m. he would stroll for some time and be back at his desk at 2 p.m. At 4.30 p.m. he would have just a cup of tea and might spare a few minutes for a visitor or a research scholar and leave off working at 6 p.m. when he went all alone for a walk.

Sir Jadunath was as reticent and reserved by nature as he could be blunt when the occasion demanded. He never hankered for popularity with masses as a historian or as a social being. He

himself once told that 'no gentleman twice crossed his threshold' at Patna when he was engaged in writing the history of Aurangzeb.[69] One may have been working in his library for months yet not get the opportunity of conversing with him for as many hours. A call at his house, specially in the morning, was unwelcome, 'if not a risk'. The time he gave for an interview was generally three minutes or rather as soon as the business part of the meeting was over, the abrupt '*Namaskar*' would put an end to it earlier too. When, as the seniormost member of the Indian Historical Records Commission, he visited the major towns of British India as well as Indian states, he would on reaching the place immediately set himself to the proposed work without wasting any time on superfluities. Any one who met him for the first time, often had the impression that he was not at all sociable and certainly he was not the one on whom one could impose oneself. He had a stern sense of duty and could bluntly oppose nepotism and partiality through his powerful pen, in an outspoken and fearless manner. If he could turn out his pupil H.R. Gupta unceremoniously for having dared to bring a basket of mangoes to his house, he also got a professor disqualified from becoming a supervisor of a Ph.D. thesis for having let his candidate act like 'a cow let loose in a green field';[70] he wrote a 'long and strong' note as external examiner of a thesis about which Father Heras had written him 'to put the candidate up to a higher class as personal favour'.[71] His outspoken criticism, no doubt, made him many enemies and he had to suffer in material advancement too, but Sir Jadunath with his unostentatious Roman pride, was hardly the one to bother on the score.

Yet Sir Jadunath Sarkar was also the man touchingly humane, exceedingly sympathetic to a deserving cause and not bereft of a sense of humour. One hardly comes across any other master the like of which he was to his pupils, spending so much of his time and money over training the novices in historical research. His generous spirit would make him deny himself the comforts he would liberally provide for others. He ordered 1/4 of a *seer* of extra milk even for the cook who would drink milk from Jadunath's share and make good the quantity with water.[72] If a grown up visitor could generally claim only 3 minutes from him, a ten month old could at times claim nearly the whole of his day. "My little grandson aged 10 months, Abani's son dotes on me and therefore,

has hitherto taken much of my day time!!!," he wrote to G.S. Sardesai.[73] If he was stern enough to turn out a pupil for bringing a gift, he was gracious enough not only to get that pupil's thesis published by the Calcutta University and accept only the cost of binding and paper after great deal of persuasion, but also spent his precious time over reading all the proofs himself.[74] When Sir Jadunath received a note of congratulations from G.S. Sardesai, at having been conferred theh onorary degree of D. Litt. by the Dacca University in 1936, he replied, "Yes, I am a doctor but I like to place after my title. Hom. within brackets, i.e. Homoeopathic, instead of the usual Hon."[75] While talking about his editing and publishing Irvine's *Later Mughals* at the request of the late Irvine's daughter, he remarked that if he had not used his discretion in omitting much of what Irvine thought of the Sikh community, he would have by that time become a martyr.[76]

Sir Jadunath's religious convictions cannot be ascertained easily. That he inherited his father's Vaishnavism in its most lofty form is partly evidenced by his *Life and Teachings of Chaitanya.* The conservative Hindus of the day however often branded him a Brahmo Samajist, the Brahmos thought him to be an uncompromising Hindu 'in the garb of intellectualism'. In his writings, he has admired certain aspects of Islam and Christianity and sharply criticized caste system and superstitions of popular Hinduism.[77] The man seemingly devoid of much emotion or sentiment would 'go into raptures' when speaking of Sister Nivedita and Swami Vivekananda. He admired those who served mankind irrespective of the limits of caste and creed. His charities mostly went to the Ramakrishna Mission. At Darjeeling, while he hurried from the tea party at his house to preside over a meeting of Hari-Sabha, in the change over to *dhoti* and *chadar*, he forgot to take off his necktie indicating 'the way his spiritual allegiance lay' even after making due allowance for his sense of punctuality.[78]

A key to a man's character is often held to be the friends he has but Sir Jadunath did not have many friends, probably none according to the traditional Sanskrit connotation of the word[79] and the only person that came nearst to it was Rao Bahadur Govind S. Sardesai, to whom he was introduced through correspondence in 1904, with whom he was on close terms for over fifty years; the two staying together, travelling and many a times jointly conducting historical research.[80] All the aspects of their association

are expressed in the long range of their correspondence which however, is not like that of Walpole or Chesterfield, with posterity in mind, but it does throw considerable light on some of the not too apparent charms of Sir Jadunath's personality and on the literal worth of his pen, whether he was writing about historical research or about something personal.[81] If Sardesai could help him in supplementing his vast store of persian matter with Maratha sources, Sir Jadunath was the mentor Sardesai needed even at the height of his fame.[82] However, they had "too much respect for each other to desire uniformity of opinion".[83] Besides, Jadunath Sarkar had sentimental attachment for Rabindranath Tagore. When in the early part of the present century, there arose a serious charge of obscurity against the future Nobel laureate's compositions, Jadunath took up his facile pen to defend the poet and silenced the critics.[84] He considered the poet's ballads as 'solid gold shaped into faultless miniatutes'.[85] Once Sir Jadunath was also seen carrying for the poet, some sweets prepared by Lady Sarkar.[86] The cordiality and sentiments were of course reciprocal. Tagore dedicated his drama—'Achalyatan' to the 'unrivalled historian'.

Despite the few friendly attachments, Sir Jadunath appears to have had a strange 'lofty loneliness of spirit'[87] often held to be of his own making. Perhaps his own self was enlightened enough to retain his joys and sorrows without the need of a 'kindered soul to catch their overflow'.[88] What he wrote about Rabindranath Tagore, 'the supreme genius passing through the world in majestic isolation'[89] was as true of his ownself.

The common pronunciation turns his name Yadunath into Jadunath—"the Master Magician"; there was nothing spectacular about him and yet he was:

"Lordly, more than Man"
—Campbell.

Notes and References

1. Amales Tripathi, "Columbus of Mughal History: An Assessment of Jadunath's Works—I", *The Statesman* (Calcutta), 10th December, 1970.
2. H.R. Gupta (ed.), *Life and Letters of Sir Jadunath Sarkar*, Sir Jadunath Sarkar Commemoration Volume, (Panjab University, Hoshiarpur, 1958), Introduction, 1.
3. K.R. Qanungo, "Jadunath Sarkar (A Biographical Sketch)", *Life and*

Letters of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, p. 35.

4. Asoka Kumar Sen, "The Educated Middle Class of Bengal (1800-85)—Origin, Traits and Tendencies", *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. LIV, Part III, (December, 1976), 731.
5. She survived her husband by a full quarter of a century and died at the age of 94, on 18th September, 1939, K.R. Qanungo, "Jadunath Sarkar (A Biographical Sketch)", *Life and Letters*, p. 35. For other members of the family, See Appendix I.
6. K.R. Qanungo, "Jadunath Sarkar (A Biographical Sketch)", *Life and Letters*, pp. 36-37.
7. *Ibid*, pp. 36-37.
8. Raj Kumar Sarkar's grandfather had become a convert to Vaishnavism which led to banishing onion, garlic, meat and eggs from the family kitchen. Jadunath's father relented to the extent that if the children felt like taking onions, they might roast them by fire, outside the kitchen. He permitted to others lawful meat of sacrifice before a deity, but no butcher's meat. See K.R. Qanungo, "Jadunath Sarkar (A Biographical Sketch)", *Life and Letters*, p. 38.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
10. N.K. Sinha, "Sir Jadunath Sarkar", *Bengal Past and Present*, Sir Jadunath Birth Centenary Number, Vol. Lxxxix, July-December 1970, Part II, Serial No. 168, 173.
11. K.R. Qanungo, "Sir Jadunath Sarkar (A Biographical Sketch)", *Life and Letters*, pp. 36-37.
12. *Ibid.* p. 37, tells that as a child he occupied the coveted place of being nearest to her while going to sleep at night. However, the future footballer's legs would more than move in sleep and when Jadunath was warned about losing the privileged position, the resourceful child tied his legs to the bedstead with a sheet and thus retained the coveted place.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
14. G.S. Sardesai, "Jadunath Sarkar As I Know Him", *Life and Letters*, p. 26.
15. K.R. Qanungo, "Jadunath Sarkar (A Biographical Sketch)", *Life and Letters*, p. 39.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*, p. 41. The Pandit gave first indication of his progress with English by saying in all seriousness, "I will eat you Mr. Tawney", What he meant was, that he would entertain Mr. Tawney to a feast.
18. G.S. Sardesai, "Jadunath Sarkar As I Know Him", *Life and Letters*, p. 26.
19. The Premchand Roychand scholarship was the highest prize under the Calcutta University for scholars of merit. The original character of the prize was later changed so that its history of early days could not be properly grasped. A. Bhatia, a merchant of Bombay, whose name the prize bears, suddenly amassed a big fortune during the cotton boom of 1866 and spent much of it in various useful charities. He made a gift of two lakhs of rupees to the Calcutta University on the stipulation that the interest on the amount during the year (at first Rs. 10,000, later

Rs. 8,000 and finally Rs. 7,000 should be bestowed on a scholar of the highest academic merit displayed in the University examination. Capacity for enormous labour during a number of years, keen aptitude for research, vast reading, a strong memory, proficiency in language, these were essential qualifications for success in that hard competition. Those who succeeded in obtaining the scholarship, proved to be men of exceptional efficiency and never failed to make a permanent mark in one field or another, Sharda Charan Mitra and Asutosh Mukherji were among the predecessors of Jadunath in this name honour. *Ibid*,, pp. 25-26.

20. See, *Ibid*., p. 28. The Premchand Roychand award has now been split up into smaller parts, each available to three or four persons, simultaneously, so that its original grandeur and eminence have, now to that extent, faded.
21. A.L. Srivastava, "Jadunath Sarkar", S.P. Sen ed., *Historians and Historiography in Modern India*, Institute of Historical Studies, Calcutta, 1973, p. 133.
22. K.R. Qanungo, "Jadunath Sarkar (A Biographical Sketch)", *Life and Letters*, pp. 41-43.
23. The much 'dreaded' headmaster of K.R. Qanungo.
24. *Ibid*., pp. 41-42.
25. G.S. Das, "Reminiscences", *Life and Letters*, p. 78.
26. K.R. Qanungo, "Jadunath Sarkar (A Biographical Sketch)", *Life and Letters*, p. 42.
27. A.L. Srivastava, "Sir Jadunath Sarkar", *Historians and Historiography in Modern India*, p. 133.
28. Amles Tripathi, "Columbus of Mughal History—An Assessment of Jadunath Sarkar's Works—I", *The Statesman* (Calcutta), December 10, 1970.
29. K.R. Qanungo, "Jadunath Sarkar", *Life and Letters*, p. 57, says, 'Though aware of the shortcomings of Macaulay as a 'historian', Jadunath seems to have been under the spell of Macaulay as a stylist'.
30. On his death-bed two books which were found near his person were, a copy of an old edition of *Brahma Sangeet* by Rabindranath Tagore and a copy of Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*. See Jogindranath Chowdhuri's "Jadunath Sarkar (1870-1958) and a Sketch of his Works", *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XCIV, Part I, No. 178 (January-June, 1975), p. 61.
31. In *The Statesman* (Calcutta), December 10, 1970, "Columbus of Mughal History", "Gradually the passion grew till Clio, always a jealous mistress, claimed him as her own. English literature remained, however, a patient wife. It not only secured him a first class in M.A. and a post in the I.E.S., it also gave him an easy assurance over words and a highly polished style. Without its constant inspiration, his writings might have been dry as dust."
32. K.R. Qanungo, "Jadunath Sarkar", *Life and Letters*, p. 45.
33. Sarkar-Sardesai Correspondence, *Life and Letters*, p. 138.
34. *Ibid*., pp. 47-50.
35. *Ibid*., p. 49. He remarked, "What a relief from the trouble of dressing and undressing for office from tomorrow. I felt teaching not one-tenth

as exacting as ever present anxiety for punctual attendance and the botheration of dressing under compulsion".

36. H.R. Gupta, (ed.), *Life and Letters*, p. 3, gives an extract of the letter dated at Darjeeling, 20th June, 1926. "But all my plans have been upset by the Bengal Government appointing me Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University for two years from 24th August, 1926. It is a purely honorary post, and I shall lose Rs. 6,000 in the course of the next five months, by having to go to Calcutta in August next. In addition, life at Calcutta will cost me an additional expenditure of Rs. 12,000 during the two years of my term as V.C. And I shall have to bid bye to historical research during that period instead of being able to devote all my time as a pensioner, to my literary work.

But I have accepted the post in the sole hope of serving my countrymen by reforming the Calcutta University. God only knows whether I shall succeed."

37. K.R. Qanungo, "Jadunath Sarkar (A Biographical Sketch)," *Life and Letters*, p. 50.

38. Extracts of letter given by H.R. Gupta in Introduction, 3, *Life and Letters of Sir Jadunath Sarkar*.

39. B.N. Bose, "Bibliography of Jadunath's Works, research papers and articles etc.", *Life and Letters*, pp. 108-124: V.G. Khobrekar, S.R. Tikekar, eds., *Making of a Princely Historian*, Maharashtra State Archives, Bomday, 1975, p. xiv.

40. M.L. Ahluwalia, "Jadunath's Contributions to the Indian Historical Records Commission", *Life and Letters*, pp. 94-95.

41. *Indian Historical Records Commission*, Vol. XXXIV, Part I, Proceedings of the Twenty-seventh Meeting of the Research and Publication Committee, p. 17.

42. H.R. Gupta (ed.), *Life and Letters*, Introduction, p. 11.

43. This is how Jadunath's wife was addressed by his pupils. K.R. Qanungo, "Jadunath Sarkar (A Biographical Sketch), *Life and Letters*, p. 51.

44. H.R. Gupta (ed.), *Life and Letters*, Introduction, p. 12.

45. K.R. Qanungo, "Sir Jadunath Sarkar", *Life and Letters*, p. 50.

46. *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

47. Sarkar-Sardesai Correspondence, *Life and Letters*, p. 243.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 261. In a letter dated 5th January, 1949, from 10, Lake Terrace, Calcutta, he wrote, "The Government of India (the present and its predecessor during 1939-47) having robbed me of four-fifths of my wealth by issuing bogus notes and base-metal rupees, I have been compelled in my old age to earn fresh money if I am not to exhaust all my savings by spending them on my current monthly expenditure, and bring starvation down on my family after some ten years, when all my Government Papers, bank balance and shares will have been sold and spent up."

49. H.R. Gupta (ed.), *Life and Letters*, Introduction, p. 7.

50. The letter Jadunath Sarkar wrote to Sardesai, dated 4-7-1949, from Calcutta (Sarkar-Sardesai Correspondence—*Life and Letters*, Introduction 7 and 256) is perhaps the only letter in which he referred to his domestic worries . . , "Dear Nana, I have now begun writing letters again and also

taken up my suspended literary work. What robs me of my peace of mind is not grief for loss—which religion or resignation to fate can enable a man to bear—but the worry of having to manage the affairs of those who should in the normal course of nature, have looked after me in my old age, but have gone away and left on my shoulders the burden of settling the property troubles, educating their sons and marrying their orphan daughters. Two widowed daughters and one widowed daughter-in-law are now sheltered in my house, and unless I can enjoy ten more years of life and health, how can I set on their feet Abani's sons now aged 16 and 14 or Suddha's sons, aged 15, 13 and 11 or provide husbands for Priyambada's seven daughters, all of whom have been orphaned when maidens. Satyen (my second son) is now in a broken down condition and cannot be expected to lead a robust life for 10 or 12 years. Both my oldest sons-in-law and Abani died in their 51st years, and Major Sushil Ghose was 10 years younger still.

Lady Sarkar has been living a tortured existence owing to her ever present, daily increasing rheumatic pain and swelling of the knees. No medicine can cure her . . . I have today started revising my English *Shivaji* for the fourth edition.

It would have been a relief to my soul and a long needed physical change too, to have gone away from Calcutta . . . I cannot imagine any place better suited for this purpose than Kamshet. Many pieces of work which we have contemplated so long, would have been pushed on to conclusion at Kamshet, in this probably our last meeting together in life. But I do not see how my household can be run in my absence. There are daily decisions to be made on various household or property questions, servants are scarce and unreliable, the children's health and character need constant watching. I alone can control the household with dictatorial authority joined to patience, conciliation and tactful diplomacy."

51. N.B. Roy to G.S. Sardesai from p. 255. Lake Terrace, dated 29-4-1947. Sarkar-Sardesai Correspondence, *Life and Letters*, p. 256.
52. e.g. K.R. Qanungo, H.R. Gupta, A.L. Srivastava, S.R. Sharma, S.N. Rao, Raghubir Singh.
53. Jadunath Sarkar quoted by K.R. Qanungo in "Jadunath Sarkar As a Historian", *Life and Letters*, p. 73.
54. "Sarkar-Sardesai Correspondence", *Life and Letters*, p. 273.
55. *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta), May 20th, 1958, p. 1. "Sir Jadunath Sarkar, eminent historian passed away at his Ballygunge residence at 10.30 p.m. on Monday (19th May). He was 88. He seemed to be in his normal health and was seen having his evening walk a few hours before the end came. He had also his dinner and showed little signs of ailment. Death came to him so suddenly that no medical aid could be given to him, when he lay restless for a brief period"; K.R. Qanungo's account of it, as he learnt from the historian's family, is different in details, ". . . he had his usual evening walk on Monday (19th May, 1958) but felt too weak to go upstairs. He only said that he would like to have his chest examined and blood pressure measured. The doctor came at 8.55 p.m. and did the needful rather in an unprofessional manner. He did not suspect

coronary thrombosis that was really creeping on *Guruji*. He prescribed. a soda-bicarb mixture and left at 9.20 P.M. *Guruji* asked Sudha (his daughter) to put off the light as he would like to sleep. Sudha tried to wake him up at 9.55 p.m., little suspecting that he was already in eternal sleep . . ." K.R. Qanungo to Raghubir Sinh from 10 Lake Terrace, Calcutta, dated 25th May, 1958, *Making of a Princely Historian*, Epilogue.

56. A.L. Srivastava, "Sir Jadunath Sarkar", *Historians and Historiography in Modern India*, p. 143.
57. e.g. Sardesai in "Jadunath Sarkar As I Know Him", *Life and Letters*, p. 34; P.C. Roy Choudhury, "Reminiscences", *Life and Letters*, p. 74; G.S. Das, "Reminiscences", *Life and Letters*, p. 78.
58. G.S. Sardesai, "Jadunath Sarkar As I Know Him", *Life and Letters*, p. 34.
59. H.R. Gupta (ed.), *Life and Letters*, Introduction, p. 7.
60. K.R. Qanungo, "Jadunath Sarkar (A Biographical Sketch), *Life and Letters*, p. 49.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
62. *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.
63. G.S. Sardesai, "Jadunath Sarkar As I Know Him", *Life and Letters*, p. 34.
64. K.R. Qanungo, "Jadunath Sarkar (A Biographical Sketch)", *Life and Letters*, p. 47.
65. H.R. Gupta, (ed.), *Life and Letters*, Introduction, p. 7.
66. 'Sarkar-Sardesai Correspondence' in *Life and Letters*, p. 169, dated 27th March, 1933, from Darjeeling.
67. G.S. Sardesai, "Jadunath Sarkar as I Know Him", *Life and Letters*, pp. 23-24, recalled an incident at Kamshet when the two scholars were engaged in their work and were approached by the Headmaster and children of the local school, conveyed New Year Greetings and asked for a message for the Hindu New year. While Sardesai sat thinking of an appropriate one, Jadunath quietly and quickly wrote a line from the Helidorus Pillar Inscription at Bhilsa (at Besnagar of Cir. 130) which meant that the best religion consists in conveying into practice self-restraint, self-sacrifice and right-thinking. All those present, were struck by the powerful memory and the depth of Jadunath Sarkar's learning even beyond his sphere of specialization.
68. Sir Jadunath Sarkar quoted by H.R. Gupta, *Life and Letters*, Introduction, p. 6.
69. Sir Jadunath Sarkar quoted by K.R. Qanungo, *Life and Letters*, p. 43.
70. H.R. Gupta (ed.), *Life and Letters*, Introduction, pp. 5-9.
71. Sarkar to Sardesai, "Sarkar-Sardesai Correspondence", *Life and Letters*, p. 168.
72. K.R. Qanungo, "Sir Jadunath Sarkar (A Biographical Sketch)", *Life and Letters*, p. 46.
73. "Sarkar-Sardesai Correspondence", *Life and Letters*, p. 163, 25th April, 1932.
74. H.R. Gupta (ed.), *Life and Letters*, Introduction, p. 9. There are a couple

of references to this incident in Sarkar-Sardesai Correspondence. On 30th March, 1939, Sarkar wrote to Sardesai, "I am supervising the printing of the doctorate thesis of H.R. Gupta and Ashirbadilal Srivastava, which we had agreed to partly subsidise out of the Kamshet History Meet Special Fund . . . have cost me an enormous amount of time but happily my editing work is now nearly finished." H.R. Gupta (ed.), *Life and Letters*, Introduction, p. 9.

75. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
76. K.R. Qanungo, "Jadunath Sarkar As a Historian", *Life and Letters*, p. 62.
77. K.R. Qanungo, "Sir Jadunath Sarkar (A Biographical Sketch)", *Life and Letters*, p. 52.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 54, i.e., "a dear one on terms of reciprocity with regard to giving and taking, telling and asking each other's secrets".
80. A friend of G.S. Sardesai, Gopalrao Devdhar of the Poona "Servants of India Society", who met Jadunath sweating over" the Persian manuscripts of the Khuda Bakhsh Library at Patna, mentioned Sardesai and his work to Jadunath Sarkar and introduced him to Sardesai by a letter.
81. See 'Selections from Sarkar-Sardesai Correspondence' 1907-55, *Life and Letters*, pp. 127-357.
82. Sardesai wrote to Sarkar on 26-6-48 from Kamashet : "It is my greatest good fortune that I should have secured in you a permanent mentor to guide my footsteps". He had written earlier, on 25-4-47, "I am now re-examining the third volume received from you after your version. When I see the immense labours you have bestowed upon this work of my history, I feel ashamed to claim it as my own" On 29-4-47 Sardesai had written . . . "I know I cannot claim even to be a glow-worm before the Sun", G.S. Sardesai to Jadunath Sarkar, *Life and Letters*, p. 15.
83. *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.
84. *Prabasi*, 'Agrahayan', 1313, B.S. quoted by Jogindranath Chowdhuri, p. 64, *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XCIV, No. 178, January-June 1975.
85. J.N. Sarkar, "Tagore's Ballads", *Modern Review*, April 1931, p. 382.
86. K.R. Qanungo, "Sir Jadunath Sarkar (A Biographical Sketch)", *Life and Letters*, p. 54.
87. *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
89. Jogindranath Chowdhuri quoted Sir Jadunath Sarkar from *Hindustan Standard* (Calcutta), Puja Annual, 1955, in "Acharya Jadunath Sarkar (1870-1958) and a Sketch of his Works", *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XCIV, Part I, No. 178, January-June 1975, p. 8.

CHAPTER II

THE MAKING OF A HISTORIAN

Modern Indian historiography of medieval period owes its inception to the European and British historiography of the nineteenth century. The growth and development of British historical writing on medieval India is reflective not only of its co-relation with the course of contemporary expansion of British rule in India but also of the progress of British historiography. The political activities of the East India Company hastened the tempo of British interest in India's past. In 1770's when the starting reports of the Company's mismanagement were pouring in, Horace Walpole had remarked, "We shall lose the East before we know half its hitsory". The prediction did not prove correct. The Company had no desire to lose what it was fast acquiring and it was not in its interest not to know its history. History of medieval India held special attraction for being the history of the predecessors of the British in supremacy over India.[1] The impact of the contemporary British schools of thought, at the same time, divided most of the British historians on medieval India as representatives thereof. Thus, if Alexander Dow, Jonathan Scott and John Briggs represented the school of Enlightenment on medieval India, Evangelicals found in Charles Grant, Marshman, Peggs and James Vaughan, the supporters of 'the introduction of light'. Utilitarianism as a practical philosophy found elaboration in varying degrees in the works of James Mill, Pringle Thomson, Henry Elliot and Henry George Keene among others. Romantic School found in David Price, Glieg and Elphinstone some of its most prominent British historians on medieval India.[2] There was, however, a significant unifying idea, in British historical writing on medieval India, irrespective of the different schools the historians belonged to. No British historian failed to justify British rule over India or to assert its superiority over the Muslim rule that preceded it.[3] At the same time, the earlier growth

of historiography of medieval India also presents a parallel to that in Europe.[4] Analogous to the medieval chronicles of Europe, there were chronicles of ruling Muslim dynasties. The majority of the writers confined their attention to one form of source material—the court chronicles and one form of history—the political. The early British historians, far from attacking it, stuck to the general native tradition of turning exclusively to the work of their predecessors as historians.[5] Such an 'inherited' historiography also reflected Persian rather than the Arabic historical conspectus; the former aimed at writing the history of rulers, the latter aimed rather to cover the entire range of society.[6] Certain changes in methodology of history writing during the British period, however, were apparent. Dow, writing in the middle and later part of the eighteenth century, was more than content to base his work on records of European travellers or by translating a few Persian works.[7] Other British historians writing in the early and mid-nineteenth century, on Medieval India were fast becoming aware of other sources and themes for different phases of Indo-Muslim history of India.[8]

Historiography in Europe, apart from the development of its methodology, had been changing its nature from time to time. Thus, Gibbon and Macaulay evidence the concept that it was historian's burden to pass judgements in the light of the current ideals and morals. The narrative was also to be a piece of literary flavour and frills.[9] Meanwhile Ranke infused historiography with a new spirit.[10] He stands before us as a great founder of the objective School. He decided effectually to repress 'the poet, the patriot' or 'the religious and political partisan' and to "banish himself from his books".[11] Ranke started with that classic pronouncement of having found 'truth more interesting and beautiful than romance', when he was not yet thirty; that he did not presume to sit on judgement on the past; that he only wanted to show "what had really happened".[12] History, to be above evasion or dispute, must stand on documents, not on opinions. Such a history, he sought "to grasp in its unity".[13] The greatest representative of this school in England was Lord Acton, for whom the main thing in history was not the art of collecting sources, but the 'sublimer art of investigating it, of discerning truth from falsehood and certainty from doubt.[14]

The concepts of nineteenth century European and British historiography inspired Indian historical scholarship on its medieval

history too.[15] In fact, Indian historiography came to challenge British historiography on medieval India with the latter's own *apparatus belli*. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, a reaction against the accepted British histories of India began among Indian scholars. Among them was also one who has been well regarded as the father of modern scientific historical scholarship in the medieval and early British Periods of Indian history—Sir Jadunath Sarkar. When in 1891, be began his "apprenticeship in the history workshop" and 'set his hand to the plough', as he himself admitted, "Research (except in Sanskrit) meant only the pirating or translating of modern English or French books".[16] Jadunath was the pioneer of a tradition and a school that grew up as an outcome of his unique devotion to Clio for more than six decades. His insistence on the search and use of first-hand original documents and on learning the language of the source material was proverbial. By his wide travels and arduous tours to spot the past scenes of action, by his unsparing scrutiny of the evidence, by a thoroughness and unsurpassed accuracy in checking details before 'composing a single page'[17] by separating the study of the past as much as humanly possible from 'the passions of the present' and making his works readable for the excellence of its manner of presenting facts and of its style', Jadunath applied the scientific methodology of Niebuhr, Ranke and Mommesen to Indian history.[18] It was a titanic will and matching energy that made him dedicate himself to the double task of collecting material as well as bringing out a prodigious corpus in History.[19] So perfectly was the apotheosis of modern critical Indian scholarship reflected in his genius that what Gooch said about Ranke can be well said about him too:

> When he began to write, historians of high repute believed memoirs and chronicles to be the best authorities. When he laid down his pen, every scholar with a reputation to make or lose had learned to content himself with nothing less than the papers and correspondence of the actors themselves and those in immediate contact with the events they describe.[20]

Sir Jadunath had himself revealed some of the forces that went into the making of the historian.[21] Bengal through ancient and middle ages had been the land of poetry, jurisprudence and logic but not of historians,[22] Sandhyakar Nandi's *Ramacharitam*; a

panegyric in metaphor, is the only work to Bengal's credit in this respect. A tremendous change, however, overtook Bengal under the impact of British civilization, expressed in the popular saying 'what Bengal thinks today, the rest of India thinks tomorrow.' It became the seed plot of the 'Indian Renaissance, Reformation and the Revolutionary Current'.[23] The historiography of modern India too was infused with the current re-awakening under the British impact. *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, *Tarikh-i-Bangala*, Hamidullah Khan's *Tarikh-i-Chatgam*, Ram Ram Basu's Bengali biography,[24] were some of the earlier attempts, before Jadunath Sarkar entered the scene towards the end of the nineteenth century.

While there is no doubt that his father was one of the major moulding forces of the young Jadunath's mind towards the study of history, Sir Jadunath in his radio talk, also admitted that it was the study of English literature and of Western history that brought him to the portals of historical research in Indian history; that to understand Dante better he had to read the Italian historian Sismandi.[25] Besides the study of European history was an essential ancillary to English literature. It had also been one of the subjects of the Honours course of the University of Calcutta, in which Jadunath had distinguished himself. At the same time, his cultivated literary talents along with the broad base he acquired in the study of history explain his detached outlook as well as excellent manner of the presentation of historical material. To him the history of India was but a chapter of the different eras of world history.[26]

Another potent force in the moulding of the genius was his intellectual discipleship to some of the great pioneers of scientific historiography in Europe of the nineteenth century, Ranke and Mommesen being the most prominent among them.[27] He always impressed upon his pupils that truth and not passing utility should be the aim of honest research; he warned them against narrow specialization or 'scissors and gum bottle' type research; such a kind of work could at best have only transient, *Pro-tempore* value.

Such a historiographer remains our greatest historian after more than hundred years of his birth. His powers of work coupled with the span of his life enabled him to produce a larger number of masterpieces, a distinction hardly any other historian in the field can claim. His transformation of the craft into a scientific study of material is equally remarkable. In fact, his vast and

varied output makes his methodology a fascinating subject in itself.

The methodology of the master has often been summed up in four words. Collection of material, identification, chronology and corroboration, though to have a complete idea of any of his works, his style, his idea of objectivity and the 'presence' of the historian can hardly be missed.[28]

Sir Jadunath was the first historian on medieval India to insist on the hunting from all original contemporary source material in various languages—letters, diaries, news-letters, court bulletins apart from chronicles and biographies.[29] Though well-versed in Sanskrit, he chose Muslim and early British periods, perhaps to suit his literary genius and a spirit that welcomed challenges of the vast *terra-incognita* of historical literature and other source material.[30] He may have found archaeology, epigraphy and numismatics of ancient India that was comparatively barren of bona fide political history, too prosaic.[31] One of his earliest pupils who had found a very large collection of works of the 'mutiny' in the master's library and ventured to inquire whether the owner had any special interest in the topic, was told that initially Sir Jadunath had a mind to carry on research in modern Indian history but had soon realized that it was not possible to do full justice to the topic that lay so close as a historical phase.[32] Hence, the final choice of Muslim and early British periods of Indian history. The 'Columbus' of medieval Indian history found the 'sea uncharted, the instruments primitive, the ship unfit for distant navigation and the sailors inexperienced and untrained'.[33] With a will and energy that were legendary, he dedicated himself to the double task of searching material and writing scientific history on a magnificent scale.

A thorough search and acquisition of all contemporary material in all the languages concerned with the period of his research was in his view the first indispensable requisite for the researcher. He combed the libraries of India and Europe and ransacked numerous archives from Patna to Berlin and Paris. He did not travel abroad but through the catalogues of these institutions, coupled with his own instinct to spot the required source material, he secured these by transcripts, rotary bromide prints, photostats as well as microfilm copies. In his quest for contemporary material, he was no doubt helped by kindred souls like

Irvine, C.R. Wilson, Sir Edward Gait and G.S. Sardesai.[34] Ultimately it was his own super-human tenacity that brought to light public and private records. No effort was stinted and no expense spared. In fact, it was one item on which Jadunath spent lavishly.[35]

The account of the discovery of various new sources reads like a romance of historical pursuit. His own report of the discovery of *Hafi Anjuman* is quite thrilling.[36] Another discovery that created sensation was Mirza Nathan's *Baharistan-i-Chaibi* from Paris Library. The book had been entered in the catalogue as a novel and it was the master's keen eye for the sources that spotted it. It proved to be a history written by a Mughal Military Officer fighting in Bengal under Jahangir's Viceroys.[37] Among the most conspicuous manuscripts in his Persian collection are the *Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Muallah* or the imperial gazettes of the Mughal Government, the *Araiz-o-Faramin* or the petitions of the nobles and military officers to the kings and princes and *Rugaat* and *Maktubat*, i.e. the correspondence of the emperors themselves and the correspondence of the princes, governors of provinces, commanders, nobles, rulers of independent and semi-independent territories and foreign dignitaries.[38] Another great discovery was that of the importance of the archives of Jaipur Darbar. Though he secured the transcripts and wrote a *History of Jaipur*, still lying in manuscript with the royal family of Jaipur – the historian refused to 'revise' it to make History of Jaipur acceptable to the Darbar.[39]

In his mission of collection of source material, the historian faced hurdles of other kind also. Shia agents had to be employed for getting access to the manuscripts in the library of Sir Salar Jang at Hyderabad. Many news-letters had to be obtained through the agency of British officers and scholars.[40] One Maratha family of historical lineage in Malwa did not allow anyone to peep into their family records, much less let any historian copy them, but the historian would not take 'no' for an answer in this respect and went alone in the guise of an orthodox Hindu in *dhoti* and *chadar*, 'a *tilak* on his forehead and a *choti*' (tut of hair at the back of the head), to placate the owner to make his mission successful.[41] He also paid a visit to the home of the historic Jedhe family that possessed the priceless chronology of Maratha history, known as the Jedhe Chronology. All these labours produced momentous results. In what the historian said about his collection, he did not exaggerate.[42] No serious research in medieval or early British

Indian history is possible without consulting his collection that now honours the Buhar Section of the National Library, Calcutta. One could find in his collection transcripts from more than a dozen libraries from India and abroad.[43] On account of its collections, it has become the nursery of research in Indo-Muslim history for three generations.

The historian was zealous about learning the language of the original sources. Many of the sources of his chosen field were in Persian and Marathi, both of which he did not know. He began Persian from the alphabet and learnt enough to tackle the Persian chronicles in manuscript.[44] The way he mastered Marathi, was a marvel to many.[45] It was not only reading of Marathi historical prose but learning of verse as well so that he was able to grasp the works of its masters like Tukaram and Ramdas, to quote appropriately from them. In fact, he had mastered the language to the extent that he was able to detect the possible mistakes of Modi reading, Modi being the script of Marathi in which most of the historical documents were written. He was indeed a polyglot; when richness of Portuguese material was revealed, he started learning it at the age of sixty according to Chevalier Pissurlencar. French he could very well read and write.[46]

In the collection of the master, are some of the large-scale maps hardly found elsewhere. Such maps and gazetteers were a must for the minute details of topographical description which forms a special feature of Sir Jadunath's works. Here are some of the places indicated by him in Military History of India.[47]

Taraori = 9 miles north of Karnal city, 12 miles south of Thaneshwar station (*Karnal District Gazetteer*, 1884, pp. 27 and 264).

Talav = 20 miles north-east of Panetha, but on the northern bank of the Narmada.

To identify places of historical narration was a complex task. The official maps used the Roman script and anglicized pronunciation, while the Persian chronicles used the Arabic script for the Persianised way of pronouncing the Indian names. Sir Jadunath was aware of it and had himself explained the Persian charcteristics of writing Indian names.[48] Thus, in one Persian manuscript *Paithan* on the Godavari in Deccan turned *Patan* and the Godavari

was called the river of Patan; whereas the Godavari, the Krishna, and the Bheema all are mentioned as Ganga by the local people. A different kind of confusion could arise often because of the different names given to the same hill fort or place. Whereas Shivaji introduced Sanskritised names; the same were again changed into Persian when they passed into Mughal hands. Thus, Khelna near Kolhapur was known as *Vishalgad*, Rangna as *Prasiddhagad*, Rohida was known as *Vichitragad*, Kondana near Poona was *Sinhgad* and when the latter passed into Mughal empire, Aurangzeb called it *Buxinda Bux*. Pemgad, Premgad, Bhimgad and Shahgad are the names of one and the same fort in Ahmednagar district.[49] Panhala near Kolhapur is called in Sanskrit *Parnal Parvat* while the Mughals called it Nabi Shah Durg. After considerable quest, the historian came to know that Prabhanvalli, Prabholi and Prabhavali were names of the same place.[50]

Not content with maps or written records, he would often visit historical sites to ascertain the topographical aspect, apart from thus having an insight into the character of common people. Sardesai has recorded the keenness with which the historian visited *Sakharpa*, a village near Vishalgad which in the original text he had misread as *Shankarpett*, and spent the night there The works of Sir Jadunath give ample proof of the pains he took, and of his mastery as a surveyor of the topography of places connected with his narration of history. We find a vivid description of places—whether it is a military scene, a military route or the guerrilla tactics of the Marathas.[51]

Chronology was yet another aspect of history to which Sir Jadunath paid thorough attention. Chronology, the 'backbone of history', was an extremely complicated problem of Indian history. Not only were there many calendars in vogue, there were variations in the method of reckoning the day and the year. The Islamic dates were of two types—Solar and Lunar—and birthdays of emperors were celebrated according to both Solar as well as Lunar calendars. Julus years, Suhur San, Fasli years, Hijri are some of the reckoners of Islamic years; while some of the Hindu eras are the Vikram, the Gupta, the Shaka, the Kalachuri and nearly all of them had some local variations: The day according to Hindu calendar begins with the rising of the sun, even though the date is dependent on the phase of the moon. In some Islamic calendars, the rising of the moon marks the beginning of the day. For the

lunar Hindu calculations, there are two fortnights: *Shukla and Krishna*, the bright and the dark. The month in the northern regions ends on full moon day instead of ending on the *Amant* (*Amavasya*) as it does in most of the southern regions. Thus for one fortnight of both the calendars the name of the month remains the same. This difference of calendars is hardly ever explained by the writers of the two regions. In the *Selections from Peshwa Dafter*[52] for a report from Jaipur, the date given was *Poush Vadya 12* and Sir Jadunath could easily make out that this date was according to the Northern calendar.[53] The way in which he arrived at this calculation speaks of the master's minute eye for details and accuracy:

> *Poush Vadya* 12 acc. : to Southern calendar is 13th January, 1751; this is impossible, as Ishwari Singh (whose suicide is reported in that document) died on Dec. 12th, 1751. Therefore, *Poush* Vadya is Northern way of reckoning. That is *Margashirsha Vadya* 12=14th December, 1750.

The way the historian worked on a detailed chronology of the period he was studying, helped not only to clarify the movements of the person whose life was under study, the gaps in it could also be detected and what is more, it made one see the achievements and exploits of the historical characters in proper perspective and focus. Thus, on the strength of chronologies prepared by himself, the historian could declare against the general assumption of those days that the meeting between Shivaji and Aurangzeb took place in Agra and not at Delhi, on the basis of the imperial movements which were settled in his chronology.[54] Again, contrary to popular supposition, he proved on the basis of the chronological evidence, details of the return journey of Shivaji from Agra. Thus, he could prove that Shivaji took only 25 days to reach his home fort Rajgad; on 19th August he escaped from Agra and on 12th September he was back in Rajgad.[55] His revelations of chronology made heroism glorious. When we know that Janakji Scindia undertook campaigning in the north before he was sixteen, that when Viswas Rao died a hero's death at Panipat, he was in his teens and that Raghoba crossed the Indus at Attock before he was twenty-five, the exploits get altogether a different colouring.[56]

The historian would make his own method of following

chronology absolutely clear to the reader, thus he appended to his chronology of Shivaji :

> All the dates in this book are given in the Old Style or unreformed calendar which continued in use in England till 1752. The New Style Dates (usually 10 days later for Shivaji's life times) which occur in the French, Portuguese and Dutch writings, have been reduced by me to the Old Style. I have followed the conversion tables in Swami Kannu Pilai's *Indian Ephemeris*.[57]

He has invariably given exact Christian dates equivalent to Hijri dates of the manuscripts, which is very helpful to the research scholars in the absence of any ready reference for conversion purposes.

After collection of material came corroboration, the critical evaluation of each source. What he believed and practised about this aspect of his scientific methodology, to quote him, was— "Writing history that will live, requires not mere industry (a copyist's industry in collecting material), but what is far higher— extensive reading (not narrow specialized study), power of deep thinking and connecting together the near and the distant, things Indian and foreign (by way of comparative estimate and liberal interpretation. . .) The true historian's function is that of the stomach in digesting and extracting the vital juice from the raw foodstuff passed down the throat."[58]

The historian never took the chronicles, court historians, other documents and even historical letters at their face value. He subjected each to a scientific scrutiny for ascertaining first, its authenticity and then even separate facts from uncorroborated truth which for the master was only a 'surmise or an inference approximating to a highly probable truth'.[59] He depended on as many sources as possible even for description of a single event; not only comparing the many versions, but also putting them all under his 'x-ray' treatment. Thus, he exposed that Factory Records were not records in the modern terminology but were for the most part a daily report of the *bazar* gossip and that the factories of those days were just godowns in the modern sense of the word.[60] An incident like the death of Shivaji had been reported to London four years earlier, i.e. in 1676 by the factories at Surat and

Bombay. He agreed with Ranke that History depends "on the relation of eye-witness and the original documents".[61] The partiality of many Persian documents was seen more in remaining silent over episodes which were not flattering to the throne. Thus, the raid on Shaista Khan or the escape of Shivaji from Agra, have been reported in only one sentence each, as observed by Sir Jadunath. He put the Marathi records also under his scrutiny and science of evidence before declaring most of the *Bakhars* as bogus, to the chagrin of many Maratha scholars.[62] However, he has quoted from *Sabhasad* and 91 *Qalmi Bakhar* as, in his opinion, these two have some elements of truth and were not written as late as the rest were. The Dutch and Portuguese documents, the records of the Missionaries, all had to be critically examined before acceptance. He used to weave the historical narration out of the tangled bits of thread collected from multilingual sources. What is more, he never made a secret of what sources he used. Thus, for Shivaji's night attack on Shaista Khan in Poona (1663) the sources given are:[63]

1. *Factory Records*: (Vol. 103 Surat). Gyffard to Surat 12th April, 24th May, 1663.
2. Bernier's *Travels*—p. 187.
3. *Alamgir-nama* 819 (only one sentence).
4. Manucci's *Storia*, ii, 104-106.
5. *Sabhasad* : 35-37.
6. *Nuskha-i-Dilkasha* : 44-46 (Bhimsen Burhanpuri).
7. *Khafikhan*: ii—172-175 (narrates the story as told by his father, who was serving Shaista Khan, but wrote after 1730.
8. *Jedhe Shakavali*: 1618-1697 A.D.
9. *91 Qalmi Bakhar*—46-47.

Thus to narrate a single event, nine authorities were consulted. The comment on Khafi Khan's statement is significant. The suggestion is that the narrator, i.e. Khafi Khan's father, though a contemporary eye-witness, has lost some of the importance because the narration was put on paper more than 66 years after the event. Such minute appraisal reflects his great passion for truth. Such a methodical citation of authorities was his valuable gift to the researchers in the field. Sir Jadunath himself believed in eternal

progression being the soul of research and always kept abreast with the latest; ever ready to improve on his own works, evidenced by the many editions of his works, e.g., the first edition of *House of Shivaji* was first published in 1940 and the third in 1955, with notable corrections and additions.[64]

The study of English literature not only had led him to the doors of history, it also distinguished him for sheer presentation of it even in an era of eminent British scholars on the subject.[65] In fact, the manner in which Sir Jadunath brought out the fruits of his research is a delight in prose reading, so that the interest of the reader never fags even if the subject may not be his favourite. The historian was a master of good English and though he had started his career as a teacher of English literature, he rose above the temptation of a flowery style. History to him was first a scientific inquiry and then a piece of literature. He appreciated it with the meticulous accuracy of scientist and expressed it like a *literati*. Indeed he held a judicious balance between the two. His advice to G.S. Sardesai on the matter was, "The surest means of acquiring a good style is (i) to read aloud the best English prose—avoiding ornate and involved authors. . . to pause and revise frequently one's own writing' and again 'don't crowd your canvas by going into details. . . the elements of a good prose style include not merely the choice of apt phrases, but also the judicious and most effective marshalling of the facts. . . Roget can be of use when we are stuck for a suitable word but can give us no help in mastering a style."[66]

All his writings bear the mark of flawless English, originality of thought, extensive reading and his way of refreshing the subject by adding parallel illustrations from other periods of world and Indian history. Thus, when Shivaji at his visit to Aurangzeb's court, was made to stand behind Jaswant Singh, he flares up, "Jaswant, whose back my soldiers have seen."[67] In a footnote a famous interview of a similar kind is quoted between Wellington and Louis XVIII of France,[68] when the French Marshalls turned their backs at the entrance of Wellington, pretending not to see him. To Louis' apologies for his generals' rudeness, the British hero calmly replied, "Your Highness need not worry. It is by their backs that I have generally known them". Similarly he compares Jijabai to Queen Gautami Satkarni who prided herself in her son's glory. Such illustrations enliven what otherwise

might be 'dry details'. For the depiction of his characters and personalities too, he was remarkable. Under his touch, the shadows of the dead seem to pass before the reader, whether it is Baji Rao I 'a younger Prime Minister than William Pitt the younger' or Nana Fadnis the 'Chitpavan Machiavelli—the spider spinning his web sitting at Poona' . . . "who saw the things at Delhi Empire through his ears",[69] all owe their photographic realism to the skill of the master craftsman. This is his portrait of Aurangzeb, the ruler who 'was free from vice, stupidity and sloth', whose 'intellectual keenness was proverbial . . . whose patience and perseverance were as remarkable as his love of discipline and order', who 'in private life was simple and abstemious like a hermit . . . and yet the result of fifty years' rule by such a sovereign was failure and chaos.'[70] His portrait of a decaying man holding the reins of a decaying empire is unsurpassed in Indian historical works. Here he touches the genius of Greek tragedy.

The soul of history for the master craftsman, however, lay in search for truth and objective interpretation of history. All his works bear testimony to his message, "I would not care whether truth is pleasant or unpleasant and in consonance with or opposed to current views. I would not mind in the least whether truth is or is not a blow to the glory of my country. If necessary I shall bear in patience the ridicule and slander of friends and society for the sake of preaching truth, but still I shall seek truth, understand truth and accept truth. This should be the firm resolve of a historian".[71] The juristic equanimity of the stern historian and his impartial treatment often aggrieved Hindus as well as Muslims. If he acquitted Shivaji of the charge of murder of an invited guest, he made Marathas unhappy by evidencing a more heinous crime of Shivaji, the occupation of Javli 'by a deliberate muder and organized treachery on the part of Shivaji'.[72] But the facts spoke too clearly to be hushed up by partisan historians and laity. His III volume of the *History of Aurangzib* (1919) included moral and religious regulations of Aurangzeb, *Jihad* and *Jiziyah*, temple destruction and the Hindu reaction; which were highly inflammable topics, specially at the time of the publication of the volume, when communal feelings ran high. The interpretation of Islamic institutions by a Hindu may in itself have offended the orthodox Muslims. The testimony of Aurangzeb himself, the evidence of equally pious Muslims as brought to light by the historian,

however, created a 'desperate' situation for the champions and apologists of Aurangzeb. If, on the one hand, the historian seldom complimented 'half-informed critics' by a reply, his patience with genuine criticism was tremendous and it set him hunting afresh on the subject. Thus when A.F. Rehman questioned Sir Jadunath's view that Afzal Khan's murder was a 'preventive murder' when authorities on the issue were 'almost evenly balanced', Jadunath pursued the matter for the next twenty years and produced the testimony, in an appendix to his fifth edition of Shivaji of a good Muslim, Mir Alam, the famous Wazir of Nizam-ul-Mulk and historian who says ". . . the Khan intoxicated with the pride of being a hero . . . gripped Shivaji very hard in the act of embracing and struck him with his belt-dagger".[73]

Yet in his mission to interpret history objectively, Sarkar was like Ranke. It is said of Ranke that he 'banished himself from books'[74] for the sake of objectivity. Peter Geyl has rightly suggested that the above opinion of Lord Acton about Ranke is not correct.[75] Sarkar's position on objectivity is like that of Ranke. Though morally neutral and a follower of Ranke's motto. *Wie es Eigentlich gewsen* (the past as it actually was) there could not be the 'objectivity of the eunuch'.[76] His measured accuracy and objective tone is not the result of indifference. When judgement is pronounced, it is more weighty on account of its rarity. The historian had, it would appear, his own idea of intelligibility and purpose in history. He felt, "History when rightly read is a justification of Providence, the revelation of a great purpose fulfilled in time.[77] He believed in human destiny but equated it with character when he wrote, "Destiny is only another name for character and Shah Alam's character alone was responsible for the fate that now overwhelmed him and his house".[78] His belief in divine mercy as divine justice is apparent at many places.[79]

The above in general are the characteristics of the master's methodology he applied to his vast, and varied subjects covering Topography and Statistics, Biography and History, Government and Economics, Essays and Surveys, Religion and Art, Corpuses and Military history. To call him an 'imperialist' or 'political' historian as is sometimes the case, would be missing altogether his conception of history. He conveyed, while writing about certain exclusions from his long period under survey: "A more serious defect is that the social and economic history of this long

stretch of time has been crowded out of the present scries, though I have made many short excursions into that field in my major works and essays".[80] Thus, the consciousness of a vast hinterland of 'cultural' history was there, but 'the first thing came first'. In the field of historical research, India is in the 'beginning of nineteenth century'[81] as compared with West. Here the historian is primarily a digger and a stone dresser and not exclusively an architect, as Howorth in the introduction to his *History of the Mongols* held. His view, however, may be true in case of many western countries like Rome, Greece, Germany and England where diggers into the original sources have been working for generations. It seems Sir Jadunath was fully aware of the evolutional aspect of history. In 1957, he ditinguished between two types of research, an exhaustive study of a king or a general and second, 'Studies of the Supreme type' which (comparable to Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*) have not been produced in India as yet.[82] We get the answer to it from Sir Judunath himself. "We have yet to collect and edit our material and to construct the necessary foundation, the bedrock of ascertained and unassailable facts on which alone the superstructure of a philosophy of history can be raised."[83]

Thus he wrote and inspired coming generations to write history that will 'endure'.

Notes and References

1. J.S. Grewal, *Muslim Rule in India: The Assessments of British Historians*, Oxford University Press, Calcutta, 1970, p. 23.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 45, 90; A.N. Whitehead, *Adventures of Ideas*, University Press, Cambridge, 1961, Introduction, pp. 12-13; K.A. Ballhatchet, "Some Aspects of Historical Writing on India by Protestant Christian Missionaries During the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries", C.H. Philips, ed., *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, Oxfords University Press, London, 1961, pp. 344-353; *Ibid.*, C.H, Philips' "James Mill, Mount Stuart Elphinstone and the History of India", pp. 221-222.
3. J.S. Grewal, *Medieval India, History and Historians*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1975, p. 136.
4. R.C. Majumdar, *Historiography in Modern India*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1970, p. 25.
5. Peter Hardy, *Historians of Medieval India*, Luzac & Co. Ltd., London, 1960, pp. 1-2.

6. Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, "History and Historians of Medieval India", *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol. III (1963-64), No. 1 & 2, p. 51.
7. J.S. Grewal, *Muslim Rule in India: The Assesments of British Historians*, pp. 6-22.
8. T.P.G. Spear, "British Historical Writing in the Era of the Nationalist Movements", *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, p. 407.
9. G.P. Gooch, *History and Historians in Nineteenth Century*, Longman Green and Co., London, 1952, pp. 276-288; Bisheshwar Prasad, "Sir Shaffat Ahmad Khan", S.N. Sen (ed.), *Historians and Historiography in Modern India*, Institute of Historical Studies, Calcutta, 1973, pp. 146-147.
10. Peter Geyl, *Debates with Historians*, B.T. Batsford Ltd., London, 1955, p. 1.
11. Lord Acton, *Lectures on Modern History*, Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London, 1960, p. 19.
12. In the Preface of *Quentin Durward*, he writes, "I found by comparison that the truth was more interesting and beautiful than romance. I turned away from it and resolved to avoid all invention and imagination in my works and to stick to facts". . . and again his statement that has become classic for depicting the spirit in which the book was written, "History has had assigned to it the task of judging the past, of instructing the present for the benefit of the ages to come. To such lofty functions this work does not aspire. Its aim is merely to show how things actually were" requoted from G.P. Gooch's *History and Historians in the 19th Century*, p. 73.
13. Leopold Von Ranke, "History Has No Goal", (an extract from a series of lectures delivered by Ranke in 1854) in *Philosophy of History*, ed. Alan Donagon, Barbara Donagon, Macmillan, New York, 1965, p. 78.
14. Lord Acton, *Lectures on Modern History*, p. 15.
15. Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, "History and Historians of Medieval India", *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol. III, No. 1 & 2, 1963-64, p. 56.
16. Sir J.N. Sarkar, "A Word to Research Workers in India", *Bengal Past and Present*, Jubilee No. 1957.
17. Sir J.N. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. III, 3rd ed., 1964, (reprinted by Orient Longman, Calcutta, 1975), Preface, p. iii.
18. For the scientific methodology of Niebuhr, Ranke and Mommesen see: G.P. Gooch, *History and Historians in Nineteenth Century*, pp. 459-477.
19. Even Lord Acton, who founded a School of History, akin in many respects, to the German School after delving into the archives of European States all his life, was not able to write any history 'as he failed to reach the absolute truth'; See: Bisheshwar Prasad's "Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan" in *Historians and Historiography in Modern India*, pp. 146-147. However, according to Amales Tripathi, "Lord Acton" did not find time to write his projected "History of Freedom", see, *The Statesman* (Calcutta), December 10, 1970, "Columbus of Mughal History"—An Assessment of Sir Jadunath Sarkar's Works".

20. G.P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 97.
21. His radio talk of 1955, later on published in the Bengali Journal *Prabasi*, referred to by K.R. Qanungo, "Jadunath Sarkar As a Historian", *Life and Letters*, p. 56.
22. Ashok Kumar Sen, "The Educated Middle Class of Bengal (1800-85)—Origin, Traits and Tendencies", *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. LIV, Part III (December 1976), pp. 731-732.
23. K.R. Qanungo, "Jadunath Sarkar As a Historian", *Life and Letters of Sir Jadunath Sarkar*, Vol. I, p. 56.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 56-58.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 55-57.
27. K.R. Qanungo has recorded that the first book Sir Jadunath Sarkar gave him to study when the former went to reside with the master at Cuttack was Gooch's "*History and Historians of the 19th Century*", meant to cure Qanungo of his raw patriotic base.
28. S.R. Tikekar, *On Historiography*, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1964, p. 5.
29. A.L. Srivastava, "Sir Jadunath Sarkar", *Historians and Historiography in Modern India*, p. 138.
30. Though the historian mastered several modern Indian and foreign languages, particularly Marathi, Persian, French and Portuguese, none stood nearer to his heart than Sanskrit. He would occasionally withdraw himself from the fatigue of Mughal *Akhbarat* into the company of Kalidas and Bhavbhuti. Cf. Sardesai's "Jadunath Sarkar As I Know Him", *Life and Letters of Sir Jadunath Sarkar*, p. 23.
31. K.R. Qanungo, "Sir Jadunath Sarkar As a Historian", *Life and Letters*, p. 57.
32. A.L. Srivastava, "Sir Jadunath Sarkar", *Historian and Historiography in Modern India*, pp. 135-136.
33 Amales Tripathi, "Columbus of Mughal History : An Assessment of Jadunath Sarkar Works", *The Statesman* (Calcutta), December 10, 1970.
34. Dharma Bhanu, "Sir Jadunath Sarkar", *History and Political Science Journal*, Vol. VI, January 26, 1959, p. 29.
35. G.S. Sardesai, "Jadunath Sarkar As I Know Him", *Life and Letters*, p. 33.
36. N.K. Sinha, "Sir Jadunath Sarkar", *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. LXXXIX, July-December 1970, Part II : Serial No. 168, 173. Earlier Mirza Raja Jai Singh's successful Purandar campaign was known only from the Persian official history—*Alamgirnama*. The Maratha stories relating to this defeat of Shivaji were unacceptable later traditions. The historian felt that there was a lacuna. In 1904, he traced a Persian Mss. in the Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris which gave Aurangzeb's correspondence with Jaisingh but ended abruptly in the midst of the Purandar Campaign. This correspondence could not be found even in the Jaipur archives. The despatches of Jai Singh were kept in charge of his Secretary Udiraj Munshi, who, after Jai Singh's death became a Muslim. His son put these drafts in a volume entitled *Insha-i-Haft Anjuman* as a

model of epistolary style. But the Ms. could not be traced anywhere. A ong quest began. The historian succeeded at last in 1907 in discovering a copy of the Ms. in Benaras. The leaves of the volume had stuck together and had made it into a sort of cardboard. The leaves were loosened. The letters which Udiraj had drafted for his master thus became known to the world after two centuries and a half. A more perfect copy of the Ms. was later found in Lucknow.

37. An English translation of it was published later by M.L. Borah of the University of Dacca. See K.R. Qanungo's "Jadunath Sarkar As a Historian", *Life and Letters*, pp. 67-68.
38. S.M. Hasan, "Jadunath Sarkar's Collection of Persian Manuscripts", *Bengal Past and Present* (January-June 1971), Vol. XC, Part I, Serial No. 169, p. 120.
39. It has now been edited by Raghbir Singh who is also proposing to have it published through the Director, Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, Jaipur, vide Raghbir Singh's reply to an enquiry, dated Feb. 10, 1982.
40. e.g. Private Papers, records and Persian manuscripts in the Raipur ruler's library were procured through the agency of Sir Edward Gait then in England, who wrote to a British Commissioner in U.P. The latter received as present from the Nawab, the records beautifully copy out, the transcript of the manuscript was first sent to Sir Edward who forwarded it to the historian. See Dharma Bhanu's "Jadunath Sarkar", *History and Political Science Journal*, Vol. VI, Jan. 26, 1959, p. 29.
41. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.
42. "My collection of Persian manuscripts and Marathi printed sources are indispensable to the students of our medieval history as it has brought together in one place the necessary works which are scattered in many towns of India and famous public libraries of Europe". Requoted from S.M. Hasan's "Jadunath Sarkar's Collection of Persian Manuscripts", *Bengal Past and Present*, January-June 1971, Vol. XC, Part I, Serial No. 109, p. 118.
43. Namely: The Oriental Public Library Bankipore, Patna, The Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, Raza Library, Rampur, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh, State Central Library, Hyderabad, Salarjang Museum, Hyderabad, State Archives, Jaipur, Kapurthala State Library, Raghuvir Library, Sitamau, Punjab University Library, Lahore, Lahore Public Library, British Museum, India Office Library, Bodlein, The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris and others that included private collections too.
44. It was not his second language at school or college. See S.R. Tikekar's *On Historiography*, p. 21.
45. Though imbecile jealousy and resentment at inroad into the Maratha preserve by a bold Northerner have not been wanting. See, G.S. Sardesai, "Jadunath Sarkar As I Know Him", *Life and Letters*, p. 23.
46. S.R. Tikekar, *On Historiography*, p. 21; J.N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, 3rd ed., O.L. Reprint (Culcutta, 1978), p. 303.
47. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Military History of India*, 1st edition, 1960, reprinted

by Orient Longman, Delhi, 1970, pp. 33, 144.

48. S.R. Tikekar, *On Historiography*, pp. 6-7.
49. Sir J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, 5th ed., Orient Longman's reprint, New Delhi, 1973, Index—405-407.
50. Sarkar-Sardesai Correspondence in *Life and Letters of Sir Jadunath Sarkar*, H.R. Gupta (ed.), p. 150; Sir J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, pp. 84-85.
51. G.S. Sardesai, "Jadunath Sarkar As 1 Know Him", *Life and Letters of Sir Jadunath Sarkar*, p. 20.
    See for example his location of Battlefield of Talikota, pp. 97-98 of *Military History of India*, Baji Rao's Route—p. 143; Jadunath Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, 5th ed., Orient Longmans, reprint, New Delhi, 1973, pp. 227-231.
52. S.R. Tikekar, *On Historiography*, p. 12.
53. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, ed. G.S. Sardesai, published by Government of Bombay, Bombay, 1933, Vol. II, p. 52.
54. J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, pp. 137-142.
55. *Ibid.*, pp. 150-151.
56. J.N. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. II, 3rd ed., Orient Longman Reprint (Calcutta, 1971), p. 167.
57. J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, p. 399.
58. Sir J.N. Sarkar's letter to G.S. Sardesai from Darjeeling, 27th March, 1933, "Sarkar-Sardesai Correspondence" from *Life and Letters*, p. 160.
59. N.G. Chapekar 'Foreword' to *On Historiography* by S.R. Tikekar, p. viii.
60. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.
61. Requoted from Dharma Bhanu's "Sir Jadunath Sarkar" *History and Political Science Journal*, Vol. VI, Jan. 26, 1959, p. 29.
62. "I am now convinced that the *Shiva Digvelaya* is a modern forgery probably based on some old materials", he wrote to G.S. Sardesai from Darjeeling on 12-6-1917—See Sarkar Sardesai Correspondence, *Life and Letters*, p. 136.
63. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, p. 88.
64. In the second edition (May 1948), Chapter II (Life of Malik Ambar) and Chapter XI (Shivaji's Poet Laureate) were added. In the third edition the book was much enlarged by seven new documents on the Shahji-Adil Shahi relations. The account of Shivaji's poet laureate was completed by adding notes on the fragments then newly discovered in Kolhapur. Thus the third edition included all the material acquired by the historian till that time (1955).
65. While Beveridge hailed Jadunath as 'Bengali Gibbon', V.A. Smith called his *essays* 'Charming and authoritative, miniature ivory caskets of fine literary workmanship'. See K.R. Qanungo, "Sir Jadunath Sarkar As a Historian", *Life and Letters*, pp. 63, 71.
66. Sarkar Sardesai Correspondence", *Life and Letters*, pp. 221, 233.
67. J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, p. 143.
68. *Ibid.*, p, 145.
69. J.N. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. IV, 1st edition, reprint, Orient Longman, Culcutta, 1972, p. 5.

70. J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vols. I & II, Ist edition, 1912, Orient Longman reprint, Calcutta, 1973, Introduction, p. xiii.
71. Speech as the Chairman of a Historical Conference in Bengal, 1915, published in *Prabasi* of the same year. The above is the literal translation of a part of his message. Quoted by R.C. Majumdar in *Historiography in Modern India*, p. 56.
72. J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, p. 43.
73. K.R. Qanungo, "Sir Jadunath Sarkar As a Historian", *Life and Letters*, p. 61; J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, pp. 72-74.
74. Lord Acton, *Lectures on Modern History*, p. 19. [This opinion of Acton has been quoted by Pieter Geyl.]
75. Pieter Geyl, *Debates with Historians*, p. 3.
76. G.M. Trevelyan, "Bias in History", in *An Autobiography and Other Essays*, Longman Green & Co., London, 1949, pp. 68-69.
77. J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. V, 2nd ed., Orient Longman reprint, Calcutta, 1974, p. 378.
78. J.N. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. III, 3rd ed., 1964, Orient Longman reprint, Calcutta, 1975, p. 305.
79. In *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, 3rd ed., 1964, Orient Longman reprint, Calcutta, 1973, p. 3, he writes, while describing the condition of India after Nadir Shah's departure, "Heaven seemed to have taken pity on the sorely afflicted people of Northern India. In the next season, there was adequate and timely rainfall, the earth yielded a profuse harvest and all foodstuff became cheap and plentiful, as if to make amends for the people's recent suffering. Nature is not half so much the cause of a nation's misery as man"; In his *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. III, p. 311, while writing about the punishment given to Shah Alam's Nazir, Manzoor Ali, who assisted Ghulam Qadir Rohilla in the latter's insulting the aged emperor, he says, "One almost feels a grim satisfaction that divine justice did not sleep over the prime cause of these princely sufferings".
80. J.N. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. IV, 1st ed., 1950, Orient Longman reprint, Calcutta, 1972, Preface, p. iii. The historian wrote to Raghubir Singh of Sitamau on 3rd March, 1936, "Special care should be taken to avoid giving the chapters on literature and art in Malwa to a mere dry as dust scholar, there will be '*Go-hatya*' (Cow-slaughter) of Kalidas if these chapters are not given to a truly gifted literary man", *Making of a Princely Historian*, V.G. Khobrekar and S.R. Tikekar, editors, Maharashtra State Archives, Bombay, 1975, p. 193.
81. K.R. Qanungo, "Sir Jadunath As a Historian"; *Life and Letters*, p. 67.
82. Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, "Sir J.N. Sarkar and His Historical Writings", *JBRS*, Vol. XLVI, 1960, referred to in Jagdish Narayan Sarkar's "Survey of Indian Historiography (Medieval Period) History and Historians of Mediaeval India", *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol. III (1963-64), Nos. 1 and 2, p. 57.
83. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "A Word to Research Workers in India", *Bengal Past and Present*, Jubilee Number, 1957.

CHAPTER III

INTERPRETATION OF AURANGZEB*

Modern historiography on Aurangzeb began in the mid-nineteenth century when H.M. Elliot published: *Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammodan India*, (1849), one of the four volumes planned by him.[1] His premature death in 1853 left professor John Dowson to edit his papers and the outcome was *The History of India as told by its own Historians*. One book of the series in eight volumes, deals exclusively with the reign of Aurangzeb entitled *Aurangzeb Muntkhab-ul-Lubab* of Muhammad Hashim Khafi Khan, a study of the emperor based on extracts from Khafi Khan's account, translated by John Dowson, which removed the complaint of not having any 'complete history' of Aurangzeb.[2] Alexander Dow earlier having been obliged to conclude at the end of the 10th year of Aurangzeb's reign because there were no documents available to throw light on the subsequent period.[3] The text used by Dowson was the one published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* and many British historians have been greatly indebted to it.

Dowson's account suffered from inaccuracies of dates and names and 'meagerness of descriptions' inherent in the work of Khafi Khan.[4] He was conscious of the imperfections of his work. It was confined in great measure to the limited resources of his own library in the country, far away from public libraries.[5] No wonder the book consisting of 183 pages, has only 108 footnotes

*This is the general and current spelling given by most of the writers and I have accepted this popular way of writing Aurangzeb. However, Sir J.N. Sarkar spelt it as Aurangzib which is technically the correct spelling, meaning 'ornament of the throne'. See, A Comprehensive *Persian-English Dictionary* by F. Steingass, Kegan Paul, London, 1930 impression. Whenever reference is to Sir J.N. Sarkar, his original spelling of the emperor's name has been retained.

or references for clarifications, which again are confined to *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* and *Alamgir Nama* and Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*. While realizing Dowson's limitations as owned by him, one cannot help the total impression of description without illumination.

It was not until the close of the century that a notable improvement on the study of Aurangzeb's reign appeared in the Rulers of India Series : *Aurangzib and the Decay of the Mughal Empire* (1893) by Stanley Lane-Poole.[6] Though he had no personal experience of India, he appears to have made good use of the contributions of his predecessors on Muslim India, specially Elphinstone whose work he considered judicious. Erskine whose 'ripe learning' despite his 'nervous English' he appreciated and finally for Lane-Poole 'to realize Medieval India, there was no better way than to dive into the eight volumes of the priceless *History of India as told by its own Historians*.[7] He also consulted contemporary European 'authorities' for the earlier part of Aurangzeb's reign—the French Physician Bernier who was 'a Philosopher and a man of the world', and Tavernier who viewed India with the 'Professional eye of a jeweller'.[8]

For Lane-Poole, 'No true or permanent union took place between the Hindus and Muslims except occasionally amidst the ruling classes.[9] The new emperor had it in his power, when he ascended, to decide what role of the non-Muslims be, they could go entirely with or against the rulers.[10] Akbar's genius had welded an empire out of heterogenous materials with marvellous success but it was not entirely without foible.[11] The other problems which faced Shah Jahan's successor to a splendid but cankering power were to redeem the growing effemiancy of the Mughals, to attach or curb the Rajputs, to check the provincial governor's tendency to perpetuate themselves, 'to put a heart into a decaying system and a faith into a listless soul'.[12] The main question according to Lane-Poole, however, was whether an effort to solve these problems be made by the 'zeal of Lord or by compromise of man of the world'. The new emperor chose the former path—'Muslim puritanism was at once his distinction and his ruin'.[13]

Lane-Poole finds Aurangzib first and last a stern Muslim puritan in life—neither expediency nor love, nor ease, weighed for a split second in his mind against fealty to the principles of Islam. If for its sake he persecuted the Hindus, destroyed their temples,

levied *Jiziyah* and consequently had to fight his southern foes with the 'loss of his right arm', the same zeal and not so much the desire to extend further the boundaries of his empire, made him wage the unending wars in Deccan against the heretical *Shia* kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda. Following the Prophet's precept that every Muslim should practise a trade, he devoted his leisure in making skull caps, which were no doubt bought enthusiastically by the courtiers of Delhi. He not only knew *Quran* by heart, but copied it twice over in his fine calligraphy, and sent the manuscripts richly adorned, as gifts to Mecca and Medina. In fact, except the pilgrimage to Mecca (Hajj), which he dared not risk lest 'he should come back to find an occupied throne', he left nothing undone of the whole duty of the Muslim. Lane-Poole notes that even the English merchants of Surat, who had their own reasons for disliking the emperor, could only tell Ovington that Aurangzib was 'a zealous Professor of Islam'.[14]

To obstinacy and fanaticism in matters of religion, was added suspicion to an unusual extent even by oriental standards. Not only he had his daughter for a taster—to test the wholesomeness of his food, if he took medicine, the physician had to 'lead the way, taking pill for pill, dose for dose'.[15]

Lane-Poole's verdict on Aurangzib thus was "His glory is that he could not force his soul. . . he dared not desert the colours of his faith. The man of the world smiles at his short-sighted policy, his zeal for truth as he saw it. The great puritan of India was of such stuff that wins the martyr's crown. His glory is for himself alone. To his great empire his devoted zeal was an unmitigated curse'.[16]

Lane-Poole's originality mainly consisted in his sparkling style. As a comprehensive work on Aurangzeb, it left much ground to be covered. His general treatment of the subject was extremely restricted, resulting from his equating Indo-Muslim history with merely Indo-Muslim politics.[17] For him the historian of Medieval India had 'to do with kings and their works and again, the difference caused in the *royats* life by a good or a bad king is too slight to be worth discussing'.[18] Such a premise no doubt affected his interpretation of sources on Aurangzib—sources he not only calls 'authorities' but appears to have considered them as such too.[19] There is no effort to show the reader how a source is sifted into an evidence for history. Not because he felt he had anything to hide

but because like many of his contemporaries as well as those who followed him, he felt he had nothing important to reveal.[20] For him too, history was written from the 'testimony of authorities', 'History' of Aurangzeb was still greatly lacking.

It was Sir Jadunath who chose Aurangzib as the subject of his life's work, study and research. A quarter century after his demise, his work remains a classic. In modern times, he stands for the golden age of scientific historiography on Aurangzib, notwithstanding the recent trends. It was in 1892 that he started the journey into the realm of Aurangzib.[21] Once begun it lasted up to 1952.[22] The journey took longer than the lengthy region itself but its output in quantity and quality remains unsurpassed.

It was not a stray chance that Sir Jadunath chose Aurangzib as his 'hero' from the galaxy of the great Mughals. Some of the scholars had thrown light on the possible factors responsible for the choice.[23] However, the choice was best expressed by the historian himself:

> Emperor Aurangzib was free from vice, stupidity and sloth; his intellectual keenness was proverbial.
> He took to the business of governing with all the ardour which men usually display in the pursuit of pleasure.
> In industry and attention to public affairs, he could not be surpassed by any clerk.
> His patience and perseverance were as remarakable as his love of discipline and order.
> In private life, he was simple and abstemious like a hermit.
> He faced the privations of a campaign or a forced march uncomplainingly.
> No terror could daunt his heart, nor weakness or pity melt it.
> Of the wisdom of the ancients which can be gathered from ethical books, he was a master.
> He had, besides undergone a long and successful probation in war and diplomacy in his father's lifetime.
> And yet the result of fifty years' rule by such a sovereign was failure and chaos''.[24]

Thus, "the political paradox makes Aurangzib's reign an object of supreme interest to the student of political philosophy no less than to the student of Indian history."[25]

The historian was also aware that the reign that practically covered the history of the country for sixty years (1658-1707), stood forth as the epoch representing the Mughal 'crescent rounding to fullness and then waning visibly. Emergence of the Marathas, appearance of the Sikhs in the role of warriors and armed opponents to the ruling power, the Rajputs turning from pillars of strength to the sworn enemies of the crown and finally the future masters of the country gaining a safe footing in its soil.[26] The end of the reign manifests the rot at the roots. To many an onlooker the edifice looked grand outwardly but it was ready to fall asunder at the first onslaught. With a bankrupt treasury, impoverished and bemoaning peasantry, a demoralized army giving way to centrifugal forces, the government machinery having lost efficiency and honesty, the Mughal dynasty and government had lost all justification of its existence.[27] If Bhimsen Burhanpuri lamented the general picture of misery,[28] Khafi Khan, in addition was nostalgic of the glories of the empire of the past.[29] The old emperor at the helm of affairs bemoans the deplorable state of affairs, the utter incapacity of his sons and officers, admonishes and chastises them with the sharpness of his pen, but 'is despaired of a remedy at his death bed'.[30]

Why did it all happen the way it did? It is no mean question, for the 'supreme factors of Indian history in the 18th and early 19th century owe their origin directly or indirectly to the reign of Aurangzib'.[31]

When Sir Jadunath made the choice of the particular period for study and research, he was fully aware of the formidable challenge and enormity of the task. No serious research of the subject was possible without consulting the original sources which were mainly in Persian and Marathi—both of the languages he did not know. He started Persian from the alphabet and learnt enough to decipher Persian manuscripts in *Shikast*.[32]

In fact, he made quite a few copies of Persian manuscripts in his own hand.[33] He obtained thorough and accurate knowledge of Marathi too. His command of Persian and Marathi along with his technique of textual criticism gave him a decisive advantage over any purely Persian or Marathi bred scholar.[34] To make better use of contemporary European accounts, he learnt both French and Portuguese—enough to be able to read, write and speak these two languages.[35]

Sir Jadunath was fully aware that 'to understand a Muslim, one must understand Islam', more so when the particular Muslim held the reins of an empire for over half a century and was perhaps much less of an individual than representative of an ideology. The key was to understand what was not merely a creed but 'a total way of life'.[36] He traced the study of Muslim history beyond India too. Study of Islam and Islamic history revealed that Polestar of it all was the belief in one God, the Lord of all Creation and source of all law and judgement, who gives guidance to humanity through revelations to a series of prophets. For Muslims, the final and most complete revelation was presented through Muhammad and is recorded in the Holy Book *Quran*.[37] The attempt to create a community in accord with the revelations of God is the key theme in the history of Islam.[38] The Islamic law of polity or of nations is not a system separate from Islamic religious law and the *Shari'a* designed to govern the relations of Muslims with non-Muslims whether inside or outside the territory of Islam.[39] For Muslims then there could be no law except that derived from religion and it is, therefore, not possible to be an 'Islamic secularist,'[40] that to 'be a Muslim and adopt a non-Islamic view point is meaningless.'[41] By the theory of its origin the Muslim State had to be nothing else but a theocracy.[42] The true king being God while earthly rulers are merely agents to enforce His Law on all.[43] Toleration of another religion is equal to compounding with the worst form of sin—Polytheism (*Shirk*—Arabic term)—associating others (false gods) with God.[44] This is the most heinous ingratitude (*Kufr*)[45] The highest duty of the true believer is "to make exertion (*Jihad*) in the path of God" (*Jihad fi sabil ullah*—Quran, ix 29) to turn the infidel lands (*dar-ul-harb*) till they turn into the realm of Islam[46] (*dar-ul-Islam*). All the four Muslim schools of Muslim jurisprudence are agreed that non-Muslims have no place in a Muslim state and if they are suffered to exist, they cannot be allowed to enjoy the same rights as Muslims, who alone are its citizens.[47]

The law for non-Muslims, particularly for the Hindus, is 'Islam or death',[48] the special privilege of Christians and Jews for possessing 'in parts book of revelations',[49] was to live under contract (*Zimma*) and enjoy the status of a *Zimma* to whom life and property are grudgingly spared by the Commander of the Faithful but he must undergo political, social and economic

disabilities including paying the *Jiziyah* (substitute money) i.e. the price of indulgence. "Fight those who do not profess the true faith till they pay *Jiziyah* with the hand in humility (Quran, X, 29). The opinion of some of the modern scholars that *Jiziyah* was 'commutation money paid for exemption from military service' is not borne out by historical evidence for it was as late as 10th May 1855 that "*Jiziyah* as a tax on the free exercise of religion was replaced by a tax for exemption from military service even in European Turkey."[50] While there is no doubt that sometimes statesmanship and liberality or practical considerations triumphed over Islamic theology and the Muslim jurists prudently accepted the *fait accompli* on the part of some Muslim rulers,[51] Muhammad bin Qasim's decision in 721 A.D. to accord the Hindus of Sindh and Multan the status of *Zimmis*, was confirmed as legal by the famous jurist Abu Hanifah. Under some of the exceptional rulers like Zainul Abedin of Kashmir and Akbar the Great when non-Muslims enjoyed toleration and security, there was all round progress and prosperity for the kingdom but 'such indulgence of infidelity was by its very nature precarious and exceptional'.[52] It was a deviation from the Islamic obligation of 'chastising the infidels,' as happened during the reign of Akbar.[53] Hence the imploration of Hafiz often remained neglected.[54] According to the Islamic theory, the king occupies the throne neither by hereditary succession nor by divine right; he is the elected captain of the militant body of Islam (*Amir-ul-Munimin*), the responsible first servant of the community (*Jamait*). Often for the stabilility of his own position, he must find response in Muslim soldiery on whose sword depends the king's position and power.[55] In a country like India with an overwhelming majority of non-Muslims it meant throwing political wisdom, justice, statesmanship and the true well-being of the majority of subjects to winds.

Next came Sir Jadunath's hunt for original sources, other than those already known, for which no effort was stinted and no expense spared.[56] He combed the archives and libraries of India and Europe helped by William Irvine, C.R. Wilson, Sir Edward Gait and M. Gobriel Ferrand.[57] Among the Persian sources which he was the first to discover and make use of, the most conspicuous were the *Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Muallah* or the imperial gazettes of the Mughal government, most of them belonging to the period of Aurangzeb and generally held to be the most important sources of

information on the administrative, social and economic policies of the period.[58] From the Jaipur State Archives, he obtained the *Araizo-faramin* or the newsletters which are petitions of the nobles and military officers to the kings and princes and also often orders and decisions passed on them. These are thus letters of the actors in the political drama of the seventeenth and early part of eighteenth century of which nearly six thousand, including more than a thousand from Auranzeb himself, came into the historian's possession.[59] Another very valuable Persian source that he largely discovered and made use of were the *Ruggat*—correspondence of the emperors themselves and *Maktubat* or the correspondence of princes, governors, commanders, nobles and other home and foreign dignitaries.[60] These letters, apart from supplying first-hand information on the political and administrative sphere also reflect the social, economic, religious and moral aspects of the age. Besides such kind of letters being 'the very pulse of biography' shed light on the various personages of the period.[61] Among the first group of letters, the historian's thrilling report of the discovery of *Haft Anjuman* is but one of the many incidents of his dogged quest for missing links for the history of Aurangzib.

The Persian sources had naturally the pride of place, Persian having been the official language since the days of Akbar, but documents in the vernacular languages—the Assamese *Buranjis*, the Marathi *Bakhars*, the Rajasthani and Gurmukhi chronicles were for the first time given 'due weightage'. The European travellers Tavernier, Bernier, Careri and Manucci, who visited India during Aurangzeb's reign, and held their peculiar place of providing observations through foreign eyes—were neither overlooked nor over-emphasized, having been scrutinized against the evidences of other contemporary records.

The outcome of his life-long study and research of historical material on Aurangzib found major forms in his:

1.	*The India of Aurangzib—Topography, Statistics and Roads*	1901
2.	*History of Aurangzib*, Vols. I & II	1912
	Vol. III	1916
	Vol. IV	1919
	Vol. V	1924
3.	*Anecdotes of Aurangzib and Historical Essays*	1912

4. *A Short History of Aurangzib* 1930
5. *Studies* in *Aurangzib's Reign* 1933
6. Translated *Ma' asir-i-Alamgiri* 1947
   (Bibliotheca Indica Series)
7. A Biographical Dictionary of Aurangzib's Later Rule.[62]

Most of his works on Aurangzib have gone through three to four editions and in every new edition, he took great pains to utilize all the relevant information unearthed during the intervening period. The mind and the pen that took to Aurangzib in 1892, did not rest till at least 1952, if not beyond it.[63]

The India of Aurangzib—Topography, Statistics and Roads is a comprehensive treatise on the seventeenth and early eighteenth century India. The title of the book, however, as its author remarked, does not fully express its contents.[64] It gives an account not only of the topography, battlefields, statistics and roads, a very detailed comparison has also been instituted between the India of Akbar, and broadly speaking, the India of Aurangzib. The revenues of the several provinces of the Mughal Empire have been given separately for 10 different periods from the time of Akbar to that of Aurangzib. Based on a critical study of many contemporary Persian and other sources, some of which including Rai Chhatraman's *Chaha.-i-Gulshan* (1720 A.D.) were translated for the first time[65], *The India of Aurangzib* still remains the only work of its kind.

Next, Sir Jadunath turned to the history of Aurangzib, the first volume of which deals with a critical account of the reign of Shah Jahan and the early career of Aurangzib as prince and governor. The second volume gives a graphic and critical account of the war of succession and the factors leading to Aurangzib's success. Four years' interval before the release of the third volume, was the period of analytical and rigorous study for the historian. The moral and religious regulations of Aurangzib, *Jihad* and *Jiziyah*, temple destruction and Hindu reaction were highly controversial and inflammable topics.[66] The juristic equanimity of the stern historian whose mission was to find 'nothing but the truth about the past' however, could not be disturbed by the torando of political passions or by any kind of consideration for or against the cause of nationalism. The third volume deals with the early measures of the reign and gives a critical analysis of the principles

and policies of Aurangzib's administration and the Islamic Church state in India. The fourth volume deals with the Deccan affairs and the subjugation of the States of Bijapur and Golkonda, and the fall and tragic death of Shambhaji. The fifth volume continues the story of Aurangzib's unsuccessful Maratha policy to his death and the disorder and confusion in northern India during Aurangzib's absence of a quarter of a century. It also deals with the position of the English traders in India during the reign, the important provinces of the empire, and the condition of the people. In the final chapter the historian falls into a 'pensive mood of philosophic contemplation' in the light of the 'colossal failure' of the 'hero' of the tragedy.

In the meantime he had also translated Hamiduddin's *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri* which gives an insight into the ruler's character as perhaps no other contemporary work does.[67] The essay included 'the daily life of Aurangzib'.

To meet the requirements of general readers for a condensed account of Aurangzib, Sir Jadunath brought out *A Short History of Aurangzib* in English as well as Hindi in which administration of Aurangzib was also added. *Studies* in *Aurangzib's Reign* deals with many interesting aspects of the monarch's reign including his education and his letters. His translation of *Ma-asir-i-Alamgiri*[68] was a welcome addition for the reader and researcher on Aurangzeb, while 'A Biographical Dictionary of Aurangzib's Reign' which is still lying in typed manuscript form in 'Sir J.N. Sarkar Collection' in the National Library, Calcutta, is a very handy, ready reference work regarding Aurangzib's mid and later rule.

It is only after narrating practically the entire history of India from the later years of Shah Jahan's reign to the 'journey's end' (*Khatam-us-safar*) of the hero of the tragedy, Aurangzib, that the historian took a panoramic view of it. The 'native genius' of Akbar, the 'genial moderation' of Jahangir and the 'refined taste' of Shah Jahan made the Mughal empire famous for its peace, prosperity and 'culture' in the Islamic world; the magnificence of it all had 'dazzled even eyes which were accustomed to the pomp of Versailles'. The accession of Aurangzib, a trained administrator, an experienced general and a puritan in the simplicity and purity of his private life, seemed to promise at least undiminished prosperity, if not unprecedented glory, provided he was spared to rule long enough. Though he ruled for fifty years, the reign ended

in a 'colossal failure'. Even before Aurangzib closed his eyes, there were unmistakable signs of the impending deterioration and dissolution of the empire. The reign had meant untold hardships and misery to the vast majority of his subjects and the resultant reaction. There was bankruptcy of finance as well as prestige, the administration broke down and the Imperial Government failed to maintain security, peace and order, the last justification of the existence of the Mughal Empire.

In the medieval world and perhaps nowhere more so than in India, the king with whom the kingdom was a 'sacred trust' was held responsible for the happiness and prosperity of his people. The land where 'benevolent despotism' was a tradition, everything depended on the ability, character and policy of the king.[69] No wonder, the strange phenomenon of Aurangzib's reign attracted the historian's attention to the emperor's character and his policies.

Aurangzib had given ample evidence of personal bravery and fearlessness when he faced a 'furious elephant heroically at the age of fifteen to his eighty-seventh year when he stood in the seige trenches before Wagingra'.[70] He was besides a scholar of Persian and Arabic sacred literature, borne out by his extensive correspondence and the apt quotations that embellish many of his letters. Even if the copies of the *Quran* that he wrote with his own hand, be considered 'the mechanical industry of a zealot, his devotion, in scanty leisure, to reading of classics like *Nehayya* (Ahmad-al-Nuwayri), the *Ahiva-ul-ulum* (Imam Ghazzali) and the *Diwan-i-Saib* (Mirza Muhammad Ali Saib of Tabriz) indicate his scholastic pursuits. To his enterprising spirit and patronage, we owe the greatest digest of Muslim law in India, that rightly bears his name, the *Fatwa-i-Alamgiri* which defines Islamic justice in India.[71] Of diplomacy 'he was a past master and could also over-shadow others in any kind of intrigue or secret manipulations.[72] It was his tact, sagacity and humility that had made majority of nobles of Shah Jahan his friends despite the known fact of Dara being the favourite son.[73] He was highly moral and abstemious in his private life. The number of his wives fell short even of the Quranic permission of four.[74] He was entirely free from the vices of his age, even of the innocent pleasures of royalty. The only delicacies he relished were the acid fruit, *Corianda* (Carissacarandas) and a sort of chewing gum, *Khardali*.[75] He was a martinet where official discipline and court etiquette were concerned. 'If I suffer a single regulation

to be violated, all of them will be dis-regarded" was his frequent remark.[76] Effimacy in dress received a summary and practical rebuke when he cut off some inches of cloth from a courtier's cloak which fell below his ankles or when publically censured his eldest son for going to the mosque in a waist-coat (*Nim-astin*) instead of being properly dressed for a serious work like prayer.[77]

In handling administration of the empire, he displayed prodigious working capacity. If we may believe the court historian, Aurangzib slept only three hours out of twenty-four and for him there was 'no release from labour so long as a single breath of life remains'.[78] Besides regularly holding daily courts (sometimes twice) and dispensing justice at Wednesday trials, he often wrote orders and letters with his own hand and the very language of official replies was his own, to which some of the European travellers were admiring spectators.[79]

That he retained to the last almost all his faculties unimpaired though he died in his 90th year, is testified by his contemporaries. His memory was wonderful. 'He never forgot a face he had once seen or a word that he had heard'. With the exception of a slight deafness and a lameness of the right leg, the latter being due to his doctor's unskillful treatment of an accidental dislocation, all his physical powers retained their vigour to the end.[80]

Aurangzib also retained with full vigour the orthodoxy and bigotry of a zealous follower of Islam as an individual and as an emperor from the beginning to the end. From the time when he claimed the throne as the Champion of Islam—"My pious aim is to uproot the bramble of idolatory and infidelity from the realm of Islam",[81] to January 1705 when he inquired whether the Hindu worship, which he had put down at Somnath early in his reign, had been revived due to slackness of local officers[82] and telling one of his generals to take his own time in destroying a certain famous temple of Deccan as 'It had no legs to walk away on',[83] there was no slackening of the zeal of an orthodox Islamic ruler. Aurangzib would have made 'an excellent theologian' of orthodox Islam and in fact some of his Muslim contemporaries did call him 'the *darvesh* in the Purple"[84] and *Alamgir zinda pir* or a miracle working saint.[85] The 'critical eminence' of ruling over a 2/3 majority of non-Muslims, however, evidenced the miracle in his failure as a king, despite his many virtues, led to 'the blighting of his fame', misery of people, numerous rebellions and wars, which all became

major contributions to the downfall of the empire.[86]

Aurangzib's Coronation Ordinances only gave an indication of things yet to come.[87] In all fairness to Aurangzib, it must be admitted that some of his regulations were meant to promote general morality and not Islam, like as Manucci tells about public women and dancing girls being ordered either to marry or leave the realm. *Holi* celebration was prohibited in the street because of the obscene songs and the money exortion from all people for bonfire that accompanied it[88]." It was clearly a police regulation, as was the order putting a stop to *Muharram* processions after a deadly fight between rival processions at Burhanpur in January 1669.[89] He also tried to prohibit *Sati* though the royal prohibition was seldom observed.[90]

It was, however, not his puritanical zeal but his anti-Hindu measures prompted by his zeal as a saviour and spreader of Islam that led to a great extent to his and his empire's undoing apart from causing the majority of his subjects political, economic and social degradation and harrassment. Beginning in 1645 with his Hindu temple destruction at Chintaman in Ahemdabad by killing a cow in it and then turning the building into a mosque, there was no looking back.[91] Neither age nor experience of life softened his bigotry and it almost always went unchecked by political or statesmanlike considerations, leave aside any generosity or liberality of outlook. On April 9th, 1669, the emperor ordered the governors of all the provinces to demolish the schools and temples of the infidels and put down their teaching of religious practices.[92] The second temple of Somnath, the Vishwanath temple of Benaras, the Keshav Rai temple of Mathura, temples at Amber, the Sitaramji temple at Soron, the temples at Khandela and Sanula, the grand temple of Udaipur, the temple of Someshwar in Western Mewar, the temples at Haidrabad, Ellora, Trimbakeshwar, Pandharpur, Jejure and many others were destroyed with all the zeal of a fanatic for whom putting an end to idol worship was a religious mission.[93] Such was the magnitude of the above task that it had to be one of the chief duties of the Censor of Morals (*Muhatsib*). So large was the number of officers employed in the task of destruction of Hindu places of worship that a *darogha* or Director General had to be placed over them to guide their activity.[94]

Another major blow to non-Muslims was with the reimposi-

tion of *Jiziyah* on 2nd April, 1679[95], in order, as the official historian records, "to spread the law of Islam and overthrow of infidel practices.[96] The rates of taxation were fixed at 12, 24 and 48 *dirhams* or Rs. 3½, Rs. 6⅔ and Rs. 13½ for the poor, middle and rich respectively. In violation of just canons of taxation, the *Jiziyah* hit the poorest portion of the population the hardest and "annually took away from the poor man the full value of one year's food as the price of religious indulgence".[97] Besides, all government officials were exempted from it, though they were the wealthiest members of their respective classes in society. Mannuci too noticed, "Many Hindus who were unable to pay, turned Muhammaden, to obtain relief from the insults of the collectors. Aurangzib rejoices that by such exactions these Hindus would be forced into embracing the Faith.[98] In levying the *Jiziyah*, Aurangzib was deaf to the pleadings of people and political expediency alike.[99]

Again 'in defiance of the laws of economics' Aurangzib put his tariff on the basis of religious discrimination when by an ordinance issued on 10th April, 1660, the custom duty on all commodities brought in for sale was fixed at 2½ per cent of the value in case of the Muslims and 5 per cent in that of the Hindus and by a subsequent order, the emperor abolished it altogether on the Muslims. Apart from the 'Political immorality of favouring one creed above all others' it also meant direct sacrifice of public revenue, which became greater still as the Hindus often passed off their goods as the property of Muslims in arrangement that suited the latter too, financially.

Yet another form of Aurangzib's bigotry and of putting socio-economic pressure on unbelievers was the granting of rewards to converts, offering posts in public service, money allowances, robes of honour, liberation from prison and succession to disputed property.[100] Under Aurangzib's '*quanungoship*' 'on condition of turning Muslim' became a proverbial expression.

To further confirm the badge of inferiority on non-Muslims, all Hindus (March 1695) with the exception of Rajputs, were forbidden to ride *Palkus*, elephants, thorough bred horses or to carry arms.[101] Hindu fairs which were a combination of 'amusement, business and piety' and a source of huge market toll for the government were also put down.[102]

Thus, Aurangzib as a champion of Islam made the religion of all his subjects very much his business and the reference to his

having said "What concern have I with anybody's faith? Let Jesus follow his own religion and Moses his own,[103] has often been given out of context.[104] If anything, it brings out that Aurangzib's bigotry was no less against *Shias* which found fuller expression in his annexation of the Kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda. Had Aurangzib made the above statement independent of any context and meant it, the history of his reign would have been very different. Aurangzib's open attacks on the non-Muslims by all the forces of his government naturally produced great discontent among the persecuted majority. Some frantic attempts on Aurangzibe's life failed,[105] but the rebellion of Jats of Mathura, the Satnami rebellion, the militant opposition by Sikhs, the alienation of Rajputs and Aurangzibe's Deccan policy that became the 'ruining ulcer', were all in varying degrees the outcome of it.[106]

Aurangzib perhaps became the ideal character for the Muslim section of his subjects, certainly to the orthodox ones, but as the historian concludes, "He may have made a good *faqir*, though he lacked the faqir's noblest quality, charity, but he was the worst ruler imaginable of an empire composed of many creeds and races.'[107] The literal interpretation of the *Quranic* law sets up the inherent antagonism between the Muslim ruler and the non-Muslim ruled which has in the end broken up every Islamic state with a composite population. Aurangzib's rule was an illustration of the fact.

Some other traits of his character only added to his and his empire's ruin. He utterly lacked "sympathy, imagination, breadth of vision, elasticity in the choice of means and that warmth of the heart which atones for a hundred faults of the head."[108] Rebellion against a reigning father was the curse of the Mughal dynasty, but Aurangzib's personal ambition rode over decency and established convention even of the Mughal dynasty. He threw a religious cloak over a war of plain ambition and imprisoned his father till the latter's death. It had not deceived Shah Jahan who, in captivity, commented with bitter sarcasm, when water supply to the emperor was cut off at Aurangzib's orders. 'Thou, my son art a marvellous Mussalman.'[109] Even if one makes allowance for some 'unintentional mishaps,' regarding Shivaji's reception at Aurangzib's court, many were the reflections of Aurangzib's cold heart and narrow outlook. Instead of following a statesmanlike policy, he turned Shivaji into a more determined foe and regretted till his very end,

not his policy but the negligence regarding 'escape of Shiva that became the cause of disgrace for long years'.[110] His 'cold intellectuality, and his suspicious nature 'chilled the love' even of his sons, daughters, generals and ministers, all turned into lifeless puppets. To the common man, he seemed 'above the joys and sorrows of mortals', who lived in the world but did not seem to be of it.[111]

Politically, thus with all his virtues, Aurangzib was a tremendous failure. Even after making due allowance for the characteristic 'puritan concept of guilt and confession' or 'symptoms of the inherent disposition of him whose conscience was so sensitive at the age of ninety', Aurangzib at the end of his life appears to have been quite aware that his 'life long endeavour to govern India justly and strongly had ended in anarchy and disruption throughout the empire'.[112] In his last letter to his son, Prince Azam, Aurangzib expressed the remorse of a wasted effort and life. 'I have not at all done any (true) government of the realm or cherishing of the peasantry. Life, so valuable, has gone away for nothing'.[113] The historian sounds liberal to his hero when he says, 'In vain did the last of the great Mughals struggle against invisible and inexorable fate', but as is obvious, for Sir Jadunath, fate was very closely identified with character.[114]

For the historian, however, 'the cause of the failure of his regin lay deeper than his character.' Aurangzib alone did not cause the fall of the empire, though he did nothing to avert it, rather unwittingly hastened the destructive forces as he was 'a reactionary by instinct and no reforming statesman'.[115]

Among the destructive forces were the true character and aim of the Mughal government, that had its contributions but could neither weld the people into a nation nor create an enduring state.[116] The 'evil' was aggravated by the fact that the politically depressed class or official minority was a numerical majority—outnumbering the dominant sect three to one. If "the barrenness of the Hindu intellect and meanness of spirit of the Hindu upper classes are the greatest condemnation of Muhammadan rule in India,[117] the Muslims did not progress much either, because of the peculiar position of the faithful who was 'an intellectual exotic'—in India but not of it. He dared not peril his soul by striking his roots deep into the land he had made his permanent home. The language (till well into eighteenth century) of the religion had to be Arabic and he must import traditions, language, cultural products from Persia

and Arabia. Only a rationalist, like Akbar could argue how the regulations for the guidance of society and human conduct, framed in a far off age for nomadic people, could be binding on people of sixteenth and seventeenth centuries living in a social, political and economic environment that had nothing in common with Arabia.

The Indians of Mughal age, both Hindus and Muslims, were stationary at best. A social solidarity like that of Muslims was unthinkable among Hindus—people divided into countless castes—they developed in general 'a low cunning and flattery as the only means of survival.'[118] The moral decay of Muslims who had become a privileged class, prone to indolence and love of ease, leading to vice, was most noticeable among the nobility.[119]

In a predominantly agricultural country where the tillers of land provide the major source of national wealth, ruin of peasants means ruin of non-agricultural classes too. *Pauvres Paysans Pauvre royaume* is even truer of India than of France. The disorder and public insecurity during Aurangzib's reign had a profound effect on both the classes.[120] There was not only immediate financial drain caused by Aurangzeb's quarter of a century's constant warfare, it had long lasting effects on agriculture, trade, industry as well as administration ending in bankruptcy of the Mughal government.[121]

The decay of medieval Indian civilization under Aurangzib was noticeable not only in fine arts,[122] decay of which was only one of the manifestations of it, but more so in the lower intellectual type of new generation. The growing pessimistic outlook of older generation reflected in the letters and anecdotes of the time as well as in the work of thoughtful historians bears witness to the moral and general decay. Aurangzib himself shook his head over the gloomy prospect of future and predicted a 'deluge' after his death.[123] Sadullah's assurance 'No age is without men of ability, what is needed is a wise master to find them out, get his work done by them and never lend his ears to the whispers of selfish men against such officers,'[124] may have been true in its content, but such a wise policy was not followed in Aurangzib's later years and wholly discarded by his successors. Public service no longer was a sacred trust but 'a means of gratifying the apostate, the sycophant, the well groomed dandy, the great man's kin'.[125]

In the final chapter, the historian falls into a pensive mood of contemplation over the tragedy of Aurangzib's reign, and emerges

out with the 'vision and emphasis of a seer'.[126] 'History when rightly read is a justification of providence, the revelation of a great purpose fulfilled in time' : and 'the failure of an ideal Muslim king like Aurangzib with all the advantages he possessed at his accession and his high moral training and character, is the clearest proof . . . of the eternal truth that there cannot be a great or lasting empire without a great people and no people can be great unless they learn to form a compact nation with equal rights and opportunities for all . . . If India is ever to be the home of a nation . . . then both Hinduism and Islam must die and be born again. Each of these creeds must pass through a rigorous vigil and penance, each must be rejuvenated under the sway of reason and science'.[127] Sir Jadunath ended on a hopeful note that 'a rebirth' of Islam is not something inconceivable as has been proved in our own times by Mustafa Kamal Pasha in the greatest Muslim State of the world, where the constitution was secularised, polygamy was abolished, servile seclusion of women has ended and political equality has been granted to all creeds and Turkey has yet not ceased to be a land of Islam. In fact, the major challenge of the modern world is secularization.[128] It is not possible to be an 'Islamic secularist' by orthodox standards and yet some Muslims believe that secularization is an inherent part of modernization. The Islamic revivalists no doubt challenge the assumption and insist on the continuing validity of Islam in the context of modern history. The issues, as seen in the monarchies of Arabia to modernist adaptations of Turkey, Egypt and the recent revivalist Islamic turmoils in Libya and Iran, have perhaps still not resolved the dilemma.[129]

One of the modern works published after Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *magnum opus* on Aurangzib was Zahiruddin Faruki's *Aurangzeb and His Timses* (Delhi, 1935). An apologist for Aurangzeb mainly regarding the interpretation of his religious bigotry,[130] he has gone to the extent of defending the 'Immortal great man' that for a layman not aware of the historical evidence the conclusion could be that it was not 'Aurangzeb who persecuted the Hindus, rather the Hindus persecuted him'.[131] For Faruki Akbar was 'an apostate from Islam' and 'all rationalism had presumably taken leave of him'.[132] *Jiziyah* was reimposed by an unwilling Aurangzeb at the theologians' demand, though he did have financial consideration in mind.[133] Aurangzeb's financial difficulties were mostly the

result and not the cause of his religious policy. The purpose of the imposition of *Jiziyah* was 'to spread the law of Islam and overthrow the infidel practices'[134] since the wars and disorder that were to lead the empire to bankruptcy were yet to start, still had there been genuine financial difficulties the total abolition of all excise duties from Muslims would be a mystery.

Aurangzeb's destruction of temples has been dismissed as his reaction to provocation by the Hindus.[135] The author has made much of the *Banaras Farman*[136] overlooking Sir Jadunath Sarkar's published reply[137] that the *Farman* had been issued during Aurangzeb's struggle with Shuja, just by way of a political strategy to win the co-operation and goodwill of Hindus for capturing Shuja and had nothing to do with his spirit of toleration which could not have been so fleeting during his long reign of fifty years.

For Faruki, Jadunath Sarkar's interpretation of Aurangzeb and Islam, "betrays an attitude of mind which is extremely uncharitable".[138] Sir Jadunath could never be charitable when it meant compromising with facts whether it pleased a particular community or not, whether it served a motive or not. He could be as critical of the Sikhs[139] and Marathas as of the evils of Hinduism.[140] No wonder Smith applied the epithet 'Honest History'[141] to his *Aurangzib* and as pointed out by C.C. Davis, who reviewed Jadunath Sarkar's *Downfall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, "Readers of his (Sarkar's) account of atrocities committed by Maratha raiders in northern India would agree that the belief held in certain quarters that Sir Jadunath is biased against Muslim rulers is baseless".[142]

Whereas one would be very reluctant to agree to Faruki's imagined theory of 'Critics of Islam' that "A Musalman is like a maniac kept under control, constantly struggling to free himself in order to rush out with the sword in one hand and the *Quran* in the other to demand the recitation of the Islamic formula from every infidel in the street. . . ever-ready to pull down the temple or the church in a paroxysm of rage. . . his life purpose accomplished, he pauses for effect and. . . marches straight to heaven",[143] there is no denying that Aurangzeb's religious bigotry was his and his empire's major undoing and that Islam being 'not merely a creed but a total way of life' still faces the dilemma—to be secularist—a demand of modernization or to be Islamic—a demand of the revivalists of orthodox Islam—who believe in its continued

validity.[144]

A notable work, covering an important aspect of Aurangzeb's reign, *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb* by M. Athar Ali appeared in 1966. The author notes that during Aurangzeb's time when 'west was forging ahead in every field of life', 'Indian society was not only static but fast degenerating', hence the detailed study of the major elements of the structure of the Mughal empire. He describes the institutions and traditions that defined nobility's "organization, policies and the stresses and strains to which it was subjected on or to which it itself gave rise".[145] The history of the nobility of the reign has been studied under two clearly marked divisions—the first from the time of his accession up to 1678 and the second from 1679 up to death in 1707. He concludes "that even from the view point of the Mughal nobility itself, its chief fault was its failure to change and adapt itself to a new developing situation not only in India but in the whole world. Nothing can remain static and yet survive. Aurangzeb's attempt to give a new religious basis to the empire may indicate that he felt that a change was called for but the complete failure of this policy showed that religious revivalism could be no substitute for a thorough going overhaul of the Mughal administrative system and political outlook".[146]

In the introduction to his work M. Athar Ali has referred to "many additional records that have become accessible since Sir Jadunath's time", but not specified any. Also the addition to the title of the historian's work on Aurangzib—'mainly based on Persian sources' appears to have been taken too literally.[147] While it is true that Sir Jadunath was the pioneer in collecting and sifting the Persian sources which naturally occupied a very significant place, Persian having been the official language of the day, he was also the first one to give due importance to documents in the vernaculars—the Ahom *Burnajis*, the Marathi *Bhakhars*, the Rajasthani and Gurmukhi chronicles. He was one of the very few historians on Medieval India to have learnt both Portuguese and French, so as to make better use of the various European accounts of the period. As late as April 1952, he kept adding such accounts to his editions.[148] Nevertheless, a major contribution of M. Athar Ali is his use of 'microscope' whereas Sir Jadunath had to apply the 'telescope' on the subject of nobility during the times of Aurangzeb.

In a biographical account of the *wazirs* who served Aurangzeb, *The Prime Minister of Aurangzeb* (Allahabad, 1976), the author

Laiq Ahmad observes, "The Mughal Emperor had hardly any desire to interfere with the religious susceptibilities of non-Muslims unless he smelt some political danger emanating from them"[149] and again, "Jadunath Sarkar in his work on Aurangzib has stressed the religious intolerance and his (Aurangzib's) hatred of the Shias. But a close study of the history of his reign unfolds a different story".[150]

There is no doubt that sometimes the narrow principle of narrow self-interest operated for Aurangzeb too like when he made Rajputs exception to his prohibition for Hindus to 'ride *Palkis*, elephants, thorough bred horses or to carry arms'[151] or when he utilized the services of *Shias*, "his hatred of Hindus was equalled by his aversion for the Shias".[152] Despite the fact that Shias supplied him with some of his best generals and wazirs like Muazzam Khan, Fazil Khan, Jafar Khan and Asad Khan, to him a Shia was a heretic (*Refizi*) though he could not help Nurjahan and his own mother being *Shias*. He liked the naming of daggers as the Shia-slayers (*Rafizi-Kush*).[153] Even the highest Shia officers like Ruhullah Khan played the hypocrite to please him and to gain their ends. Even over his aggressive conquest of Bijapur and Golkonda, Aurangzib drew the cloak of Sunni orthodoxy and was displeased at the Chief Qazi Shaikh-ul-Islam who tried to dissuade the emperor from these 'wars between the Muslims'. The Qazi resigned his post and left the court for good.[154]

In Anees Jahan Syed's *Aurangzeb in Muntakhab-Al-Lubab* (Bombay, 1977) methodology has come a long way since the days of *Aurangzeb Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* (Calcutta, 1877) edited by John Dowson; distinct in the bibliography, index, footnotes as well as running comparison of Khafi Khan with Sadiq Khan and Mamuri[155]. Khafi Khan's *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab* is no doubt a very valuable source, having been a 'non-commissioned, non-official work for more than a century, (1630-1732) done probably by six officers who with the exception of Khafi Khan wished to remain anonymous.

Anees Jahan Syed has highlightened the economic aspect of Khafi Khan's account; the contemporary grim conditions of the peasantry and artisans, the 'misery of soldiers', 'the poverty of small Mansabdars, the virtual collapse of Mansabdari, specially during the later part of Aurangzeb's reign[156] and reference to Khafi Khan who is equally critical of the dismissal of Hindu Peshkars,[157]

the discriminating customs duties,[158] the regressive poll tax or *Jiziyah* 'an act of economic insanity—Aurangzeb considered it a part of religion'.[159] Her conclusion on Aurangzeb that follows is his not being 'even a second rate genius of any sorts'[160], "A man of craft and guile, suspicious of every one",[161] who thought it would be easier to obtain his ends by underhand means ond that 'as an administrator and statesman Aurangzeb cannot be ranked among the outstanding fig ıres like Sher Shah and Akbar'.[162]

While examining Aurangzeb's religious policy Anees Jahan Syed observes, 'the text of the *Jiziyah* ordinance makes it clear that Aurangzeb was imposing a new tax based on the *Sharia* for the first time and not reimposing a tax abolished by Akbar,[163] that a letter which Jadunath Sarkar attributed to Shivaji, the statement is made that '*Jiziyah* is unknown to the law of India' and concludes that 'since the term *Jiziyah* occurs in the literature of the Sultanate period, the historian (Sarkar) overlooked the ambiguity of the term[164] and that 'there is obviously some error in the tradition Afif has recorded' (about Firoz Tughluk's imposition of *Jiziyah* that did not even exclude the Brahmins).

Whereas there are numerous conclusive evidences to prove that *Jiziyah* was imposed on the Hindus under an Islamic king right from the days of Muhammad bin Quasim,[165] the letter referred to[166] does not say '*Jiziyah* is unknown to the law of India', only calls it 'inexpedient' and refers to the three emperors (Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan) "who considered all men, high and low created by God'." They too had the power of levying *Jiziyah* but they did not give place to bigotry. . . these (three) pure souls will dwell for ever in the hearts and tongues of mankind".[167] In view of Afif's special mention of the specific machinery of officers for collection of *Jiziyah*,[168] the view that "Firoz Shah had not the machinery required to collect a poll tax from all the Hindus of his dominion'[169] is unwarranted. It is possible however that under some of the Muslim kings, *Jiziyah* may have been realized along with the land tax *Kharaj* for practical purposes which had led not Jadunath Sarkar to 'overlook the ambiguity' rather made some of the historians and interpreters to see ambiguity of the term, when actually none existed, regarding imposition of *Jiziyah*.

Thus, while there has been welcome addition and some 'microscopic' studies relating to the reign of Aurangzeb, after the historian's *magnum opus*, many of which Sir Jadunath much inspired and

appreciated,[170] his contribution on Aurangzib still stands unsurpassed for its quantity as well as quality, as much for the scientific historiography as for the comprehensive treatment of the ruler and the reign.

The attempt on the part of some 'national' or 'civic' historians to present Aurangzeb in a 'new garb' is both highly ridiculous and a breach of honest history—in the light of the numerous first-hand contemporary accounts and sources, including Aurangzeb's own orders and letters, many of which were first brought to light by Sir Jadunath. In fact, "Sir Jadunath's main conclusions on Aurangzib's personality and character, his policy and achievements, are not likely to be modified by any fresh discovery of new material, unless it is of a revolutionary character.[171]

Sir Jadunath's 'wonderful accuracy' and his basic concept of unity of theme in history has made him immune to the common lot of historical writers. Presently, there is a lot of emphasis on economic interpretation of history. One has only to study his *Economics of British India, Mughal Administration* and *India of Aurangzib* to realize the importance he gave to this particular aspect, though Marxist approach had yet to catch on. For him, however, if fate was identical with human effort and character, various policies owed their inception to the rulers who devised them, could improve upon them or let them deteriorate whereas the well being of the subjects was concerned. If tomorrow Herodotus' view that 'history be studied geographically', be the trend, Sir Jadunath's *India of Aurangzib : Topography, Statistics and Roads* (1901) would still be the only work on the subject of his chosen field.

Notes and References

1. J.S. Grewal, *Muslim Rule in India: The Assessments of British Historians*, pp. 169-170.
2. Zahiruddin Malik, "Persian Historiography in India During the 18th Century", *Historians of Medieval India*, ed. Mohibbul Hasan, Meenakshi Prakashan, Meerut, 1968, pp. 142-143.
3. Alexander Dow, *History of Hindostan*, 3 Vols, Becket, London, 1768-72. Dow had to conclude at the 10th year of Aurangzeb's reign as in the 11th year of his reign the emperor had forbidden any official history to be recorded.
4. Anees Jahan Syed, *Aurangzeb in Muntakhab in Muntakhab-Lubab*, Somaiya Publications Pvt. Ltd., Bombay, 1977. Preface, vii; Jadunath

Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, Vols. I & II, Intro., xiv.

5. *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians. Auranzeb Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* of Muhammad Hashim, Khafi Khan, ed. John Dowson, 1877, 3rd edition, published by Sushil Gupta, Calcutta, 1961, Editor's Preface, xiv.
6. Lane-Poole has also spelt the emperor's name as 'Aurangzib'. He was known for his proficiency in Oriental Studies. *The Catalogue of Oriental and Indian Coins in the British Museum* was published in 14 volumes by him between 1875 and 1892. In 1903 was published his *Medieval India under Muhammedan Rule*. He had also conducted archaeological surveys in Egypt, before being appointed Professor of Arabic at Trinity College, Dublin. For more details see J.S. Grewal's *Muslim Rule in India; The Assessments of British Historians*, pp. 180-182.
7. Stanley Lane-Poole, *Medieval India under Mohammedan Rule*, 2nd edition reprint, A Universal Publication, Delhi, 1971, Preface, pp. 6-7.
8. Stanley Lane-Poole, *Aurangzib and the Decay of the Mughal Empire*, 3rd Indian reprint, S. Chand & Co., New Delhi, 1971, 'Note on Authorities', p. 5.
9. Stanley Lane-Poole, *Medieval India Under Mohammedan Rule*, Preface, 5.
10. Stanley Lane-Poole, *Aurangzib and Decay of the Mughal Empire*, p. 18.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
14. Ovington, *Voyage to Surat in the year 1689* (London, 1696), p. 195, quoted by S. Lane-Poole on p. 66 of *Aurangzib and Decay of the Mughal Empire*.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 209, quoted by S. Lane-Poole, p. 83.
16. Stanley Lane-Poole, *Aurangzib and Decay of the Mughal* Empire, p. 206.
17. J.S. Grewal, "The Medieval Indian State and Some British Historians", *The Medieval Indian State*, Punjab University, Chandigarh, 1967, pp. 6-8.
18. Stanley Lane-Poole, *Medieval India Under Muhammedan Rule*, p. 58.
19. See S. Lane-Poole's 'Note on Authorities', *Aurangzib and Decay of the Mughal Empire*, p. 5.
20. Peter Hardy, *Historians of Medieval India*, Preface, iii.
21. His thesis, *India of Aurangzib : Its Topography, Statistics and Roads*, which was published in 1901 and was a part of enormous hard work since 1892 and won him the prestigious Premchand Roy award. H.R. Gupta (ed.), *Life and Letters of Sir Jadunath Sarkar*, pp. 28, 58.
22. *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. V by Jadunath Sarkar, 2nd, ed., 1952, Orient Longman's reprint, Calcutta, 1974, Preface, v.
23. A.L. Srivastava, *Studies in Indian History*, Shivlal Agarwala & Co., Agra, 1974, p. 358; S.R. Tikekar, *On Historiography*, p. 3.
24. J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vols. I & II, 1912, Orient Longman reprint, Calcutta, Introduction, xiii.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*, xi, J.N. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, Vol. IV, 1st ed., Orient Longman's reprint, Calcutta, 1972, 10-82, 140-258, 327-347, 351; J.N. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, Vol. III, 1st ed., Orient Longman's reprint, Calcutta, 1972,

199-211; *Ibid.*, 214-246, & Vol. V., 205-223; Madras and Bombay became Presidencies of the East India Company in 1653 and 1687 respectively, Calcutta was founded in 1690. See Vol. V, 238-273.

27. *Aurangzib*, Vol. V., 337, 346, Vol. IV, 336, 339, Vol. V, 2-3, 162-163, 337-341.
28. Bhimsen Burhanpuri's *Nuskha-i-Dilkasha* Ms. translated by J N. Sarkar, unpaged, 'Sir J.N. Sarkar collection, National Library, Calcutta, tells "When the king's heart was true to the peasants, disorder could not rise out of its sound sleep . . . there is oppression . . . nobody gets justice . . . the *ryots* gave up cultivation . . . "When the forest becomes empty of male tigers, jackals enter it bravely from all sides". After consulting the above Ms. at Calcutta I came to know that this has been published as *Tarikh-i-Dilkasha* by Department of Archives, Maharashtra and released at a special function organised to celebrate the Birth Centenery of Sir Jadunath Sarkar (1970).
29. Khafi Khan, ii 550, quoted by J.N. Sarkar in Vol. V, 350.
30. J.N. Sarkar, *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*, M.C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta, 1947, p. 87. Aurangzib chastises Jahan Bahadur, the oppressive Governor of Lahore, "The worst of all is that you have set on foot certain illegal practices (*bidat*) which will last for ever (Verse)
"Even after his death the tyrant does not cease to oppress
The Plumes of the (dead) eagle become the feathers or arrows".
"The presages of my horoscope . . . from the day of my birth till after my death, have all been verified by actual experience. In that horoscope it is written that after me will come an emperor, ignorant, narrow minded whose words will be all imperfect and whose plans will be all immature . . . but advice is out of place here as saltishness is not at all present in your nature". Aurangzeb to Prince Muhammad Muazzam Bahadur Shah, *Anecdotes*, pp. 53-54.
31. J.N. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, Vol. I and II, xii.
32. K.R. Qanungo, "Jadunath Sarkar As a Historian", *Life and Letters of Sir Jadunath Sarkar*, p. 58.
33. S M. Hasan, "Jadunath Sarkar's Collection of Persian Manuscripts", *Bengal Past and Present*, Jan.-June, 1971, Vol. XC, Part I, Serial No. 169, 119; *Tarikh-i-Shah Shujai* and *Nuskha-i-Dilkasha* among others are entirely in his hand.
34. G.S. Sardesai, "Jadunath Sarkar As I Know Him", *Life and Letters*, p. 23.
35. S.R. Tikekar, *On Historiography*, p. 21.
36. John O'Voll, "The Islamic Past and Present Resurgence", *Current History*, Special No. "The World of Islam," (Philadelphia, April 1980), Vol. 78, No. 456, 145.
37. *Ibid.*, 178; "The basic foundation of Islam, the record of God's revelation to Muhammad".
38. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Muir's *Caliphate*, Hamilton's *Hedaya* quoted by J.N. Sarkar in *Aurangzib*, Vol. III, pp. 163-165, 169, 176.
39. Code of Law taken from Quran, See "Selected Islamic Terms and

Names", *Current History*, "The World of Islam, 178; Fazlur Rahman's (Chicago, 1979), p. 68, expresses similar views.

40. Majid, Khaddur, *The Islamic Law of Nations*, John Hopkins Press, 1966, p. 6.
41. Similar belief is held by modern orthodox Muslims still. Maulana Maudoodi, *Nationalism in India*, pp. 5-11, quoted in *Current History*, p. 159, says "Muslim Nationalist" and "Muslim Communist" are as contradictory terms as "Communist Fascist" and "Chaste Prostitute".
42. K.S. Lal, "Nature of the State in Medieval India" in *The Medieval Indian State*, Punjab University, Chandigarh, 1966, pp. 32-47, examines the opinions of J.N. Sarkar, R.P. Tripathi, K.M. Ashraf, T.P. Hughes, I.H. Qureshi, and Muhammad Habib and says since religious law was supreme in both Hinduism and Islam both are theocratic in nature, however the Hindu law was not based on divine revelation, and though it was unfair to many sections of the Hindu society itself, yet in it no injunctions against non-Hindus were laid and in this respect its policy may not be considered theocratic in the sense Islamic state was.
43. In the consciously secular milieu of the 20th century it has been sometimes difficult to recognise Islam as a political ideology: the West having separated religion and politics for centuries—see Shaleen F. Dil's "The Myth of Islamic Resurgence in South Asia", *Current History*, p. 165.
44. T.P. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 579, quoted by J.N. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, Vol. III, p. 163.
45. *Kufr* literal meaning (covering up the truth regarding God) and secondary 'ingratitude', *Kafir*, a man having quilty of *Kufr*.
46. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, pp. 243, 248.
47. 1. The *Quran* the holy book of Islam, embodying the word of God. 2. The *Sunna* of the Prophets, the example or the practice of the Prophet Muhammad. 3. The *Ijma* or consensus of Islamic jurists. 4. The *Qiyas* or analogical reasoning. See Fazlur Rahman, *Islam*, p. 68.
48. Zia Barani, p. 298, quoted by J.N. Sarkar *Aurangzib*, Vol. III, p. 166.
49. Like the *Quran*, *Bible* is also compilation of 'revelations' from God to Christ and other saints in parts, Jews and Christians are thus regarded sharers in Revelation.
50. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*', *i*, 1052, quoted by J.N. Sarkar in *Aurangzib*, Vol. III, p. 180.
51. A.L. Srivastava, *Studies in Indian History*. pp. 61-63.
52. J.N. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, Vol. III, p. 173.
53. Such has been the force of Islamic religious law and its hold on the minds of Muslims. Akbar's just and statesmanlike reforms were repudiated by the orthodox section of the Muslim community. Even during the last days of Akbar's reign there was a movement of reaction in favour of Muslim Orthodoxy and abasement of Hinduism, under the leadership of Shaikh Ahmad Sarhandi who sought to restore Islamic State in the reign and practice. See A.L. Srivastava, *Akbar*, Vol. II, 2nd revised edition, Shivlal Agarwal & Co., Agra, 1973, pp. 12-13, 315-316.
54. Hafiz if you want to achieve your object, Be on terms of peace with all high and low, Accost the Muslim with Allah Allah and greet the Hindu

With Ram Ram."
See Azra Nizami's 'Socio-Religious Outlook of Abul-Fazal' *Medieval India—A Miscellany*, edited by K.A. Nizami, Vol. II, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1972, p. 141.

55. J.N. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, Vol. III, pp. 171-174.
56. J.N. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, Vols. I & II, xiiv, xv, xvi.
57. *Ibid.*, xv-xvi.
58. S.M. Hasan, "Sir Jadunath Sarkar's Collection of Persian Manuscripts", *Bengal Past and Present*, Jan.-June, 1971, Vol. XC, Part I. Sr. No. 169, 118-121.
59. J.N. Sarkar, *A Short History of Aurangzib*, 3rd ed., Orient Longman, Calcutta, 1979, p. 2.
60. J.N. Sarkar in *Studies in Aurangzib's Reign*, M.C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta, 1933, pp. 288-302 refers to them under 5 arranged collections:
    1. *Adab-i-Alamgiri* by Qabil Khan.
    2-3. *Kalimat-i-Tayyibat* and *Akham-i-Alamgiri* by Inayetullah Khan.
    4. *Ragaim-i-Karaim* by Sayyid Ashraf Khan, Mir Muhammad Al Husaini.
    5. *Akham-i-Alamgiri* imputed to Hamid-ud-din Khan Bahadur, Nimcha-i-Alamgir Shahi—
    These illuminate only the beginning and the very end of the monarch's reign (leaving the intervening period of almost 42 years, 1660-1702) dark, so far as this source of information is concerned.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 288.
62. Typed Mss, Sitamau, 1941, presented in typed form by Raghubir Sinh, lies in 'Sir J.N. Sarkar Collection', National Library, Calcutta.
63. See for example, Preface to 3rd edition of Aurangzib, Vol. III, where he not only mentions 6 new sources used but also analyses them, Preface to Vol. IV, November 1929, Preface to *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*, 3rd ed., 1949 and Preface to Vol. V (April 1952) in Orient Longman reprint, Calcutta, 1972, etc.
64. J.N. Sarkar, *The India of Aurangzib*, Bose Brothers, Calcutta, 1901, Preface i.
65. *Khulasa-ut-Tawarikh* (1695 A.D.), *Dastur-al-Amal* (1700 A.D.) were in manuscript forms which he supplemented by Abul Fazal's *Ain-i-Akbari* and the Jesuit missionary Tieffenthaler's *Geographic de l' Indoustan* (Berhoulli's French version). The figures given in Thomas '*Reverue Resources of the Mughal Empire* were supplemented and partly checked. The main roads of Mughal India were traced on the basis of Tavernier's *Travels*, *Chahar-i-Gulshan* and an old Indian *Gazetteer* of 1842.
66. See K.R. Qanungo, "Jadunath Sarkar As a Historian", *Life and Letters of Sir Jadunath Sarkar*, p. 59. "The antinational Muslim Communalism fanned by the sinister influence of British Imperialism was dreaming of a Muslim India by garbling history".
67. A very interesting but incomplete work ascribed to Hamid-ud-din Khan, who was originally a servant of Aurangzeb's mother-in-law Nauras Banu, and who rose to be *Faujdar* of the Jalandar Doab, *Quiladar* of Raisin Fort (1677) and deputy governor of Malwa under Prince Muhammad

Akbar. See *Studies in Aurangzib's Reign*, p. 209.

68. Ascribed to Muhammad Saqi Mustain Khan, one of the official historiographers of Aurangzeb. After Aurangzeb's death Inayetullah Khan induced him to write a full history of the emperor's reign, the official annals of which (entitled *Alamgir Namah*) had been stopped at the end of the 10th year. To this fact we owe *Ma-asir-i-Alamgiri* 'the most complete and accurate guide to the events of this reign'. See *Studies in Aurangzib's Reign*, p. 203.
69. J.N. Sarkar, *A Short History of Aurangzib*, pp. 386-387.
70. J.N. Sarkar, Aurangzib, Vols. I & II, p. 6; *A Short History of Aurangzib*, p. 386.
71. Printed in Calcutta in six volumes. For its composition, Alamgir-Nama 8086-87, *Ma-asir-i-Alamgiri*, 530.
72. J.N. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, Vols. I & II, pp. 122-135. His secret correspondence for winning Mir Jumla over and his dealings with the King of Golkonda, also, pp. 269-273. Murad's arrest, for which J.N. Sarkar refers to Kambu 19a, Ishwardas 31b-32b, Khafi Khan ii 38. In this respect, he seems to have met his match in Shivaji.
73. J.N. Sarkar, *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*, p. 34. "If Aurangzib addressed Ali Mardan Khan as 'Man of good deeds', Sadaulla Khan was 'the Head of Humble Pupils' and Sayyid Miran of Barha 'the essence of the descendants of His Holiness', Sayyid of the Universe (i.e. Muhammad). These three and other nobles like Afzal Khan Mulla, Ata-ul-Mulk, because of their liking for Aurangzib did every service required by friendship in guarding his interest in his absence. The failure of Shah Jahan's advice to Dara against bad acts and words made him utter:

    "If the blanket of man's fate has been woven black even the waters of Zimzim and Kausar cannot wash it white."
74. J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. V, p. 364. "Dilras Banu died in 1657, Nawab Bai was relegated to a retired life at Delhi after 1660; Aurangabadi seems to have stayed with him till her death in 1686, that left Udaipuri (married around 1660) the only companion, after Aurangabadi for the last half of his reign.
75. *Ibid.*
76. J.N. Sarkar, *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*, pp. 117-118.
77. Vol. III, p. 59. *Ibid.*, 61.
78. *Alamgir Namah*, 1096-1106, quoted in J.N. Sarkar's 'Aurangzib's Daily Life', *Studies in Mughal India*, M.C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta, 1919, p. 71.
79. The Italian Physician Gemelli Careri thus describes the Emperor giving public audience (21st March, 1695). "I admired to see him endorse the petitions, with his own hand, without spectacles and by his cheerful smiling countenance seemed to be pleased with the employment", Churchill's Voyages, iv, 222, quoted in *Aurangzib*, Vol. V, pp. 364-365.
80. J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. V, p. 365.
81. *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 78-10-79a; *Tazkirah-i-Salatin-i-Chaghtaia*, quoted by J.N. Sarkar in *History of Aurangzib*, Vols. I & II, 192.
82. Letter of Aurangzib in the last decade of his reign. Inayetullah's *Ahkam*,

10a; *Mirat*, 372, quoted by J.N. Sarkar in *Aurangzib*, Vol. III, 186.

83. *Kalimat-i-Tyyibat*, 39a, Aurangzib to Zulfiqar Khan and Mughal Khan, quoted in Appendix V, 'Temple Destruction by Aurangzib', Vol. III, 188.

84. *Ma-asir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 334.

85. J.N. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, Vol. V, p. 366, quotes *Storia*, ii, 19, iii 259, and *Nuskha-i-Dilkasha* ii 159a.

86. J.N. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, Vol. III, 'Hindu Reaction', 193-256, 214, 233, *Aurangzib*, Vol. IV, 1-9, 259-282, 303-326.

87. J.N. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, Vol. III, 53-60, refers to *Alamgir-Nama*, 366-392, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 260, *Storia* ii 5-7, *Khafi Khan* ii 79 and *Rugat* No. 2. These included forbidding the *Kalima* on coins lest it be touched by infidels, also the customary *Nauroz* rejoicings after the Persian fashion were forbidden and transferred to the month of Ramzan. A Censor of Morals (*Muhatsib*) was appointed to enforce the Prophet's laws and to put down practices forbidden by him. All the old mosques were repaired by order of Aurangzib and 'made as new'.

88. J.N. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, Vol. III, 59.

89. *Ibid.*, 60.

90. J.N. Sarkar in Vol. III, 60, quotes Manucci, ii 97 and *Dastur-ul-aml*, the official manuals.

91. J.N. Sarkar, Vol. III, Appendix V, 'Temple Destruction by Aurangzib'—quotes *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 232 and the Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, 280.

See also, Jagdish Narayan Sarkar 'Aurangzeb's Temple Destruction : Some New Aspects', *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol. XVI (1976-77), No. 4, Calcutta, 216-225. 'He was certainly not alone in destroying temples but he was in a sense unique; A Firoz Shah, or a Sikandar Lodi or a Sikandar (of Kashmir) embarked on an iconoclastic policy earlier but even theirs was not so determined or unpopular as that of Aurangzib.

92. J.N. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, Vol. III, 186, quotes *Ma-asir-i-Alamgiri*, 81, and Orme's *Fragments*, 250.

93. *Ibid.*, pp. 185-189, Appendix V refers to all the authorities and references to Aurangzib's temple destruction.

94. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

95. In the 37th year of his reign (1693) a *sanad* was issued exempting the Christians (of Agra) and their Priests from the Capitation tax, See Vol. III, p. 176.

96. *Ma-asir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 174.

97. It could never be less than Rs. $3\frac{1}{2}$ on a man, which was the money value of nine maunds of wheat flour at the average market price at the end of the 16th century (*Ain-i-Akbari*, i, 63), See Vol. III, pp. 176-177.

98. Manucci—*Storia* II, 234, IV, 117, quoted by J.N. Sarkar, Vol. III, 180.

99. J.N. Sarkar, *A Short History of Aurangzib*, p. 132, refers to the trampling of Hindus under elephants, ordered by Aurangzib, when they were piteously crying for the withdrawal of *Jiziyah* and their gathering obstructed way to Jama Mosque. A 'temperate and reasoned letter from Shivaji' appealing to Aurangzib to think of the Common Father of Mankind, met with no success. See *Aurangzib*, Vol. III, Appendix VI,

190-192.

100. J.N. Sarkar in Vol. III, 181, quotes for rewards to Hindus on conversion to Islam. Elliot, iii, 604, M.A. *Akhbarat*, 9/20, 10/5, 12/20, 13/17, 13/18. List of converts M.A. 94, 220, 270, 273, 396, 413. Posts of Zamindars given to converts, *Akhbarat* 1/3, 10/9, 13/9, 13/20, 13/32, Storia, iv, 439.
101. Khafi Khan, ii, 395, M.A. 370 referred by J.N. Sarkar, Vol. III, 183.
102. *Ibid.*, 183-184. Khafi Khan, ii, 212, Elliot, iii, 380 quoted by J.N. Sarkar.
103. J.N. Sarkar, *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*, p. 125.
104. *Ibid.*, 122-125, 'Sunni refuses to marry Shia's daughter'. When Ruhullah Khan, one of the Shia nobles of Aurangzib, at the time of his death professed to have turned a Sunni and, having withdrawn from Shia practices and made it a part of his last will, that two of his daughters be married to Prince Muhammad Azam and Siadat Khan respectively. Aurangzib was quick to detect the hypocrisy and stratagem behind it, refused the daughters of a Shia to be married to Sunnis and made the above statement in disgust.
105. J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. III, p. 193.
106. J.N. Sarkar, Vol. III, pp. 197-198, 199-213 and 214-248; Vol. IV, 1-36, 259-347.
107. J.N. Sarkar, "Character of Aurangzib", *Anecdotes*, p. 27.
108. *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.
109. N.K. Sinha, "Jadunath Sarkar, Re-Read", *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XVII, July-Dec., 1973, Part II, Serial No. 174, 280.
110. Aurangzib's Last Will, from India Office Library, Ms. 1344, f 49p, quoted by J.N. Sarkar, Vol. V, 201-204.
111. Vol. V, 19.
112. *Ibid.*, 190.
113. Vol. V, 198, 'Aurangzib's last letter to Azam, translated from Br. Museum, Addl. 26240.
114. "The seeds that had been sown in the third stage of his (Aurangzib's) life, unnoticed and in ignorance of their fruits, began to sprout up in the fourth, and he had to gather their baneful harvest in the closing period of life", Vol. V, p. 2, talking of Shivaji's escape, he says, "A friendly fate must have helped the lion-hearted man of action", *Shivaji and his times*, pp. 140, 150.
115. Vol. V, 366-368.
116. Vol. III, p. 171.
117. *Ibid.*
118. *Ibid.*
119. Vol. V, pp. 350-351.
120. Vol. V, pp. 338-339, 341.
121. *Ibid.*, The Condition of the People, pp. 335-349.
122. Vols. I & II, p. 45.
123. *Anecdotes*, p. 11.
124. *Ibid.*, also *Ruggat*, No. 46.
125. J.N. Sarkar, Vol. V, p. 350.
126. K.R. Qanungo, *Jadunath Sarkar As a Historian, Life and Letters*, p. 67.
127. J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. V, pp. 377-378.

128. John O. Voll, "The Islamic Past and Present Resurgence", *Current History*, Special No., "The World of Islam", April 1980, Vol. 78, No. 456, pp. 181-183.
129. A conquering Islam had subjugated Hinduism, but when Muslim power was eroded by the British, Islam sought and achieved separation rather than submitting to the democratic rule of modern India and when the majority of Indian Muslims established the State of Pakistan, the *Ulema* spoke of the reinstitution of the *Sharia* as the State law. It is not surprising if we bear in mind the fact that orthodox Islam is inconsistant with other political ideologies and is but an 'either or affair', See Raphael Israeli's 'Muslim Minorities under Non-Islamic Rule', *Current History*, April 1980, Vol. 78, No. 456, pp. 159-164, 184.
130. Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, "Survey of Indian Historiography—Medieval Period", *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol. III, 1963-64, Nos. I & II, 54; According to Dr. A.L. Srivastava, "Mr. Faruki is not a serious student of history and his work is by the unanimous consent of impartial historians a propaganda work". See *Studies in Indian History*, p. 94.
131. "I have been working without any expert guidance and barring Prof. Muhammad Habib . . . who revised the proofs of the first two chapters I have not received any appreciable help from anyone acquainted with the subject", Faruki, *Aurangzeb and His Times*, Idarah-I-Adabiyat-I Delli, Delhi, 1935, Preface, also pp. 109, 117, 570-578.
132. *Ibid.*, pp. 34, 36.
133. *Ibid.*, p. 150.
134. *Ma-asir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 174.
135. Faruki, *Aurangzeb and His Times*, pp. 132-134.
136. *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1911, p. 689.
137. Quoted in *Life and Letters of Sir Jadunath Sarkar*, p. 60.
138. Faruki, *Aurangzeb and His Times*, Introduction, xiv.
139. J.N. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, Vol. III, pp. 208-209, 212-213.
140. J.N. Sarkar, Vol. V, pp. 374-375, wrote of Hindu priesthood and gods—"We find the priesthood bringing their worshippers down to the lowest intellectual level by holding up to their adoration of a god who . . . pursues amorous dalliances which a Nawab of Outh might envy or a Qutbshah imitate in his own harem".
141. Quoted in Jagdish Narayan Sarkar's "Survey of Indian Historiography—Medieval Period", *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol. III, 1963-64, Nos. I & II, 57.
142. Quoted in A.L. Srivastava's *Studies in Indian History*, p. 365.
143. Faruki, *Aurangzeb and His Times*, p. 91.
144. John O' Voll, "The Islamic Past and Present Resurgence", *Current History*, Special No., The World of Islam, Vol. 78, No. 456, April 1980, pp. 145-148, 180.
145. M. Athar Ali, *The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1966, Introduction, p. 1.
146. *Ibid.*, p. 174.
147. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

148. See J.N. Sarkar's Preface to second edition, Volume V (April 1952)—referring to fuller use of Francois Martin's *Memoirs* which had by then become available in three volumes in print, so he discarded Kaeppelin's summary of it.
149. Laiq Ahmad, *The Prime Ministers of Aurangzeb*, Chug Publications, Allahabad, 1976, Preface, vi.
150. *Ibid.*, pp. 145-146.
151. Khafi Khan, ii. 395, *Ma-asir-i-Alamgiri*, 30, 37.
152. J.N. Sarkar, *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*, p. 14.
153. *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15. In one of his letters Aurangzib quotes with admiration the story of a Sunni who escaped to Turkey after murdering a Shia and draws the moral "Whoever acts for truth and speaks up for truth is befriended by the True God".
154. J.N. Sarkar, *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*, p. 14.
155. Anees Jahan Syed, Aurangzeb in *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Introduction, xxiii, takes Sadiq Khan and Mamuri not as living officers but as pen names used by officials who sought to remain anonymous.
156. *Ibid.*, xviii, xix.
157. Khafi Khan, Vol. ii, p. 252, quoted by Anees Jahan Syed, xxi.
158. Khafi Khan, Vol. ii, p. 230, quoted by Anees Jahan Syed, xxii.
159. Anees Jahan Syed, Aurangzeb in *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, xxxii,
160. *Ibid.*, xxvi.
161. *Ibid.*, xxiii.
162. *Ibid.*, xxviii.
163. *Ibid.*, xxxii.
164. *Ibid.*, xxix.
165. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 248, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, i 1051, Barni's *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 290, Elliot, i. 476, *Akbarnamah*, ii 316, Rate and Manner of collection of *Jiziyah*, British Museum Ms. Or 1641, 65b-66b.
166. J.N. Sarkar, Vol. III, Appendix—190-192.
167. *Ibid.*, p. 191.
168. R.C. Jauhri, *Firoz Tughluq*, Shiva Lal Agarwala & Co., Agra, 1968, p. 101 (Vide *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shah*, Afif, Calcutta text, pp. 382-384).
169. Anees Jahan Syed, *Aurangzeb* in *Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, xxx.
170. See Jadunath Sarkar's Foreword to Jagdish Narayan Sarkar's *The Life of Mir Jumla*, Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta, 1951, "A book which will stand as the authoritative life of Mir Jumla and a worthy supplement—in some points a corrective also to my voluminous *History of Aurangzib*".
171. A.L. Srivastava, *Studies in Indian History*, p. 95.

CHAPTER IV

INTERPRETATION OF SHIVAJI AND THE MARATHAS

It was from the Marathas and not the Mughals that the *de facto* rule of India passed on to the British—a fact that perplexed many Britishers too.[1] The British historian James Grant Duff's reference to Marathas as "our predecessors in conquest in India, whose power was gradually gaining strength, before it found a head in the far-famed adventurer, Shivaji Bhonsle",[2] explains not only the tremendous significance of their history, but also its attraction for historians—British, European as well as native.

The seventeenth century witnessed the beginning of historical writing of Maratha history in Marathi; more efforts were made to know the subject in details, in the following century. In 1791 Charles Malet, the British Resident at the Peshwa's court, planned to write a history of the Marathas but it was the German Professor Springal whose *Geschichteder-Maratten* or *History of the Marathas* (1791) remains today as the first European account of the Marathas, of the eighteenth century and that is the major distinction of an account otherwise full of quaint errors.[3] Edward Scott Waring, who was for seven years attached to the English embassy at Poona, published *A History of the Maharattas* in 1810, for, "The Marathas were once a mighty nation, how they rose and how they fell, may surely challenge inquiry".[4]

Modern historical research in Maratha history started with Captain James Grant Duff's *History of the Maharattas* in three volumes in 1828.[5] It was the first serious attempt to write a comprehensive history of the Marathas, to fulfil "the work of a complete history of the rise, progress and decline of our immediate predecessors."[6] Undoubtedly, a great work of its time, it "cast a spell of despondency on anybody attempting to write on the history of the Marathas".[7] Shivaji was assessed by Duff as 'the far-famed

adventurer', 'the treacherous assassin of Afzal Khans whose 'craft and pliancy' have to be contrasted with his boldness, ambition and power of inspiring enthusiasm'.[8]

It was not only "the mass of gossiping *bakhars* and gasconading *twariks*"[9] which formed a stumbling block in the path of Duff, he could not also make use of the contemporary French and Portuguese Mss. He failed to consult Persian sources such as *Alamgir Namah* and *Ma-asir-i-Alamgiri* or the Court Newsletters (*Akhbarat*) and *Nuskha-i-Dilkasha* by the Hindu historian Bhimsen Burhanpuri, or the letters of Jai Singh with whom Shivaji crossed swords. Besides, he relied too much on *Chitnis bakhar*, instead of a comparative study of other Maratha sources, thus falsifying the narrative at many places.[10] It was Telang who set out with a criticism of Duff's work in his proposed history of the Marathas in the series "Epochs of Indian History".[11] However, his untimely death left only one chapter called 'Gleanings from the Maratha Chronicles' (1892), which was included as an appendix in Ranade's *Rise of the Maratha Power* (1900). In his chapter Telang held that Duff's *History* gave a description of military and dynastic policy, but conveyed nothing about the social and religious progress of the Maratha people.[12] Meanwhile, the journal *Kavyetihas Samgraha* (1878) brought out historical papers and original manuscripts of poems and composition of earlier Maratha historians and authors.[13] It along with Chiplunkar's *Nibandhamala* revived the fading interest in historical studies of the *bakhars* (chronicles). It was the case of finding of a *bakhar*[14] of Shivaji's life, in the early seventies of the last century, which led, along with Telang's findings, to the impressive structure of Ranade's work.[15] In the *Rise of the Maratha Power*, he contested the misconception that the rise of Maratha power could be attributed solely to fortuitous circumstances, to a sudden conflagration like that which occurs in the forests of Sahyaderi as Duff had believed.[16] Ranade's work illustrated that "The rise of the Maratha power was not a mere accident due to any chance combination, but was a genuine effort on the part of a Hindu nationality, not merely to assert its independence, but to achieve what had not been achieved before—formation of a Confederacy of States animated by a common patriotism and that the success it achieved was due to a general upheaval—social, religious and political".[17]

It appears that historical writing on Shivaji and the Marathas

towards the end of the nineteenth century was not merely to fulfil the intellectual need of its readers. 'It was influenced by and it influenced' the political agitation of the day.[18] For example, the annual celebration of 'Shivaji Festival' inspired nationalists.[19]

The English had only one tool, to exercise some sort of control over Maratha historical writing—a negative one—by keeping the Poona Peshwa *Daftar* closed for Indian researchers.[20] Since the end of the nineteenth century Indians had constantly appealed to the British India Government to have the Peshwa *Daftar* opened to public. Limited access was granted only after repeated efforts of the Indian Historical Records Commission under the guiding spirit of Jadunath Sarkar. Even the *Selections From the Peshwa's Daftar* (45 Vols., edited by G.S. Sardesai) were published only after scrutiny and sanction by the Bombay Government.[21]

Indian scholars had to collect sources from private quarters. Vishwanath Kashinath Rajwade (1864-1926) was "our Pioneer par-excellence."[22] He revolutionised the historical method in Marathi.[23] As the driving force of the *Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal*, he made the choice of the vernacular medium of writing of Maratha history as a stand against the use of English, 'the language of the foreign rulers'. The life-long research and indefatigable quest of 'the penniless collector' yielded striking results. While the older generation of Maratha scholars like Balchandra and M.G. Ranade 'depended on chronicles, formal histories and later narratives'[24] Rajwade pointed out that original contemporary documents or state papers proper, were the only reliable materials of history. The 22 volumes of his *Marathanchi Itihasanche Sandhanen* or Original Material for the history of the Marathas cover documents from Shivaji's time to the last Peshwa.

Whereas Rajwade 'sowed, others reaped'. Kashinath Narayan Sane, (1851-1927) edited Sabhasad Bhakhar,—*Shiva Chatrapati*—*Chen Charitra* of Krishnaji Anand, Sabhasad (4th edition, 1923); D.V. Apte and S.M. Divekar, edited *Shivacharitra Pradip* (1925); V.S. Wakaskar, edited *91 Qalmi Bakhar* or Narrative in 91 Sections, (1930).[25] Vaman Shastri Khare's (1858-1924), *Lekh Samgraha* or *Collections of Historical Letters* with 'concise and to the point Introduction stand out as a model for other workers among historical archives and editors of documents'.[26] D.B. Parasnis proved a double benefactor to students of Maratha history by collecting as well as printing invaluable original documents in about 40 volumes,

in his two journals, namely *Bharat Varsha* and *Itihasa Samgraha*.[27]

Notable Britishers contributing to Maratha history during this period were H.G. Rawlinson and Charles A. Kincaid. With limited sources Rawlinson in his *Shiva the Maratha* : *His Life and Times* (Bombay, 1915), aimed to present a 'balanced assessment of Shivaji' who 'was according to the ethics of his age, a brave and chivalrous man. . . at least Shivaji's hands were not stained like those of Aurangzeb, with the blood of his kinsmen. He was never deliberately wanton or cruel.[28] Rawlinson's and R.P. Patwardhan's joint work, *Source Book of Maratha History* (Bombay, 1929) 'endeavoured to prepare for the use of the student of Maratha history, a representative selection of the best authenticated documents bearing upon this period. Kincaid had Parasnis as the joint author of the three volumes *History of Marathas* (London, 1918-1925) for which Parasnis appears to have provided the sources and information about many points in Maratha history and Kincaid's main task consisted of presenting the material in a fluent and readable style.[29] Judged from historiographical point of view it was 'not more than a twentieth century work written in the Grant Duff way'.[30]

During the early years of the 20th century, there occurred 'a revolution in the writing of Maratha history',[31] Sir Jadunath's contributions were most outstanding. To him belongs the credit of bringing the ferment of an all-India approach into Maratha historical studies, of providing tremendous assistance to overcome the isolationist treatment of Maratha history of the 'Royal' (1626-1700) and the 'Peshwa Periods'.[32] This he made possible by a 'scientific' and 'critical' use of different classes of sources, many of which were formerly unknown or unutilized in Marathi, Sanskrit, Rajasthani, Persian, English, Dutch, Portuguese and French. In fact "Jadunath Sarkar alone by his *History of Aurangzib* (5 vols), *Shivaji and his times* and *Fall of the Mughal Empire* (4 vols.), has practically reconstructed the history of the whole Maratha period".[33]

Sir Jadunath's study and research on the Mughal period, particularly on Aurangzib's reign directed his attention to the history of the Marathas—the chief opponents of Aurangzib and the later Mughals. As he pointed out, his "study of Maratha history has been second only—is second at all—"to his "devotion to Mughal history".[34] Rather "Maharashtra has compelled Jadunath to divide his literary allegiance equally between the

Mughal Empire and the *Hindu-Pad-Padshahi* of Shivaji, down to the extinction of both".[35] His major contributions to the 'Royal Period' (1626-1700) of Maratha history were :

1. *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. IV	1919
2. *Shivaji and his times* (Ist edition April 1919, 2nd edition June 1920, 3rd edition December, 1928, 4th edition, February 1948, 5th edition, December 1952)	1919
3. Translated *Jedhe Chronology* published in *Shivaji Souvenir*	1927
4. *House of Shivaji*, Second edition, 1948, Third edition 1955	1940
5. *Shivaji, A Study in Leadership* (Sholapur, D.A.V. College : The Saindas Foundation Lectures)	1949
6. Marathi Sources[36]	1941
7. Several articles and papers[37]	1907-1930

For the study of the Maratha history, Sarkar distinguished the 'Royal Period' (1628-1700) which practically goes till 1707, and the Peshwa Period which covered the next century till 1802. These two periods differed from each other not only in the extent but also regarding the character of their historical records.[38]

He reconstructed the history of the period by utilizing four major classes of sources unknown or unavailable to James Grant Duff.[39]

The Contemporary French and Portuguese Ms. sources, which became available with the opening of the Paris Archives, the most notable among them being the *Memoirs of Francois Martin*, the valuable Goa records of Chevalier P.S. Pissurlencar, the original account of the Italian gunner N. Manucci, in William Irvine's masterly translation, the *Storia do Mogor* or the Mughal India. At the same time, the traveller's tales in the printed French and Dutch works to which Orme referred with justifiable disappointment, could be almost totally rejected.[40]

The skeleton chronologies (Shakavalis) in Marathi, which supply many reliable dates and facts after having been attested with knowledge of other sources, like the *91 almi bakhar* (the chronicle in 91 sections) proved a much earlier and less legendary work than the *Chitnis Bhakar* (1810) on which Grant Duff so frequently

depended.

Persian sources *Alamgir-Namah* and *Ma-asir-i-Alamgiri*, the court newsletters (*Akhbarat*) and the personal memoirs of Bhimsen and Ishwardas Nagar were very useful. He discovered the correspondence between Aurangzib and his general Mirza Raja Jai Singh in 1938 and reconstructed important phases of Shivaji's life.[41]

The Dingal and Persian despatches and letters preserved in Jaipur and the three contemporary Sanskrit historical poems on the subject were printed by then.[42] Sir Jadunath with his knowledge of Sanskrit and analytical acumen was quick to make out that while the 'epics are not histroy' and though the epics of Permanand and Govind 'sadly disappoint the researcher for contemporary evidence on historical facts and documents', they are of 'unrivalled value for the light they thrown on the state of religion and society.'[43]

A synthesis of the above source material resulted not only in the supersession of Duff's narrative of Shivaji but the history of Shivaji's father Shahji, and of his sons Shambhuji and Rajaram was also reconstructed.[44].

Before the historian took to the writing of Maratha history, he travelled extensively in the region and paid 'more than forty visits' to it which became his 'second home'.[45] With his phenomenal zeal for first-hand knowledge and 'the eye of a military surveyor', he carried with him his only guide—a bundle of large scale survey maps. From Goa to Vijayanagar, from Tanjore to Ellora, through Khandesh and Berar, from Hyderabad in the east to Ahmadnagar in the West, he secured every place of historical importance. After considerable hardships, he paid a visit to the home of the historic Jedhe family, in possession of the invaluable *Jedhe* chronology.[46] No wonder his account of Shivaji and the Marathas vibrates with a realistic touch and exact locations of historical places are a distinct feature of his narration.

Shivaji and his times opens with the information about Shivaji's personal appearance and reprints of rare portraits.[47] It is more than a biography of Shivaji; for the Marathas were 'only one among the many threads in the tangled web' of Deccan history of the seventeenth century. To understand the factors of the rise, and full impact of Shivaji's achievements and policy, it was necessary to have a thorough knowledge of contemporary Mughal empire and of the Kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonada. An exhaustive treatment of the subject found its proper place in his *History of*

Aurangazib, Vol. IV.[48] *Shivaji and his times*, also took full note of other newly emergent factors and powers in the Deccan.[49]

House of Shivaji is a necessary supplement to *Shivaji and his times*, for containing most of the documents, discussions and *pieces justificatives* to the major reconstruction part of *Shivaji and his times* and also to what is less known in the history of the Marathas immediately before and after Shivaji. In it, the historian collected his writings on the 'Royal Period'. The first six chapters provide a background of Maratha history and the biography of Shahji Bhonsle in the light of Bijapuri state papers. In Chapter VII Shivaji's life and work is analysed in the light of an exhaustive and critical study of the many original sources. In Chapter VIII is a comparison of the relative historical value of Persian *Akhbarat* discovered by him, with 'thousands of letters of Shivaji's time in the Marathi language by Rajwade and others, the latter being 'purely legal documents'. Important court letters have been given in translation. The Dingal letters in the Jaipur Archives supply faithful reports of the conversations held in Ram Singh's house every night after his return from the Emperor's court or during the visits of Shivaji to the Kachhwaha Prince. The lives and labours of his great fellow workers Rajwade, Sane, Khare and Parasnis are charmingly depicted in four brilliant essays and so is the interesting study of 'Shivaji as seen by Europeans'. The historian's acumen for textual criticism finds proper scope in his treatment of Shivaji's poet laureate Kavindra Paramananda and an epic on Shambhuji by the laureate's grandson Govinda. Though the epics are 'no history' in general, these throw 'open a new window' to the religious developments under Shambhuji. The third edition (April 1955) of the book was much enlarged by seven new documents on Shahji-Adil Shahi relations, new chapters on Shambhuji's rebellion and on Rajaram's reign at Jinji based on latest records and the much sought after article, 'What Maharashtra Teaches Us'.

Sir Jadunath had translated 'the rare document' *Jedhe Shakavali* or Chronology, primarily for his own use in 1921 and proposed publishing it separately with full notes and evidence, corroborative or otherwise from Persian, Portuguese and English factory records. However, the duties of Vice-Chancellor left him no leisure for such a task and rather than to further postpone its reaching the non-Marathi readers, he sent it for publication in the

Shivaji Souvenir.[50] The dates of *Chronology* given in the Hindu Luni Solar *Shaka* era of the Deccan were converted into corresponding English dates with the help of Khare's and other calendars. English dates were given in circular brackets, while a few necessary additions and corrections, made from outside sources are given scrupulously within rectangular brackets. The document contains many correct and minute dates which 'no forger could have known'. His booklet *Shivaji A Study in Leadership*, not only discusses the 'highest' achievement of Shivaji but also the then lately discoverd mass of historical material that made it possible to know Shivaji's character and deeds as truly and intimately as if he were 'our nearest neighbour'.[51]

Before taking up the narrative of Shivaji's life and achievements in *Shivaji and his times*, the historian has drawn a vivid picture of 'the land and the people' of Maharashtra.[52] The rocky nature of the land and uncertain rainfall if on the one hand discouraged the inhabitants from the 'thankless task of tilling it, its sturdy sonsfound greater rewards by serving the Muslim Courts of the Central Plateau in civil as well as military capacities. Nature also helped its people's inborn love of independence by providing them with many ready-made and easily defensible forts from where the natives could offer a long and tenacious resistance even against superior numbers. The staple food, the rough millets—*Jawar*, *Bajra* and *Ragi* or Maize too yielded to much labour. In such a society where every one had to work and work manually, there was absence of parasites as a class. There was hardly a rich man 'except the trader who was also the only banker in the society', the landlords could be rich in grain heaps rather than in gold. Their 'democratic temper' the historian found reflected in their mode of address too, unlike *ap* (Your honour) of northern India, here all ranks were 'theed' and 'thoued'. Where nature enforced Spartan simplicity 'elegance and refinement' had to be sacrificed. 'The period of Maratha ascendency has not left India richer by a single grand building, beautiful picture or finely written manuscript.'[53]

But the region and its climate had its own compensations in developing 'self reliance, courage, perseverance, a rough straight forwardness, a sense of social equality and consequently pride in the dignity of man as man'.[54] Among the many unifying forces of the Maratha society in the seventeenth century were its language and literature, the latter reached the illiterates too through the recitation

of the scriptures, epics, ballads and poetry.[55] The religious movements led mainly by teachers from lower orders of society, that on the one hand challenged the haughty claims of the Brahmins, and on the other fostered a sense of social equality and unity—through preachings of Tukaram, Ramdas, Vaman Pandit, Eknath and others.[56]

It was to this Maratha society of the seventeenth century, which had been fast uniting by the cementing bonds of common hardship of life, common language and literature, the impact of the religious movements, that Shivaji was to give political unity. History had moulded Maratha society and in the moulding of Maratha history in the seventeenth century and indirectly in the following century too, the most significant role was that of Shivaji.

Since the battle of Tirauri (A.D. 1193) when Prithviraj lost to Muhammad of Ghor, foreign domination had swept the north for five centuries without a break, and after the fateful Tailkota (1565) no Hindu even in the more sheltered south dared defy Muslim sovereignty. When in 1659-60 a youth of thirty-two, without any 'organized army' or royal backing set himself to challenge the then mighty Mughal Empire and Bijapur—'Queen of the Deccan' for a century, he seemed to be 'the maddest of all mad men',[57] yet within fourteen years he founded and maintained a State of which he was the soverign (*Chhatrapati*) in the face of opposition from the Mughals, the Bijapuris, the Siddis, the Portuguese, and the English.[58] It was indeed the achievement of a genius. Whether he could also create an enduring 'nation' was however another issue, requiring a 'searching analysis'.[59]

Shivaji belonged to the Bhonsle clan of the Maratha caste. The history of his family is an illustration of the transformation of the tiller of the land, by successive stages into the 'bandit', the 'captain of mercenaries', the 'feudal baron' and the 'sovereign ruler'.[60] The name of Shivaji's father, Shahji Bhonsle, first occurs in recorded history in 1628 and later he rose to be the foremost vassal of Adil Shah of Bijapur.[61] His first wife Jijabai bore him two sons, the elder, Shambhuji died in early youth. Shivaji was born on Monday, 10th April, 1627.[62] He was named after the local goddess Shivani, of whom his mother was a devotee. In the bringing up of the young Shiva, it was not Shahji but Jijabai and Shahji's competent land steward Dadaji Konddev, who played key roles.[63] 'The forsaken son of Shahji Bhonsle was the exact parallel of the forsaken son

of Hasan Sur.' 'Shivaji and Shershah were not only alike in character and genius, but they also grew up amidst like circumstances. On the subject of his education, Jadunath Sarkar inferred from the available evidence that Shivaji like three other heroes of medieval India—Akbar, Haidar Ali and Ranjit Singh, was unlettered, though Shivaji was 'skilled in wresting, riding and other accomplishments'. The many Europeans who visited him, never saw him reading or writing. When they presented any petition to him, 'the Rajah always passed it on to his ministers to read to him'.[64] However, he mastered the contents of the two great Hindu epics by listening to recitations and when in his ancestral jagir of Puna, confirmed on Shahji by Adil Shah in 1637, Dadaji Konddev brought order out of chaos, Shivaji also received practical training in civil and military administration. From 1632 when Shivaji had just reached his 16th year, he also, along with Dadaji Konddev presided over the Puna 'Cabinet' and public courts (*mahazar*). The lack of book-learning, thus did not leave his mind dull or his efficiency impaired 'as a man of action in medieval times'. Under the 'stoical earnestness, mingled with religious fervour' of Jijabai and in the company of young Mavals,[65] Shivaji began to hate the idea of a life of luxury under some Mohammadan king. He began to value independence. Whenever he found the time hanging heavy, he along with the young Maval chiefs, levied forced contribution by raiding some petty village outside his own estate. His activities moved Dadaji to 'grief and condemnation'—not so much on account of their illegal character, as for their 'being beneath the dignity of a first grade nobleman's son and heir'. Dadaji's death on 7th March, 1647, found Shivaji ready for his task. Already in 1646, he had taken Torana from its Bijapuri commander, followed by Chakan and Kondana in 1647—checked by his father's arrest in 1648, whose release was brought about by means other than the Delhi emperor Shah Jahan's intervention.[66] Capture of Purandar (1648) was followed by "acquisition of Javli which was the result of deliberate murder and organized treachery on the part of Shivaji and the only redeeming feature of this dark episode in his life is that the crime was not aggravated by hypocrisy".[67] For many years, he maintained peace with the Mughals, though he did not believe in the promises of awards and prizes of imperialists in lieu of testing his devotion to the Mughal cause in the Deccan. The War of Succession gave him an opportunity to launch a fresh career of

conquest and plunder. He invaded Konkan, seized the rich towns of Kalyan and Bhivandi which were turned into naval bases and dockyards. His troops also plundered the neighbouring Portuguese territory. Meanwhile Bijapur kingdom's plans to subdue Shivaji were to be carried out through Afzal Khan,[68] whose murder at the hands of Shivaji was 'a preventive murder' or 'a case of diamond cut diamond' as evidenced also by the account of Mir Alam, the famous minister of Nizam-ul-Mulk, a historian and 'a good Muslim'.[69] Shivaji's night attack on Shaista Khan, the newly posted Viceroy of Mughal Deccan was a task that required 'no less agility and cunning than bravery and dash'. Regarding the plunder of Surat that yielded him above a crore of rupees, though Shivaji publically declared that he had not come to do any harm to the English or other merchants, but only to revenge himself on Aurangzib, for having invaded his country, 'money was his sole aim'.[70] The failure of Shaista Khan, and the sack of Surat meant bitter humiliation to Aurangzib, he next sent his ablest Hindu general Mirza Raja Jai Singh—leading to Shivaji's visit to the Mughal court at Agra. In view of the light thrown by Jai Singh's Persian despatches and private letters in *Haft Anjuman* discovered by the historian, it appears, that Shivaji's historic visit 'began as a comedy of errors' due to Rajput incompetence, but as the sinister policy of Aurangzeb's dark heart developed, the political drama took on the lurid colours of a 'tragedy of human sin and divine retribution'.[71] The credit of Shivaji's miraculous escape from the clutches of the 'faithless tyrant rests solely with him though a friendly fate must have helped the lion-hearted man of action'.[72]

The war with the Mughals was renewed in 1670 and the same year he plundered Surat for the second time. Shivaji's coronation was a long felt political necessity, met with in 1674—which cost him about fifty lakhs of rupees.[73] Shivaji was 'created' a Kshatriya by Gaga Bhatt of Benaras, the greatest Sanskrit theologian of the Vedic system, and Nischchal Puri a priest of the Tantrik School of Bengal 'convinced' Shivaji for a second coronation.[74] Shivaji like the 'shrewed practical man that he was decided to woo both these supernatural hosts'.

A remarkable achievement of Shivaji was the creation of a navy, to escort his mercantile marine in the coastal waters. However, it was not fit for any pitched battle at sea, as was exposed during Shivaji's assault on Janjira[75] and during his struggle against

the English for Kandheri.[76]

Shivaji's last glorious achievement was his successful expedition against Karnatak.[77] Shivaji's last campaign against the Mughals began on 4th November, 1679. Early in December, Shivaji was greatly relieved to hear of the return of prodigal Shambhuji. whose recent rebellion and desertion to the Mughals, had not only revealed the conduct of his son but also filled Shivaji with the greatest apprehensions about the future of the newly founded Maratha Kingdom. Yet the only alternative to Shambhuji was Rajaram, a boy of ten whose accession would have meant a regency and the resultant fear of a civil war in the mutually jealous ministers. A division of the kingdom between the two princes was proposed but not given effect to. Shivaji urged Shambhuji to be worthy of the heritage, but a born judge of character like Shivaji must have known that his sermons fell on deaf ears. Gloomy anticipations of the future of the Maratha kingdom clouded his last days. Shivaji was seized with fever and blood dysentry on 23rd March, 1680. It continued for 12 days. The trance slowly transformed itself into death, after he performed the last rites of his religion, 'in the noon of Sunday, 4th April, 1680. He was not yet fifty-three'.[78]

Sir Jadunath also reconstructed the reign of Shambhuji, (1680-89) with a variety of new source material, which previously was known mainly from meagre Marathi source[79] and with the help of the Persian *Akhbarats* or newsletters, then in manuscripts, giving accurate dates and also occasionally information of prime importance, Khafi Khan's account and the Portuguese records specially regarding Prince Akbar's exile in Maharashtra made available by Chevalier Panduranga Pissurlencar. The Portuguese narrative of Shambhuji's invasion of Goa in 1680 was first published by Jadunath Sarkar in 1920 from the English Ms. preserved in the India Office, London. He used, besides, the English and French records and the *Jedhe-Shakavali*.

Jadunath's conclusion after the critical study of the above sources was that 'Shambhuji's side had been denied a hearing at the bar of history'.[80] The account of his rebellion and his death had been based on Marathi sources, upon the accounts written after his death by the ministers of his father's court, most of whom were antagonised by persecution for their attempt to disinherit Shambhuji in favour of his younger brother Rajaram, and after his

accession for conspiring to murder him.[81] Shambhuji's prime sin and unforgivable offence in their eyes was his making Kavi-Kalash, a Qanauji Brahman—thus a 'foreigner' in Maharashtra, his 'Prime Minister' with absolute control over his government, thus pushing in background all the 'internal' Brahmans of the establishment. After Shambhuji's tragic death, his partisans lost all power and were nowhere in the state during the 30 years between their master's murder (1689) and the final installation of his son Shahu—as the undisputed sovereign of Maharashtra in 1718—whose 'elevation' was the achievement of an entirely new family of ministers. Though a version of Shambhuji's rebellion had been put forth during his reign, in a Sanskrit poem by Paramananda, it was left incomplete and was not in the public eye for having remained buried among the papers of the poet's family. Thus, an account of Shambhuji's accession, his war in the Eastern Karnatak, Prince Akbar's refuge with Shambhuji, people's sufferings and economic conditions, Shambhuji's crushing of the conspiracy against his life, his downfall and execution were constructed afresh.[82] Specially startling is the fact that 'religious jealousies, resulting from the triumph of the Tantrik Cult under Kavi Kalash, had completely blinded the Maharashtra Brahmins'. We can now follow why the reports of the attempts of the Deccani Brahmans to poison Shambhuji reached the English merchants at Rajpur and Karwar and why the capture of Shambhuji by Muqrrab Khan was followed by a 'public report that the local Brahmans had turned traitors to their king and had furnished the Mughal general with timely information and a guide which enabled him to surprise Shambhuji at Sangameshwar'.[83] The French Governor of Pondicherry F. Martin records the news that some of Shambhuji's principal Brahmans (*Ses Premiers brahmes*) had caused his destruction by collusion with the officers of the Mughal.[84] The Portuguese records speak of the Peshwas as the 'principal enemy of Kavi-Kalash'.

The reign of Rajaram (1689-1700) was also supplemented in valuable details mainly from the newly printed sources; the Sanskrit narrative poem *Rajaram Charitam* of Keshav Pandit and the diary of Francois Martin.[85] The capture and execution of Shambhuji had precipitated another crisis, even before the capture of Shambhuji, a Mughal army had been detached under Zulfiqar Khan to Raigarh, while Rajaram by his able leaders was being safely conducted to Jinji. Prahlad Niraji was his chief counsellor

at Jinji, on whom he bestowed the high titled of 'Regent' (*Pratinidhi*) thus placing him outside and above the cabinet of eight ministers (*Ashta-Pradhan*). On the other hand the supreme control of affairs in the 'homeland' was vested in Ramchandra with the title '*Hakumat-Panah*', who was earlier a mere *Amatya*. Rajaram was a 'king without an army or treasury of his own or subjects under his undisputed rule'. Cooped up in a fort and taking regular doses of *ganja* and opium administered in the beginning by Prahlad Niraji 'threw Rajaram into a life of debauchery'.[86] His political impotence is best illustrated by the duplication of offices and titles at the time of deep financial crisis and the fact that the office of *Senapati* was changed five times in Rajaram's short reign of 11 years and in addition five officers at one time enjoyed titles varying in terminology, but all meaning 'leader of the army' and all being entitled to the rank, banner and other paraphernalia of the *Senapati*.[87] However, the decentralization of authority in Maratha kingdom was not entirely unsuitable in the cirsumstances. The Maratha chiefs, each acting on his own carried on a guerilla warfare and caused tremendous losses to the Mughal territories. The imperialists could not know 'which point to defend or from where to attack'. The reign witnessed the heroic struggle of Marathas against the Mughals under their brilliant commanders like Santa Ghorpare, Dhana Jadav, Parshuram Trimbak.[88] Even the entire work of long seige of Aurangzib over Jinji (1694-1698—M.A.—391) was undone for 'the bird had flown away' to Vishalgadh in safety. The reign also witnessed the civil war between the two brave generals over the claims to the office of Senapati.[89]

Rajaram died on 2nd March, 1700, of a fever, when he was only 32. The Mughal camp was exulted 'as if the roots of the Maratha disturbances had been thereby cut away. Alas they did not know the God's will. Under Tarabai's guidance, Maratha activity began to increase daily.'[90] Rajaram's widow had already during her husband's life 'displayed intelligence and began to draw the threads of administration into her own hands'. During the crucial period that threatened the very existence of the Maratha kingdom in consequence of Rajaram's death, the disputed succession to his throne and Aurangzib's unbroken round of victories against the Marathas from 1699-1701, Tarabai managed the Maratha affairs in such a way that all the efforts of Aurangzib against the Marathas (1701-1707) failed. When Aurangzib declared

his 'journey's end' at Ahmadnagar while pursuing the Marathas—the latter were, with the return of Shahu and commencement of the Peshwa Period, to launch another era of power and expansion.

At the close of the 'Royal Period', the historian reviewed the administration of Maratha polity—what the Marathi documents describe as *Swaraj* or own kingdom and the Persian accounts refer as old dominion (*Mulk-i-qadim*).[91] Outside the settled and half-settled regions of the kingdom, there was a wide and fluctuating belt of land subject to Maratha power but not under their sovereignty—the adjacent parts of the Mughal Empire (*Mughlai* in Marathi) which formed the happy hunting ground of Maratha horsemen.[92] In such regions Shivaji levied 'blackmail' popularly known as *Chauth*.[93]

Shivaji's administrative system was, generally speaking, not something original, but an acceptance and development of past Hindu and Mohammadan systems, with some striking innovations of his own. His administrative Council of the eight ministers or the *Ashtha Pradhan* is a proof of his appreciation of the need of experts to administer the affairs of his realm; the power and solidarity of the British Cabinet, was lacking in it.[94] Shivaji's army organization was a model of efficiency.[95] His territory contained 240 forts, every fort and out-post (*Thanah*) was placed under 3 officers of equal status. The *havaldar*, the *sari-i-naubat* and the *sabnis*, while the former two were selected from the Maratha caste, the *sabnis*, was from among the Brahmans, so that 'one caste served as a check upon another' and no fort was to be left solely under a *havaldar*, lest a single traitor should be able to deliver it to the enemy. Besides, an excellent spy system supplied him in advance the minutest information and the enemy's pursuit or obstruction was quickly met with and the booty safely reached its destination, without delay or loss. It was Shivaji's settled policy to use his army for drawing supplies from 'foreign' dominions. Every year the troops were to subsist for eight months in foreign parts and also on levy contributions. No woman, slave or dancing girl, was to accompany the army and a soldier keeping any of these, was beheaded. Shivaji's inborn military genius was proved by his adoption of that system of warfare most suited to the racial character, nature of the region, weapons of the age and the 'condition' of his enemies.[96] Creation of navy and naval bases was another proof of his genius. He instinctively perceived that for

economic prosperity as well as the protection of inland regions, command of the coastal waters was a must. Shivaji had no cannon factory for preparing gunpowder and in this respect "his largest vessels were inferior to the third rate English or Portuguese fighting ships".[97]

In the revenue administration Shivaji brought about a remarkable innovation. He succeeded to a great extent in sweeping away the middle class of revenue farmers and came in direct contact with the cultivators. The *zamindars—deshmukhs* and *desais*—no longer could exercise the rights of a political superior over the *ryots* or harass them.[98] The land in every province was to be measured and an estimate was made of the expected produce of each *bigha*, three parts of which were left to the peasantry and two parts taken by the state.[99]

Shivaji's religious policy was ideally suited for a state with a composite population. It was based on the principles of universal toleration, protection, justice and recognition of talent irrespective of considerations of caste and creed. Himself a devout Hindu, he not only gave legal recognition to the Muslim *qazis* in his dominions, but also employed a number of Muhammadan officers in the highest position.[100] If he gave pensions to Brahman scholars, he also generously endowed Muslim holy men, notably Baba Yaqut of Keloshi. The influence of Guru Ramdas on Shivaji, appears to have been 'spiritual and not political.'[101] His chivalry to women and strict enforcement of morality were a distinction in that age and exorted admiration even from his critics like Khafi Khan.[102] The letter that was written on his behalf to Aurangzib against reimposition of *Jiziyah* is a 'masterpiece of clear logic, calm persuation and political wisdom'.[103] Religion for him remained the ever fresh fountain of right conduct and liberality. Shivaji in his private life, 'stands on a lofty pedestal in the hall of the worthies of history'.[104] His devotion to his mother was proverbial, he was a loving father and an attentive husband. Though not above the usage of his age that allowed polygamy and keeping of concubines even to priests, his enunciation of a policy that was scrupulously pure regarding the sanctity of womanhood was at once an eye opener and a rare lesson that he set by his example before his courtiers.[105]

Sir Jadunath, after his assessment of Shivaji's career, concluded that historical estimate of Shivaji required revision. He was no

'brigand' or a lightly moving indefatigable raider who succeeded, for those belonging to the category cannot establishes state, much less in the teeth of opposition as Shivaji did. That is the work of a statesman.[106] Shivaji's genius conforms Count Cavour's definition of a true statesman as '*tact des choses possibles*' or the instinctive perception of what is possible under the circumstances.[107] Shivaji had not only the born leader's personal magnetism and the royal gift of judging human character—which explains in no small measure the success of the 'hero king'—he also judged the social forces of his age sagaciously. He had 'an almost superhuman acumen in knowing before-hand what is possible and what is not in that age and country'.[108] He chose the fittest men for work, as proved by the fact that many distant expeditions of his reign were conducted by his generals and not by him, during his absence from the kingdom his planned arrangements for administration and other affairs of the state were smoothly carried out by his agents. It was Shivaji's training aided by Maratha traits of personal independence and initiative that the Marathas stood up against the resources of the mighty Aurangzib for eighteen years after the murder of Shambhuji and defeated him when they had no king or capital to form the centre of national defence. This was 'a novel feat in the midst of Asiatic monarchies where everything depended on the king's presence or ability'.[109]

To the controversial and often debated question whether Shivaji succeeded in creating a nation, the historian's answer was 'No', for a century and a half after Shivaji, the Maratha kingdom fell before the British arms. The process is tellingly described by the shrewed Scotch contemporary, Sir Thomas Munro : 18th December, 1817. "I have already got possession of this district (Sholapur), entirely by the assistance *of whom nine-tenth* are in our favour and have requested that they should not be transferred to any Maratha jagirdar". What about the attitude of other classes during the national disaster of 1818 ? "Most of the southern jagirdars would, I believe, be well pleased to find a decent pretext for getting out of it (i.e. the war, in which they were standing by the side of the Peshwa)". . . "We have in our favour, with the exception of a few disbanded horsemen and the immediate servants of the late Government, almost the whole body of the people. We have all the trading, manufacturing and agricultural classes." And finally : 19th May 1818 'No army was ever more completely

destroyed than the Peshwa infantry. Of the few who escaped (after the fall of Sholapur) with their arms, the greater part were disarmed or killed by the country people'.[110]

The historian poses a question—Could one imgine the French soldiers, after defeat at the hands of Germans, in a War provoked by Nepoleon III, as being 'disarmed or killed by the country people' while escaping from the enemy?' One has read only of the country people in France under such circumstances joining the French soldiers in defence of their country.

The conclusion, though one may not relish it, was "irresistible' that the French are a nation but 'the Marathas were not, even after a century and a half of *Hindu Padshahi* or a purely national government without any foreign admixture or control'.[111]

In Shivaji's failure to create a nation even among his own race in a corner of India, lay the deep-rooted economic and social factors apart from the obvious reason—that his reign was too brief.[112] In an age of nominal trade and small scale industries and of ever changing world around, attachment to one's ancestral land was the strongest passion.[113] *Watan* or fief-land was dearer than *Patria* or *swadesh.* When land rights were unsettled, Shivaji like all other conquerers appeared as a new dissolving force and all those who lost their suits as per his decisions on the claims and counterclaims—preferred a foreign power, whether it was Mughals, Portuguese or English, which assured to the *watandar* the possession of his land to a 'grasping national king' who threatened to take away the *watan* or enchance his demand for revenue.[114] In such conditions, self-survival was of more importance than that of the 'nation'. This factor was highlighted further, because of the fact that the Maratha state had no stable basis of economy, no normal means of growth within itself and the economic development of the state reacted dangerously on the political history.[115] The internal resources of a mostly barren land and an agriculture dependent upon scanty and precarious rainfall, could neither have supported the large army of Shivaji nor the imperial position and domination to which the Peshwas aspired. Hence, the necessary expenses of the state could be met only by 'a constant flow of money from outside and it is the very nature of a *Kreig-staat* to move in a vicious circle'.[116] It must wage war periodically to meet necessary expenses, but war destroyed production and wealth in the invading and the invaded country alike and ultimately defeated its very end, as

illustrated by Shivaji's repeated plunder of Surat.[117] The Peshwas, in spite of their dazzling political success, were bankrupt from the days of the Great Baji Rao I onwards.[118] Even Shivaji had repeated monetary problems during his short reign—though in his case it was not due so much to real insolvency as to his not wishing to touch his hoarded treasure for the normal expenses of his army. This tendency hardened with time and as an acute English observer wrote in 1803, "Every Maratha prince and every *jagirdar* or militry chief in the Maratha Empire, has a *Khazana* or private treasure which is the first and never-ending object of his ambition to increase . . . no want of money for supporting a war, even in defence of his own territory, ever induces a Maratha chief to supply the deficiency from his private treasury; the loss of which would be to him a much more grievous calamity than subjugation of his country."[119] A more recent example was that of Daulat Rao Sindhia in 1803, as described by Captain Broughton. "While Sindhia is daily submitting to these and similar insults from his unpaid soldiery, he possesses a privy purse of 50 lakhs, which no distress, either of himself or his troops, is sufficiently powerful to induce him to violate".[120]

Such were the men, apart from the inherent weakness of Maratha economy to which Shivaji also provided no real remedy; on whom he tried to build a nation and with whom he had to leave his uncompleted task.

What was more—deep study of the Maratha society, indeed of society throughout India "reveals some facts" which it is sometimes considered, 'patriotism to ignore'. "The greatest obstacles to Shivaji's nation" were not the Mughals, Adil Shahis, Siddes or Feringis, but his own countrymen".[121] The dominant factors of the present-day society, and even more so three hundred years back, was caste, not so much the four broad divisions of Hindu; what counted really were the divisions and sub-divisions into innumerable small groups.[122] Without the abolition of all distinctions of caste and creed, a nation cannot come into being. Shivaji himself was a 'Maratha' i.e. member of a despised caste[123] and had to struggle against the jealousies, scorn and even opposition of certain Maratha families, his equals in caste—whom he had 'outdistanced' and who also, leave aside the upper castes, despised him as 'the upstart grandson of Maloji whom some old men, still living, remembered to have seen tilling his fields like a *Kunbi*'.[124] Even

Shivaji with all his conquests and treasures was not content till he was recognized as a 'Kshatriya' entitled to wear the sacred thread and to have the Vedic hymns chanted at the rites. The Deccani Brahmans insisted on treating him as nothing more than a Shudra. This drove him to Balaji Avji, the leader of Kayasthas and another victim of Brahmanical arrogance.[125] Balaji Avji engaged the high priest Gaga Bhatta of Benaras to 'make' Shivaji a 'Pure Kshatriya', highly depleting Shivaji's treasury in the process. It did not convince the Deccani Brahmans assembled at Shivaji's coronation—for them there was no true Kshatriya in the modern age and the Brahmans were the only 'twice-born' caste now surviving.[126]

Even in the fall and execution of Shambhuji it was not so much his incapacity or that of his 'Chief Minister' Kavi-Kalash. as the caste and creed feuds between northern Tantriks led by Kavi-Kalash, patronized by Shambhuji and the 'Vedic Brahmnas' of south.[127] The same caste-canker worked under the Peshwas in a different manner. The national glory and prosperity of the achievements of Shivaji and Baji Rao I created a reaction in favour of the Hindu orthodoxy. "In proportion as Shivaji's ideal of a Hindu Swaraj was based on orthodoxy it contained within itself the seed of its own death".[128] It was, indeed as the seer-poet had remarked, "beyond the power of any man, it is opposed to the divine law of the Universe to establish the *swaraj* of such a caste-ridden isolated, internally torn sect over a vast continent like India.[129]

Thus, Shivaji failed to create an enduring nation; however, his genius can be fully judged from the conditions amidst which he rose to sovereignty. Though one might question the 'propriety' of some of the means he employed, his success was dazzling.[130] His ideals of giving his subjects peace, universal toleration, equal opportunities for all castes and creeds and an administration that was an improvement on the existing systems, his foresight in establishing a navy to promote and safeguard trade and a trained militia to guard the homeland—were such, as are as acceptable today.[131] The 'national' development he sought, proceeded from the initial energy of one self-taught man.

What is more, in the midst of political surveillance and religious persecution of the Hindus forming two-thirds of population during the Muslim rule, Shivaji appeared as the star of hope, and by his achievements proved the potential of the race that

"The tree of Hinduism is not really dead, that it can rise from beneath and seemingly crushing load of centuries of political bondage, exclusion from the administration, and legal repression, it can put forth new leaves and branches, it can again lift its head up to the skies".[132]

Finally, the historian of Shivaji at the end of a careful study of all the known records about him in eight different languages is 'bound to admit' that 'Shivaji was not only the maker of the Maratha Nation, but also, the greatest constructive genius of Medieval India. States fall, empires break, dynasties become extinct, but the memory of a true "hero as king" remains an imperishable historical legacy for the entire human race'.[133]

Next, Jadunath fulfilled the 'impartial historian's duty' not to conceal the defence of racial character of the Marathas. They had been 'strong' and 'free' but not 'united'. Like the Scottish highlanders and the Afghan tribes, Maratha family has fought Maratha family, clan has fought clan, in selfish personal feuds, the result for the country was disastrous. Santaji Ghorpare, the brilliant Maratha general, was killed not by a Muslim, but by another Maratha, Nimbalkar, whose brother the general had killed in an earlier family fued. Like in other parts of the country, caste-squabbles whether it is a Brahman—Probhu wrangle or a Chitpavan Brahman versus Karhara Brahman are as alive even today.[134] Still the 'Marathas have a historic advantage of unique importance in the India of today . . . their near ancestors had faced death in a hundred battlefields, they had helped make Indian history in the immediate and not yet forgotten past, the memory of which is a priceless asset to their race'. Whereas 'in the combination of intellectual keenness, patient industry, spartan simplicity and courage necessary for transforming thought into deed and a diffused sense of democratic equality, the Marathas have no superior and hardly any equal among the other races of India. Would that they also possessed the organizing skill, the spirit of team work . . . the far sight and the saving common-sense of the Anglo-Saxon race.'[135]

The publication of *Shivaji and his times* (1919) created a mixed reaction among the Hindus in general and the Marathas in particular. They felt that the historian's pen was no more lenient than Aurangzib's sword to the champions and martyrs of Hindu independence in the seventeenth century. Jadunath Sarkar had superseded

James Grant Duff, both as regards source material and interpretation. Marathas were happy over Jadunath Sarkar's irrefutable logic, supported by historical evidence, in clearing Shivaji of the 'allegation' of Grant Duff, 'of murder of an invited guest', but not over the historian proving the acquisition of Javli 'by a deliberate murder and organized treachery on the part of Shivaji'.[136] "Imbecile jealousy and resentment at this inroad into the Maratha preserve by a bold northerner were not lacking."[137] His command of Persian and Dingal (Western Hindi), his thorough and accurate knowledge of Marathi, along with his technique of textual criticism gave him a decisive advantage over any purely Marathi-bred historian.[138] There were also authorities on Maratha history who acknowledged Jadunath's- interest in Maratha history 'most fortunate for Maharashtra'.[139] With his conviction that truth must override fiction, the historian's thesis that Shivaji failed to create an enduring nation, was the 'greatest provocation' he gave to Maharashtra, yet his dispassionate review of the causes of Shivaji's failure to build an enduring state and his account of 'hindrances to true nationality' form what 'should be compulsory reading for the so called integrationists of today'.[140] At the same time the historian's patience with the legitimate criticism was great and his approach optimistic.[141] Shivaji in the midst of political gloom and religious persecution, socio-economic discriminations of over five centuries had proved the potential and capability of the 'tree of Hinduism', it could reach the heights where sky was the limit.

Authentic history, sooner or later, had to be stomached and from many quarters appreciated too. *Shivaji and his times*, ran into five editions, (1919 to 1952) each improving upon the previous one in the light of the new source material the historian so diligently hunted. In the opinion of H. Beveridge, "All his books are good, but perhaps the best of them is *Shivaji and his times*". Sir Richard Temple hailed this work as "Indeed history treated to the right way and in the right spirit". V.A. Smith called it, "A bold and deliberately provocative book, meriting the closest study".[142] The Maratha scholar S.R. Tikekar considerd Jadunath Sarkar, "the most authoritative biographer of our Chatrapati Maharaj".[143] The present day Maratha scholars too admit Jaduath Sarkar's "biography of Shivaji, with all its defects, still being the best in the last half century".[144]

A fellow-worker and an intellectual companion of Sir Jadunath

in the field was G.S. Sardesai,[145] who also played an eminent role in the evolution of Maratha historical research on an all-India basis.[146] His notable works include *Marathi Riyasat* in eight volumes (1915-22), 'A Standard History of the Marathas in Marathi', *The Main Currents of Maratha History*, 1926, and *A New History of the Maratha People* (3 Volumes, 1946-48). His valuable corpuses are *Selection from the Peshwa's Daftar* (45 volumes, 1933), *The Poona Residency Correspondence* series (co-edited with Jadunath Sarkar), *Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagire Lekh* (Marathi) edited by Sardesai and others, 1930) and the *Aitihasik Patra Vyavahara* edited by Sardesai, K.P. Kulkarni and Y.M. Kale.[147]

In the evolution of the 'historian by accident' to 'the greatest living historian of Maharashtra' of his day,[148] the 'influence' of over 55 years of friendship with Jadunath Sarkar is unmistakable as acknowledged by Sardesai as well as others.[149] This does not however mean that both of them always held the same view point,[150] Sardesai's conclusions were of his own and his merit recognized by prominent Maharashtra historians, the British as well as the Indian Government.[151]

For Sardesai, Shivaji's undertaking had an all-India character,[152] Shambhuji stood for 'violence' and 'Rajaram' for 'Quiescence'. The phase of 1700-1707 signified 'Retribution'. While the Marathas "form the most recent example of our genius for nation making . . . their construction proved too short lived".[153]

Another 'Bengali inroader' into Maratha history assisted and encouraged by Jadunath Sarkar,[154] was Surendra Nath Sen. His major works denote two distinct features, namely Maratha institutions as the choice of subject of research and his idea of continuity in Indian history.[155] His *Shiva Chhatrapati* (1920) is a translation of *Sabhasad Bakhar* with extracts from *Chitnis Bakhar* and *Shivadigvijya*,[156] meant for readers not knowing Marathi and to increase the value of the work, he has pointed out the 'errors and inaccuracies' in his notes.[157] *Foreign Biographies of Shivaji* (1927), contains some of the earliest biographies of the Maratha hero. Though expecting 'unimpeachable accuracy or impartial history' would be futile, they no doubt present 'interesting anecdotes, contemporary gossip and incidentally some information of real historical value'.[158] Through his *Administrative System of the Marathas* (1925) and his *Military System of the Marathas* (1928), he has shown, what Shivaji achieved was mainly through the

effective utilization of institutions, which had existed long before him and continued to exist after him.[159] "Shivaji was not the creator of a new system; he modified and reformed what he had inherited from his Hindu and Muhammadan predecessors. Every administrative system has its roots in the past and the Maratha system was by no means an exception".[160] His explanation of the eventual downfall of the Marathas, is quite in line with his institutional interpretation. It was the development of feudalism—an institution which undermined the state and this brought to an end a long continuity of Maratha and Indian institution.

The chain of research and writings on Shivaji as well as on Maratha history in general continued. In 1931 appeared *Shivaji the Founder of Maratha Swaraj*, by C.V. Vaidya. The work of a great admirer and apologist, which is mainly based on *Shiva Bharat Jedhe Sakhavali, Patrasamgraha Sabhasad* and English Records on Shivaji, contains not only assertions like 'The Supposed murder of Mores'—actually an 'execution'[161] which can be questioned, but as is put in the foreword "His thesis that Shivaji was the father of the conception and inception of Hindu *Swaraj*, is not easy to defend".[162]

In 1932 was published Dr. Balkrishan's[163] *Shivaji the Great*. He made use of the Dutch records from Hague and Batavia and the *Mudhol Farmans*. The authenticity of the latter documents is very much doubted and it was on the basis of these documents that he tried to prove Shivaji's ancestory as that of Rajputs, without convincing even on literary grounds.[164] Shivaji's life as a source of inspiration has been enlivened in his brilliant narrative in a history-cum-source book where source material often over-shadows the historical narration'.

S.R. Sharma in his *Maratha History Re-Examined* (1295-1707) Poona, 1944, undertook what he considered 'a task long overdue'. While trying to free the 'Grand Strategist' of Jadunath Sarkar's charge against Shivaji, of the murder of Mores, S.R. Sharma seems to have overlooked the fact pointed out by Sarkar that 'Chandra Rao' was the hereditary title of the Chief of Javli—conferred by a Bijapur king in recognition of the founder's strength and courage and hence the problem of Shivaji asking for the hand of 'a daughter of 16 year old Chandra Rao' does not arise.[165] Regarding the rise of the Marathas, Jadunath Sarkar's interpretation has, as elsewhere too, not been given its due when he writes

Jadunath Sarkar has found in rise of Marathas, no more than manifestation of the genius of superman'[166] and quotes Jadunath Sarkar (out of context). "The cohesion of the people in the Maratha State was not organic but artificial, accidental and therefore, precarious. It was solely dependent on the ruler's extraordinary personality and disappeared when the country ceased to produce supermen".[167] The above assessment is made by Sarkar not regarding the rise of Marathas but while looking into the causes of Shivaji's failure to build an enduring state; and has special reference to 'How caste, destroys Notionalism', to which no other historian has gone so boldly and deeply. Regarding rise of the Marathas, Jadunath Sarkar's comprehensive view was 'A remarkable community of language, creed and life was attained in Maharashtra in the 17th century, even before political unity was conferred by Shivaji . . . by the end of the 17th century a Maratha people in the political and cultural sense of the term had been formed, though caste distinctions still remained'.[168] In the final assessment of Shivaji, S.R. Sharma agrees with and quotes Sir Jadunath, 'Who might never be accused of any uncritical admiration of the Marathas'.[169]

Rajaram Vyankatesh Nadkarni's, *The Rise and Fall of the Maratha Empire* (1966) discusses rise of the Marathas, mainly from economic angle. In his opinion, the depressed material condition of the Marathas was the main cause of the rise of the Maratha State under Shivaji, the Great, and also of its rebirth after his death'.[170] While he considers the medieval character of the Maratha society as the main cause of the downfall of the Maratha Empire,[171] his remark "Mr. Sarkar and others have now and again attempted in a profunctory manner, to give their reasons for the downfall of the Maratha nation"[172] is unwarranted. A study of the relevant parts of his *Shivaji and his times*, *House of Shivaji* and *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. IV reveals a deep and comprehensive though at times 'unpalatable and startling' factors regarding the downfall of the Maratha Empire.[173]

A.R. Kulkarni's *Maharashtra in the Age of Shivaji* (Poona, 1969) is "an attempt at presenting a sketch of the conditions of life in Maharashtra of Shivaji's times primarily from the economic point of view".[174] Such a task had attracted attention in general earlier too.[175] The distinction of the work, however, lies in describing the economic life of Maharashtra during half the century (1630-1680) of a significant phase of Maratha history. That A.R.

Kulkarni 'did not find much new material' is a tribute to the hard work of his predecessors in the field of history of Shivaji'.[176] The uphill task of wresting from 'all or most of his authorities' is all his, as is breaking a new ground in presenting a fuller and integrated account of the theme. The work, moreover, describes the 'conditions of economic life . . . rather than giving an account of the historical development of economy in Maharashtra of the 17th century'.[177] In analysing the factors and forces of the economic life of the people, A.R. Kulkarni describes such aspects of economy as the village organization, land revenue administration, agriculture, irrigation, famine, public income as well as expenditure, industry, trade, commerce, currency and monetary transactions in general, all gleaned from a careful analysis of the primary sources in Modi script of Marathi, other contemporary records and chronicles supplemented by later works.[178]

The study brings out how the pioneering work of Dadaji (Konddev) laid foundations of a 'stable economy'.[179] The famine of 1629-30 and the cost and warfare showed itself in dislocation of agriculture and industry. Shivaji fully realized the importance of economic factors for the stability of the kingdom, as by 1680 he had created 'a kingdom yielding a revenue of one crore *hons*'.[180] Agriculture was the basis of economy. Trade and industry appear to have been in primitive state and, therefore, lack of organized transport and communication was not felt much by people in the 17th century.[181] The Maratha state was moving towards the 'object of public expenditure' as indicated by the different heads of expenditure under Shivaji's government.[182] Caste-system formed the basis of occupational organization. While the rates of interest on loans were higher than those of ancient period, the rates also varied with each caste—the Brahmins paying less than the Kshatriyas, the Vaishyas and the Sudras. The granting of interest-free *tagai* loans to facilitate the cultivators was not unknown.[183]

To introduce sweeping changes in social institutions by drastic measures, however, was not undertaken by Shivaji who 'adopted the practical line of action'. He allowed the village communities to enjoy their traditional life undisturbed. He worked with them and not against them 'and though *Sabhasad* mentions that Shivaji wrested the *ryot* from the clutches of *watandars* . . . this can simply be interpreted as a pious wish with Shivaji rather than the actual execution of such a policy on a large scale'.[184] However, the fact

that one hardly comes across rebellions against hereditary officials, could be attributed to both, 'lack of political consciousness' and to the fact that 'people had no grudge against this traditional *watan* system'. In fact 'instead of changing the old pattern of village organisation, Shivaji utilized it to serve his own ends'.[185]

K.L. Mahalay in his *Shivaji : the Pragmatist* (Nagpur, 1969) has presented the entire subject from a socio-economic angle. According to him Shivaji brought about a 'socio-economic change . . . in the life of common man. By ending feudalism, he gave the people liberty and protection they did not enjoy during the middle ages . . . the upsurge of the masses under Shivaji had some economic base, but it was more social than economic. It was based on social equality within the limits of caste-system.'[186] In as much as Shivaji could not "use his whip against 'the castiest hierarchy' showed his weakness".[187] However, he tried to 'compress the castes in his own practical ways', the *Mahars, Ramoshis, Mangs* for the first time were given postions of responsibility and he also tried to subordinate the Brahmins to the authority of non-Brahmin officers.[188] Mahalay considers those who paint Shivaji in 'the degrading colours of *Hindu Padshai*, as the protector of cows and Brahmins', 'pollutors' for "Shivaji was a universalist, who seemed to suggest, without show of dogmas that man is, should and must remain the measure of all things".[189]

Mahalay's reference to the 'angle of vision' of Jadunath Sarkar and the reference to his work denotes nothing except pettiness of the nature of charge and is wholly unwarranted.[190]

There have also appeared a number of works on Shivaji, good readings, but without much pretentions of being 'historical works'. These include Kincaid's, *The Grand Rebel* (1937) based on the life of Shivaji, V.B. Kulkarni's *Shivaji—the portrait of a Patriot* (1963) and D.F. Karaka's *Shivaji : Portrait of an early Indian* (1969).[191]

Setu Madhav Rao Pagadi's *Chhatra Pati Shivaji* (1974) published to coincide with the tri-centenary celebrations of the coronation of Chhatrapati Shivaji and dedicated 'to the memory of the Great historian Sir Jadunath Sarkar', reveals Shivaji as 'a great Indian and a great humanitarian whose message as brilliant and daring in peace as in war, is as relevant today'.[192]

On the eve of Shivaji's coronation tri-centenary celebrations, also appeared a number of works in form of collections and a monograph, centering round Shivaji's 'role' in the freedom and

national movements of the country.[193] Anil Samrath's *Shivaji and the Indian National Movement : Saga of a Living Legend* (Bombay, 1975), is a study of the Shivaji Movement in India and its impact on Indian Nationalism. The author has shown how the shrewd observer Bal Gangadhar Tilak could put his finger on the pulse of the people; for Shivaji was looked upon with 'awe and admiration' by the educated urbanites and the uneducated villagers alike. In Maharashtra 'Shivaji and *Swaraj* are the two sides of the same coin' and Tilak, whose party's political aim too was *Swarajya*, the Shivaji Movement was an effective *modus operandi.*[194] With the enterance of Gandhji, who had his own technique of associating the sons of the soil in the national movement, into the political scence, and with the death of Tilak the 'saga of a living legend' receded into the background; the idea of Tilak's Shivaji Movement 'to stand from fear set free' still remained as the way to proceed.[195] An interesting and original feature of the work is chapter VI, that relates to Shivaji in proscribed and forfeited literature.

Notwithstanding the recent research and writing on Shivaji and the Marathas, Sir Jadunath Sarkar still remains the most outstanding authority. He not only signalled the break from Duff's interpretation, but pioneered a judicious reconstruction of the Marathad heritage and legacy. His role in overcoming of the isolationist treatment of Maratha history was remarkable. He put Maratha history in a national framework; through the evolution of past events from an all-India perspective and through his conclusions from Maratha history for all countrymen. G.S. Sardesai aptly complimented, "A major portion of the whole of Maratha history has been reconstructed by you. If you had not sacrificed money and labour of a life-time, Maratha history could not have progressed to what it is, in spite of Rajwade and others".[196]

He reigns supreme as the 'most authoritative' and 'the best biographer' of Shivaji and acclaimed as such by the historians of the 'land' of Shivaji.[197] The exclusive interpretations of Shivaji and his times being attempted now-a-days, whether solely from socio-economic, or *Swaraj* or nationalist angles, with Goethe's observation : finding a *pieces justificatives*[198] seem to depend upon Sarkar's work. Jadunath Sarkar's tremendous signifiance lies in providing the *terra-firma*—by collecting and sifting the wide range of historical material, and of constructing the 'necessary foundation—the bedrock of unassailable facts, on which alone the superstructure

could be raised . . . by those aspiring to 'review and judge the past in a novel manner'.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Dennis Kincaid in the Preface to *The Grand Rebel*, Collins, London, 1937 wrote "Most English people have heard of the Mughals as the traditional Pre-British rulers of India. They then find it puzzling that the earlier heroes of Anglo-Indian biography apparently never oppose any Mughal but are constantly in difficulties with the Marathas".
2. James Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas*, London, 1826, Vol. I, 4th edition, edited by J.P. Guha, Associated Publishing House, New Delhi, 1971, p. 19.
3. The author, who had never visited India, himself admitted that he could not vouch for the 'authenticity' of his work, but that he compiled it from such accounts as were available to him in several European languages. See S.R. Sharma's *Maratha History Re-Examined*, Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay, 1944, Introduction 1.
4. Edward Scott Waring, *A History of the Mahrattas*, London 1810.
5. J.S. Grewal, "James Grant Duff on the Marathas", *Medieval India : History and Historians*, Guru Nanak University, Amritsar, 1975, pp. 78-79. "That his work has served as the foundation of modern historiography on Marathas is evident from the fact that Sir Jadunath Sarkar (Preface to *Shivaji and his times*) regarded Grant Duff as his 'direct predecessor'. He was a captain of the native infantry of Bombay and after the final defeat of the Marathas, he was appointed British resident to the Court of Satara. One of his important duties was to preserve the records of the former government. In his historical pursuits, he was encouraged by Mountstuart Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay. In its latest form Duff's work is presented in two volumes (Delhi, 1971), edited by J.P. Guha.
6. James Grant Duff, *A History of the Mahrattas*, Vol. I, Preface, vii.
7. Johannes H. Voigt, "Historical Writing in Western India with Special Reference to the Influence of Nationalism", *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Calcutta, 1966-67, No. 1, p. 39.
8. James Grant Duff, *A History of the Maharattas*, Vol. I, 161.
9. A.R. Kulkarni, "Mountstuart Elphinstone and Maratha History" *Bengal Past and Present*, July-Dec., 1970, Vol. Lxxxix, Part I, Serial No. 168, p. 203, Mountstuart Elphinstone to Grant Duff, dated 20-7-1819.
10. James Grant Duff, *History of the Maharattas*, edited by J.P. Guha, 'A note on Grant Duff's History', xxxviii.
11. L.B. Keny, "Kashinath Trimbak Telang", *Historians and Historiography in Modern India*, ed. S.P. Sen, pp. 188-199. A researcher and historian of ancient Indian and Maratha history, one of the founders of the Indian National Congress. He was one of the seven Indians appointed as members of the Education Commission by Lord Ripon in 1882 and in 1881, he had become the first Indian Law Professor in Bombay, Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University 1882-1892.

12. K.T. Telang, "Gleaning from Maratha Chronicles" in M.G. Ranade's *Rise of the Maratha Power*, Punalekar & Co., Bombay, 1900, Appendix, p. 118.
13. G.S. Sardesai, *The Main Currents of Maratha History*, Phoenix Publications, Bombay, 1949, p. 37.
14. *Ibid*.., pp. 36-37.
15. V.G. Hatalkar, "M.G. Ranade", *Historians and Historiography in Modern India*, editor S.P. Sen, Institute of Historical Studies, Calcutta, 1973, pp. 165-184.
16. M.G. Ranade, *Rise of the Maratha Power*, p. 8. Duff wrote "that turbulent predatory spirit of the Hindus of Maharashtra which though for ages smothered . . . till like the parched grass, kindled amidst the forests of Sahyadree mountains, they burst forth in spreading flame and men after wondered at the conflagration", J.P. Guha, who edited Duff's History (New Delhi, 1971), xxxx, is of the opinion that "Ranade's judgement in use of the above extract, has completely missed the mark", Vol. I, p. 32.
17. M.G. Ranade, *Rise of the Maratha Power*, Preface, vii.
18. Johannes H. Voigt, "Historical Writing in Western India with Special Reference to the Influence of Nationalism (1870-1930)", *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol. VI, 1966-67, No. 1, pp. 41-42.
19. 'Shivaji Utsab' began to be celebrated in Poona in 1895 and its echo was heard in distant Bengal in 1904 and 1906, a period coinciding with the *Swadeshi* movement. Shivaji's name and ideals were stressed by men like Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Sri Aurobindo, Rabindranath Tagore and Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. See Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, "Shivaji and Modern India", *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XCV, Part I, No. 180 Jan.-June 1976, p. 205.
20. Johannes H. Voigt, "Historical Writing in Western India with Special Reference to the Influence of Nationalism (1870-1930)", *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol. VI, 1966-67, No. 1, p. 46.
21. The Office of the Commissioner, Central Division Alienation Branch, Poona, wrote to G.S. Sardesai on 23-9-1929 that "Government had directed that information gathered from the Alienation Records was not to be published without their express orders" and that "therefore you had better drop the idea of publishing anything from those records at this stage". Ms. letter in Historical Research Office, Poona Correspondence File, June 1929 to March 1931—Alienation Office, Poona. The access to historical sources in Government archives was severely restricted till 1940. The policy has been liberalised after 1947. See S. Roy, "Recent Trends in Indian Research Activities in Modern Indian History", *The Indian Archives*, Vol. XV, Jan. 1963—December 1964, pp. 55 f.
22. G.H. Khare, "Vishwanath Kashinath Rajwade", *Historians and Historiography in Modern India*, pp. 200-206; J.N. Sarkar, "The Historian Rajwade", *House of Shivaji*, p. 248.
23. J.N. Sarkar, "True Sources of Maratha History", *The Modern Review*, Vol. 47, 1930, p. 305.
24. J.N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, p. 252; V.G. Hatalkar on "M.G. Ranade",

Historians and Historiography in Modern India, p. 179. While trying to repudiate Sarkar's view of Ranade's sources, Hatalkar contradicts himself when he sums up *Rise of Maratha Power* as "not aiming to provide fresh material on the subject, nor supplying a critical apparatus for the study of sources. It gives a philosophy of Maratha history." A Philosophy of history can be provided only on the sound history, based on critical study of a variety of authentic sources. It was to the study of original contemporary sources of Maratha history that Rajwade dedicated his life.

25. Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, "History and Historians of Medieval India", *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Calcutta, 1963-64, Vol. III, Nos. I & II, p. 61.
26. A.M. Vairat, "Vasudev Vamanshastri Khare", *Historians and Historiography in Modern India*, pp. 215-220; G.S. Sardesai, *Main Currents of Maratha History*, p. 40; J.N. Sarkar, "V.V. Khare", *House of Shivaji*, pp. 267-272.
27. J.N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, p. 272; V.G. Khobrekar, "Dattatry Balwant Parasnis", *Historians and Historiography in Modern India*, pp. 207-214; J.N. Sarkar on "D.B. Parasnis" in his *House of Shivaji*, p. 273.
28. H.G. Rawlinson, *Shivaji the Maratha : His Life and Times*, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1915, Introduction, pp. 8-9, 98-99.
29. H.G. Rawlinson and R.P. Patwardhan, *Source Book of Maratha History*, Government Central Press, Bombay, 1929, Introduction, iv.
30. Johanes H. Voigt, "Historical Writing in Western India with Special Reference to the Influence of Nationalism" (1870-1930) *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol. VI, 1966-67, No. 1, p. 42.
31. J.N. Sarkar, "True Sources of Maratha History", *The Modern Review*, Vol. 47, 1930, p. 305.
32. Johanes H. Voigt, "Historical Writing in Western India with Special Reference to the Influence of Nationalism (1870-1930)", *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol. VI, 1966-67, No. 1, p. 43.
33. G.S. Sardesai, *Main Currents of Maratha History*, pp. 36-37.
34. J.N. Sarkar, "What Maharashtra Teaches Us", *House of Shivaji*, 3rd ed., First Orient Longman reprint, 1978, p. 298.
35. G.S. Sardesai, "Jadunath Sarkar As I Know Him", *Life and Letters*, p. 19.
36. Typed Mss. Sitamau 1941, presented by Raghubir Sinh—Sir J.N. Sarkar Collection, National Library, Calcutta,—While writing his monumental work *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Sir Jadunath utilized all the available sources of the period and worked at some length on Marathi sources in general and those dealing with the period, in particular. 'These notes are sure to be very helpful to scholars working over this period and specially to those who are fully acquainted with the Marathi language'. Raghubir Sinh, 'Introduction' to Notes.
37. In *Modern Review*, the following articles on 'Royal Period' were published :
    1. 'Shivaji Letters' (From Newly Discovered Persian Material, 1907).
    2. 'Life of Shivaji', 1907.

3. 'New Light on Maratha History', 1916.
4. 'Rise of Shahji Bhonsle', 1917.
5. 'Shivaji in Madras Karnatak', 1924.
6. 'True Sources of Maratha History', 1930.
7. 'The Last Campaign of Shivaji'—1928, *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. IV, December, 1928.

38. See J N. Sarkar's, *Shivaji and his times*, p. 391. "The Royal period of Maratha History by which we mean the reigns of Shivaji and his two sons (1660-1700) differs fundamentally from the Peshwa Period (1707-1802) not only in the extent but also in the character of its historical records. A vast and varied mass of contemporary documents in English, Persian and Marathi illuminate the rule of the Peshwas. But when we come to study the lives of Shivaji and his sons, we are held up by an utter lack of State Papers, detailed official histories, personal Memoirs and public letters, such as are plentiful in the case of the Mughal."
39. J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his times*, Preface, iii.
40. *Ibid.*, Bibliography, pp. 398-399.
41. J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji, A Study in Leadership*, Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College Managing Committee, Jullundur, 1950, p. 1; G.S. Sardesai, "Jadunath Sarkar As I Know Him", *Life and Letters*, p. 18, J.N. Sarkar (tr.) *Shivaji's Visit to Agra* (Rajasthani Records, Dingal Letters) edited by Raghubir Sinh, The Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal, Poona, 1963.
42. 1. Shivaji's patronised poet Parmanand on whom he conferred the title of *Kavindra* (King of Poets) wrote a Sanskrit epic poem for the glorification of Shivaji and his family and named it *Anupuran Suryavamsham*, discovered in the Saraswati Palace Library of Tanjore and printed with a Marathi translation by S.M. Divekar, (under 'the wrong title' *Shiva Bharat* (Poona, 1927).
    2. Some years afterwards two fragments of a Sanskrit epic resembling Kavindra's poem in style, but dealing with the career of Shambhaji, were discovered in the house of Rajopadhyaya family of Kolhapur, printed by P.K. Gode in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. xviii, Part III, 1937 and pp. 287-295 and Vol. xix, Pt. I (1938), pp. 49-60.
    3. The third discovery in this connection was the finding of the fragments totalling 215 pages in the Baroda Oriental Institute Library in 1940, 78 pages deal with Shivaji and are the work of Parmanand and 137 pages, which are the composition of his grandson Govinda II, but unfortunately disconnected and sometimes marred by missing pages. The chief value of this section lies in the information it gives of the poet's family and the composition of their epics. See J.N. Sarkar's *House of Shivaji*, pp. 287-297.
43. J.N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, p. 294.
44. J.N. Sarkar, "Early life of Shahji Bhonsle", "Later Life of Shahji Bhonsle", "Bijapuri State Papers About Shahji Bhonsle", *House of Shivaji*, pp. 23-81, "Reign of Shambhuji", pp. 190-207 and 194-297, "Raja Ram in Jinji", pp. 208-223.
45. J.N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, p. 294.

46. G.S. Sardesai, "Jadunath Sarkar As I Know Him", *Life and Letters*, p. 20. Kanhoji Jedhe and his son Baji were helpmates of Shivaji and his father took a prominent part in most of their early movements and have kept, as was quite customary in those days for important families to keep chronological records, which with a few exceptions, is quite accurate. See G.S. Sardesai, editor, *Shivaji Souvenir*, Keshav Bhikaji Dhawle, Bombay, 1927, G.S. Sardesai's note to J.N. Sarkar's Translation of Jedhe Chronology, pp. 1-3.

47. J.N. Sarkar and Raghubir Sinh : Shivaji's visit to Aurangzeb at Agra, *Rajasthani Records* (Calcutta, 1963). Letter No. 321, p. 35—A description of Shivaji in the letter which Parkaldes wrote to Kalyandas Diwan, from Agra on 29th May, 1664, " . . . At sight Shivaji looks lean and short. His appearance is wonderfully fair in complexion and even without finding out who he is, one does feel instinctively that he is a ruler of men. His spirit and manliness are apparent. He is a very brave, high souled man and wears a beard".

The French traveller Thevenat described him, as "small in size and tawny (in complexion), with quick eyes which indicate abundance of spirit". The British Chaplain Escalat describes Shivaji, when he was seen by some Englishmen at Surat in 1664, as "of mean (medium) stature . . . of an excellent proportion he seems to smile, a quick and piercing eye, and whiter than any of his people".

The best old portraits of Shivaji : 1. An engraving in F. Valentyn's *Oud-en·Nieciw Oost-Indian* (1724-26), the pictures which were most probably acquired by the Dutch E.I. Co.'s Mission to the Mughal Court in 1712. No. 2 The Italian traveller Manucci in 1706 presented to the Venitian Senate a volume of 56 portraits drawn for him by Mir Muhammad, an artist in the household of Shah Alam before 1688. This volume (now in Paris) contains a portrait of Shivaji, second in J.N. Sarkar's work. 3. A contemporary and authentic portrait of Shivaji, presented in the British Museum viz. Ms. Add. 22,282 (Picture No. 12). It bears a Dutch inscription, (Shivaji, the late Maratha Prince). 4. A miniature of Shivaji on horseback hunting a lion with the sword, now preserved in the P.W. Museum, Bombay. See J.N. Sarkar—*Shivaji and his times*—'Portraits of Shivaji'.

48. J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. IV, pp. 1-9. The keynote of Deccan history in the 17th century, pp. 10-36; Rise of the Maratha Power; Kingdoms of Deccan, pp. 107-139, 259-282 and Maratha Navy, 347, 351.

49. J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his times.* "Shaviji's Relations with Siddis of Janjira", pp. 260-268, with the English and the Portuguese, pp. 333-355.

50. G.S. Sardesai, ed., *Shivaji Souvenir*, G.S. Sardesai's 'Note to J.N. Sarkar's translation of *Jedhe Shakhavali*, p. 1.

51. J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji, A Study in Leadership*, p. 1.

52. J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his times*, pp. 1-13.

53. J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his times*, p. 6. However, G.S. Sardesai considers old Peshwa's palace at Nasik, a monument worth being called a work of art'. The temples and images of Pandhanpur, Theur and Chinchwad,

Alandii and Ganaogri are according to him "excellent specimens of the works which the Peshwas executed", *Main Currents of Maratha History*, p. 21. For J.N. Sarkar "even the palaces of the Peshwas are low mean-looking, flimsy structures with small rooms and narrow staircases relieved from utter insignificance only be their richly carved wooden *facade*".

54. J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his times*, pp. 6-7.
55. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.
56. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.
57. J.N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, p. 94.
58. See *Shivaji and his times*, Shivaji's conflicts with Siddis of Janjira, pp. 255-265; Naval battles with the English, pp. 271-274; history of 'indemnity', pp. 338-347—Portuguese 'quarrel with Shiva—treaties of 1667 and 1670,' pp. 350-353.
59. J.N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, p. 95.
60. J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his times*, p. 14.
61. Sir Jadunath practically, reconstructed the life of Shahji by securing manuscripts of the contemporary Persian official histories of two Bijapuri Sultans—Muhammad Adil Shah (1627-56) and Ali Adil Shah II (1656-72) by Zahur-bir-Zahuri and Nurullah respectively, and of a longer and a slightly earlier history, *Fatuhat-i-Adilshahi* by Fuzuni Astarabadi. These original authorities were not available to Ibrahim Zubairi, whose Persian history of Bijapur, named *Basatin-us-Salatin*, written in 1824 had hitherto been our only source of information on Shahji's early and later life. To these he also added Abdul Hamid Lahori's *Padshanamah*. See, *House of Shivaji*, pp. 24, 43, 63; *Shivaji and his times*, p. 16.
62. See *Shivaji and his times*, p. 18, Jadunath Sarkar prefers this date to 19th May 1630, which is given in the 'mutually inconsistent Jedhe Sakhavali and *Suryavamsham*'. V.S. Wakaskar in his edition of *91 Qalmi* Bakhar (pp. 27-28), V.K. Rajwade and B.G. Tilak in *Shiva Charitrapradip* and the *Shivaji Souvenir*, pp. 95-110 of Marathi section, agree with Jadunath Sarkar on the point.
63. It is inferred (see also G.S. Sardesai's *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. I, Phoenix Publications, Bombay, 1946, pp. 52-54, that Shahji had practically forsaken Jijabai and took Tukabai on whom and whose son Viyankoji he lavished his 'society and his gains'. About 1641 Jijabai and Shivaji in the company of Dadaji paid a visit to Shahji at Bangalore, but were sent back to Puna, with the same guardian Dadaji Konddev (*Sabhasad Bakhar*—3.4) quoted by J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his times*, p. 19; G.S. Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. I, pp. 51-53. The wedding itself had been a subject, practically of compulsion. The Bhonsle and the Jadhavas were never on friendly terms, Jadhavas certainly claimed a higher descent from the royal house of Deogiri, while the Bhonsles were not admitted to possess any such royal blood. In the battle of Bhatavdi, Shahji won the day and Jijabai's father Lukhji Jadhavrao in the opposite camp had to save himself by flight and his later desertion to the Mughals only served to widen the gulf between the two families.
64. J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his times*, p. 25.

65. *Ibid.*, p. 26. Mavals of the Western belt of the Puna district differed from the Marathas and Kunbis only by being stronger built, hardier, simpler and less enervated by luxury or vice.

66. Shivaji neither wrote nor sent any envoy to Shahjahan as is sometimes supposed. All his negotiation, about his father's release, was conducted with Prince Murad, as the four original letters of Murad in Parasnis's possession show. See J.N. Sarkar's, *Shivaji and his times*, p. 37.

67. All his old biographies are agreed that it was an act of planned murder for personal gain and not a pardonable homicide in self-defence. Even Shivaji never pretended that the murder of the Mores Hanumant Chandra Rao and his sons Krishnaji and Baji was prompted by a desire to found a *Hindu Swaraj* or remove from his path a treacherous enemy, as pleaded by C.V. Vaidya in *Mahratta* 31st August, 1924 or his work *Shivaji, the Founder of Maratha Empire*, published by the author at 314 Sadashiv Peth, Poona, 1931, pp. 64-71 where he calls it 'execution' and not murder.

68. Abdullah Bhatari, surnamed Afzal Khan was a noble of the first rank, a general of highest rank. The resources of Bijapur had been so much shrunk by wars, disorder and regency under a veiled woman that only 10,000 cavalry could be spared to accompany Afzal, while Shivaji's reported strength was 60,000. Afzal Khan, therefore, naturally 'Shrank from an open contest'. Indeed he was instructed by the Dowager Queen Bari Sahiba to capture or murder Shiva by "pretending friendship with his enemy which he did" (Ravington at Rajapur to Company, 10th Dec., 1659, (F.R. Rajapur) *91 O*, 29, quoted by J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his times*, p. 59.

69. Appendix—'Affair of Afzal Khan', *Shivaji and his times*, 72-74. J.N. Sarkar quotes Mir Alam (*Haidiga-i-Alam*, litho, ii, 226) "The Khan who was strong limbed and intoxicated with the pride of being a hero (*nisha-i-bahaduri dar sar dasht*), gripped Shivaji very hard in the act of embracing and struck him with his belt-dagger".

70. J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his times*, pp. 98-99.

71. The emperor ordered Kumar Kirat Singh to free Shiva from the bondage of pride and arrogance, so that the thorn might be extracted from the foot of the world. But the Kumar out of regard for his father's promises, procastinated and informed Shiva of the matter", Ishwardas Nagar, *Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri* (Br. Museum, Persian Ms. Addl. 23,884) (Fol. 47 to 168) translated by J.N. Sarkar (Calcutta, 1937), p. 14. Shivaji's justification of the spoliation of his neighbours was as he told the Mughal officers at Surat, "Your Emperor has forced me to keep an army for the defence of my people and country. That army must be paid for by his subjects". This however does not explain his raids into Kanara and Tanjore and 'fail altogether as a defence of the foreign policy of the Peshwas". See, J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his times*, p. 370.

72. J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his times*, p. 139. Also appendix—'Shivaji's return from Agra', 1666, dates and route, pp. 157-159.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 214.

74. A full account of Shivaji's second coronation only three months after his

first formal enthronement came to light from the Sanskrit manuscript *Shivaraj—Rajyavishek Kalaptaru* 'unfolding a sordid tale of monkish greed and sectarian bitterness among the Brahmins', J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his times*, pp. 211-214.

75. J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his times*, pp. 261-265.

76. *Ibid.*, pp. 270-275. Though the English withdrew from Kandheri for reasons other than Shivaji's Naval forces and Shivaji occupied the island, it was neutralized by the fact that the closeby island of Underi could not be had from the Siddis and throughout Shambhaji's reign too, the two islands kept, with occasional intervals, bombarding each other.

77. J.N. Sarkar, "Shivaji in Madras Karnatak", *The Modern Review*, January 1924, Vol. XXXIV, No. 1, 149. "Its territory is described in the Fort St. George Diary as 60 leagues in length and 40 leagues in breadth with an annual revenue of 550,000 pounds sterling."

78. In 1680, the Chaitra full moon extended over both 3rd and 4th April (Saturday and Sunday), J.N. Sarkar follows *Sabhasad* which gives Sunday and which also agrees with the English F.R., whereas the Muslim world ascribed his premature death to the curse of the Saint Sayyid Muhammad of Jalna, whose hermitage the Marathas had raided (November 1679) finding very little booty in the town. Because Shivaji in his raids always spared the holy men and holy places of all religions, the wealthy men of the region concealed the wealth in the Saint's abode, which was looted and many refugees wounded despite the appeals of the holyman who then cursed Shiva, who had marvellous efficacy of prayer (*Khafi Khan* ii, 271; *Dil* 165, *91 QB*, 88) referred to by Sarkar in p. 328 of *Shivaji and his times*. In Maharashtra, there were some whispers of Shivaji's wife Soyra Bai, the mother of Rajaram having administered poison to him to prevent his giving the throne to Shambhuji, a year after his accession put Soyra Bai to death on the same charge—which, however, appears to have been a false pretext. 'In contemporary Europe, hardly a king died without the event being ascribed to poisoning'.

79. The *Chitnis Bakhar* which was then the only source for Marathi readers, was written in 1810 and had been 'proved untrustworthy almost throughout'. See J.N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, p. 191.

80. J.N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, p. 175.

81. J.N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, pp. 197-199, quotes (*Bombay Council to Surat*, 30th August, 1681) "Shambhuji hath been in great danger of his life. He had like to have been dispatched by poison put into a dish of fish. But a boy privy to it prevented his eating of it; he gave it to one of his servants and a dog, both died within a few hours. Those that conspired against him were Annaji Pandit, Keso Pandit, Prahlad Pandit, etc. all in hold laden with iron".

Also Fr. Martin's diary (ii 280-281) of December 81 refers to similar conspiracies and repercussions, referred to by Sarkar in *House of Shivaji*, pp. 199-202.

82. J.N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, pp. 192-194; F.R. Surat, Vol. 108, *Bombay Council to Surat* quoted, pp. 196-197, 199-200.

83. J.N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, p. 297.

84. F. Martin, *Memoirs*, ii, p. 454, quoted by J.N. Sarkar in *House of Shivaji*, p. 297.
85. J.N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, p. 208.
86. J.N. Sarkar in *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. V, pp. 50-51 quotes F. Martin, iii, 67-68. "The Minister Prahlad Pandit threw the young prince into the pleasures and amusements of that race, he made him marry three or four women during the first two or three months of his arrival. The dancing girls were brought by the minister to the Court in many bands, and they served for more than one purpose".
87. J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. V, 151, quotes *Chitnis Bhakar* ii—40-41. The titles were of *Senapati*, *Senasahib-Subah*, *Sari-i-lashkar*, *Senad-hurandhar* and "with honour equal to the Senapati". It would be incorrect to call four of these divisional commanders, as they were declared to be equal to the *Senapati* (C-in-C) and in no way subordinate to him.
88. J.N. Sarkar, "A Hero of Old Maharashtra", *House of Shivaji*, pp. 224-242.
89. J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. V. pp. 152-153.
90. *Ibid.*, p. 154, Khafi Khan quoted (K.K. ii, 469).
91. It included, at the time of Shivaji's death all the region, except the Portuguese possession, stretching from Ramnagar in the north to Karwar in the south and from Baglana in the east that ran along an irregular shifting line through the middle of the Nasik and Puna districts, encircling the whole of the Satara and much of the Kolhapur district, a recent but permanent acquisition was the Western Karnatak. See, J.N. Sarkar's *Shivaji and his times*, p. 356.
92. The Kanara highlands including the South Dharwar, the principalities of Sunda and Bedur, where the contest for mastery was still undecided, only parts of the regions paying him tribute.
93. J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his times*, pp. 357-358, *chauth* amounted to 1/4 of the standard assessment of the land revenue of a place, but as the proper assessment was always larger than actual collection, the real incidence of the *chauth* was considerably more than 1/4 of what the peasants paid to their legitimate sovereign. It was only a means of buying off one robber and not a subsidiary system for defence against all enemies, so the lands subject to *chauth* could not be called 'spheres of influence'.
94. J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his times*, p. 361.
95. At the time of his death, his army consisted of 45,000 *Paga* or Cavalry, 60,000 *Silhadars* or troopers, and one lakh of Malve infantry. Sabhasad quoted by J.N. Sarkar in *Shivaji and his times*, p. 359.
96. The Mughal armies that moved like 'moving cities of tents' with every item of comfort and luxury despite their numerical superiority were often at a disadvantage before the fast moving agile Maratha horsemen or infantry following guerilla tactics in Maratha land. See J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. V, pp. 341-342
97. J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his times*, p. 251.
98. The intermediaries between the cultivator and the Government whose power had varied from time to time, regarding their 'rights over the

ryots.' See Duff's *History of Mahrattas*, Vol. I, pp. 6-9; J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his times*, pp. 366-367.

99. Captain Robertson (Bombay, *Gaz.* xviii, Pt. ii, pp. 321-322) gives a different and more complicated account of Shivaji's revenue system. While it is quite possible that the system was not so simple and uniform, as J.N. Sarkar's source *Sabhasad* represents it; but we don't know the Captain's authorities and have no means of testing his statement about a system founded nearly two centuries ago by a dynasty which had long passed away and the continuity of whose tradition had been broken.

100. J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his times*, p. 386. His Secretary was Munshi Haidar, who after Shivaji's death entered Mughal service and became Chief Justice of the Mughal Empire, Siddi Sambal, Siddi Misri and Daulat Khan were his admirals, Siddi Halal and Nurkhan were his commanders. See J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his times*, p. 386.

101. An attempt made to prove that the Marathi hero's political ideal of an independent monarchy was inspired by Ramdas is 'neither adequate nor free from suspicion'. Anecdotes like Shivaji placing the gift of his kingdom at the *Guru's* feet and being appointed as his vicar, to serve the people, Shivaji making red ochre (*Bhagwa*) coloured robe of a Sanyasi his flag, are charming indeed but their historical credibility is not established by works like 'Shivaji and Ramdas', *Chitnis Bakhar*, 44-53, Shambhuji's Bakhar, 5-6, Publications of Rajwade in the now defunct magazine of Ramdasi 'Coterie of Dhulia. See J.N. Sarkar's *Shivaji and his times*, pp. 368-369.

102. Khafi Khan quoted by J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his times*, p. 383 (K.K. ii, 272).

103. The letter drafted by Nila Prabhu for Shivaji, J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. III, Appendix VI, pp. 190-192.

104. J.N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, p. 101.

105. After the capture of Kalian, Abaji Sondev presented the beautiful daughter-in-law of Mulla Ahmad, the former Bijapuri Subedar of Kalian, to Shivaji, but the Raja delicately removed her fear of dishonour by ranking her with his own mother; presented her with ornaments and dresses before she was sent back to her people under an escort of 500 of his horsemen (*Tarikh-i-Shivaji*, 14a, Tavernier ii 205), 91 QB, Section 30) quoted by J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. IV, p. 29, and *Shivaji and his times*, p. 56.

106. J.N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, pp. 92-93.

107. J.N. Sarkar quotes the Italian Statesman and Patriot of 19th century who played the leading part in the unification of Italy, in *House of Shivaji*, p. 93.

108. *Ibid.*, p. 93.

109. J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his times*, p. 385.

110. Gleig, iii 256, ii 270, iii 301 and 221, quoted by J.N. Sarkar in *House of Shivaji*, pp. 94-95.

111. J.N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, p. 95.

112. J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his times*, pp. 379-383.

113. J.N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji* pp. 99-100; *Shivaji and his times*, pp. 377-

378.

114. J.N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, p. 100.

115. J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his times*, pp. 381-382..

116. J N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his times*, p. 381.

117. *Ibid.*, Shivaji, first loot of Surat scared away trade and wealth from the city and his second raid (1670) brought him much less booty than his first and a few years later, the constant dread of Maratha incursions entirely impoverished Surat and effectively dried up this source of supply.

118. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

119. *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1803, p. 4, quoted by J.N. Sarkar in *Shivaji and his times*, p. 380.

120. Letters from a Maratha Camp (Const, ed., p. 160), quoted in *Shivaji and his times*, p. 380.

121. J.N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, pp. 95-96.

122. There are various speculations in Brahmanical literature regarding the origin of castes. The most common is that which represents the Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras to have been created respectively from the head, chest, thighs and feet of the Creator. See R.C. Majumdar, editor, *The Vedic Age*, 1st ed., George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1951 p. 385.

123. J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his times*, p. 375.'Before the rise of the national movement in Deccan during the last years of the 19th century, a Brahman of Maharashtra felt insulted if he was called a 'Maratha'.

124. A landless labourer, often identical with a Shudra. See, Duff's *History of the Marattas*, Vol. I. p. 6.

125. The Kayasthas were as well known for their intelligence and literary powers and hence rivals of Brahmans in fields of education and government service. The Brahmans had declared the Kayasthas a low caste and not entitled to the Vedic rites. Balaji Avji was of Prabhu caste among the Kayasthas and had been excommunicated by the Brahmans for having invested his son with the sacred thread. See, J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his times*, pp. 374-375.

126. It is suggested (*91 Q B*, Section 83) that Shivaji at one time thought of "punishing the proud intolerant Brahmans, by removing them from lucrative secular duties like command on armies and Viceroyalties of Provinces and confining them to their scriptural functions of fasting and praying" Moro Pant interceded for the Brahmans, referred to by J.N. Sarkar in *Shivaji and his times*, p. 206.

127. J.N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, p. 297.

128. J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his times*, p. 375.

129. Rabindranath Tagore, "Rise and Fall of the Sikh Power", Modern Review, April 1911, translated into English by J.N. Sarkar and quoted by him in *Shivaji and his times*, p. 375.

130. As a newsletter of 1670, of Aurangzib Court, tells when Aurangzib set in despair as to how he could subdue Shivaji and asked the members of Inner Council as to whom he should send next against Shivaji, all his great generals having failed against him. Mahabat Khan, having failed himself earlier in the mission replied with a sneer at the Chief *Qazi's* influence

over the Emperor, "No general is necessary, a decree from the Chief *Qazi* (Abdul Wahab) will extinguish Shiva'. The Persian King Shah Abbas II sent a letter taunting Aurangzib: "You call yourself a *Padishah* but cannot subdue a mere *zamindar* like Shiva, I am going to India with an army to teach you your business" (Khafi Khan ii 216) quoted in *Shivaji and his times*, p. 371.

131. J.N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, p. 103.
132. J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his times*, p, 390.
133. J.N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, p. 103.
134. J.N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, p. 303.
135. J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his times*, p. 13.
136. J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his times*, p. 43.
137. G.S. Sardesai, "Jadunath Sarkar As I Know Him", *Life and Letters*, p. 23. Vasant D. Rao on 'Govind Sakharam Sardesai' in *Historians and Historiography in Modern India*, pp. 227-228, narrates, "When the Government of Bombay accepted Sir Jadunath's suggestion to ransack the Peshwa *Daftar* at Poona by competent scholars and at his instance appointed G.S. Sardesai as the Chief editor, it switched on a bitter controversy . . . 'The Poona School' did not regard Sardesai as a historian. Some of them took a peculiar pleasure in calling him a 'compiler' and a 'story writer'. On the other hand Sarkar described Sardesai as 'the greatest living Maratha historian'. Between Sir Jadunath and Poona School no love was lost. Since the publication of Sarkar's *Shivaji*, he was severely attacked by these people . . . To make matters worse, Sarkar referred to Shivaji as Shiva . . . a direct affront to them. Again Sarkar's bias against the Brahmans was well known . . . As Sarkar and Sardesai were the principal figures in the proposed publication of the *Peshwa Daftar*, the opposition of the Poona School was more personal than objective. The opposition was then taken to the floor of the Bombay Legislative Council. The questions were put by Sardar G.N. Muzumdar, Rao Bahadur S.K. Bole and Narayan Rao Gunjal (Report of the Bombay Legislative Council, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 1317-24, 1475-78). The whole incident is a sorry episode in the annals of historical research in Maharashtra. The questioners got the replies they deserved but their questions exposed their petty mindedness".
138. G.S. Sardesai, "Jadunath Sarkar As I Know Him", *Life and Letters*, p. 23.
139. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
140. Amales Tripathi, "Columbus of Mughal History: An Assessment of Jadunath Sarkar's Works", *The Statesman* (Calcutta), 10th December, 1970.
141. When A.F. Rahman questioned his authority and reasons for his view that the murder of Afzal Khan was a 'preventive murder', the authorities being almost evenly balanced; Sir Jadunath pursued the affair for twenty years and added an appendix to his fifth edition of *Shivaji and his times*, 1952, pp. 72-73, replying to his friend's criticism by producing the testimony of a 'good Muslim' Mir Alam, the famous Wazir of Nizam-ul-Mulk and historian who says, "The Khan being intoxicated with the

pride of being a hero . . . gripped Shivaji very hard in the act of embracing and struck him with his belt dagger" (*Hadiga-i-Alam*, litho, ii, 226).

142. Opinions of the historians, critics and reviewers, are quoted in K.R. Qanungo's "Jadunath Sarkar As a Historian", *Life and Letters*, p. 61.

143. S.R. Tikekar, *On Historiography*, p. 22.

144. N.H. Kulkarni, "Shivaji and the National Movement" (A Review Article), *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol. XVI, 1976-77, No. 2, p. 121.

145. Vasant D. Rao, "Govind Sakharam Sardesai", *Historians and Historiography in Modern India*, pp. 222-333.

146. J.N. Sarkar, "Govind Sakharam Sardesai—Historical Works and Influence", S.R. Tikekar, editor, *Sardesai Commemoration Volume*, Keshav Bhikaji Dhawle, Bombay, 1938, p. 304.

147. Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, "History and Historians of Medieval India", *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol. [illegible], Calcutta, 1963-64, Nos. 1 & 2, p. 62.

148. J.N. Sarkar quoted by Vasant D. Rao's, "Govind Sakharam Sardesai" in *Historians and Historiography in Modern India*, p. 228.

149. But for his helpful comradeship I would have been nowhere near the fulfilment of my life's mission. I sincerely feel that it is to him that I owe all the work which I have been able to put forth", Sardesai in *Life and Letters*, p. 22; Also see, S.R. Tikekar, *On Historiography*, p. 48.

150. In spite of their many differences of opinion (e.g. on 'All India nature of Shivaji's idea of Swaraj', on Caste as hindrance to Maratha nationality, they fought jointly against the regionalist opposition from Bengali and Maharashtra historians. In this respect Sarkar's letter to Sardesai of 22-4-1930 (p. 152 of Sarkar-Sardesai Correspondence in *Life and Letters*) and Sardesai's letter of 21-2-1927 (p. 227 of 'Sardesai-Sarkar Correspondence' in Life and Letters) are notable.

151. *The Rajwade Samshodhan Mandal* of Dhule gave him the title of *Itihas Martand* (The Sun of History), on completion of 45 volumes of *Peshwa Daftar*, the British Government conferred upon him the title of 'Rao-Bahadur'. In 1957, the Indian Government awarded him the title of '*Padma-Bhushan*'.

152. G.S. Sardesai, *Main Currents of Maratha History*, pp. 55-58.

153. G.S. Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. I, *Shivaji and his times* (1600-1707), Preface, 1.

154. S.N. Sen, *Shiva Chhatrapati*, University of Calcutta, 1920, Preface, ix, "I am indebted to Jadunath Sarkar, who not only revised my manuscripts and gave me many valuable suggestions, but also placed his whole library at my disposal".

155. Johannes, H. Voigt, "Historical Writing in Western India with Special Reference to the Influence of Nationalism" (1870-1930), *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol. VI, 1966-67, No. 1, p. 43.

156. S.N. Sen, *Shiva Chhatrapati*, Notes and Appendix, 1, p. 25.

157. *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 75, 144, 202-203.

158. S.N. Sen, *Foreign Biographies of Shivaji*, The Book Company Ltd., Catcutta, 1927, Introduction, xiii-xiv.

159. Johannes, H. Voigt, "Historical Writing in Western India with Special Reference to the Influence of Nationalism" (1870-1930), *The Quarterly Review*, Vol. VI, 1966-67, No. 1, 43.
160. S.N. Sen, *Administrative System of the Marathas*, University of Calcutta, 1925, pp. 16-17.
161. See for example C.V. Vaidya's (*Mahratta* 31st August, 1924), "desperate and fantastic pleading that the murder of the three Moret was prompted by a desire to found a *Hindu Swaraj* and to remove from his path a treacherous enemy who had repeatedly abused Shivaji's 'generous leniency'; C.V. Vaidya, *Shivaji, the Founder of Maratha Swaraj*, Preface, p. 14.
162. *Ibid.*, Foreword by Datto Vaman Poddar, p. 2.
163. A.G. Pawar, "Dr. Bal Krishna", *Historians and Historiography in Modern India*, pp. 158-164..
164. 'Balkrishna d[illegible]ibes 'Bhonsle' from 'Bahiravji' or from *Bharchata Kula*, the latter clearly a Sanskritized form of Bhonsle"... To what extent Balkrishna has succumbed to the wishes entertained by the Raja of Mudhol, I don't know', Sardesai-Sarkar Correspondence in *Life and Letters*, p. 298.
165. J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his times*, p. 41.
166. S.R. Sharma, *Maratha History Re-Examined*, p. 299.
167. J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his times*, p. 376.
168. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
169. S.R. Sharma, *Maratha History Re-Examined*, p. 297.
170. R.V. Nadkarni, *The Rise and Fall of the Marathas*, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1966, p. 296.
171. *Ibid.*, p. 391.
172. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
173. J N. Sarkar's *Shivaji and his times*, pp. 372-388; *House of Shivaji*, pp. 93-100, 294-297; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. IV, pp. 75-101, 194-216, 274.
174. A.R. Kulkarni, *Maharashtra in the Age of Shivaji*, R.J. Deshmukh, Deshmukh & Co., Poona, 1969, p. 1. Although the author had started collecting material with the purpose of presenting social and economic conditions of life in the said period, he later decided to restrict the topic. Many aspects of social conditions are indirectly described, being so closely related to economy, e.g. religious life is studied from economic angle, while discussing public expenditure. See also A.R. Kulkarni's "The Choice of Topics", *Historical Research in India*, p. 20.
175. A.R. Kulkarni, *Maharashtra in the Age of Shivaji*, Preface by Sri Ram Sharma, xi-xii.
176. *Ibid.*, p. xiii.
177. A.R. Kulkarni, *Maharashtra in the Age of Shivaji*, p. 1.
178. *Ibid.*, Foreward by N.R. Tawade, viii.
179. *Ibid.*, p. 99.
180. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
181. *Ibid.*, p. 202.
182. See the Chapter on 'Public Expenditure' in *Maharashtra in the Age of*

Shivaji, pp. 168-182.

183. *Ibid.*, pp. 202, 225, 257.

184. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

185. *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51. "The main job of the *Watandars* was to bring more land under cultivation . . . Shivaji was gradually annexing new territories to his *jagir*. It was difficult to dissociate them (the cultivators) from these *watandars*."

186. K.L. Mahalay, *Shivaji the Pragmatist*, Vishwa Bharti Prakashan, Nagpur, 1969, p. 58.

187. *Ibid.*, p. 123.

188. *Ibid.*, p. 122.

189. *Ibid.*, p. 127.

190. K.L. Mahalay on p. 1 of his work states, "The angle of vision, in his *Shivaji and his times* of the venerable Jadunath Sarkar, being one of the volumes on Aurangzib, for major part a reprint, line by line, naturally, there was courtesy lacking in reference to Shivaji. Jadunath Sarkar could add a volume to the list of his publications is a point at satisfaction".
Sir Jadunath in Preface to Volume IV of Aurangzib has informed the reader, "182 pages of this book are taken bodily from my *Shivaji and his times*", 182 pages from a work of 412 pages is not a 'major part' and in any case had to be there. Shivaji being a contemporary of Aurangzib, the historian working on both and it was *Shivaji and his time* that was published earlier than Vol. IV of Aurangzib. The historian with a huge *corpus* to his credit and many of his works (e.g. 'Dictionary of the Reign of Aurangzib', 'Marathi Sources' and 'History of Jaipur,' still lying unpublished, was far above the consideration of 'adding a volume to the list of publications'. In 'courtesy lacking in reference to Shivaji, Mahalay's 'greatest commoner history has produced' : is repeated 50 years old grudge of some of the Maratha scholars. As early as 21-2-1927 *Life and Letters*, Sardesai-Sarkar Correspondence, (p. 277). Sardesai had suggested Sarkar to change Shiva into Shivaji (See also his reference to 'Parochial Pandits of Poona' (p. 285) and 'Poona School of Noisy History') (p. 299). If the two greatest of kings of Indian history Ashok and Akbar could be referred to without 'ji', Sarkar committed no crime in occasionally referring to him as 'Shiva'. It is Sarkar who has paid Shivaji perhaps richest ever tribute, when he calls him : (p. 104 of *House of Shivaji*).

'The Pillar of a People's hope,
The Centre of a World's desire'

191. D.F. Karaka—*Shivaji* : *Portrait of an Early Indian* (Times of India Publication, Bombay, 1969) in Preface xii, and xiii says, "It's however, not as much with the opinion of specialists that I am so concerned as with the reaction of ordinary men and women . . . specialists, historians research-scholars and others of this specialized tribe do disappear with time, the ordinary man, however, continues to live on, handing down the legends of a country from generation to generation".

192. S.M. Pagdi, *Chhatrapati Shivaji*, Continental Prakashan, Poona, 1974, Introduction, p. xviii.

193. N.H. Kulkarni, editor, *Chhatrapati Shivaji, Architect of Freedom* (Delhi, 1974); *Shivaji and Swarajya*, Orient Longman, 1975. For the Indian Institute of Public Administration, Maharashtra Regional Branch, Bombay. The booklet comprises of a lecture each by S.M. Pagdi "Life and Times of Shivaji", J.V. Naik "Foundation of Swarajya", Chidambarakulkarni, "Ideas and Institutions of Swarajya", S.R. Tikekar, "Significance of Coronation" and M.S. Agaskar, "Place of Swarajya in Indian History" arranged by the sponsoring institute.

194. Anil Samrath, *Shivaji and the Indian National Movement: Saga of a Living Legend*, Somaiya Publications, Bombay, 1975, p. 45.

195. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

196. Sardesai to Sarkar, "Sardesai-Sarkar Correspondence", *Life and Letters*, p. 348.

197. S.R. Tikekar, *On Historiography*, Bombay, 1964, p. 22; N.H. Kulkarni, "Shivaji and the National Movement", (A Review Article), *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol. XVI, 1966-67, No. 2, p. 121.

198. "History must from time to time be re-written not because many new facts have been discovered but because new aspects come into view because the participants in the progress of an age is led to standpoints from which the past can be reviewed and judged in a novel manner", quoted by G.S. Sardesai in *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. I, Preface, pp. 1-3; R.V. Nadkarni in *The Rise and Fall of the Maratha Empire*, p. 1. K.L. Mahalay's, *Shivaji, the Pragmatist* (Front Page).

CHAPTER V

FALL OF THE MUGHALS

The fall of Mughal Empire appears to have 'repelled' historians; not so much for lack of sources which are indeed vast and varied, but for 'the immense number of separate political bodies and centres of action' that followed the dismemberment—'a bag of loose stones constantly knocking against one another' that in totality present a dismal picture.[1] Now that the great ship has gone down the deep, to review 'the wreckage, to gather the corks and broken planks' may be too poignant. Yet the tragedy of the immediate historic past—not only the liquidation of the once mighty Mughals but also of the interlinked 'utter failure' of the 'last Hindu attempt at empire building' is 'no less potent to purge the soul' and 'no less wanting in the deepest instruction for the present'.[2]

The earliest work, tackling the theme was historical play by Thomas Maurice, *The Fall of the Mogul—A tragedy* (1806).[3] Though desirous of emulating Gibbon as a historian, unlike Gibbon, Maurice had hardly anything to commend regarding Muslim achievements in India, the counterpart of Gibbon's classical Rome was for Maurice, as it had been for his mentor William Jones, ancient India, *The Fall of the Mogul* presents the Mughals as the bane of the Hindus, and Maurice ascribes the intellectual and moral degradation, and suffering of the Hindus to their conquest by the Muslims. The chorus in the play is provided by the Hindu priests with the object of presenting oppressors being tormented in their own turn by 'a geater evil than themselves'.

The next work covering "the story of confusion and transition" was H.G. Keene's *The Fall of the Moghul Empire* (1876).[4] It covered the gap (1761-1803) that had been left in the 'standard work of Elphinstone on Muslim India and of James Mill and Wilson on British India and made an attempt to 'show the state of the country under the Mughal rule' and the reasons why with so many good

qualities the 'House of Timur' ultimately failed to form durable dominion. Keene warned his reader that in 'the history of anarchy much that is desired in a history will be sought in vain'[5]—the state of the people or systems of government—but an interest was to be derived from the biographies of the persons chiefly engaged. For Keene the fall of the empire could be interpreted in two basic underlying factors—those characteristic of the dynasty and the general ones. To the first category belonged the reversal of Akbar's policy, particularly by Aurangzeb who lodged the destructive roots of *Ficus religiosa* in the very foundation on which the empire rested. He manifested an unwavering 'devotion to duty as he saw it'[6]. He was identical to a great measure, to his European contemporary Louis Cuatorze—'with less pomp but not less of the lust of conquest of centralization and of religious conformity'.[7] He failed as any rulers would fail who try to make their 'personal feelings the measure of their subjects 'rights'. He could have governed with as much success as his 'free thinking' and 'pleasure seeking' predecessors. There were now added to the usual dangers of a large empire, the peculiar perils of a 'jealous centralization of power' and 'a deep seated disaffection of the vast majority of subjects'. What was more, there had never been any fixed settlement of succession to the throne and the history after Aurangzeb was one of constant court intrigues and wars of succession, one puppet king replacing another, and the last of them dying in a remote and dishonoured exile.

In the general as well as final analysis Keene, following Montesquieu, concluded that the physical conditions of a country will always be the chief determining agents in forming the national character of those inhabiting it.[8] Thus the 'feeble folk of Hindustan'—of the direct and often representatives of the 'dominant races of the world', all but the offspring of the converted Hindus represent foreign invasions by races more valorous and 'all those mighty conquerors, one after the other succumbed to the enervating nature of the climate, with its fertile soil and scanty motives to an exertion'.[9] Fresh blood of a climate which gave hardness to frame, increassed the number of human wants, as much as presented the difficulty of satisfying them, came to seek the 'gifts of fortune in India and America,' still the Mughal empire did not fall by the valour and ambition of the newcomers like the English or the French. In the midst of anarchy that caused

'untold misery to the masses', the 'grossest incompetence on the part of nearly all natives concerned in the administration' it was inevitable that one or the other of the competing European nations should grasp the prize. Having a 'better home government', 'more regularly supported and supplied' the British prevailed. India was, when Keene wrote, relaxing in the sunshine of the *Pax Britannica*.[10] However, Keene warned the British against complacency, "Hindustan is a treacherous mistress, who slays with smiles all who rest upon her bosom with too much confidence."[11]

H.G. Keene, like most of the late nineteenth century British historians on Muslim India, depended on literary evidence and native chronicles which he considered 'extremely inadequate' and used the 'inadequacy as an argument in justification of his own slipshod work'.[12] The character of materials forced him to be 'intentionally superficial and full of episode'.[13] For Keene, however, the work of Elliot and Dowson had 'revolutionised our knowledge of the subject'. Keene, like most of his countrymen, was proud of the British achievement of bringing order out of chaos, but it appears, the events of 1857 coloured some of his observations,[14] nevertheless it was H.G. Keene who, for the first time, gave a connected record of events of the fall of Mughal empire.

Sidney J. Owen, *The Fall of the Mogul Empire* (1912) did not differ much either in its sources of interpretation of H.G. Keene and contentwise it closed earlier narrating the events from the reign of 'Aurangzeb to the third battle of Panipat. He, however, benefited from William Irvine's translation of Manucci's Travels *Storia do Mogor*. Owen's work based on easily accessible sources in English,[15] was the outcome of a course of lectures he had delivered to 'trace the operation of the causes in the course of a century that reduced the mighty and far famed empire of the great Muguls to a political shadow.[16] The object of his book was to show that the decline of the Mughal empire was not so much due to the degeneracy of its sovereigns, for 'it was irretrievably ruined in the regin of Aurangzib' who lacked political insight and was a 'bigoted Mussulman' and struck the first blow by reversing Akbar's wise policy of ignoring distinctions of race and religion.[17] Paradoxical though it may sound, it was none the less true that the solidarity and prosperity of the empire had been due to the 'Gallic disposition of its sovereigns', though professed votaries of Islam, were not animated by its 'exclusive and fierce spirit' to the extent to let it supersede their

instincts as statesmen.[18] It was Aurangzeb who 'frittered the empire away in a Quixotic tilt against Hindustan'—he not only estranged Rajputs, the staunchest supporters of the throne, into persistent enemies, the Marathas under Shivaji vindicated their independence and continued striking mortal blows at the integrity of the empire under the *Peshwas* too. The 'imminent prospect of Maharatha predominance' in India was however obliterated in a day and for ever in the field of Panipat in 1761.[19]

William Irvine, *Later Mughals* (1922) originally intended to cover the period 1707-1803, but his untimely death left the narrative at 1738.[20] It was edited, augmented by addition of Nadir Shah's invasion to it by Jadunath Sarkar.[21] Irvine made an exhaustive use of the available original sources in his factual narration of the events, covering a period of 30 years in about 800 pages.[22] In the Foreword Irvine did not claim for his book 'in the highest sense of the word, the name of history', but that 'it was the result of some research and labour, things sadly lacking in Indian history as a preparatory clearing of the ground for more ambitious work',[23] he of course would be satisfied to be 'acknowledged in a foot-note by some Gibbon of the future'. Indeed few Britishers took the task of the study of Mughal history as seriously as Irvine's Later Mughals reflects.[24] In his day 'his knowledge of the particular period of history was unrivalled, being a pioneer study in detail, it had to be essentially 'a mere narrative of events' without those reflections and generalizations that had distinguished Gibbon's work on the fall of the Roman empire. It drove a 'broad pathway through a very tangled jungle and cleared up many disputed points'.[25]

Sir Jadunath Sarkar undertook study of the 'headlong decay of the age old Muslim rule in India' and the 'utter failure of the last Hindu attempt at empire building', and devoted about 25 years to plan and execute a comprehensive study of the fall of the two empires and the rise of the third, making a synthesis of the Persian, Marathi, English, French, Hindi, Rajasthani and Sanskrit sources to reconstruct the story of the fall of the Mughal empire from the departure of Nadir Shah in 1739 to the British conquest of Delhi.[26] The British assumed the 'keepership' of the Mughal emperor in 1803 and the Mughal empire as a political institution came to an end. It was while editing and augmenting William Irvine's *Later Mughals* that he decided to complete the tragic story of the downfall of the Mughal empire.[27] He acknowledged inspiration from Irvine on the

subject, but the rest was his own genius and dedication to the subject for about a quarter of a century. Indeed his *Fall of the Mughal Empire* in four volumes, forms only one of his major studies of the period, to which his other contributions have their own place and significance.

The historian's major studies on the period :—

1. *Bihar and Orissa during the Fall of the Mughal Empire*		1932
2. *Fall of the Mughal Empire,*	Vol. I.	1932
	Vol. I 2nd ed.	1949
	Vol. I 3rd ed.	1964
	Vol. II	1934
	Vol. II 2nd ed.	1950
	Vol. III	1938
	Vol. III 2nd ed.	1950
	Vol. III 3rd ed.	1964
	Vol. IV	1950
3. *Nadir Shah in India.* Patna University Readership lectures		1922
4. Marathi Sources (1732-1774)[28]		
5. Bengal Affairs (1742-1752),[29] some important dates and events.		
6. *Poona Residency Correspondence* (edited)		
	Vol I	1930
	Vol. VIII	1945
	Vol. XIV	1949
7. *Persian Records of Maratha History* (translated into English)		
Poona Letters from Delhi,	Vol. I	1953
Mahadji Sindhia as Regent of Delhi	Vol. VII	1953
8. *Nawabs of Bengal* (Sir William Jones Bicentenary Series No. I, Asiatic Society)		1952

In keeping pace with the latest researches on the subject and

as original pieces of great interest, his articles and papers, mostly printed in journals, have a value of their own.[30]

When the historian started working on the period, he had already, by editing Irvine's 'mass of papers with amazing thoroughness,[31] cleared the way in a tangled jungle and brought the account to 1739, added Nadir Shah's invasion to it also.[32] The 'jungle' gets thicker after Nadir Shah's invasion, with the process of dismemberment speeding up and the springing up of a number of independent centres and their interaction making the history of the period extremely intricate. In addition Ahmad Shah Abdali loomed large in the north-western horizon and the Maratha army clattered through the length and breadth of a hapless country. Yet the historian fulfils his promise, not to let his reader lose his way in the tangle of woods; he is constantly by the reader's side to whisper, 'Delhi is not far off'.[33] It is for this purpose that he eliminates 'every side issue that may divert the mind from the main theme—the Emperor and his keepers'. Hence, the provinces that had cut themselves apart from the empire, e.g., Bengal and Bihar 1757, Malwa and Gujrat 1741-50, the Punjab after 1753, Oudh after 1761 and the six *subhas* of Deccan in 1748—do not have their events narrated except for the briefest reference—to light up the history of the central government, 'the historian of Delhi' omits the Anglo-French struggle for the Indian empire, while Rajputana and Bundelkhand are embraced in the survey, they too owed only nominal allegiance to Delhi but remained till the end of the century, the cockpit of activities of those who held Delhi. It was only by enforcing such limitations that the historion gave a masterly unity of structure to an otherwise unwieldy theme.

Volume I of the *Fall of the Mughal Empire* opens with the scene after Nadir Shah's departure. Outwardly 'dignity and splendour returned to the Delhi Court' but the moral canker was striking fast at the roots; 'a nemesis worked itself out inexorably on the destiny of the Empire from the character of the emperor and his leading ministers' as evident from contemporary accounts and newsletters.[34] The historical stage of Delhi was soon to be dominated by Ahmad Shah Abdali and Volume I closes with the fall of Ahmad Shah the 'last emperor of Delhi who showed any independence'.[35]

In Volume II of *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, of the 18 eventful years, the central theme is the Afghan Maratha contest culminating

in the Third Battle of Panipat.[36] It was at Panipat that 'in a twinkle of the eye Maratha army vanished from the field like camphor', convincing the onlookers that Maratha friendship was a 'very weak reed to lean upon', for the 'historian of Delhi' one of the significant outcome was that Delhi Government had a respite from Maratha intrusions nearly till the reign of the new Peshwa Madhavrao Ballal (1761-1772). The same volume also traces the 'abrupt rise and still more abrupt fall of the Jat kingdom of Bharatpur within the span of a decade only.'[37] The period also witnessed the bankruptcy of the Delhi Government when all provinces except Bengal had ceased to send any revenue and the people of the capital itself were subject to continued lawlessness and anarchy. For royalty the events centred around the murder of Alamgir II, the banishment from capital and power, of Ali Gauhar (Shah Alam II of the next reign) and 10 months reign of the crowned puppet Shah Jahan II.[38] 'Horror is piled upon horror almost throughout the period but at the end the worst is over' with Sikhs establishing their rule over a large part of the Punjab and its people enjoying internal security and agricultural prosperity unknown for the last sixty years.[39] Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Oudh up to Allahabad under British peace being on the verge of unprecedented revival of trade industry and agriculture after 'the unbroken anarchy of one full generation'. When Shah Alam II rode into the capital on 6th January, 1772, it happened to be exactly the close of the Muslim month of fasting and the eve of the *Id* rejoicings,[40] it was also within three months of the beginning of the governorship of Warren Hastings, the 'creator of British India'.

Volume III of the *Fall of the Mughal Empire* took double the time of the historian to write as against volume II because of the 'immensity, variety and confused character of the historical sources on which it is based'. The sources in Persian, English and Marathi include Persian newsletters collected by Claude Martin—running in 1500 manuscript pages, the invaluable *memoirs* of Faquir Khair-ud-din, the Persian secretary of the Anderson brothers (British residents with Sindhia) running to a thousand pages. During the same period the historian collected and edited the despatches of the British Residents James Anderson, William Kirk Patrick and William Palmer under the title of *Mahadji Sindhia and North Indian Affairs 1785-1794*, historical papers relating to the Gwalior State, 5 volumes edited by Parasins, papers relating to

Mahadji Sindhia published by the Satara Historical Research Society, *Poona Residency Correspondence* edited by J.N. Sarkar and others, 14 volumes, *Dilliveltil Narthyanchen Rajkaranen* or despatches of the Maratha envoys at Delhi, edited by Parasins, two volumes. The historian still lamented the dearth of French sources—except for the very short memoir of Rene Medec—and blamed De-Boigne's cosy chair in France and Perron's being a 'weaver's son who hated to touch a pen', for it.[41]

Volume III of *Fall of the Mughal Empire* carries the history of the Mughal empire from the entrance of Shah Alam II into his capital in 1772, the tasks before the Delhi government through seventeen years of his rule to the 'bloody tragedy of 1789' the atrocities committed by Ghulam Qadir Rohilla, a 'dance of demons for nine weeks' and the end of the Rohilla chief.[42] More than ever before the Mughal Monarch was now a mere tragic shadow over the 'empire' with his government transferred to a perpetual vicar (Regent). The most dominating figure now to be over the Delhi kingdom was that of Mahadji Sindhia, the last of the Maratha soldier-statesman of genius.[43] The regency ushered in a period of comparative peace and prosperity for Delhi and the districts that acknowledged the authority of the crown.[44] Military reorganization and economic development was fostered with the aid of French genius and industry.[45] Malwa and to lesser extent Rajputana, apart from their domestic feuds, began to know peace.

The last volume on *Fall of the Mughal Empire* commences with the year 1789 and a survey of Mahadji Sindhia's problems and measures and closes with the extinction of the Mughal empire as a political institution in 1803.[46] When after his 'eclipse' and Ghulam Qadir's end in 1788 Mahadji again became the 'controler' of the Delhi empire, his position had been deeply weakened since even when he had first become the Regent four years back. The effect of anarchy was aggravated by a drought and famine that raged in Rajputana and western Hindustan throughout 1790-91, the meteroic rise of Ghulam Qadir having already evidenced that the anti-Maratha party at the Delhi court was very much active, now it was led by Ismail Beg, who led the mercenary foreign troops known as the *Mughlias*, he was not only the living champion of Muslim domination at the court but also the only hope of the Rajputs in building an anti-Maratha coalition. The worst however,

was to come from 'home' itself. Tukaji Holkar, whose power had been eclipsed by Mahadji Sindhia's genius, continued cantankerous opposition, and Nana Fadnis who sought to apply 'brakes' to Sindhia's rise after seeing 'the things of Delhi empire through his ears', displayed utter lack of statesmanship.[47] In fact, 'No policy could have been more blind or unpatriotic. This open sore drained away all the life and energy of the Maratha power in the Mughal dominions, it paralyzed the hands of Mahadji and made it impossible for him to impose Maratha suzerainty over north India as a generally accepted change'.[48] In the midst of it all, the stage was being set for the establishment of British paramountcy. In the 'ashes of Mahadji Sindhia's funeral pyre (12th February, 1794) perished also the hope of a Maratha empire in Hindustan'. The hereditary rivalry between Sindhia and Holkar houses culminated in the suicidal wars between Daulat Rao and Jaswant Rao—two persons who along with Peshwa Baji Rao II 'formed evil sufficient to ruin even a more established empire'.[49] While the villainy of Ambaji Ingle, Mir Khan and others must have contributed each his quota, subdivisions of caste, rivalry between Shenvi and Desastha Brahmans might have weakened the military system, economic exhaustion and treachery of European military adventurers like Ferron may have hastened the end but it was Maratha leadership that pranced to self-destruction as the protectors of the Mughal empire and as rivals of the rising power of the British.[50] After Newri, Satwas, Baramati and Hadaspur, the outcome of the Anglo-Maratha contest at Laswari and Assaye does not surprise a student of history[51]—'the last fruit of civil war is the loss of national liberty'. It was by the treaty of Sarji Anjangaon on 30th December, 1803, that Daulat Rao Sindhia renounced all claims upon Emperor Shah Alam II. Lord Lake 'took care' not to sign any treaty with Shah Alam II. Whereas the latter had been legally the sovereign of the Regent—before whom even Mahadji Sindhia has prostrated and laid his head down on his feet before he was raised up and declared 'son of the emperor'—the emperor now was a British subject. No British Governor General ever interviewed the emperor of Delhi or required his formal letter of appointment. The immemorial practice of Indian princes seeking confirmation of their succession from the emperor of Delhi, was also set aside, the privilege now rested with the British. Even in the territory reserved for the emperor's support called the crownland or Delhi District,

administration was carried out by the British Resident.[52] The emperor henceforth had 'no revenue, law courts or troops of his own'. The treaty of Sarji Anjangaon of 30th December, 1803, 'marks the true end of the Mughal empire as a political institution.'[53] The Mughal emperor, however, remained a 'harmless fiction' for another 54 years when the very name of the Mughal dynasty was to be 'struck out from the pages of Time'.[54] The historian's verdict on the theme runs thus : "The Mughal Empire and with it the Maratha over-lordship of Hindustan fell because of the rottenness at the core of Indian society. The rottenness showed itself in the form of military and political helplessness. The country could not defend itself, royalty was helplessly depraved or imbecile, the nobles were selfish and short-sighted. Corruption, inefficiency and treachery destroyed all branches of the public service. In the midst of decay and confusion our literature, art and even true religion had perished".[55]

By the eighteenth century 'Mughal civilization was like a spent bullet'.[56] Life of the majority of the subjects, the Hindus, under Quranic polity had been exposed to political and social disability, deprived of 'light of knowledge, free exercise of natural activities, economic resources and use of opportunities'[57] the outstanding exception of which being Akbar's reign. The inherent weakness of the Hindu society too exposed itself fully under the 'Hindu revival' during the rise of the Marathas—the intensification of orthodoxy burst forth in caste-bickerings—that humiliated a leader of the calibre of Shivaji, played no small role in the fall of Shambhuji and reinforced the civil war among the Maratha chiefs and degraded Hindu society in general.[58] No patriotic or enlightened priesthood arose to check the 'separatist' tendency in their existent form of religion and society.[59]

The Muslims in India too had declined and for a different reason "The rigidity of Islam has enabled its followers in all lands to succeed up to a certain point. But there they have stopped, while progress is the law of life, of the living world".[60] On the one hand Persia had ceased to be the springhead of Islamic culture with the degeneration of the Safawids by the end of the seventeeth century, on the other the Muslim in India was an 'exotic' and the orthodox Muslim ever felt that 'he was in India but not of it'.[61] He still looked to Persia and Arabia for culture, language, literature; even Muslim civil and criminal law was incapable of growth

and change unless reflected thus by work of the jurists in Baghdad and Cairo.[62] It was not till about 1780 that they took *Zaban-i-Hindavi* or Hindustani, after desperate and ruinous attempts to cling to Persian, well evident by the literary barrenness and lack of spread of education during the period. Gibbon was perhaps not unreasonable in tracing the failure of the Muslims in their 'betrayal of reason'.[63]

During the general decline, the country had ceased to produce leaders too with exceptions like Mahadji Sindhia, the solid evidence of it being the fact of our rulers, Muslims and Hindus alike, handing over the command to French, Portuguese and Eurasian adventurers and runaways from school to conduct war, 'the supreme test of a nation's efficiency'.[64] The contact with West was open but the only things imported by our rulers were those catering to luxury and vice, not European knowledge in science or technology.[65]

It was with the death of such an age and an 'empire' that middle ages in India were to end and modernization under the *Pax-Britannica* shortly to begin, unlike Europe, limping back to light, nearly a thousand years after fall of the Roman empire. Hence 'the intellectual and moral regeneration of India' was to go down as in history 'the greatest glory of British imperialism', true nation-hood however, could not be 'imposed upon a people by a decree of alien rulers', the British too failed to form a nation in India.[66]

Jadunath Sarkar's volumes of *Fall of the Mughal Empire* and his other works on the period, have had a wider appeal for the people in India and abroad, even today it is a subject 'neither dead, nor remote, nor alien', it records poignantly the defects of our national character and leadership that proved our undoing in 1803. "For those who seek to analyse how our national character influenced history, will have enough to learn from the account".[67] Also it is not "wanting in the deespest instruction for the present. . . if we wish to find out true solutions of the problems of Modern India and avoid the pitfalls of the past".[68] For those who seek ammunition for propaganda of communal haterd in the pages of history or charge the historian for bias against Muslims, attention maybe drawn to his account of Maratha atrocities.[69] For the historian hence, after defeat of the Marathas at Panipat, "Delhi Government practically enjoyed a respite from Maratha instrusion for another 11 years".[70] Again, while describing Abdali's invasion of 1757, the historian writes with pathos, "The blue waves of the Jamuna

gave eternal repose so such of her daughters as could fly to her outstretched arms, some other happy women found a nearer refuge from dishonour in the dark depths of the household wells",[71] even the sixteen year old maiden daughter of emperor Muhammad Shah, who had earlier pronounced preference for death to marriage with Alamgir II, mainly on account of age-difference,[72] had no escape from being decked a bride for "the fierce Afghan of grand-fatherly age, whose two ears had been docked and nose was rotting from a leprous carbuncle"[73] or when the self-proclaimed *Qahar-i Khuda* (the scourage of God) 'the Champion of crescentade against the *kafirs* from the south, removed the gold coating of the cupola of the Jami *Masjid* and sold it but was prevented from similarly stripping the remainder by· Maniyar Singh, a condottiere chief in his army".[74] In these narratives no Hindu has a reason to feel proud of Maratha doings, no Muslim can find a cause for satisfaction in the victory of a fellow Muslim. Betrayal was the keynote of the period.[75] The shame of it could not but touch the historian to the deepest core of pathos.[76]

The historian of *Fall of the Mughal Empire* is "on a more severe trial with regard to his balance of judgement and impartiality"—in making his award between the Mughals and the Marathas, the Jats and the Ruhelas, the Sikhs and the Afghans. Perhaps there is in general nothing much to choose from—except some illuminating and outstanding personalities in the dark jungle like the 'valiant and prudent' Surajmal, the hope of the Maratha empire in Hindustan, Mahadji Sindhia, Najib-ud-daulah, who rose to the highest position in the realm by 'sheer ability and strength of character'. Zakaria Khan, the just and vigilant ruler of Punjab, 'whose unselfish generosity rendered thousands of Indian homes happy' when he saved their members from the clutches of Nadir Shah. Ahmad Shah Abdali, who was 'no unworthy heir to Nadir's empire and tradition, Marquess and Arthur Wellesly, the former as 'the statesman of marvellous vision, a man who took initiative, and the latter—the 'future conqueror of Napoleon' in whom the promise of future was already fully evident—all have places of their own in the estimate of the historian who admires efficiency, valour, tact and human virtues wherever they are found and never shuns credit where it is due. In his overall treatment of the period and personalities, he like Thucydides appears "calm and dispassionate, severely just and yet possessed of enough fire and firmness to

admonish and inspire. . ."[77]

It is in this light that when both Muslim *Badshahi* and Hindu *Pad-Padshahi* stand self-condemned in the perspective of history that standing at the 'misty dawn of a new age' he welcomes 'the intellectual and moral regeneration of India as the greatest glory of British imperialism'.[78] However, if the historian shared the view of those who 'recognized a divine dispensation in the fall of the Mughal Empire', he was also the one to be despaired of Indian political salvation ever coming from British hands'.[79]

Like many other great historians and sages, Jadunath Sarkar believed in 'true history' being 'an object lesson to the people for all ages to come'.[80] Thus, for him 'our immediate historic past. . . like a true tragedy to purge the soul. . . had the deepest instructions for the present. . . the light of our fathers' experince indispensably necessary for guiding aright the steps of those who would rule the destinies of our people in the present'. It was with this purpose too, that 'the headlong decay of the age old Muslim rule in India and the utter failure of the last Hindu attempt at empire building'[81] was to be studied and analysed, for 'History when rightly read is a justification of providence, the revelation of a great purpose fulfilled in Time".[82]

Beveridge hailed Jadunath Sarkar as 'Gibbon of Hindustan' after reviewing his *Fall of the Mughal Empire*[83]. The historian's deep erudition of the subject, the excellence of his style in English and the masterly drawing of the researcher's thread in the historians' tapestry of the 'carpet of the evening twilight of our medieval history' impressed the 'greatest modern British authority on Muslim India', deeply enough to win such high praise. Yet the sincerity and fairness alone of Beveridge's judgement cannot make a Gibbon of Jadunath Sarkar in the estimate of the world at large—as eloquently expressed by K.R. Qanungo. "If Jadunath like Gibbon had written his epics of history in his own language, if he could have the advantage of Gibbon in having the raw metarials dug out by generations of scholars before him, if decaying Delhi had been smouldering Rome and above all, if the historical knowledge of the present generation about Indo-Muslim history had been on a par with that of Gibbon's contemporary Europe, then only could Jadunath have had the scope to rise to the stature of a Gibbon. He could not afford to be picturesque without being suspected and challenged at every step".[84]

It is from the historian too that we learn of the hindrances on way to being a Gibbon in the context of fall of the Mughal empire when he wrote on 'Irvine as a Historian'. If Irvine's account of Later Mughals was a 'mere narrative of events, without those reflections and generalizations that raise *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* to the rank of a philosophical treatise and a classic in literature. . . they forget that Indian historical studies are at present at a much more primitive stage than Roman history was when Gibbon wrote. . . we have yet to collect and edit our materials. . . premature philosophising based on unsifted facts . . . will only yield a crop of wild theories and fanciful reconstruction of the past 'like those which J.T. Wheeler garnered in his now forgotton *History of India* as the futile result of years of toil".[85]

Jadunath Sarkar's work on fall of the Mughals marks a distinctive progress of historical study since the days of Willim Irvine, in not being a 'mere narrative of events' but has not only brief references to general condition of the people and reflections worthy of the doyen of Indian historians, what lacked in the work, historian was too well aware of, but it had to be left for the next generation to carry the work to 'perfection'. The study of the Mughal empire which he began in 1901 with *India of Aurangzib Statistics, Topography and Roads* was carried on for over half a century.[86] Such a long survey based on hunting, sifting and often editing of original sources in different languages did impose certain limitations on the historian, it was not merely the 'trend of the day', as is sometimes held by his critics as well as admirers.[87] Perhaps none was more aware than the historian who had started the study of Aurangzib not with political, but topographical account and who in one sentence, had summed up the fall of the Mughal empire and of Maratha overlordship, "to the rottenness at the core of Indian society", when he himself acknowledged "A more serious defect is thât the social and economic history of this long stretch of time has been crowded out of the present series, though I have made many short excursions into that field".[88] Hence, the awareness of a vast hinterland of social and economic history was very much there, but first thing came first—as topography came before political history—in the historian's treatment of history: the underlying idea of unity of conception and theme was not lost sight of.

No reader of his works will perhaps ever know his patience and thoroughness over search for detail and accuracy; how many manuscripts were closely scrutinized to establish a fact or how many different maps were consulted for one topographical detail.[89] When the histroian says 'the dates of thousands of laconic Marathi despatches had to be ascertained, their obscurities cleared, and the textual reading and arrangement of the Persian manuscript sources had to be corrected before 'a single page of my narration could be composed',[90] we get only an inkling of it.[91]

The historian, however, had reason to feel elated over the 'marvelous expansion of sources' during his life time's investigation of the subject.[92] The records of the Central Government of India and the National Archives of France had at last been thrown open unreservedly to scholars besides starting their publication work. Bombay Government had also made available in print most of their Marathi records and English Residency Correspondence. Even the priceless Jaipur records of the Mughal times were being allowed to be read. What was more, advances in far cheaper reprography such as photostats, electrostats and micro-filming had brought the once most vigilantly guarded documents from all over the world, within the reach of Indian libraries and even private scholars. The Indian Government's Survey Department had also started giving invaluable though little utilized aid to Indian historical study by publishing accurate and detailed maps of every part of India. All these facilities were 'beyond the dreams' of research workers when Jadunath Sarkar started and carried through his work. So when his last volume on *Fall of the Mughal Empire* went to press, the historian could well feel assured that the advancement in historical studies would lend 'solid support to his more fortunate successor in the next half century.'[93]

A much limited work in scope and content for fall of the Mughal empire, in fact a misnomer, in that respect is Percival Spear, *Twilight of the Mughals* (1951), that nonetheless sought to fill the gap in the 'tale of the Empire's dying throes told with masterly clarity by Sir Jadunath Sarkar up to 1772'.[94] What Spear's work unfolds itself into—is actually a study of the city of Delhi and the adjoining territory 1761-1857, and is divided into three sections, the first dealing with the 'emergence of the kingdom of Delhi until the British conquest in 1803, 'based largely on secondary authorities', the object being 'to analyse and coordinate

already available material'; the kingdom, its resources, its degree of independence etc. are traced thus from the time when Afghans and Marathas 'swept over the empire' to the times it became a completely British city after the war of 1857.[95] The second section deals with the study of kingdom of Delhi under British administration 1803-57, and the third, with a number of topics (like the British life in Delhi, the Colebrooks case, the Fraser murder) ending with the 'mutiny' and its aftermath.

As Spear found, the city of Delhi in fact had always held a fascination for West in general and Britain in particular, as the most renowned city of entire East from Constantinople to Canton, it was also the destination of ambassadors and adventurers seeking concessions, wealth and glory in the great days of the empire.[96] Fifty years after Panipat (1761), the power that had controlled it, decayed rapidly. In filling the political 'depression' both the Afghans and the Marathas failed, the former had 'war-like vigour and the financial sinews of war but lacked political cohesion', the latter possessed 'military skill' and 'political finesse', but lacked the 'necessary resources for a continued effort'. Panipat revealed 'political bankruptcy' of the former and 'material poverty' of the latter.[97] Hence, eventually the British were to be proved the residuary legatees of the unclaimed estate of Hindustan.

The once splendid province of Delhi had suffered not only from the disintegration of the Mughal empire but also from the repacity, caused by imposition of power upon power—Persian, Afghans, Marathas, French officers and European adventurers. All administration had vanished and all that was 'left was the central authority at one end, collecting what it could, when it could and from whom it could'.[98] In the villages it was ceaseless diplomatic and sometimes physical warfare between the government agents and the village representatives, the *Muqaddams*. The Delhi territory hence provided one of those virgin tracts for *Pax Britannica* [99] for the nineteenth century British administrators, 'to rule well, was to improve; to improve was to interfere'. In Spear's assessment of the situation, the British were proved wrong in one assertion—they had thought that 'In India village had survived down the ages in spite of constant neglect by governments—it had survived because of their constant neglect'[100]—is reflected not only a specific English view point but is also a commentary on the nature of British adminstrative modernization, what Jadunath Sarkar called

'orderly and mechanical,'[101] that could not have added to the formation of a nation in India.

While there were some microscopic and scholarly studies, on branches of the falling Mughal tree during the historian's life-time by some of his outstanding pupils like K.R. Qanungo, *History of the Jats* (Calcutta, 1925), A.L. Srivastava, *The First two Nababs of Awadh* (Lucknow, 1933), *Shuja-ud-Daulah* in two volumes (1945), Raghubir Sinh, *Malwa in Transaction* (Bombay, 1936), H.R. Gupta *History of the Sikhs* in three volumes (1939-44), *Studies in the later Mughal, History of Punjab* (Lahore, 1944), and by others like Sheik Ali's, *Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan* (1936), Yusuf Husain, *The First Nizam—The Life and Times of Nizam-ul-Mulk-Asaf-Jah I*, Bombay, 1936, K.K. Datta, *Alivardi and his Times*, Calcutta, (1963), Mahdi Husain, *Bahadur Shah II*, Delhi, 1958, K.K. Datta, *Shah Alam II and the East India Company* (Calcutta, 1965), V.S. Bhatnagar's *Life and Times of Swai Jai Singh*, 1974, Natwar Singh, *Maharaj Surajmal, His Life and Times*, 1981. Some other works, though not dealing with the theme of fall of the Mughal empire in the entire scope and period as clarified by their titles, have nonetheless highlighted some of the significant causes of fall of the Mughals in recent researches and interpretations. A notable work in the direction is Satish Chandra, *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Courts 1707-1740* (1959). Historically covering the same period as William Irvine, *Later Mughals*, the value of Satish Chandra's work lies not only in incorporating the fresh material on the subject that became available since the publication of Irvine's work in 1922, notably the mass of *Jaipur Akhbarat*, records in the *Peshwa Daftar*, the letters of Qutb-ul-Mulk Abdullah Khan (*Balmukand Namah*), the *Iqbalnamah*, etc., but also the work being a study of nobility as an institution and its significant role in downfall of the Mughal empire, the position of various ethnic and religious factions in the nobility, basis of the rise and struggle of the parties at the court, its impact on rise of Marathas, Jats and other indigenous forces, on administration, their attitudes towards external foes like Nadir Shah, have all received due attention in the study of the period. The author closes his account at 1740, for the Mughal nobility ceases to play a dominant role in shaping the politics of the country after the invasion of Nadir Shah'.[102]

Satish Chandra has traced the evolution of the institutionalized form of Mughal nobility to the political and economic

developments in West Asia under Islam and the peculiar socio-economic condition of India that demanded a strong political authority. The institution played 'an extremely important role in the establishment, expansion and consolidation of the empire". By the time Aurangzeb came to the throne, 'the successful working of the institution posed a number of economic and administrative problems',[103] to which 'no lasting solution could be found'. The crisis that assumed the form of an acute scarcity of Jagirs, had its origin in the agrarian and industrial failure to cope with the increasing requirements. On the administrative front, the despotism of the Mughals would not allow the growth of a constitutional monarchy like that of England. The Mughal monarchs, hence, instead of symbolisng stablity became the 'focus of intrigue against their own wazirs'. It was in such a situation that nobles like the Saiyids took steps for placing only such monarchs on throne who might be 'amenable and leave the authority in the former's hands'. Such measures, however, created jealousies and counter nobility factions. For the monarch, as was evident under Nazim-ul-Mulk's *Wizarat*, 'the only alternative, to an all powerful wazir was the break-up of the empire'.[104]

Hence, to Satish Chandra, "It appears unhistorical to ascribe to Aurangzib's religious policy, a major responsibility, for the downfall of the Mughal empire".[105] More so, when the *Jiziyah* and other discriminatory practices were given up within six years after the death of Aurangzib. In the decline and fall of the Mughals, 'Individual failings and faults of character also played their due role, but they have necessarily to be seen against the background of these deeper, more impersonal factors'.[106]

Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India* (1556-1707) (Bombay, 1963), is a work on agrarian economic, administration and its social structure. This study of the material structure of the Mughal empire had its own interpretation as regards collapse of the Mughal empire. The author's survey of the peasantry and land, the village community, agricultural production, its trade, land revenue and the zamindars, revenue assignments and grants, material conditions of life of the peasantry, brings out that the Mughal empire had dug its own grave, on which Sadi's explanation of the fall of another great empire serves as an appropriate epitaph.[107]

The Mughal empire that spread over a subcontinent and was

held united by a highly centralized administration, owed its great success to its cavalry that remained invincible till the Marathas found the answer in another method of warfare.[108] There was a very close relation between the maintenance of Mughal cavalry, *Mansabdari* and the *Jagirdari* or assignment system. The latter made the former entirely dependent on the will and absolute power of the emperor. Even for the management of his *Jagir*, rate of land-revenue and methods of its assessment and collection, he carried out directions of the Imperial government. The Imperial policy of 'leaving the peasant only the barest minimum needed for subsistence' led to a contrast between the fabulous wealth of the rich and abject poverty of the common people, seldom found in Indian history.[109] At the same time, there was 'some contradiction between the interests of the Imperial administration and the individual *Jagirdar*', the 'extent' of *Zamindar's* share in the land revenue formed the major point of his conflict with imperial authorities. A *Jagirdar* whose assignment was liable to be transferred any moment and who never held the same *Jagir* for more than 3 or 4 years at the most, could never follow a far sighted policy. On the other hand his personal interests would sanction any act of oppression that conferred an immediate benefit upon him, even if it ruined the peasantry and so destroyed the revenue paying capacity of that area for all time.[110] The corruption in administration rarely led to punishment of *Jagirdars* and the punishments for the gravest acts of oppression committed by *Jagirdars* were light.[111] Hence the structural flaw of the system led to migration or flight so long as there was enough cultivable land or eventually to starvation and armed resistance.[112] The present huge rural proletariat may not be entirely a heritage of the Mughal times, but the continued oppression of peasantry and the agrarian crisis destroyed the empire.[113]

M. Athar Ali, *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb* (Bombay, 1966) finds the crisis, in context of fall of the Mughal empire, as arising out of the creation of an unfavourable situation by nobility as an institution inherent in the constitution to which passage of time and the long military involvement of Aurangzeb had greatly added.[114] His Deccan involvement led not only to a great influx of the Deccanis (the Bijapuris, the Hyderabadis and the Marathas) into the Mughal aristocracy, for military and diplomatic purposes, they were also given extraordinarily high ranks, affecting adversely

the recruitment and promotion of older sections,[115] such a stage of scarcity of *Jagirs* too arrived when *Jagirs* could not be given to those whom *mansabs* had been granted. The process eventually weakened the military strength of the empire, encouraged rebellions and carving of independent principalities by the members of nobility. The nobility failed the Mughal empire in 'its failure to change and adapt itself to a new developing situation', and 'Aurangzeb's attempt to give a new religious basis to the Empire may indicate that he felt that a change was called for; but the complete failure of this policy showed that religious revivalism could be no substitute for a thorough going overhaul of the Mughal administrative system and political outlook'.[116]

Waldemar Hansen, *The Peacock Throne* (1972) is a study of the collapse of the Mughal empire limited in period as well as in scope. The 'massive prose elephant' to quote the author of 560 pages, draws attention essentially by the tales of horror and intrigue, betrayal revenge and nemsis with ample literary and historical illusions told in a masterly style.[117] The work centres around the last two of the 'Great Mughals'—Shah Jahan who had the famous throne created and Aurangzeb who proved the most determined aspirant. The war of succession among the sons of Shahjahan did not merely settle a family dispute over a crown; it was 'perhaps the most decisive military engagement that had ever been fought and lost. . . the disaster prepared three hundred years of vital events: British conquest, the ultimate division of Pakistan and India . . . medieval Mogul splendour had ended and the so called Age of Abkar with its liberal coalition of Moslem and Hindu, its fused nationalism in politics and art was gone for ever: Aurangzeb would see to that.'[118] With the end of all possible rivals for throne, the only factor to threaten the stability of the usurped empire was the usurper himself.[119] Aurangzeb's rigid orthodoxy amounted to 'a form of suicide,' specially in his dealings with the Jats, Satnamis, Sikhs, Rajputs and Marathas.[120] Driven by 'an unquenchable aggression', he broke down the two powerful dams of Deccan that had held back the mounting Marathas torrent of reaction. Also the Mughals under Aurangzeb had swallowed more than they could digest. Mughal tragedy ended where it began—the fateful *Deccan*—knowledge of it was to come at the very close of Aurangzeb's life, 'too late for him'.[121] The growth of sacred *tulsi* of the Hindus along with *sabza*, a shrub sacred to Muslims,

was not really a botanical mockery—they had found place together only on Aurangzeb's grave.[122] With eighteenth century ensued the period of 'The Great Anarchy'—India was exhausted and awaited a new conqueror.

J.F. Richards, *Mughal Administration in Golconda*, (Oxford, 1975), is an attempt to "fill in peculiar regional gap in his (J.N. Sarkar's) narrative".[123] The work significantly adds a new dimension in explanation of fall of the Mughal empire, by reviewing it 'from below' and in full awareness of the larger problems facing the empire. It brings out that at least in eastern Deccan, the empire collapsed because of the failure of imperial management of affairs rather than due to any structural flaw of Mughal administration in itself.[124] The study includes, by way of background the Sultanate of Golconda, its agrarian system and is followed by chapters on political change and Imperial aggression in the Deccan, the procedure of conquest (1687-1688), the configuration of Imperial power, the regional aristocracy, fiscal organization, operation of the revenue system in Hyderabad (1690-1700), governorship of Prince Muhammad Kam Baksh, (1700-1707), the downward trend in the years (1707-1713) and Hyderabad under the last Mughal governor Mubariz Khan (1713-1724), a proto-dynastic figure. He reasserted 'the long-standing role of the ruler of Hyderabad city as the focus of power within the region and severance of nearly all meaningful administrative ties with the central administration of the empire.'[125] It was his legacy to the first Nizam Asaf Jah I, who but for a few formalities to centre, set forth an independent kingdom.

J.F. Richards concludes that 'in the seventeenth century a realm of public order existed which was the responsibility of the state, not of private individuals or groups'.[126] The Mughal conquest removed the pivot of Golconda's political system when it became an imperial province from a regional kingdom, 'replacement of the deposed monarch could never fill this loss',[127] more so when the Mughal emperor failed to consolidate his conquest of the region. Resources of the empire and energies of the emperor and his most reliable administrators were diverted to 'the larger goals of Aurangzeb in Deccan'[128] and 'Mughal failure (in Hyderabad, Bijapur and the two Karnatiks) was not a failure of the administrative system, but a failure of its management'.[129] Revenue of the territories of Bijapur and Golconda 'should have added an additional 23% or 53 million

rupees annually to the total income of the empire'. The emperor had ignored the task of successful absorption of the two conquered kingdoms.[130]

Z.U. Malik, *The Region of Mohammad Shah 1719-1748*, (Bombay, 1977) while commenting on decline and fall of the Mughal empire, has expressed the opinion. 'The source of the decline of the Mughal Empire, therefore, clearly lay in the decadence of its military and civil institutions'.[131] To stress the personal failings of the emperors as the major cause, is overlooking the basic defects of the existing institutions, the role of the ruling class and the socio-economic factors.[132] Z.U. Malik appears in full agreement with Satish Chandra, as regards the remedy, that could have been effective "What was really required was the rapid expansion of industry and trade, introduction of new technology and removal of all barriers hindering that expansion"[133] and concludes with the remark, "failing in this direction was not of one individual—A king of noble, but almost of all classes that had been fastened to the chariot of the Imperial order.[134]

One could not single out political, religious, socio-economic or personality factor as the sole cause of the collapse of the empire. Mughal emperor as the pivot of the empire, however, remained not a mere 'personality factor' but got well merged with other factors too. Aurangzeb's religious policy was also 'in defiance of the laws of economics'[135], if not 'an act of economic insanity'.[136] It can hardly be called 'unhistoric' in contributing directly or indirectly, in a significant way, to other major causes of the fall of the empire. The economic problems of the empire of Aurangzeb, which he bequeathed to posterity, were more often than not the indirect results of his religious policy.[137] Aurangzeb's quarter of a century's campaign against the Marathas and the Shias of Deccan apart from the rebellions in the north, with the accompanying lawlessness destroyed agriculture, industry and trade, so vividly recorded by Bhimsen, Manucci, F. Martin and others, and drained the economy in a most durable manner. Even when Aurangzeb's religious policy which its discriminatory measures was 'abandoned within half a dozen years after his death', it had already alienated majority of the subjects of the empire and sucked the economy dry. In retrieving the situation his successors met with as much success as they did in other directions.

In those days, India was not like England on way to a consti-

tutional monarchy, 'social forces' in the direction being 'far too weak'. If it is accepted that 'the only alternative to an all powerful wazir was the break of the empire',[138] it was because the deeper and impersonal factors, including the agrarian and the administrative crisis rested largely with the personal factor—the man at the helm of affairs—to impel, devise, contract, adapt and improve or let the matters deviate or drift.[139] Had there been strong and capable rulers, a faction controlling the Mughal emperor or the Mughal emperor intriguing with another, may not have been a regular feature of the period after 1707. 'All classes' were no doubt 'fastened to the chariot of the Imperial order',[140] the direction, in those days, however, rested with the charioteer, more than anyone else.

In the midst of it all, the estimate of Jadunath Sarkar's work on the fall of the Mughals, made nearly 25 years back, still holds good. It remains a unique work of its kind.[141] He had not only carried the 'narrative' of Irvine to 1803 but had also acquired the 'position' to philosophise on 'ascertained and unassailable facts'. The social and economic history, to which he could only make valuable 'excursions'; he had but to leave his 'more fortunate successor in the next half century' to weave in the narration—with immense mass of sources dug and edited for him. There has been, no doubt a good number of fine spinners, another master-weaver is yet to be. For the entire period of fall of the Mughal empire, it is none but Jadunath Sarkar alone who comes closest to the description: "A giant standing on a mountain top in isolated grandeur while entire races, kingdoms and centuries pass in view before his eyes and his reader shares this majestic survey under his guidance".[142]

Notes and References

1. J.N. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, Foreword, iv-v.
2. *Ibid.*, Foreword, iii.
3. Thomas Maurice graduated from Oxford in 1778 and under the influence of William Jones as a historian, decided to 'quit the barren field of poetry'. His major works in history include *Modern History of Hindustan* in two volumes and *The Fall of the Mogul.* Due to non-availability of the book, the general information is borrowed from J.S. Grewal's *Muslim Rule in India—The Assessments of British Historians*, pp. 58-60.
4. The British 'administrative historian' who was judge of the district and sessions courts at Agra and fellow of the University of Calcutta. A

disciple of Elphinstone in 1860's, he became 'his rival as a historian of Muslim India in the 1890's, encouraged perhaps by the work of Elliot and Dowson. See J.S. Grewal, *Muslim Rule in India—The Assessments of British Historians*, pp. 172-73. H.G. Keene brought out *The Moghul Empire: from the death of Aurangzib to the overthrow of Maratha Empire* (1866). He published : *The Fall of the Moghul Empire* (1876), *The Turks in India (1526-1761)* (1879). He brought out *A Sketch of the History of Hindustan* (1885), in which he covered the Pre-Mughal Period also and had thus the satisfaction of having covered 'the whole history of Medieval Hindustan'.

5. H.G. Keene, *The Fall of the Moghul Empire*, 1876, 1st Indian reprint, Oriental Publishers, Delhi, 1971, preface, vi-vii.
6. H.G. Keene, *The Turks in India* (1879), Indian reprint, Idarah-i-Adabiyat-I, Delhi, 1972, p. 144.
7. H.G. Keene, *The Fall of the Moghul Empire*, 1876, p. 28.
8. The French Philosopher has illustrated this view in Book XIV of his *Esprit-des-Lois*, quoted in H.G. Keene's *The Fall of the Moghul Empire*, p. 278.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 280.
10. H.G. Keene, *A Sketch of the History of Hindustan*, 1885, Indian reprint, Idarah-i-Adabiyat-I, Delhi, 1972, pp. 50-51.
11. H.G. Keene, *The Turks in India*, Idarah-i-Adabiyat-I, Delhi, 1972, p. 45.
12. J.S. Grewal, *Muslim Rule in India—Assessments of British Historians*, p. 173.
13. H.G. Keene, *A Sketch of the History of Hindustan*, Preface. "The Hindus have never cared to read or write history and the Muslim writers, though many chronicles have existed among them, are not with two or three exceptions, historically minded in modern sense of the word".
14. "All Asiatics are unscrupulous and unforgiving. The natives of Hindustan are particularly so, they are also unsympathetic and unobservant in a manner that is altogether their own. From a langour induced by a climate and by centuries of misgovernment, they have derived a weakness of will, an absence of resolute energy and an occasional audacity of meanness, almost unintelligible in a people so free from the fear of death", H.G. Keene, *The Fall of the Moghul Empire*, p. 21.
15. His account of Aurangzeb is mainly based on Manucci's account translated and edited by William Irvine and that of his successors from the 'standard history' of Khafi Khan, translated by Dowson, for the later history he was indebted to Grant Duff's *History of the Maharattas*, his sketch of Alivardi Khan's career was taken from *Seir-ul-Mutakherin* (Sayyid-Gulam Husan Tobatabai), a contemporary work, translated under the auspices of Warren Hastings, whereas the Panipat campaign was based on the account of Casi *Pandit* (Kashi *Pandit*), a Maratha in the service of Nawab of Oudh. See S.J. Owen, *The Fall of the Mugul Empire*, Preface, vii-viii.
16. *Ibid.*, v.
17. *Ibid.*, v-vi.

18. S.J. Owen, *The Fall of the Mogul Empire*, p. 5.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 265.
20. He was a son of a Scotch advocate, served in India, 1863-1888, a serious student of Indo-Muslim history, a great collector of Persian historical Mss., he kept in his pay a Muhammadan scribe to search for Persian Mss. as could be had for love or money. His other major works are *Army of Indian Moghuls* and his translation and edition of Niccalao Manucci's Travels in the Mughol Empire the *Storia-do-Mogor*. See William Irvine, *Later Mughals*, 1922, edited by J.N. Sarkar, reprint, New Delhi, 1971, Oriental Books Reprint Corporation. J.N. Sarkar, 'William Irvine : A Biography', xiii-xv.
21. 'No more competent an authority than Prof. J.N. Sarkar could have been found to edit it (Irvine's Life's work). P.E. Roberts in *English History Review* quoted by K.R. Qanungo, "Jadunath Sarkar As a Historian", *Life and Letters*, p. 63.
22. William Irvine, *Later Mughals*, edited by J.N. Sarkar. J.N. Sarkar on "William Irvine as a Historian", xxiv. "He brought light to bear on his subject from every possible angle; Persian, English, Dutch and Portuguese records, the correspondence of the Jesuit Missionaries in India, books of travel and parallel literatures were all ransacked by him".
23. J.S. Grewal, *Muslism Rule in India*: *The Assessments of British Historians*, p. 179.
24. J.N. Sarkar, "William Irvine as a Historian", p. xxv.
25. P.E. Robert's review of the work, quoted by K.R. Qanungo in 'Jadunath Sarkar as a Historian', *Life and Letters*, p. 63.
26. J.N. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, Foreword V, Vol. II, Bibliography, 399-400, Vol. III, Bibliography, 322, Vol. IV, Sources, 351-52.
27. William Irvine, *Later Mughals*, edited by J.N. Sarkar. J.N. Sarkar "William Irvine As a Historian", xxvi. "*Later Mughals* intended to cover the century from the death of Aurangzib in 1707 to the capture of Delhi by the English in 1803. . . his successor in the same field will have to begin at the very beginning and can hope to arrive at Mr. Irvine's position only after twenty years of preliminary study".
28. Typed Ms. Sitamau, 1941, presented by Raghbir Sinh, now in 'Sir J.N. Sarkar Collection' at National Library, Calcutta.
29. Typed Ms. in 'Sir J.N. Sarkar Collection' at National Library, Calcutta. (n.d.)
30. A. *Modern Review*
    1. 'Delhi During the Anarchy'—(1749-1788) — February, 1921.
    2. 'The End of Nadir Shah' — May, 1929.
    3. 'A Lesson of Indian History' — June, 1929,
    4. 'English Residents with Mahadji Sindhia' — April, 1929.
    5. 'From Asaf Jah I to Osman Ali, The Fate of Hyderabad' — August, 1948.

    B. *Proceedings of Indian Historical Records Commission*
    6. 'The Missing Links in the History of Mughal India (1658-1761)' — January, 1920.

7. 'The House of Jaipur'		December, 1929.
8. 'The Mission of James Brown to the Delhi Court (1780-83)'		December, 1937.
C. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*		
9. 'A Contemporary picture of the Mughal Court in 1743 A.D.,' Vol. XVII, Part IV		1931.
10. 'A Correct Chronology of Delhi History—1739-1754', Vol. XVIII, Pt. I		1932
D. *Indian Historical Quarterly*		
11. 'Panipat'	Vol. X, No. 2	June, 1934

31. P.E. Roberts on J.N. Sarkar's editing of Irvine's work in *English History Review*, quoted by K.R. Quanungo, "Jadunath Sarkar as a Historian", *Life and Letters of Sir Jadunath Sarkar*, p. 63.
32. William Irvine, *Later Maghals*, 'Nadir Shah's Invasion', pp. 307-379.
33. J.N. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, Foreword, iv.
34. J.N. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, p. 4; A Contemporary Picture of the Mughal Court", *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. xvii, 1931, Part IV, 339-340. 'Muhammad Shah with his childish love of fruits, absorbing fondness for fake animal combats, his over indulgence in opium and harem, his utter indifference to public business. . . Like King like Minister. The emperor became a 'conformed invalid at the age of 40 due to excesses and a deep melancholy set in. . . he turned to the company of *faqirs* 'Muhammad Shafi Tehrani' (Pen-name Warid) whose youth had been nurtured in the dignified and strenuous reign of Aurangzib wrote (*Mirat-i-Waridat* 117-118) in the bitterness of his heart about the times of Muhammad Shah, "for some years past it has been the practice of the Imperial court that whenever officers of the Deccan or Gujarat and Malwa reported any Maratha incursion to the emperor, his Majesty, in order to soothe his heart afflicted by such sad news either visited the gardens. . . or rode out to hunt in the plains, while his grand wazir Itimad-ud-daulah Qamr-ud-din Khan went to assuage his feelings by gazing at the lotuses in some pools situated four leagues from Delhi where he would spend a month or more in tents enjoying pleasure or hunting fish in the rivers and deer in the plains. At such times Emperor and Wazir alike lived in total forgetfulness of the business of administration, the collection of revenue, and the needs of the army. No chief, no man thinks of guarding the realm and protecting the people, while these disturbances daily grow greater", *Newsletters* of the Mughal Court 4th May (1743). "The Emperor came to the foot of the *Jharokha* and looked at the preparation of lamps for illumination. Kesho Rao reported the news of the army of Balaji Baji Rao 5th May—The emperor came on foot to the *Jharokha* and viewed the dancing and singing of the beggars, 6th May. The emperor came on foot to the *Jharokha* and witnessed the mimicry of the bafoons (*bhand*)."
35. "When the fallen monarch cried out for water in the agony of thirst and mental anguish, Saifullah Khan held out to his lips some water put in the

sherd of a broken earthen pot lying in the dust there, and the king of kings of an hour ago was glad to drink from it", *Fall*, I, p. 339.

36. In the second edition, published 16 years after the first, the historian made use of the relevant historical material that became available in the intervening years : A. Ahmad Shah Abdali's letters during the Panipat Campaign which J.N. Sarkar translated from Persian in the *Modern Review*, May 1946, and the *Jangnamah* or the history of his invasion, written by the eye witness Qazi Nur Mohammad, edited by Ganda Singh, 1939. B. The French text of Rene Madec's *Memoire* translated by J.N. Sarkar. C. The Persian *Newsletters* to the Peshwa from his agents in Delhi. D. Further volumes of Marathi historical letters and old family papers; J.N. Sarkar's *Panipat*, Calcutta, 1934, reprinted from the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. X, No. 2, June 1934, based on the 'fullest and best source on the momentous event, Kashinath's account'. Kashiraj, the Brahman Secretary of Shujaudaullah, the Nawab of Oudh and who was present with his master throughout the campaign, took a personal part in the negotiations with Bhau and later in the search for the slain Maratha Chiefs and their cremation.

In depicting the minute details of the Afghan-Maratha contest, the historian's flair for military history is most impressive. A description of the topography of the environs of Panipat with a map to help visitors (p. 214), his explanation of the plans of battle (p. 233) and his Appendix on 'Historical sources on Panipat' (263-269) make it a masterly study by the author of *Military History of India*, and would do honour to a De-Jomini (the Tsar's A.D.C., a great man of arms, experienced in the Napoleonic campaigns whose *Art of War* had impressed Jadunath Sarkar most as a young college student.

The reflective historian does not follow the 'fashion with Maratha writers since the days of V.K. Rajwade to belittle the result of the battle of Panipat as no disaster to the Marathas except for the death of so many chiefs and so many thousands of soldiers' and is of the view that contrast of the Maratha position from 1760 to 1789 can be most easily realized if we imagine, that the Marathas triumphed on 14th January, 1761—'Consequences of the battle of Panipat', J.N. Sarkar, *Fall* II, 255-259.

37. J.N. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. II, pp. 300-320. For a graphic account of Suraj Mal and his kingdom, see the recent publication, Natwar Singh, *Maharaja Suraj Mal, 1707-1763 : His Life and Times*, B.I. Publications, Bombay, 1981.
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 116-119, 149-150, 376-379.
39. J.N. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. II, pp. 344-359.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 398. J.N. Sarkar quotes from Munna Lal's *Tarikh-i-Shah Alam*, 109-120 and *Kale Akhbarat* SPD XXIX.
41. See J.N. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. III, Preface, iii.
42. Ghulam Qadir Khan, the son and successor of Zabita Khan, his grandfather Najib-ud-daula had been the regent of the empire for 10 years. Zabita Khan had roused Shah Alam's wrath and had been defeated, his two seats at Pathargarh and Ghasugarh had been sacked with every cruelty. Now was Ghulam Qadir's turn for avenging the wrongs; with

his manly Afghan clans at his back, he claimed to be *Qahar-i-Khuda* (the scourge of God). He must 'abase into dust the cowards and lechers who soiled the throne of the empire of India'. Shah Alam was deposed and blinded. . . the princes flogged, princesses dishonoured, servants beaten till they died, the palaces turned upside down by digging for concealed treasure'. See J.N. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. III, pp. 295, 301-302, 307-308.

43. For Mahadji Sindhia's Regency, *Fall* III, 196-268, Mahadji's policy and action during Ghulam Qadir's usurpation vindicated, pp. 302-304.

44. In shouldering the regency a sense of patriotism appears to have weighed more than of personal gains. Till middle of November 1784, all Mahadji's acts showed that he valued his solid new conquests in Malwa more than the empty dignity of the regency of an insolvent empire. Even when the emperor 'threw himself upon Mahadji's neck' and entreated him to save the state by undertaking to be its helmsman, the Maratha general hesitated for a full fortnight, till the hopeless disruption around him forced his hands and 'he at last realized that the guidance of such a realm could not be left to a child of three (the previous *Mir Bakshi* Afrasiab's son) with the Kashmiri servants of his household acting vicariously for him'. Such a step would complete the downfall of the imperial power and bring the English to Delhi as the *de facto* rulers in the guise of the emperor's keepers. In fact such a policy was being openly pursued under Mahadji's eyes by Major Browne, the British agent accredited to the Delhi court, "the very danger the Peshwa had been urging Sindhia in letter after letter for past three years to do his best to avert it". See J.N. Sarkar, *Fall* III, pp. 204-25.

See also Sir John Shore, the British Governor-General's Minute on the death of Mahadji Sindhia, "the intelligence from Poona, communicated through the suspicious channel of the Nizam, a short interval before Sindhia's death imparts motives of this nature (i.e. of venturing upon a contest with the English power) which I cannot but deem conformable to the general character of his policy", Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. II, *Mahadji Sindhia and North Indian Affairs*, edited by J.N. Sarkar, Government Central Press, Bombay, 1936, pp. 400-401.

45. See J.N. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. IV, 114-115. De-Boigne, Mahadji's French general not only reorganized the Maratha army along the European lines, he was also the first to settle European indigo planters in the Aligarh district. . . a single factory used to earn from 6 to 10 lakhs of rupees per year" (Indigo in Aligarh, Atkinson, N.W.P. Gaz. 472-473). Next to Indigo the most important export of De-Boigne's district was saltpetre in which India had a monopoly of the European market during the wars of the French Revolution. In 1794, this commodity alone fetched three lakhs of rupees a year. Both Indigo and saltpetre were shipped at Farukhabad down the Ganges to Calcutta for exportation to Europe.

46. For sources, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. IV, pp. 351-352.

47. J.N. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. IV, 4-6. "In fact Nana Fadnis, the dictator of the central Government of the Marathas, was jealous of Mahadji Sindhia's rise to the first place in the political world of

India. . . he deliberately kept the Holkar-Sindhia quarrel open in order to weaken Mahadji. . ." Nana Fadnis "lived blind to the moving outer world like the proverbial frog in the well. . . one cannot help feeling that Nana Fadnis' wrong policy was due even more to his ignorance of North-Indian conditions".

48. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.
49. N.K. Sinha, "Jadunath Sarkar Re-Read", *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XCII, July-December, 1973, Part II, Serial No. 174, p. 286, "Jaswant Rao Holkar was described by Ranjit Singh as a determined rascal but all three deserve this description".
50. Mahadji Sindhia as a shrewd judge of men had maintained an admirable balance in his ministry by placing the civil administration in the hands of Desastha Brahmins and his army under Chenvi Brahmins—these two groups though theoretically branches of the same Brahmin caste, lived apart in their social relations beyond the possibility of uniting or even fraternising. After Mahadji's death the balance was upset and Aba Chitnis, his Chief Minister, courted Nana Fadnis' support against his Shenvi rivals and promised subservience to 'his policy of "making the Sindhias know their own place". See *Fall*, IV, 143-145; For Perron's duplicity, pp. 254-257 of Vol. IV of *Fall of the Mughal Empire*.
51. All these battles (*Fall*, IV, 202-224) are enlivened by J.N. Sarkar's masterly touch for detail and precision as well as punchent style. Thus, in the battle of Baramati between Peshwa Baji Rao II and Jaswant Rao Holkar (8th Oct., 1802) describing the cowardly flight of Peshwa's commanders and soldiers, he writes, "Nana Purandore, the Chitpavan Commander in Chief, was first in the race for safety and galloped away with his bare life, the second in command Pondoji Kunjar ran so blindly, that for three days after he could not be traced, to the intense grief of his worthy father Baloji, the favourite pimp of Baji Rao. The soldiers were worthy of such leaders".

    Battle of Hadaspur (25th October, 1802) between Sindhia and Holkar—a decisive victory for Holkar.
52. J.N. Sarkar, *Fall*, IV, 335-336.
53. *Ibid.*, 337.
54. J.N. Sarkar, *Fall*, III, Preface, iii.
55. J.N. Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. IV, 343-344.
56. J.N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, 2nd edition, M.C. Sarkar & Sons, 1924, p. 253.
57. J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. V, 368-372.
58. J.N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his times*, pp. 205-206; J.N. Sarkar's *House of Shivaji*, 3rd edition 1955, pp. 295-97, for 'Tantrik Brahmin and local Chit-pavan Brahmin rivalry and its role in Shambhuji's fall and execution, J.N. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. IV, pp. 153-155.
59. Also see V.S. Kadam's "The Privileges enjoyed by the Brahmins under the Later Peshwas", *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol. XII, 1972-73, No. 3, pp. 236-242. "The Brahmins in Maharashtra considered all other castes as Shudras or as *Ati* Shudras and along with the highest

social status enjoyed by them, there were a number of religious, economical and judicial privileges exclusively for them".

60. J.N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 255.
61. J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. V, p. 273.
62. *Ibid.*, pp. 372-373 and *Mughal Administration*, pp. 108-110.
63. J.S. Grewal, "Edward Gibbon on Islamic Civilization", *Medieval India : History and Historians*, pp. 26-31.
64. Such as George Thomas, Perron and James Skinner and others noticed by Bishop Heber in *Journal* ii, 342, quoted by J.N. Sarkar in *Fall*, IV, pp. 342-344.
65. J.N. Sarkar, *Fall*, IV, p. 344.
66. *Ibid.*, pp. 343, 347.
67. N.K. Sinha, "Jadunath Sarkar Re-Read", *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XCII, July-December, 1973, Part II, Serial No. 174, p. 284.
68. J.N. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, Foreword, iii.
69. "The Marathas felled all the timber and fruit trees of the gardens around Panipat. . . they employed the timber making for retaining walls of the ditch and of the raised gunplatforms. For want of fuel, they consumed the planks, beams and doors of the houses, ruining the roofs and walls. .. Marble slabs from the tombs of holymen were burnt in kilns and turned into lime for their *Pan* (betel leaf)", *Fall*, II, p. 323, J.N. Sarkar quotes a noble of the city Shakir Khan on the eve of Panipat.
70. J.N. Sarkar, *Fall*, II, p. 259.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
72. Hazrat Begum to Alamgir II, who demanded her hand in marriage, "I prefer death to such a marriage. . . I regard you as my father, and you too should look upon me in the same light as your three daughters. If you use force, I shall kill myself", J.N. Sarkar quotes *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sahi*, 67, 185-186, in *Fall*, II, 3.
73. J.N. Sarkar, *Fall*, II, 89-90.
74. *Fall*, III, 314, J.N. Sarkar quotes from *Ibn*, 158.
75. It was not communal instability that proved our undoing. When Pathan Nawab of Cuddapa murdered Nasir Jung and prepared the ground for French ascendency in the Deccan and when Mir Jafar, Yar Latif and Rai Durlabh betrayed Siraj-ud-daula at Plassy, they did something which was very consistent with the whole tenor of 18th century Indian history", N.K. Sinha, "Jadunath Sarkar Re-Read", *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XCII, July-December, 1973, Part II, Serial No. 174, p. 286.
76. J.N. Sarkar to G.S. Sardesai in a letter dated 15th May, 1950, ('Sarkar-Sardesai Correspondence') *Life and Letters of Sir Jadunath Sarkar*, 265. "I have given the finishing touch to the last chapter of my *Fall of the Mughal Empire*. I can say that I have written it not with ink, but with my heart's blood—in saying so, I am not thinking of the personal sorrows and anxieties which have clouded the evening of my day, nor of the minute study and exhausting labour that had to be devoted to the subject in this terrible summer heat. . . but the subject-matter of the last few chapters—the imbecility and vices of our rulers, the cowardice of their

generals and the selfish treachery of their ministers. It is a tale which makes every true son of India hang his head in shame".

77. G.S. Sardesai, "Jadunath Sarkar As I Know Him", *Life and Letters*, p. 19; K.R. Qanungo (*Ibid.*, p. 72) puts it, "We cannot get rid of the element of opinion or bias—history is not an exact science but an interpretation of human affairs—opinion and varieties of opinion intrude as inevitable factors. So bias there must be in Jadunath also whether he is aware of it or not. . ., in his *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, his bias turns against the Marathas, particularly, the ruling Chitpavan Brahmins—"hundred knots in one span" of a Brahmin having borne down the patience of the historian. The historian does not share the grief of Maharashtra after the catastrophe of the third battle of Panipat, because he has nothing to choose between the Peshwa and the Abdali. . . most of the Hindus feared worse rapacity and unblushing bad faith in the event of a Maratha victory. . . that Jadunath's opinion or bias is 'the right kind of opinion—broad—all embracing, philosophic, not a narrow kind that excludes half or more of reality, will be admitted by any sensible person who cares to glance over any piece of his writing. This bias has not affected an objective study on approved scientific basis. See also, G.M. Trevelyan, "Bias in History", *An Autobiography and Other Essays*, p. 68.

78. J.N. Sarkar, *Fall*, IV, p. 349.
79. J.N. Sarkar, *India Through the Ages*, 5th edition reprint, M.C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta, 1960, p. 94.
80. A.L. Srivastava, "Historian Jadunath Sarkar", *Studies in Indian History*, p. 364.
81. J.N. Sarkar, *Fall*, I, Foreward, iii-iv.
82. J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. V, p. 378.
83. Quoted in K.R. Qanungo's "Jadunath Sarkar as a Historian", *Life and Letters*, p. 71.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
85. William Irvine, *Later Mughals*, J.N. Sarkar, "Irvine As a Historian", xxiv.
86. *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, 2nd edition, March, 1952.
87. N.K. Sinha, "Jadunath Sarkar Re-Read", *Bengal Past and Present*, Calcutta, Vol. XCII, Part II, No. 174, July-December, 1973, pp. 279-290. "We are now aware of the desiccation and sterility of political history. Was it so in 1901? the year of his first publication. But that phase of history writing appears to be almost over. But is it really so? If some historian takes it into his head to write on Dynamics of Politics in Mughal Court 1658-1803, he would be very much lauded in these days of sophistication."
88. J.N. Sarkar, *Fall*, IV, Preface, iii. His works on socio-economic and religious history, and general themes, include *Studies in Mughal India*, *Studies in the Reign of Aurangzib*, *India Through the Ages*, *Economics of British India*, *India of Aurangzib*, *Its Topography, Statistics and Roads*, *Chaitanya's Life and Teachings*, *History of Dashnami Sect*. These are analysed in Chapters III and VI.

89. N.K. Sinha, "Jadunath Sarkar Re-Read", *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XCII, Part II, No. 174, July-December, 1973, p. 175.
90. J.N. Sarkar, *Fall*, III, Preface, iii.
91. e.g. the Persian newsletters collected by Claude Martin and now preserved in the British Museum in two volumes, running to 1500 manuscripts, pages, do not, except in the rarest cases, give the year and hence the owner had bound them by placing *all* the sheets of a particular month for these nine years, lumped together in one place in order of days of the month only ! It was only after ploughing his way through these huge collections of reports and concentrating light on their contents from the three languages, Marathi, Persian and English that the historian was able to date and interpret this class of sources correctly. Again, to collate his Khuda Baksh Library copy of memoirs of Khairuddin from a defective and wrongly arranged original, the historian had to spend two months at the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and in the Society's manuscript too several folios had been placed out of order at the time of binding ! See *Fall*, Vol. III, Preface, iii-iv.
92. J.N. Sarkar, *Fall*, IV, Preface, iii.
93. *Ibid.*, Preface, iv.
94. Percival Spear, *Twilight of the Mughals*, 1951, reprint, Oriental Book Reprint Corporation, New Delhi, 1969, p. 2. According to Percival Spear the gap consisted of the fate of citizens of Delhi, Jadunath Sarkar having concentrated more upon the fortunes of 'picturesque personalities' having found them 'more attractive than the citizens of Delhi'. A study of the volumes of *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, however, reflects the constant touch of the historian of fall of the Mughal Empire' with its people rather than concentrating, like Spear on 'the Delhi City and Territory' alone, which highlightens the glory of the British administration in the region by contrasting it with the anarchy in the same area during the last decade of the Mughal 'rule'.
95. Percival Spear, *Twilight of the Mughals*, Preface, ix.
96. Percival Spear, *Twilight of the Mughals*, p. 137. It is to such a spirit that we owe Franklin's *History of the Reign of Shah Aulum*, and Daniell's engravings; according to Manucci, there were English men in Akbar's artillery service.
97. Percival Spear, *Twilight of the Mughals*, pp. 3-4.
98. *Ibid.*, pp. 115-116.
99. *Ibid.*, pp. 84-96.
100. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
101. J.N. Sarkar, *Fall*, IV, p. 343.
102. Satish Chandra, *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court, 1707-1740*, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, 1959, Preface, vii-viii, xv-xvi.
103. *Ibid.*, xvi.
104. *Ibid.*, p. 259.
105. *Ibid.*, p. 265.
106. *Ibid.*, p. 268.
107. 'The Emperors of Persia. Who oppressed the lower classes ; Gone is

their glory and empire. Gone is their tyranny over the Peasant.'
Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India* (1556-1707), Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1963, p. 350, Sadi quoted by Irfan Habib.

108. *Ibid.*, p. 297.
109. *Ibid.*, pp.319-320.
110. *Ibid.*
111. *Ibid.*, p. 297.
112. Ibid., pp. 53, 329.
113. *Ibid.*, pp. 121, 350.
114. Athar Ali, *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*, p. 172.
115. *Ibid.*, p. 173, 'Mamuri speaks eloquently of the depressed position of the *Khanazads*. The Mara has, practically insignificant a generation earlier, now outnumbered the Rajputs.'
116. *Ibid.*, p. 174.
117. Thus while Shahjahan is king Lear and something more, Aurangzeb puts Richard III in shade. Dara is the 'doubt ridden Hamlet and Jahanara fills the role of Cordelia. Nurjahan in 'Modern blunt idiom' is 'a scheming bitch' Mumtaz Mahal a 'Juliet' and a Monalisa combined, Raushanara, a budding Messolina' and a 'Vindictive Salome'. Waldemar Hansen, *The Peacock Throne*. 1st Indian reprint, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1981, pp. 30, 36-37, 195, 147, 445.
118. *Ibid.*, p. 257.
119. *Ibid.*, p. 453.
120. *Ibid.*, pp. 453-463.
121. *Ibid.*, p. 395.
122. *Ibid.*, pp. 486-487.
123. J.F. Richards. *Mughal Administration in Golconda* Clarendon Press, Oxford 1975, Acknowledgements, vii. 'I have relied again and again on the writings of that master historian Jadunath Sarkar...he set the narrative frame for the late Mughal Period virtually single handed. Because I have been trying to fill in a peculiar regional gap in his narrative, I am most aware of his skills. I am indebted in a similar manner to M. Athar Ali, Irfan Habib and I.H. Qureshi whose monographs have tutored me in the intricacies of the Mughal administrative system.
124. *Ibid.*, pp. 306-311.
125. *Ibid.*, p. 264.
126. *Ibid.*, p. 311.
127. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
128. *Ibid.*, p. 309.
129. *Ibid.*, p. 311.
130. *Ibid.*, p. 309.
131. Z.U. Malik, *The Reign of Muhammad Shah, 1919-1948*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1977, p. 417.
132. *Ibid.*, p. 140.
133. Satish Chandra, *Parties, and Politics in the Mughal Court, 1707-1740*, Introduction, xviii, quoted by Z.U. Malik, *The Reign of Muhammad Shah* p. 417.
134. Z.U. Malik, *Reign of Muhammad Shah, 1719-1748*, p. 417.

135. J.N. Sarkar, *Hsitory of Aurangzib*, Vol. III, pp. 180-181. When on 9th May 1667, Aurangzib abolished the customs duty altogether in case of Muslim traders, while on Hindu traders, it was retained at the old rate (5%) 'apart from the political immorality of favouring one creed above all others, the direct sacrifice of Public revenue was very great and the real loss to state greater still as the Hindu traders, had now a strong temptation to pass their goods off as the property of Muslims, in collusion with the latter: the danger was not unknown to Aurangzib, as this very ordinance warns the local officers to guard against such fraud' (*Mirat-i-Ahmadi*), pp. 272, 280.

136. Anees Jahan Syed, *Aurangzeb in Muntakhab-Al-Lubab*, Introduction, xxxii. Imposing *Jiziah* was 'an act of economic insanity which Auranzeb considered a part of religion.'

137. A.L. Srivastava, "An Outline of the Economic policy of the Mughal Government", *Studies in Indian History*, pp. 383-386.

138. Satish Chandra, *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court, 1707-1740*, pp. 256-260.

139. Mughal India had not been scaled against the West, specially since the middle of the 17th century there had been considerable commercial exchange between India and England and the choice of what to import, rested with our ruling classes. "None cared for Europen knowledge, no printing press, not even the cheapest and smallest lithographic stone was installed by the Mughal Emperors or the Peshwas. They imported only what catered to their luxury and vice", J.N. Sarkar, *Fall*, IV, p. 345.

140. Z.U. Malik, *Reign of Muhammad Shah—1719-1748*, p. 417.

141. *The Statesman* (Calcutta), May 20th, 1958, Obituary, p. 4, col. 7. "His was the first attempt to reconstruct the story of fall of the Mughal empire with copious use of Persian, Marathi, English, French, Hindi and Sanskrit sources and his knowledge of India during this period was probably unequalled among scholars."

I42. Jadunath Sarkar on Gibbon in *Patna University Convocation Address*, 29th November, 1930, Patna, 1930.

CHAPTER VI

THE MUGHAL ADMINISTRATION AND OTHER WORKS

A historiographic review of the administrative system of the Mughals is of more than academic interest. Apart from being the pivot of the stability of the Empire in its palmy days, it served as a model for the various native kingdoms not directly administered by the Mughal Emperors. In many ways it formed the substructure of the British-Indian administrative edifice. Its impact can be seen in some of the administrative practices prevalent in the contemporary India.[1] Naturally, Mughal administration as a subject of study has drawn considerable attention of historians. However, the nature of work done on the subject is specialised and limited in scope and chronology.[2]

Jadunath Sarkar was the first in the field so far as the 'study of the mansion and not merely describing its bricks' goes.[3] His pioneering monograph *Mughal Administration* grew out of his 12 lectures on the subject at the Patna University in the year 1920-21. Though not as monumental as his works on Aurangzib, Shivaji or fall of the Mughal empire, it was the first of its kind as a comprehensive study despite the limitations the historian imposed on himself on the topics of organization of the army and land revenue. In the subsequent editions it had been 'minutely corrected, considerably rewritten and amplified with four new chapters.[4] *Studies in Mughal India* (1919) and editorial work of *Ain-i-Akbari*. Vols. II & III of the *Bibliotheca Indica Series* (1948-1950) also contributed to the subject substantially.[5]

The Mughal Administration presented basically a 'combination of Indian and extra Indian elements; or more correctly it was the Perso-Arabic system in Indian setting'.[6] The Quranic law recognized the sovereign as commander of the true believers and responsible to the general body (*Jamait*) of the Muslims. There

was no constitutional machinery to check his powers, though in practice he could be restrained by the fear of the Muslim soldiery or the fear of incurring social odium. So long he was not deposed by a successful rebellion or by the verdict of the Quranic law, issued by the *Ulema*, his power was supreme as the head of the Church and the State alike. His ministers, incharge of different central departments, at best could influence his policy by 'arts of gentle persuasion and veiled warning'.[7] A 'centralised despotism', it was essentially a 'military state'. The administrative system in the Mughal Provinces was 'an exact miniature of the central government'.[8] The villages and small towns of the empire enjoyed, 'parochial self-government rather than local autonomy' in absence of the essentials of political freedom and power of self-taxation.[9] In the 'most traditional and conservative branch of government activity in India'—land revenue administration, the Mughals retained the Hindu revenue system intact' as regards procedure but applied to it the 'theory of the Canon Law of Islam'.[10] The administration of law and justice was based on the practices of older Islamic States outside India and here the Mughal Government was the 'weakest' and least capable of improvement and expansion with time'.[11]

A notable feature as regards the Mughal nobility 'escheat of property lands held on service tenure as well as their personal property was perhaps based on 'the Quranic law of the sacredness of private property, superimposed upon an older alien institution, namely the communal ownership of all property among a nomadic tribe'.[12] It was practised to settle the noble's accounts with the government who under the system received advance of money (*Musaidat*) and materials (*ajnas*) and the accounts were hardly ever settled in the life time of a noble.[13] The escheat was 'Provisional' or *Pendentelike* and it was 'unhistoric to suppose that these escheats were originally due to a wicked desire of the autocratic sovereign to seize his subjects' rightful property when they were no longer alive to defend it'.[14] Its practical effect however, was 'most harmful'; it not only led to 'material waste and moral degeneration of the highest class in society', its political effect was even more disastrous. 'It prevented India from having one of the strongest safeguards of public liberty and checks on royal autocracy, namely an independent hereditary peerage whose position and wealth did not depend on the king's favour sn every generation. . . it made the

Mughal nobility a selfish band, prompt in deserting to the winning side in every war of succession or foreign invasion, because they knew that their lands and even personal property were not legally assured to them, but depended solely on the pleasure of the king *de-facto*'.[15]

The Mughal state declined more often than not, for not undertaking for all the subjects any of the 'socialistic' functions associated with a state presently.[16] What was worse, the Mughal emperor being the head of both Church and State to his Muslim subjects only, with the exception of Akbar discharged the 'socialistic' functions for the Muslim subjects, whereas towards the non-Muslim subjects the 'policy of individualistic minimum of interference' was followed.[17] Encouragement of art, literature and education was hence a 'purely personal matter with the king', the vast majority of non-Muslim subjects was outside the pale of state charity.[18]

In the summing up, the legacy of the Mughal Government, the empire at its greatest, governed more area of a country than ever done under any earlier empire in the country.[19] It provided political unity for nearly two hundred years (1556-1748) and gave 'oneness of official language, administrative system and also a popular *lingua franca* for all classes except the Hindu priests and the stationary village folk'. Other contributions of the rule, which were already started by the preceding Muhammudan dynasties, were the continuation of contact with the outside world, that had been lost after the decline of Buddhism in India.[20] Internal peace and stability also led to the 'improvement of civilization in general',[21] revival of monotheism in Hinduism and the example of Islamic society acted as a solvent on Hindu prejudices.[22] Another outstanding gift was that of historical literature, improvements in the art of war, which the Mughals had borrowed from Europe through Turkey and to some extent through Persia.[23]

From the political and administrative stability of two centuries of Mughal government, the Islamic influence on the upper classes of Hindus in many social spheres like etiquette, dress, food and literature became deeper still, though the masses in the villages remained practically unaffected by it.[24] In the domain of architecture, the Mughals further improved and evolved the Muslims' contributions—the semi-circular radiating arch, the vaulted dome and the geometrically laid out gardens.[25] In fine arts, the most

outstanding contribution of the Mughals was the Indo-Saracen School of Painting. This School still holds the field under the name of 'Mughal Painting', the so-called Rajput School is only the Mughal or Indo-Saracen style with Hindu mythological or epic subjects.

Hence, 'Muslim rule in general and the Mughal empire in particular achieved many things great and good for medieval India'.[26] However, by the eighteenth century, the Mughal civilization was like a 'spent bullet', fall of the empire with or without Nadir Shah or Ahmad Shah Abdali's invasions, was 'only a question of time'.[27] If on the one hand, the degeneration of Muhammadans, with lapse of time on the Indian soil was complete, the 'natural growth' of Hindus except during Akbar's reign was also checked.[28] Moreover, the Mughal monarchy like other oriental monarchies 'depended on the personality of the sovereign and of the ruling minority.' The progressive deterioration in the ruling families could not be checked by infusion of new blood 'either from among mass of the local people or from the thinned stream of foreign immigrants'.[29] The fatal defect of the Mughal rule, despite its glories was its failure 'to build a nation or a homogeneous state', its failure to follow 'the first principle of political science' that 'there cannot be a great empire without a great people', the mass of the people remained 'human sheep'[30] as was to be proved when they confronted the 'handful of Britishers' who had the enormous reservoir of the British democracy with all its collective talent and resources'. Islam has 'all the strength and weakness of a strictly dogmatic creed', in all lands it led its followers 'to succeed upto a certain point', while progress is the 'law of the living world'. The British conquest of the Mughal empire was 'an illustration of progressive races raplacing the conservative ones'.[31]

It was nearly thirty years after Sarkar that another comprehensive work on the subject appeared. Sri Ram Sharma, *Mughal Government and Administration* (1951) aimed at presenting a systematic study of the Mughal administration 'during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' (1526-1707). The author owed in more than one respect to his predecessor on the subject.[32] The Mughal State was a theocracy, in a very limited sense, for there was no independent religious head.[33] If Babur, Humayun and Aurangzib were 'inspired by the current notions of Muslim law', Akbar, Jahangir and to a lesser extent Shahjahan formulated or followed

policies otherwise.[34] The Mughal government was then 'a despotism but of a peculiar brand. . . . The Mughal rulers made few laws of their own and did not claim to do so'. A prominent feature of the *Hadis* that laid the right of the faithful to elect their own rulers, but left 'election vaguely in the air', was that 'no Muslim ruler could even claim that he held authority in his dominion by law. . . successful rebellion created a title at law as valid at that it replaced, a disintegrating principle that led to dire results.[35] Though Akbar's manifold military reforms and the fact of Hindu armies being inferior in organization, contributed to its success in its time and place in India 'even the original organization of Mughal army was defective'.[36] Although it became customary to speak of the Mughal 'nobles', they were nobles if the present day Indian administrative service officers under different categories could be called nobles.[37]

Mughal administration of justice presented 'a rather complicated picture', following the law of Islamic jurisprudence 'crime was not considered a social offence.'[38] Whenever the emperors were apprised of any misconduct, even of their own public servants, they exerted to deal appropriately with the offenders; access to them, however, was not always easy.[39] In the religious offences were included marriages between Muslims and Hindus, heresay and apostasy blasphemy. During the later part of Aurangzeb's reign, listening to music and manufacture of toys representing animate beings were also added to the above category. The Hindus under Aurangzeb could be punished also for 'dressing decently and riding good horses'. The law provided the 'Hindus and the Shias no protection against blasphemy'.[40]

Akbar treaded new paths in administration and the system devised by him, was successful for about one hundred and fifty years.[41] Aurangzeb withdrew many of the administative checks and his multiple governorships, combining of various offices originally intended to be mutually exclusive, cessation of imperial tours in the empire during the latter half of the reign, and the provincial governors 'playing the emperor in miniature', all combined with other factors leading to the disintegration of the empire, that had been a reality for more than a century and a half. Mughal administrative institutions and practice continued and some still linger on. The administrative legacy of the Mughals, was besides, the legacy of the age too.[42]

I.H. Qureshi's *The Administration of the Mughal Empire* is 'intended to be a companion volume' to his earlier work: *The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi* (1942) and has indeed the author's known characteristics, i.e. his "strongly communal approach" and his treatment of the Delhi Sultanate as a welfare state, "the Muslim community in medieval India as a nation" and "his behlief that the Muslims in medieval India more than satisfied modern ideas of tolerance, benevolence and efficiency",[43] are the impressions continued in the 'companion volume' too.

I.H. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Mughal Empire* (1966), covering the period 1956-1707 was certainly not superfluous when it sought to 'bring out the logical co-relation among different institutions' to present a comprehensive picture of the administration and to discuss 'a number of controversial problems'.[44] Yet the work is conspicuous by the effort to defend orthodox Islam in the field of administration. In the author's statement that Islam takes a comprehensive view of life and does not separate politics from religion',[45] the word administration could well replace the word politics and is evident in the 'integrated picture' of Mughal administration drawn. His inferences are evidently coloured to praise everything conforming to orthodox Islam and at times self-contradictory.[46] The emperor 'legally looked upon as Caliph as well', could however, ally himself with the non-Muslim majority, and 'escape retribution' for 'cold shouldering the Islamic law'. At the same time, the Mughal emperor was the 'Paternal figure' whose duty it was to 'safeguard the weak and to avenge the persecuted'.[47] No wonder, a group of Hindus would not touch food or go about their daily work without seeing the emperor 'at the *Jharokha Darshan*' and that the fashion of 'painting Mughal rule in lucid colours started much later . . . and the Hindus masses were affected by the propaganda of virulent Hindu communal organizations'.[48] The imposition of *Jiziyah* which 'took away from the poor man the full value of one year's food as the price of religious indulgence'[49] was according to I.H. Qureshi, 'A political measure' and 'insignificant' as source of income.[50] The Mughals had not only sound tradition of financial administration, 'the best organized branch of the Mughal government was 'its agrarian administration', the brilliance of the empire was built on the happiness and contentment of the peasant.[51] The Mughal administration was no less renowned for its dispensation of justice. The Mughals besides established

'a high standard of 'religious tolerance'. Akbar's heterodoxy however led to 'the eclipse of Islam' and the weakening of its hold upon the polity'. The empire was a 'culture state'.[52] It rested on benevolence, justice and good government', it fell because of 'the intrinsic weakness of its military machine and organization'. The Mughals had a 'progressive outlook', but 'failed to adapt their methods to new situation'.[53]

The latest on the subject as a general study, U.N. Day, *The Mughal Government* (1970), gather fruits of researches in the field by various scholars.'[54] It has a value all its own of weaving it into an integrated study while final verdict in history, according to the author is 'after all, only a fallacy'.[55] The work, however, does not confine itself merely to present a co-ordinated account of other works on the subject the author's own contribution—his observations, agreement or difference of opinion with the other contributors in the field, based on a study of 'original source material' amply distinguishes it from a work of mere compilation.

Hence while the monarchical government of the Mughals that was properly organized during the half a century reign of Akbar, too failed to evolve a law of succession and therefore, the bane of unnecessary bloodshed, the incidents of 1658, are better described as 'The Great Rebellion' rather than 'War of Succession' for Aurangzeb's accession was an 'act of usurpation and not a succession to a vacant throne'.[56] The Mughal emperors exerted themselves for proper administration of justice all over the empire but they could not introduce any reform in Law, either by way of codifying it to make it more definite or by way of its application. The *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri* considered as the code of Aurangzib, being merely a compilation based on the *Quran* and the most favoured *Hadis*.[57] 'The State could not introduce any substantial reform to recognize murder as an offence for which state could take action at its own initiative to protect those who had 'not the means of seeking redress', perhaps because 'the domination of the *Ulema* and the dictates of their own conscience as Muslims' the Mughal emperors had to accept the Islamic traditions of Arabia.[58] As regards the fiscal and revenue administration, 'the entire set up was geared to protect the interests of the Emperor rather than the good of the masses that provided for his luxury'.[59] The Indian cultivator, after he paid in shape of revenue and other rural dues, was left with 'just enough to subsist',[60] The mainstay of the administration, the

Mughal nobility was 'not permitted to take roots in the soil', no wonder their main interest remained one of 'self-aggrandisement, promotion and aquisition of means of ease and comfort' and they could develop loyalty neither to the crown nor to the country.[61]

In the final assessment, however, one could neither overlook the age to which the Mughals belonged, nor the 'blessings' of political unity and stability, the 'prosperity' irrespective of general poverty of masses. There was 'an overall' progress in the field of culture too; specimens of literature, painting, architecture and music patronised by Mughal kings and nobility have survived to form major legacy of the Mughal rule.[62]

Jadunath Sarkar's pioneering work on Mughal administration ran into four editions and remained the sole work of kind till 1951. The 'model of condensation without the sacrifice of clarity',[63] has in recent years led to mixed reaction from some of the writers and scholars on the subject. Honest differences of opinions apart,[64] many of the observations appear unwarranted after a close study of the historian's *Mughal Administration* and allied works on the subject, for example B.R. Grover's, 'Sarkar and Moreland on Mughal Land Revenue Administration' is hardly justified as a comparative study by 'an Indian professional historian and an English Civil servant developed into a historian', when Jadunath Sarkar had clarified that in his chapters on land revenue, he confined himself, only to supply additional information from manuscripts unknown to Moreland, the rest having been covered by the British historian.[65] Hence if 'Sarkar's translation and published commentaries (commentaries are not Sarkar's) on the *farmans* have been accepted by the later scholars without any further screening of the problems,[66] the responsibility of it rests with the latter. Similarly I.H. Qureshi's charges regarding the scope of Jadunath Sarkar's *Mughal Administration* and his comment on the historian's knowledge of Persian at best reflect assertion and boldness respectively.[67] These can perhaps be best dealt the way Gibbon vindicated some of the passages of his work.[68] The historian is not there to do it, if at all he would have cared to do so. I.H. Qureshi while making the statement that Sir Jadunath "was handicapped by his lack of knowledge of Persian" and that "he relied mostly on translations or the renderings of his munshis" does not appear to have been aware of the historian's outstanding contribution in the particular respect.[69] Similarly Wahed Hussain's charge as regards

Jadunath Sarkar's description of the *Muhtasib*[70] remains 'reckless' in the absence of his own evidence to contradict the historian's well documented description. P. Saran's complaint is that "The spirit underlying the work of Sir Jadunath (on Mughal Administration) betrays an unfortunate lack of sympathetic appreciation of the relative values of the medieval political institutions and environment in which they grew. Consequently the conclusions that have been drawn appear to be unfair and present an undeservedly dismal picture of the effects of the Mughal administration".[71] Apart from the fact of limited scope of P. Saran's work that does not extend beyond 1658 and misses a significant phase of Mughal Administration (1658-1748) as regards its total impact, attention may also be drawn to Jadunath Sarkar's account of the gifts of the Muslim rule in general and of the Mughals in particular.[72] When it came to discussing the eventual failure of "Muslim rule in general, and the Mughal empire in particular (that) achieved many things great and good for medieval India,"[73] the historian in the objectivity of judgement, did not mince words or soft paddle them. Some other unfair observations by the same author on the works of other historians including Jadunath Sarkar, on Mughal Administration have naturally not escaped unchallenged by an eminent historian of medieval India.[74]

In the final analysis the value of Jadunath's pioneering work whether as "an excellent work on Mughal Administration which notwithstanding its brevity, still remains the standard work of reference on the subject",[75] or as the work that "supplies materials for further study on the various aspects of the Mughal India history",[76] is unmistakable.

* * * *

Some of the other works of the historian, which he called 'short excursions' in the field of 'social and economic' history, not only present a brief and yet penetrating purview of the subject dealt; but also reveal the distinction he made between two types of research in 1957. First the general type, an exhaustive study of a king or a general and second 'studies of the supreme type' which (comparable to Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*) "have not been produced in India as yet". . . But works of this class alone will endure, they push human thought miles ahead".[77]

Among the other works of the historian, stand out his *Studies in Mughal India* (1919), *Military History of India* (1960), *Economics*

of British India (1911), *Chaitanya, His Pilgrimages and Teachings* (1913)—afterwards published as *Chaitanya's Life and Teachings*, *History of the Dashnami Sect*, Vols. I and II and *India Through the Ages* (1928).

Studies in Mughal India contains 22 essays relating to different aspects of life under the Mughal empire of the emperors and the subjects, or topics of interest and value for the student of medieval Indian history.[78] These essays have been aptly described as 'charming and authoritative, miniature ivory caskets of fine literary workmankship.[79] While some of these demolish many of the popular misconceptions of those who regarded oriental kings as brainless and heartless despots by bringing out through depiction of daily life of Mughal emperors, that they took a lively personal interest in the administration of justice and suppression of all organized crime such as piracy, robbery and official tyranny.[80] The essay 'Oriental Monarchies' that brings out the essential differences between the oriental monarchies as well as the *ganas* or republics *vis-a-vis* their counterparts in the west, is thought provoking.[81] Essays like 'Education in Muhammadan India' and 'Education of a Muslim Prince' present an informative and interesting account of the subject; thus while the state had no department of education, it was a 'handmaid of religion' as it had been during the period of 'Hindu supremacy' and was a purely private matter.[82] The essays 'The companion of an Empress' (Sati-un-nissa)[83] and Zeb-un-nissa vindicated' give an idea of the noble and accomplished womanhood of Mughal India, as well as a picture of the inner life of the Mughal court of the period. The historian's service to the cause of truth and to the memory of the gifted poetess Zeb-un-nisa (the eldest daughter of Aurangzib) by a thorough scrutiny of history of the period and by the historian's demonstration of the falsity of her alleged illicit relation with Aqil Khan were duly appreciated.[84]

It is, however, the essay on 'Art in Muslim India' that one is struck by the deft handling of the subject by the sometimes so called 'political historian'—in the brief and lively account of the development and contribution of Mughal architecture, painting, textile art, jewellar's and goldsmith's arts, pottery and metal work—he is as much at home as he is as a biographer of Aurangzib, and has the added critical acumen of an art historian. Thus, while the radiating arch was a gift of the Muslim rule to India, the Pathan architecture, represented by mosques, tombs, minarets and arched

gateways, has a 'certain gloomy massiveness and solidity' and 'elegence of finish, delicacy, and wealth of decoration to architecture' was provided by the Mughals.[85] In the realm of painting, Akbar's age received great stimulus for the development of India-Saracen painting, while portrait painting achieved perfection by about the middle of the seventeenth century when 'fidelity to the living original was secured in a high degree and the colouring and drapery reached the perfection of delicacy'.[86] The so called 'Rajput School of Indian Painting' was not an indigenous Hindu product nor had it any natural connection with Rajputana, but a representation of the Indo-Saracen Mughal Painting at the courts of the vassal Hindu *Rajahs* of the Mughal empire. No wonder the historian found in 'beautiful and genuinely old Indo-Saracen Hindu pictures', the elders of Mathura going out to meet Krishna, 'dressed and armed like Mughal courtiers', or Ram advancing to the conquest of Lanka with his army marching in 'exact divisions, with all the arms, equipment and transport of the Mughal imperial army, *artillery not left out*! while a 'few strokes with a brush' could turn Ram of the scene into Akbar. Radha of the 'Rajput Paintings' is only a Mughal Noble lady at her toilet with fewer ornaments.[87] There is, however, 'a certain crudeness—the use of staring colours, rigidity of outline and bareness of environment. Indo-Saracen painting at the Mughal Court had a rapid decline after the reign of Shah Jahan and the attempted revival of it in the last quarter of the eighteenth century under the patronage of *Nawabs* of Oudh, on which European art began to exercise 'a fatal and dominating' influence—taste, conception and execution alike were affected. The potrait of Akbar with his Christian wife, described by Father Hosten is only a specimen of such a phase.[88] The last attempt to revive the Indo-Saracen painting made by Ranjit Singh is suggestive, "in spite of its elaborate prettiness", of "the last gasp of an old and discarded horse suddenly flogged into life.[89] The twentieth century attempt of 'belated but pure' revival of the Indo-Saracen art, like the new School of Indian Painting, that deliberately imitates the Ajanta style, despite their charm 'cannot possibly cause a new birth or development of living, growing Indo-Saracen or Ajanta art', both lack the 'divine madness of the true creative spirit—whom did the Ajanta painters consciously imitate'.[90] In a branch of sculpture—ivory carving—perfection was attained in the Mughal Period and though the art continued without any

noticeable decay to the twentieth century, it is presently fast dying out for lack of patronage. To the already developed textile art too, Mughal contributions were varied and distinct.[91] The arts of jewellers and goldsmith too received great impetus, the Mughals patronised these arts both from their natural love for things beautiful and from the political necessity of reciprocating the presents from others or as gifts of honour to foreign dignitaries, courtiers and members of royal family. Inlaid metal work, porcelains and heavily decorated brass and silver vessels too are a legacy of Muslim rule in general and of Mughal rule in particular and not of the Hindus whose religious prejudices often confined them either to use stone vessels or cheap clay pots and pans to be thrown away after use or metal vessels which have to be scrubbed daily.

The Military History of India, some chapters of which had been published in *Hindustan Standard*, came out in book form as his posthumous work in 1960. It is a 'study of the development of the Art of war in India and not a descriptive list of every battle that has been fought in our land.[92] The work opens with a significant chapter on how geography dictates strategy and is followed by a masterly study of the evolution and development of the art of war in India beginning with Alexander's invasion in 327-26 B.C. down to the last battles fought by Wellington and Lake against the Marathas in 1803. In the depiction of battles, minute details topography, military strategy and progress of art of war, the historians' flair for the subject comes to the fore. Since his childhood days, Sarkar had been an admirer of De-Jomini's *Art of War*.[93] In this work he established his reputation as 'a military historian *Par excellence*'.[94] His 'description of several decisive battles would do honour to Clausewitz'.[95]

The historian's presentation of some glimpses of religious history include two works on the subject. *A History of the Dasnami Naga Sanyasis* in two volumes and *Chaitanya's Life and Teachings*. The first is the history of Dashnami Sect 'of proto-historic ancestory, perhaps the most powerful monastic order which has played a great part in the history of India'.[96] The historian in the work traces the main course of their history, their past services and their present position.[97] Concluding on the role of organization of the Dashnami Orders, the historian brings forth a significant parallel. "Europe has long debated the question as

to how Christianity could convert the Roman empire. A century and a quarter after Gibbon's famous analysis of the causes of this marvellous success, English scholars have come to the conclusion that the early Christian Church by imitating the administrative organization of the Roman Empire, built up a system of work which no other religion had adopted and which made its conversion of the Roman world so easy and speedy. . . The entire course of Hindu life and thought after the age of Buddhism has been dominated by the influence of two intellectual giants (Shankracharya and Ramanuja). . . between them they have divided the empire of Hindu philosophy and religious organization. . . the organization of the Dashnami orders is the eternal monument to Shankaracharya's disciples who completed the great Master's mission on Earth".[98]

In *Chaitanya's Life and Teachings*, Jadunath Sarkar presented a translation of biography of Chaitanya by Krishnadas Kaviraj Gowsamin, generally held to be the best of the four biographies of the saint in Bengali.[99] He also edited and supplemented it, the major addition being on the effects of New Vaishnavism and its present position. The 'most authoritative and unvarnished' account of Chaitanya's wanderings and preachings was thus made available to the non-Bengali readers.[100] It is "full of human interest from beginning to end a truly human figure comes before us and attracts our own love, even as it attracted the love of his first disciples".[101] The work gives an account of the life and preachings of the greatest saint of Bengal, who caused a complete moral revolution in Eastern India by preaching the cult of *Bhakti* or devotion to God as incarnate in Lord Krishna (an incarnation of Lord Vishnu). Vaishnavism conquered Bengal, Orissa, Assam and Tirhut. It also established its stronghold in several other places notably Vrindaban—a natural park of the prehistoric Hindu capital Mathura, on the banks of the Jamuna and is immortalised in Hindu mythology as well as Vaishnav lore as the scene of Krishna's romantic boyhood and youth. Its pools, trees and bowers live enshrined in the Vaishnav scriptures.[102] During the very life time of Chaitanya, his disciples had organized a mission for spreading his preachings both in Bengal and beyond it.[103] Modern Vrindaban with its temples, retreats for recluses and Sanskrit seminaries that eclipse the older city of Mathura was the creation of the Vaishnavas, and the Vaishnav Goswamis both at Vrindaban

and Navadwip have kept up the study of Sanskrit down to our times.

In the present times, however, the goal of Chaitanya has been lost under two sharply divided sections—'an emotional but morally undisciplined rabble at the base and a keenly intellectual but cold and fastidious priesthood of Brahmin Goswamis at the top, where the brain has surpassed the heart'.[104]

Jadunath Sarkar's *Economics of British India* (1909) is another illustration of the historian's genius as regards his study of different facets of history. The work consists of a graphic account of India's physical features, economic products and resources, industries, transport facilities, currency, public finance, labour laws, land tenure system and legislation, foreign trade—for which vast and varied blue books and other authoritative works were consulted and the statistics brought up-to-date (1917)[105]. The latter half of the work traced the economic transformation : the gold standard, high prices, protection and *Swadeshi*, techical education, village industries, revenue policy, factory legislation, with exact references to sources. The changes effected by the World War I were duly noted and a chapter on India during War was added to the fourth edition of 1917. Whereas Jadunath Sarkar considered some of the 'virtues' such as patience, contentment, aversion to a spirit of adventure or speculation, and above all, concentration of Hindu thinkers on metaphysics, as handicaps in economic struggle along with the pushing races of the west, he placed the 'frugality, socialistic spirit and domestic virtue' of his countrymen as moral assests of great value in the economic sphere where the ultimate achievements, as now recognised in the west too, are 'due to the race and not to the individual, however brilliant'.[106]

The result of 'the political and economic causes' was not only modernization of India, but also reduction of India as a dependency of Great Britain "to the position of a debtor country"—the country that was 'one of the richest in raw-materials' and where the standard of comfort was so low as to make the European observers wonder as to why the Indians live—the effect of the 'Home Charges' meant 'compelling India every year to part with above 30 crores of rupees in excess of her imports", the profits in war and peace were shared not by peasants and labourers, when *Swadeshi* was better than protection'. The call to the English Bar enforced by the Charter Act of 1774 meant, not

merit but only a sojourn in England for would be Indian barristers. A few of such barristers were 'innocent of humour' and puzzled the judges by often speaking of "the he-cock" when they meant Mr. Heycock, or by pleading in a curious mixture of Urdu and English.[107] The remedy to it all, lay in a positive approach and not in brooding over the past. 'To put the present to the best use, we must accept it wholeheartedly. . . In the economic sphere, we must face facts, however, unpleasant they may be. . . after once climbing to the highest peak of industrial success, we must ever move on and face the sacrifices which constant improvement and ceaseless activity make necessary.[108]

Economics of British India, first published in 1909, was widely acclaimed in the country and abroad, by general readers as well as serious students of economics for its "irrefutable logic, charm and vigour of style". If on the one hand it was considered as "the best work we possess on the economic condition of India",[109] on the other, it was also in passages, committed to memory and recited "to fan the patriotic fire" of the sluggered amongst the young generation.[110] Though the book was written "throughout from the Indian standpoint", to this "no exception could be taken since the facts were accurately given".[111] The work was a sober and yet a vigorous attack on the weakest spot of the British Indian Government, i.e. its economic policy. Sir Theodors Morrison in his review appreciated the 'conscientious investigation of detail' as much as its author's qualities of 'courage and independence' and also the advice to his countrymen on the spirit which should animate them in grappling the socio-economic problems. Morrison confessed 'no Englishmen could presume of offer (such) advice, (and a) few of them could withhold from him their tribute of silent admiration'.[112]

The book became 'an indispensable *vade mecum*' for those wanting to follow the economic discussions in the press and legislature with interest and intelligence, and ran into four editions, till the author chose to withdraw it from the market, when the demands of Clio made it difficult for the historian to keep himself up-to-date with economics and statistics.

The book which, of all his works, is recommended to a person who can read just one of his works is Jadunath Sarkar's *India Through the Ages*,[118] "A survey of India's inner life and outer growth from the stand point of evolutionary development through the ages".[114] It is a masterpiece in handling the telescope

of history by the historian who, notwithstanding his microscopic studies on Aurangzib, Shivaji and fall of the Mughal empire, was aware of the defect of studying history of India 'as divided into watertight compartments' when "India has been the home of living, growing people".[115] It presents a brief but graphic panorama of the growth of Indian life and thought since Vedic age to the historian's times. In the Chapter added to the fourth edition (1951), "How the British Lost India", he took note of how the British Government in India intensified national disunity and of the fact that "If India's distress was England's opportunity, India's glory could not be England's glory".[116] The balance of our loss and gain under the British empire could be appraised 50 years after their departure, in 'just balance, all passion spent'. The seer in the historian warned his countrymen against "the class of professional politicians" as well as false sense of values and urged them for patient, constructive work for the nation's uplift.[117] He observed that the 'study of our country's history' led 'irresistibly" to the conclusion that "we must embrace the spirit of progress. Modern Indian civilization is a composite daily growing product and not a mummy preserved in dry sand for four thousand years".[118] As far back as 1928, he urged his countrymen to take seriously the 'unmistakable message of the time spirit', that is "Give up your dream of isolation standardise and come into line with the moving world outside, or you will become extinct as a race though the operation of relentless economic competition in a world which has now become as one country".[119]

Thus, Sir Jadunath occupies a unique position as regards the vast and varied range of his contribution to facets of history that cover topography and statistics, political history and biography, government and economics, religion and military history surveys and essays : covering yet another variety of topics including art and historiography. No other Indian historian has perhaps covered such a wide range of the aspects of history.

Notes and References

1. J.N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, 4th edition, M.C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta, 1952, pp. 2-3. "Even a staunch champion of Hindu orthodoxy like Shivaji at first copied it in Maharashtra and it was only later in life that he made a deliberate attempt to give a Hindu colour to his administrative machinery by substituting Sanskrit titles for Persian ones at his

court. . . when in the late 18th century a band of English merchants and clerks were unexpectedly called upon to govern a strange land and an alien race, they very naturally took over the Mughal system then prevailing among the people...the administration (under the British) has again and again departed from its Mughal original. . . but the new has been built upon the old, our present has its roots in our past".

2. i.e. William Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Mughals* (1903), reprint Eurasia Publishing House, 1962, New Delhi, Moreland, *Agrarian System of the Mughals*, Central Book Depot, Allahabad, 1929; D. Pant, *The Commercial Policy of the Muguls*; Taraporevala, Bombay, 1930; R.P. Khosla, *Mughal Kingship and Nobility*, 1934, reprint, Idarah-i-Idabiyat-i, Delhi, Delhi, 1976; Wahed Husain, *Administration of Justice During the Muslim Rule in India* 'Calcutta University, Calcutta, 1934; R.P. Tripathi, *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, 1936, 2nd revised edition, Allahabad Central Book Depot, 1956; Ibn Hasan, *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1936; M.B. Ahmad, *Administration of Justice in Medieval India*, Aligarh, 1941; P. Saran, *Provincial Government of the Mughals*, Kitabistan, Allahabad, 1941; Abdul Aziz *The Imperial Treasury of the Indian Mughals*, 1942, reprint, Idarah-I-Idabiyat-I Delli, Delhi, 1972; Abdul Aziz, *Mansabdari System and the Mughal Army*, 1946, reprint, Idarah-I-Idabiyat-I Delli, Delhi, 1972: M.C, Roy Choudhry, *The State and Religion in Mughal India*, Indian Publicity Society, Calcutta, 1951; Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India (1556-1707)*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1963; S.P. Sangar, *Crime and Punishment in Mughal India*, Sterling Publishers, Delhi, 1967: Noman Ahmad Siddigi *Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals*, (1707-1750), Asia Publishing House, NewYork, 1970; B.S. Jain, *Administration of Justice in Seventeenth Century*, Metropolitan, Delhi, 1970.

3. I.H. Qureshi' assertion (*The Administration of the Mughal Empire*, p. 20) that J.N. Sarkar's *Mughal Administratian* 'fails to give the reader any insight into the logic of the administrative organization. . . it describes as if it were, bricks, rather than the building after a study of the work is not justified. More than anything else it brings forth the logic and spirit of administration under the Mughals, even if one may like to interpret it differently.

4. J.N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, 4th edition, Calcutta, 1952. Preface, iii, Four new chapters added were on Aurangzib's Revenue Rules, official correspondenee of the Mughal empire, Military Department and City Administration.

5. See J.N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*,. 2nd ed., M.C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta, 1924, p. 2.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

7. For details on Central Government, J.N. Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, pp. 16-54.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 153.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 153.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 148, 154 'There was no nobleman who was not a servant of the State, a holder of *mansab* or rank in the army. He received advance of money and materials or other payment on account from the Public Treasury and his business was to achieve fresh gains for the state by employing these means, and in the end, he was to be rewarded by his grateful employer with a share of the profits. Therefore, all his acquisitions were legally bound to revert to the State. . .military accounts, especially in an age when wars were frequent . . .took many years to be written up and audited. . .again the exact salary earned by a general could be ascertained only after he had brought his contingent to the muster.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 155.
15. J.N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 155-157.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 4. The support of public education was not a duty of the State—indeed it was recognised as a national duty even in England as late as 1870.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*, 143-144. 'In Mughal India as in medieval Europe, education was a branch of religion and the educational expenditure of the State was defrayed out of the Alms Fund and through the hands of the imperial Almoner (*Sadar-us-sadur*) the vast non Muslim population was outside the pale of State charity'. *farman* of the earlier part of Aurangzib's reign illustrates A this arrangement (*Mirat-i-Ahmadi* i. 258). He instructs the *diwan* of Gujarat that every year teachers should be appointed at the cost of the state and stipends paid to the students according to the recommendation of the *Sadar* or the province. . . the money was to be paid out of the public treasury. The grant was very small, as we read of only three *maulavis* being appointed, one at Ahmadabad, one at Patan and a third at Surat and only 45 students enjoying the subsistence allowance.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 228.
20. *Ibid.* p. 230. Though the passes of the Afghan frontier, the stream of population and trade flowed peacefully into India from Bukhara and Samarqand, Balkh and Khurasan, Khwarzim and Persia, because Afghanistan belonged to the ruler of Delhi, till near the end of the Mughal empire.
21. J.N. Sarkar, *India Through the Ages*, pp. 42-43. 'Gifts of the Muslim Age to India' referred to also by J.N. Sarkar in 'Achievements and Failures of Mughal Rule., *Mughal Administration*, p. 228.
22. J.N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 232.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 229-230, 243.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 233.
25. *Ibid.* p. 234.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 233-234, *Studies in Mughal India*, pp. 290-291. The Mughals introduced Chinese painting by way of Bukhara and Khurasan and at the court of Akbar this art mingled with the indigenous Hindu painting of which traditions still lingered amidst neglect and poverty. The result of the fusion was that the Chinese characteristics were rapidly dropped and a

purely Indian appearance was given to paintings marked by undeniable foreign technique. Thus, in painting there was a true revival of the highest genius displayed by the artists in this field in the Mughal age.

27. J.N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 242.
28. *Ibid.* pp. 238-245.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 243.
30. *Ibid.*,
31. *Ibid.*, p. 244.
32. Shri Ram Sharma, *Mughal Government and Administration*, Hind Kitab, Bombay, 1951, preface, viii. "Above all I am thankful to the doyen of Indian historians Dr. J.N. Sarkar, for his unfailing assistance. He placed his unrivalled collection of books and Mss on Mughal India at my disposal whenever I asked for such assistance. He was generous enough to allow me access to his notes and some of his then unpublished material occasionally. But for his help my studies would not have borne much fruit".
33. *Ibid.* p. 18. "Islam recognises no Pope infallible in his interpretation of law. The *Sadr* was more a Chief Justice than a Pope or an Archbishop. The King had no higher right to interpret Islam than the meanest of his subjects".
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-20.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 24. "Hence there was no accepted law of succession...every ruler's authority was personal, and valid only as long as he could enforce it".
36. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 208, 211. 'Crime was therefore a private affair – a thing between the offender, his God, his ruler or the injured party...Murder was an affair between the relatives of the murdered man and the murderer...rightful heir of the deceased could kill the murderer himself even without a trial... blood money was sometimes demanded and paid".
39. *Ibid.*, p. 209. "Even with Jahangir's golden Chain of Justice, which incidentally, could have afforded relief, if any—to the injured persons only in the capital, where the golden chain was installed."
40. S.R. Sharma, *Mughal Government and Administration*, p 220. Blasphemy could take two forms, oral or written, and both, when proved, were severely punished. Hindus and Shias were usually held guilty of this offence, though very often it was provoked by similarly offensive language used towards their own religious beliefs.'
41. *Ibid.*, pp. 237-247.
42 *Ibid.*, pp. 273-281.
43. P. Hardy, "Modern Historical Writing on Medieval Muslim India", *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, ed. C.H. Philips, p. 302.
44. I.H. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Mughal Empire*, N.V. Publications, Luhanipur, n.d., Preface.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 22
46. *Ibid.*, p. 6. "Because of his (Akbar's) policies, hetrodox and non-Muslim elements of the population gained an ascendancy for which the Muslims

had to pay stupendous stupendous penalty. All the waywardness that he had shown in his youth, now concentrated itself in his religious beliefs and his own views were so confused and contradictory that they do little credit to him. The public and political results of these views were destructive in the extreme. In other fields the reign was remarkable because, through the prosperity that good administration brought in its wake, rapid strides were made in the field of culture.

47. I.H. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 248-249.
48. *Ibid.*, pp. 249-250. The author, however also records (p. 9 'introductory'), 'The ambitious Shivaji, the son of a trusted noble of the Bijapur court, found brigandage and rebellion more profitable than service of the state. This was the beginning of the avalanche that destroyed the Mughal Empire'.
49. See J.N. Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. III, pp. 176-177, 180. The rates of taxation were fixed at 12, 24 and 48 *dirhams* a year or Rs. 3-1/3, Rs. 6-2/3 and Rs. 13 1/3. . . It could never be less than Rs. 3½ on a man which was the money value of nine maunds of wheat flour at the average market price at the end of the 16th century (Ain, 63) . . . p. 180 even from a province like Gujarat with a large Muhammadan population (*Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 314), it meant a gross income of 5 lakhs of Rupees a year.
50. I.H. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Mughal Empire*. p. 142.
51. *Ibid.*, pp. 140, 161, 179.
52. *Ibid.*, pp. 255-260.
53. *Ibid.*, pp. 139-255.
54. U.N. Day, *The Mughal Government*, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1970, Preface, v.
55. *Ibid.*
56. *Ibid.* Introduction, xiv-xv.
57. *Ibid.*, p. xv.
58. *Ibid.*, xv.
59. *Ibid.*, x.
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Ibid.*, xiii.
62. *Ibid.* xvi.
63. K.R. Qanungo, "Jadunath Sarkar As a Historian", *Life and Letters*, p. 63.
64. e.g, as against J.N. Sarkar's use of the word 'theocracy' some scholar (I.H. Qureshi; Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi. pp. 42-44) prefer to call the Mughal Government 'theocentric' with the exception of Akbar's reign, it was theocracy, more than anything else, as also borne out by *Zakhirat-ul-Muluk* by Shaikh Hamdani, (quoted by R.C. Majumdar, *The Delhi Sultanate*, Vol. VI, pp. 618-624 of Bhartiya Vidya. Bhavan, Bombay, 1960.
65. J.N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, 4th ed., 1952, p. 2. "Modern European writer have studied only two departments of the Mughal administration in detail, namely the land revenue and the army. Much information on these two subjects is available in English. I shall, therefore, deal with the

army department briefly in this book, and as for the land revenue confine myself to supplying additional information from manuscripts to my predecessors".

66. B.R. Grover, "Sarkar and Moreland on Mughal Land Revenue Administration", ed. M. Hasan, *Historians of Medival India*. p. 275.

67. i.e. I.H. Qureshi's view, *The Administration of* the *Mughal Empire*, p 20, that "it describes as if it were, bricks rather than the building" is hardly sustained after a study of J.N. Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, more than anything else it underlines the nature and spirit of the administration though the 'description of the building' is quite different from the one narrated by I.H. Qureshi.

68. See N.K. Sinha's, "J.N. Sarkar Re-Read", *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. II, July-Dec., 1973, Part II, Serial No. 174, pp. 286-287.

69. See S.R. Tikekar's *On Historiography*, Bombay, p. 21; K.R. Qanungo, "Jadunath Sarkar as a Historian", *Life and Letters*, p. 58, G.S. Sardesai, "Jadunath Sarkar As I Know Him", *Life and Letters*, p. 23; A.L. Srivastava "Historian Jadunath Sarkar", *Studies in Indian History*, Agra, 1974, pp. 300-361; S.M. Hasan's "J.N. Sarkar Collection of Persian Manuscripts", *Bengal Past and Present*, January-June, 1971, Vol. XC, Part I, Serial No. 169, pp. 118-120. 'Serious research in Mughal history is not possible without consulting the original 'sources which are mostly in Persian, Jadunath Sarkar was aware of this position. He learnt Persian with the help of a *Munshi* and to keep it up he used to copy down the texts...his collection of Persian MSS, possesses quite a few copies in his own hand. *Tarikh Shah Shujai* is entirely in his own hand. J.N. Sarkar translated into English many Persian manuscripts and letters—almost all important ones that he came across and these also appeared in journals. He translated *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri* or Letters of Hamiduddin Khan, into English in 1912, published from Calcutta. A condensed English translation of *Ahval-i-barnama-i-Sada Shiva Bhao* appeared in June 1934 issue of the *Indian Historical* Quarterly. His translation of *Ahval-i-Najihuddaulah* by Munshi Biharilal was published in the *Islamic Culture* (October, 1936), J.N. Sarkar was the first historian to introduce *Baharistan-i-ghaibi* with full tables of its contents in the journal of the *Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for 1921-22s. He also translated a portion of *Chahar-gulshan* of Rai Chatraman in his. *India of Aurangzib* (1901)—A condensed English translation of *Tarikh-i-Shivaji* appeared in the issues of *Modern Review* between February and November 1907. In the January issue of the same journal earlier, he published a translation of some letters of Shivaji to Aurangzib. History of Najibuddaulah of *Tarikh-i-Najibuddaulah* of Nurddin Husain Khan was translated by him in the two issues of *Islamic Culture*, July 1933 and April 1934. Besides he translated 3 Persian MSS in "Bengal Nawabs" namely Azal-al-Hussain's *Naubar-i-Munshi Culi Khan*. Karim Ali's *Muzaffarnama* and Yusuf Ali's *Ahyal-i-Mahobatjana*. His translation of *Ibrat Nama* (Faqir Khairuddin), 1966, *Tarikh-i-Shah Alam* (Munna Lal), 1970 and *Tarikh-i-Dilkasha* (Bhimmen Burhanpuri) 1970, have been published by Maharashtra State Archives, Poona.

70. Wahed Husain, *Administration of Justice During the Muslim Rule in India*,

p. 159.

71. P. Saran, *Provincial Government of Mughals*, (1526-1658), Allahabad, 1941, Introduction, xvii, xviii.

72. J.N. Sarkar, *India Through the Ages*, pp. 40-52, to which the historian refers in the context of 'Mughal Rule : Its Achievements and Failure", *Mughal Administration*, p. 228.

73. J.N. Sarkar, *Mugnal Administration*, p. 234.

74. See A.L. Srivastava, "A Review Article", *Studies in Indian History*, Agra, 1974, pp. 387-393. 'The impetuosity of the author's style (P. Saran's), his vituperative tone and one cannot help adding—his vilification of elder historians left a bad taste on the mind...overshadowing the merit of the book and also some of its other serious imperfections...A vein of egotism and contempt for previous writers runs through the entire book and mars its value. A few examples of the attempt made to run down scholars of repute may be given here. V. Smith's views are described as 'thoroughly unsound and misleading' and those of Pant as 'thoroughly absurd and unscientific'. Ishwari Prasad had made 'confusion worse confounded' and we have Qanungo's 'absurd suggestion'. In finding fault with J.N. Sarkar's opinion that the duties of the *Kotwal* were too heavy for an average man. P. Saran says, "As regards the high moral qualities expected of him (*Kotwal*) *which are the despair* of Sir Jadunath, being as he says possible only for a perfect man".

75. Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, "Survey of Indian Historiography—History and Historians of Medieval India," *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol. III, 1963-64, Nos. 1 & 2, p. 66.

76. M.L. Roy Choudhury, *The State and Religion in Mughal India*, pp. 15-16.

77. J.N. Sarkar's Message "A Word to Research Workers in India" *Bengal Past and Present*, Jubilee No. 1957, front page.

78. i.e. 'Zeb-un-nisa vindicated', 'History of Orissa in 17th century', 'Revenue Regulations of Aurangzib.' 'Art in Muslim India', 'Education in Muhammadan India,' 'Daily Life of Shah Jahan and Aurangzib', 'Biography of Aurangzib', 'Khuda Bakhsh, the Indian Bodley, 'Who built the Taj', 'The companion of an Empress', 'The Wealth of India, 1650', 'A Muslim Heroine', 'Fringi Pirate of Chatgaon', 'The Mughal Conquest of Chatgaon', 'Education of a Mughal Prince', 'Shaista Khan in Bengal, 'Nemesis of Aurangzib', 'A Hindu Historian of Aurangzib', 'An Indian Memoir—writer of the 17th century', 'Oriental Monarchies', 'William Irvine'.

79. *Indian Review*, January 1920, quoted by K.R. Qanungo in "Jadunath Sarkar As a Historian", *Life and Letters*, p. 63.

80. J.N. Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, M.C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta, 1919, p. 15. An Old Persian Manuscript of the India Office Library, London, after giving Shah Jahan's routine of work, addresses him in the following couplet :

Khalg sabuk dil ze giran bariyash
Fitna giran Khab ze bidariyash

"O King, thy subjects are light hearted because thou hast taken a heavy load on thy shoulders.

Oppression has fallen into a deep sleep (in thy kingdom)
because thou hast banished sleep from thy eyes"
And the praise was well deserved'.

81. *Ibid.*, pp. 304-313.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 299.
83. A Persian lady of noble birth, who entered the service of Mumtaz Mahal and soon with her ability, charm and literary accomplishments, was appointed princess Jahanara's tutoress and promoted above all the household servants. Entrusted with the Empress's seal, she was also the intermediary of Emperor's charity to women. After Mumtaz Mahal's death, as a reward of her loyal services, she was made *Sadar* or Superintendent of the *harem* and continued serving the Royal family till her death in 1647.
84. See *Bombay Chronicle*, 1916, referred to in p. 10 of 'Works of J.N. Sarkar attached to the *Mughal Administration*, (2nd ed.), 1924.
85. J.N. Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, Calcutta, p. 286.
86. *Ibid.*, p. 291.
87. *Ibid.* p. 292.
88. *Ibid.*, pp. 293-294.
89. *Ibid.*, p. 295.
90. *Ibid.* pp. 294-295.
91. *Ibid.*, pp. 296-297.
92. J.N. Sarkar, *Military History of India*, 1960, 3rd reprint, Orient Longman, Delhi, 1970, 'Writer's Note'.
93. S.R. Tikekar, *On Historiography*, pp. 2-3. The Tsar's A.D.C a greatman of arms, experienced in the Napoleonic campaigns.
94. Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, "Some Aspects of Warfare in Mediaeval India", *Bengal Past and Present*, July-December, 1970. Sir J.N. Sarkar, Birth Centenary Number, Vol. LXXXIX, Part II, Serial No. 168, p. 153.
95. Amales Tripathi, "Columbus of Mughal History—An Assessment of J.N. Sarkar's Works", Part II, *The Statesman*, (Calcutta), December 10, 1970.
96. K.M. Munshi, Foreword, *A History of Dashnami Naga Sanyasis*, 'The cult of the Nagas, naked ascetics, has a protohistoric ancestry. It must have been formed when U.P. and Bihar were no more than swamps. The famous Mohenjodaro seal depicting *Pashupati* and the later Lord Shiva sitting on Mount Kailash, besmeared with ashes, is the appropriate guardian deity. The *Vedas* refer to the long haired ascetics and the Greeks, when they came with Alexander, met the naked philosophers, the Gynosophists.
97. On initiation, the *Dashnami*, as the very name suggests, is given a name combined with one of the ten words. *Giri*, *Puri*, *Bharati*, *Van*, *Aranya Parvat*, *Sagar Tirth*, *Ashram Saraswati*. The initiate has to make strict vows not to indulge in more than one meal a day, not to beg for food from more than seven houses, not to salute, not to praise, not to speak ill of anyone, not to bow to anyone but a *Sanyasi* of a higher order and to cover oneself only with a *Bhagwa* or brownish red cloth. The *Dashnamis* are divided into two sections, the *Shastadharis*, who specialise in sacred lore and the *Astradharis* who specialise in arms.

98. J.N. Sarkar, *A History of Dashnami Naga Sanyasis*, pp. 2-3.
99. The other three biographies being *Chaitanya Bhagabat* of Vrindabandas, *Chaitanya Mangal* of Sri Lochandas and another *Chaitanya Mangal* by Jayanda Mishra. See, J.N. Sarkar's *Chaitany's Life and Teachings*, tr. and edited, 3rd ed., M.C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta, 1932, p. 6.
100. According to K.R. Qanungo, "Jadunath Sarkar, A Biographical Sketch" *Life and Letters*, p. 53, 'Jadunath has offered a perennial oblation of peace to the soul of his father by writing in English *Life and Teachings of Chaitanya* and it is perhaps to his father's spirit of Vaishnavism, imbibed by Jadunath Sarkar, too sublime to be comprehended by lesser beings, is to be ascribed the *Ab-i-Hayat* or the spring of water of life that kept the old knight of many scars of woe and bereavements, still green and an erect at eighty-seven".
101. *C.F.* Andrews, *Modern Review*, October, 1913, quoted in J.N. Sarkar, works attached to his *Mughal Administration*, 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1924, p. 16.
102. J.N. Sarkar, *Chaitanya's Life and Teachings*, tr. and edited, p. 2.
103. *Ibid.*, p. 11. The most devoted and dedicated disciples include Nityananda who afterwards came to be regarded as a god coordinate with Chaitanya. Rup and Satnam along with their nephew Jiv Goswami, great Sanskrit scholars and their devotional works and commentaries also encouraged a revival of Sanskrit studies in general, in that Muslim age.
104. J.N. Sarkar, *Chaitanya's Life and Teachings*, tr. and edited, pp. 12-13.
105. See Bibliography, pp. 375-376 of *Economics of British India*, 4th edition, M.C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta, 1917. Apart from inquiry reports and journals of economics, J.N. Sarkar consulted blue-books published in England of including *Factory Labour in India*, 1907, *Labour Commission Report*, 1893, Vol. II, *Reports of the Famine Commission*, 1898, and 1901, *East India Home Charges Return*, 1893, *First of Report Opium Commission*, 1894. On the Indian side he consulted also Ranade's *Essays on Indian Economics*, 2nd ed., 1906, *Gokhale's Speeches*, 1908, R.C. Dutt's *India in the Victorian Age* (1906); V.G. Kate's *Indian Industrial and Economic Problems* (1912), Jack's *Economic Life in a Bengal District* (Oxford, 1917); *India Year Book*, 1917.
106. J.N. Sarkar, *Economics of British India*, 4th edition, M.C. Sarkar & Sons Calcutta, 1917, pp. 52-53. 'A nation which recognizes it as the duty of every man to marry and of every woman to undertake motherhood, must prove superior to selfish pleasure seekers, who deliberately commit race-suicide. When education, sanitary improvements of industries and development of industries overcome the heavy untimely death rate and open new fields of work at home, India's immense and regularly replenished manpower must be of great advantage to her as a producer'.
107. The above critique is spread over the entire book specially on pages 139-140, 33, 366, 282, 142, 39, 113.
108. *Ibid.*, Foreword v, vii, J.N. Sarkar's moderate and positive approach is evident. "Admitting for the sake of argument that everything said by Messers Digby and Dutt about the strangling of Indian industries by England in the 18th century, the needless wars of the East India Company

at the cost of India and the accumulation of unproductive debt on railways is true, it all amounts to the condemnation of a certain past, it sketches before us no programme for the future".

109. Jules Sion in *Annales de-Geogr*, Paris, Quoted on p. 12 of 'Works of J.N. Sarkar' added to *Mughal Administration*, 2nd ed., 1924.

110. e.g. Passages from 'India a Debtor Country, (pp. 137-142). Economic effects of the Home Charges: 'How India pays her debt to England', pp. 282-286, "*Swadeshi*", "*Spread of Swadeshi*", *Swadeshi* Versus *Protection*, pp. 327-334. Also See K.R. Qanungo, "Jadunath Sarkar As a Historian", *Life and Letters*, p. 58.

111. *Pioneer*, 21st October, 1917, quoted on p. 12 of "Works of J.N. Sarkar" added to *Mughal Administration*, 2nd ed., 1924.

112. Theodore Morrison, *Economic Journal*, London, September, 1911. Extract attached to *Economics of British India*, 4th ed., M.C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta, 1917.

113. K.R. Qanungo, "Jadunath Sarkar As a Historian", *Life and Letters*, p. 64.

114. J.N. Sarkar, *India Through the Ages*, 5th ed., M.C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta, 1960, p. 3.

115. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

116. J.N. Sarkar, *India Through the Ages*, p. 93.

117. *Ibid.*, p. 207. "A class of professional politicians ("A Professional politician is a person who has no ostensible livelihood except his political status"—Note in the Memorandum submitted by the Government of Bihar to the Simon Commission") has risen to power and are held back from doing incalculable mischief by the few giants at the top. . .to have been held by the English in political detention is proclaimed as a qualification for ministership, a coat without a collar and a tie is the symbol of true patriotism ? Good God : it is a badge of a slave of the English".

118. *Ibid.*, p. 238.

119. *Ibid.* p. 82.

CHAPTER VII

IMPACT AND ASSESSMENT

In a study of modern historiography on Medieval India, English historical writing on the period forms the focal point. The servants of the East India Company looked upon the Muslims as their predecessors in supremacy of India and their policies and administration appeared to offer 'clause to the present political and administrative problems'. Muslim historiography in India has been aptly described primarily a 'history of historians', 'the study of historians by historians' or 'a chronicle of chronicles', a chronicle of emperors'.[1] Its methods were like those of *Hadith* study, it was derived from authority and the historian was thus 'a scribe rather than a researcher'.[2] Notwithstanding their pledged search for truth as revealed in *Quran*, most Muslim historians in India were courtiers or officials writing on the orders of their rulers with an eye to gain favour.

British historians, in spite of Buckle and Lacky and the continental efforts of Riehi, Freytog and Kurchardt, did not attempt to change either the methodology or the form of native Muslim Historiography. In general, they rather subscribed to it. The framework of political narrative was retained and no need was felt to show the process of how evidence was turned into history, for history was written from the testimony of 'authorities' and sources'.[3] The medieval Indian history sections of James Mill, *History of British India* (1817) of G:R. Glieg, *History of the British Empire* (1830) and of Mountstuart Elphinstone, *History of India* (1841) were largely based on Firishta as translated by Dow and Briggs.

The trend continued afterwards as publication of *Bibliotheca Indica Series* brought out, edited texts of principal medieval Indo-Persian histories. Another major work that left a deep, and almost exclusive impact well into the twentieth century, was Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*—

eight volumes of translations into English from the Persio-Arabic historians of Medieval India. For Lane-Poole, 'to realize Medieval India' there was "no better way than to drive into the eight volumes of the priceless *History of India as Told by Its Own Historians.*"[4] The same tendency was evident in Ishwari Prasad, *History of Medieval India,* 1925 who 'relied upon' original authorities' and based his opinions on actual facts—what Peter Hardy calls 'culling ready made facts' or 'mining ready made facts' from historical data.[5] Thus, the earlier native methodology on Medieval Indian history was continued by British scholars as well as by some native historians writing in English with western training. Having been aware of the works of Alexander Cunningham, John Marshall and J. Burgess in the sphere of archaeology, or Moreland in Economic history, their confining themselves to political history, appears to have been due to factors other than sheer exigency.[6] Hence, from the late eighteenth century, the Company was a very zealous patron of such historical studies. More than anything else, self-interest led firstly to the rise of Persian scholarship and secondly prompted historical writing on Muslim India based largely on Persian literary sources, with a keen eye on its current political and administrative implications for the British interest.[7]

Another undercurrent of such historical studies, was the impact of the contemporary British schools of historical thought which easily divides most of the British historians as representatives of the Enlightenment, Evenglicalism, Utilitarianism and Romanticism.[8] Moreover, the impact of some outstanding British historians notably Edward Gibbon and William Jones, on medieval Indian history, though very much indirect, was nonetheless vital. Despite Gibbon's and Jones, affiliations to the schools of Enlightenment and Romanticism, respectively, their impact in certain respects is easily discernible on most of the British historians irrespective of the Schools they belonged to, as regards some general assumptions about Hindus and Muslims.

For Gibbon, Muslims as members of a distinct society and its inherent values were people different from everyone but Muslims. Their civilization had stumpled under the blows of despotism, both civil aud spiritual.[9] Paradoxical it was, but both rise and fall of Islamic civilization owed it to its regligion.[10] In summing up Gibbon had been struck not so much by its success as its failure and the failure he attributed to their 'betrayal of Reason'.[11] The

Islamic civilization at its best was superior to medieval European civilization but it was no match for its counterpart in modern Europe.[12] William Jones' assessment of the Hindu society and civilization too had significant implications for Muslim Indian History. The Hindus were for him 'the Greeks of Asia' and he attributed the decline of the Hindu civilization to the Muslim conquest of the country. For all his love for, and reputation as a great admirer of Asians, Europe remained for him 'the fair princess of the world' and Asia her 'handmaid'.[13]

Another and perhaps the most striking aspect was that from Alexander Dow (1768-72) to Wolsely Haig (1928) the British historical writing on medieval India clearly lends itself to an inherent unity of idea, irrespective of the different influences of current British intellectual life on it. Some of these historians sought to inform, while others even criticised the British policies towards India, but none failed to justify British rule over India.[14] There was difference in attitudes towards medieval India, in manner and shades of subtlety in conveying it, but they all assumed 'the intellectual and moral superiority of contemporary Great Britain over medieval Muslim India."[15] Besides, till the end of late 19th century British Imperialism (1870-1905)—the ascendancy of the small island people of England to the extent of the 'Sun never Setting' in their empire could only be explained in terms of superiority of the British national character.[16] The impact of political and administrative exigencies on the writings on medieval India led to a motivated interpretation. Of its implications for historiography of the period, even the then British historians were quite aware of it and presenty they are even more precise about it. That it led not only to motivated interpretation, it also postponed the percolation and adoption of wider concepts of historiography prevalent in the West.[17]

It was in the midst of such a state of British historiography on medieval India that Jadunath Sarkar appeared on the scene. His emergence brought about a revolutionary change for which he has been justly hailed as the creator of modern scientific historiography in India.[18] It is the 'largeness of his canvas, the meticulous care with which he collected his material, sifted his evidence, and the objectively of his judgement' that marks him out as 'the historian *par excellence*'.[19] Himself largely a product of western and British historioraphy, he overcame the British legacy to medieval Indian history and rose far above it.[20] Some of the conclusions of

Jadunath Sarkar about Muslim rule in India and about achievements of Marathas, in particular about the creation of an enduring nation by Shivaji, are closer to British interpretation than to some earlier opinions and later attempts at revision. These, however, were the outcome of a vastly different methodology and objective. If for Jadunath Sarkar the task before 'composing a single page' sometimes meant unsparing scrutiny of evidence in as many as eight languages,[21] the soul of history lay for him in search for truth and objective interpretation of history. To the British historians, the medieval chronicles revealed in no small measure their own superiority as a nation; and provided the moral claim as well as foreshadowed their 'high destiny as Rulers of India'. The conviction that British rule had accomplished for the natives in five decades what the Muslim rule could not do in as many centuries was carried to its logical conclusion, expressed differently.[22] If for the British historians in general, the remedy for the ills of Muslim rule in India lay in rushing to the benevolent fold of *Pax Britannica*, for Jadunath Sarkar, "there (could) not be a great or lasting empire without a great people . . . with equal rights and opportunities for all . . . if India (was) ever to be the home of a nation able to keep peace within and guard the frontiers, develop the economic resources of the country and promote art and science then both Hinduism and Islam must die and be born again. Each of these creeds . . . must be purified and rejuvenated under the sway of reason and science".[23] His works uphold his ideal of "I would not care whether truth is pleasant or unpleasant and in consonance with or opposed to current views . . . I shall seek truth, understand truth and accept truth".[24]

The credit for development of scientific historiography in India in the twentieth century is to a very large measure to him.[25] His dedication to Clio assumed varied forms that stands out presently as a rare legacy, from a single historian for the present and future historical studies, in one form or another. It is evident apart from his own monumental corpus of published works, also by the bequeathal of his library, to the nation, now known as 'Sir Jadunath Sarkar Collection' at the National Library, Calcutta, consisting of over 2,500 items including printed books, journals, pamphlets and off-prints from journals, manuscripts and maps, and some unpublished writings of Jadunath Sarkar. The historian is alive in copious marginal notes and commentaries. The collection is an

invaluable treasure of source material, guidance and inspiration for the present and future generations of students and researchers in medieval and early British periods of Indian history.[26] His enduring contributions to the Indian Historical Records Commission are conspicuous in the cause of collection, preservation, and access to the records. He was not only one of its founder members, but also remained most actively associated with it for over twenty years. The present Regional Records Survey Committees and the liberal policy of centre and state governments in permitting the scholars access to records owe it perhaps more than anything else, to the persistent efforts, even 'battles' on his part.[27]

The 'New Orientation' Jadunath Sarkar gave to historical studies, has exerted great inflence on contemporary Indian historiography through his pupils, critics, research scholars and historians. In fact, he does not belong to only two generations of his pupils and research scholars, the great *Guru* continues to guide and inspire the unknown generations through his legacy. His pupils like K.R. Qanungo, A.L. Srivastava, Hari Ram Gupta, Raghubir Singh, Jagdish Narayan Sarkar have imbibed the Master's craft to varying extent as regards volume and variety in historical studies. That the historian's insistence on not slacking efforts in historical research after obtaining the doctorate degree, had its deep impact, is amply proved by outstanding and voluminous contributions of his pupils. In their works is also apparent the continuity of the Master's work in respect of socio-cultural and regional studies on Sikhs, Rajputs, Marathas, and Jats. In Raghubir Singh the historian picked up a 'Dara Shukoh' from among the common run of Murads of the decadent ruling houses of the country and inspired him to build a splendid research library for Indo-Muslim history. The letters from the historian to Raghubir Singh, published as *Making of a Princely Historian* (Bombay, 1975) have a value all their own. These are indeed quintessence of a *Guru*'s initiation of a princely youth to a life-long dedication to Clio. Sarkar's encouragement to Maharaj Kumar in building a research library that has outgrown even the *Guru*'s collection is unique.[28] His 'building' of G.S. Sardesai from a 'compiler' to a 'first-rate researcher' and 'the greatest living historian of Maharashtra' was a rare example of intellectual friendship that lasted over fifty-five years and is alive not only in 'Sarkar-Sardesai Correspondence' but also in their memorable co-operative contributions to Maratha

history.[29] Scholars and historians like R.C. Majumdar, S.P. Sen, Nilakantha Sastri and Sri Ram Sharma also drew inspiration from the historian in methodology and interpretation of history, as reflected in their works. Even those who found fault with him as a historian, could not lightly disregard his conclusions and observations. They also cherished the historian's compliments to themselves, sharing these with listeners on occasions of importance in historical circles.[30] Thus, the scientific orientation he gave to historical studies through his meticulous, painstaking and prodigius research gave birth to the so called Sir Jadunath School of Historiography.

The attempted revision and reinterpretation of some of the major conclusions of Jadunath Sarkar has been so far by and large indicative of one common factor—of the critics belonging to other schools.[31] Ideologically inspired historians have often sought not so much to unfold history as to its employment to explain change in course of history.[32] The 'Patriotic School' of Maharashra could hence feel provoked for the historian not having been patriotic enough to invent and imagine. The so called 'Allahabad School or National School' that gave priority to 'civic duty' over 'academic rectitude' questions Jadunath Sarkar for not omitting offensive details of Aurangzib's persecution of Hindus, for it may drive a wedge between the two communities. The Islamic apologea sometimes closely knitted with Marxist interpretations, believes that Muslim rulers were justified in their policies if not on religious grounds, they sure were, on political and economic grounds. A ruler like Aurangzeb is brought forth by historians like Ahzar Ansari and Faruki, not only the one driven to levy *Jizyiah* either because of 'forwardness' of Hinduism or due to economic exigencies, but also the one who became a martyr in the cause of nationalism—by his efforts to bring about political unity when he fought for ¼ of a century to conquer the whole of Deccan.[33] The 'Marxist School' is irked at Jadunath's overlooking 'the usable past', overlooking what some of them too concede—the importance of 'heróes' in crucial moments of 'Historical Divides'.[34] The 'Cultural historian' may find at the most only the beginnings of 'culture' in his works, many scoff at his 'scientific objectivity' that often antagonized partisans of both sides.

Some of Jadunath Sarkar's conclusions on Maratha achievements and failures, among the orthodox and 'patriotic' circles of

Hindus, appeared as if the historian's pen had dealt no lighter blow than Aurangzib's sword. Criticism from Maharashtra resulted not only from his intrusion into Maratha preserve, but also for his incisive criticism of the 'Patriotic School'. His thesis that coming as he did as a ray of hope for Hindu India, Shivaji failed to create an enduring nation, remained a grudge with many Hindi 'patriots'. Irrefutable facts and authentic history of Shivaji was eventually accepted, and it was from the land of Shivaji that Jadunath Sarkar came to be hailed as 'the most authoritative' and 'best biographer of Shivaji in the last half century'.[35]

Again, some historians who could not resist the forces of 'nationalism' specially in the context of the country's freedom struggle against the British and tried to work for an India of their imagination. For them no Hindu-Muslim discord existed which could be incompatible in formation of a nation or a state. The assertion of a noted national freedom fighter "that the Hindus and Muslims have coalesced into an Indian people very much in the same way as the Angles, Saxons, Jules, Danes and Normans formed the English people of today",[36] and the view 'that the Muslim rule in India was not a foreign rule' is reflected in the works of Mohammed Habib and Tara Chand. Others like K.M. Ashraf sought to show that Hindus and Muslims had no cultural conflict. Significantly, some of the works in the 1940's hinted at a separate destiny for Muslims, although for I.H. Qureshi, 'The Hindu population was better off under the Muslims than under Hindu tributaries of independent rulers'.[37] In the revised edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* one of the 'national' writers while re-writing the article on Aurangzeb, originally written by William Irvine, made destruction of Hindu temples by Aurangzeb a 'disputed point'. After a study of Jadunath Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib* indeed "one would be tempted to ask if the temple breaking policy of Aurangzib is a disputed point, is there a single fact in the whole recorded history which may be taken as indisputed".[38] Even in the present times the approach is reflective of 'national policy' which does not accept facts incompatible with a fixed idea of national integration and solidarity.[39] Secularism is taken to be so fragile glass as to be shattered to pieces by knowing some bitter real problems brought out by the facts of history. This, we are told of "the wholly imposible and erroneous conclusions that the Musalmans as such were a governing class while the Hindus, as such were the governed",[40]

that history must not remind us of 'ghastly aberrations of human nature, of dastardly crimes, of divisions, and conflicts of degeneration and decay but of higher values of life; even facts of history have to be judged by the criterion of progress towards liberty and morality'. After all, "History has a mission and obligation to lead humanity to a higher ideal and nobler future. The historian cannot shirk this responsibility by hiding his head into the false dogma of objectivity, that his job is merely to chronicle the past".[41]

It is not that a history based on facts and objectivity could not be national. As Jadunath Sarkar puts it, "National history, like every other history worthy of the name and deserving to endure, must be true as regards the facts. . . It will be national not in the sense that it will try to suppress or whitewash everything in our country's past that is disgraceful, but because it will admit them and at the same point out that there were other and nobler aspects in the stages of our nation's evolution. . ."[42] Historians who do the contrary, under the impression of rendering some good to the contry, do otherwise specially in 'a country like ours which has suffered much on account of its national defects which we must know and understand them to be able to remedy them',[43] Jadunath Sarkar's analysis of why Muslims could not merge into Hindu society and culture, of incompatibility of Islam in making non-Muslim citizens on equal footing under a theocracy, of that the greatest obstacles to Shivaji's goal came not from Muslims or *Feringis* but from his own countrymen and society, certainly invites unpopularity when viewed from the vision of a 'national' historion or a politician. The analysis based on facts and objectivity, however, stood vindicated, falsifying the unqualified affirmations of a national past, with the formation of Pakistan as a separate Islsamic state, as well as by the presnt dilemma faced by Islamic states in context of modern secular form of a state.

Some of the work from Aligarh School have emphasized, economic and technolgical changes, class interests and conflicts, thereby 'transferring the discussion' after Jadunath Sarkar's analysis of fall of the Mughal empire, to structural studies.[44] The works, however, have not only emphasized a particular aspect only, of the structure, namely the material structure, but have also viewed it only from above, from the Mughal imperial court. Such an approach has its limitations. It is evident from J.F. Richards, *Mughal Administration in Golconda* (Oxford, 1975). After a survey of admi-

nistration of Golconda from 1687 to 1724, in consciousness of the larger problems facing the empire, it is apparent that 'the reasons usually advanced to explain the larger imperial crisis and subsequent decline and collapse, do not satisfactorily explain incomplete consolidation of eastern Deccan, nor for that matter, it is possible to assume that the problems of the empire were uniform throughout the Deccan".[45] Contrary to the argument advanced by Irfan Habib that Mughal rule became a victim of agrarian crisis, that resulted from the structural flow of *Jagirdari system* under the Mughals, supported by some seventeenth century observers and elaborated, indirectly in works of Satish Chandra, Athar Ali and Noman Ahmad Siddiqi, J.F. Richards' study points out that the crisis at least in eastern Deccan occurred not because, 'the Mughal system worked, but because it did not work. Satish Chandra's and Athar Ali's works also point out the rise of sharply divided factions in the Mughal nobility which contributed in a big way to the collapse of the empire. The collapse is traced to the 'econmic squeeze', the conflicts over the allocation of *jagirs* that wers becoming progressively scarce as a result of Aurangzeb's appointments, of Muslim and Maratha nobles form the Deccan, to the imperial service in his efforts to control the region, J.F. Richards' study shows that at least in 'Hyderabad, Bijapur and the two Karnatiks'. . ."the crisis of the *Jagirs*. . . was 'not caused by a physical shortage of land available for that purpose. Instead, the excess of demand over supply was caused by the inability of empire to assimilate and administer properly the large territories in the Deccan annexed in 1686-87"[46]

Hence, J.F. Richards' significant attempt to 'fill in a peculiar regional gap in his (Jadunath Sarkar's) narrative'[47] taking full account of the analysis of material structure, reverts the focus again on Aurangzeb, "Who faltered noticeably in his administration of Golconda . . . he failed to realize the economic potential of Golconda . . . administrative failure can be directly attributed to Aurangzeb's larger goals in the Deccan . . . In the highly centralized Mughal system the direction of these men (*Mansabdars*) could only come from the energetic attention of the emperor."[48]

'Still in an assessment of historiography in India, in the last quarter of the twentieth century, the tendency towards an examination of 'the structure within which the individuals have functioned' is 'unmistakable'.[49] The structure, however cannot be confined to material structure alone. The structure in its broadest sense

includes much more—the society, culture, civilization, as a whole viewed from above and below. Jadunath Sarkar's study of an individual in terms of age and his reference to the impact of civilization and society on fortunes of emperors and empires is evident to readers of his major works.

Jadunath Sarkar as a historian, studied in terms of his own age, emerges, something more than 'political historian of the old school'. When reviewed in light of 'criticism' and 'attempted revisions', it reminds us of the lines he chose to describe the quality of another historian's work:

> "Of toil unserved from tranquility,
> Of labour, that in lasting fruit outgrows
> Far noisier schemes, accomplished in repose,
> Too great for haste, too high for rivalry".[50]

Having done the digger's, sifter's, stone dresser's and not merely the architect's job for historiography in his own field he "laid the bedrock of ascertained and unassailable facts, on which alone the superstructure of a philosophy of history could be raised by (his) happier successors".[51] As early as 1908, the historian sought to present a history of India weaved of latest individual studies in a series. Again in 1918, he proposed that 'The Cultural Aspects of India's Past' should be written by 'a Syndicate of Scholars'.[52] Time, however, was 'not yet ripe' and there were 'not enough scholars to do justice to every part of the subject'. Another attempt that began in 1937, to present 'A New History of the Indian People' in 20 Volumes, became a casualty of the partition of the country and only one of the series was published.[53] His collection also contains a suggested list of topics covering, 'Hindu Learning', 'Mughal Civilization' 'Land Revenue System', 'Early Sea Borne trade of India' and 'Economic History of India'.[54]

The wide range of Jadunath Sarkar's research and writing with the spirit *Quaero*, I am seeking, evince that the 'social or sociological trends' attacking the 'exclusively political domain of history' as well as the idea of weaving individual studies into a series of standard history are after all not so recent in Indian historiography as is sometimes made out.[55]

In the seemingly recent attempts to "de-emphasize" political history, there is not much that is new. Similarly even the most perceptive of seers in historiography could not have predicted the

present computer methodology on 'the new and extensive wardrobe' of Clio. It is obvious in the 'New Political History' and in the ever-widening trends in social history, from psychohistory to histories of family, sexuality, women, health, death, persons, towns, hospitals and churches.[56]

Political history may no longer be the focal point for present day historical scholarship, but the study of socio-economic and cultural aspects cannot overlook the context of political changes and evolution. 'Sociological jargon' has not been able to stand the test of historical methodology, or at least not the evidence historical scholarship insists on.

Nevertheless, Jadunath Sarkar has suffered at the hands of the present day trends in historical writing after having been used in the field, as a pedestal for the so called 'New history'. The votaries of New History forget that Sarkar's contribution to the evolution of Indian historiography lay in providing its *terra firma* of 'ascertained and unassailable facts', and his 'excursions' into social and economic history prove something more—a vision of infinity in history. In the attempt to cope with such an infinity, he had become in the immortal company of Thucydides, Niebuhr and Ranke—a classic.

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1. See P. Hardy, *Historians of Medieval India*, pp. 1-2, Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, "History and Historians of Mediaeval India", *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol. III, Nos. 1 & 2. 1963-64, p. 54.
2. P. Hardy, "Some Studies in Pre-Mughal Muslim Historiography", *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, p. 125.
3. P. Hardy, *Historians of Medieval India*, pp. 16-17.
4. Stanley Lane-Poole, *Medieval India Under Mohammedan Rule*, 1903, reprint, 2nd ed., Universal Publishers, Delhi, 1971, Preface, vi.
5. P. Hardy, *Historians of Medieval India*, pp. 12-13.
6. Jagdish Narayan Sarkar in "History and Historians of Mediaeval India", *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol. III, Nos. 1 & 2, 1963-64, pp. 54-55, sums it up firstly 'due to the natural human motive of economising labour—having found ready made 'evidence' in Indo-Muslim Chronicles "superior to our own (English) medieval chronicles . . . written for the most part not by monks but by men of affairs, often by contemporaries who had seen and taken part in the events they recount" (Dodwell, India, Vol. I, pp. 22-23). Secondly, due to the influence of contemporary British historiography which was essentially political and constitutional, thirdly, due to British Imperial pride and complacency

about the blessings of British rule and fourthly, many of British pioneers in field were primarily officials and not academicians, they approached "the problems of Indian history from the administrative point of view".

7. J.S. Grewal, *Muslim Rule in India : The Assessments of British Historians*, pp. 23-24. In 1769, Robert Orme was appointed historiographer to the East India Company at £ 400 a year, succeeded after his death in 1801 by John Bruce. The East India Company Directors had subscribed for 150 copies of John Richardson's *Dictionary of Persian Arabic and English* (1777), an encouragement extended to *The Institutes of Timour*. They also resolved to subscribe for forty copies of every work of India and often subscribed for more than forty. Sir William Jones made observation on 'magic wand of self-interest' when in 1771 he published his *Persian Grammar* to meet the demands of those who wished to learn the language in order to improve qualifications for service in East India Company.
8. See A.N. Whitehead, *Adventures of Ideas*, Introduction, xiii, for details, J.S. Grewal's *Muslim Rule in India : The Assessments of British Historians*.
9. Edward, Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* ed. J.B. Bury, Methuen & Co., London, 1896-1900, Vol. V, pp. 323-382, 387, 397, Vol. VI, 48-51, Vol. VII, 13.
10. J.S. Grewal, "Edward Gibbon on Islamic Civilization", *Medieval India; History and Historians*, p. 24.
11. Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of Roman Empire*, Vol. III, 71
12. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, 23.
13. William Jones, *The Works* (1799-1807), Indian reprint, Agam Prakashan, Delhi, 1977, III, 24-46, 229-52.
14. J.S. Grewal, *Muslim Rule in India : The Assessments of British Historians* pp. 159-163.
15. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 5.
16. E.T. Stokes, "The Administrators and Historical Writing on India". *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, p. 384.
17. Edward Thompson and G.T. Garratt in a bibliographical note to their work, *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India*, S. Chand & Co., Delhi, 1934, p. 597, noted 'Of late years increasingly, and no doubt all Indian questions have tended to be approached from the standpoint of administration, "Will this make the easier and quieter Government"? This knowledge of being in *Partibus infidelium* exercises a silent censorship, which has made British Indian history the worst patch in current scholarship". Peter Hardy in *Historians of Medieval India*, p. 9, writes, "There is little doubt, too that the fact that so many British writers on medieval period were not academic historians but officials accustomed to approach Indian problems as problems of government and administration, delayed the reception among historians of India, of wider concepts of the scope of historical study in England. . . Sir Wolseley Haig. Sir William Hunter, Sir Alfred Lyall, William Irvine, Henry Beveridge and Sir Richard Burn had all had official experience to influence their later academic activities",
18. R.C. Majumdar, "Indian Historiography: Some Recent Trends" S.P. Sen,

editor, *Historians and Historiography in Modern India*, Calcutta, xxi.

19. *Ibid.*, S.P. Sen, Preface, x.
20. Details are already discussed in Chapter II.
21. J.N. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. III, Preface, iii.
22. See Henry Elliot, *Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammedan India*, Vol. I. Calcutta, 1849, Preface, xx-xxx, repeated in the 2nd ed. Allahabad, 1928, Peter Hardy, *Historians of Medieval India*, pp. 8-9; J.S. Grewal, *Muslim Rule in India : Assessments of Btitish Historians*, p. 5.
23. J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. V, pp. 377-378.
24. J.N. Sarkar's speech in Bengali, as Chairman of a Historical Conference in Bengal in 1915, translated and quoted by R.C. Majumdar, in *Historiography in Modern India*, pp. 55-56.
25. R.C. Majumdar, "Development of Indian Historiography", *Historiography in Modern India*, p. 28.
26. For details B.S. Kesavan's, 'Sir Jadunath Sarkar Collection', *India's National Library*, published by National Library, Calcutta, 1961, pp. 210-213.
27. See *Proceedings of the India Historical Records Commission*, 1930, 1933, 1937 and 1946; Also M.L. Ahluwalia's 'Jadunath's Contributions to the Indian Historical Records Commission,' *Life and Letters*, pp. 94-100.
28. Now known as *Shri Natnagar Shodh Samsthan*, for further information *Shri Natanagar Shodh Samsthan—An Introductory Glimpse*, published by Raghubir Singh, Director, Sitamau, Malwa, 1978. In 1935, J.N. Sarkar wrote to Raghubir Singh, 'I can visualise the day when you will find that your library has grown so large...you will print a classified catalogue of it and build some rooms...where research students from far and near may put up when utilizing your literary treasure (Proverb). 'The king is adorned in his country but the learned are respected everywhere, J.N, Sarkar to Raghubir Singh from Darjeeling, 9th August, 1935, *Making of a Princely Historian*, p. 12.
29. See S.C. Tikekar, *On Historiography*, pp. 47-48. Vasant D. Rao, Govind Sakharam Sardesai, *Historians And Historiography in Modern India*, ed. S.P. Sen, pp. 231-232. Earlier the Poona School was reluctant to call the books of Sardesai as history while they had created a special caste of 'compiler' for him. It was Jadunath Sarkar's efforts and encouragement that led to the 'blooming of Sardesai's talents as a researcher in history which Sardesai never hesitated to acknowledge or express gratefully openly. Later Sardesai's services to the cause of history won recognition from people as well as governments, British and Indian. After completion of 45 volumes of *Selections from the Peshwa Dafter*, the British Government conferred on him the title of '*Rao Bahadur*'. In 1938, he was presented with *Sardesai Commemoration Volume*, in 1951, he was accorded General Presidentship of the Indian History Congress held at Jaipur. In 1957, Indian Government awarded him the title of *Padma-bhushan*.
30. See A.L. Srivastava, "Sir Jadunath Sarkar", *Historians and Historiography in Modern India*, pp. 142-143, related how Dr. Tarachand, an upholder of 'Civic duty' over 'academic rectitude' recalled with pleasure at the annual session of the I.H.R.C. at Chandigarh in 1961, J.N. Sarkar's remark

when he learnt about Tarachand having been entrusted with the project of writing history of the Freedom Movement in India. The historian was reported to have said, "It (the project) has been entrusted to competent hands". Ishwari Prasad told A.L. Srivastava, 'times without number' that when he called on the historian in 1943-44, he said, "come in Dr. Ishwari Prasad, you are a genuine scholar'. Many 'apologists' and 'National' historians finding fault with the historian's critical estimate of Aurangzib, would quote with approval, the historian's appreciative part of Muslim rule.

31. The historian's view on the subject is significant. He was not afraid of his revision and had observed, unless continual supersession is welcomed, progress in human knowledge would be impossible. . .my sole interest is the discovery of truth. I am not so vain as to feel hurt if any statement in a book of mine is contradicted by later discovered or published sources", Sarkar to Sardesai, 25th August, 1943, "Sarkar-Sardesai Correspondence", *Life and Letters*, p. 239.
32. D.P. Singhal, "Battle for the Past", Devahuti, ed., *Problems of Indian Historiography*, D.K. Publications, Delhi, 1979, p. 150.
33. See Z.U. Faruqi, *Aurangzeb and His Times*, pp. 146, 153. A.L. Srivastava, *Studies in Indian History*, p. 94, vide Ahzar Ansari's Review Article in *Leader*, Allahabad, May 19, 1957, p. iv.
34. Marx certainly did a great service to the understanding of history by emphasizing the part played by economic factors...but the Marxist mistake lies in over-doing this. The place of the individual in history of a Nepolean, a Buddha or an Ashoka cannot be underestimated...Culture is not only agriculture and architective...The Marxist approach is basically inadequate", B.P. Sinha, "The Redundancies and the Lacunae in Indian Historiography", D. Devahuti ed., *Problems of Indian Historiography*, pp. 98-99.
35. S.R Tikekar, *On Historiography*, p. 22, N.H. Kulkarnee, "Shivaji and the National Movement"—A Review Article, *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol. XVI, No. 2, 1976-77, p. 121.
36. Lala Lajpat Rai in Young India, pp. 73-75, quoted by R.C. Majumdar in *Historiography in Modern India*, 1970, p. 49.
37. Peter Hardy, "Modern Muslim Historical Writing on Medieval Muslim India", C.H. Philips, ed., *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, pp. 302-303, I.H. Qureshi quoted on pp. 307-308.
38. R.C. Mujumdar, ed., *The Mughal Empire*, Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay 1974, Preface, xii.
39. R.C. Majumdar, "Shortcomings in Indian Historiography", *Historiography in Modern India*, p. 54.
40. K.A. Nizami, Presidential Address (Medieval Indian History Section), *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Allahabad Session, 1965, p. 140.
41. Bisheshwar Prasad, Presidential Address, (General), *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Ranchi Session, 1964, pp. 9, 16.
42. J.N. Sarkar, General Editor, *A New History of the Indian People*, Lahore, 1946, Foreword, v-vi; R.C. Majumdar and A.S. Altekar, eds., *The Vakataka Gupta Age*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1960.

43. *Ibid.*, Foreword, vi, Rajendra Prasad to J.N. Sarkar.
44. Ashin Das Gupta, "The International Context", John Correia Afonso, ed., *Historical Research in India*, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1979, pp. 69-70.
45. J.F. Richards, *Mughal Administration in Golconda*, p. 306.
46. *Ibid.* p. 214.
47. *Ibid.*, Acknowledgements, vii. "Today...his narrative approach and his intellectual concerns appear a bit old fashioned. Only a historian who has tried to develop an accurate narrative of political and public events, using the fragmented sources, typical of this period, can appreciate the magnitude of Sarkar's contribution".
48. *Ibid.* pp. 306, 309.
49. Ashin Das Gupta, "The International Context", ed. John Correia Afonso, *Historical Research in India*, p. 67.
50. Mathew Arnold quoted by J.N. Sarkar "Govind Sakharam Sardesai", *Sardesai Commemoration Volume*, ed. S.R. Tikekar, Keshav Bhikaji Dhawle, Bombay, 1938, p. 300.
51. J.N. Sarkar in William Irvine's *Later Mughals*, 'Irvine As a Historian', xxiv.
52. J.N. Sarkar, Foreword to 'A General History of the Indian People', Lahore, 1946 (From J.N. Sakrar Collection, National Library, Calcutta), 'A New History of India embodying all this accumulated knowledge and abreast of latest research must fill many volumes. Such a work both by reason of its size and diversity of its contents can be produced only by a syndicate of scholars. The writing of such a co-operative History of India was first discussed by me with the late Manmohan Chakravarti in 1908 after the first volumes of the Cambridge Modern History had come out...a fourth project confined soley to the 'cultural aspects of India's Past' on the model of the 'Heritage Series' was pondered over by me and even lists of chapters drawn up (1918 and 1920) with the late Rev. J. Farquhar...all these schemes very soon came to nothing because we felt the time was not yet ripe and we had not enough scholars to do justice to every part of the subject.
53. Through 'Bhartiya Itihas Parishad Scheme', of which Dr. Rajendra Prasad was to take charge of the administrative and financial side, while Jadunath Sarkar was to be the Chairman of the Editorial Board. See General Scheme of 'A New History of the Indian People, with Foreword to the only issue of the series published, see the Vakataka Gupta Age, edited by R.C. Majumdar and A.S. Altekar, Lahore, 1946, reprint 1960, Motilal Banarsidass, New Delhi. Bhartiya Vidya Bhawan's *History and Culture of the Indian People* has largely followed the Scheme.
54. Typed Ms. Sitamau, 1940, now in 'Sir J.N. Sarkar Collection,' National Library, Calcutta, is a comprehensive list of 25 topics covering a wide range of non-political aspects.
55. e.g. S.P. Sen., *Historians and Historiography in Modern India, Preface*, ix, "Not till the forties of the present century did the Indian historians think of undertaking a multi-volumed history of India incorporating the result of researches in different fields till that time", also Jagdish

Narayan Sarkar, "History and Historians of Medieval India", *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol. III, 1963-64, Nos. I & II, p. 69. "Indian writers on Medieval India came to realize the need of 'Social Studies nearly a century after the West. The delay was partly due to the British origins of medieval Indian historiography, Lord Acton (1834-1902) in England and Berr (1863-1954) in France emphasized the urgency of historical synthesis". Apart from Jadunath Sarkar's works on economics, Government, topography and essays on art and society in the first quarter of the 20th century, Moreland's '*India at the Death of Akbar* (1920), *From Akbar to Aurangzib* (1923) were published during the same period.

56. Michael Kammen, ed., *The Past Before us*, Cornell University Press, Itacha 1980, Introduction, p. 21, and other essays e.g. Peter Loewenberg, 'Psychohistory' pp. 408-432, Peter N. Stearns, "Towards a Wider Vision; Trends in Social History", pp 206, 222-223.

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APPENDIX

Kumud Nath Sarkar, B.A., B.L. (1860-1930), the eldest son of Raj Kumar and Hari Sundari, practised as a lawyer at Rajashahi. He had earned a lucrative practice and had also a flourshing business in ballast stone and coal.

Shashi Shekar, the second son (1864-1952), was still receiving education when he sustained a serious injury by fall from a tree. The injury affected his brain, and he remained an invalid for the rest of his life.

Jadunath (1870-1958) was the third son.

Anandinath, B.A., B.L. (1881-1955) retired as a pleader in the small cause court of Calcutta. He was highly respected at the Bar and the Bench, also for his scholarship in English Literature.

Bijaynath, B.A (Hons), C.E. (Roorkee) (1882-1963) was an Executive Engineer in the P.W.D. in Madhya Pradesh. His interest in history, archaeology and travel made him look closer to Jadunath than anyone else in the family.

Birendranath, the fifth son (1883-1954) became a Professor of Physics at the Krishnanath (Berhampur) College.

Akhilnath, M.B., (1886-1951) was a Professor of midwifery at the Patna Medical College. He also became a *Rai Bahadur* and G.O.M.

The three sisters were Sushila Sundari (1865-1910), Sukumari (1868-1938) and Surbala (1876-1960).

Jadunath Sarkar's wife was Kadmbini Sarkar (1880-1964).

1. *Life and Letters*, p. 2.
2. Vide information to a query, from Dr. J.N. Chowdhury, a pupil and a close family friend of Sir J.N. Sarkar. His bibliography of the historian is awaiting publication in Bengali by Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta.

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ERRATA

		In place of	*Read as*
P 6	Line 31	Gibbron	Gibbon
P 20	Line 33	Raghubir Singh	Raghubir Siuh
P 28	Line 8	*Chaibi*	*Ghaibi*
P 28	Line 16	*Rugaat*	*Ruqqat*
P 28	Line 34	tut	tuft
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