

# PRIDE, POSSESSION AND PATRONAGE: CURATING EXHIBITIONS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY INDIA AND BRITAIN\*

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**Abstract.** *By focusing on two exhibitions, the Calcutta International Exhibition (Calcutta, 1883) and the Colonial and Indian Exhibition (London, 1886), the article proposes that the feeling of pride led the colonial state to organise exhibitions. By organising exhibitions in India, the British curators intended to establish a system of craft patronage on the pretext of possessing superior scientific knowledge, access to the global market and control over political structures. However, in the exhibition in Britain, the organisers took pride in the great possession of colonies, and showed how the colonial state had brought about improvements in Indian crafts to such an extent that even English craftsmen could emulate Indian designs and methods for craft production.*

**Keywords:** *pride, possessions, British Empire, colonial exhibitions, Indian crafts.*

The feeling of “pride” in nineteenth-century Britain had both negative and positive meanings. In a negative sense, pride was employed for “an unreasonably high opinion of one’s own superiority; insolence; rude treatment of others resulting from inordinate self-esteem.” In “a good sense, the noble and exalted pleasure springing from a consciousness of worth, upright conduct, or acts of benevolence; generous elation of heart; that of which men are proud, or which may excite boasting; splendor; ostentation.”<sup>1</sup> Our concern here is not with the ethical question of pride (whether expressing pride is good, or legitimate or not), rather we focus on how the feeling of pride among the British led to a certain kind of conduct which shaped a historical process.

While discussing the 1889 Paris Exhibition, Patrick Young rightly points out that

the colonial exhibits signalled colonial control and possession...[and] those cultures and individuals on display in the colonial section were clearly marked off as being under European political authority.... Indeed, the displays made

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<sup>1</sup> Stormonth 1881, p. 474.

that control and possession tangible for spectators by presenting colonial territories as a succession of systematically ordered material artefacts.<sup>2</sup>

This is also true for the British colonial exhibitions. Artefacts in these exhibitions were colonial possessions supposed to represent the wealth of colonies. In the nineteenth-century legal context, the term possession meant “physical control and implies ownership, actual or asserted, or occupy and actual control without ownership, and the ownership or control.”<sup>3</sup> The whole space of display was under the authority of British organisers and state, who were physically controlling the exhibits through selection, arrangement, cataloguing and display.

The possession of exhibits was both physical and conceptual. Understanding of the materiality of the industrial arts was necessary to make it possible for the colonial state, manufacturers and traders to have control over the procedures of production, composition and design suitable for the Indian and overseas market with the minimum cost of production and the maximum profit. Colonial exhibitions also served as surveying techniques to acquire knowledge about Indian craft and the craft-based economy, and this knowledge not only “linked people, ideas, and cultural capital throughout the empire” but also “legitimise[d] the ideas and practices of empire” in Britain and its colonies.<sup>4</sup>

Physical and conceptual possession led to the idea of establishing a system of the patronage of craftsmen through the institution of exhibitions. British pride in having control over the political and economic systems of India, and in possessing scientific knowledge shaped this system of patronage. Pride was structurally embedded in the objectives of exhibitions, defining of the categories and process of collecting the exhibits. At all these stages, the main emphasis of British curators and state officials remained the patronising of Indian craftsmen by protecting their craft and disseminating scientific knowledge to enable them to compete globally.<sup>5</sup>

### **Objectives: A New System of Patronage**

The colonial British state characterised Indians and Indian civilisation with “isolation.” Indians were isolated from other nations, civilisations, knowledge systems and trade networks. They were even isolated and divided among themselves: divided in family on the basis of gender, and divided on the basis of caste system, tribes and professions. Isolation led to the political and social disintegration of the subcontinent, dividing it into numerous political

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<sup>2</sup> Young 2008, p. 353.

<sup>3</sup> Adorno 2007, p. vii.

<sup>4</sup> Hoffenberg 2001, p. 31; McGowan 2009, p. 67–68.

<sup>5</sup> For conceptual explanation of colonial patronage, see Ashcroft et al. 2007, p. 38–40.

principalities, tribes, castes and religions. This isolation effected India in multiple ways: Indians could not acquire the “civilised” social and cultural values, scientific knowledge and political systems, and modern technologies which were the supposed characteristics of British civilisation.

Colonial exhibitions were the spaces where British organisers proudly assumed the responsibility of eliminating Indians’ isolation by establishing a system of patronage. This patronage involved a new way of perceiving craft on the basis of scientific knowledge, different social alignments of craftsmen with Indian and global market, and the introduction of new social and cultural values by encouraging mixed social gatherings of men and women, and by integrating craftswomen into the Indian and global economy. For the exhibitions, they commissioned artworks and also engaged traders who could purchase and market those products in the colony and abroad. The British believed that Indian craftsmen required British guidance and supervision to compete in the global market.

One image, which the British presented in official reports and popular literature about the Orient and India, was its history of conflict and war, which led to the production and consumption of arts of war.<sup>6</sup> In this telling, the economy of warrior tribes revolved around plundering and the slave trade. Rulers only patronised those crafts and industries which were related to weapons and the construction of forts. Even the ornamentation of craft was exclusively limited to armour and weapons.<sup>7</sup> Oriental empires expanded because of their military might.<sup>8</sup> Reliance on military might, if it led to their emergence, also turned out to be the reason for their destruction and the decline of any tradition of “arts of peace.”<sup>9</sup>

Arts of peace – literature, music, architecture, textiles, wood and metal work, etc. – could only be patronised, produced and consumed during peace times. The flourishing of arts for peace was a sign of advancement in

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<sup>6</sup> Mill 1817.

<sup>7</sup> For instance, the *District Gazetteer of Lahore* states: “In former times this art [*koft-gari*] identical with the damascening of Syria, was confined exclusively to the ornamentation of armour and weapons of war. In these days, Othello’s occupation being gone, the workmen have had their attention turned to salvers, caskets, bracelets, and other similar articles” (*GLD* n.d., p. 171).

<sup>8</sup> About Muslims, the author said: “Next to the Roman, the Saracen or Mahometan empire succeeded in military prowess and power. Led on by the principles of Mahomet, their great founder, by war and fanaticism, from small beginnings they became an extensive and mighty empire. The Mahometan principles, like those of a large portion of our modern Christians, placed the greatest glory of man in the profession and use of arms, and considered a death in battle as the certain road to paradise. Being fatalists in principle, they believed their fate to be decided by the decrees of Heaven; and therefore, no dangers to which they might be exposed could shorten their lives. They also believed that God had sent them to reform the world by the sword” (*Philanthropos* 1881, p. 38).

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14, 16.

civilisation. It signified strong political authority, peace and stability.<sup>10</sup> A nineteenth-century American clergyman, Jasper Adams, articulated this idea in his book:

As society advanced, the fierce spirit of war was softened, the arts of peace began to be cultivated; knowledge, morals, and the true religion, took the place of ignorance and superstition; industry became honourable; and life, blessed by the fruits of labour and virtue, became gradually, at least in Christian countries, comfortable, refined, and happy.<sup>11</sup>

Popular English literature in the nineteenth century reflected similar sentiments of promoting arts of peace to bring prosperity.<sup>12</sup> Only just and good rulers patronise arts of peace.<sup>13</sup>

British organisers articulated this discourse on arts for peace in colonial exhibitions. They took pride in establishing a strong political authority in India which could ensure the patronage, production and consumption of arts of peace. They presented themselves as harbingers of peace and prosperity, claiming that they ended wars and political instability in India. Robert Eyles Egerton, the Lt.-Governor of Punjab, in his address on the opening of the

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<sup>10</sup> For instance, when the Romans occupied the Persian world, “for nearly 700 years [the time which elapsed from its final conquest by the Roman armies under Pompey to its subjugation by the Saracens in the 638<sup>th</sup> year of the Christian era], the people, profiting by the singular felicity of their lot, devoted their attention to commerce and the arts of peace, and attained to a high degree of wealth and refinement” (*EBDASGL* 1842, p. 685). “Henry VIII succeeded his father at the age of 18 and the first years of his reign were extremely popular. No prince ever ascended a throne under happier circumstances. He had a full treasury, an undisputed title, subjects flourishing in the arts of peace, and in friendship with all the neighbouring powers” (Rees 1819, p. 54).

<sup>11</sup> Adams 1837, p. 120.

<sup>12</sup> For instance, one British author, Henry Smithers, in 1818, dedicates his book to the rulers of Austria, France, England, Prussia and Russia, who promised to promote “arts of peace”: “To whom can I with so much propriety dedicate an Essay in favour of the Arts and Sciences, as to the Allied Sovereigns of Europe, who have publicly recognized and announced, ‘That their duties towards God and towards the people over whom they reign, lay them under obligations to give to the world, as far as in them lies, examples of justice, of concord, and of moderation.’ Happy to be enabled to foster the arts of peace, to increase the prosperity of their kingdoms, and to revive the sentiments of religion and of morals, which the late unhappy events have too much enfeebled” (Smithers 1818, p. iv–v).

<sup>13</sup> When the eighteenth-century Swedish king Gustavus III first “attended to the arts of peace, he began to consider how he could best provide for the restoration of his fleet and army, which he founded in a feeble state” (Rees 1819). “During the 14<sup>th</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup>, and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, the principal towns of Europe were in the condition just described [were in an extremely bad condition]; and the history of those ages is as full of the physical miseries of the people, as their political troubles... But the connection of pestilence with such causes is still more satisfactorily proved, when we reflect that, in proportion as the nations of Europe have become civilized, and the arts of peace have been cultivated, these malignant and pestilential disorders have gradually disappeared” (Rees 1819).

Second Punjab Exhibition (Lahore, 1881–1882), said Indians during this period had exclusively focused on making weapons and producing crops. As the British brought peace in the region, thanks to the Queen, Indians could now focus on arts of peace.<sup>14</sup> Similarly, in the inauguration ceremony of the Calcutta International Exhibition, the Viceroy repeated the Prince Consort's words to show that the exhibition was meant to promote the arts and industry for peace and prosperity.<sup>15</sup> Queen Victoria, during the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, said:

I cordially concur with you in the prayer that this undertaking may be the means of imparting a stimulus to the commercial interests and intercourse of all parts of my dominions, by encouraging the arts of peace and industry, and by strengthening the bonds of union which now exists in every portion of my empire.<sup>16</sup>

British curators took pride in the superiority of European knowledge. They wanted Indians to employ scientific disciplines as a new way of viewing the world. It meant the reconstitution of the social relationships of artisans in the markets of India and abroad, the introduction of new ways of looking at craft, and the reorganisation of craft communities by influencing their craft production and their relations with traders and the colonial state. For instance, in the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London, the pride in knowledge was invoked by assuming the “high duty” to civilise Indians, who were colonised by force. A journalist articulated these sentiments:

[The Exhibition was] an excellent opportunity of showing that, as a race, the English people had understood this high duty [of] those civilizing influences we are capable of introducing, and which are not associated with personal gain.... How far has our superior scientific knowledge contributed to save and prolong the lives of the natives whom we govern by the right of the conquest? Our first responsibility is evidently towards those whom we have by force compelled to accept us as their masters. We can only justify domination by improving the lot of those we coerce.... [The Colonial and Indian Exhibition] proved the most popular and attractive of all the displays at South Kensington...while all Englishmen must feel a sense of pride, tempered by responsibility, when they contemplate this magnificent illustration of the vast resources and extend of our colonial empire. Care

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<sup>14</sup> *RPE* 1883, p. 18.

<sup>15</sup> The Viceroy mentioned: “His Royal Highness said, ‘I confidently hope that the first impression which the view of this vast collection will produce upon the spectator will be that of deep thankfulness to the Almighty for the blessings which he has bestowed upon us already here below, and the second conviction that they can only be realized in proportion to the help which we are prepared to render each other; therefore, only by peace, love, and assistance, not between individuals, but between the nations of the earth’” (*ORCIE* 1885, p. 16).

<sup>16</sup> *MP* 1886, p. 3.

should be taken to show those civilizing influences we are capable of introducing, and which are not associated with personal gain.<sup>17</sup> With the decline of the Mughals and local elites, the organisers claimed that it was their responsibility to patronise Indian craftsmen by educating them, which could save their craft and ensure their economic well-being.<sup>18</sup>

Ostensibly, for British curators and state officials, the promotion of Indian crafts and craftsmen in the global market was the responsibility of the state. The Calcutta International Exhibition was a “first attempt” at holding an exhibition of “international character,” aimed at “bringing...distant countries into closer commercial union with India and the development of new branches of industry.”<sup>19</sup> British officials believed that the “time was ripe for such friendly rivalry as would bring home to foreign nations a better knowledge of the resources of India, and to India a truer notion of the benefits to be gained from more extended intercourse and developed trade with other countries.”<sup>20</sup>

The colonial project(s) of modernising the Indians while preserving centuries old craft traditions led to the significant intervention of the British in terms of establishing and controlling various institutions, resulting in “colonial modernities” or “hybridisation.”<sup>21</sup> Colonial science evolved with the interaction of ideas and practices between the colonies and the metropolis. Sophisticated knowledge existed and developed in South Asia well before the arrival of the Europeans, and was translated and used by the colonisers.<sup>22</sup> The Europeans borrowed technologies from the colonies, such as brass metallurgy, and introduced them in Europe,<sup>23</sup> and tried to mechanically reproduce popular handicrafts, such as Kashmiri shawls.<sup>24</sup> However, curators hardly mentioned this interaction; rather, they emphasised the superiority of scientific knowledge.

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<sup>17</sup> *TL* 1886, p. 93.

<sup>18</sup> E. C. Buck, the Exhibition Commissioner for India, remarked that because of the decline in wealthy patrons and inflow of cheap and less-artistic crafts, Indian craft was declining but “through the education of the new generation of native artists in the right direction, and by spreading through the country a better knowledge of Oriental patterns, Eastern Art may still struggle against the flood of Western ideas, which threatens to obliterate the characteristic features which form its charm” (Buck 1886a, p. 4).

<sup>19</sup> *ORCIE* 1885, p. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Report of the Proceedings of the Committee read by Col. S. T. Trevor, the Vice President of the Executive Committee, read in the opening ceremony of the Exhibition (*ibid.*, p. 10).

<sup>21</sup> Scriver, Prakash 2007, p. 3–26; Burke 2009, p. 1–12.

<sup>22</sup> Raj 2007.

<sup>23</sup> Newbury et al. 2006, p. 201–213.

<sup>24</sup> The Kashmiri shawls were so popular in nineteenth-century France and England that the manufacturers tried to produce them through various means (*SPCSDUK* 1851, vol. 1, p. 238).

### **Categories, Prizes and Collecting**

In nineteenth-century colonial exhibitions, curators employed science as an analytical and methodological category for classifying unknowable art objects. They believed that by doing so they could comprehend, control and utilise these objects. This idea was borrowed from Utilitarian philosophers such as Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill who strongly influenced British cultural projects in the nineteenth century. Mill argued that the role of art could be explained with theorems of science:

The relation in which rules of art stand to doctrines of science may be thus characterized. The art proposes to itself an end to be attained, defines the end, and hands it over to the science. The science receives it, considers it as a phenomenon or effect to be studied, and having investigated its causes and conditions, sends it back to art with a theorem of combinations of circumstances by which it could be produced. Art then examines these combinations of circumstances, and according as any of them are or are not in human power, pronounces the end attainable or not. The only one of the premises, therefore which Art supplies, is the original major premise, which asserts that the attainment of the given end is desirable. Science then lends to Art the proposition (obtained by a series of inductions or of deductions) that the performance of certain actions will attain the end. From these (two) premises Art concludes that the performance of these actions is desirable, and finding it so practicable, converts the theorem into a rule or percept.<sup>25</sup>

Prince Albert called the 1851 Great Exhibition a “scientific experiment” to explain “the great principles of division of labour, which may be called the moving power of civilization...extended to all branches of science, industry and art,” God’s natural laws and a “naturalist’s insights into trade.” Many scientists were involved in defining criteria for selecting, classifying and evaluating exhibits. Some of them were Lyon Playfair, a British chemist, Justus von Liebig, a German chemist, and Richard Owen, a biologist. In the same way, Frederic Le Play, a French engineer and sociologist, was instrumental in devising a system of classification for the Paris Universal Exposition of 1867. His “philosophical classification system not only encompassed industry but the whole of human activity in a didactic arrangement linked with architecture of the exhibition palace.”<sup>26</sup>

Despite having agreement on employing science as a means to evaluate exhibits, scientists and organisers struggled to come up with any defined criteria. Juries in world fairs debated and disputed how to employ scientific principles. Jurors struggled with basic issues such as suitable systems for measuring weights, sizes, etc. From the 1880s onwards, scientists and

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<sup>25</sup> Mill 1850, p. 589.

<sup>26</sup> Brian 2003, p. 285.

organisers began to distance themselves from using science as the only analytical category by which to evaluate varied exhibits. One argument of historians is that this was because the organisers began to believe that visitors were not intelligent enough to understand complex scientific advancement through visual display, so they began to use science as an entertainment by displaying stunning works of technology, whilst elite scientists began taking more interest in pure science than applied.<sup>27</sup>

Tapati Guha-Thakurta proposes that the systematic activities of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, surveys, documentation and publications during the formative years of archaeology in India and the establishment of the first museum in Calcutta show an “elaborate axis of colonial power and knowledge. It is apparent in the museum’s system of assemblage and ordering, and in its invocation of the field around the collected, displayed, and labelled object.”<sup>28</sup> She considers the same principle with regard to collecting and classification in colonial exhibitions. By pushing this discussion into the realm of the history of emotions, we see the manifestation and assertion of colonial knowledge and power in the expression of pride in the empire. To manage the issue arising by employing science as a classificatory system, British curators in the 1880s came up with four types of categories: economic products; arts-manufactures; fine arts; and administrative departments. Each category was intended to reflect pride in the British Empire. However, our focus here will be on the exhibits of administrative departments.

To showcase the empire’s idea of modernisation and institutionalisation, the administrative departments – such as the military, public works department and railways – displayed documents, machinery and equipment.<sup>29</sup> For instance, in the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, the Department of Revenue and Agriculture displayed maps prepared by the Survey of India Department. The Military department displayed a military medical ambulance, army clothing, war material, food and transport, Indian medals and decorations, and military buildings. For the British public, the display was intended “to give some practical notion of the vast machinery required for the administration of the Indian Empire.”<sup>30</sup> But for the Indian public, the display of the administrative department was meant to impress Indians with the grandeur of the empire, and the progress empire had brought about in India.

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 286.

<sup>28</sup> Guha-Thakurta 2004, p. 44–45.

<sup>29</sup> See for instance, *CIE* 1886, p. 31.

<sup>30</sup> Buck 1886a, p. 4.



The railways department displayed maps showing railway lines and railway stations, and photographs of railway bridges, especially on major rivers such as the Ganges, Gumti, Solani and Hindan. The “largest foreign investment in the nineteenth century for the British Empire,” the railways in India were one of the most important symbols of modernity, proudly represented in official reports, novels, short stories and photographs by British officials, tourists and literary figures. The photographs in the exhibitions were meant to show how the British overpowered a wild and hostile Indian landscape by employing their knowledge and using Indian labour. The British rhetoric was that this development not only led to the emergence of new professions such as the coolie, station master and train diver, but also brought about social mobility and cultural change by “freeing Indians from tradition through increased movement.”<sup>31</sup>

The Irrigation Department displayed models of Sirhind Canal Headworks at Rupar and Madhopur Headworks, Chupki Bridge and Bhowani Regulator on the Sirhind Canal. The British presented these headworks, bridges and canals as symbols of the marvels of modernisation. British military engineer officers, educated at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, and the Royal Engineer Establishment, Chatham, struggled hard to apply their theoretical knowledge in Indian conditions. They had serious problems of “remoteness from an established scientific community, lack of testing and experimental facilities, absence of manufacturers, and a chronic shortage of skilled labour.”<sup>32</sup> They constantly experimented with new materials such as limes, cements and concrete and made hydraulic lime easily producible with the help of a mason.<sup>33</sup> Now the mortar was workable in water. In the same way, magnesia cement, which remained hard and strong in monsoon season, was quickly adopted by British engineers for constructing these bridges and canal headworks, which were displayed in colonial exhibitions. Projection of these irrigation projects through exhibitions, newspapers and other literature, and also through official channels, prompted officials from the USA and Australia to visit these places and follow their models in their respective countries.<sup>34</sup>

The Telegraph Department showcased its administrative reports, maps showing telegraph lines and the Pinotograph of the Central Telegraph Office at Calcutta. In nineteenth-century India, two opinions about the Telegraph

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<sup>31</sup> Aguiar 2011, p. xiv.

<sup>32</sup> Weiler 1996, p. 4.

<sup>33</sup> The results of these experiments were quickly published to facilitate engineers working on other projects. See one of such books by two British engineer officers, Vicat 1837.

<sup>34</sup> Wilson 1891, p. 363–576; Chief Secretary and Minister of the Water Supply of Victoria, Australia, visited India and wrote a book: Deakin 1893.

Department dominated: one was that the telegraph saved the empire by alerting the East India Company's officers about mutineers; the second was that it was not reliable when needed because of fraud, unskilled and unprofessional staff, and an underdeveloped infrastructure in terms of limited lines.<sup>35</sup> By showcasing its administrative reports, maps and Pinotograph, this show was meant to illustrate a significant improvement that the department's officials had brought about in the 1870s and 80s. In the 1870–1871 Administrative Report of the Indian Telegraph Department, the Director began to assert proudly about the improvement he had brought about:

Our signalling staff is in truth the backbone of our Telegraph Establishment. According to the evidence given before Parliament in 1866, the Indian signalling staff was then deplorably ignorant and thoroughly incompetent. The status of education was then decidedly low, but that the lads only needed stimulus and opportunity to profit by instruction is manifested by the discontinuance of complaints, and the universal admission that the signallers work is now done very well. I have now little fault to find with them. I believe that the Government now possesses a thoroughly reliable body of signallers, contented, generally well conducted, and far better educated than is usual with men of their class.<sup>36</sup>

If in 1867, an average telegram took eighteen hours to reach Karachi from Calcutta, the officials reduced this time to one hour in 1872–1873. From the 1870s onwards, the number of messages and users increased and the errors reported were decreased.<sup>37</sup> In 1879 and 1880, the telegraph network in terms of the length of lines and wires increased by 14 and 20 percent, respectively, and the official reports record eight to nine percent annual growth for many years in the 1880s; at the same time, the government decided to combine the postal and telegraph offices, which increased the number of offices two-fold.<sup>38</sup>

Irrespective of the issues of the Telegraph Department, the British officials always took pride in this technology publicly. Colonel Frederic John Goldsmith, chief director of the British government Indo-European Telegraph, who also served as British commissioner for settlement of the Perso-Baluch frontier in 1870–1871, and arbitrator in the Perso-Afghan boundary dispute (1872–1873), uses Shakespeare's lines as an opening to the

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<sup>35</sup> See for instance, *DN* 1858, p. 6, for problems, *TT* 1858, p. 9.

<sup>36</sup> Wenzlhuemer 2013, p. 220–221. British Library, Oriental Collections, IOR/V/24/4284, Administration Report of the Indian Telegraph Department for 1867–68 to 1870–71, 1871, p. 12.

<sup>37</sup> "The number of errors occurring in the transmission of telegrams in the Indian inland system decreased from 4,526 in 1867–1868 to 2,938 two years later, while the total number of messages dispatched grew from 337,022 to 499,946 in the same period. Relatively speaking, this marks a drop in the percentage of errors from 1.342 to 0.587" (*ibid.*, p. 221).

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 222.

introduction to a book on the Indian Telegraph: “I go, I go; look how I go/Swifter than arrow from the Tartar’s bow.” He dedicates one chapter to the life and works of Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick Steward of the Royal Engineers, who, besides establishing various lines in India, was instrumental in planning for an Indo-European sea cable but could not live to see it functioning. Due to his “extraordinary zeal in the public service,” according to Goldsmith who cites an obituary on his death, his name was a “household word in India, and promised to be equally celebrated in Europe.”<sup>39</sup>

### **Exhibition Jurors**

At colonial exhibitions, the British officials appointed “competent critics” to judge “objects of merit” and “point out where [the local craftsman] has erred in ill-understood adaptation or thoughtless imitation.” These jurors, who were British civil and military bureaucrats and their local allies and English ladies, were supposed to award prizes to “purely native and traditional designs” and to give “special attention...to good and harmonious colouring in the old native plan” and to discourage “the use of gaudy and violent colouring.” Among these competent critics, only a few had written on Indian arts and crafts, and most of them were administrators and their allies. Sometimes certificates were given to all participants, as in the case of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition.<sup>40</sup> Administratively, it was difficult for British curators to arrange jurors for the examining of the vast collection in the exhibition. Here, I will discuss a few jurors on the various exhibition committees held in the latter half of nineteenth century to show how proud they were of the European civilisation.

British bureaucrats such as Baden Henry Baden-Powell (1841–1901) and Edward Charles Buck (b. 1838) on the central exhibition committee had pride in and admiration for the European civilisation. Baden-Powell was a son of Baden Powell, an Oxford University mathematician and priest of the Church of England. He completed his education at St Paul’s School. In 1861, he joined the Indian Civil Service. In various capacities, he served in the Punjab.<sup>41</sup> He was instrumental in organising the First Punjab Exhibition in

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<sup>39</sup> Goldsmith 1874, p. 56–58.

<sup>40</sup> Royle 1887, p. 12.

<sup>41</sup> “Appointed to the Bengal Civil Service after examination of 1860; arrived in India, 31 October 1861; Assistant Commissioner, May 1862; officiating Postmaster-General, Punjab and Sind, August 1865; from July 1866 to April 1869 served as Small Cause Court Judge, Lahore, and subsequently in the Indian Forest Department; Additional Commissioner Lahore and Rawalpindi, October 1881; Deputy Commissioner, December 1882; CIE, January 1884; Judge, Chief Court, Punjab, March 1889; retired from service in May 1889, but employed for a time under the Government of India in the Revenue and Agricultural

1864, Mayo School of Arts, Lahore, and then Punjab University in Lahore. He had written on the revenue system of India, economic products of the Punjab, and arts and manufactures of the Punjab.<sup>42</sup>

Baden-Powell felt pride in highly civilised European Fine Arts. For him, art productions of Europe reflected the general and individual working of minds. Europeans have:

the grand aspiring mind that has grasped and rendered in its work the noblest ideal of form; in another we see the loving spirit dwelling in ecstasy on the calm beauties of nature, – the gleaming lights, the soft shades, the clear blue skies and the sunny foliage of the homestead and the winding lane; in another we feel the sanctity of hallowed conception and of the spirit heavenward tending in its flight; in another the sympathies of human suffering and the touch of tenderness that never fails to awake its response in the gazer's heart; – in all, the aim at what is capable of calling forth the best feelings of human nature, be it the deeper affections and emotions of the heart, or the happy spirit and the harmless mirth of its lighter hours.<sup>43</sup>

Writing in 1872, Baden-Powell believed that in India, “we must not expect to find anything that appeals to mind or to deep feeling; delicacy of finish, beauty of colour, wonderful imitation.”<sup>44</sup> Indian art productions represent “a mind and power which had scarcely yet taken the first steps in progress and civilization.”<sup>45</sup> For him, Indian craftsmanship was a mechanical activity, “wholly empirical and lacked theoretical basis” and produced only the cheapest copy of the European arts.<sup>46</sup> With regard to the ceramic arts of the Punjab, he believed, “generally speaking, nothing is made but rude porous earthen vessels of the various forms of water bottles, cups, pans, and *degchis* or *chattis* (cooking pots).”<sup>47</sup> Only European scientific knowledge, close supervision and market could improve the Indian craft practices. For instance, he claimed that crafts such as leather goods and cutlery improved primarily because of the European demands and guidance.<sup>48</sup>

Edward Charles Buck served in the British Indian Civil Service between 1862 and 1896. A keen lover of nature, Buck was instrumental in taking significant steps towards establishing control of the state over Indian crafts.

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Department; MA Oxon (conferred honoris causa), 1894; died, 2 January 1901” (Naik 1963, p. 505; Choonara 2003, p. 13).

<sup>42</sup> *Handbook of Economic Products of Punjab* (Lahore, 1868) and *Handbook of the Manufactures and Arts of the Punjab* (Lahore, 1872).

<sup>43</sup> Baden Powell 1872, p. ii–iii.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. iii.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. ii.

<sup>46</sup> Choonara 2003, p. 137. Memorandum on the Formation of MSA by Baden-Powell, dated 31 May 1872.

<sup>47</sup> Baden-Powell 1872, p. xix.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xv–xvi.

In 1882, he was Secretary to the Government of India in the Revenue and Agricultural Department. He was instrumental in instituting an art journal in the 1880s, which aimed at improving the tastes of Indians and reviving half-forgotten art. He worked closely with John Lockwood Kipling and Thomas Holbein Hendley, Residency Surgeon at Jeypore. He drafted a resolution asking provincial governments to establish museums in each district which would serve as sample rooms for traders. He acted as Exhibition Commissioner of the Indian courts in many international exhibitions, such as the Melbourne Exhibition, the Colonial and Indian Exhibition and the Paris Universal Exhibition (1900). He supervised the compilation of old records of rights in Indian villages and supported the Geological Survey of India.<sup>49</sup>

Buck strongly believed that the Indian arts had declined over time due to “the gradual decline of wealthy patronage” and “the introduction of the cheaper and less artistic class of goods from western countries.”<sup>50</sup> It was thus the responsibility of the colonial state to patronise craft communities and integrate them with the global economy, which could better afford the price of their products. Through a resolution, “Museums and Exhibitions,” Buck asked provincial and district governments to establish sample-rooms for the promotion of the trade and manufacturing of Indian economic and art products.<sup>51</sup>

In the process of integrating Indian crafts into the global economy, Buck believed that a contemporary style of crafts would be unsuitable for the market. In his preface to the first issue of the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Buck writes:

There are both in England and abroad men whose devotion to, and intimate acquaintance with, Oriental Art are not exceeded, sometimes not equalled in India itself. It is to such experts that an appeal is now made to assist the authorities in India, through the medium of this journal, both to direct progress in a right groove and to prevent the decline of Indian Art by pointing out when and how to check degradation. One of the most important matters in connection with the extension of a demand for Indian Art-ware is to decide how far it is legitimate to adapt Oriental workmanship and designs to articles of modern utility in Europe and America. The water-pots and hookah-stands of the East are useless except as chimney ornaments in the houses of the West. The carved steering chair of an Irrawaddy boat cannot be rigged up on the poop of a Thames steamer. The anklets and nose-rings of an Indian

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<sup>49</sup> *JLA* 1916, p. 73.

<sup>50</sup> Buck 1886a, p. 4.

<sup>51</sup> The objects of the sample rooms were: a. “the promotion of trade in the commercial products of India; b. the improvement of ordinary manufactures; c. the improvement of trade in ordinary manufactures; d. the improvement of art manufactures; e. the promotion of trade in art manufactures” (*JLA* 1886, p. 1).

beauty cannot be worn by a lady of fashion in Europe. To what extent then can Eastern designs and workmanship be applied to Western forms?<sup>52</sup>

Many Indian notables were also members of the exhibition committees. Surprisingly, exhibition reports, newspapers and biographies of these Indians do not mention their role in holding these exhibitions. They were either included to give an impression that such events were jointly organised, or they had no interest in such events, or the British officials considered them not good enough for consultation or that they were consulted but not acknowledged in these publications. Whatever the case may be, the presence of Indians on exhibition committees shows a larger consensus among British organisers and the Indian notables on the objects and process of holding these events.

The presence of Indians such as Syed Ahmad Khan and Syed Amir Ali on an exhibition committee and their involvement in colonial affairs of state must have been of pride for the British officials. They were on the central exhibition committee of the Calcutta International Exhibition. Their biographies show similar patterns: they visited Britain and were highly impressed by the western scientific progress, education system and civilisation; they tried to introduce European values in India; they were strong critics of Indian culture and tradition; and they helped the colonial state in one way or another to establish its control over Indians. These individuals were important, in their own sphere of influence, in convincing Indians to accept scientific knowledge and British institutions.

Syed Ahmad Khan was a member of the central exhibition committee of the Calcutta International Exhibition. His ancestors had served in the Mughal court and he was an employee of the East India Company in the 1850s when the 1857 War took place.<sup>53</sup> He saved the lives of many English who were attacked by the mutineers. He was impressed by the European culture. In one of his letters, after visiting Britain, he writes: "All good qualities, spiritual and material, which a human being should possess, have been bestowed by God upon Europeans, and especially upon the English."<sup>54</sup> In a speech given at a dinner of the Smeatonian Society of Civil Engineers,

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<sup>52</sup> Buck 1886b, p. 1.

<sup>53</sup> Graham 1885.

<sup>54</sup> "When I say that they possess spiritual good qualities I refer to the fact that they do everything connected with the religion which they hold true with a beauty and excellence not found anywhere else. This is all a result of the fact that both the men and the women are educated and that the entire nation sets much store by the cultivation of this beauty and excellence. If the people in India at large could also become educated, then, by virtue of her natural advantages, she could become, if not superior to England, at least its equal" (Hussain 1970, p. 68).

he appreciated railways, canals, roads and telegraphs as significant contributions made for the betterment of Indians.

At the same time, through his *risala* (magazine), *Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq*, he tried to introduce to his people [Indian Muslims] all kinds of arts and crafts prevalent among other nations and the principles of trade evolved by them. His objective was to remove his people's poverty and the dishonor resulting from it, so that they could prosper as true Muslims and thus vindicate the Islamic way of life and add to the glory of Islam.<sup>55</sup>

In one of his letters, addressed to the Secretary of the Scientific Society, Aligarh, written from London on 15 October 1869, he writes:

I have also observed the habits and customs and way of living of high and low...I have visited famous and spacious mentions, museums, engineering works, ship-building establishments, gun-foundries, ocean-telegraph companies which connect continents, vessels of war....The result of all this is, that although I do not absolve the English in India of discourtesy, and of looking upon the natives of this country as animals and beneath contempt, I think they do so from not understanding us; and I am afraid I must confess that they were not far wrong in their opinion of us. Without flattering the English, I can truly say that the natives of India, high and low, merchants and petty shopkeepers, educated and illiterate, when contrasted with the English in education, manners and uprightness, are as like them a dirty animal is to an able and handsome man.<sup>56</sup>

The ideas and approach of Syed Ameer Ali (1849–1928), a prominent Indian Muslim modernist politician, jurist and scholar on Islamic history and culture was not different than Syed Ahmad Khan's. He spent considerable time (1869–1873) in London, studying Law.<sup>57</sup> Interestingly, his memoirs, which record minor incidents of his life, do not mention his participation in the Calcutta International Exhibition.<sup>58</sup> Most of Ameer Ali's writings are after the Calcutta International Exhibition, in which he uncritically borrows ideas of

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 98.

<sup>56</sup> Mohammad 1972, p. 225. From London, Syed Ahmad Khan wrote this letter to the Secretary of the Scientific Society, Aligarh.

<sup>57</sup> Sensitive about the rights of Indian Muslims, he established the National Muhamedan Association in 1877 and served as its secretary until 1890. He taught Islamic law at Calcutta University and served as a magistrate and then as a judge of the Bengal High Court. In 1883, he was appointed as a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council. He believed Hindus to be a threat to Muslim culture and civilisation. After retirement in 1904, he went to England and settled there. In the twentieth century, he supported the Khilafat Movement, the movement against the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire. In England, he also established a branch of the All-India Muslim League. Claiming to be a modernist Muslim, Ameer Ali wrote several books, such as *The Spirit of Islam* and *A Short History of the Saracens* (Ali 1889; Ali 2010).

<sup>58</sup> Wasti 1968.

Oriental scholars.<sup>59</sup> While writing on Muslims in Spain in June 1906, he suggests that agriculture, the military, educational institutions, food, dress, architecture, vocabulary and institutions of civil administration all owed their development to Muslims, and that these were then followed in the rest of the Europe.<sup>60</sup>

## Conclusions

The feeling of British pride was reflected in the whole structure of colonial exhibitions in the nineteenth century, from the defining of the objectives and categories of exhibits to the criterion for awards and process of collecting. British curators took pride in their self-assumed and much trumpeted responsibility for improving the lives of Indians. They designed a system of patronage which was supposed to: encourage the production of dying oriental crafts; protect Indian markets from cheap European imports; and integrate Indian craftsmen into the global market by guiding them on the basis of scientific knowledge. British bureaucrats, notable Indians strongly influenced by the colonial modernisation project and who belonged to the government administrative machinery and their Indian allies were included in village, district and provincial committees formed for the collecting of exhibits.

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<sup>59</sup> See Würsch 2009; Ali, Anwar 1892.

<sup>60</sup> “Muslims’ active industry had brought back to life the Peninsula that had lean dead and barren under the indolent pride of the Goths; who had turned Andalusia into a garden, and had held aloft the torch of knowledge when all around lay in darkness; who had spread culture, given impetus to civilization, and established chivalry; who had, in fact created modern Europe” (Ali 1968, p. 102).



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- ActaAC** – Acta Archaeologica Carpathica. Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences. Cracovia.
- ActaMN** – Acta Musei Napocensis. Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei. Cluj-Napoca.
- ActaMP** – Acta Musei Porolissensis. Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Artă Zalău.
- AD** – Archaeological Dialogues. Cambridge.
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- AIIGB** – Anuarul Institutului de Istorie „George Barițiu”. Series Historica. Institutul de Istorie „George Barițiu” Cluj-Napoca.
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- Arkheologiya** – Arkheologiya. Kiev.
- Arrabona** – Arrabona. Xántus János Múzeum. Győr.
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- ASUI** – Analele Științifice ale Universității „Al. I. Cuza” din Iași. Istorie. Iași.
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- BerRGK** – Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Frankfurt am Main.
- BiblThrac** – Biblioteca Thracologica. Institutul Român de Tracologie. București.
- BICS** – Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies. Institute of Classical Studies. The University of London’s School of Advanced Study. London.
- BI-PSA** – Biblioteca Istro-Pontică, Seria Arheologie. Tulcea.
- BMA** – Bibliotheca Musei Apulensis. Muzeul Național al Unirii Alba Iulia.

<b>BMN</b>	– Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis. Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei. Cluj-Napoca.
<b>BMRBC</b>	– Buletinul Muzeului Regional al Basarabiei din Chișinău.
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- HR** – Historical Research. Institute of Historical Research. University of London.
- HT** – The History Teacher. Society for History Education. Long Beach (California).
- IAA** – Istoriko-arkheologicheskij al'manakh. Armavir, Krasnodar. Moscova.
- Ialomița** – Ialomița. Studii și cercetări de arheologie, istorie, etnografie și muzeologie. Muzeul Județean Slobozia.
- IGC** – International Geological Congress. Prague.
- Istros** – Istros. Muzeul Brăilei. Brăila.
- JAHA** – Journal of Ancient History and Archaeology. Institutul de Arheologie și Istoria Artei. Universitatea Tehnică Cluj-Napoca.
- JAMÉ** – A Jóna András Múzeum Évkönyve. Nyíregyháza.
- JAS** – Journal of Archaeological Science. Elsevier.
- J. Biogeogr.** – Journal of Biogeography. Edited by Michael N. Dawson.
- JIA** – The Journal of Indian Art. W. Griggs & Sons. London.
- JKKCC** – Jahrbuch der Kaiserl. Königl. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale. Wien.
- JLSt** – Journal of Lithic Studies. Edinburgh.
- JSFU** – Journal of Siberian Federal University. Humanities & Social Sciences. Siberian Federal University. Krasnoyarsk.
- JWP** – Journal of World Prehistory. Kluwer Academic.
- Kavkazskii sbornik** – Kavkazskii sbornik. MGIMO MID Rossii. Moscova.
- Közlemények** – Közlemények az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem és Régiségtárából. Kolosvár (Cluj).
- Kratkie** – Kratkie soobshcheniya Instituta arkheologii. Institute of Archaeology Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscova.
- LCP** – Law and Contemporary Problems. Duke University School of Law. Durham (North Carolina).
- LȘ** – Lucrări științifice. Institutul de Învățământ Superior Oradea.



Lista abrevierilor

- Marisia** – Marisia. Studii și Materiale. Muzeul Județean Mureș. Târgu Mureș.
- Marmatia** – Marmatia. Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Arheologie Baia Mare.
- Materialy** – Materialy po arkheologii, istorii i etnografii Tavrii. Tavria.
- MCA** – Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice (serie nouă). Academia Română. Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”. București.
- MemEthno** – Memoria Ethnologica. Centrul Județean Pentru Conservarea și Promovarea Culturii Tradiționale Liviu Borlan Maramureș. Baia Mare.
- Mittheilungen** – Mittheilungen der K.K. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale. Wien.
- MJSS** – Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences. Rome.
- MLJ** – Mississippi Law Journal. The University of Mississippi School of Law. Oxford (Mississippi).
- MLR** – Michigan Law Review. University of Michigan Law School. Ann Arbor (Michigan).
- MN** – Munții Noștrii. București.
- MT** – Mediaevalia Transilvanica. Muzeul Județean Satu Mare.
- MTA** – Multimedia Tools and Applications. Springer.
- MuzNaț** – Muzeul Național de Istorie a României. București.
- NAV** – Nizhnevolzhskij arkheologicheskij vestnik [The Lower Volga Archaeological Bulletin]. Volgograd State University.
- Nemvs** – Nemvs. Alba Iulia.
- NLO** – Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie. Moscova.
- NPNP** – Novoe proshloe / The New Past. Southern Federal University. Rostov-on-Don.
- NULR** – Northwestern University Law Review. Northwestern University Pritzker School of Law. Chicago (Illinois).
- NumKözl** – Numizmatikai Közlöny. Budapesta.
- OC** – Orientalia Christiana. Roma.
- ONV** – Omskiy nauchnyy vestnik. Omsk.
- OSR** – Obshchestvo. Sreda. Razvitie (Terra Humana). Tsentr nauchno-informatsionnykh tekhnologii Asterion. Sankt-Petersburg.
- ÖZBH** – Österreichische Zeitschrift für Berg- und Hüttenwesen. Wien.
- PA** – Patrimonium Apulense. Direcția Județeană pentru Cultură, Culte și Patrimoniul Cultural Național Alba. Alba Iulia.
- Palynology** – Palynology. The Palynological Society.
- PL** – Ural State Pedagogical University. Ekaterinburg.

<b>Pontica</b>	– Pontica. Muzeul de Istorie Națională și Arheologie. Constanța.
<b>PR</b>	– The Polish Review. Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America. New York.
<b>Probleme economice</b>	– Probleme economice. Organ al Comitetului Superior Economic. București.
<b>PZ</b>	– Prähistorische Zeitschrift. Deutsche Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, Institut für Prähistorische Archäologie. Berlin.
<b>QR</b>	– Quaestio Rossica. Ural Federal University. Ekaterinburg.
<b>Quat.Int</b>	– Quaternary International. The Journal of International Union for Quaternary Research. Elsevier.
<b>RA</b>	– Revista Arhivelor. Arhivele Naționale ale României. București.
<b>RB</b>	– Revista Bistriței. Complexul Muzeal Județean Bistrița-Năsăud. Bistrița.
<b>Realitatea ilustrată</b>	– Realitatea ilustrată (sau Lucrurile așa cum le vedem cu ochii). Cluj (1927-1928), ulterior București.
<b>RECEO</b>	– Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest. Institut des Sciences Humaines et Sociales. Paris.
<b>REF</b>	– Revista de etnografie și folclor. București.
<b>RESEE</b>	– Revue des Etudes Sud-Est Européennes. Academia Română. București.
<b>RevArh</b>	– Revista Arheologică. Centrul de Arheologie al Institutului Patrimoniului Cultural al Academiei de Științe a Moldovei. Chișinău.
<b>Revue du Nord</b>	– Revue du Nord. Archéologie. Revue d'Histoire et d'Archéologie des Universités du Nord de la France. Lille.
<b>RHSEE/RESEE</b>	– Revue historique du sud-est européen. Academia Română. București, Paris (din 1963 Revue des études sud-est européennes).
<b>RI</b>	– Revista de Istorie (din 1990 Revista istorică). Academia Română. București.
<b>RJMD</b>	– Romanian Journal of Mineral Deposits. București.
<b>RM</b>	– Revista Muzeelor. București.
<b>RMI</b>	– Revista Monumentelor Istorice. Institutul Național al Patrimoniului. București.
<b>RN</b>	– Revue Numismatique. Société française de numismatique.
<b>RossArk</b>	– Rossijskaya Arkheologiya. Institute of Archaeology, Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscova.
<b>Rossiya i ATR</b>	– Rossiya i ATR. Institut istorii, arkheologii i etnologii narodov Dal'nego Vostoka vo Vladivostoke.

- RR** – Dal'nevostochnoye otdeleniye Rossiyskoy akademii nauk. Vladivostok.  
**RREI** – The Russian Review. University of Kansas. Lawrence.  
**RRH** – Revue Roumaine d'Études Internationales. Academia Română. București.  
**RRHA** – Revue Roumaine d'Histoire. Academia Română. București.  
**Rusin** – Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art. Série Beaux-Arts. Academia Română. București.  
**SA** – Obshchestvennoy assotsiatsiyey „Rus” (Kishinev). Tomskiy gosudarstvennyy universitet. Tomsk.  
**SAI** – Sovetskaya Arkheologiya. Moscova.  
**SAO** – Studii și articole de istorie. Societatea de Științe Istorice și Filologice din România. București.  
**Sargetia** – Studia et Acta Orientalia. Societatea de Științe Istorice și Filologice din RPR. București.  
**SCIATMC** – Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis. Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane. Deva.  
**SCIV(A)** – Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei. Teatru, Muzică, Cinematografie. Institutul de Istoria Artei „G. Oprescu”. București.  
**SCN** – Studii și cercetări de istoria veche (din 1974, Studii și cercetări de istorie veche și arheologie). București.  
**SCȘMI** – Studii și cercetări de numismatică. Institutul de Arheologie București.  
**SGEM** – Sesiunea de Comunicări Științifice ale Muzeelor de Istorie. București.  
**SlovArch** – SGEM. International Multidisciplinary Scientific GeoConference. Conference Proceedings. Sofia, Albena.  
**SMANS** – Slovenská Archeológia. Archeologický ústav SAV. Nitra.  
**SMIM** – Southampton Monographs in Archaeology, new series. Southampton.  
**SN** – Studii și materiale de istorie medie. Institutul de Istorie „Nicolae Iorga” al Academiei Române. București.  
**SoveEtno** – Schäßburger Nachrichten. HOG Informationsblatt für Schäßburger in aller Welt. Heilbronn.  
**SP** – Sovetslaya Etnografiya (1931-1991) (vezi și Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie). N. N. Miklukho-Maklai Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscova.  
**SP** – Studii de Preistorie. Asociația Română de Arheologie. București.

<b>StComCaransebeș</b>	– Studii și Comunicări de Istorie și Etnografie (continuă cu Tibiscum. Studii și Comunicări de Etnografie - Istorie), Caransebeș.
<b>StComSibiu</b>	– Studii și Comunicări. Arheologie-Istorie. Muzeul Brukenthal. Sibiu.
<b>StComSM</b>	– Studii și comunicări. Muzeul Județean Satu Mare.
<b>STP</b>	– Slavery: Theory and Practice. Cherkas Global University Press. Washington.
<b>Stratum plus</b>	– Stratum plus. Archaeology and Cultural Anthropology. Chișinău.
<b>Studii</b>	– Studii. Revistă de istorie (din 1974 Revista de istorie și din 1990 Revista istorică). Academia Română. București.
<b>Studime Historike</b>	– Studime Historike. Universiteti Shtetëror i Tiranës. Instituti i Historisë dhe i Gjuhësisë. Tiranë.
<b>SUBBB</b>	– Studia Universitatis „Babeș-Bolyai”, Series Biologia. Universitatea „Babeș-Bolyai” Cluj-Napoca.
<b>SUBBG</b>	– Studia Universitatis „Babeș-Bolyai”, Series Geologia. Universitatea „Babeș-Bolyai” Cluj-Napoca.
<b>SUCSH</b>	– Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis. Series Historica. Universitatea „Lucian Blaga” Sibiu.
<b>SV</b>	– Sotsiologiya vlasti. Rossiyskaya akademiya narodnogo khozyaystva i gosudarstvennoy sluzhby pri Prezidente Rossiyskoy Federatsii. Moscova.
<b>Terra Sebus</b>	– Terra Sebus. Acta Musei Sabesiensis. Muzeul Municipal „Ioan Raica” Sebeș.
<b>TESG</b>	– Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie. Royal Dutch Geographical Society. Utrecht.
<b>The Celator</b>	– The Celator: Journal of Ancient and Medieval Coinage. Lancaster (Pennsylvania).
<b>Thraco-Dacica</b>	– Thraco-Dacica. Institutul Român de Tracologie. București.
<b>Tibiscum</b>	– Tibiscum. Studii și Comunicări de Etnografie și Istorie. Muzeul Regimentului Grăniceresc din Caransebeș.
<b>TLR</b>	– Tulsa Law Review. The University of Tulsa College of Law. Tulsa (Oklahoma).
<b>TxLR</b>	– Texas Law Review. University of Texas at Austin School of Law. Austin (Texas).
<b>Transilvania</b>	– Transilvania. Centrul Cultural Interetnic Transilvania. Sibiu.
<b>TV</b>	– Tyuremnyy vestnik. Izdanie Glavnogo tyuremnogo upravleniya. Sankt-Petersburg.
<b>Tyragetia International</b>	– Tyragetia International, serie nouă. Muzeul Național de Arheologie și Istorie a Moldovei. Chișinău.
<b>Țara Bârsei</b>	– Țara Bârsei. Muzeul „Casa Mureșenilor” Brașov.

Lista abrevierilor

- UCLR** – The University of Chicago Law Review. The Law School of the University of Chicago. (Illinois).
- UCLALR** – UCLA Law Review. UCLA School of Law and the Regents of the University of California. Los Angeles (California).
- UPA** – Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorischen Archäologie. Berlin.
- VDB-MB** – Veröffentlichungen aus dem Deutschen Bergbau-Museum Bochum. Bochum.
- Vestnik instituta** – Vestnik instituta: prestuplenie, nakazanie, ispravlenie. Vologodskii institut prava i ekonomiki Federal'noi sluzhby ispolneniya nakazanii. Vologda.
- Vestnik SPb** – Vestnik Sankt-Peterburgskogo gosudarstvennogo instituta kul'tury. Sankt-Peterburgskiy gosudarstvennyy institut kul'tury. Sankt-Petersburg.
- Vestnik Tomskogo** – Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Istoriya. Tomskiy gosudarstvennyy universitet. Tomsk.
- VHA** – Vegetation History and Archaeobotany. The Journal of Quaternary Plant Ecology, Palaeoclimate and Ancient Agriculture. Official Organ of the International Work Group for Palaeoethnobotany.
- VKZ** – Vserossiiskii kriminologicheskii zhurnal/Russian Journal of Criminology. Federal State Budgetary Educational Institution of Higher Education Baikal State University. Irkutsk.
- VLR** – Vermont Law Review. Vermont Law School. South Royalton (Vermont).
- WASJ** – World Applied Sciences Journal, (Education, Law, Economics, Language and Communication). International Digital Organization for Scientific Information. Pakistan.
- WLJ** – Washburn Law Journal. Washburn University School of Law. Topeka (Kansas).
- WLR** – Washington Law Review. University of Washington School of Law. Seattle (Washington).
- WMLR** – William & Mary Law Review. William & Mary Law School. Williamsburg (Virginia).
- WNELRW** – Western New England Law Review. Western New England University. School of Law Springfield (Massachusetts).
- WSNC** – World of the Slavs of the North Caucasus. Krasnodarskii gosudarstvennyi universitet. Krasnodar.
- YLJ** – The Yale Law Journal. Yale Law School. Danvers (Massachusetts).
- Ziridava** – Ziridava. Studia Archaeologica. Muzeul Județean Arad.

**ZMY**

– Zhurnal ministerstva yustitsii. Tipografiya pravitel'stvuyushchego senata. Sankt-Petersburg.

**Zographe**

– Zographe. Revue d'art Médiévale. Institute d'histoire de l'art. Faculté de Philosophie. Belgrad.