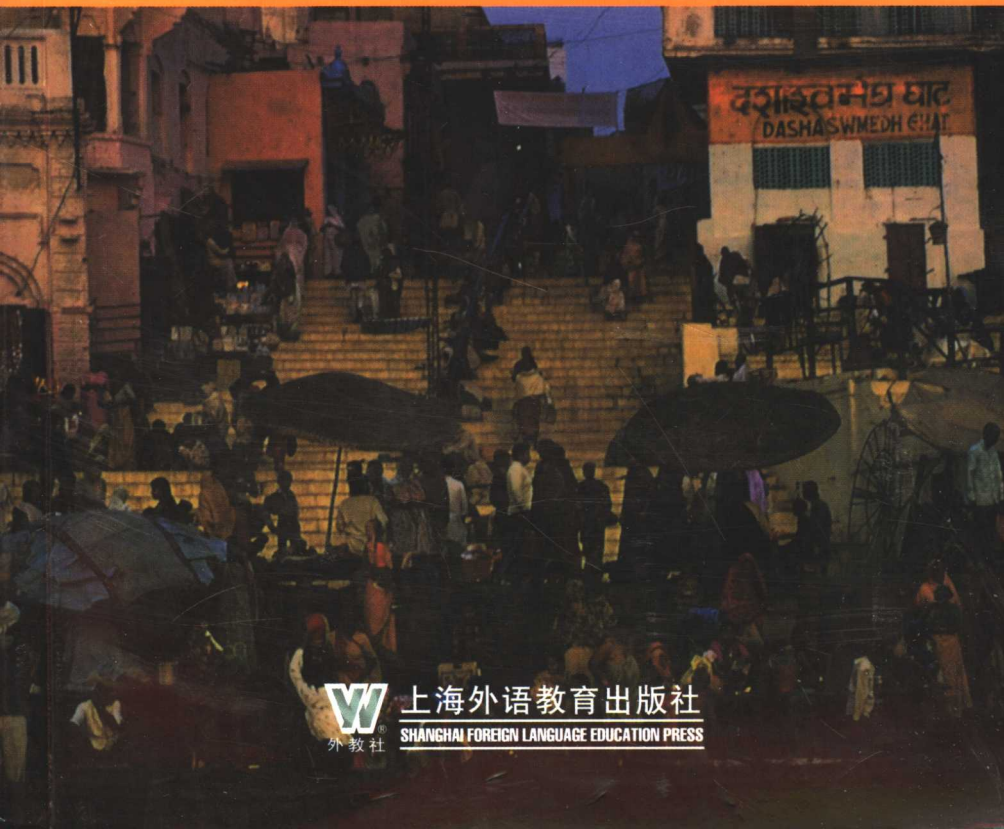


CAMBRIDGE CONCISE HISTORIES · 剑桥国别简史丛书之六

A Concise History of INDIA 印度简史

Barbara D. Metcalf and
Thomas R. Metcalf



上海外语教育出版社

SHANGHAI FOREIGN LANGUAGE EDUCATION PRESS

外教社

Cambridge Concise Histories · 剑桥国别简史丛书之六

*A Concise History
of India*

印度简史

Barbara D. Metcalf
and
Thomas R. Metcalf

 上海外语教育出版社
外教社 SHANGHAI FOREIGN LANGUAGE EDUCATION PRESS

A Concise History of India

BARBARA D. METCALF
University of California, Davis

and

THOMAS R. METCALF
University of California, Berkeley



图书在版编目 (CIP) 数据

印度简史 / (美) 梅特卡夫 (Metcalf, B. D.), 梅特卡夫 (Metcalf, T. R.) 著. —上海: 上海外语教育出版社, 2006
(剑桥国别简史丛书)

ISBN 7-81095-909-3

I. 印… II. ①梅…②梅… III. 印度—历史—英文 IV. K351

中国版本图书馆CIP数据核字 (2005) 第142554号

图字: 09-2004-723号

出版发行: **上海外语教育出版社**

(上海外国语大学内) 邮编: 200083

电 话: 021-65425300 (总机)

电子邮箱: bookinfo@sflep.com.cn

网 址: <http://www.sflep.com.cn> <http://www.sflep.com>

责任编辑: 刘 璟

印 刷: 上海出版印刷有限公司

经 销: 新华书店上海发行所

开 本: 850×1168 1/32 印张 10.875 字数 360千字

版 次: 2006年9月第1版 2006年9月第1次印刷

印 数: 3500册

书 号: ISBN 7-81095-909-3 / K · 031

定 价: 24.00元

本版图书如有印装质量问题,可向本社调换

PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK
40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain
Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa

<http://www.cambridge.org>

© Cambridge University Press 2002

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
no reproduction of any part may take place without
the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2002
Reprinted 2002 (twice), 2003

Originally published by Cambridge University Press in 2001
This reprint edition is published with the permission of the Syndicate of the Press
of the University of Cambridge, Cambridge, England.
This edition is licensed for distribution and sale in the People's Republic of China
only excluding Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao, and may not be
distributed and sold elsewhere.

本书由剑桥大学出版社授权上海外语教育出版社出版。
仅供在中华人民共和国境内销售。

剑桥国别简史丛书书目

1. *A Concise History of Australia* (Second Edition) Stuart Macintyre
《澳大利亚简史》(第二版)
2. *A Concise History of Britain, 1707–1975* W. A. Speck
《英国简史》
3. *A Concise History of France* (Second Edition) Roger Price
《法国简史》(第二版)
4. *A Concise History of Germany* (Second Edition) Mary Fulbrook
《德国简史》(第二版)
5. *A Concise History of Greece* (Second Edition) Richard Clogg
《希腊简史》(第二版)
6. *A Concise History of India* Barbara D. Metcalf & Thomas R. Metcalf
《印度简史》
7. *A Concise History of Italy* (Updated Edition) Christopher Duggan
《意大利简史》(最新版)
8. *A Concise History of Mexico* Brian Hamnett
《墨西哥简史》
9. *A Concise History of Portugal* (Second Edition) David Birmingham
《葡萄牙简史》(第二版)
10. *A Concise History of South Africa* Robert Ross
《南非简史》

出版说明

跨入21世纪后，全球一体化的发展趋势使世界各国的联系愈来愈密切，不同国家、不同民族之间的交往比以往任何时候都更加频繁和便捷。人们除了了解自己周围或自己国家的事情外，越来越多地把目光投向整个世界，关注其他国家和民族的发展与人们的生活。要了解一个国家、一个民族的现状，我们需要了解它的历史和发展沿革。由此，上海外语教育出版社（简称“外教社”）从英国剑桥大学出版社引进了这套“剑桥国别简史丛书”（*Cambridge Concise Histories*），奉献给我国广大读者，尤其是我国英语专业本科生、研究生以及具有一定英语基础并对世界历史感兴趣的读者。

“剑桥国别简史丛书”是剑桥大学出版社自上世纪八九十年代开始陆续推出的一套插图版国别简史丛书。丛书为一个开放系列，目前已经出版的品种涉及16个国家。作为第一批，我们从中挑选了英国、法国、德国、澳大利亚、希腊、印度、意大利、墨西哥、葡萄牙和南非等10个国家的简史图书，其中既有有关英语国家的，也有非英语国家的。

由于作者都是来自英国、美国、澳大利亚等国的历史学教授和知名专家，所以该丛书具有很高的学术价值和较强的权威性；作者又能采用浅显通俗的语言描述这些国家的政治、经济、文化、社会和历史，丛书信息量大、可读性强。该丛书在英国出版以后，深受读者欢迎，有的品种已重印多达10余次。

我们衷心希望该丛书的引进对我国读者学习、研究历史，了解世界有所帮助和参考作用，对掌握更多的历史文化知识有所裨益。

上海外语教育出版社

PREFACE

This is a concise history of India since the time of the Mughals. It comprises the history of what was known as British India from the late eighteenth century until 1947, when the subcontinent was split into the two independent countries of India and Pakistan, and of the Republic of India thereafter. (The history of Pakistan, and after 1971, of Bangladesh, is taken up in a separate volume in this series.)

In this work we hope to capture something of the excitement that has characterized the field of India studies in recent decades. Any history written today differs markedly from that of the late 1950s and early 1960s when we, as graduate students, first 'discovered' India. The history of India, like histories everywhere, is now at its best written as a more inclusive story, and one with fewer determining narratives. Not only do historians seek to include more of the population in their histories – women, minorities, the dispossessed – but they are also interested in alternative historical narratives, those shaped by distinctive cosmologies or by local experiences. Historians question, above all, the historical narratives that were forged – as they were everywhere in the modern world – by the compelling visions of nationalism. The first histories of India, written from the early decades of the nineteenth century, were the handmaid of British nationalism. They were subsequently challenged, and rewritten, by Indian nationalist historians. All of these histories, including those written from a Marxist perspective, were shaped by notions of 'progress' and what was seen as an inevitable progression toward presumably already known models of 'modernity' that included economic

development and democracy. In recent years, Indian historians have taken the lead in breaking apart the old narratives, at the cost, some would argue, of a cherished cultural continuity and the stirring stories of heroism that foster patriotism. What they have given us in its place is what the leading 'subalternist' Partha Chatterjee calls 'fragments' of history. But such a history is no less critical for the formation of an informed citizenry of an individual nation, or of the world.

We focus in this concise history on the fundamentally political theme of the 'imagining' of India, and on the institutional structures that changed and sustained that 'India'. In so doing, we endeavour to show as well the social changes and the cultural values that were constituted in interaction with that political structure and that vision. We have chosen to place political history, and the doings of the social elite, at the centre of our narrative because they have been the driving force for historical change. A 'subalternist' might appropriately insist that such an emphasis does not do justice to the multiple mentalities and diverse lived experience of the bulk of India's population. An intriguing example of the gap between political history and individual memory has recently been analyzed by the historian Paul Greenough. Colonial and later census enumerators, he notes, required the recording of birth dates from populations who, for the most part, did not commemorate this event. Hence census personnel supplied respondents with lists of 'historic' events to help anchor memories. These included national events, such as the coronation of George V or the proclamation of the Republic of India, as well as local events such as natural disasters or corrupt elections. These latter events, in Greenough's view, proved most evocative in stirring recollections of the past, and so reveal a more 'subaltern' history than the official or textbook version. Yet, we would argue, in multiple ways the lives of those interviewed for the census were inevitably shaped, from the foods they ate and the lands they ploughed to the prospects for their children, by their existence as subjects of the colonial Raj, and later as citizens of the independent Indian state.

Like others who have come to recognize the implicit teleologies of 'national' history, we acknowledge that history is always written, and of necessity rewritten, to serve the needs of the present. One of those needs, in our view, is to show that commonsense notions of

continuity, fostered by nationalism, must be replaced by an understanding of the newness of modern identities, and the new meanings infused into old terms ('caste', 'Hindu', 'Muslim', and even 'India' itself). This is what the political scientist Benedict Anderson has called the great paradox of nationalism: that nation-states, a product of recent centuries, must always claim to be very, very old. To show otherwise in the case of India is especially challenging; for the British colonialists had a powerful incentive to make of India a timeless and unchanging land in contrast to their own avowed 'progress', while Indian nationalists were driven by an equally insistent desire to claim the sanction of antiquity for their own cultural and political ideals. To understand how our cultures are constructed, however, is essential in giving us a critical distance on what otherwise seems part of nature. It is a distinctive contribution that history can make to civic life.

We call the reader's attention in particular to the extracted quotations and the illustrative figures threaded throughout the historical narrative. The extracts represent 'voices' of participants in the events being described. Where possible, we have chosen these extracts from works that are readily available to those who wish to explore these sources further. They exemplify the changing modalities of contemporaneous expression and behaviour. Similarly, the visual reproductions are not simple 'illustrations', but are intended to provide some sense of the visual world, including new media, of the times.

The maps provided in the volume are meant to help orient the reader to central elements of India's geography. The physical features of the Indian subcontinent have shaped its history in fundamental ways. Its size – some 2,000 miles from east to west, and another 2,000 miles from north to south – calls into question the label of 'subcontinent' given by European map makers, whose own European 'continent' is hardly more extensive. The Indian subcontinent, like Europe itself, is a distinctive feature of the larger Eurasian land mass from which it projects. Unlike Europe, however, India was cut off by forbidding mountain ranges from Central Asia, so that it participated only marginally in the traffic in goods and people that over the centuries swept eastwards and westwards across the steppes.

Despite the persisting barrier to travel formed by the unbroken line of mountains reaching from the Pamirs and Karakoram in the north-west, across the central Himalaya to the dense jungle-clad hills of the Burmese border, India continually interacted with its neighbours. Such interaction commonly took place to the westward, where the Khyber and Bolan Passes provided easy access to the Afghan plateau. The earliest Indian civilization, known as the Harappan or Indus (at its height 2000–1500 BC), possessed close trading ties with Mesopotamia. Central Asian peoples reached the subcontinent in the centuries around 1000 BC, bringing with them a language, the Indo-European, that also spread westwards into much of Europe. As a result the languages that grew up in northern and central India share fundamental linguistic patterns with those of many European countries. Greeks under Alexander the Great, followed by Central Asian Sakas, Scythians, and Huns, and finally Turks, Mongols, and Afghans, conquered, and frequently settled, in the north-west. Movements of peoples outwards from India into Central Asia also took place, most notably those of Buddhist pilgrims and teachers to China, as well as traders in luxury goods.

The two arms of the Indian Ocean – the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea – that define the remaining two sides of the Indian triangle mark out the region as a distinctive space and shape it as a distinctive climatic zone – that of the monsoon. Gathering force in the hot equatorial regions of the Indian Ocean, the monsoon rains sweep across India each summer. Indian agriculture is almost wholly dependent on these rains, which vary dramatically in their intensity, from 60 to 80 inches a year on the western and eastern coasts and the mountainous foothills, to a mere 15–20 inches in the Punjab. Sind and Rajasthan in the north-west lie outside the influence of the monsoon, and so are given over almost wholly to barren desert. The oceans also linked India to its neighbours. The seafaring Cholas of the far south were centrally important in the transmission of Buddhist and Brahmanic learning from India to South-East Asia. Indian merchants early learned to navigate with the monsoon winds as they sailed across the western Indian Ocean. From 1498, when Vasco da Gama, guided by a Gujarati pilot, brought his ship into

an Indian port, India's European conquerors came from the west across the sea.

Its physical features, especially its mountains and rivers, divide India into regions no less distinctive than the various countries of Europe. These regions are characterized by differing ecological patterns, languages, and cultures. Paralleling the Himalaya are the rivers of the Gangetic plain, which unite to form the sacred 'Ganga', flowing from the north-west to the south-east into the Bay of Bengal. A rich agricultural zone, this region, known as 'Hindustan', was the heartland of northern empires and the goal of those invaders who entered from the north-west. The Indo-Gangetic plain, over 1,000 miles in extent, comprises the Punjab, whose 'five rivers' flow south-west into the Indus; the rich 'doab' area between Ganges and Jamuna; and farthest to the east, where the Brahmaputra joins it from Tibet of China, the fertile, heavily watered region of rice agriculture in Bengal.

Northern India is marked off from peninsular India, known as the Deccan, by ranges of low hills, scrub jungle, and westward-flowing rivers. Although not as forbidding a barrier as the towering Himalaya, nevertheless the central Indian hills permitted the settled peoples of south India, speaking languages derived from what is called the Dravidian family, to develop distinct cultural characteristics. Further, unlike the sweeping plains of the Gangetic valley, the land itself in the south, containing river valleys cut off from each other by hills, together with the coastal ranges known as the 'ghats', encouraged peoples to develop separate states and even languages. Despite all this diversity, however, by the Middle Ages unifying elements of what can be called an Indic civilization reached most areas of the subcontinent. Our volume begins with an examination of this medieval Indian civilization.

We wish to express our appreciation to a number of institutions which have made their facilities available to us during the writing of this book. These include the libraries of the University of California at Berkeley and at Davis, the Ames Library of the University of Minnesota, the British Library, and the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi. Several friends and colleagues, most

notably Catherine Asher, Frederick Asher, Rebecca Brown, and Narayani Gupta have assisted us in procuring rare photographs used as illustrations. We are especially grateful to Rachel Sturman, who, in addition to giving the manuscript a careful reading, took upon herself the task of collecting illustrations and securing permissions for their use. More generally, we wish to thank our students, who, over the several decades since we began our teaching careers, by their questions and their enthusiasms have encouraged us always to think afresh about the history of India. We would especially like to acknowledge those who have shared ideas with us from research projects not yet published. These include Lisa Trivedi, Durba Ghosh, and Rachel Sturman, among others. We owe much as well to Marigold Acland, of the Cambridge University Press, who first encouraged us to take on this task and then prodded us to complete it in good time. Finally, we want to thank Kavita Datla and Ariana deRocheffort Reynolds for preparing the index under intense time pressure.

GLOSSARY

- bhakti* An approach to worship and spiritual practice in the Hindu tradition characterized by personal devotion to a Divinity, often mediated by a holy person or teacher
- Brahman* The varna or status category identified in the classical Sanskrit tradition as most pure and entitled to perform priestly duties
- Buddhist* A follower of Gautama Buddha (b. 560 BC). Like Mahavira Jain, he rejected the authority of Brahmanic ritual; he taught that suffering is inseparable from existence, and that one should strive to extinguish the self and the senses in order to achieve a state of illumination called nirvana. Supported by the great emperor Asoka (c. 269–32 BC), Buddhism essentially disappeared in the Indian subcontinent by the tenth century. It was revived in the mid-twentieth century by the ‘untouchable’ leader Ambedkar.
- dalit* ‘Down-trodden’, term used by former untouchables to describe their community. Has replaced Gandhi’s term *harijan* ‘children of God’ in recent decades.
- darbar* see *darbar*
- darbar* Royal audience, hall of audience, court; executive government of a princely state
- diwan* The chief civil administrator of an area under the Mughals; *diwani*, civil or revenue administration
- factor* A commercial agent, here of the East India Company, resident in India; the term *factory* denoted a warehouse for storing trade goods

- farmer* A revenue term used for a person who bids to secure the right to collect the taxes of a given area in return for payment to the government of a fixed sum
- hadith* Traditions of the Prophet Muhammad's sayings and actions
- hartal* Closing of all shops in a market as a protest against oppression or ill-treatment
- imam* A prayer leader; among Shi'a, venerated male descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, whose succession terminated after twelve incumbents for the majority of Shi'a followers, after seven for several smaller sects
- jagir* The right to the assessed tax revenue of a piece of land, given for a limited term by the Mughals as a reward for service; the holder of a jagir is a *jagirdar*
- Jain* A follower of Mahavira (b. 599 BC) who, like the Buddha, rejected the authority of Brahmanic ritual, and taught an ascetic, world-denying philosophical and ethical system. Particularly successful in business, Jains are a small community resident mostly in Gujarat and Bombay
- Jat* A north Indian peasant and agriculturist community
- Jesuit* A member of the Society of Jesus of the Roman Catholic Church, founded by St Ignatius Loyola in 1534; present in India from its earliest years with the establishment of Portuguese trading enclaves
- jizya* A poll tax levied on non-Muslims that entitled them to protection and freed them from military service
- jotedar* A revenue collecting intermediary in Bengal, between the peasant cultivator and the zamindar
- Kayasth* North Indian caste group, many of whose members served from Mughal times in government bureaucracy and other institutions requiring literacy, accountancy, etc.
- Khalifa* (caliph) A successor, particularly used for successors of the Prophet Muhammad
- Khatri* North Indian caste group, many of whose members served from Mughal times in government bureaucracies and other institutions requiring literacy, accountancy, etc.
- Khilafat* (caliphate) The office or dignity of the caliph; as 'Khilafat Movement', an organization that sought to secure the position of the Ottoman sultan as spiritual leader of all Muslims

- Kshatriya* The varna or status category identified in the classical Sanskrit tradition as those entitled to exercise military power and perform sacrifices
- mansab* A rank within the Mughal state system, carrying with it the obligation to supply horsemen in a number commensurate with the rank; the holder of a mansab is a *mansabdar*
- nabob* see *nawab*
- naib* A deputy, as of a governor of a province under the Mughals; title of respect
- nawab* Mughal governor; conventionally used in British India as a title for Muslim princes, chiefs, etc. The term *nabob*, a corruption of *nawab*, was used for Englishmen who gained sudden riches in India
- Ottoman* A vast empire in Asia Minor and the Balkans conquered in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries by Osmanli Turks, who ruled until the empire's dissolution in 1918 following World War One
- Pandit* Title of respect for learned Brahman; passes into English as 'pandit', an expert or authority on some subject
- panchayat* Council, court for arbitration of disputes, for villages, castes or other groups; from traditional gathering of five (panch) elders
- Parsi* see Zoroastrian
- Persian* The literary and government language of the Delhi Sultanate, the Mughal Empire, and other pre-modern Indian states
- peshwa* Hereditary Maratha chief minister; from 1720 *de facto* ruler of the Maratha confederacy
- pir* 'elder', founder or head of a sufi order or shrine
- presidency* The residence of a 'president'; here used for the three East India Company centres of Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta established in the seventeenth century
- Rajput* A 'prince'. Rajput clans, based in northern and north-western India, emerged in the medieval and Mughal period as warrior princes and frequent allies of the Mughals
- raja* 'Ruler'. A title widely used in British India not only for princes but by chiefs, zamindars, etc.; customarily (but not always) confined to Hindus
- sabha* Association or society; assembly, council, court

- Sanskrit** An Indo-European language which emerged in ancient times as the sacred language of legal and ritual tradition cultivated by Brahmans
- satyagraha** 'Truth force', a Gandhian neologism to describe his method of dispute settlement based on a shared pursuit of 'truth' with an opponent, together with mutual respect
- Sayyid** Muslims who claim descent from the Prophet Muhammad
- settlement** In British India a revenue term used in the context of agricultural taxation to specify an agreement with an individual or group for the responsibility to pay a fixed amount of tax on a given tract of land; often carried with it effective ownership of the land
- Shaikh** (1) A title for a sufi (q.v.) master; (2) a Muslim claiming descent from the Companions of the Prophet
- shari'at** The whole body of rules guiding the life of a Muslim in law, ethics, and etiquette
- Shi'a** The minority of Muslims who reject the succession of the first four caliphs in favour of the rights of the Prophet Muhammad's son-in-law 'Ali and his descendants, the imams
- Shudra** The lowest varna or status category identified in the classical Sanskrit tradition; required to perform services for the three higher and pure varnas
- Sikh** A 'Disciple', used in this case for the followers of the path (*panth*) of the teacher Guru Nanak. Also see *bhakti*
- sufi** Those who cultivate the inner dimension of Islam through moral practices, disciplines, and association with sufi masters who act as guides, teachers, and mediators; a 'mystic'
- Sunni** The majority of Muslims who accept the authority of the first four caliphs and the principle of consensus for choosing successors to the Prophet Muhammad (570-632 CE)
- swadeshi** Of 'one's own land'; used by nationalists to encourage the production and use of products made within India
- swaraj** Self-rule, self-government
- 'ulama** (sg: 'alim) Authorities learned in Islamic legal and religious studies
- Vaisya** The varna or status category identified in the classical Sanskrit tradition as businessmen and merchants and as men entitled to perform sacrifices