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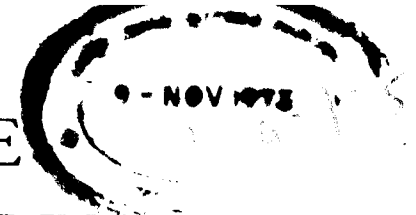
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EDITORIAL

Yet Another Government Baby :

Recently a Centre for Social Sciences Research has been started in Calcutta as an off-spring of the Indian Council of Social Sciences Research, New Delhi. Why Calcutta has been given this proud distinction is not exactly known, nor is it known whether the ICSSR intends to have similar branches in other parts of the country as well. The more, the merrier. Yet we cannot help observing that while Calcutta has already a number of historical societies and societies for the study of social sciences, Calcutta has been chosen as the first branch of the ICSSR outside New Delhi, ignoring the claims of several other important centres like Bombay, Madras, Bangalore, Allahabad, Lucknow and Chandigarh. There must be some special reasons for the special distinction conferred on Calcutta, reasons which are not known to us nor to the tax-payers in the country whose money is going to support this newly born and expensive baby.

From its very inception the ICSSR had scrupulously left out history from its field of interest. It is an illogical and irrational standpoint, to which we had drawn the pointed attention of historians in our editorial columns some time ago. There were demands made

by historians and historical associations in the country to include history within the scope of operation of the ICSSR. But for reasons best known to the Government which had set up the ICSSR and to the first members of the ICSSR, the claims of history to be included had been turned down every time. Things, however, have changed, and from the composition of the Centre for Social Sciences Research started in Calcutta and the scope of its activities, it is quite clear that history has not only been admitted to the club but has been given a position of special distinction. One may pertinently ask, why on earth then should there be a separate body like the Indian Council of Historical Research while history has been admitted as an honoured member of the ICSSR club. Those who do not know the inside story are likely to suspect that the separate existence of the ICHR, while the ICSSR also admits history, is due to the fact that a historian is now in charge of the Ministry of Education and hence history is entitled to a special treatment and to a larger share of the tax-payers' money than any other subject. Perhaps, there may be other reasons but the Government has not made them known to the public or even to Parliament.

The newly started Centre for Social Sciences

Research in Calcutta has again a very ambitious programme and intends to operate on a large scale. It has the usual paraphernalia of Professors, Readers and Research Fellows as in a normal University, so that it may be almost termed as a Social Sciences University. We have been told that the U.G.C. does not favour the starting of new Universities in the country, as we have already too many of these centres of higher studies. There is a persistent charge against the Government's educational policy that it specially favours and pampers the small group of people eligible for University education, while it turns a cold shoulder to the needs of the larger number who are denied facilities for high school or even primary education. There are already seven Universities in West Bengal, and if the Centre for Social Sciences Research in Calcutta is intended to cater to the needs of the whole of Eastern India, the number of Universities in the region will be nearly twenty. Each of these Universities has its full complement of teachers and research students in its departments relating to Social Sciences. What then was the necessity of having another special Centre operating on the level of a regular University? People who do not know may suspect that this was one way of creating higher centres of learning by dodging the U.G.C. restrictions on the starting of new Universities. There is again scope for suspicion that the new centre was set up not so much for promotion of educational facilities to the people as to distribute patronage among the friends of the Court.

That history has been given a specially honoured position in the ICSSR is evident from the facts that the Centre in Calcutta has been started in the house of the famous historian Sir Jadunath Sarkar and that a historian has been appointed as the first Director; besides, among the immediate activities taken up by the Centre historical studies have a pre-dominant role. As students of history we are naturally happy at the special distinction given to our subject, but as tax-payers we are entitled to ask the question—why then have the ICHR

as a body separate from the ICSSR? We know that we will not get any answer, but that is no reason why we should not ask the question.

We wish the new-born baby well. We hope it will grow into manhood, and by its positive contributions to studies in social sciences during the next five years, it will justify its existence and the spending of public money. But our experience of Government-sponsored and Government-controlled academic institutions makes us somewhat sceptical. We are afraid that like many other Government institutions and projects the new-born centre will again be a colossal wastage of public money with little benefit to the nation at large. We are still hoping that the Government will some day realise its mistaken and wasteful policy, and instead of creating Government babies in quick succession it will come forward to extend a helping hand to smaller non-official academic bodies in the country which are functioning more successfully and at a much lesser cost to the nation. "Two or three children and not more" is the slogan of the Government-sponsored family planning drive in the country. Let us hope that the Government itself will follow the slogan and not create more unnecessary Government babies.

Annual Conference :

The Eleventh Annual Conference of the Institute of Historical Studies will be held at Kolhapur (Maharashtra) from 17th to 20th October 1973 under the auspices of the Shivaji University, Kolhapur. Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar, a former Vice-Chancellor of the Poona University, will preside.

The principal theme for this year's Conference is *Historical Biography in Indian Literature*. About 24 selected papers will be presented and discussed, covering Ancient, Medieval and Modern periods and also each of the modern Indian languages. Following our general practice in laying down a broad outline for the papers on the general theme for the sake of uniformity of treatment as far as possible,

the following general pattern has been set for the guidance of the Contributors of papers :

- (i) The concept of historical biography as distinguished from ordinary or personal biography.
- (ii) The extent and importance of historical biography in the whole range of literature in any particular Indian language.
- (iii) A critical review of some of the significant works in the category of historical biography in any language.
- (iv) The extent of the bias or prejudice of the writer.
- (v) A critical assessment of historical accuracy in the works on historical biography.
- (vi) How far have such biographies influenced the historical ideas of contemporary and later generations.

Each paper should be of 15 to 20 pages in length and should be sent in duplicate by 30th September. It is gratifying to note that we have received the consent of most of the scholars whom we had invited to contribute papers on Historical Biography in different Indian languages. The writers have been selected from different Universities.

The second theme of the Conference is *Sources of the History of Maharashtra* (Ancient, Medieval and Modern Periods). About 12 papers will be presented on this theme covering all aspects of the source material for the history of Maharashtra, including archival depositories at New Delhi, Bombay, Goa and other places. The writers have been carefully chosen and are recognised authorities in their respective spheres. It is hoped that when all the papers are published in a single volume, it will be considered as a positive contribution to the

subject and will encourage further researches on Maratha history.

As in earlier years, this year too we are expecting about 200 members and delegates representing all the States and most of the Universities in India. Our Annual Conference is steadily gaining in popularity on account of the high standard of the papers presented and of the level of discussions on each paper. We, however, try to keep the number of participants limited to not more than 200, since no fruitful discussions on papers can be held if the number becomes too large as at several other all-India Conferences of this type.

Arrangements for accommodation and meals at the Shivaji University will be made by the Local Secretary, Professor S. D. Kapse, Head of the Department of History, Shivaji University, Kolhapur, Maharashtra. He will in due course send a circular to all members and delegates giving details of the arrangements made in the delegates' camp. In the meanwhile, if any information is required in this connection, members and delegates are requested to write direct to the Local Secretary.

The first three days of the Conference will be taken up for academic work. The fourth day will be set apart for excursions to places of historical interest in and around Kolhapur.

The railway authorities grant 'single-fare-return-journey' concession to members of the Institute attending the Conference whose monthly income does not exceed Rs. 1,800. Membership Certificate will be issued from the Institute's office from the second week of September on payment of Membership fee for 1973-74. Railway concession will be available on production of the Membership Certificate.

Kolhapur is a very old centre of great historical importance in Maharashtra. It is well connected with trains from the North as well as from the South. The University has a beautiful campus and the climate in October is most pleasant. Kolhapur is a charming hill station

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and it is hoped that the delegates will enjoy their stay during the Conference.

The first circular about the Conference had been sent to all the members of the Institute and also to all Universities, Colleges and other institutions. The detailed programme will be given later. Those who are willing to attend the Conference should intimate the Institute's office in Calcutta by the third week of September at the latest. Their names will then be sent up to the Local Secretary. Since accommodation arrangement can be made for a limited number of people only, it is better if the intimation is sent as early as possible.

We do hope that this year's Conference will be as well attended and academically fruitful as in previous years.

Presentation Ceremony :

On the 2nd September 1973 a pleasant Presentation Ceremony was held at the Institute of Historical Studies, where the first copy of our latest publication, *Historians and Historiography in Modern India*, was presented by the Director to the doyen of Indian historians, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, with a request to kindly accept the Volume and to declare it released to the public. Speaking on the occasion, the

Director drew the attention of the historians present to the ideas and ideals of the historian's craft as expressed by eminent historians in different ages and given on the last cover page of the Volume. He regretted that in recent years these ideas and ideals are fast losing ground and the Government is trying to introduce regimentation in historical writings through Government-sponsored historical institutions and projects. He strongly asserted : "Minister or no Minister, Governmental favour or displeasure, a historian has allegiance only to his own profession which aims at seeking the truth, bitter or sweet, whatever it may be." He advised the young historians to take lessons from the writings of the past master-craftsmen as given in the Volume *Historians and Historiography in Modern India*, and try to continue the glorious tradition which had been set by the early pioneers in Indian historiography since the middle of the 19th century. Dr. Majumdar, in replying, also deplored the recent trends in historiography and particularly the interference of the Government to favour a particular type of historical writing which suits the interests and ideas of the men in power and in total disregard of the ideals of the historians' profession. He also urged the young historians to resist Government attempts at regimentation and to uphold the age-old motto that a historian will seek only the truth.

THE DIWAN-I-KHAS OF FATEHPUR SIKRI: A SYMBOL OF AKBAR'S BELIEF IN SURYA-PURUSA

DR. R. NATH

(Agra College, Agra)

It is a lamentable drawback of the medieval histories that their compilers paid greater attention to the Royal functions and ceremonies, marches and hunts, battles and conquests and eulogical descriptions of their patrons than to their architectural works. Badaoni gives a general sketch of the buildings of Fatehpur Sikri in so few words, "The Emperor built a lofty palace on the top of the hill of Sikri near the monastery and ancient chapel of the Sheikh. And he laid the foundation of a new mosque and of a high and spacious mosque of stone so large that you would say it was a part of a mountain and the like of which can scarce be seen in the habitable world. In the space of about five years the building was finished and he called the place Fatehpur and he built a bazaar and baths and a gate, etc. And the Amirs, one and all, built themselves towers and keeps and lofty palaces."¹ Neither Abul Fazl nor Nizamuddin helps us to build a history of the architectural style or the influences which brought it about. It has naturally resulted in widespread misconceptions about, and at times, gross misrepresentation of, these monuments. As for example, the so-called Palace of Jodhbai could not have been built for Jodhbai or Jodhabai who was married to Salim and later gave birth to Khurram (Shah Jehan). It was Akbar's harem and, most probably, housed his Hindu consorts. Certain interesting misnomers have come up which have absolutely no bearing on the building concerned. The so-called Birbal's Palace could not have been built by Birbal ;

nor could he have been allowed to reside so contiguous to Akbar's female apartments. Fictitious functions have been assigned and scores of buildings are known by names which have been arbitrarily attached to them by the people or by the over-zealous and over-confident guides and faithfully recorded by the gazetteer—and guide-book writers and the 19th century archaeologists. This is how a considerable part of the history of Mughal architecture has been framed up.

For the purpose of writing a history of Mughal architecture, two basic factors, besides several others, have to be taken into consideration, viz., the spirit of the style and the personality of the builder. Fatehpur Sikri has a unique architectural style which is marked by a predominant use of such trabeate features as pillar, bracket, chhajja and chhatri. Animate motifs have been freely depicted. Such symbols and icons as lotus, chakra, srivatsa, svastika and kalasa have also been used abundantly, along with typically Islamic geometric and arabesque designs. Curiously, some Tantric symbols have also been employed meaningfully.

Then we meet in these monuments a person who has a mysterious, almost an elusive, personality. He gives emphasis on Namaz in his inscriptions of the Jami Masjid which is his earliest building at Fatehpur Sikri. His last inscription, dated 1601 A.D., however, makes no mention of Hazrat Muhammad and,

instead, alludes to Jesus Christ and records the philosophical dicta like the one that the world is a bridge, so pass over it and do not build a house!² The mural paintings of Fatehpur Sikri depict, in a number of cases, unintelligible subjects as winged fairies seated near cave-mouths, mass of amputated limbs, snakes and the like. What was intended to be conveyed by these pictures has yet to be affirmatively established.

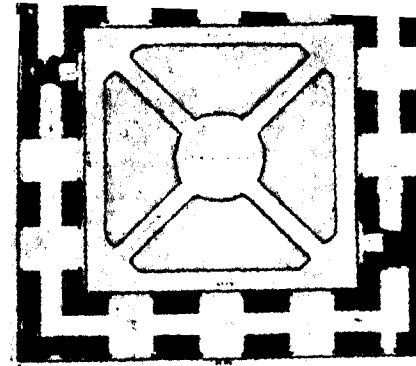
The Diwan-i-Khas is probably the most important, and yet the most unfortunately designated, building of Fatehpur Sikri. What was the *raison d'être* of this monument and its central column, has to be correctly evaluated, more with reference to the personality of Akbar than to the style which does not throw much light as to the purpose of its construction. Was it purely functional as it is described to be, or was there an inner meaning in between the structure and its builder—is an important point of study.

(a) *Architecture of the so-called Diwan-i-Khas :*

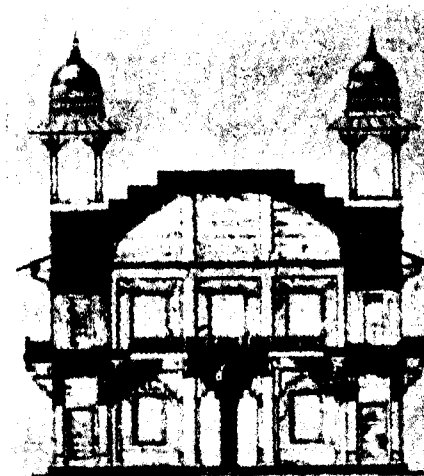
The so-called Diwan-i-Khas of Fatehpur Sikri (See Plan-A, its Section and Plate-1) is a square building of red sandstone, measuring 43'-3" (13.18 metres) side externally.³ The four facades are double-storeyed having inner and outer balconies. Each facade has a single entrance in its centre, supported on bracket-and-beam system. The broad imposing balcony above the ground floor which rotates round all the four sides is supported on extremely graceful brackets and has a jali balustrade. They have been beautifully moulded and bear the unmistakable Gujarat stamp. The upper storey externally shows three beamed openings on each side, protected by an extremely projecting chhajja, which almost provides an umbrella to the lower construction. Four beautiful and extremely imposing chhatris surmount the building, one on each of its corners. Each chhatri is square in form having four slender pillars, which support

bracket-capitals, a chhajja and then a beautiful cupola which rests on beams and is crowned by a finial composed of lotus-petals and a kalasa. The chhatri is about one-third of the total height of the building and plays an important part in the total aesthetic effect. These chhatris harmonize the proportions and give the building a graceful soaring effect. A dome which would have been slightly higher than the chhatris and would have provided a suitable apex in the centre, as the chhatris do at the angles, is conspicuously absent in the super-structure.

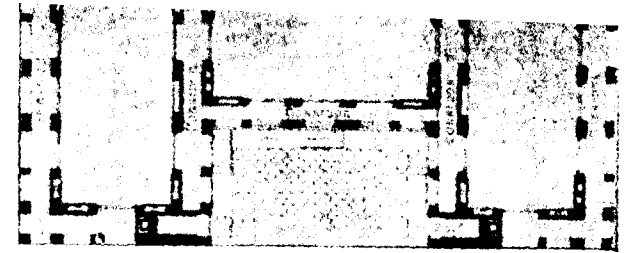
It is, however, the internal arrangement of this building which is unique in importance and meaning. The interior is composed of a single square hall measuring 28'-8" (8.74 metres) side, occupying the whole height of the building. From its exact centre rises a huge column of finest red stone (Plate-2). It is square at the base and octagonal on the shaft. Near the capital it becomes 16-sided, and then round, from where branch out 36 beautiful three-tiered brackets which may appropriately be called Gujarati struts (Plates-3 and 4). They support a circular platform above. From the platform radiate four narrow bridges diagonally towards the angles where they meet with the inner balcony which also runs round all the four sides. The circular platform, the bridges and the balcony all have jali balustrades. The interior balcony like its exterior counterpart measures 2'-4" (0.71 metre) in width. Each angle of the hall has quarter-circular platform supported on nine similar struts. On it rests the other end of the bridge and on it also meet the inner balconies. The ceiling is wagon-vaulted with a ribs-and-panel system, and is essentially similar to that in the southern hall of the Jehangiri-Mahal of Agra Fort and also in the halls of the Man-Mandir of Gwalior. The apex of the ceiling is occupied by a beautiful, profusely carved and moulded pendent, which was a new feature in Mughal buildings and must have necessarily been introduced by the temple builders of Gujarat where it was most



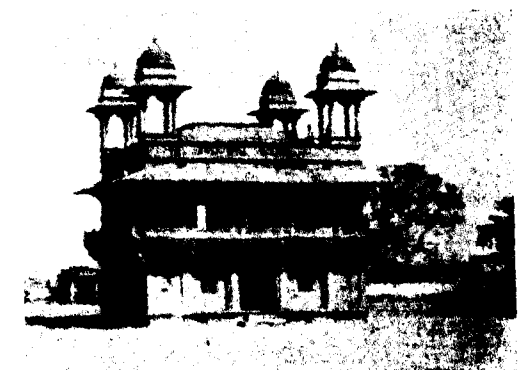
Plan-A Diwan-i-Khas



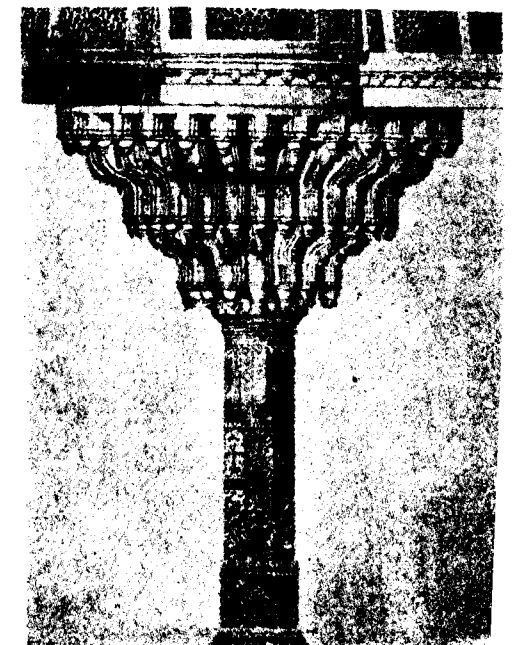
Section of the Diwan-i-Khas
(Fatehpur Sikri)



Plan-B Ankh-Michoni



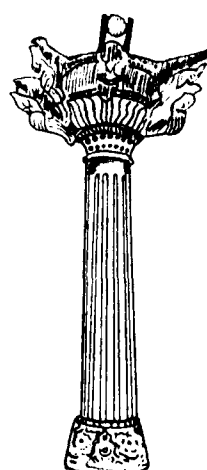
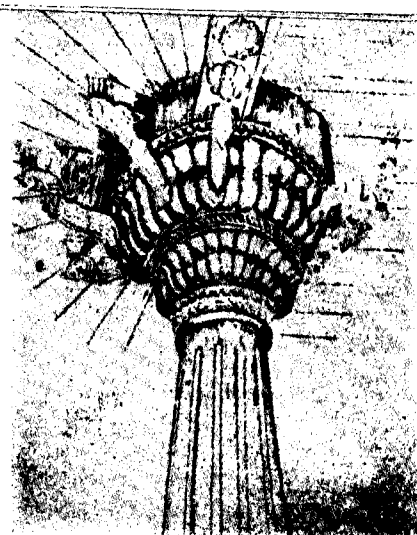
1. Diwan-i-Khas



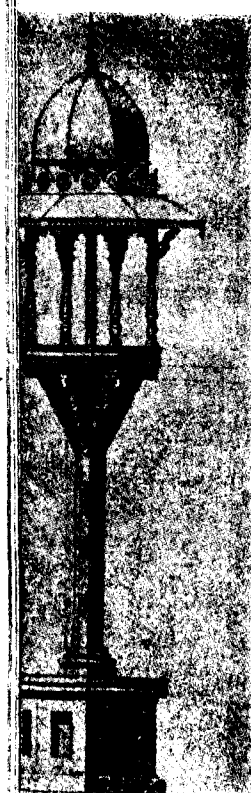
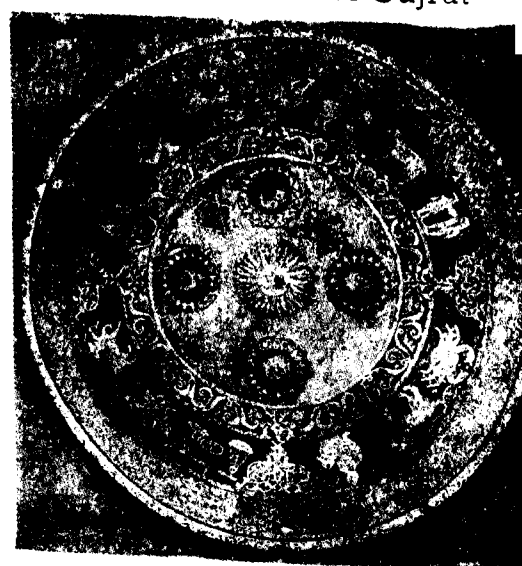
3. Central Column of
Diwan-i-Khas



Capital of Central Column



5-6. Typical Central Pillars of Gujrat

8. Inscribed
Shield of
AkbarParabadi of
Ahmedabad9. Miniature Painting
Showing Akbar

10. Miniature Painting from Muraqqa

commonly used, first in wooden structures and then in marble.

(b) *Diwan-i-Khas : A Misnomer—*

This building has nowhere been mentioned in the histories of Sheikh Abul Fazl, Mulla Badaoni and Khwaja Nizamuddin, or in the accounts of the foreign travellers. How this small but beautiful building came to be identified as the Diwan-i-Khas is not known. People's general assumption that every building was functional probably lent support to the story that it was used as a Diwan-i-Khas, wherein Akbar used to sit on the central upper platform and the four bridges were occupied by his ministers. This does not make any sense and is an entirely improbable hypothesis. The upper platform and the diagonal bridges are extremely narrow and they, along with the side balconies, could never have accommodated the Emperor and his ministers and their vast retinue consisting of such staff as body-guards and mace-bearers ; bakshis and other administrative officers ; munshis and other clerks ; ewer and ink-pot bearers and other personal attendants who necessarily accompanied them to the Court. The place can hardly accommodate 20 persons who would sit with gross inconvenience and in an undignified manner. With inevitable carpets, thick cushions and pillows, the occupants would sit under constant apprehension of falling down over the small balustrade. The extremely dignified sense of the Emperor would not accept the idea of rotating in all directions as would be required by the person on the central platform, while those occupying the bridges would sit static. The practicability of the idea is woefully nil and it seems to be an absurd substitute to fill in a sad vacuum—an absurd answer to a superfluous question : what was the functional usage of this grand structure ?⁴

Groping in dark some scholars conveniently assumed, in utter uncertainty, without reason or rhyme, that if not as a Hall of Private Audience, the place could have been used as

Ibadat-Khana. Such an analytical and correct scholar as Percy Brown too believed the hearsay ; he observed, "Its interior arrangements are unique and it is here that one seems to be in closer touch with the somewhat elusive personality of Akbar, the Great, the creator of this vast array of buildings, as it is clear he devised the interior of this hall to suit his own individual motives and attitudes... the idea underlying such a curious structural contrivance was that the Emperor would sit enthroned on the central platform while listening to arguments from representatives of the different religious communities gathered there, the whole arrangement signifying what has been termed his 'Dominion over the Four Quarters'."⁵

But it could not have been possibly used as Ibadat-Khana either.⁶ The description of the Ibadat-Khana as it has come down to us through the Persian sources, that it was divided into four quarters assigned to each category, has led to this misunderstanding. The four apparent divisions of the so-called Diwan-i-Khas, marked by the diagonal bridges, do not represent the four quarters of Nizamuddin Badaoni and Abul Fazal. Nizamuddin's description is explicit in this respect ; "In obedience to the Imperial commands, skilful architects planned a building containing four halls (aiwan)... The Emperor used to go there on Friday nights and on holy nights and pass the night until the rising of the sun in the society of distinguished men. It was arranged that the western hall should be occupied by Saiyids, the south by the learned (Ulama) and the wise, the northern by Shaikhs and men of ecstasy (Arbab-i-hal) all without confusion or intermixture. The nobles and officers of the court, whose tastes were in unison with those of men of greatness and excellence were to sit in the eastern hall. His Majesty graced each of the four halls with his presence and enriched those present with his gifts and bounty."⁷ Al-Badaoni corroborates Nizamuddin's account.⁸ He confirms that His Majesty would go from time to time to these

various parties and converse with them. In addition, he describes an incident of which he was an eye-witness and a participant : "All at once one night the vein of the neck of the ulama of the age swelled up and a horrid noise and confusion ensued. His Majesty got very angry at their rude behaviour and said to me, 'In future report any of the Ulama who talk nonsense and cannot behave themselves and I shall make him leave the hall.' I said gently to Asafkhan, 'If I carried out this order most of the Ulama would have to leave' when His Majesty suddenly asked what I had said. On hearing my answer he was highly pleased and mentioned my remark to those sitting near him." 9

The following conclusions may be decided from this description of eye-witnesses :—

- (i) The Ibadat-khana had, or it could be divided into, four halls. The narrow, small diagonal bridges of the so-called Diwan-i-Khas cannot be identified as aiwans, by any stretch of imagination
- (ii) Whole nights were spent in the Ibadat-khana. This could not have been possible on the narrow bridges and galleries, which allow no convenience of sitting, movement or rest.
- (iii) So many categories of persons were invited to the Ibadat-khana (and were seated 'without confusion or intermixture') that the number would have fairly exceeded one hundred. This number cannot be accommodated on the narrow bridges and galleries—which altogether provide a sitting space for hardly 20 persons.
- (iv) Akbar graced each hall separately with his presence. This indicates that the four halls occupied great space and there was sufficient distance between them which allowed such separation that the Emperor could be

present in one hall at a time ! The Diwan-i-Khas is too small a building to provide this separation.

Thus the so-called Diwan-i-Khas could not have possibly been used as the Ibadat-khana. As a matter of fact, the pavilion now known as the Madrasa situated in the same quadruple to the north-east of the Char-Chamand tank and east of the Panch-Mahal, is more connected with the idea of an Ibadat-Khana than any other monument that has survived at Fatehpur Sikri. The vast pillared hall of its ground floor, could have been in its original arrangement easily converted into the four quarters assigned to each category according to Nizam-uddin, Badaoni and Abul Fazl.

(c) *So-called 'Ankh-Michoni' : The Real Diwan-i-Khas—*

The 'Ankh-Michoni' building situated to the west of the present Diwan-i-Khas provides an interesting study in this connection. It is composed of three oblong rooms of equal size disposed on an E-plan, the side ones flanking the central hall, projecting at right angles to it, with an open court in front of it (Plan-B). Each room measures 23'-2" by 16'-9" (7.06 by 5.11 metres) and has extremely broad openings measuring 4'-10" (1.47 metres) between the jambs. Such broad doorways, which render the rooms extremely airy, are rarely met with in other administrative and residential buildings at Fatehpur Sikri. The walls are 1½' (0.46 metre) thick. Each room has a corridor of about 3' (0.94 metre) in width on all its four sides, thus providing a connecting link between the whole set. There are deep recesses and secret coffered sunken in the wall.

All the three halls have high ceilings. While the ceiling of the central one is flat, divided into compartments each one supported by slanting struts of makara-shape like the ceiling of the northern hall of the Jehangiri-Mahal of Agra Fort, the ceiling of each of the side halls is wagon-vaulted with ribs-and-

panels system. The entire construction is in red sandstone. Unlike the profuse decoration of the so-called Mariam's Palace or the Birbal's Palace, it has little ornament. The pilasters have simply moulded bases, carved capitals and brackets. There is not much design and the scheme is comparatively plain and simple. The chhajja over the front openings of the central hall is 5'-7" (1.70 metres) wide. It is extremely projecting and provides a beautiful horizontal rhythm to the emphatic vertical lines of the broad doorways.

This building is popularly known as 'Ankh-Michoni' or the place to play 'Hide-and-Seek'. It is beyond any comprehension how such a grand edifice was raised only to make provision for a childish play. The nomenclature is arbitrary and gets no support from any source. There is no jurisdiction either. As it seems, the over-zealous local guides obviously misled by the interconnecting corridors and broad openings named it as such and it was in this way that the building was brought on record.¹⁰ Nor was it a residential quarter. Its high ceilings, extraordinarily broad openings and interconnecting corridors, indicate that it was an assembly hall and an administrative apartment and most probably it is this building which was used as the Diwan-i-Khas. Akbar would have his throne in the central hall and his ministers with their staff would be seated in the side ones which would thus accommodate his Daftar, more efficiently than the so-called Daftar-Khana situated on the south side of the Khwabgah quarters. We have a separate Diwan-i-Am in the neighbourhood and this place would, thus, be restricted to private audience and for conducting important confidential business. It has apparently been planned and disposed to serve the purpose of a sophisticated office. In any way, this building is more akin to the idea of Diwan-i-Khas than the one situated just opposite to it which at present bears this name illogically.

(d) *The Central Column and its Architectural Derivation :*

The central column of the present Diwan-i-Khas with its circular platform and radiating bridges is a unique feature which is not met with in any other Muslim monument in the world.¹¹ It appears to be an original idea if viewed singly and without reference to the influences which were exerted on the architecture of Fatehpur Sikri through various sources.¹² But, as a matter of fact, it was not a new feature for the builders of India who worked on ancient architectural traditions. We hear of the tree-houses—i.e., houses supported on trees on one stem—at an early date ; ekatthunaka and ekatthambaka pasada of the Jatakas were similar constructions as shall be discussed in detail hereinafter and Professor Kramrisch unmistakably recognized this similarity and observed "Connected with them is also the Diwan-i-Khas with its central pillar in Fatehpur Sikri."¹³

It is noteworthy in this reference to review that ancient architecture of India derived basic inspiration from the wooden constructional techniques as is apparent from the barrel-vaulted chaitya-halls and kirttimukha and gavaksa windows of the rock-cut caves at Bhaja, Karle and Ajanta. These wooden techniques survived in Gujarat and it is from these that the stone-worker of the later age borrowed many of his constructional and decorative features.¹⁴ Other wooden elements which were later translated into stone were the torana, railings, corbelled-ceilings, oriel-windows and wood-carving.¹⁵ R. K. Trivedi's study of wood-carving, though made in a different context, leaves no doubt as to the close connection between wooden and stone constructions : "Wood and stone, though possessing quite different qualities have in Gujarat been found to possess unique kinship in the expression of the carver's art. While wood-carving because of its antiquity has furnished the initial motifs and art concepts copied in stone, the latter material because of its capacity to produce finer forms carried the sculptor's art to perfection."¹⁶ Santi Nath Derasar in Haja Patel's Pole at Kalupur,

Ahmedabad, dating 1389 A.D.¹⁷ and Vadi Parasnath at Patan, dating 1594¹⁸ are the most prominent examples of wood-work which contain the direct prototypes of stone features.

Arch received the greatest attention of the builders in Mesopotamia where geological, climatic, social, historical and traditional factors led them to resort to this mode of construction. In India on the other hand the construction was trabeate (horizontal), based on the beam-and-post system. The pillar and bracket were thus the most important elements, and from the earliest times artisans devoted themselves to the perfection of these members of their architectural style. Pillar and beam supported the load and had to be made strong and durable. The ingenuity of the Indian workmen, however, made the pillar and the bracket two of the most beautiful parts of the Indian construction. Thus in Gujarat they devised the bracketed capitals and struts or the serpentine brackets. They have been used most aesthetically, e.g., in the Sun Temple at Modhera, at Rudramal Sidhpur and in the Jaina Temples of Abu, between the 8th and the 11th century. The use of a central pillar supporting the ceiling with the help of these brackets was also a common mode of construction in Gujarat and the examples have survived in Civil architecture (Plates-5 and 6). This has more emphatically come down to us in the form of 'parabadi' or Bird-roost, the specimens of which are met with at Mehsana, Ahmedabad,¹⁹ Cambay,²⁰ Baroda²¹ and other important towns of Gujarat. They all have a central pillar supporting a circular platform, exactly like the central column of the Diwan-i-Khas, with the help of 8, 16, 24, 32 or 36 beautiful brackets. The platform may be an open terrace or may take the form of a chhatri as in the case of the 'Parabadi' of Baroda and Ahmedabad (Plate-7). The Hindus and Jains of Gujarat lay much stress on the preservation of animal life and the institutions of 'panjara-pol' or animal-asylum and 'parabadi' or bird-roost are considered to be 'works of great religious merit.'²²

The central column of the so-called Diwan-i-Khas of Fatehpur Sikri with its affiliate-members is identical with the central pillar of Gujarat and more specifically with its 'parabadi' or bird-roost and, as it seems certain, the idea of its construction was brought here by the Gujarat workmen who were employed by Akbar and who were fully conversant with it. It is from Gujarat that this unique column derived its architectural inspiration. The basic difference between the two, i.e., between the central column of the Diwan-i-Khas and parabadi of Gujarat is that of the meaning and the symbolism with which the former is associated and of which the latter is devoid. While the Gujarat columns and parabadis are exclusively functional and have no symbolic implication, the central column of the Diwan-i-Khas is neither functional nor an embodiment of Akbar's whim as it may be supposed conveniently.²³ Without doubt, it is a symbol—a representation of an idea which formed a vital chord of Akbar's philosophy of life. His was a many-facets' personality which baffles an estimate at a stretch. It would be as enlightening as interesting to unweave threads of the fabric which made his character and the whole spectrum of his religious beliefs.

(e) *Akbar's Belief in Sun-Worship:*

Akbar began his political career in his own ingenious way. He was soon convinced of the futility of the theocratic conception of State and opened an era of liberal measures. He abolished Jaziya and all other vexatious and humiliating taxes and set up a programme of cultural rapprochement between his warring subjects. His Mahzar of 1579 curtailed the power of the Ulema to interfere in the State matters authoritatively. Proceedings of the Ibadat-Khana (1579-82) gave further set-back to the fanatics and assured his non-believing people that the Emperor was not only inquisitive in the right earnest but was also friendly to their religion and was kindly disposed to their cultural susceptibilities. Akbar went a step further and recited Khutbah, composed

for the occasion by Faizi, in his own name²⁴ and this way tore asunder all shams of Mulla-formalism. He promulgated the Din-i-Ilahi in 1582 which was not a monument of his folly, as V. A. Smith playfully remarked, but an experiment to provide a common platform to the religious factions to meet and compromise; it was not a religion pure and simple but a moral code of conduct, more aimed to regulate the behaviour of the loyal subjects than to lead them to moksha. Its failure would not be an aspersion on its wisdom and its 'casus belli'.

Akbar kept his options open. He invited the Christian missionaries, the Jaina Munis, the Parsees and pundits of almost all religions to converse on religious and philosophical subjects and to ascertain for himself the fundamentals of human life and the position the Emperor would occupy in the hierarchy. We hear through various contemporary sources that he believed in the efficacy of Sun-worship and personally venerated the Sun more than any other Hindu deity introduced to him.²⁵ The accounts of Abul Fazl on the one hand and Badaoni on the other explicitly make out the fact that Akbar held the Sun in high esteem and adopted many solar measures in reverence to this fountain of light symbolising it as a source of his power and authority. While enumerating the various theories of the genesis of the Cosmogony,²⁶ Abul Fazl reproduced the theory which was recounted in the *Surya-Siddhanta*.²⁷ The sage Maya, confounded by his own ignorance, requested the Sun to enlighten him. The latter sent a man towards the close of the Satya-Yug and Maya questioned him on many points and received their replies. These questions and answers are compiled in the *Surya-Siddhanta* according to which the Sun is a divine manifestation, the origin of creation and the direct source of the phenomenal world. "The Almighty Creator of the world formed a hollow sphere of gold composed of two parts which he rendered luminous with somewhat of His own glory and it was called the Sun. The Sun produced the signs of Zodiac and from

the same source sprung the four Vedas, and afterwards the moon, the ethereal fluid, air, fire, water and earth, in this order. From the ether he produced Jupiter; from the air, Saturn; from fire, Mars; from water, Venus; and from the earth Mercury. Through the ten portals of the human frame-work²⁸ he brought various matter into being."²⁹

Abul Fazl was not only the court historian of Akbar, he was also his personal friend, and, closely attached with the Emperor and his private life as he was, he had faithfully, and not without a sense of admiration, recorded the Emperor's views in his works. He notes that Akbar showed the greatest respect to the Sun and worshipped it. In the 'Sayings of His Majesty', Abul Fazl records: "A special grace proceeds from the Sun in favour of kings. and for this reason, they pray and consider it a worship of the Almighty; but the short-sighted are hereby scandalized. How can the common people, possessed only with the desire of gain, look with respect upon sordid men of wealth. From ignorance these fail in reverence to this fountain of light, and reproach him who prays to it. If their understanding were not at fault how could they forget the Surah beginning 'By the Sun', etc."³⁰

The same *Ain* shows that for Akbar to light a candle was to commemorate the rising of the Sun and his maxim was that "to whomsoever the Sun sets, what other remedy hath he but this?"³¹ He seems to have begun to prostrate himself in public before the Sun from the 25th year of his reign (A.D. 1580). Possibly, he learnt worship of the Sun from his private friend Birbal who exercised great influence on him and was himself an adherent of the cult of the Sun.

Some Jaina sources throw valuable light on Akbar's inclination towards Sun-worship. Akbar paid the Jaina munis great regard and invited some of them to Agra. The list consists of three Jaina gurus, the most prominent being Hiravijaya Suri on whom Akbar conferred

red the title of Jagad-guru (Preceptor of the World). "The Adisvara temple on the holy hill of Satrunjaya near Palitana in Kathiawar has a long Sanskrit inscription written on its walls which combines the praise of this Jaina monk with that of Akbar and may well be referred to for knowing what the Great Mughal did under the noble influence of the Jaina saints."³² Akbar seems to have learnt the Surya-Sahasranama from Bhanuchandra whom Hiravijaya Suri had left at Agra behind him. "The following colophon of the commentary on the Kadambari would show that Akbar read the Suryasahasranama with Bhanuchandra"³³ :

“इति श्री पादशाह श्री अकबर जलालदीन
सूर्यसंज्ञनामाध्यापक श्री शंभुजय तीर्थकर
मोचनान्यनेक सुकृतविधायक महोपाध्याय श्री
भानुचन्द्र गणितचक्रवर्त्यस्तोत्र शतावधानसाधन
प्रसूदेन पादशाह श्री अकबर प्रदत्तसु सुह मापराभिधान
महोपाध्याय श्री सिद्धिचन्द्रगणि विरचितया ३४
कादम्बरी टीकायामुत्तरखण्ड टीका समाप्ता ॥” ३५

"The fact is that Akbar read the Sahasranama or the 1000 names to worship the Sun-God. One would be curious to know the Sahasranama that Akbar the Great learnt. From a collection of ancient manuscripts, Muni Vicak-sanavijaya at Bangalore last year showed me some leaves which give this eulogy or the Sahasranama in question. He also showed me a diagram (See facsimile published herewith) which bears these one thousand names of the Sun written in circles. The diagram which I reproduce below was, I believe, worshipped by Akbar. I draw this inference from the following words written at the end of the Surya-Sahasranama :

अमुं श्री सूर्यसंज्ञनाम स्तोत्रं प्रत्यहं प्रणमन्
पृथ्वीपति कोटिरकोटि संवहिन पदक्रमल
त्रिखण्डधिनति दिक्षोपति पानिसाहि श्री अकबर
साहि जला (ल+) दीनः । प्रत्यहं शृणोति सोपि
प्रतापवान् भवतु ॥

Both the stotra, I mean the Sahasranama, and the diagram are with the said Muni. The collection which contains both of them has got some interesting works, Sanskrit as well as Prakrit, and is worth being acquired. The belief is that some of the manuscripts preserved in it belonged to the Jaina monks whom Akbar and Jahangir had patronised."³⁶ This recitation of the thousand names of the Sun indicates that Akbar was a firm believer in the efficacy of this cult.

An important evidence of Akbar's belief in Sun-worship is provided by his own, a beautifully damascened, shield.³⁷ It depicts 12 signs of the Zodiac (Rasis) with the name of each rasi inscribed over it in Persian characters. In the exact centre is the Sun with unmistakable eyes and nose, and long moustache and tilak (Hindu mark on forehead) (Plate-8). It bears an inscription in a Satkona, viz., 'Buland Iqbal Shahenshah Akbar Sanh 10 2' (=1002 A.H. = A.D. 1594). This personal shield of Akbar unmistakably shows that the Emperor firmly believed in Astronomy, hence the 12 signs of the Zodiac, and in the efficacy of the Sun, hence its depiction as the central theme of the shield. Shield is one of the most important personal arms which helps to protect the person in a struggle of life-and-death and the use of the Sun motif on its central point represents Akbar's strong belief in the Sun almost as if the Sun was his personal deity (Ista-Devata).

There could be no better confirmation of Akbar's belief in Sun-worship than in the bitter reproaches of Mulla Badaoni who recorded, "Some time before this"³⁸ a Brahman, named Purukhotam, who had written a commentary on the book Khirad-afza, had had private interviews with him, and he had asked him to invent particular Sanskrit names for all things in existence. And at one time a Brahman, named Debi, who was one of the interpreters of the Mahabharata, was pulled up the wall of the castle sitting on a charpai till he arrived near a balcony, which the Emperor

had made his bed-chamber. Whilst thus suspended he instructed His Majesty in the secrets and legends of Hinduism, in the manner of worshipping idols, the fire, the sun and the stars, and of revering the chief gods of these unbelievers, such as Brahma, Mahadev, Bishn Kishn, Ram and Mahama (whose existence as sons of the human race is a supposition, but whose non-existence is a certainty, though in their idle belief they look on some of them as gods and some as angels). His Majesty, on hearing further how much the people of the country prized their institutions, began to look upon them with affection . . . the accursed Birbar³⁹ tried to persuade the Emperor, that since the Sun gives light to all, and ripens all grain, fruits and products of the earth, and supports the life of mankind, therefore that luminary should be the object of worship and veneration ; that the face should be turned towards the rising and not towards the setting sun, which is the west ; that man should venerate fire, water, stones, and trees, and all natural objects, even down to cows and their dung ; that he should adopt the sectarian mark, and Brahmanical thread. Several wise men at the court confirmed what he said, by representing that the Sun was 'the greater light' of the world, and the benefactor of its inhabitants, the patron of kings and that kings are but his vicegerents. This was the cause of the worship paid to the sun on the Nou-roz-i-Jalali, and of his being induced to adopt that festival for the celebration of his accession to the throne. Every day he used to put on clothes of that particular colour which accords with that of the regent-planet of the day.⁴⁰ He began also, at midnight and early dawn, to mutter the spells, which Hindus taught him, for the purpose of subduing the Sun to his wishes. . . . Fire-worshippers also came from Navsari in Gujarat, proclaimed the religion of Zardusht as the true one, and declared reverence to fire to be superior to every other kind of worship. They also attracted the Emperor's regard, and taught him the peculiar terms, the ordinances, the rites and ceremonies of the Kaianians. At last he ordered that the sacred

fire should be made over to the charge of Abul Fazl and that after the manner of the Kings of Persia, in whose temples blazed perpetual fires, he should take care it was never extinguished night or day, for that it is one of the signs of God, and one light from His lights. . . . From early youth, in compliment to his wives, the daughters of Rajahs of Hind, he had within the female apartments continued to offer the *hom*, which is a ceremony derived from Sun-worship but on the New Year of the 25th year after his accession he prostrated himself both before the Sun, and before the fire in public, and the evening the whole court had to rise up respectfully when the lamps and candles were lighted . . . on the festival of the eighth day after the Sun's entering Virgo in this year he came forth to the public audience-chamber with his forehead marked like a Hindu, and he had jewelled strings tied on his wrists by Brahmans by way of blessing. . . ."⁴¹

The veracity of Badaoni's statement need not be doubted. We know for certain that Akbar's Diwan-i-Am at Fatehpur Sikri correctly faces the East and it is towards the direction of the rising Sun, instead of the West, the direction of Mecca, that the Emperor's face is turned. His Jharokha faces East. The Panch-Mahal at Fatehpur Sikri also faces East (as the staircases have been provided on the backside) and so is the orientation of the so-called Jodhbai's palace, whose temple thus opens towards the direction of the rising sun. This particular architectural disposition of Akbar's administrative buildings corroborate Badaoni and testify that Akbar sought to derive inspiration of justice, righteousness and strength from the Sun.

(f) *Symbolism of the Ekstambha (Unitary Pillar) and the Diwan-i-Khas Column :*

Abul Fazl quoted from the *Surya-Siddhanta* of Varahamihira and noted in *Ain-i-Akbari* that the Sun is the origin of the creation and the direct source of the phenomenal world. The philosophy goes as far back as to the

Vedic texts. Rigveda (I.110.3-5) refers to the primordial act of creation by which a 'place' is prepared, or as the expression *vi mamuh* (वि ममुः) from *vi ma* (वि मा) denotes, measured out or laid out.⁴² "The root with its prefix occurs notably in the word 'vimana' which often coincides with *ratha* (chariot) as the designation of what is at once the 'palace' and the 'vehicle' of the gods (i.e., the revolving universe) and which occurs in Rigveda—chiefly in connection with the creative determination of 'space' (*antariksa*, *rajas*) for example in V.41.3 where *Somapusana* (सोमापुषणा) described as the Poles of the Universe, are besought to 'urge your chariot hitherward, the seven-wheeled chariot that measures out the region' (*rajaso vimanam ratham*) that is to say, are asked to bring into being an inhabitable space. In countless texts we find *vi ma* employed in this way with respect to the delimitation of space, the laying out of 'abodes of cosmic order' (*rtasya dhama* ऋतस्य धाम) and the determination of the 'measure of the sacrifice' (*yajnasya matram* यज्ञस्य मात्रम्) which is again an aspect of the act of creation. In V.81.3 it is the Sun himself that 'measures out the chthonic regions' (*parthivani vi mane . . . rajamsi deva* सविता पार्थिवानि वि ममे . . . रजसि देव सवित) i.e., the 'grounds of the seven worlds ; or otherwise expressed, it is Varuna who 'employing the Sun as his rule, measures out the earth' (*maneneva . . . vi . . . mame prthivim Suryena* मानेनेव . . . वि . ममे पृथ्वीं सूर्येण RV. V.85.5.)."⁴³

Thus it enjoins that it is through the Sun that the Purusa moves about amongst dimensioned things ; it is by means of the Sun that He "surveys, experiences, and 'feeds upon' the worlds of contingent being under the Sun, which are in the power of Death, and properly His food ; by means of the Sun that these worlds are in the first place 'measured out' or 'created'."⁴⁴

According to the usual formula, the Sun is described as seven-rayed, "of which seven, six

represent the arms of the three-dimensional cross of spiritual Light (*trivrd vajra* त्रिवृण वज्र) by which the Universe is at once created and supported. Of the six rays those which correspond to the Zenith and Nadir coincide with our Axis of the Universe (*skambha*, *divo dharuna* स्कम्भ, दिवो धरण) Islamic Qutub and Gnostic *stauros*⁴⁵ while those which correspond to North and South, East and West, determine the 'extension of any horizontal plane or world' (*loka*, precisely as the locus of a specific ensemble of possibilities) for example, that of each of the seven worlds considered as a given plane of being. . . ."⁴⁶

The Universe itself can be understood only with reference to this axis. "The creation is continually described as a 'pillaring-apart' (*Viskambhana* विश्कम्भन्) of Heaven and Earth ; and that 'Pillar' (*skambha* स्कम्भ = *stauros*) by which this is done is itself the exemplar of the Universe. 'It is pillared-apart by this Pillar that Heaven and Earth stand fast ; the Pillar is all this enspirited (*atmanvat* आत्मवत्) world, whatever breathes or winks' (AV. X.8.2.) ; 'Therein the future and the past and all the worlds are stayed (AV. X.7.22.).'⁴⁷ Reference in this connection may be made of the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena which states that this King erected (a post) a temple of Pradyumna, "which was the 'Mount' (*Meru*) whereupon the Sun at midday rests the Tree whose branches are the quarters of space (*dik-sakha-mula-kandam* दिक् - शाखा - मूल - कन्दम्) and only sustaining pillar of the house of the Three worlds (*alamba-stambham ekam tribhuvana-bhavanasya* आलम्ब-स्तम्भम् एकम् त्रिभुवन-भवनस्य)."⁴⁸ These quarters of space are the four directions.

The Vedic tradition survived intact in one way or the other through all thick and thins. "If we consider such an architectural treatise as the *Manasara*, we find in the first place clear evidence of a direct dependence upon Vedic sources, for example, in the statement that the master-architect (*sthapati* स्थापति)

and also his three companions or assistants, the surveyor (*sutra-grahin* सूत्र-ग्राहणे), the builder and painter (*vardhaki* वर्द्धक) and carpenter (*taksaka* तक्षक) are required by way of professional qualification to be acquainted both with the Vedas and with their accessory sciences."⁴⁹ Indian art is thus basically a sacred architecture and its various offshoots derive direct or indirect inspiration from the ancient mythologies and philosophies which are traditionally represented through various symbols and icons. Every structural form cannot be considered from an archaeological and technical point of view, i.e., as fulfilling a function ; it may be logical or rather cognitive, i.e., as expressing a meaning. Metaphysical tradition or 'philosophia perennis' is the heritage of all mankind, more particularly of the Indians whose art has almost always an inner meaning.⁵⁰

We meet with the axis-pillar also symbolised in the 'Yupa' in the Vedic age. This was generally constructed of wood in the Mahajana-pada period, hence its later nomenclature 'sthuna'. When used as a sacrificial post in a *yajna* also it typified the Axis Mundi, the Cosmos being the *Yajna* ; it was identified with Brahman itself against a cosmic background.⁵¹ Later it was associated with the funeral or burial mound and was therefore called *chaitya-yupa*, of the kind we come across at *Lauria Nandangarh*.⁵² The free-standing Mauryan monolithic column marks another stage of development of the same idea. It bore a *dharma-chakra* and was therefore called *dharma-stambha* or *dhvaja-stambha*.⁵³ It was as much ceremonial as the pillar in the shrine of the Moon God at *Ur* (B.C. 3000) or the obelisks of the ancient Egyptian temples or in *Solomon's temple* at *Jerusalem* or in the *Achaemenid palaces* of ancient *Persia* with an emblem of the Sun-God to which the King of kings might look up.⁵⁴ The idea was later transferred to the religious shrine and was adopted in Buddhist, Brahmanical and Jaina temples alike.⁵⁵ In Brahmanical shrines it was surmounted by the 'vahana' of the god whose

image was installed in the temple which it faced. The *Besnagar garuda-dhvaja* in front of the temple of *Vasudeva* provides one of the most illustrative examples. The Jains adopted the symbolism and used such votive columns in front of their shrines. They called it 'manavaka-stambha' or more popularly 'manas-stambha'. Their pillars were originally surmounted by the *dharma-chakra* symbol as it is shown on the *ayagapata* of *Siha Vanika* in the *Mathura Museum*. Later they had images on top and at the base and became necessary feature of the Jaina temple. The most important characteristic of this detached column throughout the course of its development was that its erection was not guided by any structural necessity or by any functional usage but by symbolism pure and simple. It was essentially the representation of an idea.⁵⁶

Inspired by the ancient symbolism of *Surya-Purusa* of the Hindus, in close communion with their pundits and the philosophers as he was, and armed with the artisans of *Gujarat* who could translate this symbolism into actual form, *Akbar*, as it seems, decided to give it an architectural expression in his own ingenious way. Of course, we know for certain that he had the same symbolism portrayed in a miniature painting⁵⁷ which depicts *Akbar* as a young man sitting on a throne in a *chenar-tree* represented like an *ekstambha* (See Plate-9).⁵⁸ Another contemporary miniature painting preserved in *Jehangir's Muraqqa-i-Gulshan* now in *Berlin State Library* shows a similar *Chenar-tree* and a throne over it though it is occupied in this instance by *Humayun* (Plate-10). This also depicts the same symbolism and conveys the same idea. A close study of these contemporary paintings leaves no doubt as to the inherent affinity in, and a distinct continuity of tradition from, the 'ekathunaka' of the Rig-vedic and Buddhist periods, the *dharma-stambha* and *dhvaja-stambha* of the later ages, the 'parabadi' of *Gujarat*, the 'tree-throne' of the *Mughal miniatures* and the symbolic throne-platform of the so-called *Diwan-i-Khas* of *Fatehpur Sikri*.

The central column of Akbar's Diwan-i-Khas symbolised the axis of the cosmic order, i.e. ekstambha, represented in four quarters of space by four bridges, which supported the Surya-Purusa in His movement amongst dimensioned things. It is a representation of the Mount Meru in the exact sense of dik-sakha-Mula-kandan (दिक्-शाखा-मूल-कन्दम्). Akbar firmly believed in the efficacy of Sun-worship and paid his high tribute to the Sun-god by symbolising the doctrine that the Sun is the origin of creation and the source of the phenomenal world. Abul Fazl did not exaggerate when he noted that "a special grace proceeds from the Sun in favour of Kings, and for this reason, they pray and consider it a worship of the Almighty", nor did Badaoni tell a lie when he recorded with a sense of dismay that "the accursed Birbar tried to per-

suade the Emperor that since the Sun gives light to all, and ripens all grain, fruits and products of the earth, and supports the life of mankind, therefore that luminary should be the object of worship and veneration." Worship he did as they faithfully record, but, more than that, he perpetuated in stone an ancient idea and this way revived a tradition which three centuries of the pre-Mughal period had almost broken. The *raison d'être* of this building is not that it was used as the Diwan-i-Khas of Akbar; it only symbolised his belief in the ekstambha doctrine of the Surya-Purusa, i.e., the axis pillar of the cosmic order which is measured out by the Surya-Purusa पार्थिवानि विममे रजांसि देव सविता, this axis sustaining the three worlds in all the quarters of space, in accordance with the dictum आलम्ब्य स्तम्भम् एकम् त्रिभुवनं-मयनस्य ।

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1. Cf. Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh, Vol. II (tr. W. H. Lowe), Calcutta, 1924, p. 112.
2. For details, see author's paper 'The Personality of Akbar as Revealed in his Inscriptions at Fatehpur Sikri and Agra', *Indo-Iranica*, Calcutta, Silver Jubilee Number.
3. See author's paper, 'Genesis of the Diwan-i-Khas at Fatehpur Sikri', *Indica* of the Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, Bombay, Vol. V, No. 1 (March, 1968).
4. Sober scholars have questioned the legitimacy and the practicability of this nomenclature. J. B. Page refused to accept it (Cf. *Splendours of the East*, p. 144). E. W. Smith alluded to the popular story: "Tradition asserts that Akbar's throne occupied the circular space over the capital and that the corners were assigned to four of his ministers, who approached the Emperor with their respective portfolios along the passages above the beams, the sides of which are enclosed by open screen-work" (Cf. *The Moghul Architecture of Fatehpur Sikri*, Part I, A.S.I. New Imperial Series Vol. XVIII, Allahabad, 1894, p. 22). But he was hesitant to accept this legendary version and preferred to identify it with the Ibadat-Khana which has not so far been traced (*Ibid.*, p. 23). He thus fell in line with H. G. Keene who maintained: "It is possible that

the disputants were ranged on the four galleries and the Emperor took his place in the middle as an arbitrator or moderator of the controversies" (Cf. *Handbook to Agra*, p. 71). H. R. Nevill seems to have imitated Keene (*Agra—A Gazetteer*, Allahabad, 1905, p. 255), "It is possible that the building represents the Ibadat-Khana completed in 1575". It is interesting, though unfortunate, to note that in a latest publication of the A.S.I. on the subject, entitled '*Fatehpur Sikri*' (New Delhi, 1972), Dr. S. A. A. Rizvi designated this building as 'The Jewel-House'. He has, however, entirely failed to solve the problem and has only added to the confusion. Though he admitted that "The building is one of the most talked of and photographed works of art in India; yet its purpose has not been certainly established" (p. 34); he suggests an imaginative theory regarding its function that "it was possibly a storehouse for the imperial hoards of gems and jewels" and that "It is probably quite true that the Emperor often sat, suspended in air as it were, upon the great capital; not to transact public business or to consult his ministers but to inspect his jewels." There is no historical evidence in support of these suggestions which are merely conjectural. It appears that in his search for new discoveries

in the History of the monuments of Fatehpur Sikri, Dr. Rizvi has been actuated by the spirit of stories of the Arabian Nights. We cannot, as a matter of course, afford to write a history on fanciful suggestions and pure conjectures. There must be some concrete evidence on which even a suggestion could be securely based.

5. Cf. *Indian Architecture* (Islamic Period), 4th ed., p. 96.
6. J. B. Page (Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 144f) aptly rejected this theory: "Akbar is said to have conducted religious disputations from his seat on the central column but the building cannot be identified as some have suggested with Akbar's Ibadat-Khana 'House of Worship'."
7. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. II (tr. B. De), Calcutta, 1936, p. 391; Abul Fazl (*Akbar-Nama*, Vol. III, H. Beveridge, pp. 157-59) gives a similar account of the Ibadat-khana.
8. *Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh*, *op. cit.*, p. 204f. He explicitly mentions that the Ibadat-khana had a set of buildings which were completed in 983 (A.D. 1575-76) Cf. *ibid.*, p. 203.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 205.
10. E. W. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
11. *Ibid.* (Preface): "Diwan-i-Khas or Private Audience chamber is generally thought to be the most singular of all the buildings;" Brown (*op. cit.*, p. 96): "Of the administrative buildings in the city of Fatehpur Sikri undoubtedly the most distinctive is the Diwan-i-Khas...conceived in an unusual manner;" S. K. Saraswati (*Glimpses of Mughal Architecture*, p. 31): "unusual manner of the treatment of this hall is paralleled by no other building in any part of the world."
12. e.g., Saraswati (*op. cit.*, p. 31) observed, "a novel and original conception;" even such a scholar as Percy Brown was led away by its transparent ingenuity and classified it as 'a most original conception' (Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 96).
13. *The Hindu Temple*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1946), p. 117 fn. 64 (as quoted from A. K. Coomaraswamy's 'Early Indian Architecture' in *Eastern Art*, Vol. III, Plate-CII, fig. 36 and 1-C).
14. A. K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat* (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1956), p. 370: "Wood-carving was a prominent feature of Gujarat art up to a late age and the stone-cutters attempted to reproduce in stone the intricately carved wooden pillars, brackets and other interior decorations which were usually found in a temple made of wood. The pillars and brackets of the Modhera temple or the world famous ceilings of the

Abu Temples seem to have their origin in wooden prototypes;" J. Burgess, *The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat* (A.S.I. New Imperial Series, Vol. XXXII, London, 1903), p. 49: "All the carvings, designs, and figures in this wood-work are precisely the same as are found in stone. With the Hindu workman whatever was practicable in stone seems to have been regarded as equally so in wood and vice-versa..."

15. S. K. Saraswati, *The Age of Imperial Unity* (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1953), pp. 485-89.
16. R. K. Trivedi, 'Wood-Carving of Gujarat', in *Census of India 1961*, Vol. V, Part VII-A (2) (Delhi, 1965), pp. 9, 39.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 45f.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 46; Burges, *op. cit.*, p. 49, Plates IV, XX and XXI.
19. Cf. J. Burgess, *The Muhammedan Architecture of Ahmedabad*, Part II, fig. 9 (A.S.I. New Imperial Series, Vol. XXXIII, London, 1905): Trivedi, *op. cit.*, Plate LXXXIII.
20. *Ibid.*, Plate LXXXIII.
21. *Ibid.*, Plate LXXXI.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
23. E. G. Brown (*op. cit.*, p. 94) had the same idea in mind when he commented about the buildings of Fatehpur Sikri that they are 'a silent record of a despot's whim'.
24. It reads as follows:
"Khudawand ke mara khusrau-i-dad
Dil-i-Dana o bazu-i-qawi dad
Ba 'adla o dad mara rehnammun kard
Bajuz 'adl az khiyal-i-ma barun kard
Bud wasfash zi hadd-i-faham bartar
Ta 'ala shanunu Allahu-Akbar."
25. e.g., Abul Fazl noted, "The Hindus have more than a thousand names for the Sun. His Majesty knows by heart the whole of these and uses them in his prayers, but the name Suraj is the one in common use among all classes," Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. III (tr. H. S. Jarrett), Calcutta, 1894, p. 15.
26. Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. III, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-12, Said to have been written by the famous Hindu astronomer Varahamihira of the 6th century A.D. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 11 f.2 (Bentley, *Asiatic Review*, VIII-196).
28. Ten holes of the body which Abul Fazl counts as follows: two eyes, two ears, nose, mouth, navel, anterior and posterior foramina and crown of head. Akbar added two more, of the breasts also.
29. Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, III, p. 12.
30. *Ibid.*, III, p. 388. This is Sura XCI of the Quran containing 15 verses.

31. *Ibid.*, III, p. 393.
32. Hirananda Sastri, Akbar as a Sun-worshipper, *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. IX (Calcutta, 1933), p. 137.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 138.
34. Siddhichandra who was a disciple of Bhanuchandra, was the joint author of this commentary. He was also a teacher of Akbar.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 138; Sastri notes, "This colophon is practically identical with that of the Lekhlikhana-paddati, a manuscript copy of which, written in the Vikrama-Samvat 1711 (= A.D. 1654), I saw with the Jaina Muni Sri-Vikasana-Vijaya at Bangalore last year..." (*ibid.*, p. 138); Sastri also quotes the colophon of this manuscript of 1711.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 139.
37. Item no. 16.100 of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay.
38. i.e., about the year 986 (= A.D. 1578-79).
39. Badaoni was particularly critical of Birbal whom he abused with greatest hatred, 'Hellish dog'; 'Birbar-badfarosh'; 'wre.ch'; "Birbar was killed and so entered the pack of the hell-hounds", Cf. *Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh*, *op. cit.*, pp. 297, 326, 361.
40. His father Humayun was an astronomer and firmly believed in the influence of stars on human destiny and it was he who laid down this practice, Cf. Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun* (Calcutta, 1956), p. 364; also see *Qanun-i-Humayuni* of Khwandamir (Bib. Ind. tr. by Baini Prasad, Calcutta, 1940), pp. 49-52.
41. Cf. *Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh*, *op. cit.*, pp. 268-69.
42. A. K. Coomaraswamy, Symbolism of the Dome, *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIV, No. 1 (March, 1938), p. 3.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
45. Second sign of the Zodiac.
46. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 17 fn. 23.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 17 fn. 23. Cf. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 310-14.
49. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.
50. *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.
51. V. S. Agarwala, *Indian Art* (Varanasi, 1965), p. 52.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 121; references abound in Mahabharata and Ramayana, Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 206; also see U. P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art* (Banaras 1965), p. 44f.
53. E. B. Havell, *The Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India* (London, 1915), p. 57.
54. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
55. "The association of a pillar with a religious shrine was an ancient feature. The pillar was identified with Brahman itself against a cosmic background. It was installed in every yajna as yupa or sacrificial pillar. The idea of the yajna-yupa was transferred to the religious shrine as Prasad-stambha or Deva-stambha erected in front of temples." Cf. V. S. Agarwala, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-41.
56. The roofs of domed huts were supported in a large number of cases by king-post, i.e., a central column, "thought of not merely as connecting the apex of the roof with a tie-beam, but as extending from the apex to the ground. We wish to point out, however, that while huts of this type have certainly existed and that similarly at least in some cases (e.g., at Ghantasala) the axis of the stupa was actually and structurally represented within it, the importance of the axis in principle is no more necessarily represented by an actual pillar within the building than it would be possible to demonstrate the empirical existence of an Axis of the Universe, which Axis is indeed always spoken of as a purely spiritual or pneumatic essence," Cf. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
57. C. M. Villiers Stuart, *Gardens of the Great Mughals* (London, 1913), Plate-XL. It is copy of a painting by Khwaja Abdussamad made probably during the early period of Akbar's reign. The original is preserved in the Gulistan Library of Teheran. The copy seems to have been independently done by some other artist of Akbar a little later. (I am obliged for this information to my friend Dr. Muhammad Anis Farooqi of the National Gallery of Modern Art, Jaipur-House, New Delhi).
58. Stuart defined its symbolism in a little different sense though in a similar way, "Religion, high politics and statecraft may seem far enough away from gardens, but sound art makes for sound politics and their affinity in India is curiously close. Akbar's pillar in his hall of private audience at Fatehpur Sikri is an instance of this in its strange beauty and its direct connection with the old ideas embodied in the sacred Mount, the Tree and the Snake Here the Mount and the tree are one, meeting in Vishnu's symbol of the Tree or Pillar of the Universe, whereon the Emperor as Vishnu's Regent sat enthroned; while the four passages symbolise the cosmic cross of the four-went rivers of the celestial Paradise (Mughal miniature) ... the symbolism of

Vishnu's pillar is very literally carried out, and some such charming retreat in one of his grandfather Babur's northern gardens most probably suggested Akbar's novel treatment of

the old idea" Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 276-77. The conception, however, is more related to the Vedic Surya-Purusa than to a Vishnu of a later age.

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THE EVOLUTION AND GROWTH OF GOVERNOR'S OFFICE IN PRE-INDEPENDENT INDIA

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The Office of the Governor in the Indian political system is not an altogether new institution. Its origin can be traced back to the establishment of the East India Company. In the year 1600, two hundred and fifteen English knights, aldermen and burgesses, headed by George, Earl of Cumberland, petitioned Queen Elizabeth of England for trade in the East Indies. Accordingly, on 31st December 1600, the Queen granted a Charter for this purpose. The Charter provided for the office of the Governor elected by the Company, in addition to 24 Committees¹ (who were individuals and not bodies and were the predecessors of the later Directors), who were to have the direction of the Company's voyages, the provision of shipping and merchandises, the sale of merchandises returned and the managing of all other things belonging to the Company.² The Charter was granted for a period of fifteen years,³ and Thomas Smith, Alderman of London, was appointed as the first Governor.⁴ The Governor and the Council were vested at the same time with executive, legislative and judicial powers. The Charter allowed them, (a) "to use any trade route and to have an exclusive right of trading with power to grant licenses to trade, authorised traders being liable to forfeiture of all their belongings and to other penalties; (b) to make reasonable "laws, constitutions, orders and ordinances," not contrary or repugnant to the laws, statutes or customs of the English realm—for good government of the Company and its affairs; (c) to impose such fines or penalties as might be necessary for enforcing these

laws."⁵ Though the Governor was under the control of the General Court, these powers were exercised by him being the central figure in the Company.⁶ He could be removed if he did not behave well.

With the extension of the powers of the Company by the Acts of 1609, 1615, 1623 and 1657,⁷ the Office of the Governor also became important. Charles II's Charter Act of 1661 "reorganised the Company on the joint-stock basis and considerably extended its privileges". It was given "power and command" over its fortresses. It was empowered "to appoint Governors and other officers for their administration."⁸ On account of the necessity of time the evolution of the Governor's office continued and after a laborious investigation taken by the Select Committee of the House of Commons, the legal status of the Company had been based on a Royal Charter granted in 1698, which gave the Governor and the Council authority to exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction at their settlements, and to maintain troops for their defence.⁹ Though in view of the fact that the Portuguese were jealous of any foreign commercial company the powers of the Governor were inadequate, yet it remains a fact that the Governors, who in the very beginning were begging for the right to exist, started to lodge "in a regal state with a navy, a standing army, a militia, judges and a mint."¹⁰ Since the main aim of the Directors of the Company was to accumulate wealth, and since the system of appointment of the Governor instead of election came into exist-

ence, the politics began to mar its smooth functioning.

II

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Company was no longer merely a trading body. It had become a military and territorial power. But, the machinery of the administration in India was, in essentials, unaltered. For instance, nothing was done to place the three Presidencies—Calcutta, Madras and Bombay—under one head.¹¹ The Charter Act of 1698 regulated by and large the affairs of the Company up to the enactment of the Regulating Act of 1773. The power was vested in the Governor and the Council jointly and could only be exercised through a majority of votes.¹² The number of members varied in each Presidency but it was normally between twelve and sixteen.¹³

Since the Council was comprised of the senior Civil Servants of the Company, and since the decisions were taken by a majority of the members, the Governor was not more than "primus inter pares."¹⁴ Under such circumstances, the collegiate rule proved detrimental to the smooth functioning of the Presidency. It was realized in 1762, when the then Governor of Madras Vansittart "entered into an agreement with Mir Kasim to regulate on an equitable basis the dues on the internal trade."¹⁵ When Warren Hastings became the Governor of Bengal, he complained to the Court of Directors: "The powers of the Governor, although supposed to be great, are in reality little more than those of any individual in his Council."¹⁶ As a matter of fact, the members of the Council became so scattered that it had grown very difficult to cope with the business. Clive was, therefore, allowed to delegate the functions of the Council to a Select Committee of the Court of Directors.¹⁷ However, there were some other powers which placed the Governor in a better position in relation to his Council. He was the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of the

Company. He had the exclusive privilege of correspondence with the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors which gave confidential report only to him.

Above all, the relations between the Council and the Court of Directors were worse than that of a slave and master. The Court of Directors never hesitated in insulting the Council. It led the Council to criticise its behaviour. The Court took a strong view and dismissed all those who had signed that critical letter of 29 December 1759. They were ordered to leave India at once.¹⁸ Besides, corruption was rampant in the affairs of the Company and as such its financial position was deteriorating day by day. By 1772, the financial status of the Company was such that failing to get a loan from the Bank of England, it had to approach the government with a request for a million pounds. The British Parliament appointed a Committee of Investigation, and its startling disclosures of the presents received by the Company's servants led to the enactment of the Regulating Act of 1773.¹⁹

III

The third phase in the evolution of the Governor's Office is marked by the passage of the Regulating Act of 1773, which is regarded as "the basis of all subsequent legislation for determining the form of Indian Government,"²⁰ "the first serious attempt made by an European power to organize government in a far-off country"²¹ and "a milestone in the Constitutional History of India"²² with "a policy of centralization"²³ and "co-ordination"²⁴ among the three Presidencies. Under the Act, a Governor-General and four Councillors were appointed to administer the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal. Bengal became the Supreme Presidency, and the Governor-General in Council, subject to the orders of the Court of Directors, was given the power to superintend the Governments of the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. The Presidencies of Bombay and Madras could not

make any treaty or declare war without the consent of the Governor-General except in case of imminent necessity. The Governor-General was authorised to suspend the Governor and Councillors of the subordinate Presidencies for disobeying the Central Government. The Presidencies were also required to send all needful information with regard to the affairs of the Company.²⁵ Though all future appointments were vested in the Court of Directors,²⁶ Hastings, already Governor in Bengal, became Governor-General with "ill-defined supervisory powers over the Company's other Governors of Madras and Bombay and was thrown into the hands of his enemies"—Clavering, Monson and Francis—by the provision that the Governor-General at Fort William "could only act with the concurrence of a majority of his Council of four."²⁷ Hastings's relations with the Council, where he was in a minority, were difficult. "His administrative reforms were carried through like a battle at sea, in a continuous running fight, until the death of a member of the Council put him in a majority of one."²⁸

There is no doubt that the Act was intended to establish the supremacy of the government at Fort William but gave to the Governor-General "so shadowy a control" over the subordinate Presidencies that he "was little more than first among equals."²⁹ The Montford Committee said that the Act of 1773 "created a Governor-General who was powerless before his own Council, and an executive that was powerless before a Supreme Court, itself immune from all responsibility for the peace and welfare of the country—a system that was made workable only by the genius and fortitude of one great man."³⁰ In so far as the limitations on the Governor's power to declare war and conclude treaty was concerned, "the exceptions laid down... were so wide as to render it nugatory."³¹

Above all, the powers of the Supreme Court were not defined and this led to clashes between the Governor-General and the Court.³² The

hostile relations that existed between the Supreme Court and the Council perhaps explains the comparative absence of legislation during the period from 1773 to 1780, but by the end of 1780 the Council had triumphed, and Warren Hastings passed his regulations for the administration of justice in provincial courts without regard to the Supreme Court. The amending Act of 1781 justified his action. A few years later the power of the other two governments were similarly enlarged.³³

As the administration of the Company was facing developmental retardance for want of harmony among various organs, and as the corruption was being exposed through a vehement criticism of the Company's affairs,³⁴ the Government in Great Britain proceeded further to enact Pitt's India Act, 1784. Its effect was twofold. Firstly, it constituted a department of State in England under the official style of "Commissioners for the Affairs of India" whose special function was to "control" the policy of the Court of Directors.³⁵ Secondly, it reduced the number of members of the Council at Bengal to three, of whom the Commander-in-Chief was to be one, and it remodelled the Councils at Madras and Bombay on the pattern of Bengal. The Commander-in-Chief had only a seat in the Council and no voice.³⁶

Now the Governor, though an appointee³⁷ of the Court of Directors, could be recalled by his Majesty, the King of England.³⁸ The Act empowered the Governor-General in Council at Fort William to superintend the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay.³⁹ Sections 35 and 36 of the Act tightened the control over the subordinate Presidencies by restricting their power of declaring war or concluding peace, and by stipulating that the subordinate Presidencies would be subject to suspension if they violated the Order of the Governor-General. The subordinate Presidencies were also required to send all exact copies of Orders, Resolutions and Acts in Council of their respective Governments.

The main defect in the Act was that the Governors and Governor-General could still be overridden by their Councils (Section 21). But as Ramsay Muir says, "as the number of Councillors was reduced to three (Section 19), the Governor by use of his casting vote could always make his will predominant if he had one supporter. This provision, had it existed in 1773, would have saved Hastings from being overridden by the majority in Council from 1774 to 1776."⁴⁰

After the retirement of Hastings, when Lord Cornwallis was approached to accept the Governor-General's Office, he insisted that the Governor-General should be given the constitutional right to over-rule his Council.⁴¹ Consequently, an Act was passed in 1786, which empowered the Governor-General and Governors of subordinate Presidencies to over-rule their Councils, "in a matter vitally affecting in his judgement, the interest of the Company or the safety or tranquillity of the British possessions in India."⁴² At the same time it provided that the views of the dissentient majority should be recorded so as to make it quite clear where the responsibility rested.⁴³ The Act also stipulated that no person, who had not served in India for twelve years or more, except in case of Commander-in-Chief, should be appointed as a member of the Governor-General's or Governor's Councils.⁴⁴ Although the Act of 1786 authorised the Governor-General and the Governors to over-rule their Councils, it did not empower to act without it. As such, strictly speaking, the proceedings conducted by Lord Cornwallis alone in regard to the treaty with Tippoo were invalid.⁴⁵

The Act of 1793 removed this hurdle by providing that "the Governor-General or Governors, who shall declare and command any such order or resolution to be made and recorded without the assent or concurrence of any of the other members of Council, shall alone be held responsible for the same and consequences thereof."⁴⁶ The power of con-

trol exercised by the Governor-General over subordinate Presidencies was emphasised,⁴⁷ and they were to obey the orders of the Governor-General in Council, if not repugnant to instructions from England.⁴⁸ The Court of Directors still retained the power to appoint the Governors and members to the Council from senior merchants of twelve years standing in India.⁴⁹ The King of England was authorised to remove any servant of the Company.⁵⁰

Though the Company was completely a centralized body, the Act of 1807 clothed the Governors at Madras and Bombay with legislative powers, subject to restriction and approval by the Supreme Court and Recorder's respectively.⁵¹ P. Mukherjee expresses a contrary view, when he says that the Governor at Madras first received legislative powers in 1800.⁵²

In view of the commercial nature of the Company up to 1833, the control exercised by the Governor-General over subordinate Presidencies was limited to Indian potentates and to questions affecting war and peace. By this time the Company had to close their commercial business and seriously take up their political and administrative duties.⁵³ To control the new situation, the British Parliament passed the Charter Act of 1833. Under the Act the Governor-General of Bengal became the Governor-General of India and his government for the first time came to be known as the Government of India. Its authority became co-extensive with the area of British possessions in India.⁵⁴ The Act took away from the provincial governments the power of making laws. They were given the right of only submitting drafts or reports of any laws or regulations which they thought expedient. The Governor of a Presidency could act as an extraordinary member of the Council of Governor-General when it assembled there.⁵⁵ Section 59 prohibited the Governor of a Presidency to make or suspend any regulations, except in cases of urgent necessity, with the approval of the Governor-General-in-Council. It was also

provided by the Act that he could not grant any salary, gratuity or allowance without the Governor-General-in-Council.⁵⁰ The Governors of the subordinate Presidencies were put entirely under the control of the Governor-General in the sense that he was to obey the instructions of the Governor-General in all points relating to the civil and military administration.⁵¹ The Governors were also required to send true copies of their orders to the Governor-General and other information which the Governor-General thought essential in the interests of the Company.⁵² The most important features of the Act of 1833—apart from complete centralization—was that under Section 87 “no native of India shall, by his reason of place of birth, descent or colour, be disabled from holding any office under the Company.” While commenting on this provision, Lord Morley said that the Act of 1833 was the most important Indian Act passed by the British Parliament till 1909,⁵³ though no Indian could secure the Governor’s post throughout this period.

Since the “rudimentary legislature” created by the Act of 1833 was found to have defects of its own in the sense that the members of the Governor-General’s Council belonged to the Bengal service and their lack of local knowledge was felt to be a serious drawback to the Council’s handling of Madras and Bombay questions,⁵⁴ the Act of 1853 provided for the defect found and disclosed in the Act of 1833 by introducing representative elements from the subordinate Presidencies. The Council when acting in its legislative capacity was enlarged by the addition of six new members known as the “legislative members”, with the right of voting only when the Council was to meet for the purpose of making laws. Out of these six members, two were English judges of the Calcutta Supreme Court, and the other four were officials appointed by the local Governments.⁵⁵ Thus the Council’s strength was raised from four to ten, which began to reflect the shadow of a mini Parliament.

Provision was also made that the Court of Directors could, after the passing of the Act, declare that the Governor-General of India would not be Governor of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal and a separate Governor would be appointed for the said Presidency.⁵⁶ But only a Lieutenant-Governor was appointed, who was thought for the meantime only. While speaking on the Act as a whole and particularly on the Lieutenant-Governor’s Office for Bengal, Sir Charles Wood stated on 3 June 1853 :

“The interests of the Presidency are stated in many cases to have suffered from the want of a permanent officer superintending the various matters connected with its administration ; and as it is desirable to relieve the Governor-General of the labour of this duty, and will clearly be to the advantage of the district, we propose that power should be taken to appoint a Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.”⁵⁷

By the time India’s first war of Independence started in 1857, the Act of 1853 remained in operation with some minor changes introduced by the Government of India Act, 1854. Under Section 4 of the Act of 1854 the Governor-General was empowered to limit the powers of the Governor-in-Council, Governor, or Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal or Agra or the North-West Provinces, who was then or might be thereafter appointed.

Governor as Appointee of the British Monarch :

On account of the juxtaposition of some internal and external factors the first war of India’s Independence broke out in 1857, which culminated in the end of the East India Company, and as such the British Government assumed direct control over the Indian affairs.

The Governor who was previously appointed by the Court of Directors was now to be appointed by His Majesty, the King of Eng-

land, under Royal Sign Manual.⁵⁸ Two Executive Councillors were appointed by the Crown to assist the Governor. Though the Governor was made subordinate to the Governor-General, he had now direct access to the Secretary of State. He retained the power to overrule the members of his Council.⁵⁹ As a matter of fact the disappearance of the East India Company marked a change rather in the form of Government than in the substance of policy.⁶⁰

After a period of nearly three years of the direct rule of the Crown, the British Government introduced the Indian Councils Act of 1861, which is said to contain “the first seeds of representative institutions in India.”⁶¹ While commenting on the Act, Sir Charles Wood said that the Councils Act, which really altered the Constitution of the Government of India, “is by far the most important of the measures which I have introduced.”⁶² The importance of the Act remains in the fact that natives of India secured seats in the Council.⁶³ It “made them, especially those occupying the highest position in Society, feel that they were being afforded some opportunity of participating in the conduct of affairs of their country.”⁶⁴

The Governor was empowered to nominate not less than four and not more than eight additional members to the Council for the purpose of making laws only. It was also provided that not less than half of the persons so nominated were to be non-official persons. The additional members were not entitled to sit or vote at any other meeting of the Council.⁶⁵ The Governor was given the right of casting vote in case of a tie.⁶⁶ Without the Governor’s previous sanction, no member could introduce any measure affecting the public revenues of the Presidency.⁶⁷

Since under Sections 40 and 41 the measures passed by the Legislative Council could be vetoed by the Governor-General and the

Crown respectively, and since the same power was enjoyed by the Governor⁶⁸ also, the administration remained centralized by any rod of measurement. Besides, laws passed by the Governor-General’s Council could control and supersede laws passed by the Local Governments.⁶⁹ In view of the above facts, it is “a mistake to think of the Legislative Councils established under the Act of 1861 as miniature parliaments or as containing the germs of responsible institutions.”⁷⁰ R. Coupland said : “Since most of the non-official members . . . were Indians, the Act of 1861 may be said to have introduced the representative principle into the Indian Constitution. But it was by no means a concession of the representative Government . . .”⁷¹

The Indian Councils Act of 1871 gave a new impetus to the Local Governments by empowering the Governor-in-Council to propose to the Governor-General in Council drafts of any regulations for the peace and good government of any part,⁷² and by giving the local legislatures the power to amend and repeal certain laws.⁷³ It was the outcome of a decision of the Bombay High Court in *R. V. Reay*.⁷⁴

As the Indian Councils Act of 1861, supplemented by the Act of 1871, could not meet the aspirations of the people, and as the national sentiments under the direction of the Indian National Congress began to take a new shape among the liberal spokesmen, the demand for introducing new reforms assumed a fresh dimension. Therefore, the British Government enacted the Indian Councils Act of 1892. George Curzon, the future Viceroy of India, as Under Secretary of State for India, while moving the measure in the House of Commons on March 28, 1892, said : “the object of this Bill is . . . to widen the basis and to expand the functions of the Government of India ; to give further opportunity than at present exists to the non-official and native elements in Indian society to take part in the work of Government.”⁷⁵

The Act introduced three main changes, namely, the extension of the right of criticism in financial matters, the right to asking questions⁸² and an addition to the number of members in the Legislative Councils.⁸³ Under the Indian Councils Act of 1861, financial discussion was permissible only when a new tax was proposed. At another time, the budget was to be circulated in the form of a pamphlet and no discussion could take place on it. During the thirty years from 1861 to 1892 there were sixteen taxation proposals, and only on three occasions discussion took place.⁸⁴

It was also provided that the local legislature with the previous sanction of the Governor-General could repeal or amend any law except the laws passed by the local legislatures.⁸⁵

As Dadabhai Naoroji stated in 1893, since the official majority dominated the entire spectrum in the Legislative Councils, and since they had extremely limited powers, it rendered the Councils almost a mere name.⁸⁶ Therefore, in 1904, the Twentieth Congress demanded an enlargement of both the Supreme and the Provincial Legislative Councils—increasing the number of non-official members, and giving them the right to divide the Council in all financial matters coming before them, the Head of the Government concerned possessing the power of veto.⁸⁷

Since the demand for reforms was taking a new shape, the British Government adopted the policy of "divide and rule." The Muslim Community of India was encouraged to demand separate representation. When the Muslims demanded special representation, a circular was sent to the local Governments in 1907 for the very purpose of drawing their attention to this demand, thinking it desirable.⁸⁸

After having sown the seeds of communalism, the British Government enacted the Indian Councils Act of 1909. The main features of the Act were as follows :

1. The official majority in the Provincial Legislative Councils was abandoned, at least in theory ;
2. The size of these bodies was enlarged up to a maximum of 50 additional members in the large provinces and 30 in the smaller. The greater part of these additional members were non-officials who were to be elected either by groups of local authorities, trade associations or Universities ; and
3. Special representation was given to the Muslim community.

Undoubtedly it was a distinct advance⁸⁹ over the previous Acts, but, except in Bengal, the Governor could have a working majority in the Legislative Council at his beck and call in every Province. For example, there were forty-six members in the Legislative Council of Bombay, out of which there were twenty-one elected, seven nominated non-officials and eighteen officials. In this way, the Governor had the support of twenty-five in a House of forty-six. In Bengal, the situation was somewhat different. In a House of fifty-two, the Governor had the support of twenty officials and four nominated non-officials.⁹⁰ As such, he could have been overridden by his Council.

So far as the control of the Centre over the Provinces was concerned, that remained unmitigated. The Governor-General, subject to the approval of the Secretary of State, had the power to make regulations as to the conditions under which and manner in which persons resident in India were to be nominated or elected as members of the Legislative Councils of Governors.⁹¹ The Central Government still kept the power of scrutinizing and altering the provincial budget. Besides, the rules made by the Governor in regard to the discussion of the annual financial statement, matters of general public interest and the asking of questions, were subject to the sanction of the Secretary of State, and the Legislative

Council could not alter or amend them.⁹² The Secretary of State was empowered to determine the number of ordinary members of Governor's Executive Council.⁹³

Since all the powers remained in the hands of the Governor subject to the authority of the Secretary of State, the non-official majority in the Legislative Council proved quite "illusory." The Legislative Councils, whether Supreme or Provincial, were nothing but advisory bodies without any power of effective control over the Government, Imperial or Provincial.⁹⁴ It may be said that the Act of 1909 :

envisaged a Presidential type of government in which the President could be assured of perpetual majority in the Legislative Council and in case of necessity ignore the Legislative Council altogether. That is the Governor-General and the Governors were as independent of their Legislative Councils as they were of their Executive Councils.⁹⁵

As a matter of fact, the Minto-Morley Reforms were not intended to serve as a measure of self-government.⁹⁶ Their only object was "to associate Indians in a larger measure with everyday administration."⁹⁷ Sir S. P. Sinha, who was the first Indian member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, said :

The Morley-Minto Reforms though a distinct advance gave Indians in the Legislative Councils only influence, and not power. Power is different from influence and what we need is a steady increase of power to determine and to control policy.⁹⁸

In the course of time the Minto-Morley Reforms ceased to satisfy the governing aspirations of the public. The Indian National Congress, established in 1885, which was so long under the control of Moderates, became more active during the First World War and started its campaign for self-government. Now the Muslim League also played quite an import-

ant role. On Jinnah's initiative, the 1915 annual sessions of both the Congress and the Muslim League were held at Bombay. The Committees appointed by the two organisations met at Calcutta and Lucknow and formulated a joint scheme which came to be known as the 'Congress-League Scheme'. In 1916 the Congress-League Scheme proposed that 4/5 of the members of the Provincial Legislature should be elected by the people on a broad franchise. The Governor should not be the President of the Legislative Council. A resolution passed by the Legislative Council of a Province would be binding on the executive unless vetoed by the Governor-in-Council. If the same was passed again after an interval of less than one year, it was to be given effect to. All Bills passed by the Legislative Council were to receive the assent of the Governor before they became law, but might be vetoed by the Governor-General. The Governor would not ordinarily belong to the Indian Civil Service. There would be an Executive Council wherein not less than half of the members would consist of Indians to be elected by the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Council.⁹⁹

In response to this demand the British Government made a declaration on August 20, 1917, that the policy of His Majesty's Government was that of "increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and of gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the British Empire."¹⁰⁰ The then Secretary of State for India, E. S. Montagu, and the Governor-General, Lord Chelmsford, were entrusted with the task of formulating proposals for carrying out the declared policy. The Government of India Act, 1919, gave a legal shape to their recommendations. The main features of the Act of 1919 concerned with the Provinces, broadly speaking, were as follows : It established some sort of provincial autonomy by the devolution of authority in the provincial matters on the

Provincial Governments and freeing them from the control of the Central Government. A new device known as "Dyarchy" was introduced in the Provinces. Under the system of this device, the provincial matters were divided into two parts—the "transferred" and "reserved" subjects. The transferred subjects were to be administered by the Governor with the aid and advice of the Ministers accountable to the Legislative Council wherein 70 per cent members were to be elected. Therefore, it seems that the foundation of a responsible government was laid down partially. On the other hand, the reserved subjects were to be administered by the Governor and his Executive Council without being responsible to the Legislative Council.

After having thrown a cursory glance at various provisions of the Act of 1919, it becomes quite clear that the exceptions laid down in both executive and legislative fields converted the importance of representative elements into a hoax. The first Minister of Industries in the Madras Government stated :

I was a Minister for Development without Forests. I was a Minister of Agriculture minus Irrigation. As Minister of Agriculture, I had nothing to do with the administration of the Madras Agriculturist Loans Act or the Madras Land Improvement Loans Act. The efficacy and efficiency of a Minister of Agriculture without having anything to do with irrigation, agricultural loans, land improvement loans and finance relief, may better be imagined than described.¹⁰⁴

Above all, by virtue of his overriding powers, the Governor did not function as a Constitutional Head even with respect to transferred subjects. He had the discretionary powers to act otherwise than in accordance with the advice of his Ministers.¹⁰⁵ He had the power to certify a grant refused by the legislature relating to reserved subjects.¹⁰⁶ Even if the Legislative Council rejected a demand for a

grant for transferred subject, the Governor could authorise necessary expenditure for the safety or tranquillity of the Province.¹⁰⁷ In addition to his veto power¹⁰⁸ over any Bill, he was empowered to certify any act rejected by the legislature.¹⁰⁹ While commenting on these powers of the Governor, Srinivasa Ayyangar said that the Governor held the position of a director by any definition.¹¹⁰ C. R. Das described the Act of 1919 as a timid concession to the rights of Indians.¹¹¹

In regard to the Central control over the Provincial matters, it is pertinent to note that the limitations and reservations crippled the wings of the legislature to a large extent. In certain matters previous sanction of the Governor-General was necessary for taking into consideration in the Legislative Council.¹¹² Besides, the Governor was required to reserve certain Bills for the consideration of the Governor-General and, further, the Governor-General could also reserve a Bill passed by the local legislature for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure thereon.¹¹³

The failure of Dyarchy and the demand by the Indian National Congress for further reforms led the British Government in 1927 to appoint a Statutory Commission, as envisaged by the Government of India Act, 1919 itself,¹¹⁴ to inquire into and report on the functioning and system of government and the development of representative institutions in India. In spite of the fact that the entire political spectrum in India boycotted the Simon Commission on the ground that no Indian was included in the same, it reported in 1930. This led to the passing of the Government of India Act, 1935, which was the last phase in the evolution of the Governor's Office in pre-independent India.

The Act of 1935 created an All-India Federation comprising the British Provinces and the native States. The Governor remained the head of the Province who was to be appointed by His Majesty by a Commission under the

Royal Sign Manual.¹¹⁵ Under the Act of 1919, he was to be appointed by His Majesty after consultation with the Governor-General. This change seems to be made, in view of the provincial autonomy introduced under the Act of 1935.

This was the first Act introduced by the British Government which may be said to have contained some sort of the concept of parliamentarianism in a technical sense. The Governor was to exercise the executive authority of the Province on the aid and advice of a Council of Ministers. But he had the power to act in his discretion and individual judgment.¹¹⁶ Besides, in the exercise of his functions, he had some "special responsibilities", such as prevention of any grave menace to the peace and tranquillity of the Province, protection of legitimate rights and interests of minorities, Government servants and rulers of the Indian States, prevention of discrimination of the British interests, securing of peace and good government of "partially excluded areas" and securing of the execution of orders or directions lawfully issued to him by the Governor-General.¹¹⁷ In view of this position, while commenting on the provincial autonomy under the Act of 1935, Sir Chiman Lal Setalvad rightly said that it was "buried in a pile of reservations, safeguards and discretion."¹¹⁸

As a matter of fact, the special powers conferred on the Governor made him to control all the executive, legislative and financial fields. Though the Instrument of Instructions was intended to encourage the working of responsible government in the Provinces, there was no legal curb on the powers of the Governor. He was instructed to appoint a man as Chief Minister most likely to command the confidence of the legislature, and other Ministers were to be appointed by him on the advice of the Chief Minister, but all these Acts fall under his discretionary powers,¹¹⁹ which may be called as clear negation of parliamentary democracy. By taking advantage of these discretionary powers, the Governor of Sind

dismissed Premier Allah Bux in October 1942, and the Governor of Bengal forced Premier A. K. Fazlul Haq to tender his resignation in March 1943.

Above all, a first-rate constitutional deadlock occurred in two Congress-dominated Provinces—Bihar and U.P.—when the Premiers of these Provinces decided to release all political prisoners, as declared in their manifesto at the time of elections. On the instructions of the Governor-General, the Governors in both Provinces rejected the advice of the Premier.¹²⁰ The two Ministries resigned on 15 February 1938, following rejection of their advice. A few days later the Governors and the Chief Ministers arrived at "agreed conclusions" and the Ministries resumed office.¹²¹ Another constitutional deadlock was avoided in Orissa by the cancellation of the leave of the Governor, Sir John Hubbak, when J. R. Dain, the Revenue Commissioner of Orissa, was appointed as Acting Governor.

As a matter of fact, the situation which was instrumental in the Congress-dominated Provinces may be said to have been created by strong discipline within the Congress organization. Even before accepting office, the Congress made a condition that the Governor would not use his special powers in the day-to-day administration.¹²² This the Governors refused to do and in consequence the Congress refused to accept office. Therefore, the Governors summoned certain individuals as Ministers belonging to minority parties in the legislature. Since the constitutional validity of these governments was of doubtful character,¹²³ in a statement on 22 June 1937, Lord Linlithgo "clearly laid it down that the special responsibilities of the Governor would not entitle him to interfere in the work of the Ministers at random."¹²⁴ The Viceroy's statement satisfied the Congress and on 7 July 1937, its Working Committee permitted Congressmen to accept office with the purpose of "combating the new Act on the one hand and presenting a constructive programme on the other."¹²⁵

As regards the Governor's legislative powers, he was empowered to prorogue and summon the legislature. He had the power to dissolve the Lower House. All these functions fell under his discretion.¹²⁶ Though the power to summon and prorogue the legislature does not seem important, the Governor could play quite an important role if he was favourably inclined to support a particular party. In N.W.F.P. the Congress being in opposition demanded the summoning of the Assembly on the ground that the Ministry had lost the confidence of the Assembly, but the Governor did not pay any heed to it, and the Ministry continued to function.¹²⁷

Besides, a Bill passed by the legislature was to be submitted to the Governor and he was authorised either to declare his assent or withhold the same or send the Bill back to the legislature for reconsideration in his discretion.¹²⁸ The Governor of the N.W.F.P. vetoed two Bills in his discretion.¹²⁹

The most obnoxious powers conferred on the Governor was of promulgating Ordinance in his individual judgement during recess of the Legislature, if he was satisfied that the circumstances existed to take immediate action. This type of Ordinance required subsequent approval of the legislature.¹³⁰ In regard to this power it was stated in the House of Commons that such Ordinances would be "made upon the advice of the Ministers who are themselves responsible to the Provincial Council."¹³¹ Besides the Governor had the power of issuing a second type of Ordinance, when he considered an immediate action necessary to discharge his functions in his discretion or individual judgement. This power was not subject to the approval of the legislature.¹³² The Governor did not dare to resort to this mechanism, so far as the Congress-dominated Provinces were concerned. But this power was used in the Province of Sind, where a coalition government of non-Congress parties was in power.¹³³ In the defence of this power, it was stated in the British House of Commons that

in view of the "special responsibilities" placed on the Governor, "it may be necessary for him to proceed by Ordinance."¹³⁴ Above all, the Governor was given another special power in the field of legislation by providing that he could have permanent "Governor's Act" to discharge his functions in so far as he was by or under the Act required to act in his discretion or individual judgement. Every such act was to be communicated forthwith through the Governor-General to the Secretary of State and was to be laid by him before each House of Parliament. While defending this power, it was stated in the Commons that it was not the intention that such "power should be frequently used, but...that it is a power which the Governor ought to have."¹³⁵

Above all, the Governor was empowered to stop discussion on any measure in the legislature if he considered such a course essential for the discharge of his special responsibilities.¹³⁷ The very first resolution in any Provincial Legislature disallowed by a Governor was one of which notice had been given by a Congress member of the Bihar Legislative Assembly for flying the National Flag on Government buildings. This was in August 1937, and though a Congress Ministry was in power, this act of the Governor, of very doubtful validity, was allowed to go unchallenged.¹³⁸

As regards financial powers of the Governor, it was provided that no financial Bill was to be introduced in the Legislative Council except on the prior recommendation of the Governor.¹³⁹ Besides, he was also empowered to restore the budget or any part of it even if the legislature had rejected it, "if in his discretion the refusal or rejection would affect the due discharge of any of his special responsibilities."¹⁴⁰

If there occurred a constitutional breakdown, the Governor was empowered to assume all the executive and legislative powers of the State in his discretion.¹⁴¹ As a matter of fact, in a technical sense, the situation did not war-

rant the imposition of Governor's Rule in the Provinces, but owing to the differences between the Congress and the British Government over the war issue, Provincial Ministries resigned in all Congress-dominated provinces,¹⁴² following instructions from the Congress Parliamentary Sub-Committee, and it led to the declaration of a constitutional breakdown.¹⁴³

In this connection, it is important to bear in mind that Section 93 was not imposed in the non-Congress Provinces. The Ministries in these Provinces continued to function as usual. Bengal, Sind and Punjab fall under this category.

As a matter of fact, the provincial autonomy was dead after the Congress Governments tendered their resignation. Since the most important feature of the Act of 1935 was the system of provincial autonomy, after the imposition of Section 93 in major part of the country, only a feeble smell of the Act of 1935 may be said to have remained in existence. This state of affairs continued up to 1946, when the Congress Governments assumed office in various provinces.

The Indian Independence Act, 1947:

With the passage of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, the British rule in India came to an end, and India became an independent and sovereign country. It also resulted in some sort of changes in the Office of the Governor.

Though India continued to be governed by the provisions of the Act of 1935, the Governor-General was empowered to make amendments in the provisions up to 31 March 1948. Thereafter the Constituent Assembly, which was not subject to any limitations whatsoever, could modify the same.

By the time the Indian Independence Act, 1947, became effective, the Governors in various States tendered their resignations to the Governor-General to be effective from 15 August 1947. Except Madras, Bombay and Assam, fresh appointments were made in every Province. The appointments of these Governors were approved by the King-Emperor. In fact, appointments were made by the Congress High Command in consultation with the Premiers of Provinces.¹⁴⁴

Now the position of the Governor in comparison to what was in pre-independent India became somewhat vulnerable. He was required to go by the advice of the Council of Ministers in all matters. The special responsibilities of the Governor that existed under the Government of India Act, 1935, began to disappear from the Indian political system speedily. As a matter of fact, as stated by an official spokesman, the full responsibilities devolved on the Premier of the Province, being the administrative head. By the time the new Constitution came into existence on 26 January 1950, no significant change was introduced in the Office of the Governor.

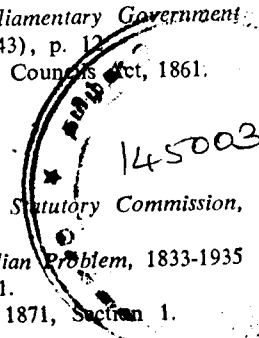
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2. A. B. Keith, *A Constitutional History of India 1900-1935* (London, 1935), p. 4.
3. K. Venkata Rao, *The Indian Constitution* (Madras, 1945), p. 18.
4. Gurmukh Nihal Singh, *Landmarks in Indian Constitutional and National Development* (Delhi, 1963), p. 4. Thereafter, the Governor
5. P. Mukherjee, n. 1, p. 11. See also E. A. Horne, *The Political System of British India* (Oxford, 1922), p. 49. See also K. Venkata Rao, n. 3, p. 18.
6. Haridwar Rai and Jawahar Lal Pandey, "The

was to be elected by the Court of Directors among the great merchants of London. H. L. Chabiani and G. N. Joshi, *Readings in Indian Constitution and Administration* (Delhi, 1925), p. 2.

- Office of the Governor in Pre-Independent India", *Journal of the Society for the Study of State Governments*, Vol. 4, Nos. 3 & 4, July-December 1971, p. 220.
7. By the Charter of 1609, James I renewed the Elizabethan Charter and made it permanent subject to the determination after a three-year notice on any evidence of injury to the Country. Under the Charter Act of 1615, the Company was empowered to give the right of punishment to its general for non-capital offences. In 1623 the Company was authorised to give similar power to their Presidents and other Chief Officers. In 1657, Cromwell transferred the Company into a forerunner of a joint-stock Company. He also reduced the term of the Governor to two years. Sir Courtney Ilbert, *The Government of India* (Oxford, 1907), p. 16.
 8. A. C. Banerjee, *Indian Constitutional Documents* (ed.) (Calcutta, 1945), p. 11.
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 10. Philip Woodruff, *The Men Who Ruled India* (London, 1954), p. 74.
 11. A. D. Dasgupta, *Rise and Progress of the British Power in India* (Calcutta, n.d.), Vol. i, p. 337. Although the three Presidencies were enjoined to follow the principles of mutual help in relation to one another, "they were constitutionally speaking absolutely independent of one another." D. N. Banerjee, *Early Administrative System of East India Company in Bengal, 1765-1774* (Longman, 1943), p. 119.
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 14. A. B. Keith, n. 2, p. 29.
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 25. Section 9, Regulating Act of 1773.
 26. Section 10.
 27. Holden Furber, *John Company at Work* (London, 1948), p. 19.
 28. Michael Edward, n. 19, p. 24. It was only after the death of Clavering in November 1776 that Hastings "was able, by means of his casting vote, to maintain his supremacy in the Council. It was a mistake to make it obligatory for the Governor-General to act according to the decisions of the majority of the Council." A. C. Banerjee, n. 8, p. 11.
 29. Philip Woodruff, n. 10, p. 146.
 30. Quoted in the *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms* (Calcutta, 1928), para. 30.
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 39. Section 31.
 40. Ramsay Muir, *The Making of British India* (London, 1915), p. 168.
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 43. E. A. Horne, *The Political System of India* (Oxford, 1922), p. 50.
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 51. A. B. Keith, n. 2, p. 126.
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61. Section 22 of the Charter Act of 1853.
62. Section 16.
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64. Section 29, the Government of India Act, 1858.
65. P. Singh, *Governor's Office in Independent India* (Deoghar, 1968), p. 15.
66. C. H. Philips, *The Evolution of India and Pakistan* (London, 1962), p. 3.
67. E. A. Horne, n. 5, p. 54. Basu says that "though the administration of the country continued to remain in the exclusive control of officials, the Act of 1861 laid the seeds for the growth of legislative bodies in India." Basu's *Constitutional Documents* (Calcutta, 1969), p. 3.
68. Sir Charles Wood to Sir Bartle Frere, 18 August 1861, Wood Papers, India Office Library, Vol. 8, pp. 220-224. Frere was a member of the Supreme Council, 1859-62, and the Governor of Bombay, 1862-67. Private letters, cited in C. H. Philips, p. 40.
69. Under the Act of 1833, in spite of the provision, Indians were not appointed to the Council. Sir Charles Wood observed at that time that "it would not be desirable to place natives of India in the Council." E. A. Horne, n. 43, p. 54.
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72. Section 34.
73. Section 38.
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80. H. K. Saharav, *A Legal Study of the Constitutional Development of India* (Calcutta, 1970), p. 103.
81. B. P. Singh Roy, n. 70, p. 28.
82. In this connection it is important to note that no member at any such meeting of the Council would have the power to submit or propose any resolution, or to divide the Council in respect of such financial discussion or the answer of any question asked under the authority of this Act or the rules made under this Act. Indian Councils Act of 1892, Section 4(2).
83. The number of additional members "shall be such as to the . . . Governors . . . may seem from time to time expedient, but shall not be less than eight nor more than twenty." Section 1(1), Indian Councils Act, 1892. The Governor-General with the approval of the Secretary of State was to make regulations as to the conditions under which such nominations would be made. Section 1(4).
84. B. P. Singh Roy, n. 70, p. 31.
85. Indian Councils Act, 1892, Section 5.
86. Congress Presidential Address of 1893.
87. Resolution No. IX of the Twentieth Congress, Bombay, December 1904.
88. "Circular from the Government of India to the Local Governments and Administrations, dated Simla, the 24th August, 1907", P. Mukherjee, n. 1, p. 254.
89. R. Coupland observed: "The Act of 1909 brought the constitutional advance begun by the Act of 1861 to the threshold of representative government." R. Coupland, n. 77, p. 25.
90. See, G. N. Singh, n. 4, p. 191.
91. The Indian Councils Act, 1909, Section 6.
92. *Ibid.*, Section 5.
93. *Ibid.*, Section 2(1).
94. B. Shiva Rao, *The Framing of the Constitution, Select Documents* (The Indian Institute of Public Administration, 1966), Vol. 1, p. 20.
95. A. K. Majumdar, "Introductory Historical Background," *Indian Constitutional Documents* (Bombay, 1967), Vol. 2, p. 17.
96. While speaking on the Indian Councils Act of 1909 in the House of Lords, Lord Morley had declared that "if it could be said that this Chapter of Reforms led directly or indirectly to the establishment of a parliamentary system in India, I, for one, would be pointing at all to do with it." *Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, Vol. 1, 1930, para. 136.
97. L. L. Anand, *The Constitution of India* (New Delhi, 1957), p. 4.
98. *The Modern Review* (Calcutta), July 1917, p. 104.
99. B. Shiva Rao, n. 94, pp. 26-27.
100. D. D. Basu, *Constitutional Documents* (Calcutta, 1969), Vol. 1, p. 5.
101. A. B. Keith, n. 2, p. 277.
102. Ranjita Coondoo, *The Division of Powers in the Indian Constitution* (Calcutta, 1936), p. 51.
103. N. Ganguli, *The Making of Federal India* (London, 1946), p. 51.
104. Kerala Patra, *The Working of Dyarchy in India*, p. 43, cited in Ranjita Coondoo, n. 102, p. 63.



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105. The Government of India Act, 1909, Section 4(3).
106. *Ibid.*, Section 72D (2) (a).
107. *Ibid.*, Section 72D (2) (b).
108. *Ibid.*, Section 11(h).
109. *Ibid.*, Section 13(1).
110. Congress Presidential Address of Srinivasa Ayyanger, Gauhati, 1926.
111. Undelivered Presidential Address of C. R. Das, 1921.
112. Government of India Act, 1919, Section 10(3).
113. *Ibid.*, Section 12.
114. *Ibid.*, Section 89A.
115. The Government of India Act, 1935, Section 48(1).
116. *Ibid.*, Section 50(1).
117. *Ibid.*, Section 52(1).
118. See C. Y. Chintamani and M. R. Masani, *India's Constitution at Work* (Bombay, 1940), p. 93.
119. Government of India Act, 1935, Section 51(5).
120. An interesting comment on the situation appeared on 17 February 1938 in the form of a letter in *The Times* (London) from Lord Lothian: "It is difficult to believe that the release of a small number of political prisoners constitutes in itself 'a grave menace'. Surely the right course in cases of this kind is for the Governor formally to warn the Ministers about the dangers he fears, and make it clear to them that if their judgement with regard to their own capability to protect life and property proved to be wrong and serious trouble occurs or threatens, he will not hesitate to use his powers as his justification of his warning to the Ministers in regard to the probable consequences of their action." Cited in C. Y. Chintamani and M. R. Masani, n. 118, p. 140.
121. See A. C. Banerjee, n. 8, pp. 342-43.
122. N. Rajgopala Aiyanger, *The Government of India Act, 1935—With a Commentary, Critical and Explanatory* (Madras, 1937), p. 75.
123. On 29 April 1937, the Congress Working Committee expressly passed a resolution that "the formation of these Ministries by the Governors is unconstitutional and repugnant to the Constitution of autonomy and in total defiance of the overwhelming public opinion in each of these provinces." C. Y. Chintamani and M. R. Masani, n. 93, p. 121.
124. Ranjita Coondoo, n. 102, p. 97.
125. Vide A. C. Banerjee, *Indian Constitutional Documents* (1757-1939), 2nd edition, 1949, p. 329.
126. Government of India Act, 1935, Section 62.
127. *The Daily Tribune* (Lahore), 29 December 1944, cited in Ph.D. Thesis (Office of the Governor in Punjab) by N. K. Lakhan Paul.
128. Government of India Act, 1935, Section 75.
129. Amitya Chatterjee, *The Constitutional Development in India* (Calcutta, 1958), p. 21.
130. Government of India Act, 1935, Section 88.
131. Cited in N. Gopala Aiyanger, n. 122, p. 105.
132. Government of India Act, 1935, Section 89.
133. Coupland, *Indian Politics, 1936-42* (Oxford, 1943), p. 118.
134. Cited in N. Gopala Aiyanger, n. 102, p. 106.
135. Government of India Act, 1935, Section 90.
136. Cited in N. Gopala Aiyanger, n. 122, p. 108.
137. Government of India Act, 1935, Section 86(2).
138. C. Y. Chintamani and M. R. Masani, n. 118, p. 130.
139. Government of India Act, 1935, Section 82.
140. *Ibid.*, Section 80.
141. *Ibid.*, Section 93.
142. Amitya Chatterjee, *The Constitutional Development of India: 1937-47* (Calcutta, 1958), p. 43.
143. On the resignation of the Congress Ministries, the administration of Congress Provinces, except Assam, where an alternative government was formed, was taken over by the Governors between 30th October and 10th November in seven Provinces, namely, Madras, Bombay, U.P., C.P., Bihar, Orissa and the N.W.F.P. Proclamations were issued by the Governors on the following dates: Madras—30th October, 1939; Bombay—4th November, 1939; N.W.F.P.—10th November, 1939; Orissa—6th November, 1939; C.P.—10th November, 1939; U.P.—3rd November, 1939. Cited in *ibid.*, p. 44. In Assam, on the resignation of the Chief Minister, Bardolai (Congress), an alternative government was formed with Sir Mohammad Saadulla as the Chief Minister. He resigned in December 1941. This led to the imposition of Section 93. The proclamation was revoked in August 1942 and a non-Congress Government was again formed under Sir Mohammad Saadulla. In Orissa a non-Congress Government was formed in November, 1941 and Section 93 was revoked. For detailed study see *ibid.*, pp. 44-45.
144. P. Singh, n. 65, p. 32.

A REVIEW OF EARLY HISTORY OF NORTH INDIA (C. 200 B.C.-A.D. 650)

(A REVIEW ARTICLE)

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Political history of North India between the disintegration of the Mauryan Empire and the death of Harsha constitutes a period of oscillating fortunes between dark and glorious phases of Indian history, not only with respect to the achievements and failures of the Indian genius but also to the paucity and abundance of sources. Dr. Chattopadhyaya in his work has tackled a difficult task with consummate skill. He has unravelled tangled webs and presented a coherent and reasonable story of what happened in the political field during this long period. He has taken into account all available literary, epigraphic and numismatic sources, and no other scholar has drawn upon contemporary Chinese sources as deeply.

In the first chapter entitled 'Pushyamitra and the Bactrian Greeks' the author discusses at length the career of Pushyamitra, and makes him contemporary with Demetrius-I who, according to the author, invaded Pataliputra in c. 188-87 B.C., when Brihadratha was on the Mauryan throne. Pushyamitra had played the leading role in pushing the Bactrian Greeks from Pataliputra. However, the author who is aware of the book *Indo-Greeks* by Dr. A. K. Narain, has completely ignored Narain's thesis that there was actually no invasion of Pataliputra by Demetrius-I (p. 18). In the reviewer's opinion, Dr. Narain's view is not correct, and the author's hypothesis that Demetrius-I's invasion of the Gangetic Valley contributed materially to the *coup d'état* by Pushyamitra explains best the course of events and the performance of more than one horse sacrifice by

Pushyamitra. However, the attempt to reconcile the conflicting Puranic version of the duration of the rule of Pushyamitra on Merutung's account is not successful (p. 8). It is difficult to believe that Pushyamitra would be the commander-in-chief under the last Mauryan emperor and also a sub-king of Avanti at the same time. Moreover, Vidisa rather Avanti, appears to be the later stronghold of the Sungas. The Buddhist literature is full of contempt for Pushyamitra's anti-Buddhist activities, but this has been generally sought to be glossed over due to the monumental evidence of the Bharhut and Sanchi stupas. But the author appears to be correct in assuming that Bharhut and Sanchi monuments may have been erected after the death of Pushyamitra (p. 13), when probably the Sungas' role as an imperial power had been already exhausted.

The death of Pushyamitra (c. 151 B.C.) marks a watershed in the history of North India. Even the pretence of an empire is gone and the region witnessed the emergence of a number of petty kingdoms and republics, and on the top of it the establishment of Bactrian Greek dynasties on the Indian soil. Our author has very ably refuted the view of Rapson that the Sunga empire after Pushyamitra extended to the Gangetic-Jamuna doab, and has conclusively shown that there could be no 'Sunga'

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age' in Indian history as the Sungas appear to have confined themselves to the Vidisa-Avanti region, and the Gangetic-Jamuna Valley was under the occupation of many dynasties, e.g. of Kausambi, Kosala, Panchala, etc., some of whose kings had names ending in Mitra. Besides these there were republican states like the Kunindas, the Adumbaras and the Yaudheyas. As a matter of fact, except the use of 'Mitra'-ending in the names of the kings who are mentioned in coins and inscriptions, there is no positive evidence to connect them with the Sunga dynasty. It may be pointed out that the Puranas refer to Pushyamitra and his successors followed by the Kanvas, and that the Puranic dynastic lists have been compiled from Magadha as the focal point. Our author holds that the Sungas after Pushyamitra and the Kanvas as well had nothing to do with Pataliputra, and the Puranic dynastic lists have been prepared from a new angle of vision with Madhyabharata and not Pataliputra (p. 20) as the centre. The date of Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela has been very controversial but most of the scholars place it in the 1st century B.C. Our author follows Sircar in placing it not much earlier than the beginning of the 1st century A.D. He postulates another Greek invasion in the Gangetic Valley under Dimita in the time of Kharavela. This Dimita has been identified with Timitra mentioned in a Besanagar seal (p. 37). However, on the cryptic reference in the Hathigumpha inscription without any clue to identification, and the unclear Besanagar seal, in our opinion, there is no sufficient evidence to believe in a Bactrian Greek invasion under Dimita in the 1st century B.C.-A.D. Dimita is not mentioned in the classical literature which mentions, besides Demetrius, Menandar and Apollodotus. Such an important event as the invasion of and rule over the Gangetic Valley by Dimita would not have escaped the notice of the classical and Indian authors and the absence of any coin of Dimita very much suggests that there was no such Greek ruler. The author is absolutely correct in his observation about the Indo-Greek dynasties that "here we are dealing with one

of the most confused chapters of ancient Indian history" (p. 40). We have mostly to rely on coins for the existence of a number of kings and inscriptional evidence is very scanty. It is, therefore, highly commendable that this 'confused chapter' has been simplified and explained in a most readable style. The reconstruction of Indo-Greek dynastic history and chronology is very plausible. On reappraisal of numismatic evidence, Menander has been placed in the 1st century B.C. (p. 44), and our author is right in rejecting Tarn's view, that 'it seems quite unsafe to call him a Buddhist even in the limited sense'. We agree with Dr. Chattopadhyaya that 'such strong traditions cannot be set aside lightly (p. 41), and in our view it is quite safe to hold that Menander had embraced Buddhism and did much for it. Menander, besides Demetrius and Apollodotus, is credited with extensive conquests in India according to classical authors. Kshemendra refers to the legend that Milinda (Menander) erected a stupa at Pataligrama (p. 47). Taking all this together, can it be suggested that Menander had something to do with the Gangetic Valley, and that Dimita (or Trimitra) may have been his general who escaped to Mathura region when Kharavela invaded Magadha? There is nothing to disprove the contemporaneity of Menander and Kharavela. Chattopadhyaya believes that the rise of Menander may have been one of the contributory causes for the disappearance of the republican states in the Punjab (p. 53). But this is rather a case of oversimplification. We know that the Adumbaras and the Kunindas played a significant role in the post-Menander period, and that the Agreyas, the Sivis and the Yaudheyas did not disappear subsequent to Menander. The power of survival of the Indian republics is really amazing in the midst of devastating raids and conquests by the Indo-Greeks, the Saka-Parthians and the Kushanas. Only Samudra Gupta appears to have succeeded in drying up the vital springs of republicanism.

The history of the Sakas and the Parthians is dealt with in the 3rd chapter. The view that

they were two distinct bands of the Sakas, the Sai-wang or the Murundas, and the Sakas appears to us to be correct (p. 63). The identification of Kipin has been a very debatable problem. Chattopadhyaya rejects the view of Sten Konow that it was Kapisa. He also does not accept Tarn's identification with Kabul. Our author identifies Kipin with Kashmir (p. 62), agreeing with Chavannes, Levi and others. The Saka migration into India is placed at the close of the first century B.C., when also is placed the region of Maues (p. 63). But when the author believes that Mithradates II (123-88 B.C.) put great pressure on the Scythians, what was the difficulty for the Sakas to enter India, especially the lower Indus Valley in the early years of the first century B.C.? According to our author the Sai-Wangs (Murundas) had entered Kipin much earlier than 73 B.C., the beginning of the region of Husiian-ti (p. 65). The date of Maues has been thoroughly discussed and agreeing with Sircar he holds that Maues flourished between c. 20 B.C. and A.D. 22 (p. 71). He takes the dates in Kharosthi inscriptions to be in the Vikrama era, and places no reliance on the *Kalakacaruakathanaka*. Gondophernes, according to the author, might have become king in the year 19 A.D., but in Iran, not in India, which became his charge later. All this appears to be plausible and untangles the tangled webs of the Saka-Parthian chronology. But to deny completely the persistent Jain legend of the Saka invasion and the tradition of Vikrama's victory over the Sakas appears to us to overshoot the mark. Moreover, there is no compelling reason for taking back the Taxila Copper Plate of the Sam. 79 and the Mathura Lion Capitol inscription of the year 72 to belong to the same era and to believe that Patika became a Mahakshtrapa and then became a subordinate under his father. The learned scholar should have devoted some time to the views of Von Leeuw discussed elaborately in her work *The Scythic Period*. In the opinion of Dr. Chattopadhyaya, Spalhora and Spalagadama did not rule over Indian territory (p. 74). But then where did they rule? Prakrit legends in Kharosthi script on

their coins certainly suggest that Indians were their subjects. Our author has devoted many pages on Gondophernes. He distinguishes between Pharotes and Gondophernes, and believes that Apollonius of Tyna and not Gondophernes visited Pharotes at Taxila, in 43-44 A.D., and Gondophernes conquered Taxila in 45 A.D. (pp. 79-80). It is rather a happy coincidence that the Takht-i-Bahi inscription was inscribed in the very year!

The Kushanas are dealt with in the 4th chapter. The author very rightly has pointed out that if Vima Kadphises flourished later than 78 A.D., why should he have copied the Roman aureus of Augustus when Nero had depreciated it (p. 90). Moreover, if Kujula Kadphises imitated the coins of Claudius (41-54 A.D.), Vima must have come to the throne much after 41 A.D. It is quite plausible that Vima as crown prince under his father conquered Taxila and when he became king, he conquered further east, up to Benares as Smith had suggested. The date of Kanishka has been discussed and the author is inclined to accept 78-79 A.D. as the year of his accession marking the beginning of the Saka era. It is argued very persuasively that Kanishka conquered or rather reconquered Taxila soon after 78-79 A.D., the date of Taxila Silver Scroll inscription which refers to 'maharajasa rajatirajasa Devaputrasa Khusanasa'. This 'Khusanasa' is identified with Sotar Megas of the coins, probably a viceroy of Vima Kadphises but belonging to Kanishka line, who had recovered Taxila lost before 76 A.D., the date of the Kalawan inscription which does not mention the Kushanas at all. Kanishka who might have started his career as viceroy of Vima Kadphises in east or north-west, on the death of Vima, reconquered Taxila in 78-79 A.D., immediately after the Taxila Silver-scroll inscription was engraved. The date 78-79 for Kanishka's accession appears to explain most of the contemporary history. It may be pointed out that an International Seminar on Date of Kanishka held in London did not come to any definite conclusion but the Editor of the published

volume 'Date of Kanishka' appears to suggest that there is nothing which cannot be reconciled with 78 A.D. as the date of the accession of Kanishka. Doubting the Chinese sources, our author is reluctant to believe in Kushana rule over Bihar and Bengal, and he observes, "we may now note the large number of Kushana coins found in the Eastern U.P. in contrast to the few pieces found in Bengal and Bihar" (p. 102). This is not a correct position today. A large hoard of Kushana coins was found at Buxar. Kumhrar excavation yielded a gold coin of Huvishka. At Chirand in the Saran district of Bihar as many as eighty Kushana copper coins were discovered in stratified Kushana strata in course of excavations. There appears to be no reason now to doubt the Kushana conquest of Bihar including Pataliputra, as mentioned in the Chinese sources. On the basis of the Vedic use of the word *Suvarna* the author believes that *Suvarna* as a coin was prevalent in India as early as the Vedic times (p. 103). But this appears to be a mere presumption in view of the lack of any gold coin so far in archaeological or any other context which can be placed earlier than the Kushana.

The Western Kshatrapas are discussed in Chapter V. The date of Nahapana is very controversial. While no one now subscribes to the views of Cunningham, Dubreuil and Banerji that his inscriptions are dated in the Vikrama era, Rapson's theory that they are dated in the Saka era has been fairly acceptable. The last known date of Nahapana is year 46, which, if reckoned in Saka era, will be equivalent to 124 A.D. Gautamiputra overstruck the coins of Nahapana and his Nasik inscription of the year 18 confirmed the gift formerly made by Ushabhadata; it is assumed that the 18th year of Gautamiputra's reign must be equivalent to 124 A.D., the last known date of Nahapana. The Satavahana chronology is most uncertain and to peg on this the date of Nahapana is very unsatisfactory. Our author after discussing all aspects of the matter comes to the conclusion that Nahapana's inscriptions are dated

in his regnal years and they cannot be referred to the Saka era of 78 A.D. (p. 127). On the evidence of the Andau inscription dated 130 A.D. it should be clear, as pointed out by Dr. Chattopadhyaya, that Gautamiputra's reign must have come to an end some time before 130 A.D., and not even in 130 A.D. as much before that Jayadaman was ruling conjointly with his father Kashtana. So the 18th year of Gautamiputra's reign is not equivalent to 124 A.D. (p. 126), and so Nahapana's dates are not in the Saka era. "Nahapana must have been ruling some time between these two dates" (60 and 80 A.D.—p. 129) and was not a subordinate under the Kushanas (p. 129).

The period between the fall of the Kushanas and the rise of the Guptas is entitled the 'Dark Age' and is dealt with in the sixth chapter. Our author, following Altekar, has rejected Jayaswal's theory of a Bharasiva empire (pp. 138 ff). Succinct accounts of the history of Kausambi, the Murundas, the Nagas and the republican states have been given. The role of the Yaudheyas, Arjunayanas has been clearly analysed. But one misses similar treatment about the Kunindas.

The Gupta history is discussed in Chapter VII containing 99 pages. The author on his interpretation of the Chinese passage and emendation of the Puranic verse from Anu Gangaen to Anu-Ganga concludes that the original Gupta territory comprised Magadh and the region along the river Ganges extending up to Northern West Bengal (p. 169). The problem of the original home of the Guptas is a highly controversial one, and the present reviewer and Dr. R. C. Majumdar had criticised each other in the pages of the journal of the Bihar Research Society many years ago. It was pointed out then that Beal's translation of the original Chinese account was not above suspicion. Dr. Chattopadhyaya appears to have taken no notice of all this. Who ruled over Magadha before the rise of the Guptas has been a debatable point. Some think that the Licchavis were rulers

Magadha. Dr. Chattopadhyaya believes in the (Saka) Murunda rule over Magadha (p. 174). In view of lack of any positive evidence, one guess is as good as any other. He has very ably argued that Kumaradevi was not a Licchavi princess of a ruling monarch. She was Licchavi by nationality and Samudra Gupta was grateful and indebted to the Licchavi people and not to the Licchavi royal house because the former helped him in some of the conquests (p. 173). The view of Allan that Chandra Gupta-Kumaradevi Coins were issued by Samudra Gupta has been accepted with new reasons given for it. Dr. Chattopadhyaya, while agreeing with the view that Chandra Gupta I abdicated the throne in favour of Samudra Gupta, dismisses Kaca problem as a non-starter and takes it to be an early name of Samudra Gupta (pp. 178-179). But this oversimplification does not really solve the problem. Why did Chandra Gupta I abdicate? Why were Samudra Gupta's kinsmen of equal birth disappointed? Why could not they do something to try to remove the cause of their disappointment? Now when Bayana Hoard has two varieties of Kaca coins, does not the existence of Kaca as a king other than Samudra Gupta become more plausible? Is there any other example in Gupta numismatic history of the same king issuing gold coins in two names? What about Aryamanjusri Mulakalpa's reference to a brother Bhasma of Samudra rising in rebellion in the east? All these questions remain unanswered, even undiscussed. On the non-mention of the epithet 'Licchavi dauhitra' for Samudra Gupta in the Eran inscription it has been suggested that the inscription is earlier than the Allahabad Pillar inscription and that Samudra Gupta received valuable help from the Licchavis in his digvijaya which made him indebted to his maternal tribe and hence the use of the epithet Licchavi-dauhitra, and the issue of the Chandra Gupta I-Kumaradevi coins as proofs of acknowledgment of the Licchavi help to Samudra Gupta (p. 180). It is a very penetrating reasoning, and very

plausible. But the question is, when did Eran come under Samudra Gupta? It must have come some time after the first campaign of the Aryavarta, as no king of Aryavarta defeated or exterminated can be identified as a king of Eran. Most probably Eran fell under Samudra Gupta during the campaign against the rulers of Dakshinapatha; was it the result of the 2nd Aryavarta war when the Nagas were exterminated and coins of Gnapatinaga have been found at Besnagar? Why did Samudra Gupta undertake the 2nd campaign in Aryavarta? Why before making his rule absolute over the Aryavarta he marched against the rulers of the Deccan? These questions cannot be answered at present, but there appears to be some truth in Dr. Chattopadhyaya's statement: "Samudra Gupta's southern campaign caused him to lose the conquests in North India that he had achieved after the death of his father" (p. 189). This explains his subsequent war of extermination of the kings of Aryavarta. The historicity of Rama Gupta has been under discussion by numerous scholars since Altekar declared him to be a new Gupta king. Our author, after summing up the position held by the two opposite sides, concludes that 'we have to wait for the final judgement' (p. 202). Recent discovery of Jain Votive images at Besnagar with inscriptions referring to the reign of Maharajadhiraja Rama Gupta tends to strengthen the view that Rama Gupta was an imperial Gupta ruler, as no other king at about the same time could hold identical imperial titles in East Malwa which was already under Samudra Gupta. Dr. Chattopadhyaya thinks that Eastern Malwa was conquered by Chandra Gupta II before 401 A.D. (p. 204) on the basis of the Udayagiri Hill inscription, dated in G.E. 82. But does not the Eran inscription of Samudra Gupta suggest that the Gupta push into Eastern Malwa began in the time of Samudra Gupta himself? Our author places Bahlika in the Punjab (p. 206), against the view that Bahlika is Balkh or Bactria in Afghanistan. Dr. Chattopadhyaya makes Bhasa an early contemporary of Chandra Gupta, and

Kalidasa a later contemporary (pp. 206-7). But such a late date for Bhasa is uncertain and Kalidasa in that case would not have mentioned him as one of his 'Purvasuris' which suggests a much earlier date. Dr. Chattopadhyaya is inclined to believe in a revolt by Govinda Gupta in Malwa some time after 435. In his opinion 'possibly after this revolt, Mandasore region became an independent unit' (p. 214) and he finds corroboration from the fact that in the second part of the Mandasore record, dated 473 A.D., there is no reference to any Gupta king. While it is possible to believe that Western Malwa under Govinda Gupta might have revolted at the time of the accession of Kumara Gupta I due to a natural ambition of Govinda Gupta, a brother of Kumara Gupta I, there is no reason to assume the loss of Malwa to the Guptas after 436 A.D. The non-mention of the name of Kumara Gupta in the second part of the aforesaid Mandasore record was because as at that time Kumara Gupta II was ruling the earth, and the earlier phrase 'Kumara Gupta Prthvim prasati'—served the purpose for the date 529 M.E. = 473 A.D. The reviewer had dealt with this problem in his book, *Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, published as long ago as 1954, but this has escaped the notice of Dr. Chattopadhyaya. Actually attribution of loss of Malwa to Kumara Gupta does not fit in with his extensive conquests in the Narmada Valley rightly suggested by our author (p. 215). Dr. Chattopadhyaya's suggestion that the Pushyamitras were a branch of the Naga tribe (p. 217) is interesting and deserves close examination. However, it is not possible to agree with the learned scholar that Tivaradeva of Sripura flourished in 800 A.D. Scholars now generally agree in placing him in the 6th century A.D. on the basis of revised opinion about the palaeography of the Sirpur inscriptions. Dr. Chattopadhyaya distinguishes between the Mlecchas and the Hunas defeated by Skanda Gupta; and though he is not certain who were the Mlecchas with whom he (Skanda) had to fight, he suggests that the fight took place somewhere in or near Surashtra and

the horde could be a mixed Persian-Greek one (pp. 218-219). However, there is no shred of evidence of any Greco-Persian invasion of India at the time, and we think that it is safer to identify the Hunas of the Bhitari record with the Mlecchas of the Junagarh inscription. In a work like this one would have liked the question of fratricidal war after the death of Kumara Gupta I to be treated at a longer length than in a small paragraph of 16 lines (p. 219).

The order of succession after Skanda Gupta is one of the most controversial problems of the Gupta dynastic history. Our author accepts totally the view that Puru Gupta succeeded Skanda Gupta (p. 221). It may be so, but it was expected that notice would be taken of an opposite view argued by the reviewer in his book (*DKM*). The author is right in holding that the account of the Gupta kings building monasteries in Nalanda is not necessarily the order of succession on the Gupta throne (p. 222). Dr. Chattopadhyaya rejects offhand the possibility of Kumara Gupta of the Sarnath inscription, dated 473 A.D., as an imperial Gupta ruler (p. 223). Scholars like Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Dr. R. K. Mookerji have accepted him as an imperial ruler. The reviewer has dwelt at length on the literary and numismatic evidence to conclusively prove that Kumara Gupta (II) of the Sarnath inscription was an imperial Gupta ruler who also issued gold coins (a variety of Kumara Gupta's Gold coins of Allan's Catalogue), which are different in purity, fabric, weight and legend from the variety of coins which should be attributed to Kumara Gupta III. It is really mysterious that Dr. Chattopadhyaya who had *DKM* before him did not at all refer to the view contrary to his own. If Maharaja Budha Gupta of the year 157 can be an imperial ruler, there is no ground to deny this status to 'Maharaja Kumara Gupta' of the Sarnath inscription (p. 223). Of course, he has rightly rejected the identification of the Sarnath Kumara Gupta with Kumara Gupta, son of Narasimha Gupta, an error in which most of the scholars have

been led into by Panina Lal. We also agree with the author that the existence of a second Baladitya among the Imperial Guptas is not known from any other source, (p. 224) including the Sarnath inscription of Prakataditya which is to be placed towards the end of the 7th century A.D. and which refers to two Baladityas. Our author is right in holding that after Budha Gupta, there was a division of empire between two kings, one in Magadha and one in Gauda. In Magadha it was Narasimha Gupta Baladitya and in Gauda Vainya Gupta (p. 225). Vainya Gupta must have become Maharajadhiraja after 507 A.D., the date of the Junagarh inscription. This reviewer suggested that Vainya Gupta was propped up as emperor by the Huna king Toramana who defeated Baladitya (*DKM*) and forced him to pay tribute (*DKM*). But this was shortlived as Baladitya made peace with Mihirakula, and Vainya Gupta disappeared from the scene. However, we do not agree with the author that the 1st year of Toramana's rule must be placed after 510 A.D., the date of the Eran posthumous pillar inscription of Goparaja. This is equally possible that there was a revolt against the Huna conquest of central India and the Gupta Chief, Bhanu Gupta, was specially sent to assist the resistance against the Hunas who had overrun Gauda, Magadha and eastern U.P., and might have thus to face a weaker force left in Central India, which may explain their defeat. But Mihirakula appears to have got over the situation. Dr. Chattopadhyaya, who believes that Budha Gupta succeeded his father Puru Gupta about 476 A.D., does not believe that "he had control over the western Malwa region, Surashtra or Cambay." However, he does not offer any suggestion about the overlord of Maharaja Drona Simha in 502 A.D. We think he was either Budha Gupta or more probably Narasimha Gupta; the fiction of Gupta suzerainty suited both.

The history of Mihirakula is very much confused. Our author has done an excellent job of comparing the accounts of Sung-yun and Yuan Chwang and pointing out the important differ-

ences (pp. 234-235). When did Mihirakula occupy Kashmir, before or after his defeat by Baladitya, and why did Yasodharman meet him as king of the north? All this has to wait till fresh evidence comes forth. However, there is no doubt about the correctness of the position taken by Dr. Chattopadhyaya that Yasodharman defeated Mihirakula in Kashmir after the latter's defeat at the hands of Baladitya (p. 240). The present reviewer had already argued at length that the original home of the later Guptas was Magadha, and is happy to note that Dr. Chattopadhyaya holds the same view (p. 246), but there is no evidence to make them subordinates to the Maukharis (p. 247).

Chapter VIII entitled 'The Age of the Maukharis' appears to give an exaggerated importance to the role of the Maukharis in the history of North India. The author thinks that Isanavarman won victories over the Andhras, the Sulikas and the Vangas as a crown prince of Isvaravarman (pp. 267-268). But it may be pointed out that there is nothing in the Harsha inscription to warrant this and there is no reference to the Vangas at all. Actually the Gaudas are referred to, and they cannot be identified with the dynasty of Gopachandra. A Gauda power, known later as the Gaudas, was already rising and had been faced by Jivita Gupta earlier. The identification of the Sulikas with the Hunas (p. 268) cannot be accepted. As a matter of fact, the interpretation of the verse in the Apsad inscription attributing the victory of Isanavarman over the Hunas is not unquestioned. The verse 11 of the inscription is very difficult to translate and interpret. But a young scholar has translated it in such a way that it means that the Hunas were only mercenary soldiers in the army of Isanavarman and this army was rent asunder by Damodara Gupta (the *Bharati* No. 5, pt. I, 1961-62, pp. 62 ff). Dr. Chattopadhyaya is inclined to accept the identification of Suryavarman of the Sirpur inscription with that of a son of Isanavarman of the same name (p. 268); then how could he place Tivaradeva in c. 800 A.D. (pp. 185, 217)? Dr. Chattopadhyaya, follows:

ing Dr. Sircar, believes that Damodara Gupta died in the battlefield fighting Isanavarman and thus this attempt to make the later Gupta dynasty independent of the Maukhari overlordship, indicated by the coins of Damodara Gupta depicting his face in the opposite direction to that of the Maukhari kings on their coins, was shortlived. But the present reviewer has shown that there is no reason to go against the plain meaning of the verse which refers to Damodara Gupta's victory over Isanavarman. The former's being unconscious in the fight and then regaining his consciousness has been conclusively shown by Maheshwari Prasad in the *Bharati*, No. 5, Part I, quoted earlier. The Maukhari conquest of Magadha actually occurred in the time of Sarvavarman when Mahasena Gupta was on the throne. There is no evidence whatsoever to support Dr. Sircar's view, accepted by our learned author, that Damodara Gupta's adversary was Isanavarman. He could very well have been his son Sarvavarman, as the former had fought Kumara Gupta, the father of Damodara Gupta. Therefore, there is no reason to interpret the verse 11 of the Apsad inscription as describing a double achievement for the Maukhari ruler (Isanavarman), the defeat of the Hunas and the victory over Damodara Gupta (p. 270). Actually Isanavarman most probably did not defeat the Hunas and certainly did not defeat Damodara Gupta.

The section on the 'Later Epthalitis' (pp. 270-271) is very useful. Dr. Chattopadhyaya observing with his theory that the later Guptas were subordinates to the Maukharis goes so far as to say that Mahasenagupta's victory against the Kamarupa ruler on the Lauhitya was as a subordinate of the Maukharis on the latter's behalf (p. 274). This is a gratuitous assumption without any evidence. The asylum to two sons of Mahasenagupta at the court of Thanesvara was not necessarily because of the matrimonial relations of the Maukhari king, Grahavarman, with the house of Thanesvara (p. 274). Mahasenagupta had already much earlier married his sister to the father of Prabhakaravardhan

and Prabhakaravardhan would not wait for his alliance with the Maukharis for giving asylum to his cousins after the death of Mahasenagupta, the event which could have happened even before the marriage of Rajyasri with Grahavarman. Much cannot be made of the absence of imperial titles by the later Guptas. Ruling in Magadha they had to respect the imperial tradition of the Imperial Guptas who continued to reign, if not rule, till 551 A.D.

Dr. Chattopadhyaya is right, relying on the Tibetan version of the *AMMK*, that Jayanaga flourished before Sasanka and is identical with the issuer of the Bappaghosovata grant (p. 275). However, our author has not been fair to Jayanagar, perhaps the first Bengali emperor. While nothing can be said of the extension of his authority over Eastern Bengal, his conquest of Magadha may be indicated by the gold coin moulds of 'Jaya' found at Nalanda. The present reviewer has discussed the problem of Jayanaga and Sasanka at great length in *DMK*, and has shown that Sasanka as *mahasamanta* of Jayanaga spearheaded this conquest of Magadha extending up to the eastern boundary of the Maukhari empire. This is a better explanation of the seal-matrix of Maharaja Mahasamanta Sasankadeva found at Rohtas, rather than making him a subordinate of the Maukhari king Avantivarman or of the later Gupta king Mahasenagupta (p. 278).

Dr. Chattopadhyaya has done well in drawing our attention to the significance of Tibetan inroads in Bihar and U.P. between 581 and 600 A.D. (p. 276). Our author differs with the view of Dr. R. C. Majumdar and places the Midnapore copper plates of the time of Sasanka in 629 A.D., when the latter, according to our author, was a subordinate to Harsha. Much is made of the fact that in the Midnapore plates Sasanka is not referred to with the epithet Maharajadhiraja as he is mentioned in the Ganjam copperplates, dated in the year 619 A.D. (p. 280). It may be pointed out that even the great emperor Kumara Gupta is referred as mere Maharaja in the Mankunwai

image inscription, and Budha Gupta also as Maharaja in the Sarnath votive image inscription, when both were certainly imperial suzerains during the time. Moreover, it is hardly possible that Harsha would ever allow or trust his inveterate enemy, Sasanka, to make conquests in Utkala when the former had vowed to exterminate the Gaudas. The suggestion that Sasanka became Mahasamanta of Harsha in Magadha as vouchsafed by the Rohtasgarh seal-matrix (p. 282) is unreasonable. Was Sasanka ruling over Orissa and Magadha both as a vassal of Harsha at the same time? Harsha's trust in Sasanka could not be more gallant then! What a chivalrous treatment to the greatest foe of the family, Sasanka? And on what evidence? The view that Mahasenagupta pressed by his enemies left Magadha and carved out a Kingdom in Eastern Malwa (p. 286) was put forward by the present reviewer much earlier (*DMK*). Dr. Chattopadhyaya, rejecting the view of Dr. Majumdar, rightly observes that in disposing of Rajyavardhana, Sasanka acted in the most barbarous manner (p. 290).

The last Chapter IX deals with the 'Age of Harsha'. Dr. Chattopadhyaya very ably has discussed the Chinese accounts of the period of war and peace under Harsha, and comes to the conclusion that Harsha's period of war extended from 618 to 624 A.D. (p. 296). In his opinion Harsha's *digvijaya* started after he made himself stable in Kanauj, which did not come under his real control in 606 A.D., when he had decided to march against the Gaudas. According to our author, Harsha's early position in Kanauj was not an easy one and this is indirectly suggested by the story of Avalokitesvara advising him to rule Kanauj but not to sit on the lion throne and not to adopt the title of Maharaja. It is obvious that while there was a pro-Harsha faction in Kanauj, supported by Rajyasri, there was another faction supporting Suva or Suca who was the son of Avantivarman. Harsha appears to have set aside the claim of Suva, and this gave trouble to Harsha in Kanauj (pp. 297-298). But it is difficult to believe that Suva or Suca was set aside by

Harsha. There is no evidence for this. Most probably he was the son and successor of Avantivarman in Magadha while Grahavarman succeeded him in Kanauj. There was a division of the Maukhari empire between the two brothers. On the basis of the *AMMK* and She-Kie-Fang-Che it is correct to believe that Sasanka was actually defeated by Harsha; and, according to our scholar, this defeat must have taken place after 619 A.D., the date of the Ganjam plate. It has been held that Harsha and Bhaskaravarman conjointly defeated Sasanka, and Bhaskaravarman occupied the eastern part of Sasanka's kingdom as a part of his joint victory (p. 301) and Sasanka was compelled to accept a subordinate status (p. 300). According to Dr. Chattopadhyaya Harsha-Pulakesin war took place about 634 A.D., and Harsha may have been defeated at that time, but Harsha's campaign in Kongda proves that the skirmishes between the two continued thereafter and Harsha was able to avenge the defeat of 634 A.D. Our author very ably controverts the view of Dr. R. C. Majumdar that Harsha's war with Dhruvabhata of Valabhi ultimately led to war between Harsha and Pulakesin II (p. 303). The discussion about the extent of Harsha's empire is remarkable for its brevity and clarity.

Besides the nine well-written and most readable chapters, there are in all 10 appendices and a few notes on controversial topics. Genealogical tables and select bibliographies, chapter-wise, add merit to the work. The Index is thorough and correctly paged. This long review is the acknowledgment of the indispensability of the book for any student of Ancient Indian History.

The book is decidedly one of the most important works on the subject published so far. It is written in a most lucid and readable style with meticulous care for documentation. It is a work which must find its place on the shelf of all persons—students, teachers, researchers and libraries.

THE PRIVILEGES ENJOYED BY THE BRAHMINS UNDER THE LATER PESHWAS

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Dr. G. S. Ghurye, an eminent Sociologist of India, while discussing the features of the Caste System in the pre-British era in his book, *Caste and Race in India*, says, "For a Brahmin most others are Shudras, irrespective of high or low status; and but for two or three higher castes that are allied to the Brahmins in culture, the rest of the population, excepting the impure castes and some other specific groups is Kulwadi or Shudra....., a generic term for manual workers.... Further, if we are to take some kind of Indian sentiment as our guide in our analysis then as according to the orthodox theory on this matter there are only two, or at the most three castes in the present age, we shall have to divide the whole population of any major Linguistic province into two castes, Brahmin and Shudra, or at the most three, where the existence of the Kshatriya is grudgingly granted".¹

What Dr. Ghurye has said regarding India in general is true of Maharashtra in particular under the Later Peshwas. The Brahmins in Maharashtra, under the Later Peshwas, regarded other castes either as Shudras or as Ati-Shudras. There is no recorded evidence that they even grudgingly accepted the existence of the Kshatriyas. In this matter the orthodox theory, championed by the Brahmins, helped in making the position of the Brahmins supreme.

Along with the highest social status there were a number of privileges, enjoyed by the members of the Brahmin caste, in religious, economic, judicial and social matters.

Religious Privileges :

With the sole exception of the Brahmin caste, all the other castes were regarded either as Shudras or as Ati-Shudras. Therefore, as Shudras and Ati-Shudras they had no right of Vedokta religious ceremonies; that was the privilege of the Brahmins. Of all the non-Brahmin castes, which had to be content with the Puranic (or the Shastrokta) mantras, the Prabhu caste, which was largely literate and ably competed with the Brahmin caste by working as clerks and civil officers, was desirous of performing the religious ceremonies accompanied by the Vedic mantras. It seems that only the Prabhu caste, which claimed Kshatriya descent, fought intermittently with the Brahmins for their rights of Vedic ceremonies. However, under Balaji Bajirao alias Nanasaheb, the Prabhu caste had to bow down before the socio-political superiority of the Brahmin caste and had to give up the claim of Vedic ceremonies and to accept Shudra status, agreeing to visit temples frequented by the Shudras.²

The Brahmin caste virtually enjoyed the monopoly of religious priesthood. There were only a few other castes or groups like the Guravs, the Jangams and the Manbhavis, which

dealt with the religious and priestly affairs. The Brahmin priests often complained against the members of these priestly castes or groups. As a result of these complaints the Peshwa Government used to take strong action against these priestly castes.³ Thus, though occupationally the Brahmin priests and the members of these priestly groups were on an equal footing, the Brahmin priests were, it seems, in a position to disable the others from performing their occupations properly, with the active support of the Peshwa Government.

Economic Privileges :

The members of the Brahmin caste, under the Later Peshwas, practised the priestly, the clerical, or the administrative occupations, either for the people or for the Government or for both. For the performance of these occupations they received payment (either in cash or in kind) which could be called their occupational fee.

In addition to the occupational fees, the Brahmins enjoyed certain economic privileges like the receipt of *Dakshana* in the month of Shravan, exemptions in custom duties, ferry charges and other taxes and favourable assessment of land belonging to them.

The Brahmins received the *Dakshana* in the month of Shravan. The *Dakshana*, amounting to more than one lac of Rupees, was distributed to the Brahmins from various centres in Shanwarwada. It seems that the amount of *Dakshana*, given individually, varied according to the learning of the Brahmins.⁴ In addition to the Brahmin males who assembled at Shanwarwada, the others who remained absent, viz., sick Brahmins, and the wives and children of the Brahmins, were also given the *Dakshana* in their homes.⁵

"The *Dakshana* charity, started with a view to encourage learning, became a grant generally to all Brahmins, and Poona became the centre of a large pauper population. As many

as 30 to 40 thousand Brahmins were fed for days together at State expense at the great festivals with costliest viands; these distinguishing features of purely sacredotal or caste ascendancy characterised the close of the century and introduced demoralisation of which few people have correct idea."⁶ These words of Justice Ranade succinctly manifest the damaging effects of the distribution of the *Dakshana* and food to the Brahmins on the Maratha Society.

Justice Ranade had also made comments on the exemptions from custom duties and ferry charges: "The Brahmins at this time (i.e., the latter half of the eighteenth century) came to regard themselves as a governing caste with special privileges and exemptions which were unknown under the system founded by Shivaji. The Konkanastha Brahmin Karkoons, who had the 'monopoly of all the Secretariat or Daftar Offices and received respectable salaries, obtained the privilege of having their goods exempted from custom duties and ferry charges when they imported grain and other goods from outside ports and places'.⁷

R. P. Patwardhan has commented upon the abovementioned statement of Justice Ranade. Patwardhan says, "It was not a general exemption from all custom duties that was given to the Karkoons, but for once bringing a stated amount of rice from Konkan. The amount varied from individual to individual". He further says that this concession was given not only to the Konkanastha Brahmins but also to the Deshastha and Karhada Brahmins.⁸

While admitting that the Karkoons were to bring rice once a year, it can be pointed out that a Karkoon, Bapuji Ballal Phadke, used to bring as much as eighteen Khandis of rice not only from the Konkan but also from the Mavals in the Desh.⁹ However, one can safely say that the monopoly and the privilege, pointed out by Justice Ranade, were exclusive.

* A paper read at the All-India Maratha History Seminar—1971 at Bombay on 6th November 1971.

ly enjoyed by the members of the Brahmin caste, serving in the Daftar offices, where the Konkanastha Brahmins were in a majority.

"The Brahmin landholders in the Kalyan Prant and also in Maval had their lands assessed at half or lower rates than were levied from the other classes", said Justice Ranade.¹⁰ While commenting upon this Dr. G. S. Ghurye has said, "It must be pointed out that Prabhus in certain areas of Kalyan were exempted from house tax and grazing fee, which used to be levied from them, by Balaji Bajirao in the year A.D. 1743-44".¹¹

However, Dr. Ghurye has failed to point out that in the Kalyan province the Brahmins were exempted from forced labour (*बेठ बेगार*) and taxes on purchases.¹² It must be pointed out that the Somvedi Brahmins in the Bassein province were exempted from the house tax and the Somvedi Brahmin priests were not to undergo forced labour.¹³ It was the privilege of the Brahmins (it was the Brahmin-shirasta) in the Karnala and the Kalyan provinces to pay the land revenue to the Government in cash and not in kind like others,¹⁴ a method which was clearly advantageous to them.

Judicial Privileges :

It seems clear from the Vad Diaries and other records that all the castes, including the Brahmin caste, had their share in the crimes committed in Maharashtra under the Later Peshwas. The Ati-Shudras, the Shudras and even the Brahmins were guilty of such offences as harming the cows, forced marriages, adultery, prostitution, drinking alcohol, witchcraft, treachery and murder.¹⁵

Yet there was a large amount of discrimination in giving punishment to the culprits. For the same culpable offence the Brahmin wrongdoers received mild punishment and the non-Brahmins severe punishment. Under Peshwa Sawai Madhavrao, on the charge of

treason and conspiracy the Brahmins were only imprisoned but the Shudras and the Ati-Shudras were either amputated or given capital punishment.¹⁶ In one case both Brahmins and members of other castes were together involved in an act of treason. The Brahmins, found guilty, were merely kept in confinement, while the non-Brahmins were either mutilated or served with capital punishment.¹⁷ The same biased attitude was shown by the rulers in other offences, as murder, theft, etc. While a Brahmin found guilty on a charge of murder was given the punishment (if it could be called a punishment) of visiting a holy place,¹⁸ the Shudras and the Ati-Shudras accused of theft were mutilated.¹⁹ The punishment of mutilation (amputation of one or more limbs) was strictly reserved for the Shudras and the Ati-Shudras and was sometimes given on a large scale.²⁰ Under Peshwa Sawai Madhavrao, for committing thefts in the Konkan, by a single order in 1785 twenty persons were beheaded, a right hand and an ear of four persons were cut; three persons were either mutilated or publicly disgraced, and thirty-eight persons, mostly Ati-Shudras, were punished by amputation or mutilation.²¹

In his book, *The Judicial System of the Marathas*, about the treatment to the prisoners, Dr. V. T. Gune says, "They were treated according to their station in life and the nature of crime they committed. Persons of the lower castes and especially adulterous women, both of higher and lower castes, were compelled to do hard labour on building fortresses. The quantity and also quality of rations varied according to the rank of the prisoners and allowance of food was regulated by weight and not by price".²²

It should be pointed out that the treatment to the prisoners depended more upon their station in life, which was to a large extent determined by the caste of the prisoners than upon the nature of the crime they had committed. We have noted that for similar

offences different punishments were given to the Brahmins and to the Shudras and the Ati-Shudras. Two of the four adulterous women, referred to by Dr. Gune, were compelled to do hard labour on building fortresses.²³ The political prisoners from the Shudra group were not given regulated food rations.²⁴ On the other hand, most of the Brahmin prisoners received regulated (i.e., mentioned in detail) food rations.²⁵

Dr. Gune further says about the treatment of prisoners, "They were sometimes given leave for going home, to perform religious ceremonies like the *Shraddha* (funeral rites) of dead parents, marriages of grown-up daughters and the thread ceremony of sons, which the Peshwa as the religious head of the State could not permit to be neglected, and were often given money to perform the 'obsequial rites' in jail. Due consideration was given to the prisoners' health, and if required they were released. Sometimes their relatives were allowed to attend them. If the climate did not suit their health, they were transferred to some other places and were often supplied with the necessary clothings, etc."²⁶

These words of Dr. Gune might give the impression that the abovementioned concessions were of a general nature, i.e., they were granted to the prisoner irrespective of his or her caste. This impression, I feel, would not be correct, because the fourteen references given from the Peshwa Diaries by Dr. Gune, in support of his statement, are of the Brahmin prisoners only.²⁷

The judicial privileges and disabilities make it clear that the principle of equality before the law was not respected in Maharashtra under the Later Peshwas.

Social Privileges :

The members of the Brahmin caste with the support of the Peshwa Government regarded

themselves socially superior to the Shudras and the Ati-Shudras to such an extent that ordinary social contacts on a footing of equality must have been impossible between the Brahmins on the one hand and the Shudras and especially the Ati-Shudras on the other. The Ati-Shudras, in comparison with the others, suffered from a number of disabilities.

"In the Maratha Country a Mahar, one of the untouchables, might not spit on the road lest a pure caste should be polluted by touching it with his foot, but had to carry an earthen pot, hung from his neck, in which to spit. Further, he had to drag a thorny branch with him to wipe out his footprints and to lie at a distance prostrate on the ground if a Brahmin passed by, so that his foul shadow might not defile the holy Brahmin", says Russell.²⁸ From these words we get a glimpse of the inhuman treatment given to the Ati-Shudras under the Later Peshwas.

In addition to these disabilities, the Ati-Shudras, also referred to as the Antyaj or the Antevasi, were forced to live on the outskirts of the villages. With the growth of the villages, there arose the possibility of the distance between the localities of the Brahmins and the Shudras and the Ati-Shudras being reduced, involving the risk of the members of the Brahmin caste being defiled either by touch or by shadow. To avoid this possibility, the far-sighted Peshwa Government under Sawai Madhavrao ordered the Mahars, Mangs and Chambhars to be removed to another site, a little away from the village.²⁹

Like the Ati-Shudras, the Shudras had no right to inter-dine with the Brahmins. A weaver, to satisfy his hunger, had disguised himself as a Sanyasi Brahmin and had taken food along with Bajirao II at Kopergaon. For this, the weaver was imprisoned and all the people attending the feast, including Bajirao II, had to fast for a day and on the

next day could take food only after having tasted *panchagavya*.³⁰ The acceptance of food from a Shudra by a Brahmin, even in a fit of insanity, was an unpardonable offence.³¹ There were cases of Brahmin women who lived with the Shudras and were punished for such violation of social laws.³²

The Brahmins did not employ the Ati-Shudras in the household for the fear of defilement.³³ However, sometimes they did employ Shudras in the household. An interesting case of so-called defilement and its consequences may be cited here. A Brahmin mamalatdar, under Peshwa Sawai Madhavrao, employed a *batik*, who belonged to the Prabhu caste, for household duties. Later on it was discovered that the Prabhu woman had intimacy with an Antyaj. Therefore, the whole household and even the idols were considered to be defiled through that woman. With the help of the *Prajapatyas*, the *Panchagavya* and the inevitable Brahmin *Dakshanas* and feasts, the house was "purified". It was decided that all the articles, foodgrains, cloths, utensils, etc., be taken out of the house and the ground of the house be dug and burnt and a cow be allowed to walk over the ground. The pots were to be purified by being put into the fire, if they were of bronze; earthen-ware were to be thrown away. Wooden seats, pillars and doors were to be discarded. All the articles in the house were to be sprinkled liberally with the purifying mixture of *Panchagavya*. Thus for merely employing a woman who had intimacy with an Antyaj, the Brahmin mamalatdar had to forfeit Rs. 3,000 for Brahmin *Dakshanas* and feasts and on other counts.³⁴

The lack of proper social contacts must have dangerously damaged the unity of the Hindu Society, which, according to some, had been maintained by a common Brahmin priesthood. Dr. Ghurye says, "The hereditary and prescriptive right of the Brahmins to act as priests to all castes of Hindus, with only a few exceptions, has been one uniform and

general principle in caste society through all its vicissitudes."³⁵ In the British period, the Shudras started employing their caste-priests for their religious functions. The High Courts upheld the rights of the caste-priests to officiate at marriages and other functions, when it came to be questioned in the courts by the Brahmins. Dr. Ghurye ascribes to these decisions of the High Courts, "the dissolution of the only bond holding together the diverse castes, viz., the employment of a common priesthood."³⁶

Assuming that the privilege of the Brahmin priests to act as priests to all castes of Hindus was a cohesive force for the patch-work fabric of the Hindu society, it can be maintained that the Brahmin priests themselves and the Later Peshwas had already started the process of "the dissolution of the only bond holding together the diverse castes".

In this connection it can be said that the marriages of the Mahars, a major Ati-Shudra caste in Maharashtra, were officiated by the watandar Brahmin priests, who came to refuse to do it in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Peshwa Madhavrao I, it appears from a letter, had rebuked and taken action against a Brahmin priest, who declined to act as a priest at the marriage of the Mahars.³⁷ There is another letter, dated 15th May 1784, directed to the Mahars in Tarf Girhe and Poudkhore, by the Government under Peshwa Sawai Madhavrao which agreed that in view of the records provided by the Mahars and the prevailing customs of other Mahars and Parganas, there was no objection to Brahmins to officiate at the marriages of the Mahars. The letter further gives an assurance that the watandar Joshis would officiate at the marriages of the Mahars, as in the past.³⁸

In spite of the promise, the Peshwa Government, on 14th June 1785, passed an order in which it was stated that the Brahmin Jotishis at Tarf Poudkhore would officiate as priests at the marriages of all castes, other

than the Ati-Shudras. In the order it was maintained that in the Konkan Prant and the Junnar region the marriages of the Mahars were officiated by the Medhe Mahars and Degomegos, respectively. The Peshwa Government, in this document, refers to a decision given by Emperor Aurangzeb when two to four thousand Mahars in Prant Junnar requested him that the Brahmins should officiate as priests in their marriages. Emperor Aurangzeb decided that the Brahmins should not officiate at the marriages of the Mahars. The Peshwa Government, in the 'Swarajya', strangely enough decided to respect the injunction of a Mohammedan Emperor, and that too of Aurangzeb, and to disrespect the rebuke to the Brahmin priests by a Hindu Peshwa, i.e., Madhavrao. The order further warned the Ati-Shudras not to trouble the Brahmin priests to officiate at their marriages.³⁹

Based upon this analysis, the statement of Dr. Ghurye needs modification. "During the career of Sawai Madhavarao the Peshwa Government had decreed that the Mahars, being Ati-Shudras, 'beyond Shudras', could not have their marriage rites conducted by the regular Brahmin priests".⁴⁰ There was the tradition of Brahmin priests officiating at the marriages of the Mahars, a caste belonging to the Ati-Shudra group, before 1785, but after 1785 it came to be discontinued by the

Peshwa Government upon the request of the Brahmin priests.

Conclusion:

The question of the reactions of the Shudras and the Ati-Shudras to these disabilities would remain unanswered from the records that are available to us. But one can very well see that such social disabilities were not without results. The enjoyment of an unrivalled supreme position in the society by the Brahmins and the degradation of others as Shudras and Ati-Shudras must have been damaging to the Hindu Society in general.

The enjoyment of privileges by the nobility and the Church in France before 1789 has been regarded by some writers⁴¹ as a significant factor in the outbreak of the French Revolution. In India, the revolutionary work of the social reformers like Mahatma Phule, Rajarshi Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur, Babasaheb Ambedkar, Gandhiji and others will have to be studied in the context of the privileges which the Brahmins enjoyed and the disabilities which the Shudras and the Ati-Shudras suffered. The question of the entry of the Ati-Shudras in the Hindu temples, decided against the Ati-Shudras by the Peshwa Government under Sawai Madhavrao,⁴² came to be attacked by the social reformers of the 19th and 20th centuries.

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P.D. Vol. VIII, Nos. 866, 873, 875, 938, 939, 1117.
 16. P.D. Vol. VIII, Nos. 866, 870, 873, 875, 876.
 17. P.D. Vol. VIII, No. 866.
See also P.D. Vol. VII, No. 625.
 18. P.D. Vol. VIII, No. 901.
Sometimes, confiscation of property and imprisonment were also the punishments given to the Brahmins guilty of theft. See P.D. Vol. VIII, Nos. 898, 902.
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 25. P.D. Vol. VII, Nos. 615, 638, 640, 642.
P.D. Vol. VIII, Nos. 979, 981, 990.
In other letters, such as,
P.D. Vol. VIII, Nos. 912, 992, and
P.D. Vol. VII, Nos. 615, 617,
the food to be given to the Brahmin prisoners is referred to.
 26. Dr. V. T. Gune : *op. cit.*, p. 120.
 27. P.D. Vol. I, No. 336.
P.D. Vol. II, No. 123.
P.D. Vol. V, No. 220.
P.D. Vol. VIII, Nos. 967, 971, 973, 974, 976, 977, 980, 982, 990, 992, 979.
P.D. Vol. VIII, No. 779 given by Dr. Gune appears to be incorrect, as there is no letter of this number in the volume. The number might be 979.
 28. A statement of Mr. Russell, quoted by Dr. G. S. Ghurye : *op. cit.*, p. 14.
 29. P.D. Vol. VIII, No. 1142.
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 34. P.D. Vol. VIII, No. 1125.
 35. Dr. G. S. Ghurye : *op. cit.*, p. 272.
 36. *Ibid.*
 37. Oturkar (ed.) : *op. cit.*, No. 93.
 38. S. N. Joshi : *Marathakalin Samajdarshan* (Anantha Vidyarthi Griha Prakashana, Poona-2, 1960), p. 125.
 39. P.D. Vol. VIII, No. 1132.
 40. Dr. G. S. Ghurye : *op. cit.*, p. 120.
 41. See for example : Lord Elton : *The Revolutionary Idea in France* (Arhold, 1959), p. 8.
N. C. Kelkar : *French Rajyakraanti*.
M. M. Kelkar, Poona, 1937), pp. 2-3, 10-11.
Gordon Wright : *France in Modern Times, 1760 to the Present* (London, 1964), pp. 18-19.
Alfred Cobban : *The Social Interpretation of the French Revolution* (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 34-35, pp. 102, 132.
See also the *New Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII.
The American and French Revolutions, 1766-93 (Cambridge), p. 653.
 42. P.D. Vol. VIII, No. 1129,
see also S.P.D. Vol. 43, No. 130.

Explanation regarding the use of certain words.

THE LATER PESHWAS.

It is not only the post-Panipat period that is covered in the paper but also the Peshwaship of Balaji Bajirao. The paper covers approximately the latter half of the eighteenth century in Western Maharashtra.

THE SHUDRAS AND THE ATI-SHUDRAS.

The terms are used in this paper as they are used in the Marathi records of the period. The Ati-Shudras were, generally speaking, the scheduled castes of the present times, and the Shudras consisted of all the castes other than the Brahmins and the Ati-Shudras.

NORTHBROOK COLLECTION

1872-1890

B. M. SANKHDHER

(National Archives of India, New Delhi)

Lord Mayo's assassination on February 8, 1872, created a great sensation throughout the length and breadth of the British Empire. He was the only Governor-General and Viceroy of India who was stabbed to death. The tragedy was described in the contemporary press as a "thunderbolt" and the murderer, Sher Ali, as "a splendid wild animal." In a memorandum : "Assassination of Lord Mayo and Wahabeeism", March 11, 1872, William Taylor felt that Lord Mayo's vigorous raid against the Wahabees was responsible for the "terrible" murder. He described the Wahabees, as "men, who while their hearts are burning with irrepressible fanaticism, are in all their political measures the most cunning and astute of mortals. Their powers of dissimulation are unrivalled ; their diplomacy, a lesson to Bismarck ; the completeness of their organisation might serve as a model to the Jesuits. Our ordinary Saxon intellect has no chance with these subtle intriguants, and we are outwitted at every turn." William Taylor, it may be pointed out, was not alone in condemning the crime but a large number of other British officials, both in India and in Great Britain, criticised the fanatic behaviour of the Afghan murderer, who was executed in Viper Island on March 11, 1872. The story of Lord Mayo's assassination is well known ; it is also known that Sher Ali was a convict in the Andaman Islands under sentence of transportation for life. He broke through the guards to stab Lord Mayo who was on a trip to Port Blair. But what is not known is the real objective behind the whole plot. A true assessment of the crime still remains a desideratum. Sher

Ali was not merely "a splendid wild animal". He was the man who gloried in his accomplishment and hoped that a monument would be raised to his memory by his fellow countrymen. His association with the Wahabees is also a matter of controversy. The recent acquisition of the National Archives of India, New Delhi, of the private papers collection of Lord Northbrook, therefore, would provide excellent raw material for an evaluation of this problem, *de novo*.

Another significant aspect which may be studied through the Northbrook Collection is the role of Governor-General and Viceroy vis-a-vis the Secretary of State and the British Cabinet. Difference of opinion between the Secretary of State, the British Cabinet and the Indian Viceroy often resulted in many administrative and political measures for which no single government functionary was responsible. For example, it was Lord Disraeli and his Cabinet, who were responsible for the British humiliation in Afghanistan and not Lord Northbrook, who was pressurised by the Secretary of State to follow what is known in history as "forward policy" towards Afghanistan. Lord Northbrook, anticipating the consequences of interference in Afghan matters, resigned from the Governor-Generalship in 1876 and returned to England.

The Kuka Movement, famine in India, agrarian riots in Eastern Bengal, seditious writings in Indian newspapers, exclusion of civil servants from political appointments, Syed Ahmad Khan and the M.A.O. College, trans-

fer of Sind to Punjab, Indian finance, mal-administration and misconduct of the Gaekwad of Baroda, disquiet among the Muslims, objections in India to the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act, Bheel rising in Mewar, asylum for Abdur Rahman in India, establishment of the Punjab University at Lahore, Russian advance in Turkistan, executions in Kabul, the British Indian Association, taxation in Bengal, and resignation of Lord Northbrook are the other significant aspects of the Northbrook Collection. These subjects have been vigorously discussed in Lord Northbrook's correspondence with G. D. Campbell, the Duke of Argyll, Lord Salisbury, Lord Ripon, Lord Dufferin, Sir M.

E. Grant-Duff and many other individuals. Lord Northbrook's correspondence also includes letters to and from a large number of Indians, such as Syed Ahmad Khan, Sir. J. Jeejabhai, Raja Raghubeer Singh, Jookojee Holkar, Sir Salar Jung, Raja Amir Hassan Khan and many other Indian leaders, chiefs and princes. The Collection also comprises short notices on Baboo Ramanath Tagore, Chandra Mohun Chatterjee and Rajendra Lal Mitra.

The Collection comprises 10 microfilm rolls and covers a period of less than two decades, from 1872 to 1890.

BOOK REVIEWS.

The Emergence of a New Aristocracy in Nepal, by Dr. M. S. Jain, M.A., Ph.D., pp. 220, published by Sri Ram Mehra & Co., Agra, 1972, Price Rs. 28.

The book primarily deals with one of the most interesting episodes in the History of Modern Nepal, namely, the usurpation of royal authority by Jang Bahadur and the nature of his administration. By way of furnishing a historical background the author makes a rapid survey of the process by which the way was paved for this great transformation, namely, the passing of the real power from the King to the leaders of the different groups of aristocrats. As he points out, this was mainly due to a succession of minor rulers at the beginning of the 19th century. Thus Gurwan Juddha Vikrama came to the throne in 1799 at the age of less than two years and continued to rule till 1816, when he was succeeded by Rajendra Vikram, a boy of three. The practice of appointing a regent during minority rule gave an opportunity to the aristocracy to grow powerful and this led to the formation of different political groups among the nobility whose dissensions and rivalries, not unoften leading to murders, formed the main features of administration.

After tracing this historical background the author has described in some detail how the boy-ruler, Rajendra Vikram, when he attained majority, made a fruitless effort to re-establish the authority of the King. It led to the murder of one of the leaders, Mathabar, which ushered in a period of violence ending in the grim tragedy known as the 'Kot Massacre'. It was engineered by the Queen who had been growing powerful with the support of Gaggan Singh, who was, however, disliked by the King. Gaggan Singh was assassinated in the palace

on 14 September 1846 at 10 p.m. with the connivance, if not under the direction, of the King. The Queen took a terrible revenge. She asked a minister to sound a bugle, thereby directing the entire civil and military officers of the court to assemble at Kot. When they had assembled, the King slipped away and the Queen came downstairs at the request of Jang Bahadur and asked the Sirdars to name the culprit who had murdered Gaggan Singh. She was being escorted upstairs when shots were fired, and there was great confusion which lasted for quite some time, in which about 25 officers were shot dead. The very next morning Jang Bahadur was appointed Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief. The author has critically discussed the whole episode in an attempt to find out how far Jang Bahadur and the King were responsible for this dastardly crime along with the Queen who was its chief instigator.

In any case the result was that all the political authority was concentrated in the hands of Jang Bahadur by the end of 1847. Henceforth the King of Nepal was a mere puppet and the administration was carried on solely by Jang Bahadur for a period of thirty years.

The rest of the book is a critical review of this administration. The author has shown how Jang Bahadur virtually sealed off Nepal from all opportunities of contact with the progressive countries of the world. Education was neglected, trade and industry languished and Nepal could not emerge from the medieval to the modern age. The author has justly remarked that the policy of isolation while it secured to Nepal its independence also ensured the uninterrupted continuance of the absolutism of the new aristocracy in Nepal over a century. Happily, the power of the reactionary aristo-

cracy is over and Nepal has entered a new era of progress. The author has successfully drawn a vivid picture of the dark night before the dawn in the modern history of Nepal.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

The Sikhs And Their Literature, by Dr. N. G. Barrier, published by Manohar Book Service, Delhi, 1970, Price Rs. 28.

Dr. Norman Gerald Barrier, Associate Professor of South Asian History, University of Missouri (U.S.A.), has rendered valuable service to the students and researchers of modern Punjab history by producing this excellent guide to tracts, books and periodicals relating to the Punjab of the period 1849-1919. On account of many momentous changes which occurred during these years a careful and analytical study of this historical period holds the key to the understanding of more recent developments and happenings in the area. But unfortunately the period until now had attracted little scholarly attention. Dr. Barrier's attempt, thus, is most welcome furnishing, as it does, a sort of groundwork for intensive research on the subject.

Dr. Barrier's interest in the regional history of the Punjab is, however, much older than this book, for he had already produced a few much-valued historical works such as *Punjab Politics and Disturbances of 1907*, *The Punjab Alienation of Land Bill of 1900* and *The Punjab in British Printed Documents*, but the present work excels all of them in range as well as depth; rather they appear to have all prepared the necessary ground for the production of this compendium.

It was a tremendous task for the author to have prepared a bibliography of Sikh literature pertaining to the period. The difficulty lies not in the scarcity of material so much, because there is not much dearth of it, but in the fact that it mostly consists of small tracts, booklets, leaflets and newspapers scattered widely in the

country, and almost forgotten. He was lucky to have access to periodical British reports on the relevant theme preserved in the British Museum, India Office Library and the National Archives of India. Fortunately, too, the valuable collections of Bhai Mohan Singh Vaid and Bhai Takhat Singh were available to him to check up his entries based on British records. Dr. Barrier has not only classified and arranged the source materials (totalling 1,240 titles) in a scientific manner but has also given the various repositories where most of these materials are now available as well as a brief idea of their contents. In one of the appendices he has attempted a note on Sikh proscribed material—an accomplishment which is perhaps the first of its kind so far. In the result Dr. Barrier's work has ended up as an excellent—and perhaps the only one so far—guide to the historical source materials pertaining to this important period of our history.

But it is not merely a guide to source materials, it also offers an analytical study, albeit a brief one, of the development of the Sikh community during the period. The introductory statement of the author in the beginning of the work provides a deep insight into the historical process through which the community was passing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the course of this development several important issues had to be faced by the Sikhs, such as issues relating to the question of identity, status of women, controversies with Hindus and Muslims and relations with the British. By making an objective assessment of them, the author has placed the source material given in the book within historical perspective. The work, thus, is no mere catalogue or bibliography, but is a veritable piece of historical research of a high order and is indispensable to students of modern Punjab and Sikh history.

As the author is himself aware, the book has quite a few limitations. It is hoped that he will find an early opportunity to revise the book and remove those limitations. Moreover, it is

imperative that this effort is followed up and a similar work is produced on the period extending from 1920 to 1947.

FAUJA SINGH

Guru Gobind Singh, by J. S. Grewal and S. S. Bal, Department of History, Punjab University, Chandigarh, 1967; pp. 280+xviii, Price Rs. 10.

This is a comparatively brief biography of Guru Gobind Singh written on the occasion of the tercentenary of his birth by two well-known scholars who have made significant contributions to different periods of Sikh history. They state in the Preface that they had only six months' time "to collect and interpret the material relevant to this biography, to draft and re-draft the presentation of our findings and to send the type-script to the Press". Any one who is familiar with the large volume of historical materials in the Panjabi and Persian languages relating to the career of the tenth Guru would sympathise with the authors; the time which they had at their disposal was totally inadequate for a satisfactory completion of the difficult task assigned to them. Apart from the mass of evidence which must be carefully studied and sifted in the light of the principles of historical criticism there is the all-important question of interpreting the Guru's religious views in the context of his political and military activities. It is to be hoped that the authors will have time to do fuller justice to the subject in the second edition of their work.

The authors have offered what they call "a tentative presentation of Guru Gobind Singh's life and mission", their object being to "discover the historical Guru Gobind Singh". While acknowledging their debt to their predecessors in the field they have a point of view of their own, and their interpretations of some important points are different from generally accepted views. They are aware of their inability to offer firm conclusions "because of the nature of the evidence available to us"; they feel that

"quite often" they have to "deal with abilities". This is the unhappy lot of pioneers among whom we must count the authors, for they have brought to the study Guru Gobind Singh's life and mission a new angle of vision and a new perspective. It is too early to expect a definitive biography of the great creator of the Khalsa. The search for new materials and the search for correct interpretations must go on for many years before his place in Indian history can be finally fixed.

The narrative covers nine chapters; there are three Appendices giving supplementary information and a very useful Bibliography. In addition, there are several illustrations, three maps, illustrating different phases of the Guru's career, a chronological table and a genealogical table.

There are a few points on which further elaboration of the authors' views seems to be called for. On page 111 it is stated that "Guru Gobind Singh . . . was unwilling to owe allegiance to any temporal Lord". How, then, are we to interpret his statements on the distinction between temporal and spiritual rulers (Macauliffe, Vol. V, pages 206, 305)? His relations with Aurangzib and Bahadur Shah hardly justify the conclusion that he withdrew his allegiance from the Mughal Empire. Again, the statement that his "chief legacy was the Sikh struggle for Independence" (page 158) would perhaps be open to question if a direct link was assured between his teaching and the politically motivated struggle launched by Banda. There is nothing on record to show that the Guru aimed at the establishment of an independent Sikh State, although the creation of the Khalsa prepared the ground for what followed. Thirdly, we are told: "By instituting the Khalsa, Guru Gobind Singh reaffirmed the faith promulgated by Nanak . . ." (page 126). The review agrees with this proposition, but in view of the apparent antithesis between the founder's message of peace and the last Guru's concept of God as "All-Steel" the basic link between the two should be clearly

Such comments, however, are not expected to divert the reader's attention from the merits of the book. Though hastily written, the authors themselves point out, it is an important contribution to an important subject.

A. C. BANERJEE

Islam in Bengal, by Dr. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, Ratna Prakashan, pp. 92; Price Rs. 6.00.

Dr. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar is well known in the world of scholars for his valuable original contributions regarding the medieval period of Indian History. This work is marked by his usual thoroughness, meticulous care in scrutinising materials and sound interpretations. In Part I of it he presents a critical account of the political aspect of Islam in Bengal from the thirteenth century to the eighteenth century. In Part II we get a highly interesting and instructive study of the social and cultural aspects of Islam in Bengal during the same period. It is interesting to read his estimate of the process of assimilation in Indo-Moslem culture in Bengal. He has also discussed the revivalist forces.

This book would be very useful for all students of Indian history.

K. K. DATTA

A Documentary Study of British Policy towards Indian Nationalism, 1885-1909, by B. L. Grover. Exclusively distributed by Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1967, pp. 291, Price Rs. 22.50.

Dr. B. L. Grover deserves to be complimented for his painstaking, albeit lucid, exposition of British policy towards Indian nationalism at a very crucial period of our history, which saw such momentous developments as the birth and growth of the Indian National Congress, the rise of extremism and the Muslim break-away. The tremendous significance of this

quarter-century of British-Indian history, coupled with a plenitude of primary source-materials, recently produced a number of scholarly studies. The book under review is in good company with works like M. N. Das's *India under Morley and Minto* (George Allen and Unwin, 1964), S. R. Wasti's *Lord Minto and the Indian Nationalist Movement* (Oxford, 1964), A. Tripathi's *The Extremist Challenge* (Orient Longmans, 1967) and A. Seal's *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism* (Cambridge, 1968). But Dr. Grover differs from all in having attempted too much within the scope of a single volume, comprising 107 pages of text and 180 pages of documentary material.

Quite expectedly, Dr. Grover starts with British policy in relation to the genesis of the Congress. He refutes the commonly-accepted theory that Viceroy Dufferin was responsible for founding the Congress, and concludes that A. O. Hume helped to organise a 'loyal and innocuous' political association in the shape of the Congress as an offset against 'widespread discontent' within India and the possibility of a Russian invasion from without. The importance of Russophobia as a factor in Congress-formation is something interesting and strikingly new, and the author bears this out on the strength of original materials. Dr. Grover's formulations on the roles of Dufferin and Hume find powerful support, on the basis of altogether different materials from Dr. Seal's masterly analysis, which concludes that although Hume had a hand in the organisation of the 1885 Congress along with 'men in Bombay, Poona, Madras and Calcutta', 'none of this was Dufferin's handiwork'. Dr. Grover then goes on to show how Hume, as a Gladstonian liberal, wished to bridge the gulf between England and India by injecting the spirit of loyalty among the politically-conscious Indians and by removing the canker of highhanded racialism from the race-conscious Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. Unfortunately, however, for the history of Indo-British relations, Hume was soon to forfeit his role of mediator between the Viceregal and Indian viewpoints. While Dufferin left Hume

in October 1887 and Lansdowne never cared for him, Hume himself early lost his pre-eminent position in the Congress. Dr. Grover's treatment of Hume's ideology is superficial and disappointing; and Dr. Seal has ably shown that revenge for humiliation in official career played as large a part as sympathy for India in all that Hume did. In an interesting chapter, Dr. Grover shows how the British rulers showed cold shoulder towards Indian offer for enlistment in a separate volunteer corps to help Government effort against the Russian menace and persistent Congress resolutions (1886-91) to the same effect. Hume's role of 'post office' between England and India thus foundered on the rock of 'the Whiteman's inherent distrust of the Indians'. Ultimately, except a few Parsees, hardly any Indian was recruited to the volunteer corps.

In the two succeeding chapters, Dr. Grover analyses official attitude towards the Congress—from Dufferin to Curzon. It was 'marked by a consistent strain of hostility, somewhat restrained in the beginning but gradually it became expansive and explosive'. Never lacking in grace and hospitality, Dufferin took alarm at the Congress in 1887 and openly indicted the party at the famous St. Andrew's Day Dinner speech of late 1888. Lansdowne, while indifferent to the Congress, wished to strengthen the landed class as a counterpoise to it. Dr. Grover wrongly gives the date of Lansdowne's Viceroyalty as 1888-1892; it should be 1888-1894. While Elgin II was less alarmistic about the activities of the Congress, Curzon believed it to be tottering to its fall. The latter wished to take no notice of the Congress as being unrepresentative in character, and relegated it to insignificant political existence for some time until the storm burst over the partition of Bengal. In so far as Dr. Grover attributes the partition to administrative necessities and the political considerations of curbing the political influence of Calcutta in Indian affairs and of undermining the solidarity of the politically-advanced Bengalees, he adds nothing to Dr. Tripathi's contention

that the Bengal Partition originated in the 'anti-Bengali prejudice among the Civilians' and 'in the administrative necessity imposed by the geographical and demographical expansion of Bengal under the British rule'. But Dr. Grover goes further. To him, the bureaucracy's whole-hearted support to the partition stemmed from their 'supreme interest' in creating a separate province with a self-contained civil service offering bright prospects of promotion. He concludes that 'with Curzon the political compulsions outweighed administrative considerations', thus differing from Dr. S. Gopal, who views the partition as 'essentially an administrative reform' (*British Policy in India*, Cambridge 1965, p. 268). Dr. Grover's conclusion is substantiated completely by the Crewe Papers, as referred to by Dr. Tripathi in his work under reference.

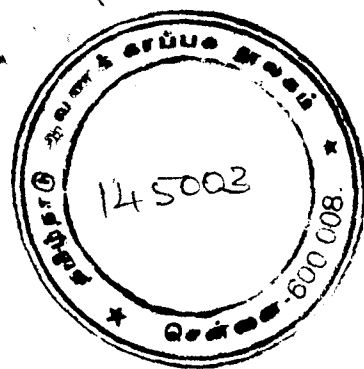
Minto was the first Viceroy to recognise the Congress as a 'factor and power in Indian politics'. The growth of extremists disowning the method of constitutional agitation—which culminated in the Congress split of 1907—resulted in repression, but underlined, at the same time, the necessity of rallying the Moderates to the Government side by legislative reforms. Unfortunately, however, Minto also set himself to use the Muslims as a counterpoise to the Hindus by recognising (in 1909) the principle of communal electorate, which had hitherto been fostered by Principals Beck & Morison as well as the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. With a wealth of original materials, Dr. Grover has succeeded in giving the lie to Dr. Wasti's theory that the Simla Deputation was not British-inspired. In fact, a close study of the book under review, along with some additional materials utilised by Dr. Das, leads one to the inevitable conclusion that Principal Archbold, in collaboration with Lancelot Hare and Dunlop Smith, acted as liaison between the government and the Muslim community and played a pivotal part in ensuring the success of the Simla Deputation to the last detail. In the last chapter, Dr. Grover shows how the British, by gradual but steady measures cover

ing the period 1888-1907, banned State employees—including pensioners and government pleaders—from any participation in political activity, however indirect that might be. The materials used are original and the theme substantially new.

On the whole, Dr. Grover has produced a scholarly, but eminently readable, work. The methodology is instructive and useful. Like an objective historian, he has left it to the documents to tell the story of this highly important, but bitterly controversial, period. However, as stated earlier, the author has erred in attempting too much. The book suffers from avoidable omissions. One is at a loss to understand how he could leave out British policy towards the extremist movement, which

posed such a serious challenge to the British Government during this period. Moreover, there is hardly any reference to the Indian Councils Act of 1892 or any attempt to bring out its significance in the perspective of British-Congress relationship; although its importance in the overall context of our national development can hardly be exaggerated. The chapter, styled 'Conclusion', does not quite fulfil the expectation its title might arouse. The list of Secretaries of State, 1885-1909, should have been supplemented by a list of Viceroys, if not also of members of the India Council, of the same period; because the Secretary-in-Council, and not just the Secretary of State, administered the Indian affairs in London under the Government of India Act of 1858.

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