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EDITOR

C. D. CHATTERJEE

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THE OCCUPATION AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BRITISH SETTLEMENT AT SINGAPORE.

By

Dr. S. N. Das Gupta, M.A., D. Litt.

The fall of Napoleon put an end to Raffles' work in Java. The restoration of the Dutch colonies captured by Great Britain during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, with the exception of the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon, was arranged for in the Convention between Great Britain and the Netherlands of August 13, 1814. This unconditional restitution of Holland's co' possessions was hasty and fatal in its future consequences ... Anglo-Dutch relations in the eastern archipelago. But Holland was one of the main pegs in the European balance and considerations of harmful effects in the distant east were subordinated by politicians to the more cogent reasons for the resuscitation of a contiguous European power as a strong and convenient buffer between France and north Germany. The publication of the terms of the Convention of August 1814 was a fatal blow to Raffles' ideals. In vain did he entertain faint hopes for a revision of opinion on the part of the home government after the sudden emergence of Napoleon from his exile in Elba presaged a drastic change in the political aspects of the international situation. The final arrangements made at the Congress of Vienna (June 10, 1815) in respect to the Dutch eastern settlements were but a confirmation of the Convention of 1814.
The British government had on May 5, 1815, decided on empowering John Fendall with authority to carry through the transference of Java and its dependencies to the Dutch. The decision to appoint Fendall was wise and judicious. Fendall was pliant and could avoid overt resistance. Raffles, on the other hand, with his anti-Dutch feelings and with his intimate knowledge of local affairs would have proved a stumbling-block to the progress of peaceful discussions.

On the termination of his appointment in March, 1816 Raffles, under doctor’s advice, returned to England to repair his shattered health. In St. Helena, he met Napoleon. While in England, he completed his monumental work on the History of Java. The widespread welcome he was accorded by the scientific and literary coterie as an oriental savant, his reception by the Prince Regent, “the high sense” entertained by the Prince “of the eminent services he had rendered to his country in the government of Java”, followed by his knighthood, compelled the magnates of the East India House to recognise “the distinguished services of Raffles”. On February 13, 1817, the Court of Directors communicated to Bengal the appointment of Raffles as Resident at Bencoolen under the designation of Lieutenant-Governor, “such designation being intended as a mark of the favourable sentiments which the Court entertain of that gentleman’s merits and services”. ¹ The closing paragraph of the Court’s despatch stated:²

“......with these impressions, we shall not have the least difficulty in permitting him to proceed hence to Sumatra as soon as his health permits”.

Raffles was furnished with a commission of government in October, 1817 and, with his newly married wife, embarked at Portsmouth, reaching Fort Marlborough on March 22, 1818. He found the settlement of Bencoolen in “a state of utmost poverty and wretchedness”, not a very congenial atmosphere for his young wife fresh from the delights and excitements of London society. Bencoolen has always been and ever remained a mere trading post and did not advance beyond its mercantilist phase during its long existence of over a century. Even so, it became a losing concern to the Company. It was a settlement which possessed no natural advantages either in point of view of trade and commerce or as a strategic sheltering harbour.

¹ Cobb to the Acting-Resident at Fort Marlbro, October 15, 1817.
² Court to Bengal, February 13, 1817.
The accepted merits of Prince of Wales Island had superseded whatever purpose Bencoolen had served so long. The settlement failed to develop itself on the progressive and enlightened principles of other British settlements in the east with an organised civil service which reflected British law and justice and thus share in the prosperity which has been the happy destiny of those settlements. It remained till the advent of Raffles in a static, backward condition. It is a matter of lament that the spirit of the humane and progressive reforms ushered in by Raffles was arrested in development and lost to the people by the surrender of Bencoolen to the Dutch under the terms of the treaty of 1824.

Raffles watched with interest and concern the progress of the John Fendall-Van Capellan negotiations in Java. The British flag was hauled down everywhere in the island on August 15, 1816, and the Dutch troops under Major Nahuys relieved the British garrisons. Next to the American colonies, Java was the greatest of the lost possessions of the Empire. Raffles protested against the contemptible surrender by Fendall of British claims to Dutch arbitrary demands. Fendall was either ignorant of the spirit and terms of the British treaties with local chieftains of Java or had come with definite instructions from the home government to avoid all disputes with the Dutch Commissioners which might lead to an open breach. The arrangements, in fact, had to be handled in the light of recent developments in European political situation. Fendall left Java in June, 1818.

The course of the negotiations had given clear indication of the settled purpose of the Dutch to seize the opportunity of recovering their lost influence and supremacy over the entire region of the islands of the archipelago and of putting impediments in the way of the English from enjoying the considerable benefits derived from its commerce or turn to account the strategic position of the islands. Such apprehensions were present not only in the mind of Raffles but also of the Directors, and were substantiated by the later proceedings of the Dutch in Sumatra. As early as November 5, 1817, the Directors expressed their desire to Raffles to furnish them and the Supreme Government with “constant information of the proceedings of the Dutch and other European nations, as well as of the Americans in the Eastern Archipelago......accompanied by such observations as may occur to you whether of a political or commercial nature”.

There is no gain-saying the fact that since the arrival of the Commissioners-General to receive charge of the Dutch colonies, the proceedings of the Netherlands authorities had been "actuated by a spirit of ambition, by views of boundless aggrandisement and rapacity and by a desire to obtain the power of monopolising the commerce of the Eastern Archipelago, and of excluding us from those advantages which we had long enjoyed and which we only wished to share in common with the other nations of the world". Not to speak of the threat to the wider interests of the British Empire, even the local interests of Bencoolen and the Prince of Wales Island were imperilled by such aspirations. To illustrate the attitude of the Dutch: A Commissioner was sent to re-establish the Dutch claims and authority in the Lampung districts on the southern tip of Sumatra. The country had been abandoned by the Dutch for such a long time and their claims were so undefined that the Commissioner was obliged to appeal to Raffles on the subject, "alleging that he could obtain none that was satisfactory on the spot". The object for the re-occupation of Lampung was evidently the exclusion of British ships from a right to anchorage and refreshment in any part of the Straits of Sunda. Raffles was not a man to view with indifference the first clear sign of the final outcome in the subversive action of "the Vandals of the East". He considered the claim as "an undue pretension" on the part of the Dutch, and recognising the importance of retaining for the British "at least one convenient harbour in Sumatra", resisted the Dutch demand "pending the decision by the authorities in Europe" and as "preparatory measures" surveyed the coasts and harbours "as might facilitate any arrangement decided upon". At Padang, also, where "a considerable debt was due to the English on account of that settlement", Raffles declined to lower the British flag "until further orders from his superiors for that purpose". The Sultan of Palembang appealed to Raffles to defend his capital against Dutch encroachments. A Dutch naval force lying opposite Palembang and Padang was sure to obstruct any contact with Prince of Wales Island. Raffles acting on the principle that "the territories of Palembang and Bencoolen join......whatever affected the former state had an immediate influence on the other", sent an armed guard for the protection of Palembang. Treaties of friendship and commerce were also con-

1 Raffles to Directors, November 3, 1824, Statement of Services, pp 43-44.
2 Ibid, p. 42. 3 Ibid. 4 Ibid.
cluded with the chief of the Tiga Blas country and an opening for a valuable trade was thus secured for the English. Passemah was placed under the protection of the English Company. In 1820, Captain Salmond surveyed the coasts of Pulo Nyas, opposite the settlements of Natal and Tappanooly. Raffles annexed Pulo Nyas and abolished the institution of slavery in the settlement.

Thus Raffles had taken up the challenge of the Dutch, a policy which was not appreciated by the home government. The Dutch proceedings had forced him to adopt what the Marquess of Hastings remarked, "precautionary measures... with the view to avert the injury and degradation which could not fail to ensue from a listless submission to the unbounded pretensions displayed on the part of the Netherlands authorities". The Marquess thus emphasised the urgency of countering "the insidious designs" of the Dutch in the archipelago, though he had to face a rebuke from Canning for his views. Raffles' policy of "guarding against the abuse of our liberality" never appealed to Canning who, with his ideas of European stability and of a strong Holland as a buffer, was not prepared to risk a war for the extension of British interests in the archipelago. The instructions to Raffles consequently pressed for an avoidance of actual collisions with the Dutch, who were thus left to a position of supreme and exclusive command of the Straits of Sunda. Yet the actions of Raffles, however they might be regretted as leading to disputes with the Netherlands government, were admitted

"to have been dictated by the purest spirit of patriotism and to have been such that in the circumstances which I was placed, I could not well have acted otherwise than I did".

History has profusely related the circumstances that led to the founding of Singapore. In the crisis of the situation arising from "the moral turpitude of the means employed" by the Dutch, it remained to be considered what was best to be done without exciting actual hostilities with the Dutch. Raffles was determined to break away from his "Elba at Bencoolen" and "to protect our political and commercial interests in the eastern seas generally". It was essential for this purpose that the British should, at the earliest opportunity, occupy a strategic point on the southern extremity of the Malay Peninsula outside the sphere of the impenetrable Dutch preserves and thus take command.

2 Raffles to Directors, November 3, 1824, Statement of Services, p. 50.
of the Straits of Malacca. This would counter-balance the Dutch ring-fence erected round the Straits of Sunda.

Raffles' duties had taken him to the interior of the southern and central districts of Sumatra, the original seat of the Malayan Empire. On his return, he proceeded to Bengal to place his report before the Marquess of Hastings. He did not miss the opportunity of representing his views on the subject of Dutch encroachment in the archipelago. The Marquess realised that it would be impossible to compete successfully with the Dutch from a station (Bencoolen) which almost bordered on the environs of Java. A convenient British post must be found to protect the trade and interests of Bencoolen and Penang and the waterway to China. Raffles was accordingly appointed¹

"in the capacity of Agent to the Governor-General to effect this important object if practicable and generally to assume the charge of the British interests to the Eastward of Malacca."

He was at the same time authorised²

"to provide for the establishment of the British interests at Acheen... which commands the northern entrance of these Straits, and to fix upon some station that might equally command the southern entrance".

Colonel Farquhar, British Resident at Malacca, was requested simultaneously by the Penang authorities and the Supreme Government to cancel his plans of returning to England and place his experiences and services at the disposal of Raffles for the achievement of the above objectives. Raffles halted at Penang on his way back from Bengal to Bencoolen. He found that the Dutch had established themselves at Rhio and, at the instance of the government of Penang, he decided "to let the A chin matter wait" for the moment. In the course of their voyage of exploration, after having touched at Siak and the Carimon Islands, Raffles and Colonel Farquhar landed at the extreme tip of the Malay Peninsula, the site of the ancient city of Singapura. Raffles at once realized the immense potentialities of the island which then belonged to the Sultan of Johore. The seat of the Sultan had been removed, about a decade back, to the Rhio Islands and though the

¹ Raffles to Addenbrooke, June 10, 1819; Journal of the Straits Branch of the R.A.S. No. 2, December 1878.
² Ibid.
Sultan retained nominal authority over Johore, the Dato Temenggong had, for all practical purposes, become the *de facto* ruler of the country. The treaty of cession was concluded with this local chief on January 30, 1819, and was confirmed by the Sultan on February 6, 1819. Raffles occupied the island and hoisted the British flag there on February 29, 1819. Colonel Farquhar was left in charge of this “Clapham Junction of the Eastern Seas.”

Such an acquisition did not fail to excite the indignation of the Dutch authorities in Java. They protested strongly against the legality of the cession of Singapore by the Dato Temenggong and, by virtue of ancient treaty rights, laid claims to full ownership of the island. Serious remonstrances, added to open threats of war in case of British non-withdrawal, were despatched to the British ministry. To avoid “an embarrassing situation,” George Canning, President of the Board of Control, seriously contemplated to submit to Dutch demands, to abandon Singapore, and to recall “that incorrigible Raffles” for his temerity. The Dutch threat of war was, however, taken very calmly by the Marquess of Hastings, who believed that they would simply “impugn our possession”. But to soothe the emotions of the Dutch, he invited the opinion of the Netherlands authorities “to furnish us with proofs of the justness of your pretensions” and remarked:

“We shall endeavour to ascertain to our satisfaction whether or not the Netherlands nation possess a right to the exclusive occupation of Singapore and if that point be decided in the affirmative, we shall, without hesitation, obey the dictates of justice by withdrawing our establishments from that place”.

Hastings decided to hold Singapore. He stood by Raffles and the storm blew over¹. Had Raffles remained quietly at Bencoolen, the Dutch, without much opposition from the home government, might have been allowed to re-establish their past supremacy in the eastern archipelago. The deleterious effects might not have been felt till it was too late to apply a remedy.

The possession of Singapore effectually prevented the system of exclusive monopoly aimed at by the Dutch and it tended essentially to the increase of British commerce. The island is remarkably well-

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1 Assey’s Pamphlet, 1819.
situated to be a commercial emporium in those seas, "a fulcrum whence we may extend our influence; and just as Penang had drawn the trade of all the northern Malay states, so the trade of the states on the east coast became centred in Singapore. The island is in the very heart of the archipelago, and as the Malay calls it, it is "the navel of the Malay countries". Its superior harbour and its unique position at the narrow southern entrance through which the Indo-Chinese commerce must pass, added to the fact that it was declared a free port to destroy eventually the spell of Dutch monopoly, rapidly brought shipping and settlers from all quarters. In 1819, it had no permanent inhabitants except a few pirates. In four months, as Raffles reported, "...........a population of 5,000 souls have collected under our flag, the number is daily increasing........every one is comfortably housed, provisions are in abundance............."a Nature also made Singapore one of the natural military centres on which the security not only of the Indian Ocean but of the Pacific turns. The prophetic vision of Raffles,—"what Malta is in the West, that may Singapore become in the East,"—was fulfilled in the coming future. The port became the keystone of British power in that region and was the most convenient centre for co-ordination of political and strategic defences.

For four years Singapore was, for administrative purposes, controlled by Raffles from Bencoolen. It was placed under the direct supervision of the Supreme Government in 1823. The Resolution of 1823 declared:

"The interests of so rising and important a possession cannot therefore be placed under any superintendence, so well-calculated to give a proper direction and encouragement to its rapidly extending resources, as that of the Supreme Government of India".

Singapore with Penang, Province Wellesley, the Dindings, and Malacca formed the chief components of the Straits Settlements which had been administered in connection with India until 1867, when they became a distinct Crown Colony.

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1 Penang lost much of her trade and prosperity with the opening of a free port at Singapore.
MR. A. O. HUME AND THE QUESTION OF SALT TAX IN OUDH

By

Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M. A., Ph. D., D. Litt.

Among the official papers preserved in the Record Room of the Court of the Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow, there is a bundle of records of 1867 which throw some light on a very interesting official controversy regarding the justification of the Salt Tax in Oudh. As the subject of the Salt tax has acquired of late a special interest in India, it would interest the modern reader to know what arguments were used for and against the tax more than three quarters of a century ago.

The most interesting paper in the bundle is a voluminous REPORT on the OUDH SALT QUESTION submitted by Mr. E. N. C. BRADDON, Excise Superintendent of Oudh, on 15th of July, 1867. The writer strongly criticises the heavy duty levied on salt, and advances a number of arguments in favour of its abolition. The REPORT in question came up for consideration before Mr. A. O. HUME, Commissioner of Customs, N. W. P., Punjab and Central Provinces. It may be pointed out here that Mr. HUME founded the Indian National Congress after his retirement from the Indian Civil Service, and is still remembered as the Father of the Congress. Mr. HUME refuted the arguments of Mr. BRADDON in another detailed report which is another among the most valuable papers contained in the aforesaid bundle of records.

The report of Mr. HUME is of special interest to the student of modern Indian History not only because of his eminent place in the history of modern India, but also on account of the comprehensive survey he has made of the pros and cons of the salt tax in Oudh and the N. W. Provinces.

In order to understand Mr. HUME’S criticism, it is necessary to know the main arguments of Mr. BRADDON. They are as follows:—
(1) That a duty upon salt should exist at all is opposed to all English ideas of taxation.

(2) In India the duty (Rs. 3 per maund) is too high.

(3) “We levy a heavy tax upon the necessary salt and leave duty free the luxury of tobacco.”

(4) The duty falls upon the poor man in inverse ratio to his ability to meet it.

(5) The price of salt is excessive and falls heavy on the population.

(6) “The people do not obtain as much salt as is necessary to keep them in good health”.

(7) “The customs officials are often corrupt”.

(8) “It has thrown a large number of persons out of employ”.

(9) “It entails a positive loss of revenue”.

It is interesting to note that while pleading for a reduction of the salt tax and for the re-introduction of local salt manufacture, Mr. BRADDON claims that if these were possible, “the British Government would cease to incur the hate which is now incited by its oppressive and ineffective salt laws.”

Mr. HUME, in his Report, dated the 4th of September 1867, goes into the whole question in great detail and finally rejects the suggestions of Mr. BRADDON. As his Report is fairly long, only the relevant passages are quoted below.

* * * * *

“All the ablest and most experienced statesmen arrived at the same conclusion, ‘the salt tax is a necessity’. Money must be had for Imperial purposes and the most vehement opponent of our salt tax would scarcely venture to assert that there is any possible new form of taxation by which we could realize five millions per annum, and which yet would not in practice prove greatly more obnoxious to the whole country than the salt duties.

“Advanced European systems of Political economy, which tacitly postulate a certain degree of right-mindedness, intelligence or educa-
tion among the masses of the community, fail notably when applied to nations where these essentials are wanting. The highest generalization at which we can arrive in regard to taxation is that that form of it is best for any nation which is least obnoxious to its general sense. Theoretical perfection has in reality little to do with the practical merits of any form of taxation. The salt tax is less obnoxious to the general sense of the nation than any other new tax that can be devised which would produce an equal revenue, and for India therefore it is a right and proper tax.

"The allegation that the system has deprived the people of the supply of salt necessary for the preservation of their health is an utterly groundless and gratuitous assumption. There are three different methods by which this question may be investigated: 1st, by ascertaining what quantity of salt is fully sufficient to keep people in perfect health, and then seeing whether it can be shown that this quantity is now consumed by the people of Oudh and N. W. Provinces; 2nd, by determining the average cost of a year's supply of salt fully sufficient to maintain an adult in health, and seeing whether such cost bears any unreasonable proportion to the annual income of the poorest classes; 3rd, by considering what the general state of health of the people of these provinces really is. We have ascertained that 2½ seers per annum fully suffices to keep the population in perfect health. Assuming that 58,000,000 of people are to be supplied by salt imported across our line; these at 3 seers per head would consume 43½ lacs of maunds, whereas the imports across our line for the 12 months ending 31st March, 1867 were as a fact 37½ lacs of maunds, or the full supply, according to our very liberal average, for only 50,000,000. But, although there is doubtless a population considerably in excess of 50 millions in rear of our line, some portion of these is supplied with Chilka and other Eastern native sea salts, seaborne and Behar salt making their way up by Midnapore, and also by the Ganges and rail to Mirzapore. A very considerable portion in the Punjab draw their supplies from the Pind Dadun Khan mines, (the Lahore Salt as it is commonly called). Kumaon and other hill tracts are partly supplied by salt from Chinese territory. Illicit internal manufacture still throws a certain amount into the market. The whole of the country in rear of our line is fully and adequately supplied with salt.

"The average price of good western salt nowhere exceeds a rate of 7 seers for the rupee. Now 3 seers will cost at this rate 7 annas.
At the present time the average earnings, in coin and kind, of even the poorest man do not fall short of Rs. 36 per annum; on this income then the total cost of the salt supply is only 1.2 per cent; such a price for such a necessary cannot reasonably be declared to be in any degree prohibitive. The total annual cost of the poorest man's food is not less than 18 Rs. per annum; is it reasonable to talk of people being deprived of salt, because its cost amounts to 1-40th (one-fortieth) of the total cost of their food?"

"We have failed to discover any injury to health due to a shortness of salt supply. I have never yet met the native sufficiently lost to the sense of ridicule by his fellows to assert gravely that any man who could afford to purchase a meal at all could yet not afford to procure as much salt as was necessary to season it. The people of the N. W. Provinces look pretty nearly as healthy as those who have not borne so long the sad tyranny of our Salt Laws. I must record my deliberate opinion that notwithstanding Mr. BRADDON'S terrible bugbear they do not seem to be much the worse for it. But I will not not go on ad nauseam. Will any man of sound judgment soberly argue for one moment that the health of the people of these provinces has suffered one whit from our Custom laws? It is, it seems to me, simply preposterous.

"The allegation that the system has injured the Salt-petre trade of Oudh and N. W. Provinces is about the most unfortunate argument that could have been hit upon. We (of the customs) killed the trade in these Provinces, says Mr. BRADDON, but to whom are we to attribute the extinction of that in Bengal, where the Salt-petre trade once flourished even more than here? No sensible person fully cognizant of the past and present of the trade here, in Bengal, and at home, would ever think of attributing the smallest share even in its decline and fall to our Customs restrictions.

"But Mr. BRADDON, and here I come to his third allegation, would abolish the present system, because the native subordinates are often corrupt and because they often act oppressively and illegally. I would not abolish the system but I would improve the Agency and modify the rules under which it works. I admit corruption and a disregard of law as having at times characterized some of our underpaid native subordinates where not strictly looked after, I must distinctly deny that this is any valid argument against the system."
Mr. Braddon might as well ask us to forego the collection of the land revenue because at times and in certain places many of the lower ministerial officers employed in its realization fleece and ill-treat the people, as recommend the discontinuance of the system by which we realize the salt dues on similar grounds.

"The next allegation that the system has thrown large numbers of people out of employ is not entitled to any weight. The men have mostly turned their energies to other occupations, and considering the enormous and daily increasing demand for labour on public works and the liberal wages there earned, I confess to believing that the Looneas who have honestly accepted the Law are no subjects for commiseration—they are better off now than they were before. Of course there are not a few who still cling to their old trade and seek to live by violating the Law. It is sad though natural that ignorant men will break laws of this nature, and sad that we should be compelled to punish them, but here the question of what the general interests of the whole state demand leaves us no doubt, and even if individuals do suffer from the necessity of enforcing fiscal provisions of this nature no one who takes a broad view of the question will hold such sufferings to be justly chargeable to the system. Mr Braddon has also greatly over-estimated the number of persons who have been compelled to seek other occupations owing to our closure of Salt manufacture.

"The allegation that our present system entails a loss of Revenue is a simple myth. According to Mr. Braddon’s plan, Oudh would yield a Customs revenue of Rs. 23 lacs, whereas now it only yields 19 lacs. Never probably were future financial results more boldly assumed on more insufficient data. I say insufficient, but that is no word for it, the whole schedule is a pure creation of Mr. Braddon’s imagination. Oudh might yield 10 or 23 or 30 lacs under some system or other, but nothing that occurred under a past and totally different state of affairs, & nothing that is known at present, justifies in any way the assumption of 23 lakhs in preference to 17, 20, 25, 28 or even 30 lakcs as the Oudh realizations. From first to last, Mr. Braddon’s figures are almost without exception assumptions. It is really not easy to argue gravely with a financier whose figures are thus the creation of his own imagination. Why leave the terra firma of existing certainties to wander over a sea of possibilities. Granting Mr. Braddon all his hypothetical figures, the loss to the State by the change proposed
would be 11 lacs on Mr. Braddon's own showing. If we could afford it I should like to see the salt duty everywhere reduced to Re. 1, nay, abolished altogether along with all other taxes, but such a financial utopia will never I fear dawn upon our dull work-a-day world—we cannot afford to abolish taxes, we may have to raise the duty to Rs. 4, but we cannot reduce it for India as a whole below 3, and what has Oudh done that her residents should only pay 1 Re. duty while the rest of upper India pays 3? But does this trifling loss of eleven lakhs at all adequately represent the probable results of setting free the manufacture of lightly taxed salt in Oudh? Most certainly it does not. Unless the whole province be surrounded by a regular preventive line, the low taxed salt will pour out on all sides, and it will not merely be to our anti-mutiny income on the line that we shall revert but to something far below this. Mr. Braddon's fundamental error appears to consist in believing that he has any means of even guessing at the moment of salt that could or would be now-a-days produced, were the manufacture permitted in Oudh. In the first place, his figures are very problematical, in the second place, at a time when scarcely any capital was in the market, when roads were few and bad, when there were practically transit duties at every village and little real security for person or property, how could any manufacture be developed, and how could any statistics however reliable of the then out-turn form any reasonable basis for calculating the probable produce under the very different state of affairs now happily obtaining. The fact simply is that no one has any sort of reliable data for estimating the amount of salt that Oudh could produce in the present state of affairs, if the manufacture were once freely permitted. But why should Oudh be thus favoured, and how can the Government afford to relinquish not only 2-3rds of the tax now levied on Oudh—consumed salt, but 2-3rds of at least half of the live revenues, not less it may be anticipated than 40 lakhs altogether? If however this salt is only to be used in Oudh, then we must have a preventive line right round the province, a measure which I for one altogether deprecate.

"Accepting our present salt tax of Rs. 3 per maund as a necessity, I shall confine myself to a consideration of the system now in force in Oudh and the N. W. Provinces for securing its realization on as large a proportion as possible of the whole consumption. To secure this object two distinct methods seem possible; the one to prohibit entirely
internal manufacture, thus compelling the importation of the whole necessary supply and taxing it at the frontier; the other to permit the internal manufacture and tax the produce while still taxing imports, leaving the dealers and consumers free to supply their wants from home or foreign sources.

"The salt sources of Oudh and the N. W. Provinces are practically limitless in number. The richest tracts are doubtless comparatively few (we reckon about 30 such) but in the whole Divisions (that of Agra for example) there is scarcely a single village in which good salt cannot be made. Whether we prohibit or permit internal manufacture we must still maintain our line, as otherwise the western salts would get in untaxed, and so of course drive our taxed home manufacture out of the market and deprive us of our whole revenue. To prevent, or very nearly prevent, all internal manufacture, requires a comparatively small and inexpensive establishment; to permit such manufacture and secure the tax on the produce would, under any circumstances, require an enormous and costly one."
DISPOSAL OF UNCLAIMED LANDS IN POST-MUTINY OUDH

By

Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph. D., D. Litt.

As India's land system is now a subject of topical interest, it would interest the present-day reader to know how shortly after the Mutiny the revenue authorities of Oudh proposed a line of policy in regard to the disposal of village lands to which no one could establish an unquestionable proprietary right.

Among the old district records preserved in the Kutcherry of the Deputy Commissioner, there are papers of 1868, which contain valuable particulars in regard to this subject.

The Financial Commissioner's Circular, No. 47-3305 of the 4th June, 1868, divides this class of cases into:

1. Villages settled at the last or both summary settlements with the hereditary zamindars but which had not been in their possession within the twelve limitation years from 1844 to 1856, or for many years previously.

2. Villages in which the malguzars of the last or both summary settlements had no original proprietary title, but which had been held by them more or less continuously prior to the annexation of Oudh.

The existing orders on the subject were contained in the following circulars:

Settlement Ruling III.
Settlement Circular 46, 1864.
Financial Commissioner's Circular of 1865, No. 1534.
Financial Commissioner's Book Circular of 1865, No.16.

The Financial Commissioner cancelled the above circulars and laid down the following general principles on which cases of the kind under reference were to be decided:

1. When a village was decreed to Government on the ground that the hereditary zamindar had never held as
proprietor in the twelve years preceding annexation, the Settlement Officer could submit such proposals as might appear to him proper.

2. If a rival claimant could manage to prove right of ownership, the Government right might be waived.

3. If the claimant be taluqdar, this apportionment was to be made by giving him the superior proprietary right, and making a sub-settlement with the old proprietor.

4. If no such adverse possession were proved, the village might be bestowed on the old zamindars without the demand of any payment by them for this concession.

5. No village was to be assigned to others, if it could more properly be retained by Government.

6. If a malguzar proved twelve years continuous possession, if not clear proprietary right, it might be thought advisable to waive Government's right.

7. When dispossessed hereditary proprietors were allowed to purchase back their lost rights, only a moderate sum was to be demanded, say, from one to five years revenue authoritatively fixed.

8. Such resettlement could be made only after the passing of a decree affirming the proprietary right of the Government.

The final orders were that "officers will, in making proposals regarding these cases, consider each on its individual merits, and exercise their own judgment."
PROGRESS OF EDUCATION IN THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH IN THE TIME OF LORD ELGIN I

By

Dr. (Miss) Brij Saigal, M. A., Ph. D.

During the regime of Lord Elgin I, steps were taken to implement the policy laid down in the Educational Despatch of 1854.

But, the Government could promote education in India only so far as the finances permitted. So, early in 1862, Mr. Laing announced the grant of Rs. 38,75,163 for education in the Civil Budget for 1862-63. Of this amount, a sum of Rs. 7,55,326 was allotted for education in the North-West Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

The North-West Provinces had three colleges at Agra, Banaras and Bareilly, and the one at Bareilly having the honour of being in all respects, first on the list. Its Boarding House system was most successful—some fifty youths of all creeds and classes, from all parts of Rohilkhand and even the Doab, were living there under the supervision of a Pandit. The Bareilly College had no missionary competitor, but at the other two places, that is, Agra and Banaras, the efforts of the Church Mission Colleges, Jai Narain's and St. John's, had been so great as to put the State Institutions almost in the shade. Later on, the Agra College was abolished, and only a Sanskrit College was maintained at Banaras. A great central College, with Departments of Law and Medicine as well as Literature was established, at Allahabad, the capital of North-West Provinces.

Various other schemes were proposed by Mr. Kempson for the expansion and improvement of the education in the North-West Provinces and a proposal to the effect that the Professors' classes should

2. Financial Despatch from Secretary of State, No. 196, November 26, 1862.
3. Financial Member of the Governor-General-in-Council.
7. The Director of Public Instruction, N. W. Provinces.
be thrown open to the public in general, was approved and sanctioned by the Government of India. In Oudh, Mr. Wingfield advocated the old theory of "Infiltration", viz., "to begin with the upper middle classes, and let it filter through to the masses." He was of the opinion that to make efficient provision for a sound liberal education should be the first and main object of any national system; and when this had been secured, and the upper and middle classes had learned to avail themselves of the boon and appreciate its value, it might be expected that an impulse world be given which would slowly but surely extend its influence in a widening circle, so as gradually to embrace all the orders of society beneath them.

The Agra Medical School.

Early in the year 1862, a proposal was made by the Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Provinces to raise the Agra Medical School to the status of a College at a recurring cost of Rs. 5,000 per annum. Pending a decision on it, the Lieutenant Governor asked for sanction, with effect from May 1, 1862, to a revision of the footing on which the institution had hitherto been managed. The details of the suggested revision were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Cost (Rs.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Superintendent</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anatomy S. A.S.</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surgery</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meteria Medica</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Native Doctors</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Servants</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contingencies</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writer</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of Students</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,418</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

or Rs. 17,016 per annum.

2. From the Government of India (Home Department) No. 5437, October 6, 1862.
3. The Chief Commissioner of Oudh.
5. Home Education Progress, June, 1863, No. 12.
The Governor-General-in-Council were pleased to accord their sanction to the revision proposed by the Lieutenant Governor. An expert, Dr. Maclelland, was asked to give his opinion on the subject, and he submitted a similar, though somewhat more costly scheme, the details whereof were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Monthly Salary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Superintendent</td>
<td>Rs. 250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lecturer in Anatomy</td>
<td>Rs. 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Sub-Assistant Surgeons</td>
<td>Rs. 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Indian Doctors</td>
<td>Rs. 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Monitors</td>
<td>Rs. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writer</td>
<td>Rs. 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stipend of the students at Rs. 6 each</td>
<td>Rs. 640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Scholarships at Rs. 4 each</td>
<td>Rs. 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Servants</td>
<td>Rs. 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contingencies</td>
<td>Rs. 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>Rs. 1,607</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or Rs. 19,184/- per annum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although provision was made in the Educational Budget for Rs. 17,016 per annum being the cost of the revised scale of School expenditure proposed by the Lieutenant Governor, the Governor-General-in-Council sanctioned from the Reserve Fund a sum sufficient to cover the additional expenditure proposed by Dr. Maclelland. This scheme was eventually approved by the Secretary of State, Sir Charles Wood.

With regard to the other proposal of the Lieutenant Governor for the elevation of the Agra Medical School to the status of a College, the Viceroy was of the opinion that 'no vital' change need be made in the constitution of the existing Medical School.

Later on in the year 1863, a Museum was added to the Agra Medical School for which the appointment of a Curator was found absolutely necessary. The appointment was sanctioned by the Government of India on Rs. 20--per month.

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1. The Principal Inspector-General, Medical Department.
2. Education Desp. to the Secretary of State, No. 7, October 6, 1862.
3. Education Desp. from Secretary of State, No. 4 March 30, 1863.
4. From E. C. Bayley, Secretary to the Government of India to Sir George Couper, Secretary Government of N. W. Provinces, No. 5543, September 17, 1863.
6. From J. W. S. Wyllie, Under Secretary Government of India to Secretary of N. W. Provinces, No. 3319, May 23, 1863.
Lucknow Canning College.

The Taluqdars of Oudh intended to establish a College at Lucknow as a memorial to the late Earl of Canning. Lord Elgin very properly signified his intention of making an annual grant, equal in amount to the endowment of the Taluqdars to the proposed 'Canning College' which was naturally to be one of the premier educational Institutions of the province. The Taluqdars also desired to set up a separate department where the children of the Chiefs and Principal Land-owners of the province might receive education separately from the lower classes. It was the opinion of Lord Elgin that the proposed 'Canning College' and Taluqdars' College at Lucknow would afford the Indians the means of carrying on to a higher point the education which they had previously received at the Zillah or Taluqdars' Schools. Later on, Lord Elgin proposed that the principal of the proposed Canning College and the Officer in charge of the administration of the Department of Education should be the same person, but Sir Charles Wood objected to this suggestion. He was of the opinion that the qualifications required for the principal of a College and for an officer entrusted with the administration of the Education Department were so different in character that there was no likelihood of getting an individual possessing both. It was apprehended that anyone who agreed to assume dual responsibility might devote his chief attention to that branch of his duties which would be more in accordance with his own tastes, and perform the other in an inefficient manner.

The Thompson College of Civil Engineering, Roorkee.

An addition of a third session to the course of the Senior and 1st Department of the Thompson College of Civil Engineering at Roorkee was sanctioned by the Government of India as also its affiliation to the Calcutta University. The proposal was made by the Principal of the College in whose opinion this recognition was most desirable after two years' experience in the College. The existing

1. Prichard: Adm. of India from 1859-68 (1669) Vol. II., p. 83.
2. Wood's Adm. of Indian Affairs from 1858-66 (1667) p. 133.
3. Edu. Progs., Govt. of India; Nos. 86-89, September 12, 1862.
5. Edu. Desp. from Secretary of State, No. 12, December 24, 1863.
6. a. P. W. D. (Edu.) Desp. to Secretary of State; No. 73, November 5, 1863.
   b. From Lt. Col. J. P. Beadle, Officialising P. W. D. Secretary, Government of India to P. W. D. Secretary, N. W. P., No. 4614, October 20, 1863.
course of study was cut down to the very lowest. In subjects like Mathematics, Hydraulic Engineering and Architecture, there was need for expansion. Besides, it was necessary to introduce a good Elementary course of Physical Science and Geology, along with a more comprehensive course of designing, hence there was the necessity for opening a third year class.¹

**High School at Etawah.**

A special grant of Rs. 10,000 was sanctioned by Lord Elgin towards the completion of the High School building at Etawah and the purchase of equipment. A monthly grant of Rs. 350 towards its maintenance and improvement and Rs. 250 towards the maintenance of the village Schools and libraries which were established in the district through the instrumentality of Mr. Allan Hume, the Magistrate and Collector, were also sanctioned.²

The entire monthly grant of Rs. 600 was originally applied for by Mr. Hume especially for the improvement of the High School but the Lieutenant Governor thought it unnecessary and proposed the assignment of Rs. 350 towards the High School and the balance of Rs. 250 towards the revival and extension of *Hulkavandi* Schools. Sir Charles Wood, however, was opposed to this move. He saw no reason in justification of the grant of Rs. 250 towards the maintenance of village schools, the establishment and maintenance of which, in other districts, was provided for out of the 1% Educational Cess, without any further contribution from the Government. There was, according to him, no need for making an exception in the case of the Etawah district.¹

The condition of schools in the Etawah district was very unsatisfactory, and the Lieutenant Governor of the N.W. Provinces directed the schools to be placed under the superintendence of the Education Department,⁴ which was also approved by Lord Elgin.⁵ The

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¹ (a) From Principal Thompson College to P.W.D. Secretary to Government of N.W.P. No. 814, November 19, 1862.
² (b) Progs. of the Hon’ble the Lieutenant Governor of N.W. Provinces, P.W.D., No. 983; Feb. 20, 1863.
³ Edu. Desp. to Secretary of State; No. 6, April 15, 1862.
⁴ Edu. Desp. from Secretary of State; No. 11; July 31, 1862.
⁵ Letter from Government of N. W. Provinces; Nos. 668 A and 1849, dated March 21 and April 10, 1862.
⁶ Letter from E. C. Bayley Secretary to the Government of India to Secretary, Government of N. W. Provinces, No. 4909, September 10, 1862.
management of the High School was left to the committee on the condition that all matters connected with the instructions to be imparted there were to be in the charge of the Education Department which was to provide a Head-master to act under its orders.¹

In November, 1862, the Government of North-West Provinces made another representation to the Government of India regarding the appointment of Mr. Demello as an extra Deputy-Inspector in the Etawah District and Head Master of the Etawah High School on a salary of Rs. 300/- per month.² which was sanctioned by the Government of India.³

**Vernacular Education.**

An agitation had lately been started by a section of the educated people for the promulgation of vernacular education on an all-India basis. The study of classical languages like Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian was practically superseded by the study of English. In consequence, even educated Indians were surprisingly ignorant of their own cultural background.⁴ The monopoly of English led to an all-round neglect of both the vernaculars and the classical languages. All the subjects of study were taught exclusively through the medium of English. There was a demand in certain quarters that the present system should be modified and that a modicum of knowledge of either Sanskrit, Persian or Arabic, and a fair knowledge of some vernacular language along with some acquaintance with one of the most important European languages be insisted on in the case of any one who wished to supplicate for a degree of an Indian University.⁵

Thus, when the grant of half a million rupees for Education, Science and Art was announced by Mr. Laing,⁶ the Financial Member of the Governor General’s Council, the Government of India was advised to reserve at least one-third of the amount for Vernacular Education, a sum sufficient to provide for a system of Vernacular

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¹ Letter from Sir George Couper, Secretary, N. W. Provinces to Secretary Government of India, No. 2650A., October 1862. (Enclosure Letter to Edu. Desp. to Secretary of State, No. 8; October 20, 1862.
² From Government of N. W. Provinces; No. 2825A, Nov. 12, 1862.
³ Edu. Desp. to Secretary of State, No. 10, December 11, 1862.
⁴ Prichard; Adm. of India from 1859-68; Vol. II (1869) p. 85.
⁵ Parliamentary Papers 1864, H. C.
⁶ Fin. Progs. (Home Department), No. 2390, April 11, 1862.
Schools, by establishing Normal Schools each under a Principal from England, and supplying village schools with trained masters.\(^1\)

In the North-West Provinces the Local Government decided to organise, superintend and direct the entire system of vernacular education and to supplement the funds locally raised to such an extent as might be necessitated by the circumstances obtaining in different regions and districts. There were two ways in which primary education would be made self-supporting:

1. By means of local funds that is, one per cent education cess and various other local receipts; and

2. By the application of the grants-in-aid system. School fees in all cases were to be treated as part of the local education funds.\(^2\)

So the vernacular education in North-West Provinces proved more successful than anywhere else. Its stability was in any case assured. The Government granted £48,574 a year for its progress and there were some 3,60,000 boys in all the schools receiving vernacular education.\(^3\)

**Female Education.**

During Lord Elgin's reign, the two weakest points in the educational system of India were the Normal Schools and the girls' schools. The great educational tripod instead of resting on the three legs of English, Vernacular and Female education, tottered uneasily on the first alone, and Lord Elgin was asked to speed up the expansion of the other two, that is, the Normal schools and the useful, but too restricted, female schools. While there was no difficulty in the case of the vernacular boys' schools, the obstacles in the way of effective action by the Government in the matter of female education were numerous. Only indirectly, by Grants-in-aid, by the earnest encouragement of high officials and especially their wives, and, above all, by the direct and personal labours of enlightened Indians, could some progress be achieved.\(^4\)

With regard to female education in the North-West Provinces of Agra and Oudh during this period, it is worthy of note that it was

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1. D. P. I. Bengal to Secretary, Government of Bengal, April, 1862.
already customary for little girls to attend the village schools for boys. There were at least a thousand non-christian girls in the missionary schools. This progress of female education was largely due to the efforts of an Indian gentleman, Thakur Kalyan Singh, of the Agra College, who trained a class of Indian ladies belonging to the families of his kinsmen. These ladies established 17 schools, each attended by 18 girls or more. Mr. Kempson, the Director of Public Instruction, N. W. Provinces, urged the English ladies to establish small women's Normal Classes at each station.¹

¹ Mr. Kempson's report on education in North-West Provinces, June 19, 1863.
THE TAHSILDAR IN THE CEDED AND CONQUERED PROVINCES: (1801-1833)\(^1\)

By

R. N. Nagar

The Tahsildar was\(^2\) the most important Indian officer in the revenue administration of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces. He enjoyed considerable powers and privileges; and circumstances made him still more powerful. In fact, smooth working of the administration depended considerably on his efficiency and integrity. But he blatantly misused his position and authority, and soon became the most corrupt officer of the Government. He succeeded in defrauding landowners and the Government to an incredible extent, adding substantially to the unsettled conditions prevailing in the Provinces. It is for this reason also that special interest attaches to this office.

The Office was essentially a product of British administration. It was, however, not quite unfamiliar to the country. The Collector of Moradabad, for instance,\(^3\) reported, that in Rohilkhand the Rohillas employed superintendents to collect revenue on the remuneration of a commission of seven per cent on the revenue collected. The main responsibility of the Tahsildar, also, was to collect revenue.

After the advent of the British Government the Tahsildar was given the following duties to perform. He\(^4\) was authorised to give adequate publicity at a public gathering to the proclamations issued by the Government; to make revenue settlement subject to the approval of the Government; to obtain authentic information regarding land revenue; to fix revenue in consideration to the records of the previous years; to acquaint the farmers and the zamindars with all the rules in relation to land revenue; and to keep registers of potthas, kabooliats and tuccavi loans.

These duties were incorporated in and supplemented by, the Regulation XXVII of 1803, which\(^5\) laid down that the Tahsildar was

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1. These territories were ceded by the Nawab of Oudh to the British (1801) and conquered from the Maratha's respectively.
2. Specially after the abolition of the office of the Dewan in 1813.
4. Agra Revenue Records 7th September, 1802.
5. The Regulations of the Government of Fort William in Bengal Vol. (1)
to be appointed by the Collector with the approval and sanction of the Board of Revenue, but could not be dismissed by him on his own authority. In case a person defaulted from paying the revenue, the Collector could authorise him to proceed against the person by the established process of distress and sale without waiting for a previous sanction from the Board. Small estates could be confined to his care. His signatures were required on all revenue transactions. He could also make a settlement subject to the approval of the higher authorities; and so on.

The Regulation XXV of 1803 made¹ this joint charge of the Tahsildar and the landholder. In this, his police-duties ran concurrently with that of the Daroga, which overlapped each other. As a police officer the Tahsildar was responsible not to the Collector but to the Magistrate. It was obviously an ill judged step, so, in 1807 police powers were taken away from him, having been found² "inefficient for the purpose intended by it, and open to material objections." Later on, however, the Government had to revise the step, and restored the police duties to the Tahsildar. The preamble of the Regulation said,³ "...... with a view to improve the efficiency of the police it is expedient that in the districts of the ceded and conquered Provinces,...... the Governor-General-in-Council be empowered to vest the tahsildars with the powers at present exercised by the Darogas."

The Tahsildar was the highest paid Indian officer till 1833, when the post of a deputy collector was created⁴ for Indians in the Superior service. At first he received a percentage of 11½ on the amount of revenue collected. Later, it was reduced to 10 per cent, when the police power was taken⁵ away from him. Finally, he was assigned a fixed monthly salary, usually Rs. 150 per mensem.

He was provided with quite a large establishment to assist him in his work. It entailed a heavy amount of expenditure. Later, drastic economy was effected by substantially retrenching⁶ the establishment.

¹. The Regulations of the Government of the Fort William in Bengal Vol. (I.)
². The Regulation XIV, 1807. Do.
³. The Regulation XI of 1831. Do.
⁴. The Regulation IX 1823. Do Vol. II.
⁵. By the Regulation XIV of 1807.
⁶. Proceedings of the Board of Revenue letter 2nd April, 1811.
During the earlier period, the position of the Tahsildar often became very precarious. His commission, even his own office, was often in jeopardy on account of heavy arrears in revenue. The populace had already acquired a martial and rebellious character owing to the misrule of the previous regime, and the country had suffered from all the evils of an unstable government. A situation, already none too happy, was worsened by the short-sighted policy of the new Government, for instance, it started forthwith by demanding the maximum revenue that the country could afford, and continued to increase it. The people could not pay, or would not pay the revenue without armed compulsion. The difficulties of the Tahsildar may, thus, be readily perceived. A letter to the Governor-General-in-Council acknowledged, “In fact, where there is a rebellious combination of the people, and no malgoozar attends on the Tahsildar’s cutchery, I know no rules in the Regulations that can encourage a hope of realising the revenue.” The acting Collector of Etawah reported that not “one anna of revenue could be collected from the talooka of commyte.”

The Government, however, did not want any arrears. A circular from the Government enjoined on the Collector, “Whenever it shall so happen that a tahsildar has not completely discharged the amount of Kist, or Kists, actually due from him, you are desired to discontinue the payment of his commission until the whole of his arrears have been liquidated, or otherwise satisfactorily accounted for.”

Sometimes, he did try to wipe off the balances by a personal sacrifice. The Collector of Moradabad testified, “I have got good grounds to believe that much of it was borrowed on their personal credit, and paid in as revenue as well, from a dislike to being entered on accounts as arrears”. This obviously could not always go on. Consequently, the lure of an increase in the commission, and the responsibility of avoiding arrears made him very exacting in his collections. Therefore, often he became an instrument of injustice, oppre-
sion, and corruption. The very uncertainty of his position, and the ease and frequency with which the land could be brought to sale and auction, made him bold enough to defraud the land owners and the Government. In this he succeeded admirably. Several factors helped him to defraud.

The first and foremost was that the supervision and control of the Collector over him, as on other sub-ordinate officers, was very lax and ineffective, specially so during the earlier period. It was due to several reasons. (1) The Collector had so many responsibilities to shoulder that he could scarcely concentrate on any. (2) His unfamiliarity with the customs, tenures and the language, made him depend on the Tahsildars, and other subordinate officers, to a considerable extent. Hence, much of the details of the administration were left to be carried out according to their own initiative. This factor made the Tahsildar very much more powerful than was intended. (3) During the earlier period, almost every district was in a state of fermentation, and it required men of ability and firmness to deal with the situation; and such men of outstanding abilities could not always be procured everywhere. (4) There were many lacunae existing in the various regulations, which even the alertness of a Collector could not cover up. (5) Sometimes the Collector himself succumbed to those very temptations which lured the Tahsildar. Lastly, even if a guilty person was discovered, he could not always be given an exemplary punishment, which emboldened him in his nefarious pursuits. For instance, after nearly two years of deliberations and correspondence, this was what was decided about a tahsildar named Jaigopal Pande, "Enquiry held before you appears to establish satisfactorily his guilt in regard to the principal heads of extortion and speculation of which he is accused. The Board doubt whether under the existing circumstances it would be expedient to involve Government in a tedious prosecution against him". So, he was merely dismissed from office.

Secondly, the initial mistakes in the general policy of the Government, and the lacunae existing in the various Regulations were primarily responsible for causing immense confusion, which made it possible for adventurers and fortune-hunters to fish in the troubled waters with

1. Indians in the Revenue administrations of the North-western Provinces by the Writer, U. P. History Society Journal.
2. Proceedings of the Board of Revenue 27th April, 1810.
impunity. Thus the law of distress and sale was made to work on the flimsiest pretext.

The third factor was the influx of adventurers and fortune-hunters, who, as a result of the confusion, and because of their wealth and opportunism, managed to dislodge the original land-holders by out-bidding them. The spirit of competition exposed the land to the dangers of arrears, and consequently, of sales. These persons manoeuvered to have their own men, or themselves, appointed as Tahsildars, who grabbed other lands also. Thus, it was reported to Governor-General-in-Council, "... An assessment thus carried into unnatural height, could not continue beyond the period of engagement, nor could it have been realised in the first year, had not the same wealthy speculators, who, in the name of some of their followers, or in fictitious names, had taken a large proportion of district under farm, become the tahsildars of it, some avowedly in their own names. The claim of Government was made good because the tahsildars were personally responsible for it; and the latter reimbursed themselves by taking from some landholders private transfers of estates in liquidation of their arrears...."

Lastly, a deep-seated combination was formed between the important subordinate officers to defraud the Government. This again was partly due to the shortsightedness of the Government, and partly due to the peculiarity of the circumstances. A vicious circle was formed which seemed to have its tentacles everywhere. A glimpse of it may be had from the remarkable petition filed by one Syed Amir Ali in the Court of Appeals at Banaras. He alleged that the Collector's amlahs extorted money from the Tahsildars. Those who refused to pay were relieved of their posts. They, in their turn, took money from the Kanungo. He also stated, "Mr. Stunner has in the recommendation of Sallamut Alley procured the appointment of the Tahsildar of pergunnah Deogunj, and out of the salary of hundred rupees per month, that man received forty, while, he Mr. Stunner—the remainder of the emolument." A combination of the Dewan, the Tahsildar, the Kanungo, and the Patwari was far too powerful even for a man of ability to overcome.

1. The Mofussil Special Commission by the writer, Indian Historical Records Commission.
2. Proceeding of the Board of Revenue 23rd March, 1816.
It was due to these factors that the Tahsildar succeeded in openly and extensively defrauding the land-owners and the Government of an enormous amount of money. Mr. Christian observed,¹ “The Tahsildars, in a new country and vested with absolute power over the internal management of all estates within their jurisdiction, and spurred by a percentage to collect as much as they could without any scruples as to the mode, upon the most false and frivolous pretences, threw innumerable estates kham, embezzled the revenue themselves, and brought the estates to hammer for fictitious balances at which the choicest villages were purchased......”

The result of these malpractises was more deep and damaging than words and figures can portray. Thousands of land-owners were ruined, who swelled to the number of discontented. Charles Raikes pointed² out, “A war of Landholders against decree holders, auction-purchasers, and all other intruders began;......open affrays, assassinations, endless and bloody feuds spread all over the land”.

The Government, also had to suffer severe losses. From sales and auctions it never realised the full worth of the arrears. Indeed, land could be sold for such paltry a sum as two rupees. Then, the new land-owners naturally engaged at a lower assessment than the previous ones.

Worse than this, was the permanent injury inflicted on agriculture. When the motive was, not the improvement of agriculture, but to scrap from it as much wealth in as short a time as it was possible, nothing else could have been expected.

The Tahsildar, however, benefitted enormously. To quote³ an example, “No less than fourteen separately assessed villages, yielding an annual income of Rs. 20,135, were sold in auction on the mere attestation of the Tahsildar, for sums due from persons who were not recorded proprietors; the whole of these villages were purchased by Ahmad Baksh, the Tahsildar’s uncle, either in his own name, or that of his servants for Rs. 2,825. They are now held in the name of his sons at a reduced jumma of Rs. 15,358”. A Tahsildar named Sheo

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1. Proceeding of the Board of Revenue 17th May, 1816.
2. Notes on North Western Provinces Charles Raikes.
3. Government Revenue Record North Western Province, 1821.
Lal Dubey had amassed¹ an estate worth Rs. 4,06,891, exclusive of the interest that he possessed in Tahsildaries held in the name of other persons.

The Government did not realise the amount of havoc which had been done during the first ten years. The number of dismissals during this period was larger for arrears, than for misbehaviour. It was for the former reason that the Government thought of abolishing the system altogether in 1805, but the Collectors, when asked to give their opinions, strongly recorded their voice against the measure. For instance the Collector of Gorakhpur observed,² "The present Tahsildari system appears to me to be so much more efficient, and the advantage so much in favour of it for securing the revenue to Government that I am of opinion that it ought not to be abolished."

Measures to reform the office were rather late in coming, and not very adequate. In 1810 the Government issued³ a circular to the Collectors, which said, "...So the Board are of opinion that no such misappropriation could be carried out to any considerable extent without a very great neglect and remissness on the part of the Collector himself, and the Board accordingly direct me to acquaint you that they will hold you answerable for maintaining the most vigilant superintendence over the Tahsildars." It was a pertinent observation, but, in practise, it did not bear much fruit.

In 1817, as a result of a very comprehensive report submitted by Mr. Christian, the Board issued⁴ another circular to all the Collectors, instructing them that henceforth properly qualified persons alone were to be appointed to the office of the Tahsildar. For this purpose Collectors were required to have a knowledge of character and acquirements of the principal and respectable persons of the district, and to persuade them to educate and train their sons so as to make them competent to occupy the office of the Tahsildar. It certainly struck a right note, even if it was late in coming.

3. Proceedings of the Board of Revenue 16th June, 1810.
Yet another circular was issued on 18th August, 1820. It reiterated the importance of the office, and re-emphasised that persons appointed to the post should not only possess the requisite knowledge and ability, but must also have some status and position in society. It also observed, "....It is incumbent upon you to encourage the Tahsildars to take every opportunity of visiting you in your own house, and by allowing them a chair on those occasions, and showing them such other attention and civilities as are usually received by persons of rank and influence." This was an admirable sentiment really; for, previously, a great gulf existed between the tahsildars and higher British officials not merely on account of the great difference that existed in their salary and status, but also on account of racial arrogance and hauteur.

The Regulation I of 1821, must have, though indirectly, influenced the progress of the office considerably. The Mofussil and Sadar Special commissions, instituted in accordance with the Regulation I of 1821, undertook a searching enquiry into the circumstances of the sales of land which had taken place previously. These investigations thoroughly exposed, amongst other things, the malpractices indulged in by the Tahsildars. It also made the Government more vigilant and watchful than before.

It is obvious from the above account that, whatever the intrinsic weaknesses of the office itself, the extent of evil influence exerted by the Tahsildar depended largely on the abnormality of the times, and mismanagement in the general policy of the Government. As administration progressed and improved, the office also gradually settled down to a normal state. There is no doubt whatever that the Tahsildar had to struggle through under heavy impediments; that he worked to the satisfaction of the Government is apparent from the repeated expressions of satisfaction in their towjees in regard to the realisations of revenue from time to time. Even while indicting the Tahsildar however, one may will ask the pertinent question along with Stuart, "The Tahsildar was a receiver of revenue, and an officer of police, and in both characters had very limited powers. The Tahsildars

1. Proceedings of the Board of Revenue 18th August, 1820.
2. Government Revenue Records 1821.
were controlled by Collectors; then to check the executive officers came the judicial authorities, the judge of the district, the Provincial Court of Appeal and Circuit, and last the High Courts of Sadar Diwanny and Nizamut adawluts. Are we to believe that the result of this costly and elaborate organisation was that persons in the situation of revenue receivers and police agents could not be prevented from defrauding the people of their estates?"
EFFECT OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY WAR ON SIR JOHN SHORE’S ADMINISTRATION.

By

G. S. Misra.

The period of Sir John Shore’s administration from October 1793, to May, 1798, was one of uneasy peace in India amid portents of a general outbreak, during which the Revolutionary War in Europe extended its scope towards the east, and which brought the unsettled question of Indian supremacy once more to the forefront. Although the French settlements in India had all been occupied before Cornwallis left for England in October, 1793, the outbreak of the war once again gave hope to all anti-British elements in India. The various rulers of India were still keeping considerable forces under French control, and they retained in their service French officers who had attempted to organize their armies on the western model. At Hyderabad, Raymond had built up a body of troops under French leadership. Under Scindia, Perron had similarly raised another body of sepoys. Although these armies were in the pay of Indian princes, there was always the fear that at some opportune moment they might be marched against the English Company’s possessions. At any rate, it was almost certain that the appearance of a French squadron would at once set them in movement.

After the surrender of all the French settlements on the Indian mainland, the attention of the government at home was drawn to the French Islands in the Indian Ocean. The resolution of the government to form an expedition for the capture of the French Islands of Mauritius and Bourbon was communicated to the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India. The expedition was to employ a part of the army in India, in co-operation with a squadron of Men-of-War, and the entire force of this expedition was to consist of five thousand men (4,000 Europeans and 1,000 Lascars), to be commanded by Major General Medows. The Board consequently sent directions to the governor general-and-council at Fort William that measures

1 Minutes of the Board of Control, V., 10th June, 1793; India Office Library.
should immediately be taken for the reduction of the two Islands, and the necessary land forces be collected at Madras and kept in readiness to meet the ships from Europe. 1 Similar instructions were transmitted to the President and council at Fort St. George. 2 The position in India, however, was thought too uncertain to launch any expedition against the French Islands. In consequence of the delay thus caused, the Board subsequently directed that the proposed expedition may be postponed, but that if the administration in India considered the venture practicable, in view of the preparations that had been ordered, they were at liberty to undertake it. 3

Sir John Shore did not consider the project of an expedition against the French Islands as either practicable or desirable. After mature consideration of the subject, the governor general was impressed with the fact that neither the European troops prescribed by the Secret Committee’s instructions, nor the more limited number required by Colonel Stuart, could be withdrawn from India, without endangering the safety and security of the British possessions. 4 The governor general-and-council, thereupon, drafted certain Resolutions for the guidance and determination of the Secret Committee on the subject.

(1) That no further proportion of European infantry be sent from India on an expedition against Mauritius and Bourbon, than can be replaced from Bengal and Bombay, or by reinforcements from Europe.

(2) That, although, there was a fair prospect of the continuance of peace in India, as well as of the stability of British alliance with the Nizam and the Peshwa, and Tipu being already suppressed, the security of the company’s possessions in India depended upon the actual strength to maintain it, and a large proportion of European soldiers was indispensably requisite to constitute that strength.

(3) That no reliance could be placed in the attachment of the Indian powers. 5

1 Board to Governor General and Council, 15, Oct., 1793; Secret Dispatches to Bengal, V. 2; India Office Library.
3 Board to Governor General and Council, 21, March 1794; Secret Dispatches to Bengal, V. 2; India Office Library.
4 Sir John Shore to the Secret Committee, 15, May, 1794; Bengal Secret Letters, V. 1; India Office Library.
5 Ibid.
The importance of reducing the Island of Mauritius was, in the meantime, again urged by the Board of Commissioners, in consequence of the depredations committed by armed vessels from that Island on the trade of India, and the consequent injury that it had to sustain. Sir John Shore referred the question to the decision of General Medows, or in case he should not have arrived in Madras, to that of Colonel Stuart, whether under the limitations expressed in the Resolutions of the governor general-and-council, the preparations for the expedition should be undertaken. Colonel Stuart categorically stated that a lesser number of European troops than that which had been originally required would be insufficient for the success of the enterprise. There can be no doubt that the governor general-and-council did their best to use every justifiable effort to promote the expedition ordered by His Majesty and the Honourable Secret Committee, but the uncertain situation in India precluded them from adopting any extreme step. In consequence of their state of unpreparedness, the prosecution of the expedition in 1794 was entirely relinquished. Whether the expedition was to be resumed in the coming year, was to be determined by later circumstances. At the beginning of 1795, the governor general received information that the French Islands were in a fully prepared state, and that Mauritius had been put in a state of complete defence and was guarded by a body of 10,000 men. This confirmed his former opinion that no force inferior to that originally proposed could be employed on the service with any chances of success. He, therefore, relinquished finally all ideas of prosecuting the long-projected expedition against the two French Islands.

The situation in India, however, was highly satisfactory. All the French settlements were already in English hands. Early in 1794, the plan to demolish the entire fortifications of Pondicherry had been laid before the Secret Committee. The Committee suggested the

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1 Secret Committee Minutes, V. 4; 13, June, 1794; India Office Library.
2 Madras Letters, V. 12, 25, July, 1794 Home Miscellaneous Series, V. 606; India Office Library.
3 Governor General in Council to the Secret Committee; Information obtained by Major Petrie relative to the prepared State of the French 31, Jan., 1795; Bengal Secret Letters, V. 2; India Office Library.
4 Letter from Dundas to the chairman stating his opinions on a Paper prepared by Colonel Markwood. Secret Committee Minutes, V. 4; 27, Jan; 1794 India Office Library.
propriety of consulting the Marquis of Cornwallis on the subject. The sentiments of Cornwallis were consequently obtained, and dispatches were sent to the governments of Bengal and Madras ordering the demolition of the works at Pondicherry, consistent with the sentiments expressed by the Marquis.¹

Towards the close of 1794, Sir John Shore became strongly impressed with the importance of an intercourse and friendly alliance with the Court of Ava. In his Minute of 6th February, 1795, he proposed that a deputation to Ava under Captain Symes be despatched as early as possible.² Early in February, 1795, Captain Symes was instructed to proceed to Ava with the express purpose of giving strong assurances to that court of the goodwill and confidence on the part of the English government towards that of Ava; to procure the establishment of a regular and free communication with Ava at all times; to prevail upon that government to withhold the benefit of its ports to French vessels of all kinds; to prevent the subjects of France from receiving any supplies of timber or provisions from that state; and, above all, to procure the expulsion of the Frenchmen who had established themselves in the Arracan country.³ The importance of the exchange of deputations was also to be impressed upon that ruler. Symes was well received at Ava, with every mark of attention on the part of the Raja who, for the time being, gave evidence of a favourable issue to the object of the mission.⁴

When the year 1795 opened, a turn of affairs in Europe, as usual, affected the situation in India. The French interference in Holland, and Holland falling into the clutches of France or becoming a mere province of it, once again involved the question of the Dutch settlements in the East Indies. The project for the reduction of the Cape of Good Hope, of Batavia, of the Island of Ceylon, of Malacca, Amboyna and Macassar, was submitted for the consideration of the government.⁵ This would give a severe blow to the Dutch naval power in the east. At the same time, the commercial advantages accruing from

¹ Secret Committee Minutes, V. 4; 28, March, 1794; India Office Library.
² Letter from Bengal to the Court of Directors, 15, March, 1795; European MSS; V. 2, Part 2, E. 63; India Office Library.
³ Instructions to Captain Symes from Governor General in Council 6, Feb, 1795: Ibid; India Office Library.
⁴ Extract of the political letter from Bengal, 18, Aug; 1795; Ibid; India Office Library.
⁵ Isaac Byers to Pitt, 31, Jan; 1795; 30/8, 118; Chatham Papers, Public Record Office.
it would be considerable. Even if the Dutch settlements were to be on trust with the English, it would lead to the opening of a new and extensive field for commerce which might not again be allowed to be shut. At any rate, it was certain that after the French conquest of Holland, all the Dutch possessions abroad must soon fall either in English or French hands.

The importance of the issue led His Majesty’s government to concert with the Prince Stadtholder, who at that time had retired to England, to adopt measures to prevent the capture of the Dutch settlements by France in the eastern seas. The Stadtholder consequently ordered the several Dutch governors in the east to admit British ships and troops in order to protect them against the enemy. The Board directed the various governments in India to co-operate in the enterprise, and to detach on any expedition in that connection any part of the troops that could be spared, and also to advance money on that account. The co-operation of the governor general of Batavia, Vander Graff, was solicited in putting all the Dutch settlements under the protection of His Majesty’s forces. Effectual measures were at the same time taken from England to send an expedition to the Cape of Good Hope with the view of preventing that settlement from falling into the hands of the enemy.

The instructions from Dundas explicitly directed that the Indian government should, in the first instance, turn their attention to Trincomalé, and afterwards, progressively, towards Malacca and the Spice Islands, and incorporate gradually all the Dutch possessions in the eastern seas. In consequence of such secret instructions, the governor general resolved that immediate measures should be adopted to secure the possession of Trincomalé, Cochin, and the Dutch factory at Surat, and after a conference with Commodore Rainier, it was determined also to secure Malacca. On grounds of expediency, they also considered it necessary to authorize an augmentation of the native

1 D. Scott to William Fairlie (owner of the Agency House of Fairlie & Co., at Calcutta), 20, Feb; 1795. Phillips C. H., Correspondence of David Scott, V. 1, p. 17;
2 Board to Governor General in Councel,Bengal, and Governors & councils at Fort St. George and Bombay; 9, Feb; 1795. Secret Dispatches to Bengal, V. 2; India Office Library.
3 Ibid.
4 Lord Hobart, Governor of Madras, to the Governor General of Batavia, 16, July, 1795; French in India, V. 12; India Office Library.
5 Governor General in Council to the Secret Committee, 27, July, 1795; Bengal Secret Letters, V. 2; India Office Library.
military establishments at Madras and Bombay. The government of Fort St. George, in consequence of the earlier receipt of the dispatches, had anticipated the resolution of the governor general, and in concert with Commodore Rainier, had taken immediate measures for obtaining possession of Trincomalé. Trincomalé surrendered, without any opposition, on 26th August, and British troops took possession of the Fort. On 31st August, the surrender of Fort Ostenburg to His Majesty’s arms was effected. The capitulation of Cochin took place on 15th October. By the beginning of 1796, the other settlements of the Dutch in the East Indies also fell into English hands. In September, 1795, Baticaloo and Jaffnapatnam had also surrendered. The capitulations of Amboyna and Banda were effected on 16th February and 8th March, 1796, respectively. The Cape had already submitted to British arms at the close of 1795.

The probable designs of the French on Goa, and the danger arising from the weakness of the Portuguese power in the east, also occupied the attention of the authorities at home at this critical juncture. The governments of Bengal and Madras were apprised of the French projects in regard to that Portuguese possession, and the danger they were eventually to guard against. The government of Bombay was especially directed that, in conjunction with the government of Goa, and subject to any orders from the governor general in council, they should adopt measures for the security of that invaluable possession. The expediency of immediately communicating with the government of Goa on the subject was also impressed upon them.

In the meantime, the French intrigues and activities in India were fully alive. The agents of France at the different courts of India were busy in raising bodies of troops under their leadership. Captain William Kirkpatrick, the British Resident at Hyderabad, in his correspondence with Sir John Shore, during 25th April and 21st October, 1795, repeatedly pointed to the activities of Monsieur Raymond in reference to the corps he had formed in Hyderabad. Secret information had also been received that Raymond was expecting to be soon

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1 Bengal Letters, V. 20 ; 18, Aug ; 1795 ; Home Miscellaneous Series, V. 608 ; India Office Library.
2 Board to Governor General in Council, Bengal, and Governor in Council, Fort St. George, 18, March, 1795 ; Secret Dispatches to Bengal V. 2 ; India Office Library.
3 Board to the Governor in Council, Bombay, 18, March, 1795 ; Secret Letters to Bombay ; India Office Library.
4 Home Miscellaneous Series, V. 446 ; India Office Library.
joined by several Frenchmen from Pondicherry, particularly by some military officers of rank. This had consequently made the Resident more vigilant in reference to Raymond's designs, and he transmitted a list to Lord Hobart of such persons who were believed to have made their arrangements with Raymond.

By the beginning of 1796, the Dutch power in the eastern world had fallen into English hands. In spite of their anxiety to carry into full execution the orders for taking possession of all the Dutch settlements, the governor general-in-council did not consider an expedition against Java as practicable at that time. They found it impossible to furnish a sufficient force for an expedition against that settlement, without any reinforcement from Europe. The surrender of Colombo and other places in the Island of Ceylon was, however, effected. A plan for employing part of the naval force for the blockade of Batavia, and part of it to cruise off the Mauritius, was also set forth. This would have deprived the enemy of access to the only ports remaining in their possession in the eastern seas. But the operation of the plan was not found practicable on account of its great distance. In consequence of the directions from His Majesty's government, the capture of certain Dutch ships also took place. The Dutch ship, 'Cromhout,' and her cargo, was captured upon its arrival in a British port, and taken possession of. The Board expressed its entire approbation of the promptitude which was observed in carrying the orders of His Majesty into execution for taking complete possession of the Dutch settlements in the East Indies.

The French intrigues and designs against the English were not confined to Indian soil. The French had also made it their object to discipline the Persians, and to furnish them with artillery and other equipments, in order to make them as powerful as possible, with a view to prepare them for some future attack upon the British possessions in the east. The danger arising from such activities was by no means

1 Kirkpatrick to Sir John Shore, 30, May, 1795; Ibid India Office Library.
2 Governor General in Council to the Secret Committee, 1, March, 1796; Bengal Secret Letters, V. 2; India Office Library.
3 Governor General in Council to the Secret Committee, 12, May, 1796; Plan suggested by Admiral Elphinstone; Bengal Secret Letters, V. 2; India Office Library.
4 James Crawford, John Bowles, and Alex Baxter to Pitt, 7, May, 1796; Chatham Papers, 30/8, 360; Public Record Office.
5 Dundas to Sir Stephen Lushington, Chairman of the East India Company, 3, March, 1796; Persia, V. 21; India Office Library.
immediate but, as Dundas thought, the matter at least required part of their attention. Information was also received at this time from His Majesty’s Ministers regarding the sailing of a large force from France and Holland, supposed to be destined for the East Indies. Although, the destination of this force was not known, the Secret Committee apprised the several presidencies in India of its despatch, and warned them to guard against any surprise attack. It also came about at this time that a letter received from the British Resident with Scindia, stated the revival of the reports of the intentions of Zamaun Shah to invade Hindostan. Sir John Shore was fully alive to the danger arising from this threatened invasion, and his correspondence, especially with Dundas, gives an accurate insight into the broad aspects of his imperial policy. Towards the end of 1796, intelligence was also received from the British charged, affaires at Constantinople, dated 1st March, of an intended deputation from the French Republic to the Imam of Muscat, for the purpose of improving their communication with India overland, and with the general idea of promoting their colonial commerce. The governor general, on receipt of the intelligence, promptly took action by addressing a letter to the Imam in which he referred to the designs of the French, and warned him against admitting any agent of that nation at his court. The Imam, in answer to the governor general’s communication, referred to the general activities of the French carried on at his court, but gave full assurances of his good understanding and friendship with the British government.

The general measures of precaution exercised by the British administration in India at this critical period, included a strict control and vigilance over the publication of such news and remarks in the newspapers as were likely to prejudice their cause. Towards the close of 1795, the Madras government had already imposed certain restrictions on the publication of its General Orders in newspapers without proper scrutiny. The Editor of the ‘Madras Gazette’ had consequently been directed that no Orders be inserted in his weekly paper under the head of ‘Military Intelligence’, until they had been previously submitted by

1 Secret Committee Minutes, V. 4; 19, April, 1796; India Office Library.
3 Extract Bombay Political Letter, 18, Dec., 1796; French in India, V. 13; India Office Library.
4 Ibid
him to the Military Secretary, who was to expunge such parts as he considered to be improper for publication. A similar vigilance and control was exercised by the Bengal government in the following year, and Sir John Shore himself realized the importance and expediency of imposing such restrictions on the activities of the newspapers. The ‘Calcutta Gazette,’ in its edition of the 22nd. September, 1796, published a very exceptionable paragraph on the late communication between the Court of London and the French Republic on the subject of peace, and also referred to the battles in favour of the Republican forces in a manner most discouraging to the cause of the allies. The governor general, thereupon, communicated to the Editor the impropriety of inserting such observations in a paper published under the sanction of the government, and warned him against such publications in the future. The Editor, Mr. Horseley, in a letter to Sir John Shore, expressed his unconditional regret, stating at the same time that the insertion of such remarks was totally unintentional.

The rising tide in Europe and the apprehensions of an attack from the French, impressed the Bombay government with the supreme need of putting Bombay, and the Dutch possession of Surat, in a respectable state of defence. The inadequacy of the garrison of Surat for repelling any attack of the enemy prepared an additional ground for its immediate security. Orders were, in consequence, issued to the chief at Surat for the admission of British troops. The importance of acquiring the Portuguese possession of Diu, situated at the entrance of the Gulf of Cambay, was also pointed out. The importance of that post in commanding the entire coast of Malabar, and in maintaining intercourse with the Arabian Sea and the Persian Gulf, had already attracted the notice of the French. Sir Charles Malet called the attention of the governor general to the expediency of acquiring that station by an arrangement with the Portuguese government, or with the Court of Lisbon, particularly as the Portuguese derived no political or com-

1 To the Editor of the Madras Gazette, 12, Dec., 1795; Extract Military Miscellany Book from 1st to 14th Dec., 1795; Home Miscellaneous Series, V. 539; India Office Library.
2 Extract Bengal Public Consultation, 26, Sep., 1796; Home Miscellaneous Series, V. 537; India Office Library.
3 Notes on Surat; Bombay Letters. V. 11; 31, July, 1797; Home Miscellaneous Series, V. 607, India Office Library.
4 Extract letter from Sir Charles Malet to the Chairman 28, Oct, 1797; Ibid, V. 60; India Office Library.
mercial advantages from it. Intelligence was also received of the appearance of some French ships in the vicinity of that settlement.\(^1\) The British Superintendent at Surat was, thereupon, cautioned to keep a watchful eye, and in consultation with Malet, was asked to adopt every precautionary measure of defence. The acquisition of Diu would be an asset to the English, not only in the promotion of correspondence with Europe, via Bussora, but also in checking any designs of the French. At the close of 1797, the project of establishing a regular communication with Europe through Bussora, which the government in India had in contemplation for some time past, was about to be carried into effect.\(^2\)

An important and interesting discovery relating to the proceedings of a Jacobin club formed at Seringapatam during this period was made. A manuscript was discovered which recorded the proceedings of an association of fifty-nine persons, who were generally described as "les citoyens qui composent le party francais commande par le citoyen Dompard."\(^3\) It mentions of five meetings held under the auspices of that association during 5th May and 4th June, 1797. The President of this body was citizen Francis Riapaud, known to be a lieutenant in the French army, who was assisted by two Secretaries. They formulated twenty-two Articles relating to their conduct and discipline, and in their speeches usually abused the English by using such phrases as "la feroce' anglais" and "perfiude et cruelle· (Sic) anglais".\(^4\)

During 1796 and 1798, the French machinations at the courts of the Indian princes had become more active than ever. Their influence in the court of the Nizam considerably increased and aroused the apprehensions of Sir John Shore.\(^5\) Likewise, the intrigues of the French with Tipu also gained force, and in March, 1797, reports were received of the arrival of two French ships at Mangalore with presents for Tipu.\(^6\) By the close of 1797, Tipu's hostile preparations

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\(^1\) Extract Political Letter from Bombay, 8, Jan., 1798; Home Miscellaneous Series, V. 60; India Office Library.

\(^2\) Selection from Calcutta Gazette, V. 2, p. 491; (28, Dec., 1797.)

\(^3\) European MSS; V. 2, Part 2, D. 99 India Office Library; The body of the Manuscript was written in 1797, and was found at Seringapatam after its capture in 1799.

\(^4\) Ibid

\(^5\) Minute of the Governor General 27, June, 1796; Home Miscellaneous Series, V. 564; India Office Library.

\(^6\) Notes on Tipu and the French; Ibid.
against the English became well known. At the same time, the influence exercised by mercenary French military adventurers of the type of Raymond at the Nizam’s court, De Boigne and Perron in the service of Scindia, Dudrenec in command of Holkar’s army, was a great danger to the cause of the English. Apart from the complex political problems in India, Shore also had to face a perilous situation born out of the activities of enemy privateers.

Early in 1798, the governor general approved the plan set forth by the government of Bombay for sending a monthly overland packet to Europe, and establishing a regular communication with home via Bussora. The Bombay government lost no time in giving it immediate effect. It is a testimony to the prudence of Sir John Shore that he could foresee the gathering storm in Europe and, throughout his administration, endeavoured to suppress the evil effects which the European situation had brought to bear upon the Indian soil. In his attempt he was promptly supported by the government at home. When Great Britain became involved in the war with revolutionary France in 1793, Dundas had been appointed Minister-in-charge of the War Department. During 1794 and 1801, Dundas was completely engrossed in the war against France, and committed himself whole-heartedly to adopt stern measures to preserve British power and trade in the east. He also took advantage of his connection with the Company. The government and the Company showed a most remarkable co-operation throughout these years. One of the most serious difficulties facing the Cabinet during the war was the provision and manning of a strong navy. In 1795, Dundas requisitioned six newly-floating East Indians and eight others, as ships-of-the line. To man them, the Company at its own expense raised 3,000 sailors.1 Throughout the war, the Company showed its prompt readiness to allow its ships to be used on expeditions and for the transport of troops.

The opening of the year 1798 witnessed Tipu's secret mission across the Indian Ocean to the Isle of France, with letters for the Directory in Paris, proposing an offensive and defensive alliance with the French Republic, for the eventual purpose of overthrowing the English power in India. Malartic, the commander-in-chief and governor general of the French Islands, gave the envoys a public reception and

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1 Auber, Constitution of the East India Company, p. 664.
issued a Proclamation on January 30, 1798, calling for volunteers to enrol themselves under the Mysore banner for a war to expel the English from India.¹ The Mauritius Proclamation marked the beginning of a new phase in the contest between the two maritime nations of Europe. Now that England had completely recognized the immense value of her Asiatic possessions, the traditional jealousy of, and mischievous interference by, the only European nation that had repeatedly challenged her ascendancy in India naturally reached its acutest stage during a desperate war between the two nations. The period of Shore's government had, on the whole, been merely one of uneasy peace in India amid every signs of a coming outbreak. Under his successor, the great question of Indian supremacy ripened towards an explosion.

¹ Home Miscellaneous Series, V, 255; (Printed in Asiatic Annual Register, 1759, State Papers); India Office Library.
A FIRMAN OF KING MUHAMMAD ALI SHAH OF OUDH OF 1253 A. H.

By

Dr. R. K. Dikshit

The firman, a photo print copy of which is published herewith along with an English translation by Dr. Mohammad Wahid Mirza, is in possession of Pandit Rama Ratna Avasthi, resident of Mohalla Birhana, Lucknow. The firman is in Persian and contains 13 lines of writing, in addition to the seal of the Qazi and the tughra, respectively on the left and right hand top corners of the deed. The writing within a golden border, is perfectly legible. Only a word or two have become obliterated, but they do not stand in the way of the correct interpretation of the deed. It is dated on the 27th of Rajab, 1253 A. H., in the first year of the reign of Muhammad Ali Shah, who reigned from 1837 to 1842 A. D.

The firman is in effect an order passed by the King on the petition of one Mahant Sukhram Das Bairagi. He had been permitted by an earlier firman, issued in the same month, to raise ‘subscription money’—evidently some kinds of levies, the nature of which is not specified here—to meet the expenses of ‘duwazdihi’ festival and for feeding the sadhus attending the same. It was brought to the notice of the King that certain officials were hampering the collection of the subscription money. A strict warning has been issued to them by the present firman.

Sukhram Das Bairagi, in whose favour the firman has been issued, was, according to Pandit Rama Ratna, an agent of his maternal grandfather, Mahant Ramalala Saran. The latter was a disciple of Mahant Yugulanand Saran of Lachhaman Ghat, Ayodhya, and had his residence at Mukaribnagar, Lucknow, from where he had to shift during the disturbances of 1857. He died about 1870 A. D. at a ripe old age.

It is said that Mahant Ramalala Saran was held in great esteem by the Kings of Oudh, and had started, with their patronage, about
1814 A. D., the celebration of the Ramalila festival during the Dussehra at Aishbagh (Lucknow). A large number of sadhus used to assemble there on the occasion and the Mahant made elaborate arrangements for their stay. According to Pandit Rama Ratna, the concessions granted in the firman were for the feeding of those sadhus and for the celebration of the Ramalila.

The firman is another proof of the tolerant policy of the Nawab Wazirs of Oudh in religious matters.

1. The Aishbagh Ramalila continues to the present day.
TRANSLATION

By

Dr. Mohd. Wahid Mirza.

The Seal in the left hand top corner: "Qazi Syed Raza Ali, the servant of the Muhammadan Law, 1232 H."

The tughra in the right hand top corner: "The Father of Victory, the Helper of the Faith, the sultan of the Age, the Just Nushirwan, Muhammad Ali Shah, King of Oudh; the 1st year of the reign corresponding to 1253 H."

Below the seal: "Duplicate copy with the seal of the Qazi of the Kingdom, 1253 H."

TEXT OF THE "FIRMAN"

The exalted firman of the presence of the Shadow of the Glorious One, the Deputy of the Compassionate One, may Allah perpetuate his kingdom! Written on the 27th of Rajab, 1253 H. Let all the officials and state agents, present and future, throughout the guarded royal dominions, know that there has come to the royal notice a petition from mahant Sukh Ram Das Bairagi to the effect that early in Rajab, 1253 H. an exalted firman had the honour of being issued granting him, as a charity (Sadqa) of the royal head, subscription money for the purpose of holding the "Dwazadihi" festival and meeting the expenses of the sadhus (attending that festival) and further that he is now thinking of arranging a "Dwazadihi" gathering (majlis), and that, although in the previous firman it was expressly stated that never and by no Kotwal or official should any dispute be raised about revision (of the amount of subscription money), yet some officials raise objections about renewal of the sanad; wherefore is issued this emphatic warning that looking upon the royal command as the very wrath of God, let all of them arrange for payments from their holdings and levies on the areas under their charge. If ever in future there is a dispute about the revision of the sanad or non-procurement of the fixed amount of subscription from the area (Ilaga) under any one’s charge, that one shall be deemed as guilty of treason towards the King. Let all of them act with renewed vigour in accordance with what is written herein.

Note:—The "Dwazadihi" festival referred to in the firman may either be some festival celebrated on the occasion of the Dussehra or the Muharram.
शान्ति पर्व में समाज अनुबन्धवाद

(दाह अयाम लाल पाण्डेय एम० ए०, पी-एच० डी०)

कुशलेन के प्रसिद्ध रणनीति शासन में शारण्या पर लेते हुए भीम गिताभागुह और पाण्डू पुरु रजसा युपीसितिर में राजस्थान के विचारों में जो समाज जुआ है और जिसका बड़न महाभारत के शान्ति पर्व में है राजस्थान की उपस्थिति के विचारों में समूचे प्रभाव बढ़ाता है। इन सम्बन्धों के अध्ययन करने के उपरांत पाठक इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचता है कि राजस्थान की उपस्थिति के विचारों में शान्ति पर्व में तीन मुख्य सिद्धांतों को और संकेत किया गया है। राजस्थान की उपस्थिति के यह तीन सिद्धांत समाज अनुबन्धवाद (Social Contract Theory) दैवी सिद्धांत (Divine Theory) और राजस्थान के सातवें स्वायत्त का सिद्धांत (Organic Nature of the State) हैं। शान्ति पर्व में इन तीनों सिद्धांतों की ओर यज्ञ-व्रत संकेत किए गए हैं जिनके एकांक करने एवं उनके बिन्दुभण्ड तथा विनिमयार्थ करने के उपरांत इन सिद्धांतों के तत्त्वशास्त्रिक स्वरूप का बोध सरलता से ही जाता है। यहाँ समाज अनुबन्धवाद (Social Contract Theory) का वर्णन जैसा कि शान्ति पर्व में किया गया है किया जाएगा।

राष्ट्र का सर्व प्रथम कर्तव्य

महाभारत के शान्ति पर्व में ऐसा वर्णन है कि रजस्थान युपीसितिर ने भीम ने प्रार्थना की कि वह उन राजस्थान का उपस्थिति करौ। भीम ने राजस्थान की व्याख्या करना प्रारंभ किया। इसी प्रसंग में यह प्रसन्न भी उठाया गया कि राष्ट्र का सर्व प्रथम कर्तव्य क्या है? इस प्रसन्न का उल्लेख बताने हुए भीम ने बताया कि राष्ट्र का सर्व प्रथम कर्तव्य राजस्थान का अभिवेक करता है। राजस्थान का मुख्य रूपसे है।

प्रसन्न राजस्थान पर वस्त्र आकारण करते हैं। राष्ट्र के द्वारा राजस्थान का वर्ण किया जाना है। इतने वर्ण किए जाने के समान होता है। यह प्रकार इतने प्रस्तुत है उसे प्रकार राजस्थान भी कामांक चुके होंगे के लिए जुआ होता है। इतने वर्ण किए जाने के सभी होता है। अब जब कोई बलवान पुरुष राजस्थान की स्थापना के निर्माण उपलब्ध होता है तो अराजक राष्ट्रीय राष्ट्र को उसके सम्बन्ध सुंदर जाना चाहिए। वस्त्र यह चुम्बक मंदिर है। त्योंकि अराजकता अपने अपने पाप पुर्ण हुए नहीं हैं। है राजस्थान। जो गाय कठिनाई

1-राष्ट्रियकर्तव्यस्थान राष्ट्र अवांचयन। अनिष्ठमान राष्ट्र वेष्वोभावकमतिवर्प॥

2-इति तवेघीय प्रातिष्ठम राजाराजानितिकता भूमि। जयशक्तिप्रसंग राष्ट्र संवृत्तियों मृत्तिकेषत॥

3-अय प्रेमसंग राज्यान्तरत व्यवस्था। अराजकार्य राष्ट्रान्तर हवावर्षमिति वा पुन:॥

प्रथुग्रामयास्वलोक: श्यामदेव सुम्बितन। नावः पापार्ज्जितस्वलोक भविष्यिकारकाल॥

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से ब्रह्म देती है उसको चलें उठाना ही पड़ता है। परन्तु जो गाय सिघावी से ब्रह्म देते है उसको भव्य शही महत्व नहीं करता पड़ता। यदि जो लकड़ी तलाये बिना ही संयोग हो जाती है उसका अर्थ का ताप अनुभव नहीं करता पड़ता। हे हीर! इसी उपाय को समस्त कर बल्लत के समस्त राज्य को सुक माना सबोट। बल्लत के समस्त झुकना उन्द्र के समस्त झुकने के समान होता है। कल्याण बचाने वाले राज्य को अपना राजा अवबाद बनाना सबोट।

इसी प्रकार के अनेक हेतुओं द्वारा महामार्ग के शासित पर्व में अराजकता की प्रतिक्रिया की गयी है। इस प्रसंग में भीष्म ने यह भी कहा है कि प्रभु को उत्तरदाता के विपय में उर्वरों के दो विशेष बातें सुनी हैं और इन दो विशेष बातों का वर्णन उर्वरों ने राज्य दुर्गिंतिक के संग्रह किया है। राज्यादर्श के विधायी के कारण यह वर्णन बसे महत्व का विपय है। यह वर्णन महामार्ग के शासित पर्व में उसी का मे उपलब्ध है और जिस के आदर्शात्मक अवयव कर लेने के उत्प्रेरित राज्य की उल्लिखित सम्बन्धी एक निश्चित सिद्धांत पर पहुँच जाता सरल काम हो जाता है। इस वर्णन की समीक्षा करने पर इस विषय का बोध होता है कि मनुष्य ने तीन मुख्य स्तरों में प्रवेश किया है। पहला उनके ऐतिहास में वह काल था जब वह प्राकृत जीवन के युग में रहता था। जिस से विभिन्न ने प्राकृतिक युग (State of Nature) के नाम से सम्बोधित किया है। दूसरा यह युग था जब वह प्राकृत युग के वर्णन से सामाजिक जीवन के युग (Sate of Society) में प्रवेश करता है। इसके उपरांत तीसरा युग राजनीतिक युग (State of Political Society) आता है। यह यह युग है जिसमें मनुष्य राज्य की निर्माण कर उसी के अधीन रह कर जीवन व्याप्त करता है। यहाँ पर इस तीनों स्तरों का वर्णन शासित पर्व में किए गए विभिन्न के आधार पर किया जाएगा।

प्राकृत जीवन का युग

भीष्म राजा दुर्गिंतिक से कहते हैं कि उन्होंने एक ऐसे युग के विपय में सुना है जिसमें मनुष्य अपना जीवन सामाजिक अवयव राजनीतिक संप्रभु अनुभव रहे अन्तर्दृष्ट रहकर व्याप्त करता था। जब उस काल में प्राकृत युग में रहता था। इस युग के विलोकन लक्षणों की ओर उर्वरों ने इस प्रकार संकेत किया है—हमें सुना है कि पूर्वसाल में मनुष्यों का कोई स्वास्थ (राजा) न था। उस युग में सब मनुष्य निर्मल मनुष्य को उसी प्रकार नद फिर रहते थे जैसे कि जल में आलों और बल्लत में चहलियाँ।

1-प्रायोगिक समलते चलें या गोभियति बुद्धे। अया यहुदा राजपर्व ताः विद्वद्वस्पिः।
इकलोक 9 अश्व 97 वर्ष 97 पर्व 97।

2-यहदत्त अलमत सनतसमापनाद्धर्ति। यस्तवब सयैं साह सतासामयसपि।
इकलोक 10 अश्व 67 वर्ष 97 पर्व 97।

3-एतपोऽमया बीर समस्त सबलसियस। इकनामस सयैं समलते स्वीः बलीसियस।
इकलोक 11 अश्व 67 वर्ष 97 पर्व 97।

4-सत्संगाजऽच कर्तवं। सर्वं मृत्तिकमर्षत। न घोड़ा न दार्शस्त्रेण एवरामराजकम।
इकलोक 12 अश्व 67 वर्ष 97 पर्व 97।
छोटी और निवेदल मछलियों को निरस्तर नष्ट करती रहती है। इस प्रकार उस युग में मात्र मछलीय (Logic of the Fish) ही एक मात्र नियम इन लोगों में प्रचलित था। इसका कारण भीम ने अपने रंग रंग में उस प्रती की रंगापुर में बदलाव है जब कि प्राकृत युग के मनुष्य एकता होकर अपने लिए साधारण सामर्थ्य की न्याय का निर्माण करते हैं। यह नियम कोई वाणी, वस्तुनिष्ठ संस्थान, या वह अपार परिस्थितियों के दमन हेतु निर्मित हुए थे। 12 इस प्रकार से यह स्वतः निर्मित होता है कि प्राकृत युग (State of Nature) में मनुष्य की अरुंद वृत्तियाँ -काम, कौशल, लोभ, मोहधारिश्वरीदर्द्ध पुरुष के विनम्र व्यवहार पर अपना अधिकार जमाने हुए थीं और जिसके कारण उनका जीवन पापमय एवं घृणित तथा यातनामय बन गया था जिसका अधिक काल तक सहन करना मनुष्य के लिए असह्य था।

इस प्रकार भीम मनुष्य के इतिहास में एक ऐसे युग की ओर संकेत करते हैं जिस युग में मनुष्य प्राकृत जीवन की सिर्फ तिथि था। इस युग में मनुष्य की असत्व वृत्तियाँ जैसे काम, कौशल, लोभ, मोहधारिश्वरीदर्द्ध पर अपना अधिकार जमाने हुए थीं और उस युग में केवल एक नियम ही लोगों में किस्मतमक रंग में प्रचलित था। यह नियम मात्र मछलीय (Logic of the Fish) था। इस युग में मनुष्य का जीवन पृथिवी, नाराजजी, व्यवस्थापन एवं यातनामय था। मनुष्य परस्पर भौतिक कर्म और सामग्रीक रहता था। उसका जीवन अनिवार्य और उस्त्रित था।

शानित परमें जिस प्राकृत युग की ओर संकेत किया गया है वह युग प्रतिदिन अन्य तत्त्वों द्वारा प्रतिपादित प्राकृत युग (State of Nature) से सदृश अंश में सामान्य रहता है। हायस्ट ने भी मनुष्य के इतिहास में एक ऐसे युग की कहना की है जिस में मनुष्य वहाँ यातनामय जीवन द्वारा बनाया गया है। उसका जीवन अप्रतिष्ठित रूप से निर्मित एकार्थक का जीवन व जिसमें वह पहुँच अपना जीवन व्यतीत करता था। मनुष्य स्वर्याल महाकाल, उज्ज्वल अवशासन अनुरूप का विचार द करके अपने देशों की गृहस्त कर डलाए न सतिक भी हिस्सा न था। स्वर्याल में मनुष्य-मनुष्य में वह उत्साह कर दिया था। वह एक बुद्धि से इसने भयग्रस्त रहता था वह वह परस्परात्मात्मा सम्बन्ध करना ही न बचाता था। इस प्रकार से भीम और हायस्ट के विचारों में समानता पायी जाती है। परंतु इस सम्बन्ध में इसने अवशेषमुक्त अवस्था है जिसमें हायस्ट प्राकृत युग के मनुष्य में केवल भय की खींचत की ही प्राप्ति होती है और इसी के प्राप्ति प्राप्त करने के लिए मनुष्य स्वर्याल बन जाता है। हायस्ट के इस तरह के अनुसार मनुष्य का स्वर्याल ही उसके विचार का कारण माना गया है।

भीम, इसके विचार, मनुष्य में अरुंद वृत्तियों का। भी भ्राताब्रह्माण्ड मानते हैं। उनके मतानुसार मनुष्य में लोभ-मोह, कौशल, काम, नर और मात्र यह छः: प्रथम अरुंद

1-अराजकाः: प्रजा: पूर्वें विनंशुरितः शुद्धमुः। परस्परं भौसवतसि मस्त्या इव जसे शक्तिः।। इलेक १७ अं ६७ शालो पर्व ||

2-वाक्शुरी: वण्डवहयो यद्य यस्तान्तरनामिकः।। इलेक १८ अं ६७ शालो पर्व ||

य: परस्परमयावतास्याया नुस्तात्वा इति।। इलेक १९ अं ६७ शालो पर्व ||
सामाजिक जीवन का युग

शारीरिक पर्व में जिस प्राकृत युग का उदय हुआ यह दृष्टिकोण द्वारा वर्णित एवं यातायात जीवन का युग है। इस युग के जीवन में निर्विकालित पाने के लिए उस युग का मनुष्य विश्व था। उसके लिए यह जीवन असह्य था। इसलिए उस युग से निर्विकालित पाने एवं मानवीय (Logic of the Fish) से मृत होने के लिए उसने प्रयास किया और जिसका परिणाम इसी युग का निर्माण हुआ। इस युग के निर्माण की ओर भौतिक संकेत करते हुए कहलाते हैं—हमें सुना है कि (प्राकृत युग के) मनुष्यों ने एकत्र होकर यह नियम बनाए कि हमलोगों में जो व्यक्ति कठोरसत्वी, दण्डनिरूपण, परम्पराओं पर बन अपहरण करें वह हम लोगों के हृदय से बहुक्ष्ठ कर दिया जाएगा। इस नारकीय युग से निर्विकालित पाने के लिए प्राकृत युग के लोग एकत्र होते हैं और फिर वह एकत्र होकर एक संघात सम्राज का निर्माण करने का प्रयास करते हैं। इस प्रयास में वह कठिन ऐसे नियमों का भी निर्माण करते हैं जिनके अनुसार आचरण करने के लिए जीवन मुंह एवं शास्त्रित्व बन जाएगा और वह अपने पूर्व के नारकीय जीवन से सम्बन्ध एवं मूर्तियों के संबंध में प्रवेश कर सकेंगे। इस स्थिति में उन्होंने एकत्र होकर पारस्परिक सहयोग एवं संस्कृति से शिक्षा निर्माण किया जिनका उद्देश्य सुधारण मात्र था और जिनका आधार जनता की स्वतंत्रता मात्र था। इन के चलते कोई सलाह न थी। अतः यह नियम संस्कृति सम्बन्धी विधि (Moral laws) ही हो। विधि (Positive law) का वैश्विक स्वातंत्र्य प्रणाली न कर सके।

इस प्रकार भौतिक समाज का निर्माण एक प्रकार के सामाजिक अनुखंड (Social Contract) के अभाव पर करते हैं और जनता के समस्त समाज का रूप स्वरुप रखते हैं। इस समाज के लिए सुधारण संबंधी कठिन परिस्थितियों का निर्माण कर इस वात की आशा को गाया था कि मनुष्य इन नियमों का पालन कर अपनी असुरोज्यताओं को दूर कर एक ऐसे जीवन का निर्माण करेगा जिसमें सुरू वृत्तियों का अधिपत्य होगा और जिसके अनुसार आचरण करने से उसका जीवन पारस्परिक सहभागिता, सहजोत्त से सार्वजनिक कस्तम का जीवन होगा जिसमें मुंह और शासित स्वार्थों होकर बाल करना।

१- हमेशे तात्त्विकार्यः समाजिति ने मुद्दमवाक्श्यौरि बद्धयहौ यद्य स्वत्पराज्यिकः।।
स्तोत्र १८ अध्याय ६७ शालो पर्वम्।।

२- परमेश्वराद्यात्मका नरसाधुः वृत्तिः।।वस्तोत्र १९ अध्याय ६७ शालो पर्वम्।।
हास्य को भी मनुष्य को उसके प्राकृत जीवन (State of Nature) के यातनामय जीवन से निवृत्ति को प्राप्ति हेतु सामाजिक अनुभव (Social Contract) का आवश्यक लेना पड़ा था ऐसा वर्णन उल्लम्ब है। इस प्रकार मनुष्य ने अगर उस वर्योजन एवं पाशुवादः जीवन से छुटकारा पाने के लिए सामाजिक अनुभव (Social Contract) किया था। परंतु इस विषय में हास्य उतने स्पष्ट नहीं है जितने कि भीम न है। हास्य इस विषय की स्पष्टता के व्याख्या न कर सके कि मनुष्य ने प्राकृत जीवन (State of Nature) से समाज का निर्माण किया प्रकार किया और फिर समाज से राज्य का निर्माण किया प्रकार हुआ। उनके द्वारा प्रतिलिपित राज्य और समाज के सम्बन्ध में उनके जो विचार हैं वह यथार्थता एवं अस्पष्टता है। भीम यह स्पष्ट कहते हैं कि प्राकृत युग (State of Nature) के उपरांत सामाजिक अनुभव (Social Contract) द्वारा समाज का निर्माण हुआ। परंतु समाज के नियमों के लागू करने के लिए राजसत्ता को आवश्यकता है। इस आवश्यकता को पूर्ति राज्य-निर्माण में हुई। इस प्रकार भीम इस विषय में हास्य को अपेक्षा अधिक स्पष्ट एवं हेतु निर्माण (Logical) बिजलीय पद्धति है।

राज्य निर्माण का युग

सामाजिक जीवन से मनुष्य ने राजनीतिक जीवन में किया प्रकार प्रवेश किया है। इस विषय का वर्णन शास्त्र परंपरा में स्पष्ट दिया गया है। इस विषय में भी जो विचार दिए गए हैं वह हेतु निर्माण एवं स्पष्टता है। उन में हास्य के तत्परत्व विवरणों को माति अस्पष्ट एवं अभस्मक होने का कोई स्थान नहीं है। भीम का कहना है कि मनुष्य ने अराजकता (Anarchy) के युग से सामाजिक जीवन में प्रवेश किया और अपने सामाजिक जीवन को स्थायी बनाने के लिए उनरो जीवन के कालियं नियमों का निर्माण किया। परंतु इन नियमों का पालन न हो सका। इसलिए उनसे इस बात की आवश्यकता अनुमान की कि उसके समाज में कोई ऐसी सत्ता होनी चाहिए जो उसकी समाज में लोगों को सदृशवर्ती उन नियमों के अनुसार आचरण करने के लिए विचार करे और वह सत्ता इतनी शक्तिशाली हो जो उन व्यक्तियों को जो कि इन नियमों को भंग करें समूची बदल देने में समर्थ हो। इस कार्य के समापन हेतु वह जयत सूत्र भ्रुमा की शरण में गए और उनसे इस प्रकार प्रयास की-हें भगवान हुमलोग बिना स्वभाव (राजा) के नहीं रहें हैं हमें कोई स्वभाव (राजा) बतलायें (विष) १२ हम लोग एकांक होकर उनकी पूजा करेंगे और वह हमारा पालन करे। १३ भ्रुमा ने उनकी प्रार्थना स्वीकार की और उनके समस्त मनु स्पष्ट किया। परंतु मनु के राजसत्ता को स्वीकार करने में आन्तिक को १४ मनु ने इस विषय में अपने विचार इस प्रकार प्रकट किया-राजा

१-तारात्त्व समाज कर्तार समाज नावस्थित मय। हिमोक १९ अ० ६७ शास० पर्यं ॥
२-सत्यतासत्त्वज अमूर्तसुखातः पितामह। अनीवादर विद्याधरों भावसाध्व्रं विशाल॥
हिमोक २० अ० ६६ शास० पर्यं ॥
३-यथ्येष्मं सम्भव यथात्: प्रतिपादयेदू। हिमोक २१ अ० ६७ शास० पर्यं ॥
४-ततो मनु स्वाभिको स्वतंत्रनांसभितमथ। हिमोक २२ अ० ६७ शास० पर्यं ॥
बनने पर पाप करना आवश्यक है। राजा को लोगों को बड़ा देना पड़ता है। इसलिए राजपत्र स्वीकार करना बड़ा दुःख है। विद्वेषक विद्वेषक राजा के संबंध में राजपत्र ग्रहण करना तो और भी कठिन है।

मनु के इस प्रकार के हेतुपुस्त बचनों को मुक्त कर लोगों के मनु से मिलने किया-

तुम डॉरो मत। लोगों को बड़ा देना पाप नहीं है। वह तो जो पाप करता है उसी का पाप होता है। हमलाव पर भ्रष्ट के लाभ का प्रवाह भाग, भ्रष्ट का विस्तार मध्य राजकीय का वृद्धि के निमित्त देते रहते हैं। जब कोई सुशार्क कर्म का विपण के लिए ज्यादा होगी तो उस कर्म को सबसे प्रथम आप की में करते हैं। जो मनुष्य हृद में मुख्य है वह यथास्थापत्य और यथास्थापत्य से पुनर्गिर्त हो जाता है। इसके पीछे देशों की भांति, तुषारी अनुसरण करते हैं। इस प्रकार मुँह बलवान होकर महादेवताओं और दुरायत हो जाती है जानने।

जब प्रकार भुज देवों की रक्षा करता है उसी प्रकार कर कहा है। हम का नुकसान धर्म का अचरण करने उस धर्म का चतुर्वेदिक तुम को मिला करता है। राजन, तुम उस महान धर्म से सुल प्राप्त कर बलाली बनाते और देवों की इंग्ली की भांति आप ही हमारी रक्त में तस्तर हो जाते हैं। सुर्य की भांति समक्ष हुए आप विजय के लिए चल पड़े और इस प्रकार शत्रुओं के अभिमान को भूर-भूर कर दिये। तुषारी सर्वेदा जय होगी।

इसलिए कहने के उपरान्त मनु ने राजपत्र स्वीकार कर लिया। इस प्रकार राजा को वर्ण कर उन लोगों ने राजपत्र का निर्माण किया। राजपत्र निर्माण सम्बन्धी इस व्यवस्था में एक विशेष बात यह है कि राजपत्र का निर्माण सामाजिक जीवन के संघटन का स्थानीय एवं अनशुष्क रलने भाग के लिए हुआ था। इसलिए जनता ने राजपत्र को केवल उसने ही अवधार कर दिया था। इसलिए जनता ने राजपत्र को केवल उसने ही अवधार कर दिया था। इसलिए जनता ने राजपत्र को केवल उसने ही अवधार कर दिया था। इसलिए जनता ने राजपत्र को केवल उसने ही अवधार कर दिया था। इसलिए जनता ने राजपत्र को केवल उसने ही अवधार कर दिया था। इसलिए जनता ने राजपत्र को केवल उसने ही अवधार कर दिया था। इसलिए जनता ने राजपत्र को केवल उसने ही अवधार कर दिया था। इसलिए जनता ने राजपत्र को केवल उसने ही अवधार कर दिया था। इसलिए जनता ने राजपत्र को केवल उसने ही अवधार कर दिया था। इसलिए जनता ने राजपत्र को केवल उसने ही अवधार कर दिया था।
गया है वह निरंकुश राजा नहीं था। उसके अविकार सीमित थे। यदि वह अपने अधिकारों का उपयोग करता हुआ पादा जाता तो उस राजा को उसके पवित्र शरीर करने की कीमत वेढ़ समस्ती जायगी।

इस विषय में भीम राजा से भिन्न मत रखते हैं। राजा का मत है कि मनुष्य ने आलमका के लिए अपने समस्त अधिकार उस व्यक्ति को प्रवाह कर दिया जिसके उससे अपना स्वामी (राजा) व्यक्ति कीया था। उनके दिखाया के अनुसार यह अधिकार किसी प्रकार भी बाप नहीं लिया जा सकते। राजा के मतानुसार मनुष्य दो परिस्थितियों में ही रह सकता है। चाहे वह अराजकता एवं प्रहार युग में बास के अधिकार संपूर्ण राज्य के अन्तर्गत। जिस समय व्यक्तिक अधिकार मनुष्य के पास रहते हैं मनुष्यों में स्वार्थ को प्रतिष्ठित के कारण अराजकता का युग उपस्थित हो जाता है। परंतु जब वह समस्त अविकार उससे अलग होकर किसी एक विशेष व्यक्ति में निहित हो जाते हैं तो ऐसी अवस्था में उनके जीवन का वह युग मुख्यविवेक राज्य में विपरीत हो जाता है। इस प्रकार हाल निरंकुश राजस्व (Absolutism) के पोषक हैं। उनके मत से राजा के विशेष विक्रेता का ब्रजा खड़ा करना किसी अवस्था भी न्यायपूर्वक एवं वेढ़ न होगा। परंतु भीम इस मत को मान नहीं समझते।

इस प्रकार शांति पर्व में राज्य की उपलब्धि के विषय में समाज अनुक्रमाद्वार (Social Contract Theory) का आधार लिया गया है और जो तत्समक्षी पालनय कम न भिन्न है।

शांति पर्व में समाज अनुक्रमाद्वार का इसरा स्वरूप

भीम ने राज्य की उपलब्धि के विषय में समाज अनुक्रमाद्वार (Social Contract Theory) के इसरा स्वरूप का भी वर्णन किया है। वह प्रत्यंगिक यह वर्णन उस अवसर पर करते हैं जब राजा युपिकता भीम से राजा की उपलब्धि के विषय में इस प्रकार के प्रमाण करते हैं—राजा और अन्य मनुष्यों (प्रजा) के एक से हाव, भुजा, और पीली होती है। और उनकी बुद्धि तथा इच्छा भी समाज ही होती है। इसके मुख्य, दुखका अनुभव भी समाज का ही होता है। ध्वस्त और उदर भी इसके दुख ही होते हैं। स्वातन्त्र्य वालों का विवाह भी समाज ही होता है। पीठ, मुख और उदर भी इसके दुख ही होते हैं। राजस्व और सामाजिक मनुष्यों के जन्म और मृत्यु में भी किसी प्रकार का नहीं दिखाली नहीं पड़ता। इस प्रकार समस्त मनुष्यों से राजा के युग, कर्म, स्वार्थ भिन्नता है। फक्र राजा अद्वैत बद्वें-बदें गुरु बोरों का अविकार इस प्रकार बन जाता है। वह युग पूर्ण में अनेक आर्य गुरु-बोरों से मरी रहा है। फक्र राजा हो।
अखेला किस प्रकार इसकी रचना करने में समर्थ होता हूँ और यहीं क्यों प्रज्ञा के आनन्द की कामना करता है? इस अखेला राजा की प्रसतदा को बेदकर सारी प्रज्ञा क्यों प्रसत करता है? राजा के चित्रित होने पर सारे लोग यायकृत हो उठते हैं ऐसा क्यों है? रे हे भरतसम! में इस विवाद का तथ्य जानना चाहिया है। हे ब्रह्मांड! आप इस विवाद का जहां तक हो सके ठोक-ठोक वर्णन कीजिए।

राजा युविषिद्ध के इन सवहें में समापन हेतु भौम ने जो उत्तर दिया है वह सामग्री राजसती के इतिहास में वह मूलक की सामग्री समस्त जाननी चाहिये। इन प्रशंसा के उत्तरों के देवने में भौम ने राज का उत्सव के विवाद में जो प्रकाश दाला है वह इस सिद्धान्त की स्थापना करता है कि राज की उपलब्ध सामाजिक अनुभूति के आधार (Contractual basis) पर हुई है।

युविषिद्ध के द्वारा राजा के निर्माण के विवाद में जो प्रशन किये गए हैं जिनका उल्लेख कर बुक जा चुका है उनका समापन करते हुए भौम राज की उत्सव के विवाद में कहते हैं-युग सावधान हो जाओ। में इस प्रशन का पूर्वाभास से उत्तर बता हूँ कि किस प्रकार सत्य युग से यह राज का व्यवस्था की परिलक्षी चली है। हे राजन! सत्य युग में राज, राज, दश मा दश मा राज का कुछ भी नहीं था। समस्त प्रजा धर्म के अनुसार चलती थी और उसी से परस्पर रचना कर लेती थी। हे भारत! धर्म का लक्ष में रख कर लोग एक दूसरे की रचना कर रहे थे हुल का बात है कि उन्हें इसी बीच में मोहने आ घेरा। और वह मोह के बाॅलून में हो गए। १५ जब प्रजा में मोह छा गया तो जन लोग से उनका धर्म भी नहीं होने लगा। १६ जब उनका जन ही नहीं हो गया तो लोग अजन के बाश में हो गए। हे भरतसम! इस प्रकार आगे चल कर वह लोग के जाल में फंस गए। १७ हे प्रभो! जब लोगों का बिचार-बिम्ब लुत हो गया तो उनको काम नाम के बोध ने आ घेरा। १८ जब लोग काम के वसन

1-क्षमेको मोहीं क्षलन शूरबीररससंकल्पम्। रसरत्यम् च लोकधर्म प्रसादभिषयचित्।

2-एदिष्टु प्रसर्वत् लोका लोक: प्रसोदित। यवकुले चालकुलः सबद्व भवितानि विचित्रवचः।

3-एदिष्टदाम्धः भ्रोतू मरसबे भरतवर्मच। क्षलन तमम्य यवतर्तम् प्रदर्शौ वर्तमानः।

4-नियतस्वं नर्यावाहना शूरु सम्बोधेिततः। यथा राज्य समुक्षभाट्नाशी क्षत्रियकुट्टवत्।

5-न वै राज्य न राज्यो असीत्र च दशको न दाशिकः। पम्ख्याव प्रजासदवः रक्षति स्रय परस्परसुः।

6-पायमानात्तात्त्वाद्वषु यग्न नरा धर्मम् भारतः। लोकं परमवज्ञम्सुतस्ततालकृत्तः आत्मस्वहः।

7-से मोहवाज्ञायामानुजः मनुजः मनुजःवर्मः। प्रतििति विमहाच्छ धर्मसत्पमात्रमनवस्तुः।

8-नागाद्य तितिति च मोहवशयो नारात्तवा। लोमस्य वसमाप्पिः सब भरतसमः।

30 आत्र ५९ शातो पर्यः।
हो गए तो उनके श्रद्ध में राग की प्रमुख हो; हे युथितर! इति राग के वश में होकर उनको कार्य-अकार्य का जान न रहा। 1 हे राजेश्वर! अब तो जित ले सम्भोग नहीं करना चाहिए उससे सम्भोग करने लगे। मृत्युभाव को कोई परिपक्व न रहें; तथा दीवारवाल का भेद ही न रहा। 2 जब प्राण अवर्म में फट कर नट होते लगे तो वेद भी सूक्ष्म हो चला। हे राजेन्द्र! जब वेद नट होता है तब अंधेरे भी नट हो ही जाता है। 3 जब घर और वेद का नाभ हो गया तो देवायग भयभीत होता। घर है राष्ट्राधूल! देवगण भरतुर होकर ब्रुमा की शरण में गए। 4 उसीने लोकपितामह ब्रुमा को सुनित कर के उनको प्रतिक्रिया किया। वह समस्त देवायग खुल से अत्यत होकर हाय जोड़कर ब्रुमा! जी से कहने लगे 5-हे भगवान्! नरलोक में स्थित सरा वेदः। लोभमोहित वृत्तियों के जात्र होते से नट हो गया है। ऐसा देव कर हमारे विलसत में महान भव का संवार ही रहा है। 6 हे घुमन। जब वेद ही नट हो जाता तब सरा धर्म भी नट होकर ही रहता है। हे विन्यासेद्वर! इस प्रकार तो हम हमारे भी मनुष्यों के स्वभाव हो जाते। मनुष्य तो यादाद घड़कर हमारी सेवा करते हैं और हम उनके लोक में जो हम से नीचे हैं वहाँ रहते हैं। जब वहा प्रातिक निर्वाणों का व्यापार कर रहेंगे तो हम भी निम्न रहेंगे। अन्य सब नहीं है। 7 हे विलम्बित! इस विवाद में नति प्रकार हमारा कल्याण हो अथ बेसा ही विचारें। आपके प्रभाव से हमारा जो यह लक्ष्य बना था या हम को जो ऐसा का अप्राप्त हुआ या ऐसा नट होने जा रहा है। 8

जब देवें ने इस प्रकार स्वतंत्र तो भगवान ब्रुमा उन समस्त देवों से बोले।
हे देवो! तुम दरो मर्त से नृत्य हरारे कल्याण का वित्त करो। 9 तब ब्रुमा जै ने

1-अनन्तस्याभिमानी। तु कुबेरनं मनुष्यत:।। कामो नामाभास्त्र प्रत्यवदर व त्रि।।
इलोक २८ ०४ ०५ ।।

2-सांतो! कामव्यात्रापनमातु नामाभिंसंस्यूित:।। रक्तपेष नामाभास्त्र वाक्याकारः युथितरः।।
इलोक १९ ०५ ०८ ।।

3-अभ्यासमातु संव वाच्यावाच्य तत्वातं।। भव्याभास्त्र च राजेश्वर दीपवासों च नामाभास्त्र।।
इलोक २० ०६ ०० ।।

4-बिपुते नरलोके तु ब्रुमा में चतु ननास्यारं।। नासायक ब्रुमा मोरा राजान्तिमान नामाभास्त्रादि।।
इलोक २१ ०५ ०१ ।।

5-नर्त्ते ब्रुमा विभाग द्वयचं च देवावस्थानात:।। समाविश्वादु ने रसता नर्त्तृहुस्तु ।। ब्रुमा गान शरणं यथा।।
इलोक २२ ०५ ०६ ।।

6-प्रसाद भगवतं ते देवं लोकपितामहम्।। अँकुः खाश्चरः।। सवः हुःवेदिकमाहातः।।
इलोक २३ ०५ ०७ ।।

7-सम्राज्ञिस्वरूपं प्रसंस्त द्वयचं सनातनम्।। लोभमोहितभिविवस्तो नो भावविबाहात।।
इलोक २४ ०५ ०८ ।।

8-ब्रुमा मण्डित्राभास्त्रमण्डित्राभास्त्रस्व च दीपवासों ध्वनिष्ठमाहातः।।
इलोक २५ ०५ ०५ ।।

9-अन्त निभेयस्य यज्ञानद्वापास्व पितामह।। ज्वलधायसुम् तुष्टस्यादि स्वाभावो नो विवधायत।।
इलोक २७ ०५ ०० ।।
एक लाइ। अध्याय के एक वहुँ प्रांच को रचना अपनी बुद्ध के अनुसार की। १ हे राजक! इस नौ नितिशास्त्र को रचना करके, भगवान बुद्ध जी ने प्रत्येक ध्वज अविद वेदों से यह वचन कहे, देवो! जगत के उपकार और विवर्ग की स्वाभाव के निमित्त ज्ञान का सार निकाल कर मने वह युक्ति प्रकाशित की है। यह वचन के साथ लोगों का रक्षण करने वालों होगी। यह निग्रह और अनुग्रह दोनों के साथ लोगों का बढ़ा उपकार करेगी। २ वचन से संसार चलाया जाता है, अर्थात् इसमें वचन का विवरण किया गया है इस प्रपत्र वस्त्रा नितिश कहलाएगा। इस नितिश का भ्रामण तीनों लोकों में विवाह कर है। ३ इसके अन्तर्गत शद्रु या प्रयोग अथी कृत्य कार्यता विवाह का स्वाभाव उमनात्य भ्रमण कंकर ने इस नितिशास्त्र को प्रहृत लिया। ४ भगवान शंकर ने जब लोगों को अल्पवक्त देखा तो ब्रह्मा जी द्वारा प्राप्त इस महाशास्त्र का उत्तराल कसर कर निर्देशिता लिखकर, जिसका नाम विकास हुआ। ५ भगवान इन्होंने भी इस शद्रु या प्रथम कर उसके उत्तराल अल्पवक्त देखा जिसका नाम विकास हुआ। ६ इसके अन्तर्गत विवशिशाली वृहत्ति ने उसका संकेत कर उसके तीन सहुल्ल अल्पवक्त रखे जो वाह्यात्याय के नाम से प्रसिद्ध हैं। ७ निर्देश इसमें योगाचार अल्पवक्त विवशिशाली वृहत्ति ने उसका संकेत कर उसके तीन सहुल्ल अल्पवक्त रखे जो वाह्यात्याय के नाम से प्रसिद्ध हैं। ८ हे महाभग! मनुष्यों के हृदय और उनकी अल्पवक्त को जानकर लोगों के अनुरोध से प्रुँजस, महाभगियों ने समय समय पर इसको और भी संकेत किया है। ९
इसके उपरांत देवगण प्रजा के स्वामी भगवान विष्णु के पात पहुँचे और उन्होंने निवेदन किया कि जो मनुष्यों में सवं अखेल हो आया हमारे लिए उसका बतलाये। हे राजन! तब प्रभु भगवान नारायण ने विवाह कर रजोगुण रघुत्र एक लेज़ही मानस पुजा रचा। १ उस महान्यान में रजोगुण रघुत्र होने के कारण पृथ्वी का स्वामी बनना स्वीकार नहीं किया। हे पाण्डव! उक्तकी बुद्धि तो प्रारम्भ से ही सत्यता की ओर प्रवृत्त हुई। २ उस महान्यान विवाह के एक कौंतीतम पुजा हुआ। परस्मय वहाँ भी मूर्ति को प्राप्त हुआ। उनके गुरुका नाम कवर्म था। वहू महान तप करने में प्रवृत्त हुआ। ३ प्रजापालक राजा कवर्म के अनेक नाम का पुजा हुआ। वहू भी बड़ा नीतिमात्रा था। उसने उस विवाह राज्य को प्राप्त किया। यह राजा होकर इत्यह भीमों में परमात्मा हो गया। ४ हे राजन! मूर्ति की सुनीता नाम की मानसी कहरा थी जो तीनों लोगों में विवाहत है। ५ हे राजन! इस अवसर की है भार्या बनी एवं उसने राजा बन को प्रश्न किया। ६ राजन! इस अवसर की है भार्या बनी एवं उसने राजा बन को प्रश्न किया। ७ यह वेदवेदांग और धनुर्मद थे। ८ प्रजातिवादी विवाह के एक कवर्म कहा था। राज्यवर्ग में भी पारागत था। हे राजन! इस नरेन्द्र को सपूर्ण विज्ञानीति भली प्रकार श्रेष्ठ थी। १६ राजा बन को प्रश्न किया। हे राजन! इस अवसर की है भार्या बनी एवं उसने राजा बन को प्रश्न किया। ५ यह वेदवेदांग और धनुर्मद थे। ८ प्रजातिवादी विवाह के एक कवर्म कहा था।
इसमें किसी प्रकार के संकोच करने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। 1 उस बेनुप्र देव और महाबिंदों ने कहा कि जित करने के करणों में धर्म की स्तिथित हो उस कर्म को तुम निश्चित छोड़कर करो। 2 अब तुम धर्म अधिन बैठो तस्मा सामर्थ्य भावनाओं में सामान व्यवहार करो। काम, क्रोध, लोभ और अहंकार का भी हूँ दूर से ही स्थान कर दो। जो मनुष्य संसार में धर्म से विचित्र हो उनके तूफान धर्म को और दृढ़ रखकर अपने बाहुबल से विद्वद्वत करो। 3 है परवत! तुम मन बाणी और कर्म से प्रतिज्ञा करो कि तुम जगत को ब्रह्म मान कर उसकी सर्वदा रक्षा करने तथा देवनीति के अनुकूल जो नियम धर्म हूँ उसका सर्वदा निश्चित होकर पालन करोगे और कभी उच्च लल न होगे। 4 है विजय परवत! तुम यह भी प्रतिज्ञा करो कि तुम ब्राह्मणों को अवश्य रखो। जगत में यदि वर्णसंकर होने का लिया तो तुम उनकी रोको। 5 इतना सुनकर पूजा ने देवी और भाविनियों से कहा कि ब्रह्मण मंदे-बढ़े पूजा होगी। इन पुजारी भक्तों को सर्वदा निरस्त करता रहेगा। 6 ब्रज-गुफ्त पूजुको इस प्रकार स्वीकृति पाकर उन देवी एवं महाराजों ने ब्रज-भजनों विधानिक श्रुतावर्ती को उसका पुरोहित नियत किया। 7 उस के संयोग बालबिंद्व धारे हुए और सारस्वत उसके गंग बनाए गए। भगवान् महार्थ गंगा उसके विशेष थे। भूति ने ऐसा प्रतिज्ञाका किया है कि यह धर्म से आठवां पुजा या। 8 इस राजा पूजा का अभिध्रांग भगवान् विष्णु, इत्यः जय सामर्थ्य देव, धर्म तथा प्रजापालक श्रुतिपुण्यों ने समाप्त विधान किया। 9 इस भूतिना राजा पूजा ने सारे

1-यमां मभतो वस्मन्तिकारे समाध्यमसमभिज्ञम्। तद्भव भागिवयमान नाम् कार्यां विचारम्।।
हलोक १०२ अरु ५९ शालो परं।।
2-सम्पुष्टतेन देवताते से चंचल परम्याद्। निमित्तो यद धर्मशाने ने समांकोन स्मारकाः। हलोक १०३ अरु ५९ शालो परं।।
3-स्माध्यमसमभिज्ञम् सम: स्वच्छ जन्युद्ध। कामकों व लोभम्भ मानं चोलयुद्ध नूरतः।।
यथा धर्मस्रविविचालनोऽस्तनिन्द्रमात्राभिषेकाः। निवासूर्ध्येऽतस्त: धर्मशाख्युथमात्राभिषेकाः। हलोक १०४-१०५ अरु ५९ शालो परं।।
4-मदामां बालजिण्येभवनां मनसा कर्मकान्तिर गिरा। पालमेंद्रस्मिः भोम्भ ब्रह्म महेन्द्र चांसकृत्।।
ध्वनिं धर्मां तस्मिन नित्योऽन्ते देवनीतिध्वनिः। तस्मांक: कार्यार्थमं स्वप्नोऽन्ते कवालचन्। हलोक १०६, १०७ अरु ५९ शालो परं।।
5-वाक्यारुम में दिशानेश्चित्रत प्रसिद्धानीडिः से विचारे। लोक व संकारकाः श्रातामतिर
प्रतिष्ठा।। हलोक १०८ अरु ५९ शालो परं।।
6-ब्राह्मां में महाभागा नमस्तवः पुज्यवर्माः।। हलोक १०९ अरु ५९ शालो परं।।
7-पुजादानवाचारमाः शुक्लो ब्राह्ममयो निधिः।। हलोक ११० अरु ५९ शालो परं।।
8-मणिग्नो बालबिंद्व पारस्यो गाण्यां। महाबिंद्वमागमागाक्षतस्य संविद्वानिर्भूवमार्याः।।
हलोक १११ अरु ५९ शालो परं।।
अति नास्तिर्ग्य ब्रह्माण्य भूतिरेत तरा नृपू।। हलोक ११२ अरु ५९ शालो परं।।
9-स विश्विष्णु च देवेन शाकेन विवर्य: सह। ध्वनिभवन मध्यदाग्वलोकस्तु मणेम ध्वनिमयेचित:।।
हलोक ११६ अरु ५९ शालो परं।।
जगत को धर्ममय कर दिया था। इसलिए वह सत्य अर्थ में राजा प्रसिद्ध हुआ।

भीष्म द्वारा राजा की उदारति के विवाद में जो उद्धृतत वर्णन दिया गया है वह मनुष्य जीवन के इतिहास को तीन मुख्य युगों में विभाजित करता है। पहला वह युग है जिसे उन्होंने सत्ययुग (सत्ययुग) के नाम से सम्बोधित किया है। मनुष्य के जीवन का दूसरा युग वह है जिसमें मनुष्य पतित होकर पारस्परिक जीवन को और असर होता है। तीसरा वह युग है कि इसमें परस्परिक जीवन का निर्माण होता है और उसके अनुसार मनुष्य अपने आचरण करने के लिए सुरूपविद्याभित्र राज्य-वृत्तिय का अभ्यास रहता है।

सत्ययुग

मनुष्य के प्रारंभिक युग को भीष्म ने सत्ययुग के नाम से सम्बोधित किया है। यह मुख्य ज्ञान, शान्ति और सुमति का युग था। प्रथम व्रत्क धनवर्त्ती पालन में ध्यात था और दूसरे की उसके धर्म-पालन में साम्यता और सहयोग करता रहता था। उस युग में राजा की परिस्थिति का अविवेक न हुआ था। राजा का निर्माण भी उस युग में न हुआ था। मनुष्य राजनीतिक जीवन से अर्थित था। परन्तु वह सामाजिक जीवन व्यतीत करता था। यह वर्तमान, तथा पारस्परिक प्रतिवेदन एवं न्यूनताओं का युग कहलाता न था। लोग मुक्त और समाज थे। और पारस्परिक सहयोग एवं सद्भावना से प्रतिवेद होकर आनंद में जीवन व्यतीत करते थे।

भीष्म द्वारा वर्णित सत्ययुग किसी भी तरह उस प्राकृत युग से समान नहीं है जिसका वर्णन इंग्लैंड के प्रतिभागीलवता लाक (Locke) ने अपने "स्वतंत्र सिद्ध नियममें" (Of Civil Government) नाम के प्रतिभाग क्रम में किया है। उसके मतानुसार भी प्रारंभिक युग (Original State of Nature) में शांति और विवेक (Peace and reason) का शासन था। यह युग ज्ञानीक जीवन से पूर्व का जीवन तो अवश्य था और परम्परा सामाजिक जीवन से पूर्व का युग न था। लाक के मतानुसार यह युग विविध (Lawless) युग नहीं कहा जा सकता क्योंकि मनुष्य प्राकृत विधि (Natural laws) के अभूत रहता था। भीष्म का सत्ययुग हास्य के प्राकृत युग (State of Nature) से नितांत भिन्न था क्योंकि हास्य उस युग को दुःख, दर्शन, दिस्ता, दिस्ता, पारस्परिक कल्ह एवं प्रतिवेदन का युग मानते हैं जिसमें मनुष्य अवश्य कल्पनात्मक जीवन व्यतीत करता था। भीष्म द्वारा प्रतिपादित यह युग फ़ास के प्रतिभाग तत्त्वकल्प रूसेत (Rousseau) के प्राकृत युग से भी मिलता रहता है। रूसेत (Rousseau) प्राकृत युग (State of Nature) के मनुष्य को प्राकृत युग के साथ करते हैं। वह उसको विवेक (Reason) से परस्परिक दुःख मानते हैं। विचार शांति एवं विवेक शांति के अभाव के कारण उस पुरुष को दुःख-दुःख का बोध नहीं होता था और इसीलिए यह मनुष्य भाँति मुझे मानाबाना माना गया है। प्राकृत युग के
मनुष्य के मुख्य का ब्रह्मस्वयं रहा होगा। इस विद्वान का बोध हिन्दी भाषा के प्रथम कवि तुम्हारे द्वारा इस कहानी ने संक्षेप होने के बाझ कहने से वह कहता है जब कि वह यह कहते हैं कि संतार में सबसे भलें मूल गुन्हा होते हैं जिन्हें माना नहीं सताना। भ्रष्ट का प्रामाण्य युग का पुल बुद्धि तत्क्रियान्तर न होकर मानवाधिकारी से प्रभावित होकर जीवन प्रवर्तक करता था।
परन्तु भीमका के सत्ययुग के पुल में यह बिशेषता नहीं है। वह विवेक युक्त है। अपनी और भ्रष्ट की भलाई-गुलामी को वह समाधि है और सत्ययुग पालन करता हुआ सुक-पुर्वक अपना जीवन ध्यान करता है। इसलिए भीमका डायरा प्रतिवादित सत्य युग की सत्य की अंसंग में कुछ भी समाधि की जा सकती है तो वह केवल लक (Locke) डायरा परिजन प्राचीन युग से हो सकती है।

प्राचीन युग के मनुष्य का पतन

सत्य युग के उपराश भीमका के मनुष्य सत्य युग एक ऐसे युग में प्रवेश करता है जिस में सत्ययुग के मनुष्य का जीवन नितांत परिचित हो जाता है। मनुष्य पतित होकर ऐसे युग में प्रवेश करता है जिसमें पारस्परिक कल्प, हिस्सा, प्रतिष्ठा, अपार्थी एवं अवशेष आदिका साक्ष्य शासन छोड़ता है। उस नवीन युग में बीच-बीच बक्स-बक्स, भक्त-भक्त, कर्म-अकर्म आदि का वेद नहीं रहता। मनुष्य अत्यन्त देवीय, क्षेत्र और यात्रा का पूर्वाधिकृत जीवन ध्यान करता है।

प्राचीन युग (सत्ययुग) के पतन का युग किसी अंश तक द्वारा के प्राचीन युग (State of Nature) से समानता रखता है जिसमें मनुष्य स्वर्गीय से प्रभावित परास्परिक नाश में सचान होकर प्रस्तुत जीवन ध्यान करता है।

भीमका के मनुष्य में सुपीरियों और अपर्र दोनों प्रकार की बुद्धियाँ होती हैं। सत्य युग में सुबुद्धियाँ जाप्त अवशेष में रहती हैं परन्तु उस युग में अपर बुद्धियाँ सुबुद्धियाँ अवशेष में रहती हैं। इसलिए सत्य युग के मनुष्य में विकार उत्पन्न नहीं होते परन्तु कुछ काल चूक प्रवर्तक होने पर अर्धुं बुद्धियाँ जाप्त होने लगती हैं और वह लोख, मोह, काम, जाप्त अपर बुद्धियाँ के अधीन हो जाता है। यह इस सत्य से सत्ययुग के मनुष्य का पतन प्रारम्भ हो जाता है और परोपकार सत्ययुग का लोप हो जाता है। वह पारस्परिक कल्प, प्रतिष्ठा, अपार्थी, अवशेष एवं नृसंह में बनीयुग में प्रविष्ट हो जाता है जो कुछ काल में उसके लिए अत्यंत हो जाता है और जिससे निवृत्त पत्न के लिए मनुष्य नितांत पृथ्वी वो हो जाता है।

1-सब से बेहतर है मूठ जन जिनखो कह न व्ययां जलात गिरता है। रामायण, तुलसीदास।
2-पात्रवर्तिनां तय नरा धर्म संभार भारत। लेंव परमहर्ष्यजयसत्तात्मामोहा निविष्टी।
लोक 15 अंश 59 शताब्दी।

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रक्षारच नामणमानं कार्याकारणं युक्तिभिः। लोक 19 अंश 59 शताब्दी।
आयुष्मानम् धनव वास्तवार्णे तये। भक्तिमार्गं च राजेन्द्र बोधिवाच्यं च नारायणी।
लोक 20 अंश 95 शताब्दी।
राज्य-निर्माण का युग

सरय युग के मनुष्य का पतन हो जाने पर देवलग विनिमित होकर भगवान भूमा के समाल प्रस्तुत होकर मनुष्य के मनुष्य के पतन से उसके जीवन में परिवर्तन हो गया उसका निवेदन करते हैं और उनसे प्रारंभ करते हैं कि वह कोई ऐसा उपाय बताएं जिससे मनुष्य पुनः सत्ययुग के जीवन में प्रवेश कर सके।

इस उद्देश्य की पूर्ति के निमित्र भूमा व्यवस्थापीत का निर्माण करते हैं और आवेदन देते हैं कि मनुष्यों को इस व्यवस्थापीत के नियमों के अनुसार आचरण करना चाहिए। इन नियमों को बंग करने वाले मनुष्यों को उचित दंड भी भिड़ा चाहिए और तभी यह व्यवस्थापीत वास्तविक रूप में नियंत्रक का धारण कर सकती थी।

इसीलिए एक ऐसे विवाद पुढ़क के निर्माण की आवश्यकता प्रतीत हुई जो इस व्यवस्थापीत के नियमों की लोगों के द्वारा कार्यभावित करने में समर्थ होता। ऐसे विवाद पुढ़क को प्राप्त होता वह भगवान विष्णु की धारण में बात है और उनसे प्रारंभ करते हैं कि वह उसके मनुष्यों में सर्वश्रेष्ठ मनुष्य को लक्षित करने की क्रा करें जिसको वह लोग अपना राजा बनाएं। इस प्रकार भगवान विष्णु उन्हें ऐसे पुढ़क को लक्षित कर देते हैं और उस पुढ़क को वह लोग अपना राजा बना लेते हैं। परन्तु राजपौर देने के पूरे वह उस पुढ़क से यह अनुबन्ध (Contract) करते हैं कि वह उनकी रक्षा करेगा और इस व्यवस्थापीत शासन के नियमों के अनुसार अवस्था स्थापित करेगा। वह भी भी इन नियमों का उल्लंघन कर सकती नहीं करेगा।

इस प्रकार इस अनुबन्ध के अनुसार राज्य का निर्माण होता है और जिसका एक मात्र उद्देश्य सत्ययुग को पुनः आग से पतन करता है। रूस्सेन (Rouscan) के राज्य-निर्माण का उद्देश्य भी युग और शासन में जीवन का पुनः निर्माण करता है। वह अपने उद्देश्य को प्राप्त होते हुए एक नए सिद्धांत को स्थापना करते हैं जो राजासरकार के इतिहास में समाज अनुशमान (Social Contract Theory) के नाम से विबुलित है। इस सिद्धांत को स्थापन कर यह राज्य (State) और सरकार (Government) का निर्माण करते हैं जिसका आधार शिला उभरने लोगों की सामाजिक अभिविश्वास (General will) मानती है। परन्तु भीष्म उस स्वर्ण युग (राज्य युग) के पुनर्निर्माण हेतु भूमा का धारण करते हैं और वह एक विवाद प्रयत्न की रचना कर लोगों को आवेदन देते हैं कि मनुष्यों को इस प्रयत्न में वर्गित नियमों के अनुसार अपना जीवन व्यापन करना चाहिए। इस वृत्ति से भीष्म रूसे से इस विषय में निम्न भर रखते हैं। क्योंकि द्वारा कहते राज्य को आधार शिला लोगों की सामाजिक अभिविश्वास (General will) पर निर्भर है। परन्तु भीष्म जित राज्य की स्थापना करना चाहते हैं उसका आधार भूमा हारा निर्माण विषय है। अध्याय अध्याय शब्दों में कहा जा सकता है कि रूसे जित राज्य का निर्माण करना चाहते हैं उसका आधार शिला लोगों की सामाजिक अभिविश्वास (General will) पर आधारित है परन्तु भीष्म के राज्य का दायित्व उस विषय संबंध पर निर्भर है जिसका समंजन भूमा ने लोककल्पण के निमित
किया था। इस कथन से यह निदर्शय निकलता है कि यह विधि पवित्र, अछूत, तथा नित्य हैं और भीत्र के राज्य का वांचित इन विधिओं पर आपार सिद्ध है।

इस प्रकार भोज्य राज्य की उत्पत्ति के विषय में समाज अनुकूलवाश (Social Contract Theory) का प्रतिपादन करते हैं। उनके इस सिद्धांत के दो विकास हैं। एक का प्राकृत युग स्वर्ग युग है। परन्तु इसके में यह युग यातनामय युग माना गया है। एकम मनुष्य स्वर्ग विधि नियाम कार्य करते हैं और जिनके लागू करने के लिए यह ब्रह्मा द्वारा रत्निक किया जाता है। परन्तु इसके में मनुष्य के जीवन के प्रत्येक क्षेत्र के विधिक नियंत्रण एवं विकास हेतु ब्रह्मा द्वारा नियंत्रण शास्त्र का निर्माण किया जाता है और जिसके किरितेक का देने के लिए ब्रह्मा द्वारा राज्य कल्याण किया जाता है और जिसकी जनता अपना राज्य स्वीकार कर लेती है।
REVIEW.

*Veda-dharātala* by Āchārya G. C. Avasthi, pp. 1-781, with Preface (pp. 1-25, and pp. 1-5), List of Abbreviations (pp. 1-9), Contents (pp. 1-7), Bibliography (pp. 1-7), and Corrigenda (pp. 1-8). Published by Devāchāryya Sāhityaratna, Kashi, V. S. 2010 (A. D. 1953).

During the last eight decades, much advancement has been made in the study of Vedic literature, not only by editing critically the *Vedas*, the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Āraṇyakas*, the *Upanishads*, the *Nirukta*, the *Nighantas*, and the *Prātiṣṭākhyas*, but also by translating most of the important Vedic texts and publishing such invaluable aids to further our knowledge of the subject as, Vedic Concordance (Bloomfield), Vedic Index (Macdonell and Keith), Vedic Lexicography (Grassmann; Böhtlingk), Vedic Grammar (Macdonell), Vedic Syntax (Speyer), Vedic Metre (Oldenberg), Vedic Accent (Wackernagel), Vedic Religion (Oldenberg; Bergaigne), Vedic Mythology (Macdonell), and Vedic Philosophy (Deussen). A fairly large number of important papers and monographs touching the different aspects of Vedic studies, have also been contributed by different Indian and European scholars during the same period, for the furtherance of our knowledge of Vedic literature, but there remained a lacuna, yet to be filled up, and that is Vedic Geography. That gap has now been filled up by the publication of *Veda-dharātala*, a study of the geographical data contained in the Vedic texts. It is true that in the *Vedic Index* (2 vols) of Macdonell and Keith, the Vedic geographical names have been carefully listed and identified as far as possible; but the absence of a comprehensive and critical study of Vedic Geography was keenly felt by all Indologists. Āchārya Avasthi has now removed that long-felt desideratum by publishing his *magnum opus*, the *Veda-dharātala*, which, I am sure, will go a great way towards the furtherance of our knowledge of Vedic Geography, on which depends to a large extent, our study of the history, culture, and civilization of the Indo-Aryans. We may differ from the author in respect of the identification of a few place-names mentioned in the *Vedas* and the texts associated with them; but at the same time we shall have to admit that he has treated the subject of his dissertation in a highly scholarly manner, citing evidence copiously in support of his statement, almost in every case.
Names of the rivers, mountains, hills, countries, and peoples, occurring in the Vedic texts, have been treated alike by the author comprehensively and critically, leaving out nothing practically that is worth consideration in respect of them. All these have considerably enhanced the merit of the work, which can only be appreciated after a careful perusal of the same. The reviewer, however, considers it to be the first real approach that has been made towards the study of Vedic Geography as a subject, which is likely to form the foundation of further research on the same in future.

The work of Achārya Avasthi indicates profound scholarship, deep thinking, and laborious research—facts which become more and more apparent as we pass through different topics discussed by him. Unfortunately, it is not likely to receive the encomiums from scholars it deserves, as it is written in Hindi which is not understood by all Indologists in this country or outside. The reviewer, therefore, suggests that a literal translation in English of this learned work should be published, so that the viands so carefully prepared by the author may be shared by all.

There are a few sad printing mistakes in this work, besides those shown in the Corrigenda, including those caused by broken types. Such mistakes obviously are unavoidable, when the printing of such a voluminous work is undertaken. Despite these defects and others, we consider the work under review to be a highly scholarly one and a real asset to Vedic studies.

G. D. Chatterjee
THE SUPREME DEITY OF THE INDUS VALLEY

By

K. N. Sastri.

A large number of seals and seal impressions discovered at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro show beyond doubt that the Indus people were polytheistic in their religious beliefs. Like the Sumerians and the Babylonians they had a multitude of gods and goddesses of high and low ranks presiding over various natural phenomena such as the sky, the storms, the lightning, earth, water, fire, air, the plant and the animal life, etc.

In chapter V of his monograph 'Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilisation' Sir John Marshall deals with the religion of the Indus people quite exhaustively. According to him, it was the Mother Goddess that was held in the highest esteem, and slightly lower in rank was a three-headed male god, the so-called prototype of the historic Pasupati form of Siva. Next in the order of sanctity came the cults of the phallic emblems and baetylic stones comprising a large number of lingams and jonis of which, he says, some were associated with the worship of the Mother Goddess.

Male Element Predominant

In my view the so-called three-headed Pašupati form of Śiva is in fact a buffalo-headed composite deity whose body is a clever fusion of various deadly animals. For example, his arms are veritable centipedes, thorax is tigrine and the part below waist is an intrigu-
ing combination of two looped cobras. My finding is that among the Indus pantheon it was not the female element, as suggested by Sir John Marshall and other scholars of his following, but the male one that predominated. In other words, the Mother Goddess was not the supreme deity of the Indus Valley; on the contrary, it was a male god supposed to be the presiding spirit of the divine Tree of Knowledge that enjoyed this honour.

Several Indus seals exhibit a deity standing inside a split pipal tree (*Ficus religiosa*) which is sometimes shown in upright position with open top but elsewhere upside down like an arch. I refer here to the Mohenjo-daro seal No. 430¹ (*fig. 1*) which is a graphic representation of the legendary scene where the *pipal* deity figures prominently. In the upper register on the right-hand side is a stylized *pipal* tree springing from a circular socket in the form of a reversed arch and inside this stands the deity facing to left. The latter has a tridentate horned head-dress below which projects stiffly the serrated pigtail behind the head. The pigtail is nothing but a sprig of the acacia tree generally worn by the Indus deities. The god has centipede arms hanging down parallel to the body.

**The Seed-vessel**

The circular socket at the base of the tree is the seed vessel or basin from which the tree is issuing. This seed vessel is clearly visible on Mohenjo-daro seal No. 387² referred to below (*fig. 4*). The two parts of the *pipal* tree which are shown with leaves sticking out on one side only, clearly indicate that the tree has split into two halves revealing the deity residing it.

In front of the god is a supplicant, evidently a priest or a subordinate god, wearing tridentate head-dress and the pigtail, both signs of divinity. He is seated in the same semi-kneeling pose as is characteristic of the guardian spirit of the acacia tree. His centipede-arms are slightly bent at the elbow and raised in supplication. Close to his left knee is a small table of offerings and behind him stands a large composite goat with beaked face and twisted horns. The goat may be the owl-headed hybrid animal as seen

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1. Mackay, Dr. E., *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, i. Pl. xciv, 430.
on Mohenjo-daro seal No. 606\textsuperscript{1}. His composite character and extraordinarily large size suggest that he is not an ordinary animal brought by the suppliant as an offering to the deity, but rather an intermediary deity who has conducted a godling or priest in the presence of the principal god. Such intermediary deities commonly figure on the legendary seals of contemporary Mesopotamia.

**Bird-men Attendants**

In the lower register of the seal is a file of seven human beings standing facing to left. Each of them is human in the upper part but avian in the lower as evident from their bird-like tails and slender legs terminating in claws. Their arms and pigtails are obviously dangling centipedes and the heads have sprays of *pipal* or acacia tree for crests. These half-human and half-avian figures appear to be ministrants or celestial messengers who, to judge from their feathery coats, could traverse immense aerial regions unhindered. In the composite forms of these figures the body above waist is human, but the lower part, including the tail and legs, is that of a bird. In this respect they can be compared to the bird-men of the Sumerian mythology where the latter represented either the Zu bird or the eagle of the Etana and Eagle myth (Fig. 2).

Along the top margin is an inscription of six pictograms arranged in two lines, and near the socket of the *pipal* tree is another pictogram. This last sign is probably an ideogram signifying the shrine of the god like its Sumerian equivalent having an identical value. The fragmentary Harappa seal No. 251\textsuperscript{2} (Fig. 5) also shows seven ministrants, partly human and partly avian, standing in front of a two-line inscription. The front figure is pointing with its hand at what appears to be a sacred formula.

**Other Views**

These seven ministrant godlings have been described by Sir John Marshall, Dr. Mackay and other scholars as human attendants wearing short tunic-like jackets cut aslant at the lower border. In explaining the scene on Mohenjo-daro seal No. 430 (Fig. 1) Sir John says: “The nude deity appearing between the branches is

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very small and roughly portrayed, but the absence of any evidence of male sex coupled with the fact that tree deities in India are usually female, and that the ministrant figures on this seal also appear to be women, all point to its being goddess rather than a god. The seven figures in a line at the bottom I take to be female officiants or ministrants of the goddess. The plumes on their heads might be feathers, but it is more probable that they are small branches such as in Kafiristan are still worn on the head by officiants at the worship of the Chili or Himalayan pencil cedar, when branches are also burnt in honour of the spirit.1

Writing about the same, Dr. Mackay remarks: "Though no doubt the figure in the tree represents a goddess, the kneeling figure may also be a deity as the same head-dress is worn by both or it may be an ordinary human being attired in a manner that was thought to be pleasing to the goddess. I am inclined to regard the worshipper as a goddess also, but one of the lower degree than the one in the tree. The seven figures below may be deities of lesser rank, or even the daughters of the principal deity. Their number seven is significant, for to it a mystic quality is attached in India as well as in other parts of the world."2

No Jacket or Tunic

The Indus deities and deified heroes have centipede-arms and not human arms loaded with armlets from shoulder to wrist. The pigtails on the heads of the seven figures are neither feathers nor tree branches, but veritable centipedes pointing to the terrible nature of these superhuman beings whose arms and even pigtails possessed the proverbial grip of a centipede. According to both the scholars the tree deity, the worshipper and the seven attendants are all females. But my investigation shows that they are all male. It is not the female deities alone that were associated with trees in India, even the male ones like the Yakshas, Gandharvas and Kinnarases frequently appear in the role of tree spirits in Indian literature and art.

I have closely examined these figures and confidently feel that they are not wearing anything of the kind describable as a jacket

2. Mackay, Dr. E., _Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro_, i. p. 338.
or tunic. Their human bodies gradually assume the shape of birds' tails below waist making them look aslant at the lower end. By no stretch of imagination can they be described as wearing tunics, because such wear is unknown on the persons of the Indus deities, whether in glyptic or plastic art. The gods are shown either nude or semi-nude clad only in loin-cloths, and the goddesses in short skirts resembling the Sumerian female wear called *kaunakas*.

The fact that the Indus people conceived some of their gods partly human and partly avian in form can also be corroborated by other independent evidence. On Mohenjo-daro seal No. 347\(^1\) (fig. 2) there appears a composite deity whose upper part is human, the lower avian and the back tigrine. The bird-like tail and the two long slender legs terminating in claws are clearly discernible. The striking thing about these bird-men godlings is their number-seven-which recalls the seven Maruts (stormgods), the followers of the Aryan warlord Indra. In the Vedas they are stated to be like birds perching on their sacred altar and as sons of Rudra, the wild boar of the sky (*Macdonell*).\(^2\) According to Sumerian mythology the seven evil spirits of tempest were bred in the ocean house of Ea. These seven sea giants were also messengers of Anu who was one of the three gods of the Sumerian triad, *viz.*, Ea, Anu and Enlil.

**The Pipal God**

On the evidence furnished by the Mohenjo-daro seals Nos. 420 and 387 (figs. 3 and 4) we come to the conclusion that both the *pipal* and the unicorn were intimately connected with the *pipal-god*. His being invariably portrayed as enshrined in a *pipal* tree leaves no doubt that the tree is his abode and he is par excellence the presiding deity of this celestial plant (*abvattha-adhishthāti-devatā*). On seal No. 387 is a conventionalized *pipal* tree emerging from the sacred altar. Coiled around its trunk are two unicorns, evidently in the role of its guardians or perhaps as vehicles of the god residing in the tree.

Another noteworthy feature of the seal is that the two unicorn heads and the *pipal* tree, springing as they are from the same seed vessel, have cognate birth and as such are both divine. This combi-

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nation of the sacred *pipal* tree and the unicorn unmistakably points that both of them are symbolic of the deity inhabiting the sacred tree. The head-dress of the buffalo-headed god portrayed on Mohenjo-daro seal No. 420\(^1\) (fig. 3) is only a stylized miniature copy of the *pipal* motif occurring on seal No. 387. The fan-like crest of his head-dress imitates the fan-like foliage of the tree and the buffalo horns simulate the shape of the flanking unicorn heads. The *pipal* tree and the unicorn being thus symbolic of the *pipal-god*, it naturally follows that the buffalo-headed god, who wore a crown composed of the above two emblems, held no doubt a position subordinate to the former. The *pipal-god* was unquestionably the supreme deity of the Indus Valley and the buffalo-headed god was only next to him in rank. Under the command of this supreme deity there was a host of smaller deities and semi-divine beings, some being anthropomorphic, some theriomorphic and others syncretic.

**Chanhu-daro Sealing**

In confirmation of the fact that this horned *pipal* motif worn by the buffalo-headed god was highly venerated by the Indus people as a symbol of the supreme deity let me cite independent evidence from another Indus site. In course of his excavations at Chanhu-daro Dr. E. Mackay, the head of the American Expedition, came across a very important terracotta sealing (fig. 6) from early Harappan deposits underlying the late Jhukar culture.\(^2\) It shows in relief two attendant priests standing face to face and each supporting with one arm a horned *pipal* motif between them while holding the other arm akimbo.

This motif is very similar to the one depicted on Mohenjo-daro seal No. 387 and to the horned head-dress of the buffalo-headed god. The object which they are holding is nothing else except the divine crown symbolic of the *pipal-god*, the supreme deity of the Indus Valley which the subordinate gods wore in allegiance to the high authority of the former. Dr. Mackay was unable not only to grasp the real significance of this motif but even to notice below the *pipal* branches the presence of buffalo horns as will appear from his description given below:—

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"The scene on its face was impressed by a square seal measuring 0.71 x 0.71 inches, and through much use the details are far from sharp; two nude female figures are seen, each holding with one hand a standard, from which spring on either side two conventional branches terminating in pipal leaves. The free hand of each figure rests on the hip and the general attitude somewhat resembles that of the bronze dancing girl found some years ago at Mohenjo-daro."

**Sanctity of Aśvattha**

From times immemorial the pipal tree has been regarded extremely sacred in India. Aśvattha, later pippala (Hindi- Pipal), is one of India’s greatest trees. Vessels made of it are mentioned in the Rigveda and the tree itself is constantly referred to later. It planted its roots in shoots of other trees, e. g., khadira, and destroyed them, hence called vaibāḍha. Its hard wood formed the upper of the two pieces of wood (aranīs) for kindling sacred fire, the lower piece being of śami. Its berries are referred to as sweet and eaten by birds, and gods are said to sit under it in the third heaven.

Aśvattha and nyagrodha (banyan) are styled the crested ones (sikhandins). In later Saṃhitās Apsaras (fairies) are spoken of as inhabiting these trees in which their cymbals and lutes resounded. Elsewhere in later literature along with udumbara and plaksha they are said to be the houses of Gandharvas and Apsaras (Macdonell). In post-Vedic literature aśvattha (pipal) is par excellence the Tree of Knowledge (Brahma-taru) as well as the Tree of Creation and is traditionally associated with Brahmā, the Creator. No Hindu would cut this tree intentionally, nor utter a falsehood while standing under its shade. In the Bhagavad-Gītā Lord Krishna while recounting his manifestations (vibhītis) says: "I am aśvattha among trees."

Now assuming that a good many religious beliefs and traditions of the Indus people were inherited by the Vedic Aryans, it may reasonably be deduced that the pipal-god of the Indus people held some similar position even in the remote pre-Vedic age. His association with the pipal tree would lead us to believe that he was the creator god, the prototype of the Vedic Prajāpati (later Brahmā)

1. Mackay, Dr. E., *Excavations at Chanhu-daro*, i. p. 150.
and was held in the highest esteem. With the growth of Prajāpāti as the Supreme deity in the Vedic times Varuna fades away.

Sir John Marshall thinks that this Indus deity, the epiphany of the pīpal tree, is a goddess. He arrives at this conclusion partly from the alleged feminine appearance of the figure and partly on account of the seven attendant figures standing in a row in the lower field of the seal. But so far as the evidence goes there is nothing to substantiate the above conclusion. The attributes which led him to interpret the seven attendant deities as feminine are stated to be (1) the pigtail at the back of the head and (2) their tunic-like bodices.

Let it, however, be remembered that the pigtail is not an exclusively feminine wear as it is worn indiscriminately by the male as well as female deities. My own view is that this is more an appendage to the head-dresses of males than of females. Moreover, what have been described as obliquely cut tunic-like bodices on the persons of seven ministrant figures are in fact the avian bodies shown oblique at the lower end from which slender bird-like legs emerge terminating in claws.

Other Seals

There are two more representations of the pīpal-god on Mohenjo-daro seals. One of them shows a slight variation in details. Here the intermediary goat stands in front of and not behind the supplicant, and the row of ministrants consisting of only six figures is located in the upper instead of in the lower margin of the seal. On other seals also the goat occupies the same position. Behind the votary is a small table of offerings. One distinctive feature of the above Mohenjo-daro seals is that the pīpal arch enshrining the god is inverted and looks like a split pīpal tree in its proper position. But on the three Harappa seals noticed below the arch is closed on the top and open at the bottom with voluted ends.

Parenthetically it may be observed that in Mesopotamia the deities standing under arched tree-coverlets were supposed to be the underworld deities. Thus Allatu, the queen of the nether world is shown under the cover of a bent tree. ¹ On Harappa seal No. 316

¹ Ward, W. H., Seal Cylinders of Western Asia, p. 53.
Plate III.

Obverse

Reverse

9

10

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(fig. 7), the extra-ordinary goat appears behind the suppliant as in the Mohenjo-daro seal referred to above, with the difference that the seven ministrant figures are omitted here. The other two Harappa seals show the god under pipal arch on the obverse and an inscription on the reverse side. One of them No. 317 (fig. 8), contains on the reverse a framed svastika in addition to an inscription.

**Fan-shaped Head-dress**

It is also important to note in this connection that a common form of head-dress of the terracotta female figurines found in the Indus Valley is fan-shaped and in all probability appears to have been derived from the head-dress of the buffalo-headed god carved on Mohenjo-daro seal No. 420 referred to above. This also points to the supreme position of the pipal god whose divine symbols these females are honouring by adopting them as their head-dress. These figurines are generally supposed to be representations of the Mother Goddess, but they can as well be smaller deities holding a subordinate rank under the supreme deity.

Another point worth considering is that there are a few Indus seals which show a subordinate god or votary offering a U-shaped object to the principal deity in the characteristic half-kneeling pose expressive of extreme reverence. In one case a votary is offering this object to acacia, the Tree of Life, and in another to the buffalo-headed god seated in yogic pose on a dais (figs 9 and 10). This U-shaped object being derived from the split pipal tree, was symbolic of the supreme deity that resided the celestial tree of asvattha. Consequently the offering of U-shaped symbol to gods of the lower rank or to the Tree of Life by a votary or godling amounted to murmuring the invocation. “I so and so invoke thy aid in the name of the Supreme Deity.”

A FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION FROM MATHÚRĀ

By

Dr. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D., Ootacamund

Dr. V. S. Agrawala published a paper on a damaged image inscription in *J. U. P. H. S.*, Vol. X, December, 1937, pp. 35 ff., Plates I and II. The inscription has also been edited in the same scholar's article entitled "Buddha and Bodhisattva Images in Mathurā Museum" (forming part of a revised edition of Vogel's Catalogue of the Mathurā Museum), published in the same journal, Vol. XIX, 1948, pp. 43-98 (see pp. 75-76). In May, 1937, the broken stone image in question was found about 8 feet below the surface of the main street of Mathurā when the local Municipal Board was carrying out digging operations for laying a sewage line in the town. It was secured for the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Mathurā, and is still preserved there. The image is carved in round and its extant part is 2 feet in height and shows only the lower part of a standing male figure below the girdle. The said inscription is written in two lines in Brāhmī characters of the Kuśāna age on the pedestal of the image. The beginning of the inscription is damaged; but the extant portion is well preserved.


**Text**

1. [Ru]vakaśa dānaṁ Devaputro Māgho Budhasa Kaśapasa

2. padra-mahasthakena.

**Translation**

"Gift of an image of the Buddha Kāśyapa by Ruvaka, the chief of the village, of Devaputra Māgho."

In this connection, Dr. Agrawala observes, "The words Budhasa Kaśapasa constitute the soul of the record and happily do not present any difficulty. Ruvaka is connected with dānaṁ and must be the name
of the donor. The last word padra-mahasthakena being in the instrumen-
tial I take it to refer to the donor who in that case enjoyed the
status of an officer placed in charge of a village. Padra means a vil-
lage. Mahasthaka seems to be an earlier form of the title Mahattara
found in Gupta administration. A visarga-sign is found in the second
line just below gho and I think that the engraver omitted to put it
in its right place after Māgho and then tried to correct his mistake.
In that case Māghoh would be genitive of Māghu, a Magian. Deva-
putra is a familiar title applied only to kings and therefore Devaputra
Māghu seems to have been a ruler of the Kuśāṇa dynasty about
whom nothing else is known” (loc. cit., pp. 75-76). On an examina-
tion of some impressions of the epigraphic record in question, I am
inclined to disagree with Dr. Agrawala on a number of points regard-
ing its reading and interpretation.

In the first place, the name of the donor does not appear to be
Ruvaka. The upper part of the letter read as ru is broken away;
but the lower portion represents, in my opinion, a subscript r to
which the medial u-sign is added. The letter r as an independent
consonant does not occur elsewhere in the record; but it may be
pointed out that its lower part is expected to have resembled that
of k which is found three times in the inscription. It has to be
noticed that the lower part of k in this epigraph represents a
straight vertical and that its lower end is not curved towards
the left as in the case of the first letter of the name read as Ruvaka.
Moreover the subscript r in tro of the word Devaputra very closely
resembles the extant lower part of the letter read as ru.

Secondly, the word Māgho (the reading may actually be Magho)
cannot be taken as a genitive form of Māghu in the sense of a Magi,
because in that case we cannot have Devaputra (the reading is 6putra)
as a qualifying epithet. The fact that Devaputra has the first case-
ending shows beyond doubt that Māgho or Magho has also to be
taken as a word with the same case-ending. We could have recog-
nised the sixth case-ending in the name only if the qualifying epi-
thet was Devaputrasa (in the sixth case-ending) or Devaputra® (in
compound with the following name qualified by it). Dr. Agrawala’s
transcript and translation moreover do not clearly explain the men-
tion of Devaputra Māghu or Magha in the inscription. The relation
between a Magi priest and the Kuśāṇas (of Kaniśka’s house) is
hardly apparent. The visarga-like sign at the end of line 2 appears moreover to be a mark of punctuation corresponding to the later double ḍanda.

Thirdly, the expression padra-mahasthakena in the third case-ending cannot be regarded as an epithet qualifying Ruvakasa in the sixth case-ending. Moreover I do not think that the second letter of the above expression can be read as dra. Its upper part looks more like ḍ than ḍ while the vertical lower limb, taken by Dr. Agrawala to be a subscript r, is quite unlike the curved subscript r in tro of Devaputro and looks more like a medial u-sign. In my opinion however the letter in question is a clear ti although it has been incised slightly below the line probably because it had been originally left out and was later engraved.

Fourthly, the word “image” used in Dr. Agrawala’s translation of the inscription has no corresponding word in his transcript, although the context requires such a word after Budhasa Kaśapasa in the genitive. Now, as indicated above, what has been read as dra in padra-mahasthakena is in my opinion ti and consequently at the beginning of line 2 we have the word patima for Sanskrit pratimā, “image.” Thus the words padra and mahasthaka in Dr. Agrawala’s transcript both go out of the picture.

I am inclined to read and translate the inscription under discussion as follows:

Text

1.....ruvakasa dānaḥ Devapuḥ(pu)tro Magho Budhasa Kaśapasa

2. patima Hasthakena

Translation

“. . . ruvaka’s gift is (the statue of) Devaputra Magha (and) the image of the Buddha Kaśyapa, (both made) by Hasthaka.”

We have understood Magho in the sense of Magha-pratimā as Bodhisattvo is found used in many similar records to indicate Bodhisattva-pratimā. See J. U. P. H. S., 1948, pp. 44, 45, 46, 49, etc. Hasthakena in the third case-ending seems to suggest that a sculptor
named Hasthaka was responsible for the construction of the image bearing the inscription. It appears that the sculptor made a statue of Devaputra Magha as well as an image of the Buddha Kāśyapa for a person whose name ended in ruvaka. In that case we have to suggest that the single-letter word ca meaning “and” has been left out in the text of the inscription. This is not improbable in view of such epigraphic passages as rājīto Chashtanasa Tsamotika-purasra rōjño Rudradāmasa Jayadāna-purasra varse dvipaścwē occurring in all the four Andhau inscriptions (Select Inscriptions, pp. 165-66) in which the word ca is required by the context but is conspicuous by its absence from the text. The installation of a statue of Devaputra Magha can hardly be regarded as improbable as we have reference to a devakula or gallery of portrait statues of the dead kings of the Ikṣvāku dynasty in Bhāsa’s Pratimā-nātaka and to similar devakulas in the Kuśāṇa inscriptions, one of which enshrined the statue of the pitāmāha or grandfather of the Kuśāṇa monarch Huviṣka (cf. Ep. Ind., xxi, pp. 4-5).

But if the omission of ca in the record is regarded as intentional, we may suggest that the statues of both Devaputra Magha and the Buddha Kāśyapa were shaped in the same sculpture, the former possibly being represented as bearing the latter on his head as in the cases of the statues of the Śaiva teachers Upamita and Kapila bearing the Śiva-liṅga on the head as referred to in a Mathurā inscription of 380 A. D. (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, pp. 4 ff.). The mention of both Devaputra Magha and the Buddha Kāśyapa in the inscription on a single sculpture may be taken as lending colour to the second of the alternative suggestions offered above. But it has to be discarded in view of the extant lower part of the image bearing the inscription which does not represent a male figure in the uḍīcyavēla (expected in the case of a Devaputra) unless it is believed that the above dress may not have been worn by an uḍīcyā devotee on a ceremonial occasion.

In the present state of our knowledge, it is difficult to be definite regarding the identity of Devaputra Magha, although his title Devaputra as well as the palaeography of the inscription under review would point to his membership of Kaniṣṭha’s house. In the epigraphic and numismatic records of the Kuśāṇa kings of India, we often find the epithet Devaputra associated with other titles. Curiously
enough it has been used singly in the inscription under review. The absence of any regal title may suggest that Magha was a prince or subordinate ruler. Dr. Agrawala draws our attention to Mahārāja-Mahāksatrapa Ma....known from another Mathurā inscription (Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 199; Lüders’ List, No. 83) and observes, “The title Devaputra applied to Māghu in the present inscription agrees well with the imperial titles Mahārāja-Mahāksatrapa associated with Ma....and it is probable that the two names were identical” (loc. cit., p. 76). We however do not definitely know whether Devaputra was an imperial title, while Mahāksatrapa is known to have been essentially a subordinate viceregal title. Under the circumstances, it is difficult to pass an opinion on the identification proposed by Dr. Agrawala. The title Mahārāja-Mahāksatrapa is not found in the earlier epigraphic and numismatic records and may suggest that the ruler in question flourished at a date later than that of our inscription. Elsewhere (The Age of Imperial Unity, p. 176) we have suggested the possibility of the Magha dynasty of Kauśāmbī being “founded by a lieutenant of the Kusāṇas (of Kanishka’s house) named Magha”. Whether Devaputra Magha, mentioned in the Mathurā inscription, had anything to do with the Maghas of Kauśāmbī can hardly be determined in the present state of insufficient information.

[My suggestions regarding the reading and interpretation of the fragmentary Mathurā inscription in question are set forth above for the kind consideration of the students of Indian Epigraphy and History. If any flaw in my arguments is noticed by scholars, my attention may please be drawn to it.]
A FEMALE FIGURE FROM MAN MANDIR GHAT, BANARAS IN THE JAIPUR MUSEUM

By

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Of the several sculptures displayed on pedestals in the Central Museum, Jaipur, the female figure from Banaras is the most noteworthy. It was brought to the Museum from the Man Mandir Ghat at Banaras and is said to have been found in the bed of the river Ganges there.

It is a full sized female figure, 5 ft. 10 inches in height, carved in the round, and in the buff-coloured Chunar stone. On its left is a leafy design. It is mutilated on either side and so it is difficult to say what it carried in its hands.

The well-developed round bust of the female, the hanging down of a portion of the drapery in front, elongated ears and tangential eyes of the figure place it with the Yakshis of the Didargunj but the absence of Mauryan polish in it is a conspicuous point. The long ear-pendants with some flower like thing in the middle of the necklace, a round piece-like-thing fitted in the girdle and the sacred thread, going down to the right knees from over the left shoulder and the back, are some peculiar equipments of the figure.

A perusal of the features referred to above and their close study show that the figure originated from Sarnath and that it is a piece of early Gupta art. The traces of a long cloth hanging down in between the legs in the front and the long thread going down to the right knees differentiate it from that the Maurya or Kushan Yakshi. Since Sarnath was an important centre of Gupta Art in Gupta days and many Buddhist and other female images were produced in great number there, it is no wonder that it may have originated from Sarnath, although it closely resembles the figure of Yakshi found at Didargunj. It may have been shifted from Sarnath to Man Mandir Ghat. Like the Sarnath Statues of Lord Buddha, which are generally soft and serene-looking, this female image is fine
and good looking but is an unfinished product. Again, the arrangement of drapery without fold lines, the schematic hair styles with a knob at the top, the foldless robe, though unfortunately defaced, and, therefore, not clear, easily place it in the Gupta period. It is probably the above distinguishing marks and features of the figure that are responsible for Marshall's remarks when he says that the Gupta Art is endowed with freshness and vitality while the designs are angularly designed.

The figure is, indeed, interesting both from the point of view of art and antiquity.
A Female Figure from Man Mandir Ghat, Banaras.
(a)

EIGHT-ARMED VISHNU
IN HIS VIRAT FORM KUSHANA PERIOD
FROM MANDAWALA WELL AT PALIKHERA.

(b)

Two Rare Vishnu Images from Mathura.

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K. D. Bajpai
TWO RARE IMAGES OF VISHNU FROM MATHURA

By

K. D. Bajpai, M. A.

Pre-Gupta images of Vishnu having four or more arms are rarely known. Some years ago the upper portion of an eight-armed Vishnu image was obtained from a well in the village Pāllikherā of Mathura district. This image is now preserved in the Mathura Museum (M. M. No. 1010). It is made of red sandstone and measures only 4" in height. On stylistic grounds this statue can be assigned to the late second or early third century A.D. Its lower portion and the arms on the left side are damaged. But the right four arms are well preserved. Three of them are raised up, holding a stone (giri), a sword (asi) and arrows (ishu) respectively. The fourth hand, which is stretched across the breast, holds an indistinct object, probably a śakti (Pl. Va). There is a foliated crown over the head similar to the mukuta usually found in the Mathura Bodhisattva images of the Kushāṇa period.

Another ashtabhuji Vishnu image of the late Kushāṇa period has recently been acquired for the Mathura Museum (M. M. No. 3550). It is made of the same red sandstone, but is of much better workmanship. It measures 1'-1" in height and 1'-1" in breadth. The face is badly mutilated and the lower portion of the feet is also broken. But for one arm, the left arms are also damaged. The god is wearing a dhoti, tied with a waist-band, yajñopavita, ekāvali, graiveyaka, karṇakundala, keyüra, kaṭaka and a heavy vanamala. He is standing in vīrabhāva. In his hands to the right he is holding stone (giri), a daggar (asi), arrows (ishu) and a round object (śakti or pāśa?). The only extant left hand holds a conch (śankha). The three broken hands may have held other āyudhas, probably a bow (dhanu), a wheel (chakra) and a mace (gadā) respectively (Pl. Vb).

Reference to the ashtabhuji Vishnu may be found in several Sanskrit texts, such as the Vrihatsamhita of Varāhamihira and some

1. cf. Agrawala, V. S., J. I. S. O. A., v. p. 124 and J. U.P. H. S., xxii (1949), p. 106. According to him the other two objects besides giri, are śakti and danda. But a close examination of the two images described above would reveal that the āyudhas in question are sword and a bunch of arrows respectively.
of the Purāṇa texts. Varāhamihira in his Vṛihatsaṁhitā refers to the eight-armed images of Vishṇu along with his four and two armed ones. According to him, the images of the first variety should hold in the three right hands a sword, a club and an arrow respectively, while the fourth one should be in the śānti (abhaya) pose. The left hands should carry a bow, a shield, a wheel and a conch respectively—

खड़गबालाकरणविविधिषत: शान्तिवेष्ठनुवृत्तकरः।
वामकरेषु च कामुक्त्तेषुकरणि शालकं। ॥॥

A number of ornaments etc. are also prescribed for Vishṇu images in the previous two ślokas of the same work.

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa gives the dhyāna of ashtabhujī Vishṇu as follows:—

क्रत्ययः सुपणसि प्रलम्बाद्यक्षाहमुकः।
चकश्च शालासि चम्पृः धनुः पास गवाधरः। ॥॥

पीलवासाः घनवासाः प्रतिमव्यवेशणम्।
वनमालानिभिद्रागो लक्षणेवतित्स कौस्तुमः। ॥॥

महुः करोटक्कस: स्पद्यस्यनकापुरुः।
कामुक्त्तिकृत्वयलय नूपुराक्रियवृक्षितः। ॥॥

According to this dhyāna, Vishṇu is seated on Gauḍa. He has eight arms, large and full of strength. In his hands are held Chakra (disc), Śaṅkha (conch), Asi (sword), Charma (skin), Išu (arrow), Dhanu (bow), Pāśa (noose) and Gadā (mace) respectively. He wears an yellow cloth, vanamālā, Kaustubha and a number of other ornaments.

The two images described above are identical in so far as they carry similar āyudhas in their hands. If the rest of the three hands in the newly discovered image had been preserved, it would have been possible to identify the āyudhas held therein and to compare them with those enumerated in the texts referred to above.

1. Vṛihatsaṁhitā, 58, 31-35.
The two images described above seem to represent Vishṇu in his Virāṭa form. The iconography of this form, however, changes later on. In the late Gupta and Mediaeval periods we find images of Mahāvishṇu or of his Virāṭa-rūpa as having the main Vishṇu head in the centre and those of his Varāha and Nṛsiṁha incarnations carved on each of the two sides. Over these heads and on the sides various gods, demi-gods, planets etc. are shown as if emerging out of the body of the Virāṭapurusha.
A CONVOCATION IN ANCIENT INDIA.

By

Dr. Chinmoy Chatterjee, M. A., Ph. D.

Convocation addresses of various Universities in India and first grade colleges are in the news every year.

Millions of students in this country who finish their academic career in the universities, wait every year at the door steps of their respective Alma Mater with all the eagerness of a child, to hear a few words of wisdom from the wise which might serve them as beacons and guide them in the right direction. The tradition is old and dates back to about three thousand years when the Vedic āchāryas addressed the students at the time of their ‘home coming’ ceremony.

In the Vedic education the formal academic career ended in the performance of the Samāvartana ceremony of the students. The terms like ‘samāvartana’ and ‘abhisamāvartana’ find mention in the Chhāndogya Upanishad, (4-10-1, 8-15-1). These terms, according to Śaṅkara indicate the completion of the sacred studies of the Vedas in the family of the preceptor and returning to home with a view to performing the duties prescribed for a house-holder’s life after marriage (vedamadhīya......dharmajijñāsāṁ samāpayitvā guru kulānivṛityanyāyato dārānāhritya kutumbe sthitvāgārhasthyā vihīte karmanī tishṭhannityarthāḥ) (Ch. 8-15-1).

The teacher (āchāryaḥ) having taught the Vedas (vedamanuchyāchāryaḥ) performed the ‘Samāvartana’ or the ‘home-coming’ ceremony of the students and exhorted them with an address full of instructions (anuśāsana). In that address he enumerated all the duties which had to be performed till the realization of the Final Reality according to the rules prescribed in the Śruti and Smṛti (vide Śan. Com. on Tait. 1-11-prāgbrahmātmavijñānāt niyamena kartavyāni śrautasmārttāni karmāṇi).

The term ‘anuśāsana’ in the Śruti indicates (anu means after, śāsana means instruction) instruction given after the study of the Vedas so that the antevāsinas may comprehend the inner spiritual
significance of the Vedas. (Vide Śaṅkara’s commentary on 1-11 Tait. Up. anuṣāsti granthagrahaṇāt anu paśchāt śāṣṭi tadartham grāhayaḥ). Śaṅkara states that it is evident from the above fact, that an antevasi, who has studied the Vedas should not return home without understanding the significance of the Vedas (implied in the term dharma-jijñāsā—adhītavedasya dharmaṁ jijñāsāṁ amakṛtva gurukulaṁ na samāvartitavyam). One such anuṣāsaṇa runs thus:

“Speak the Truth (satyaṁ). Perform dharma. Swerve not from the study of the Vedas (svādhyāya). Having gathered for the teacher, the wealth, he desires (priyam dhanaṁ) thou shouldest never cut the thread of progeny (prajātāntum). Never swerve from Truth swerve not from Dharma. Deviate ye not from self-protection. (kuśalat—Śam. Com. ātmarakshārthat). Deviate ye not from prosperity (bhūyai na—bhūtiḥ bibhūtiḥ tasyai bhūyai). Let thee not stray away also from the study and teaching of the Vedas (svādhyāyapra-vachana). Never swerve from the rites due to gods and to the manes (devapitrīkārībhyām). Let thy mother be to thee a god. Let thy father be a god to thee, let thy guest be a god to thee. Let only those works be done by thee that are free from blemishes (anavadyāni) and not others, only those deeds of ours should be followed by thee that are good and not others (yāni asmākmin sucharitāni).

“Brāhmaṇas are superior to us (śreyāṁsāḥ) thou shouldest remove their fatigue by serving them with seats. A gift should be given with śraddhāḥ, it should never be given without śraddhāḥ. It should be given in plenty, (śriyā deyam) with modesty (briyā deyam) with fear (bhīyā deyam) with compassion (sāṃvidā deyam).”

“Now, if there should arise in thee any doubt as regards any sacred work, (karmavichikithsāvṛittavichikithsā) or as regards conduct thou should act in those matters as do the Brāhmaṇas who are guileless, of good judgment, devoted to dharma, learned (yuktāḥ) and engaged in the due performance of rites (karmaṁ vṛtte) and noble duties and who are not guided by any body (ayuktāḥ). Now as regards dealing with persons of ill-fame do thou deal with them as do the Brāhmaṇas who are guileless.” (Tait. 1-11)

The Supreme knowledge (implied in the term brahmātmavijñāna in the Śaṅkara’s commentary on Tait. 1-11) indicating knowledge
of Brahman and Ātman—is the ideal of Upanishadic education. To achieve that knowledge one has to perform certain duties and rites (vidyotpattyartham anushṭheyāni karmāṇi Śaṅ. Com. 1-11) which has already been enumerated in the ‘anuśāsana’. Having returned home a student had to maintain the sanctity of the instructions he had received from the preceptor. It was his duty to speak the Truth (satyaṃ), perform dharma and study the Vedas (svādhyāya). A householder’s life did not mean a total deviation from student life. It was a stage of advanced studentship.

The next duty enjoined on him is marriage because the thread of progeny (prajātantuṁ) is to be maintained so that the sacred culture may not die out.

The Upanishads at several places, emphasise that “knowledge is to be imparted to the eldest son” (Ch. 3-11-5, Br. Ar. 6-3-12).

He should respect his mother, father, teacher and guests as gods. When he is in doubt, he must follow what the Brāhmaṇas do as they are considered to be the repository of the sacred culture.

If a student was found not up to the mark he was not allowed to return home, and no amount of expostulation was helpful in this matter. Upakośala Kāmalāyana spent twelve years in tending the sacred fire in the family of the āchārya (teacher) but Satyakāma did not perform the Samāvartana ceremony. His wife said: “This student has tended fire with care and practised ‘tapas’ (tapto brahma-चāri kuśalamagnin parichachārī?) please give him his final instruction”. But he went on a journey without having taught him (pravāśaĩchakre) (Ch. 4-10-2).

At the time of Samāvartana there was another type of student who did not return home. They were called ‘āchāryakulavāsī’. The Samāvartana ceremony was usually meant for the ‘antevāsī’.

That Upanishads recognize the need for further study, is evident from the remarkable valedictory address given by āchāryas to the parting pupils (antevāsīnaṁ). There is an injunction. “Do ye not neglect the study and teaching of the Veda” (svādhyāya-pravachana-bhyām na pramatattavaṁ) (Tait. 1-11). It clearly shows that the end of formal studentship was not the end of education. Pursuit of higher knowledge was considered to be continued throughout one’s life.
The Upanishadic system of Education aimed at the realization of that great (mahānajah) birthless self, which is considered as pure-consciousness (vijñānamayaḥ) which is underlying in all sense organs (prāṇaḥ) and exists in the ether (ākāśaḥ) that is within the heart. It is the controller of all, (iśānaḥ) the ruler of all (adhipatiḥ). It is not affected by good or bad work. It is the Lord of all, it is the ruler of all beings (bhūtādhipatiḥ). It is the protector of all beings (bhūtapālaḥ) (Br. Ar. 4-4-22). Śaṅkara commenting on the Śrutivijñānamayaḥ prāṇeshu asks “which is this Self who is identified with intellect and is in the midst of the organs? He says “this infinite entity is identified with intellect and is in the midst of the organs (Br. Ar. 4-3-7). The idea is this: By the demonstration of desire, work and ignorance as attributes of the non-self, the self-effulgent Ātman that has been set forth in the passage in question, is here freed from them and transformed into the Supreme Self and it is emphatically stated, ‘It is the Supreme Self and nothing else; it is directly spoken of as the great birthless Self. The words which is identified with the intellect and is in the midst of the organs, have been already explained and have the same meaning here.

‘The Brāhmaṇas seek to know It through the study of the Vedas (vedānuvachanena), sacrifices (yajñaena), charity, (dānena) and austerity (tapasānāsakena) consisting in a dispassionate enjoyment of sense-objects. Knowing It alone one becomes a sage’ (muni) (Br. Ar. 4-4-22).

The Chhāndogya enumerating the duties of respective stages of life (āśrama) shows how pursuit after Supreme Knowledge was carried on by one, throughout his life. It says: “Of the three branches of law,(trayo dharmakandhāḥ) yajñaḥ (sacrifice) adhyayanaṁ (study of the Vedas), and dānāṁ (charity) are the first.” Śaṅkara commenting on these three states: “By the term “yajñaḥ”—fire sacrifice (agnihotrādiḥ) is indicated, by the term adhyayanaṁ studying of the Rig. according to the rules (saniyamsa) is meant and by the term ‘dānāṁ’ charity outside the Vedic altar (bahirvedi dānaṁ) is indicated (Ch. 2-23-1, with Śaṅ. Com.). According to it these are the duties of a house-holder (griñhasthenā nirñiṣyate, and not of the Brāhmaṇas only as told in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad. (4-4-22).

The motive behind performing all the duties prescribed for the house-hold life is to restrain all the senses and direct them towards
own self (ātmāni svahṛidayā) to be established in Brahman (ātmāni-sarvendriyāṇi sampratishṭhāpya) (Ch. 8-15-1). Śaṅkara commenting on the Śruti states: For the awakening of the Supreme Knowledge (vidyotpattiyathām) one has to perform rites and duties (anuṣṭheyāṇi karmāṇi) (vide Tait. 1-11 Śaṅ. Com.).

The ‘antevāsina’ having entered into the household life after his marriage, (dārānāhritya) (Ch. 8-15-1) performed all the duties as enjoined by the āchārya (preceptor) (Tait 1-11), carried on discussion (mimāṁsāchakruḥ) (Ch. 5-11-1) and approached distinguished specialists and literary celebrities for instruction. Prāchīnakaśa Satyayajña, Indradyumna, Jana Buḍila were great house-holders (mahāśālāḥ) and well-versed in Vedas (mahāśrutiṣṭhāḥ). They discussed among themselves what was their ātman (self) and what was Brahman (ko no. . . . ātmā kim brahma) (Ch. 5-11-1). They went to Uddālaka and thence to the King Asvapati Kekaya for instruction on “Vaiśvānara Ātman” (Ch. 5-11-7).

Indra and Virochana went to Prajāpati in quest of the knowledge of the Supreme Self (tamātmānaṁ) (Ch. 8-7-2). Sukesa, Satyakāma, Sauryāyani Kausalya, Bhīrgava and Kavandhina approached Pippalāda with six questions (Praś. 1-1-1).

Nārada went to Sanat Kumāra for the knowledge of Self. He confessed that all his learning was mere names (nāmavīt) and expressed his grief that he did not know the Self (nātmavīt) (Ch. 7-1-1, 2).

Education in the Upanishadic age was not free altogether. At the time of Samīvartana the antevasinas had to collect much desired wealth (priyaḥ dhanaṁ) (Tait 1-11) for his teacher. It was the token of the completion of school career. In the Brīhadāraṇyaka Upanishad (4-1-2, 4-1-6) the talk of accepting wealth from a disciple after the completion of education, comes in. Emperor Janaka of Videha, being instructed by Yājñavalkya intended to give him one thousand cows with bulls like elephants (hastyaḥśabhaḥ sahasraṁ) (Śaṅkara’s Commentary, on the phrase states. “gosahasre hastyaḥśabho yasmin.”)

The motive behind this gift according to Śaṅkara is to “pay for Knowledge imparted (vidyā-niṣṭhakrayārthām) (Br. Ar. 4-1-2). At this, Yājñavalkya replied: “My father was of opinion that one
should not accept wealth from a disciple without fully instructing him” (Br. Ar. 4-1-2).

It is evident from Yājñavalkya’s statement that during the period of instruction nothing was charged from a student. On the completion of instruction when he returned home (implied in the term ‘Samāvartana’) he used to pay something in kind to the āchārya (teacher).

In the valedictory address given by the preceptor at the time of ‘Samāvartana’, the preceptor enjoined that much desired wealth for him (āchāryāya priyaṁ dhanaṁ) should be gathered and paid to him. It was necessary to pay for the instructions received from the preceptor (implied, in the term nishkrayārthaṁ in the Śaṅ. Com.).

The first principle of acquiring knowledge from a preceptor, is of course, not by payment but by serving him (Śuśrūṣhāyāḥ) which has been emphasized in many places (Ch. 8-15-1, Praś 1-1-1, Br. Ar. 6-2-7 along with Śaṅkara’s Commentary). At one place in the Chhandogya Upanishad the approach of a student with remunerations has been considered to be ignoble (Ch 4-2-5).

There was a king named Jānaśruti Pautrāyana. He went to Raikva to learn ‘Saṁvarga Vidya’ with one thousand cows (sahasram gavāṁ), a necklace (nishkaṁ), a chariot drawn by mules (āvatari-rathaṁ) and his daughter (duhitara-ṇ) in lieu of Knowledge to be imparted to him and said: “Teach me O Sir, (bhagavaḥ sādhāti) (Ch 4-2-3, 4). At this, Raikva replied: “Oh Śūdra let the the cows, necklace etc., remain with you.” (Ch 4-2-3). Śaṅkara commenting on the word ‘Śūdra’ states “Jānaśruti went to him to acquire Knowledge on payment of wealth like a Śūdra, and not by serving him, hence, he has been called a Śūdra. (The other interpretation given by Śaṅkara does not fit in, as the context is different). The phrase “nacha śuśrūṣhayā” is most significant. Śaṅkara definitely declares that Jānaśruti was not a Śūdra by caste, (nātu jātyaiva). His way of approaching a preceptor for Knowledge was wrong. Service (śuśrūṣḥā) was the first condition of education and not payment. The students paid to the teacher only when their education was complete.

Education in ancient days beginning from the Vedic Age right upto the end of the Buddhist period was never meant to be a process
for filling up the brain of student with Imperial gallons of information. This is the reason why the students of today in their practical life forget what they have acquired in the the period of studentship. Literacy and information gathering were never considered to be the real aim of education, Education in those days meant a development of the student from within. Their education career did not end with the Convocation ceremony.

The aim of ancient Indian Education was the realization of the Great (mahānāja) birthless Self, which is considered as 'pure consciousness' underlying all senses and organs and exists in the ether that is within heart (Brīhadāraṇyaka Upanishad 4-4-22).

“—Tameva bhāntamanubhāti sarvāṁ tasya bhāsā sarvamidaṁ vibhāti”

(—Munḍ. 2-2-10)
AUTHORITY OF THE KING AS A SOURCE OF LAW IN THE ANCIENT INDIAN LITERATURE ON LAW AND POLITY*

By

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In the oldest works of our Smṛiti literature, namely, the Dharma-sūtras (c. 600-200 B.C.), the source of positive law (law administered in the king’s court as distinguished from dharma or the law of the social and the political order) is found in the sacred canon, while various local and sectional usages are recognized to have the force of law. Let us quote Gautama who gives us the most complete account on the subject. The king’s administration of justice, he says (XI 19-21), shall be regulated by the Veda and its auxiliaries as well as the minor Vedas, the Dharmasūtras and the Purāṇas. The customs (dharma) of regions, castes and families, we are further told, have also authority, provided they are not opposed to the canon (āmṛaya). Finally we read that cultivators, traders, herdsmen, money-lenders and artisans are also authorities (pramāṇam) for their respective groups (varga). The validity of local and sectional usage is recognized by Vasishṭha (XIX 7-10) and Āpastamba (II 6.15.1). The above evidently is a corollary of the well known ideas of the authors about the triple source of the law of the social and the political order, namely, the Vedas, the sacred tradition, and custom or convention (variously called sadāchāra, śishtāchāra, āchāra, śila, and samaya).

The sources of positive law laid down in the Dharmasūtras are amplified in the great Arthaśāstra work of Kautilya (c. 400-300 B.C.) so as to comprise four items. These are technically called (ibid III 1) dharma (or dharmaśāstra), vyavahāra (or vyavahārikāśāstra), saṃstha and nyāya (or dharmanyāya). We have elsewhere (Indian Historical Quarterly, December, 1952 and September, 1953) given our reasons for taking these terms respectively to mean the Sacred Canon, the ‘current’ or ‘common’ (Arthaśāstra?) law, usage and ‘reasoning

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based upon the canon.' Along with this development we notice in Kautilya the emergence of a new conception, namely, that relating to the edict of the king as a source of law. In a separate chapter (II 10) of his section entitled The Working of the Administrative Departments Kautilya classifies the king’s writs (jâsana) under eight heads with appropriate titles. These varieties, we are told, are concerned with directions to the king’s officers to restore the treasure and so forth unlawfully retained by them, with the bestowal of rewards and punishments upon the king’s servants and others, with the gift of honour to someone, with the grant of remissions, with the attestation of the act of a subordinate, with communications, with replies and with offering universal safe-conduct to travellers. The king is also credited (IV 1) with the creation of what may be called administrative courts for the purpose of protection of the people against anti-social elements, this branch of State policy being technically called extirpation of thorns. Again in the course of pacification of a newly acquired kingdom (XIII 5) the king is required to maintain the good customs and abrogate the evil ones. Mention may also be made of the elaborate regulations evidently issued under the king’s authority for the guidance of the administrative heads (adyaksha) (II 5f) as well as the panels of magistrates (pradesha) in charge of the administrative courts (IV 1f). In accordance with the above ideas we find Kautilya in one place (IV 10) prescribing the penalty of mutilation for tampering with the king’s edict. On the other hand it is remarkable that Kautilya elsewhere (III 16) repeats an old Smriti clause of law (Gautama X 46-47) requiring the king to restore stolen property to its owner, or else compensate him out of his own treasury. What is more, Kautilya adds a new clause making the king liable to an exceptionally heavy fine for wrongful punishment. Should the king punish an innocent man, we are told (IV 13), he must multiply the fine thirty-fold and offer it to God Varuṇa and then make it over to the Brāhmaṇas. It follows from the above that while the king’s edict in Kautilya’s thought is invested with legal authority, its scope is limited by the old fundamental Smriti principle of the supremacy of the positive law.

In the context (III 1) from which we have quoted above, Kautilya tells us in the language of legal convention that the subject-matter of a suit has four feet, namely, dharma, vyavahāra, charitra
and rījaśāsana. Dharma, vyavahāra and charitra, the author explains in the following verse, depend respectively upon solemn affirmation (by one or other of the parties), (the evidence of) witnesses, and the usages (bearing upon the subject-matter of the suit), while rājaśāsana is identical with the king's decree (ājñā). Stating the rule of interpretation in case of conflict between the four 'seet', the author observes that each item in the foregoing list overrules those mentioned before. This extract relating to the law of procedure introduces us to a new conception, namely, that of the authority of the king's decree in relation to the recognized judicial processes. For the author not only for the first time includes the king's decree in the the list of those processes, but also and above all gives it the overriding authority over the rest. In his cryptic description given above the author makes no reference to the limitations involved in this principle of the king's judicial sovereignty. It is, however, permissible to argue in the light of the close restrictions with which this authority was hedged round in the later Smritis (as we shall presently see) that similar restrictions were latent in Kauṭilya's thought.

Let us now come to the period (c. 200 B.C.-300 A.D.) of the great metrical Smritis of Manu and Yājñavalkya. The old Dharmaśāstra list of the sources of positive law is repeated by Manu (VIII 3 etc.) so as to make them comprise the canon and the customs of local, sectional and economic groups, while Yājñavalkya (II 21) drawing more specially upon the Arthaśātra tradition recognises Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra to be the two proximate sources of the law, the former having the overriding authority over the latter. Along with the above Manu and Yājñavalkya like Kauṭilya develop the principle of the authority of the king as a source of law. In connection with his celebrated theory of the king's Divine creation, Manu (VII 13) observes that one should not transgress the righteous edict (dharma) which the king decrees in respect of his favourites, nor that which inflicts pain upon his enemies. Elsewhere (IX 275) he prescribes the penalty of death for persistent opposition to the king's commands. Yājñavalkya (II 186) under the head of law called violation of agreement observes that what is based upon agreement as well as the righteous edict (dharma) issued by the king must be carefully obeyed. This is subject to the important qualification that the above must not violate one's own prescribed duties. To
this we have to add that both Manu (VIII 38-40, IX 189, ibid 243-45) and Yājñavalkya (II 34-36) repeat and develop the old Sṛṅiti clauses requiring the king to restore stolen property to its owner and qualifying his property-rights by various restrictions. What is more, both Manu and Yājñavalkya, following Kauṭilya's precedent, introduce new penal clauses into the Sṛṅiti law making the king liable to exceptionally heavy fines for his offences. Where an ordinary man, says Manu (VIII 336), would be fined one (copper or silver) coin, the king should be fined one thousand. When the king, says Yājñavalkya (II 307), unjustly levies a fine, he should multiply it thirty-fold and make it over to the Brāhmaṇas after offering it to God Varuṇa. It therefore follows that while the king's edict is invested with the force of law, its validity is qualified (implicitly in Manu and explicitly in Yājñavalkya) by the old Sṛṅiti principle of the supremacy of dharma, while its scope is limited by the equally fundamental Sṛṅiti principle of supremacy of the positive law.

The late Sṛṅitis of Nārada, Bṛhaspati, Kātyāyana and others (c. 300-800 A. D.) repeat the idea of Manu about the joint application of the canon and regional usage for decision of suits, as well as that of Yājñavalkya about the joint authority of Dharmasaṅstra and Arthasaṅstra as sources of positive law. Referring to the authority of the king's edict, Nārada (XVIII 8-9) observes that the king should not set in operation what is contrary to Śrutī and Sṛṅiti and is harmful to the people, but on the contrary he should stop this should it have been established. Should another king through ignorance have issued an unjust decree, Nārada continues, the king should likewise substitute for it a just decree. One must, says Kātyāyana (verse 669), perform by the king's order those royal edicts (rājasāsana) that are issued without conflict with dharma. These extracts extend the limitations of the legislative authority of the king beyond the point reached by Manu and Yājñavalkya. For we are told in effect that the validity of the king's edict is contingent upon its conformity to the canon as well as the public good and the principles of justice. What is more, the king is authorised by Nārada to abolish or supersede such edicts of former kings as are contrary to these conditions. On the other hand it is important to remember that Nārada and Kātyāyana, following the precedent of Manu and Yājñavalkya, impose severe penalties for disobedience of the king's
order. The wicked man who disregards decrees issued by the king, says Nārada (XVIII 11), should be censured (or according to another reading, imprisoned) and visited with corporal punishment as being guilty of disobeying the king’s orders. This is repeated almost verbatim by Kātyāyana (verse 670).

As regards the law of procedure the late Smṛitis, while introducing into the literature of Sacred Law the celebrated juristic formula of Kauṭilya about the four feet of judicial suits, amplify for the first time the conditions of validity of the king’s decree. When the evidence on both sides is of equal authority, says Bṛhaspati (I.9.7. GOS. ed), the king’s decree is a mode of decision, provided that it is not in conflict with the canon (śāstra) and (the opinions of) assessors. The righteous edict (dharma) which is issued by the king without conflict with the principles of reason (nyājayāśāstra) as well as those of regional usage (āśādārishta), says Kātyāyana (verses 37-38), is called rājaśāsana. The king’s command, we are further told, overrules usage when he declares a certain usage to be open to reason (nyāya). When the king, Kātyāyana finally observes, decides suits at his own will in disregard of the relevant canonical text, it afflicts his life and his fortune in the next world, it ruins his people and it exposes his kingdom to danger from the enemy’s attack. The king’s decree, says Vyāsa (quoted in Smṛitichandrikā I 23) applies in the absence of all other evidence. When there exist neither documents nor possession nor witnesses nor ordeal, explains Pitāmaha (quoted ibid I 59) in more detail, the king is the authority. It follows from the above that the king’s decree is applicable only when the evidence is equally balanced (Bṛhaspati), or altogether wanting (Vyāsa and Pitāmaha) and its validity is subject to conformity with the canon and the verdict of the assessors (Bṛhaspati) or reason and usage (Kātyāyana). To the above Pitāmaha adds that as the king is the lord (prabhū) of all, he is the authority for disputed suits which can not be decided otherwise. This means that the final authority of the king’s decree is justified by the principle of his sovereignty.

In the following period (c. 800-1200 A. D.) the great Smṛiti commentators indulge in important discussions of the principle of legal validity of usage (as in the case of Medhātithi) and of the canons of interpretation in the event of conflict between laws (as
in the instances of Viśvarūpa, Vijñāneśvara and Aparārka). In so far as the authority of the king’s edict as a source of law is concerned, the commentators of Yājñāvalkya explain it by means of appropriate illustrations. It is, says Viśvarūpa (p. 267), as when a king orders that festivals in celebration of the construction of a hall for Vedic study are to be performed (by the Brāhmaṇa-colony settled in the capital according to the previous verse) not only in their own places of residence, but also in other places fixed by another king. The order is to be obeyed in this case, Viśvarūpa explains, not because it was issued by another king, but because it is in conformity with the law (dharma). It is, Vijñāneśvara observes (p. 251) in a similar way, as when the king orders that meals are to be provided for all travellers and that horses and so forth are not to be exported to his enemy’s dominion. Finally, Aparārka (p. 793), explaining the term ‘tājakṛito-dharmaḥ’ in the original to mean ‘dharma suited to one’s capacity’ gives the following illustration. It is as when the king gives the following order (to the Brāhmaṇa-colony in the capital), ‘he who among yourselves studies or knows much (of the Vedas) should be given so much honour’. The above extracts mean that the king’s edict is valid not by reason of the king’s prerogative, but because of its conformity with the Sacred Law (Visvarūpa), or the capacity of the individual concerned (Aparārka). The former principle is a corollary of the fundamental Smṛiti conception of the supremacy of law of the social and the political order (dharma), while the latter agrees with a well-known Smṛiti principle, namely, that of adjustment of dharma to the capacity of its followers.

In the important work on polity called Śukranītisāra which in its present form is evidently of late date, the author repeats the old Smṛiti ideas about the validity of regional and other usages and the joint authority of Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra as proximate sources of the positive law. As regards the authority of the kings’ edict, the author describes in one place the type of sāsana which the king should constantly issue among his subjects, which should be constantly proclaimed among them by beat of drum and which should be exhibited in writing at the junction of four roads. The edict forbids, on pain of severe punishment for its violation, a large number of offences mostly of a private and some of a public character. These offences comprise abuse and assault of slaves, servants
and so forth, falsification of weights and measures, counterfeiting coins and adulteration of food, accepting bribes, sheltering certain classes of criminals, insulting parents, learned men and others, fomenting quarrels between husband and wife, master and servant and so forth, damaging tanks, gardens etc., ill-treating those with defective limbs, gambling, drinking, bearing weapons, as well as trafficking in various animals and immovable things and preparing deeds of purchase, gift and so forth without the king’s permission, appropriating buried treasure as well as lost and ownerless property, divulging the king’s counsel and talking about the king’s faults, adultery, giving false evidence, forgery, theft and violence as well as treason against the king. This extract, while repeating many of the clauses of the old Sūrīti-Arthaśāstra penal law, credits the king with their constant and wide publication. Of the king’s edict as such as a source of law there is in the above extract no clear trace. In another place (IV. 781-89) the author includes the king’s decree (ājñā) in a list of eight modes of judicial decision (nirñaya). The king, it is explained, is the authority where there are neither documents nor witnesses, nor (proof of) possession, nor (reference to) ordeals: he is also the authority in doubtful cases relating to boundaries and so forth where it is not possible (otherwise) to reach a decision. This is justified by the argument that the king is the lord of all. The author, however, is careful to add that the king would incur blame if he were to decide disputes arbitrarily. This extract, while repeating the dictum of Vyāsa and Pitāmaha quoted above to the effect that the king’s judicial decree is applicable for want of all evidence, justifies this on the identical ground of the sovereign authority of the ruler.

At the end of this brief historical survey let us compare the development of the ancient Indian idea of the legislative (or quasi-legislative) authority of the temporal ruler with its counterpart in the thought of Mediaeval Europe. In the West during the Middle Ages law was conceived primarily and fundamentally as the custom of the community with a tendency to recognize it in the ninth and still more in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as the expression of the will of the whole community including the king. A contrary tendency appeared among the mediaeval civilians who drew their inspiration from the famous legal maxim of imperial Rome quid quid placuit princeps leges habet vigorem. Differing sharply from
the normal ideas of their times they held academically at first in the
thirteenth century and afterwards as a philosophical principle in
the fourteenth and fifteenth and part of the sixteenth centuries
that the Prince was the source of Law and was as such above the
Law (A. J. & R. W. Carlyle, Mediaeval Political Theory in the West
vols., I, II, III, V, VI, s.v. Law and Justice; ibid. vols., V-VI, s. v.
Law). By contrast the oldest Smṛiti authorities, as we have seen,
held that the law of the social and the political order (dharma) as
well as the positive law was derived from a twofold source, namely,
the canon and custom (or convention); and this view formed the
basis of all subsequent thought in the Smṛitis and the technical works
on polity. In Kauṭilya as well as in Manu and Yājñavalkya we
notice the emergence of a new conception, namely, that the king’s
edict has the force of law, while Kauṭilya followed by the later
metrical Smṛitis recognises the king’s decree as having an overriding
authority over the ordinary judicial processes. But the legislative
authority of the temporal ruler is limited implicitly at first and ex-
plitly afterwards by two fundamental Smṛiti principles, namely,
the supremacy of the law of the social and the political order (dharma)
and that of the positive law. To these were afterwards added other
limiting principles, such as the principle of the public good and the
dictates of justice. As regards the authority of the king’s decree
while Kauṭilya is silent about its limitations, it is held in the later
Smṛitis to be applicable in special circumstances (as when the evi-
dence is equally balanced on both sides or is altogether wanting),
while its validity is taken to depend upon its conformity with the
canon, the verdict of the assessors, reason, usage and so forth.
LACHCHHAGIR

By

S. C. Kala, M. A.

Preserving an important tradition of the Mahābhārata times, the ancient site of Lachchhāgir in the District of Allahabad will in no distant future turn into another ‘legend’. No Vedavyāsa has appeared in modern age to record the pathetic tale of these slowly crumbling remains which represent some magnificent old city, the name and significance of which has gone out of human memory.

Rising to a height between eighty and hundred feet from the river bed, the mound of Lachchhāgir stands on the Gaṅgā, about three miles west of the Handia Station of the N. E. Railway. The exposed section towards the river side presents a vivid picture of ring and brick-wells, soak-pits, walls of houses and pottery pieces accumulated in succession during the course of the various occupational periods. It is presumed that the site flourished for a fairly considerable time, but there are indications that it passed under some disturbing conditions during the later phase of its history. There are no traces of civic plan or architecture visible on the exposed portions; and what now survives, is nothing but the outskirts of the city.

On the south-east side, a high wall runs for about 500 feet. It is graded to a height between 20 and 50 feet and probably forms the rampart or fortification wall of the city. Nothing can be said conclusively, without explorations, about the existence of this wall; but as this feature applies to all the principal cities of ancient times, Lachchhāgir, therefore, would be no exception. Another brick wall with occasional foundation of stone-slabs, was also built above the clay rampart sometime during the Mediaeval period. People in the near-by villages, still recollect the existence of an arched gateway once standing on the southern side. Huge slabs of stone bearing conventionalized lotus flowers and chaitya windows are still found lying in the slopes of the mound. They evidently belong to some Mediaeval Hindu temple. Traces of walls are also left exposed in
several parts of the mound, but they are late and represent the final phase in the city’s life.

**Sculptural Finds**

In the neighbourhood of the site, a large number of sculptures and architectural fragments still lie scattered. Towards the east and outside the fortification wall, there was a Mediaeval Hindu temple. Some slabs and pillars of the porch attached to this monument are still to be found at the spot. Remains of a second temple are located towards the western side. On some of its stones we find *kirttimukhas*, horse-riders, beads, chain-motifs and *chaitya* windows. The enshrined deities of both these temples have vanished.

Inside the village of Lachchhāgir are preserved a few Jain and Hindu images for worship. None of the sculptures, so far, found, are earlier than the 5th cent. A.D., although we have come across a number of terracotta pieces assignable to the pre-Christian era. The Gupta period Image of a Jaina couple which is now in the Allahabad Museum, is an example of high workmanship and a superb specimen of Jaina iconography of the mid-Gangetic region. Another outstanding piece in the village, is the image of the god Agni having flames running behind his head (*Pl. VI*). The third example represents the bust of a four-armed Goddess. (*Pl. VII*). Though an early mediaeval piece of sculpture, its plastic elements are worth observation. Many images of Jaina Tirthankaras and deities are also worshipped as Hindu deities by the villagers. It is surprising that not a single Buddhist image has, so far, come to light at Lachchhāgir. This appears to be a most unusual feature in the culture of the lost city.

**Other Related Data**

From the surface of the mound, archaeologists have collected many interesting articles, such as, prehistoric microliths, Gupta period bronze seals, terracotta figurines, and a wide variety of plain, incised and decorated potsherds, and also Punch-marked, Cast, and Tribal coins. The Northern Black Ware assignable to a period going back to the pre-Christian era, is available in great profusion over the ruins of Lachchhāgir. All these findings show that Lachchhāgir must have been contemporaneous with Kauśāmbī. It appears to have stood on an important river highway.
Image of Agni (from Lachchhagir)
Bust of a Goddess (from Lachchhbagir)
Major Portion Lost

Cases of treasure hunting could not be noticed in the remains of Lachchhāgir. For some reason, and against the usual practice, no village could spring up over the mound after its final abandonment which occurred sometime during the Moghul period. But the mound has terribly suffered from the floods of the Ganges. Old people of the village say that the river has changed its course and now its powerful current directly dash against the mound (Pl. VIII). In their opinion, less than one hundredth part of the mound remains extant to-day. This is also likely to vanish in the course of another fifty or sixty years.

Exploration

For certain reasons, the site could not be brought so far under the Preservation of Monuments Act by the Government of India. In the year 1951, the State Archaeological Officer, Shri K.D. Bajpai, visited the site. He made a thorough investigation of the place and recommended to the U.P. Government that exploration should be made to ascertain the antiquity of the site before it totally disappeared in the Ganges. The Government forthwith approved the suggestion and requested the Chairman of the Allahabad Municipal Board to lend the services of the Curator of the Allahabad Museum for conducting the work.

The exposed portion of the site was of not much help for exploration, and the available area was devoid of clear-cut contexts. Attention was, therefore, paid towards the cleaning of certain wells and soak-pits. These yielded nothing but ash and broken pottery. At one spot of the exposed section there was a wall built of fine large-sized bricks. Apprehending that this portion will come down in the next rainy season, it was decided to dig that area. The Block System of Excavation was not followed. Instead, a simple trench measuring 16' x 16' was dug to the depth of about 22'. The diggings revealed at the top the remains of a wall of very ordiary bricks. This wall abruptly ended at three feet below the surface and in that area were found a number of porcelain and potsherds. At three and a quarter feet below, a Mediaeval terracotta image of Ganesa was found along with a peculiar animal figure. No structure came to light till a
depth of 12 feet was reached from the top, although there were two occupational layers near about it. No significant material except a few jars, potsherds, terracotta animals, a stone head of a female, ash and pieces of mica came in sight. The depth between 14' and 21' proved to be valuable. At 14th feet below the datum line a big wall was found measuring 2' in width and running from East to West. This wall evidently belonged to some important structure. Along with this wall were discovered two heavily inscribed coins, part of a sword made of either copper or iron, an ivory ring, makara muk'a praṇāśkās, a terracotta head and many interesting pieces of pottery. Two objects in this area deserve particular mention. One of them is the neck of some clay jar bearing exquisite designs and reminding delicate workmanship of Taxila potters and Bāsrh and Kausambi circular discs assignable to the Mauryan period. The second find consists of a number of perforated and painted sherds of some ghṛtā. The operations also showed plenty of ash and coal at frequent levels. There was perhaps a long gap between the Gupta and the Mediaeval period occupation. Inside the trench, thus, we came across objects datable from the Śuṅga times to the Moghul period. Corelation between these can however be established only when the explorative work is conducted up to the natural soil and extended by a trench of substantial dimension. These few finds are, therefore, unable to satisfy the legitimate curiosity of either the expert or the layman. For the present, it can be provisionally said that the site is of very high antiquity.

A close examination of the various rain gullies at the Lachchhāgir mound showed ample deposits of ash and coal. The clay of the mound is highly compact, sticky and is found mixed with ash and other material. Due to some chemical process this clay expands and forms cracks, during the summer months, and so a large number of blocks out of the mound crumble down every year. For the extensive ash deposits, nothing can be said with certainty. It may be that the city represented by the ruins at Lachchhāgir, was burnt down several times or they may be mere ash deposits; as those found in the city areas of the present day.
Antiquities from Bhatgaon and Bhadohi
SOME ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES IN UTTAR PRADESH

By

Amarendra Nath Roy, M. Sc.

Uttar Pradesh, including the rich and fertile doab—the Madhyadeśa and Antarvedī respectively of our ancient geographers—was the hub of ancient Indian life. The centre of political power might have been at Pāṭaliputra or far off Ujjainī or Purushapura but here in the populous cities and teeming villages of Madhyadeśa with their varied industrial and agricultural products, economic, political and cultural contacts with the outside world were actively maintained and the dynamic life of the people constantly recreated old traditions and brought forth new ideas and fresh cultural patterns from age to age. Much of the vestiges of those glorious days are now obliterated by centuries of continuous settlement and wars and foreign invasions but even now not all that remains has been fully surveyed and studied. In my spare time during the last two years, I rambled across the countryside in U. P. particularly around Lucknow and I propose briefly to describe certain sites which either are entirely new to Indian archaeology or whose importance has so far been only imperfectly appreciated. I need hardly say that my conclusions are based only on a superficial survey and I can not claim any knowledge of field archaeology but none the less I think some of my finds together with the sites to be described will be of considerable interest to scholars.

Bhatgaon-Bhadoli-Intgaon. (Dist. Lucknow)

In January 1951 I went to Bhatgaon, a village about 2 miles from the Railway Station of Harauni on the Lucknow-Kanpur section of the present Northern Railway accompanied by two other friends. A winding track across cultivated fields and mango-groves took us to the village. The settlement is on a high mound overlooking a number of ancient tanks. The view of the surroundings from the highest point is picturesque and archaeologically the place appeared to be full of promise. We found heaps of broken stone and kanker images lying at various places of popular sanctity within
the village area. We were told that images have been dug up from places all over the village and we were shown the foundations of an ancient building which certainly deserve further exploration. The images—mostly Hindu gods and goddesses but a few belonged to the Jaina pantheon—were however of the late Mediaeval period and in the course of the hurried survey, did not appear to be of much interest except for one stone piece which is of considerable iconographic significance. It is a four handed goddess under a seven hooded snake canopy (preserved upto navel, height 11 inches). She has a suckling child (Pl. IX [a]) in her left lower hand, and a lotusbud (?) in her left upper hand. Unfortunately the other hands are broken but the resemblances of this image with certain images of Manasā from Bengal is striking. On stylistic grounds, this can be assigned to the 10th cen. and is probably earlier than any known Manasā image from Bengal. It has also considerable affinity with certain images, I found in course of my explorations at Barwa Sagar near Jhansi to be described later on. The Barwa Sagar image carved in relief from whitish sandstone (Height over 4 feet) is unfortunately much worn out but it still carries unmistakable signs of Gupta idiom and may belong to as early a period as 7th-8th cent. A. D. It appeared to me, moreover, that both these images may be Jaina Yakshiṇīs—the goat headed figure carved at the base of Barwa Sagar image is probably Harinigamesha—and are likely to have an important bearing on the origin of the worship of the goddess Manasā in Bengal.

At Bhatgaon, we learnt that at Bhadohi, a village about 6 or 7 miles away, foundations of an ancient building were dug out by the villagers sometime ago. We proceeded there immediately on a bullock cart which the residents of Bhatgaon arranged for us with the traditional Indian hospitality. The village of Bhadohi is a modest settlement of 60 to 70 households and the cluster of brick-built houses perched on a mound rising from amidst green fields, makes an attractive sight from a distance. The entire village appeared to have been constructed of ancient bricks, which we were informed, are still occasionally dug out from considerable depths. We were also shown the ruins of two temples and an ancient well at the outskirts of the village. There were a number of images still in worship which belonged to the late Mediaeval period. The most interesting archaeo-
Stone Image of a Goddess from Manwa
logical remains, however, in the village were certain antiquities, heaped under a tree. Even the oldest resident of Bhadohi could not exactly tell us since when these antiquities were lying there, but we were only vaguely told that they were probably dug out from a place in that village. However that may be, these antiquities are of some interest and may be briefly described as under:—

(i) A stone slab of Mathura red sandstone having the triple bar rail pattern carved on all the four sides. This piece may have been the part of a Buddhist or Jaina sculpture having considerable affinity with the works of Mathura School of the Kushāṇa period and may be tentatively considered to belong to the 2nd or 3rd cent. A. D.

(ii) A mutilated stone head with a low polygonal kiriṭa-mukuta, probably of Vishnū or Sūrya. This was undoubtedly a work of great merit and on stylistic grounds may be assigned to the Gupta age.

(iii) A large number of terracotta heads, mostly with tenons often much mutilated, but still of considerable interest. These were of different types moulded and hand-modelled and appeared to belong to different ages. A few were very well made and had a red slip. Some had undoubted affinities with the terracotta and stone sculptures of the Kushāṇa period. Some of these antiquities are now exhibited in the Lucknow Museum, but a few pieces, including a small moulded bust of Yaksha Kubera (4 inches) are of interest and deserve special notice. These are illustrated here [Pls. IX (b) and X]. As I have already said, the antiquities of Bhadohi appear to belong to different ages. As some of the types of terracottas, which are characteristic of the Kushāṇa period, continued to be made long after that period, any conclusion relating to their antiquity must await a careful exploration of the site, for obtaining stratigraphical data, so essential for chronological purposes.

The neighbouring village of Intgaon where we found considerable evidence of mediaeval Hindu as well as Jaina worship also deserves further exploration. Two minor antiquities obtained in the village may be referable to the Gupta period, but as their source is not free from doubt, no conclusion can be drawn therefrom. It should be noticed here that none of these sites—situated within about 15 miles of Lucknow—have till now been scientifically surveyed and described.
Manwa (Dist. Sitapur)

The historical site of Manwa, (25 miles from Lucknow), situated near the Lucknow-Sitapur Road, was described by Dr. Führer in his Monumental Antiquities. Here was found the image of Viṣvarūpa Viṣṇu, now exhibited in the State Museum, Lucknow. I visited the site in June, 1951, twice. The vast area covered by high mounds which have the appearance of a low range of hills—a spring also issuing from one of those artificial hills and meandering across the village lands, adding to the charm of the place—calls for a systematic exploration. A large number of stone sculptures, some of considerable merit, are still at the site, and mostly belong to the 10th and 11th cents. One piece is illustrated here [Pl. XI]. This unidentified goddess, probably Śiva's consort, may be reckoned as one of the masterpieces of later mediaeval art of Northern India. The dignity of its bearing; its deeply spiritual expression and graceful modelling testify to the artist's skill and ability. There are also many sculptures of earlier date at Manwa, of which one piece is clearly of the Gupta period. I also noticed a few bricks which are referable to such an early date.

Barwa Sagar (Dist. Jhansi)

Barwa Sagar was described by Dr. Führer (Monumental Antiquities, pp. 114-15), but the antiquities of the place deserve fresh and careful study. The two temples, Ghugua Math and Jara-ki-Math, are of considerable importance from the point of view of the history of art and architecture. The sculptures in the latter temple, though deliberately mutilated, apparently by foreign invaders, often reach high standard. The place—a dusty little township, about 16 miles from Jhansi—is picturesquely situated by the side of a lovely lake, girdled by a low range of hills. The lake is actually an irrigational reservoir, built by the Bundela Rājās of Orchha and is still maintained by the present Government for the same purpose. The neighbourhood is full of antiquities. But the most important monument is the temple locally known as Jara-ki-Math, about 3 miles from the railway station of Barwa Sagar. It is a stone-built temple, measuring 22’ x 9’ externally, but originally it extended by another 9 ft. eastwards. Its
The sikhara is simple in outline and is of the pañchāyatana type, though only two of the four subsidiary shrines now survive. The base is rectangular with a number of recessed angles, and the tower rises over the sanctum which is reached through a shallow porch. There is no maṇḍapa and the roof of the porch forms only a slight projection. The entrance to the porch and cella is by a carved gateway on the eastern face. There are eight pillars inside, which support a beautifully carved ceiling.

The finial is of more than ordinary interest, as instead of the usual ribbed āmalaka-sīlā, we have a double petalled inverted lotus. I doubt, however, if the superstructure is of the same age as of the original temple. If the actual replica of the temple is carved on the jambs of the gateway, then the superstructure must have undergone considerable alterations sometime after the date of its construction. A photograph of the temple was published by Havell in his Arvyn Rule in India (p. 184; wrongly placed by him in Central Provinces), where it is suggested that the lotus finial is the emblem of God Vishṇu. The dedicatory block, though much damaged, clearly indicates that the temple was originally for the worship of Vishṇu; but the broken images of Śiva and Pārvatī in the sanctum are evidence of the various vicissitudes through which the temple may have passed. However that may be, the entrance is richly and beautifully carved; and apart from the exuberance, the workmanship is of a very high standard [Pl. XII]. The usual attributes are there: the Mithuna, the figures of Gaṅgā, and Yamunā at the bottom, the Śri-ṃridksha, and the Maṅgala-ghaṭa, etc. There are two side-chapels on the northern and the southern side, and all the sides are embellished by numerous sculptures set between ringed pilasters with long trenciered canopies on the top. The sikhara is ornamented beautifully with diaper work of chāitya-window design. Architecturally, the absence of mortar and the use of metal dowels for joining blocks of stone, as at Deogarh, are noteworthy.

The sculptures are full of life and often show the power and grace of the Classical Age. The decorative patterns are pleasing—the decorations are left fortunately undamaged—and the bold and vigorous lines of the foliated scrolls are particularly impressive. A closer study of the carvings of this temple may help us to trace the
development of style in this region, as they afford an evident link between the graceful and refined sculptures of the Gupta temple of Deogarh and the grand temple sculptures of Khajuraho, distinguished by their power of movement and fullness of form.

On the evidence of sculptural style as well as the following other considerations, the temple may be assigned to the end of 8th or early 9th cent. A.D.

(i) The forms of letters of a fragmentary inscription and certain mason's marks.

(ii) The pilasters, for example, the one on the left side of the entrance of one of the subsidiary shrines, are decorated with a vase and foliage motif, set over a kārttimukha, and have a square fluted capital which stylistically are similar to the carved pilasters of the temple of Bado in Gwalior, and the 8th century pilasters of the Temple No. 45 at Sanchi (Marshall and Foucher, Monuments of Sanchi, pp. 72-73, Pls. 116d and 120c). The same type of pilasters, but more elaborately and exquisitely carved, adorn the northern and the southern sides of the temple.

(iii) The graceful pillars which support the roof of the porch of the side chapel, on the south face, have a fluted shaft and a vase and foliage capital set over a kārttimukha and, are surmounted by a fluted square cushion cap, placed on a narrow garland necking. Such pillars have hardly been in general use after the eighth century. On the other hand, the pillars of the interior of the temple have square shafts ornamented with beautiful scroll work. These pillars also have a vase and foliage capital and are surmounted by a square fluted cushion cap; but as they show a great deal of resemblance to the pillars of Malade temple at Gayaspur (Gwalior), they may only be somewhat but not much earlier.

(iv) The check or chess board border on the entrance gateway, is a characteristic of the sculptures of later Gupta period. It is also present on the gateway of the shrine in Cave No. VI at Ajanta (D'kshit, Paharpur, p. 51, Fig. 40; Fergusson and Burgess, Cave Temples of Western India, Pl. 30).

(v) The sikhara rises almost perpendicularly over the garbhagriha and the inward slope is only apparent towards the top. The
Entrance to the Temple of Jara-ko-Math, Barwa Sagar (Dist. Jhansi)
edges are sharp and angular. These facts as well as the type of basement mouldings suggest a decidedly earlier date than the 10th or 11th cent.

On the basis of the above considerations and the general similarities of architectural style, for it a date very near to the earlier group of temples at Osia (A.S.R., 1908-9) will not be unjustified.

The small temple, Ghughua Maṭh, by the side of the lake, just on the border of the sheet of water, is rather curious and is probably unique of its kind. The porch is a flat-roofed verandah. The roof rests on five massive square pillars, slightly chamfered, which have capital of the bracket type. The cella, however, is divided into four square compartments, over each of which is a stunted 

śikhara in three tiers, surmounted by an archaic āmalaka-tīlā. The interior is now empty and certain sculptures in the niches are so defaced that they hardly afford any stylistic evidence. The temple itself is rather a crude monument, but not without a native beauty in the midst of picturesque natural surroundings. It, moreover, is certainly worthy of study from the point of view of the history of mediaeval architecture. The type of pillars used, and the architectural style and technique point to a date when the mediaeval nāgara-śikhara temple was being evolved out of the flat-roofed shrines of the Gupta period.
GEOMORPHOLOGY OF THE SANGAM REGION

By

Ballabh Saran

The publication of an article by Dr. K. N. Katju (now Hon'ble Minister for Defence), in the Amrit Bazaar Patrika dated August 19, 1945 started a keenly debated controversy, because he had put a bold suggestion on the basis of Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa that the ancient site of Bharadvāja Āśrama, now in Prayag, was somewhere in the neighbourhood of Rajapur in Banda District, where, in all probability, the ancient saṅgama took place. The eminent scholars who took part in this controversy cited an enormous amount of literary evidence, but it did not occur to them that questions relating to changes in physical features can be decided only by a reference to the geomorphology of the region. Where was the ancient saṅgama and how far have the rivers migrated in an easterly or westerly direction? In matters, such as these, the principles of Geophysics, ancient Geography and Climatology give greater precision and finality to a conclusion, than mere literary knowledge or mastery over rules of interpretation. This does not mean that in India the geographical works of Raychaudhri, Law, Day and Trivedi are not valuable. But compared to the works of Rennel Raverty, Cunningham and Steino, they lack the essential grasp over, the topography of the land. Recently, however, Pithawalas has co-ordinated the researches made in Geology, Meteorology and Hydrology, for properly understanding ancient Geography.

Though a literary background is necessary, a knowledge of the positive sciences is essential. The present controversy relating to the supposed change in the confluence of the rivers at Allahabad is very illustrative. The lack of geographical sense in some of the scholars is astonishing when they agree to identify the modern Singraur with the ancient Śṛiṅgaverapura, where Śrī Rāma is said to have crossed the Gaṅgā, but still hold the ancient saṅgama to be at Rajapur. A mere glance at the map will show that nothing short of a catastrophic crustal movement can divert the waters of the Gaṅgā towards Rajapur when it has once reached Singraur.
The basis of these discussions is a statement in the Rāmāyaṇa: Chitrakūṭa is 10 Kṛṣṇa from the saṅgama. Those in favour of Rajapur took 1 Kṛṣṇa = 2 miles, but those in favour of Prayag, extended it to 6 or 7 miles on the interpretation that it means “the range of voice in calling or hallooing or the distance covered by a man on foot in whose hands a freshly torn branch of a tree gets dried up”. Archaeological geomorphologists in India have still to produce a class of literature comparable with that which exists for Mesopotamia, Caspian basin and Egypt.

Since I do not find any evidence in support of the belief that the Gaṅgā was flowing 50 miles west, as suggested by Dr. K.N. Katju and others, I have examined this problem in great detail from a geographical and archaeological point of view. For proper understanding it will be necessary to have a clear picture of the topography of the doab as it exists today and to understand all the factors which bring about changes in physical features of river courses and then look for such indications in the present context.

Existing Physiography

The two rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā have cut deep beds with regular river terraces and banks fully scoured with ravines having accordant joints. The bed of the Yamunā lies at greater depth below the level of the central area than that of the Gaṅgā, the difference being as much as 50 feet but the fall in the Yamunā is 4 inches to a mile against 13 inches of the Gaṅgā.

This shows that though both the rivers have attained comparative maturity and grade, the Gaṅgā brings more alluvium and is liable to more frequent changes. The Yamunā is circumscribed by the hard Bundelkhand rocky area, whereas the soft sandy soil along the Gaṅgā allows it a free movement. The land in the neighbourhood of the rivers stands high and thence falls gently towards the centre. The watershed is very close to the Gaṅgā and maintains a distance of two to five miles along its western bank as far as Allahabad. The rest of the land slopes gently towards the Yamunā. This mature surface-divide illustrates the creeping headward erosion of the Yamunā, which is possibly due to the heavier load and higher bed-level of the Gaṅgā.
The central plateau of raised ground, however, exhibits certain peculiarities. There are three extensive swamp areas in which the land lies low and the drainage is defective; one is triangular roughly bounded by Fatehpur, Mauhar, and Ghazipur; the other is quadrilateral between Husainganj, Fatehpur, Khaga ad Hathgaon; and the third is from Mungri Tal to Alwara Tal. The existence of these swamp areas have led some scholars vainly to surmise some ancient river bed, possibly that of the Gaṅgā. These sheets of water are not of river origin; nor is there a river bed with high banks noticeable. These are isolated depressions; and no single river can be made to flow through all the jheels. The lakes left by a meandering river are of the well-known ox-bow type. A glance at the Map [Pl. XIII] will show how much they differ from lakes found east of the Gaṅgā. The geological origin of these depressions is not known, but, even if they had any connections with the waters of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, the time interval is so remote as to preclude any possible connections during the Rāmāyaṇa period. Probably these are natural depressed formations of the land wherein rain-water gets collected.

There are two naḷās, known as Sasur Khaderi and Bari or Varūṇa, traversing the central plateau and joining the Yamunā. It has been suggested that any of them may have been the ancient Gaṅgā. At present their beds are so dry and narrow that the volume of Gaṅgā water cannot flow through them.

The source of the Sasur Khaderi is from a jheel near Hathgaon at an elevation of about 70 feet above the Gaṅgā level. There is no indication that its source was at any time connected with the Gaṅgā, though the distance is less than 10 miles. Its high elevation and narrow channel, the hard nature of the soil, the mature surface-divide and absence of any indication of high banks in the vicinity—all are against such a presumption. Only in ages to come, when land erosion would level the surface-divide to a minimum, can there be a possibility of seeing Gaṅgā water flowing to Sasur Khaderi! The same applied to Bari or Varūṇa which is further West.

There is another hypothesis worth investigation and that is, in ancient times, the Gaṅgā was not a mighty river, and the high
elevation of the sources of Sasur Khaderi and Varūṇa was brought about by tectonic movements.

**Was the Gaṅgā a Narrow Channel in Ancient Times**

The literary evidence has been discussed by N. L. Dey, but a systematic study would require an investigation into the fluctuations of climate and the catchment area of the Gaṅgā through the ages. The study of ancient climate on the basis of Geology, Meteorology and literature has only made a beginning in India. As yet, no one has discovered a mathematical formula which could give rainfall and temperature for all times, or denote the equation of the curve. Meteorologists, from Sir Gilbert Walker to Pramanik, hold that the available 100 years data do not prove any departure. Geologists, archaeologists and mathematicians find clear indications of variations in climate.

It would be needless to discuss the various theories, as the internal evidence of Vālmiki’s Rāmāyaṇa itself proves that the Gaṅgā was a wide river. Śrī Rāma crossed the Gaṅgā near Śṛṅgaverapura in a ferry. The doab region was then densely forested and the mighty currents of the two rivers met at the saṅgama with such a roar that Śrī Rāma could hear it from the Bharadvāja Āśrama. More convincing is the evidence from the flood plain and terraces of the Gaṅgā.

**River Terraces and Denudation Chronology**

Detailed transverse profiles of the river are not available for study, but enough can be made out from one inch topographical sheets which show at least four clear terraces on the Gaṅgā from Husainganj to Prayag. Terraces are biographical records of the river, but they are the resultant product of a number of forces. Only a careful observer can evaluate the individual contribution of the factors of aggravation, lateral erosion, upheaval or lowered base-level, meander and strength of currents, river-load and river grade, fluctuations in climate and the catchment area, subsoil water table, the surrounding soil and the bedrock. At any rate, a system of denudation chronology can be built up, which will give the age of the river. Day Kimball has attempted a simplification of the Manning’s formula of flow in an open channel.

\[ V = \frac{1.486 \, RS}{N} \]
A calculation on this basis will set at rest the doubt about the antiquity of Prayag.

In certain parts of India, the earliest river terraces date as far back as the Mid-Pleistocene, but the same rules do not apply to glaciated and non-glaciated areas. The full datum for determining the age of the Gaṅgā at Prayag is not available, and we have to fall back upon the archaeological records.

Fortunately, there are a number of mounds on both sides of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā which are situated on different terraces. The archaeological material from Kausambi, Karra, Lachchhagir Singraur, Bhita and Jhusi has been collected. But we will restrict ourselves to the last two as they are close to Prayag, and Jhusi is on the Gaṅgā.

**The Archaeological Record of the Antiquity of the Gaṅgā**

The excavations at Bhita and explorations at Jhusi have yielded a class of ware, known as the N. B. W. tentatively dated to the 5th cent. B. C. The earliest strata at Bhita is supposed to be of the 8th cent. B. C., though the reasons given are not clear. The mounds at those sites came into being when at least one river terrace had already been formed. It would mean that the Gaṅgā was already flowing near Prayag in the first millennium B. C. and possibly in the second. And, if after careful examination, it is proved that those mounds are later than many more terraces, it will further establish the antiquity of the saṅgama at Prayag.

Stone-axes found at Bhita are rather intriguing, though the excavators state that “ceelts and other neolithic implements of slate, sandstone and diabase were found in the Kushāna, Early and Late Gupta levels”. The Banda District has yielded a number of polished stone axes in the neolithic context and I presume that the older method of excavations followed at Bhita has failed to correlate these implements either with the river terraces or with other datable material. A scientific excavation of other mounds, like those at Singraur and Karra will fix the Gaṅgā channel in point of time and place. Karra mound is 90 feet high and has yielded Punch-marked coins, one Kausāmbi coin etc; and Singraur has been identified with Śrīṅgaverapura of the Rāmāyaṇa by that intuitional geographer, Sir Alexander Cunningham.
It should be noted that Jhusi is founded on hard soil and appears to be a promontory town. The Ganga has not been able to shift far from this place.

**Change in River Courses due to Earth’s Rotation and Tectonic Movements.**

Ferrel’s Law enunciates that a body moving in any direction over Earth’s surface will tend to be deflected, owing to the Earth’s rotation, to the right in the Northern Hemisphere and to the left in the Southern Hemisphere. The direction of Westerlies and H. E. Trade Winds has been explained by this law. This led certain writers to apply it to streams and rivers. Eakin, Gilbert and Hilgendorf were successful in a measure. In India, H. L. Chibber and Bhikari Sevanand seek to explain the westward drift of rivers on the basis of Ferrel’s Law.

There is, however, much difference between apparent direction of motion of a body as seen by the observer, and its true direction on the surface of the Earth. It cannot be said with certainty that the same principle is applicable equally to air currents and rivers.

But this observation, that many of the North Indian rivers have migrated West is true. The Ganga from Husainganj to Prayag has definitely moved West, as there is an extensive flood plain in the east with signs of old beds, ox-bow lakes and channels. Cunningham states that the extensive mound of “Thushārām a Vihāra in Partapgarh District is situated on the northern bank of an old bed of the Ganges, down which the flood waters of the river still find their way in rains”.

This westward migration is also noticeable in the Gomati and the Ghagra. The most plausible explanation is on the basis of tectonic movements. Whether we believe in Wegener’s Theory of Continental Drift or any other Theory of Crustal Upheavals, the fact stands out clearly that the Earth’s surface has not attained stability, as is evident from the violent earthquakes occurring all over the world. The forces that brought about the rise of the Himalayas, the Tibet Highlands and the Pamir Knot are still continuing. A glance at the seismological map of India shows that the epicentres of most of the earthquakes are grouped round the Pamir, the Hima-
Iyas and the Tibet Highlands. The Himalayas are rising and the Indo-Gangetic plain sinking by fits and starts. There is neither any uniformity in the amount of crustal displacement nor regularity at the time of its happening; and a chronological reckoning is not therefore possible. We thus conclude that from time to time the Gaṅgā has been changing its course due to the upthrust of the land. More correctly, there has been a side-ward tilting of the whole plain, the portion towards the Mt. Everest rising higher. The existence of a boundary-fault along the Siwaliks is strongly corroborative of this fact. This sideward tilting explains the south-westerly migration of the rivers and also proves why the western surface-divide is so close to the Gaṅgā which has steep bluffs on its sides. Owing to a symmetry of cross-profile after tilting, the Gaṅgā undercuts more vigorously on the western side and reshapes its valley, reaching closer to the surface-divide every time by lateral corrosion. The Yamunā also appears to have moved South-West because the soil, found to the north of it, is dark and friable, resembling the mar of Bundelkhand.

Conclusions

From a study of the geomorphology of the region, we conclude that both the rivers have migrated west, the Gaṅgā covering more ground due to the soft sandy soil from Husainganj to Prayag. The saṅgama does not appear to have shifted much owing to the hard headland over which Jhusi is founded. The absence of high banks or ox-bow lakes dispels the belief that at any time the Gaṅgā was flowing through Sasur Khaderi or Varuṇā, or the chain of lakes. These cannot accommodate the full volume of the Gaṅgā which is not a lean river. From the truism that valleys have been carved out by the streams which still flow through them, we infer that the flood plain and terraces belong to the two rivers which have attained comparative maturity, as shown by the watershed, deep bed-levels, attainment of grade and accordant joints of the tributaries. The age of the terraces can be calculated on the basis of Day Kimball's Formula of Denudation Chronology, provided complete datum is available. Meanwhile, the archaeological material from Bhita and Jhusi is sufficient to indicate the existence of the saṅgama near about Prayag in the second-first millennium B. C. The westward drift of the Gaṅgā may be due to the Earth's rotation or the sideward tilt of the Gangetic plain which is rising towards the Himalayas.
I am inclined to believe that during the Rāmāyaṇa period Ayōdhya, Śṛiṅgaverapura and Prayāg were very near their modern counterparts, but Chitrakūṭa is to be identified with the hill now known as Baghela, 22 miles South-West of Allahabad, but only local inspection can show whether Vālmiki’s description of Chitrakūṭa fits in with this place. Cunningham and Beglar disagree about the true location of Chitrakūṭa. I am in favour of Pargiter’s view that it can be anywhere in the Vindhyan Range.

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10. A. I., i. p. 55.
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KANAUJ IN LITERATURE,

By

Dr. R. K. Dikshit

Kanauj (27° 5' N., 79° 55'E.), a small town in the district of Farrukhabad, U. P, is one of the few cities that have played an important role in the early history of India. It might be aptly described as the Imperial Capital of Uttarāpatha (Northern India) from the seventh to the twelfth century A. D., during which period it occupied much the same position as Pāṭalīputra in the preceding age. In the course of these centuries it witnessed the rise and fall of many a mighty empire as well as the emergence and extinction of successive royal dynasties: of Maukharis, Vardhanas, Āyudhas, Prathāras and Gāhaḍavālas. Every one of them contributed to the material prosperity of the city, but alas! the glory that was Kanauj now lies buried in its mounds, still awaiting the spade of the archaeologist to reveal their hidden treasure. They are also the silent witnesses of the iconoclastic zeal and acts of deliberate vandalism perpetrated by the early bands of Muslim invaders, which have obliterated “almost every trace of Hindu occupation”.

The very situation of the town, on high ground along the right bank of the Ganga, then an important means of commerce and communication, and near its confluence with Kali Nadi—a position full of strategic and commercial potentialities—marked out its future greatness. Kanauj became the centre of politics, religion and culture, and was “the ultima thule of every aspirant to supreme dignity” in India during the early middle ages. It is, therefore, not surprising that it should figure prominently in the ancient literature of the country as well as in the records of foreign visitors.

The modern name Kanauja or Kannauja is derived from the Sanskrit word Kānyakubja\(^1\) and its variants Kanyakubja and Kanyakā-

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1. Cf. Cunningham: “The situation is a commanding one and before the use of cannon the height alone must have made Kanauj a strong and important position”, *Ancient Geography Of India*, ed. S. N. Majumdar, p. 436.

नगर सा राजपार पुरा।
kubja. These forms have been used indiscriminately in literature, and inscriptions, while their synonymity is established by Sanskrit lexicographers. In Pali and Prakrit texts the name appears as Kaṇṇakujja and Kaṇṇaujja respectively, while its Apabhraṃśa form is Kanawaja or Kanawajja.

Ptolemy, in the second century A.D., is supposed to have mentioned Kanauj under the names of Kanagora and Kangoza or Kanogiza. The former is included in a list of seven towns belonging to the Prasiake (Prāchya) and the latter in that of the inland towns of Transgangetic India. Some of the modern historians are disposed to accept the identity, but Dr. Tripathi is sceptical. He writes: “Though it is tempting to identify the one on the ground of affinity in sound to Kāṇyakubja, and the other because it is more correctly placed, we have no positive evidence to show that these names represent Kanauj”.

Among the Chinese pilgrims, Fa-hian spelt the

1. Cf. Mahābhārata (ed. P. S. S. Sastri), which uses both the forms Kāṇyakubja (Āraṇyaka, 91. 17; Anuśāsana, 4.36) and Kaṇyakubja (Ādi, 173.19; Āraṇyaka, 91.9). The Bhandarkar Research Institute edition of the text has Kāṇyakubja (Ādi, 175.3) and Kāṇyakubja (Āraṇyaka, 115.9, 17; Ēdīya, 117.5). Likewise, Rājatarangīṇī has Kāṇyakubja (I. 117; IV. 135, 145) and Kāṇyakubja (VII. 237; VIII. 2453). The Sanskrit Buddhist text Mahāvastu gives the name as Kāṇyakubja (Vol. II, pp. 442, 443, 459, etc.) and Kāṇakubja (ib. pp. 441, 460).


3. Vīṇgga Pīṭaka (ed. H. Oldenberg), II, pp. 299-300; III, p. 11. The Ceylon Chronicles, evidently wrongly, call it Kaṇṇagochchha and Kaṇṇagotta, vide Dipavamsa (ed. H. Oldenberg), III. 26; Mahisasakas (Royal Asiatic Society edn.), II.35 and Vaisnavapuraṇa (ed. Malalasekera), p. 128, and notes. It is grammatically possible to derive Kaṇṇakujja from Kāṇyakubja, but it can also be derived from a word like Kaṇṇakujja, and it is interesting to note that one of the Chinese transliterations kan-ba-kw-po-she means ‘Bar-emotion’ (Watters, I. p. 341)


name as Ka-náo-yí or Kanó-yí, and Yuan Chwáng, móre correctly, as Ka-no-kú-she. Mediaeval Muslim historians usually transliterate the name as Qánnaúj.

Kanaúj had other names, too, viz. Mahodaya, Gádhipura, Kúšasthala, Kúśika, and Kausa. According to the Rámáyána, Mahodaya was the earliest name of the city, which acquired the more popular appellation of Kánjakubya due to a fortitous incident (Infra). It was christened Gádhipura or Gádhinagara after the name of its king Gádhi, and, likewise, must have owed the names of Kúšasthala, Kausa and Kúśika to kings Kúsá and Kúśika. If Kúśika mentioned in Varáha Puráña (CLXII. 41) is identical with the homonymous king of Kanaúj then it would appear to have been known as

1. Watters, I, p. 341. Beal transliterates the name as Ki-jou-i, Giles as Chi-jao-i and Remusat as Ki-jao-i. Watters is of opinion that Ka-náo-yí represents 'the name which was......in use among the natives', i.e. the ordinary spoken name. Accordingly Smith asserts that the name 'Kanoj' is 'ancient' and was 'current 1500 years ago'. He also thinks that the form Kánjakubya 'may be an artificial literary modification of the vernacular name' (J. R. A. S., 1908, p. 767).


4. Cf. Rámáyäna (ed. Bhagavad Datta) I. 30. 6; Padma Puráña, Sruçñí Khánçá, 29. 153; 35-193; Ibd, Bhúmi Khánçá, 111.4; 27. 86; Prachópa Páñchava, p. 2; Kánya Mimámsá, p. 8; Visépdharmottéra, I. 20. 3; Bóla Rámáyäna, Act X.

The Barah C. P. of Bója shows that both the names Mahodaya and Kánjakubya were current in the ninth century A. D., the former indicating a Skandhásíva and the latter a bhakti (E. L., XIX, p. 17). According to Bhavisya Puráña, Uttara Parva, 3.44, Mohodaya is also the name a tank near Kánjakubya.

5. Rájastarákghi, IV 133; Mahésvara’s Víma Prakáśa (Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series), p. 1 v. 6.

In Bálaramóyäña (Act X) Rájasékhará has used it as a name of Kanaúj, but in Kánya Mimámsá (p. 94) he seems to suggest that it was a suburb of the latter.

In the inscriptions, it is some times named as Gádhinagara, cf. I. A., XV, p. 36, v. 6.


7. Cf. I. A., XV, p. 8, n. 46; XVIII, p. 13, n. 33, etc.


Kanyāpura also. Elsewhere, the same text gives Mahā Gṛihodaya
as a name of the city\(^1\). The Prabandha Chintāmaṇi of Merutuṅga men-
tions Kalyāṇa Kaṭaka as the capital of Kanyakubja deśa\(^2\). Smith
identified it with Kanauj. He further believed that the first element
in ‘Calinipaxa’, mentioned by Pliny (Hist. Nat. VI. 21), ‘generally
supposed, although not proved’ to designate Kanauj, ‘probably re-
presents Kalyāṇa’\(^3\). Yuan Chhwang tells us that Kusumapura (Kesu-
mo-pu-lo) was another old name of Kanauj\(^4\), which, however, is
not known to Indian literature. This multiplicity of names is in
itself the best indication of the fame and popularity of this city in
ancient days.

Sanskrit lexicographers have, sometimes, given very interesting
explanations of these names, e. g. Abhidhāna Chintāmaṇi: महान उदयोक्ष
महेश्वरम्। कुशलाः सति अत्र कौशलम्। शास्त्रां स्वल्प: कुशलस्यस्य,\(^5\) or, Šabdā
Kalpadruma: कुशलस्य: कुशलस्यस्यस्य; तौः: कुशला: प्राच्यन्यू मूम्मना वा सत्त्वम् इत्यादः\(^6\).
They, however, leave no doubt about their synonymity, cf. Abhidhāna
Chintāmaṇi: कन्याकुम्भम् महेश्वरम्। कन्याकुलम् गाधिपुरुः कोसम्: कुशलस्य: च तत्त्,\(^7\) or,
Šabdā Kalpadruma: कन्याकुलम् तपस्यायम्: महेश्वरम् कन्याकुलम् गाधिपुरुः कौशलम्
कुशलस्य:। Rājatārangini also affirms the identity of Kānyakubja with
Gādhipura\(^9\) and Vishnudharmottara with Mahodaya\(^10\). Bāna uses both
the names, Kānyakubja and Kuśasthala, evidently for the same city\(^11\),

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1. Varāha, CLXII. 2 f. Gṛihodaya may be a mistake for Mahodaya.
2. Prabandha Chintāmaṇi (Singhi Jaina, Jñānāpañtha) p. 11: कन्याकुलम् देशी कन्याकुलम्
नामिन राजस्थनीनारै भूयार्ज इति राजा राजायं कुर्वेत्।
9. Rājatārangini, IV. 133: कन्याकुलम् यत्र कुशलस्य भ्रातापाधिपुरुः महत्।
10. Vishnudharmottara, I, 20, 3: महेश्वर: पुरुः तत्र कुशलस्मेन निषिद्धम्।
सब्रह्मण्यस्य समाकारोऽक्याकुलस्य निषिद्धम्।
11. Harshacharita, p. 183: भृद्वर्षकारिव रावणरो: कालयां गाधिपुरुल्लुम्बतः चरणा
चोराधारकवियां सयता कालयुक्ते कारायां निषिद्धता। and p. 226: वेदभूमि गते विदे
रावणवतो गुल्लामा च गृहोत्कुशस्य वेदो रावणरो: परिव्रं व्यभिचारां समपरिवर्यां प्रविष्टेतात्।
while Rājaśekhara establishes the synonymity of Mahodaya, Gādhipura and Kānyakubja.

Indian writers have generally placed Kanauj in Pañchāla, within the territory of Antarvedi or Madhyadeśa, one of the traditional divisions of India. Strangely enough, Mahāvastu locates it within the janapada of Śūrasena. It may represent a historical fact but geographically the description is incorrect.

Kanauj signifies both a city (puṇa, nagara) and a region, styled deśa, mahādeśa or mahākṣetra in literature, and bhūkti, viṣhaya.

   Cf. also Halākyudha's Abhidhāna Ratnaviśālā, II, p. 32 v. 132; Śabdārtha-ratna Samanvaya Kosa, p. 79, l. 6; Vaiṣṇava of Yādava Prakara, I, 4. 7., p. 159; Keśava'Kalpadru Kosa, p. 10, v. 16, etc.
   The Cambay plates of Govinda IV, also identify Mahodaya and Kuśasthala, E. I. VII, p. 38, v. 19. On the other hand, the Barah C. P. of Bhoja uses Mahodaya as the name of the skandāva and Kānyakubja as that of a bhūkti, Ib., XIX, p. 17. Likewise, the Gaṅgādāvāla C. P. inscriptions have Kuśika for the name of the city and Kānyakubja for that of the rāja.


   Brähmatantra (IV, 3) includes Pañchālā among the people of Madhyadeśa; Alberuni says that the 'country all around Kanauj' is called Madhyadeśa or Āryāvarta (Sachau, I, pp. 173, 198): Rashiduddin also states that according to the Persians Kanauj signified 'Mahādesa' (Madhyadeśa), vide Elliot, I., p. 54; cf. also, Rijatarāngī, IV, 132-133. Kūṭā (I. 1. 75), however, places Kānyakubja in Prāchya. Cf. also Ptolemy, who locates Kanogaīa in Prasīkha (Śuţra).


5. Cf. Viṣṇudharmottara, I. 20. 3; Vārēśa, CLXXI. 2; Padmar, Uttara Kānja, 197. 19; Bhūmi Kānja, 111. 4; Vīravākhyadva Charita, XVIII. 90; Bālarāmiyā, X. 89.


7. Kupṭarāṣṭrīgīra, III. 6. 180; Skanda, Bṛahma Kānja, Dharmanāya Kānja, 36. 40; Bṛahmāvadana, Bṛahma Kānja, 20. 12; Kulīka on Manus, II. 19; Prabandha Kāśa (Singhi Jaina Jānapidīpa), pp. 20, 27; Prabandha-Chintāmāni, p. 11.


or rāja in the inscriptions. References to the city of Kanauj are naturally more frequent. In the seventh century A.D., it measured 20 li (3 1/2 miles) in length and 4 or 5 li (3/4 mile) in breadth, while the province of Kanauj was 4,000 li (667 miles) in circuit. Kalhana also describes the territory of Kānyaubja as extending from Yamunā to Kālikā (Kali Nadi), while the Skanda Purāṇa and the Prabandha Chintāmaṇi preserve a curious statement that it contained thirty six lacs of villages. Rājaśekhara mentions the limits of the city of Kanauj as extending to Vāmana Svāmin, Brahmasilā, Gadhhipura and Kālapriya, respectively towards the West, East, North and South. The Prithvirāja Rāsa gives its extent as five yojanas. Fahian, Yuan Chwang, Alberuni, Kalhana, and the author of Mahāvastu, among others, have also preserved the distances and directions between Kanauj and other important places in India.

The traditional account of the foundation of Kanauj, which also explains how it was named Kānyaubja, is contained

1. Cf. Mahāvastu, II, p. 480. Gāhādvāla records also describe Chandradeva as having “acquired the kingdom of Kānyaubja by the prowess of his arm.” Yuan Chwang, too, has applied the same name viz. (Ka-uo-ko-ohe), both for the city and the kingdom of Kānyaubja.

2. Cf. also Cunningham: “According to the traditions of the people, the ancient city extended from the shrine of Haji Harmayan on the north, near the Rajghat, to the neighbourhood of Miran-ka-sarai in the south, a distance of exactly 3 miles. Towards the west it is said to have reached to Kapatya and Makaranndagar, about 3 miles from Haji Harmayan. On the east the boundary was the old bed of the Ganges…” (A. G. I. pp. 434-5). Almost the same limits are determined from the sites of the existing ruins (Ibid. p. 437).

3. Watters, I, pp. 340-41. The Life (p. 82) gives the width of the city as 5 or 6 li.

4. Rājatamāgīśa, IV. 145— कन्यकुक्त्रीजोभी यमनायातरीथ्य सा अभृत कालिकातीर ....

5. Skanda, Māharāva Khaṇḍa, Kaumārika Khaṇḍa, 36. 129 — भृत्रिस्थलसमानानु कन्यकुक्त्रे प्रकोटितां

6. Prabandha Chintāmaṇi, p. 11— भृत्रिस्थलस्यामलस्यधर्मिति कन्यकुक्त्रेष्वरः

Vinaya Chandra, in his Kīrya Śikṣhā, however, gives the number of the villages in Kānyaubja country as twenty six lacs only, vide, Kīryaśikṣhā, pp. 248-249.

7. Ibid., p. 94.


10. Watters, I, p. 340 and n. ; also Life, p. 82.

11. Sachau, I, pp. 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, etc. He also mentions the latitude of Kanauj, viz, 26° 35', on the authority of ‘Balabhadrā, the commentator’. Ib. p. 317.

12. Rājatamāgīśa, IV. 132-133.

in the *Rāmāyana*. According to it, king Kuśanābha, the son of king Kuśa, founded the town of Mahodaya\(^1\). He had a hundred beautiful daughters. Once, while sporting in the royal garden, they attracted the notice of the god Vāyu, who became enamoured of them and proposed marriage. His offer, however, was treated with contempt, whereupon, in great ire, he cursed the princesses to become hunchbacks. It was in consequence of this incident that the name of the city was changed to Kānyakubja.\(^8\) This myth has been frequently alluded to in Indian literature, notably by Kalhana.\(^3\) Yuan Chwang, too, narrates a similar legend, but with slightly varying details. In his version king Kuśanābha and the god Vāyu are respectively replaced by king Brahmadatta and the Great Tree (Mahāvriksha) Rishi, and it were only the ninety nine elder princesses who fell a prey to the sage’s wrath, the youngest having consented to make ‘a sacrifice of herself by offering to marry the rishi in order to save her father and country from the effect of his displeasure’. The incident took place ‘long ages ago’, when the city was known as Kusumapura, but on account of the ninety nine princesses having become bowed in body it came to be known as ‘the city of the Hunch-backed Maidens’.\(^4\)

Founded in the remote past, Kanauj had a chequered career—full of political vicissitudes and ‘ephemeral grandeur’. The Ailas, who counted among them such ‘loka-viśruts’ rulers as Gādhi and Viśvamitra, gave it a favourable start,\(^5\) but its fortunes suffered an eclipse after the collapse of their power. The willingness of Yudhishṭhira

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1. *Rāmāyana*, I. 30. 6—कुशानास्तु धर्मान्तमा पुरुष चक्रे महोदयम्। Vishvudharmottara, I. 20. 3. gives the name of the founder as Kuśastamba.
2. *Rāmāyana*, I. 30. 34-35: यदृ वालुमा च तत्रः कण्यालत्र कुर्जी हृतः पुरा।। कान्यकुशमित्रियां तत्त: प्रभुति तत्तुरसम्।
3. Rājatarāṅgiṇī, IV. 133. Cf. also Śāstra Kalpodruma, s. v. Kānyakubja and Kanyākubja. The Abhidhāna Chintāṅgiṇī, which states….. तत्र सि जनविनिना शापेन नरपते: कयः कुशानास्तृति प्रसिद्धि: (8. 4. 99), points to a different tradition.
5. The traditional history of this dynasty is contained in the *Rāmāyana* (Bālakānda), Mahābhārata (Ādi, Śānti and Anuśāsana paras) and viṣṇu, Vāyu, Brahmrāja, Bhāgavata, Brahms., Agni and other Purāṇas. The Ceylon Chronicles also describe Kanauj as the capital of the kings of Mahāsammata race in ancient days *infra*, p. 64, n. 1.
to compromise his claims to sovereignty for the possession of Kuśasthala and four other towns shows that it had not altogether lost its importance in the age of the Mahābhārata War\(^1\). Likewise, Patañjali’s mention of it, in connection with a grammatical rule\(^2\), indicates that it was a well-known place in the second century B.C. However, Kanauj did not play any significant role in the political history of the country until, in the sixth century A.D., it became the capital of the Maukharis\(^3\). Shortly afterwards, under Harsha, it replaced Pātaliputra as the Imperial Capital of Uttarāpatha—a position that it managed to retain until the avalanche of Muslim conquest.

The pre-eminence enjoyed by Kanauj, as well as the imperial ambitions of its rulers, are reflected in the pages, among others, of Bāna, Yuan Chwang, Vākpati, Rājaśekhara,Kalhaṇa and Bilhaṇa, as well as in the narratives of early Muslim writers. Its prosperity naturally excited the jealousy and cupidity of other rulers. In the post-Gupta period, Kanauj undoubtedly was the most coveted city in the country and many were the wars fought for its possession. It attained great glory and also suffered severe disasters. Kennedy has rightly ranked it with “what Rome was to the barbarians and Byzantium to the mediaeval world of Europe.”

Kanauj, no doubt, owed much of its prestige to its position as the capital of Northern India in the post-Gupta period, but it had already acquired considerable sanctity as a holy tīrtha\(^4\), consecrated to the various deities of the Brahmanical pantheon. According to the Padma Purāṇa, it was one of the twelve Vaishṇava tīrthas\(^5\), while the Skanda includes it in a list of holy places sacred to the Sun god\(^6\).

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1. Mahābhārata, Udyoga, 30, 19.
   Its connection with the Pāṇḍavas is also borne out by Alberuni, Sachau, I, p. 199.


3. The Epics, Paurāṇis and other texts (e.g. Kathāsaritsāgara, X, 5, 220; XII, 1.33) mention several kings of Kanauj, but it is not possible to establish the historicity of every one of them. Alberuni has also referred to a Rāi (king) of Kanauj who was defeated by Kanik (Kanishka), Sachau, II, p. 11.

4. The Gīhājavāla copper-plate inscriptions also call it a tīrtha, e.g. I.A., XV, p. 7.

5. Padma Purāṇa, Uttara Khaṇḍa, 129, 9: एकादशं कायकुंडं यत्र लिथकति वायन:,

   कायकुंडे ।
Other texts associate it with Gauri and Chandikā and Devagarbha Brahman. In the seventh century A.D., Yuan Chwang found here more than two hundred ‘Deva’ temples, including splendid shrines of Sūrya and Maheśvara. Their number had gone up to ten thousand by the tenth century A.D.

Several texts allude to the situation of the town on the bank of the Ganga—a factor that must have largely contributed to its sanctity. The Bhavishya Purāṇa asserts that a bath in the holy river at Kanauj, during the month of Kārtika, was very meritorious, while the Skanda would have us believe that any person living there during Mārgaśīrsha acquired the highest heaven. The river itself came to be known as Jāhnavī after the name of a Kanaujian king, Jahnu. We have also the mention of Aśvatīrtha, situated near the city, on the bank of the Ganga. A dip there was considered as efficacious as the performance of the Aśvamedha Yajña.

1. Ibid., Avanti Khaṇḍa, Revā Khaṇḍa, 198, 66: कान्यकुंजे स्थिता गीत, also, Matsya, XIII. 29; Devāgārate, VII. 30, 58; Padma, Śrīṣṭi Khaṇḍa, XVII. 193, etc.
2. Padma, Uttara Khaṇḍa, 200, 1. Brahmapuṣṭa (IV. 44, 94) makes it a pītha of Lalitā.
3. Ibid, Śrīṣṭi Khaṇḍa, 29, 132: कान्यकुंजे देवगर्भोऽ।
6. Cf. Mahābhārata, Aranyaka, 91, 17: मग्नायां कान्यकुंजे; Amūsāsana, 4, 36; Padma, Uttara Khaṇḍa, 200, 28: इदं श्रीधरवते तत्तुल मुख्यव्यावहो; Śrīṣṭi Khaṇḍa, 35, 193; Skanda, Nāgara Khaṇḍa, 165, 33, 37; Kālika, LXXXV, 55; Bāḷārāmaṇya, X: इदं... मन्वतिन्द्री परिवर्तन्त महृदयं नाम नारं; Vikramākhandevasthara, XVIII, 90: इरेयांगां ततुरु काजयकुंजं; Rāo, LXI, 304—it gives a beautiful description of the women of Kanauj filling their jars in the river.

Fabian (Lage, p. 54: Beal, pp. 70-71), Yuan Chwang (Watters, I, p. 340), Hwu Li (Life, p. 82), Alberuni (Sazhau, I, p. 199) and Uthbi, (Reynolds, p. 457) have also placed Kanauj along the Ganga, though Yuan Chwang is confused with respect to its position in relation to the river, vide Watters, I, p. 342.

8. Skanda, Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa, Vastrāpa-thakshetra Māhātmya, I, 49:

मार्गसीय कान्यकुंजे उत्तिया राजसत्तमः
न शोकति नर नारी द्वार यति परिपरम्

9. Bhāgavata, IX, 15, 1, 4; Viṣṇu, IV, 1, 7, 3-6; Viṣṇu, XCI, 54-58; Mahābhārata, XIII, 4, 202; Rāmāyaṇa, I, 43, 35-38; Viṣṇudharmottara, I, 20, 10.
10. Cf. Skanda, Nāgara Khaṇḍa, 165, 37:

लत: प्रभृतिः विभ्रादेशसत्तैः गरालेत ।
गंगातीरे इति गुप्ते कान्यकुंजे सनीयांम्

लोकत्सत्तैः हस्ते मन्यो वालियं विलं लभते ।

also Kālika, LXXXV, 55-57; Mahābhārata, Aranyakā, 91, 16; Udyoga, 106, 6; Amūsāsana, 4, 36.
Kanauj and its neighbourhood were also sacred to the followers of the Buddha, having been hallowed by the dust of his feet. The *Vinaya Piṭaka* preserves an account of his visit to ‘Kaṇḍakujja’, on his way from Vṛṇḍāvāna to Vārāṇasi. This is the earliest reference to Kanauj in literature that may be dated with certainty. It proves its existence during the days of the Buddha, and also shows its situation on an important trade route.

The Chinese pilgrims confirm the tradition of the Buddha’s visit to Kanauj. Fa-hian noticed a stūpa, about a mile (6 or 7 ⾥) to the west of the city, marking the site “where Buddha preached the Law to his disciples”. Yuan Chwang, too, mentions that “to the north west of the capital was an Aśokan Tope where the Buddha had preached excellent doctrines for seven days”. Watters has also referred to a tradition according to which “it was at Kanauj that the Buddha descended to earth from the Trayastriṃśa heaven”. Other accounts, however, place the incident at Sankisa.

If any credence is attached to the tradition preserved in the *Buddhavamsa* Commentary, Kanauj must have existed since long before the days of the Buddha, for it was here that one of the Past Buddhas, Phussa, had preached to his two chief disciples, and another, Kakuśandha (Krakuchchhanda) had performed the Twin Miracle at its gates. Yuan Chwang, too, noticed a stūpa near Kanauj “where the four Past Buddhas had sat and walked for exercise”. Likewise, the *Mahāvamsa* and its *Tīka* tell us that it had been the capital of

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   I owe this reference to my teacher Prof. C. D. Chatterjee.

2. The same route seems to have been followed by Thera Revata, more than a century later, when he passed through Kaṇḍakujja, Udumbara and Aggalapura on his way from Sankassa to Sahajati. *Ibid*, II, pp. 299-300.


the princes of the family of Okkāka (Ikshvāku), long before the time of Śākyamuni.

However, Kanauj does not appear to have been of much consequence in the days of the Buddha. It does not figure in the list of important cities given in the early Pali texts. Absence of any reference to it in the Jātakas is also significant. But in course of time it developed into an important Buddhist centre. In the fifth century A.D., Fahian noticed several Buddhist monuments in its neighbourhood. The city itself contained two Hinayanist monasteries, and there was a stūpa, about a mile to the west of it, marking the site of the Buddha’s discourse. The number of the Buddhist establishments had considerably gone up by the time of Yuan Chhwang (seventh century A.D.), who found here over a hundred monasteries, with more than ten thousand resident monks—‘grave and revered’, who studied the Great and Small Vehicles promiscuously. The most important of the monasteries might have been the Bhadra Vihāra where Yuan Chhwang himself stayed for three months.

Yuan Chhwang also noticed several stūpas on the outskirts of the city, viz. an Asokan stūpa, about 200’ high, to its N. W. marking the site of the Buddha’s discourse, another by its side at the spot where the four Past Buddhas had sat and walked, and a third, to the south of the first, raised over the hair and nail relics of the Buddha. The Life mentions another 200’ high Asokan stūpa, about a mile (6 or 7 li) to the S. E. of the city.

The phenomenal increase in the number of Buddhist establishments at Kanauj since the days of Fahian was largely due to the

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2. Legge, p. 54.
4. Life, p. 84.
5. Some of the monasteries contained beautiful images and one, the Shrine of the Three-fold Vihāra, had ‘a wonder-working tooth of the Buddha...which was exhibited to the crowds of visitors for a charge of one gold coin each’—Watters, I, p. 352. There was also the image of Boddhisattva Avalokiteśvara, in a grove near the Ganga, that ‘had made many spiritual manifestations’. It was consulted by Harsha himself before he decided to accept the crown of Kanauj (Ibid p. 343).
6. Ibid, pp. 351-52; Life, p. 84.
7. Ibid.
patronage of Harsha. In addition to other benefactions, he is credited with the construction of a great *sanghārāma* in his capital, wherein was enshrined a tooth relic of the Master that he had obtained from the king of Kashmir. Buddhism, however, began to decline at Kanauj after the death of the great emperor. When the Sung pilgrim visited the place “he found topes and temples numerous but there were no monks or nuns.”

Kanauj was also a great centre of culture and learning. It may not have been a University Town like Takshaśila or Nālandā, but it is certainly entitled to rank among the important seats of learning in ancient India. That position it owed largely to the munificence of its enlightened rulers, some of whom, *e.g.* Harsha and Yaśovarman, were themselves eminent men of letters. Their liberal patronage attracted to Kanauj a galaxy of distinguished scholars. Bharva, Raviśanti, Viśākhadatta, Bāna, Mayūra, Dhāvaka, Divākara, Bhavabhūti, Vākpati, Rājaśekhara, Kshemiśvara, Lakshmīdhara and Śrīharsha’s are the names associated with it. All of them have received their meed of praise at the hands of critics, both ancient and modern, and the importance of their contribution to Indian literature can not be over-estimated.

The devotion to learning was by no means confined to court circles alone. Yuan Chhwang tells us that the citizens of Kanauj “were given to learning and the arts and were clear and suggestive in discourse.” Again, referring to the people of Mīd India (which included Kanauj), he says that they were “pre-eminently explicit and correct in speech, their expressions being harmonious and elegant, like those of the *devas* and their intonation clear and distinct, serving as rule and pattern for others.”

Rājaśekhara, too, pays a similar tribute to the people of Pānchāla (Kanauj), when he says that they appreciated ‘elegant and new compositions’. He describes the works of its poets as ‘well

2. Watters, I pp. 342-43.
construed’ and the mode of their recitation as ‘pouring honey in ears’\(^1\). Rājaśekhara has often referred to the ‘learned gatherings’ of Kanauj before which his dramas were enacted\(^2\). In his Kāvyamīmāṃsā, we find a mention of kāvyagosṭhīs and sabhās, convened by kings for testing the merits of literary compositions (kāvyaparīkṣā), as well as of the assemblies of the learned scholars (Brahma sabhās) in important cities (mahānagarahsu) which also performed the same functions (kāvyasāstra-parīkṣā)\(^3\). We may safely presume the existence of such institutions at Kanauj also, enjoying the patronage of its enlightened rulers. One such gōthī of the literati, evidently of Kanauj, had requested the poet Vākpati to ‘celebrate the life of Yasovarman’\(^4\).

Nor were the women of Kānyakubja backward in learning. We have the example of its Maukhari queen, Rājyaśrī. ‘Of great intelligence’, she was ‘distinguished for knowledge of the Sammatiya School doctrine of Buddhism’ and followed with great appreciation the learned discourse of Yuan Chwang.\(^5\) Avantisundarī, the talented wife of Rājaśekhara, is another example of the cultured ladies of Kanauj. Her opinion is quoted in the Kāvyamīmāṃsā on three occasions\(^6\), from which it would appear that she had composed some work on rhetorics. The Karpūra Māṇjarī, too, was enacted at her desire\(^7\). The example of Mātaṅga Divākara shows that access to the Temple of Sarasvati was not denied even to the lowest of the low.\(^8\) It

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1. Bāla Rāmāyaṇa, X, 86.
2. Cf. Prachanda Pāṇḍava (ed. Carl Cappellar) p. 2: एते महोदयमहानगरीलालवत्सा बिङ्कसः सामारिहकिः। Hertel thinks that all of his dramas ‘must have been composed in Kanauj’ and performed ‘before an audience of pilgrims in the temple of Kālapriya Nātha’, vide, Asis Major, I, pp. 12-13.
5. Līlā, p. 176.
6. Kāyogīnlīkī, pp. 29, 46, 57. Rājaśekhara’s views on the education of women are very liberal. He says: पुरवस्तु योितीिविष करोिवेषः। संस्कारो ह्यामाति समवेंति न द्वेष्व पोष्यां बा विभागमपेषते। सुखाते दुःखाते राजसुधौ महानााक्र- हुष्टिरो गतिः। कुरुक्षमभायवश सारकम्ब्रह्ममुद्युः कवयाचः। (Ibid, p. 53).
8. Cf. अहो भ्रमास्व ग्रामेिव यत्मात्र मात्र विषाकारः। भ्रो ह्यामास्वयतमुष्यं समे भ्रमाययूरयः। II
Quoted in Sārāgadharapaddhati (ed. Peterson), stanza 189; Subhāśita-ratna-bhūṣāṇā (ed. Parab) p. 54, v. 96., and other anthologies.
illustrates the spirit of the age and shows how learning had infiltrated down to the lowest social strata.

The Buddhist monasteries of Kanauj, too, were the repositories of learning. Yuan Chwang studied at its Bhadra Vihāra for three months, under the direction of Viryasena, 'a doctor of the three Piṭakas'.

Kanauj was also the venue of learned congresses and conferences. One such assembly was convened by Harsha in honour of Yuan Chwang. It was attended by 'kings of eighteen countries of the Five Indias' and the princes and ministers of different states, besides 3000 leading Buddhist monks, 3000 Brāhmaṇa and Jaina scholars, and 1000 students of the University of Nālandā, all alike 'celebrated for their literary skill'. Its deliberations, held amidst scenes of royal paegentry, lasted for eighteen days, and were witnessed by a vast concourse of people. The Chinese scholar, like Luther, nailed a placard outside the hall, challenging any one 'who can find a single word in the proposition contrary to reason or is able to entangle (the argument) to have his head 'as a recompense'. The end of the conference was marred by some unfortunate incidents. Bāṇa has also referred to poetical contests organised by Harsha.

A verse in the Vikramāndadeva Charita [XVIII. 90] shows eminent poets like Bilhaṇa visiting Kanauj and holding contests with the local scholars. Conversely, other texts refer to the visits of Kanaujian scholars to other parts of the country. For example, we learn from Śrīkaṇṭha-charita that one Suhala was deputed by the Gāḍaḍavāla King Govinda Chandra to attend the assembly of scholars convened by Alaṅkāra, the minister of Jayasimha. Likewise, the Jaina texts mention a disputation between Bappabhaṭṭi Śūri, representing Kanauj, and Vardhanakuṇḍara of Lakṣaṇavatī, held on the frontiers of the two kingdoms, which lasted for six months.

Indeed, Kanauj had become a great cultural centre and its learned men were in great demand in other parts of the country.

1. *Life*, p. 84.
King Jalauka of Kashmir settled in his state the people of the four castes from Kanauj, who were well versed in Dharma and Vyavahāra. Likewise, at a later date king Adisūra is believed to have imported Kanauj Brāhmaṇas into Bengal to reorganise the caste system there. Epigraphic records also testify to its Brāhmaṇas being granted agrahāra lands by the rulers of other states. What better tribute could the ancient world pay to the cultural supremacy of Kanauj?

Helped by its favourable situation, Kanauj also developed into a rich and prosperous centre of trade. Several texts refer to its rich merchants, as well as to customers and traders who brought their costly wares, from distant places, to its markets. The Mahāastu (I century A.D.) describes it as the centre of various arts and crafts, organised into guilds, each under its own mahattara. It specifically mentions the guilds and workshops (kālū) of mālakāras, kumbhakāras, vardhkīs, chajaka-dhoukas, rajakas, ittākāras, susanakāras, manikāras, śankha-valayakāras, śankhadanta-kāras or śankha-gajadantakāras, yantrakāras, varuṇas and sūpakāras. Yuan Chhwang (VII century A.D.), too, found it in a very flourishing condition, having many wealthy families and an abundance of fruits and flowers—a veritable emporium of rarities from strange lands.

The prosperity of the city was reflected in its buildings and inhabitants. The people of Kanauj, the rulers and the ruled alike, spared no pains to make their city rich, strong and beautiful. It certainly deserved the epithets of puravara or purottama and ramyana-

1. Cf. Rājatarājita, I. 117:

जिखोब्रौं कम्यकुलवालं तरस्यं सम्ब्रेदशयत।
वालुवर्णं निजें देशे धर्मोपदेश व्यवहारिण:।

2. Vide, Majumdar, History of Bengal, Appendix I.


Fahian, writing about Sankasya, says: 'the country is very productive and the people are prosperous, and happy beyond comparison' (Legge, p. 52). These remarks would be equally applicable to Kanauj which is only 45 miles to the south-west of Sankasya.


7. Cf. Varāha, CLXII. 2; Padma, Uttarakanḍa, 197. 19; Vishuṭharmottara, I. 20. 3; Devābāgarita, VI. 28. 37.
gara¹, and the author of Varāha Purāṇa felt no hesitation in describing it as the ‘Ornament of Jambūdvipa’². We have already referred to the temples and monasteries of Kanauj. The secular buildings, too, were no less deserving of notice. Yuan Chwang was very much impressed with the defences of Kanauj, as well as with its ‘lofty structures,...beautiful gardens and tanks of clear water’³. The wealth of the city was further manifest in its people who ‘had a refined appearance’ and dressed in costly silks⁴. Bilhaṇa, too, sings of its lofty, be-jewelled houses, which seemed to serve as a ladder for the Goddess of Prosperity to descend from her heavenly home⁵. Rājaśekhara (X century A. D.) is all praises for Kanauj. He describes it as a mahānagara and a very sacred (mahā-pavitra) place, fit to be the nucleus of the country, with reference to which directions to other places should be determined⁶. He appreciates very much the manner of speech and the dress, hair style and ornamentation of its ladies, who set the fashion for their sisters in other parts of the country.⁷

2. Varāha, CLXII. 2: अम्बूद्रीपस्य भूवाम्।
   Bhavishya Purāṇa (Uttara Parva, 3. 39 ff.) and Devākhāgarata (VI. 28, 32-37) also describe a rāpya sara near Kanauj. Other texts refer to its gardens (Bṛihatkathāmaṇjarī, IX, 48, mullavallī nikiśa; Mahāvastu, II, p. 485, uparāna; Ib. pp. 441, 442, udāna), boundary wall (Bṛihatkathāmaṇjarī, IX. 48, prākāra) and city gates (Mahāvastu, II, pp. 488, 490, nāgara-dvarāṇa).
5. Vīcch, Vikramāditya-evacharita, XVIII 90:

   वस्योत्तुः मन्त्रिनयौह्लोलयोत्तातित् श्रो
   व्यामोत्त्यसात् तिवशुपुराव: प्रात्तसोपानलोलेत:।

6. Kācyamūndarī p 94:

   ‘तत्रापि महोदयं मूलमयोक्ष्यम्’ इति यायावरीय:।

7. Ibid, p. 8:

   ताब्रह्मवहनंतर्प्रितग्नवदेश—
   मानाभिलंबितदर्शितात्तरहारम्।
   आभोपणिगुप्तपरिवर्तितोत्तरीयं
   वेव नमस्यत महोदयमुद्रीरणम्॥

and Bāharāmāyaṇa, X. 50:

   यो माय: परिधानकर्मणि गिराया यो मृदिगीत्राक्षे
   महिलाः कर्मचेत् रचनं यद्भूवामलोकैव।
   बृहत्तं मुदिर कामयुक्ततल्ललमालोकष्ठायम्यथ: य—
   विक्षरस्ते सकलाः विश्रुतः तरसा सक्तीमूहिनियः स्त्रिय:॥

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² Or Ornament of Jambu-Island. ³ Yuan Chwang was very much impressed with the defences of Kanauj, as well as with its ‘lofty structures,...beautiful gardens and tanks of clear water’. ⁴ The wealth of the city was further manifest in its people who ‘had a refined appearance’ and dressed in costly silks. ⁵ Rajaśekhara (X century A.D.) is all praises for Kanauj. ⁶ He describes it as a mahānagara and a very sacred (mahā-pavitra) place, fit to be the nucleus of the country, with reference to which directions to other places should be determined. ⁷ He appreciates very much the manner of speech and the dress, hair style and ornamentation of its ladies, who set the fashion for their sisters in other parts of the country.
It is not surprising, for Kanauj was at the zenith of its glory during the regime of the Imperial Prathāras. Contemporary Muslim writers, too, have lavished unstinted praise on the first city of Hind. They bear eloquent testimony to its power, prestige and prosperity. For example, Sulaiman (IX century A. D.) tells us that the king of Jurj (Gurjara king of Kanauj) "maintains numerous forces, and no other Indian prince has so fine a cavalry... He has great riches, and his camels and horses are numerous. Exchanges are carried on in his states into silver (and gold) in dust, and there are said to be mines (of these materials) in the country. There is no country in India more safe from robbers". Al Masudi, Ibn Asir and others, too, have spoken in the same vein. To them, Kanauj, undoubtedly, was the premier state of Northern India.

In the 11th century, Mahmud of Ghazni found it "a city which raised its head to the skies and which in strength and beauty might boast of being unrivalled". It occupied a very strategic position and was defended by a succession of seven forts. Its temples, many of them of 'high antiquity', were remarkable specimens of artistic workmanship. But neither the strength nor the beauty of the city proved of any avail against the great iconoclast. The town was given to plunder and its stately buildings razed to the ground. The Prathāra monarch shifted to Bari and Kanauj was deserted. Only twelve years later Alberuni found it 'in ruins and desolate'.

Kanauj revived under the Gāhaḍavālas, and once again recovered much of its former prosperity. Unfortunately, no Indian writer has left a description of the city in that age, but it could not have found a better panegyrist than the Arab Salman, who styles it "the capital of Hind... the Kābā of the Samanis (Śramaṇas) and the Kiblā of the infidels", where 'the treasures of Hind' were collected 'just as all rivers flow into the sea'. The end of the famous city came in 1193 A. D. when Muhammad Ghori sacked and destroyed it.

2. *Elliot*, I. p. 23; II. p. 251, etc.

*Prithvirāja-rāsa* professes to give a description of Kanauj under Jayachandra, but much of it is conventional.
followers completed the destruction, leaving nothing but ‘shapeless mounds’ to preserve the memory of its ancient glory. Such was the unfortunate end of the city that had dominated the history of Northern India for nearly six centuries. Having lost the status of a metropolis Kanauj fast sank into insignificance¹.

¹ Kanauj was never abandoned. Even under the Muslims it continued to flourish as a second rate town.

ABBREVIATIONS AND REFERENCES.

Beal: Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World;
Elliot: Elliot and Dowsen. History of India As Told by Her Own Historians;
Legge: Legge, (Fahien’s) Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms;
Life: Beal, Life of Hiuen Tsang (Trans.);
Sachau: Albertini;
Watters: Watters, On Yuan Chwang’s Travels in India.
Harshacharita (Parab, 7th edn.);
Kāvyamāṇī, (G. O.S.);
Mahābhārata (ed. Sastri, unless otherwise mentioned);
Mahāvaṭṭa (ed. Senart);
Rājatarāgini (ed. Stein);
Vikramādityacharita (ed. Sarma);
Brihatkathāmaṇjari (Kavyamala);
Brahmaśaivāvara-purāṇa (ed. Jivananda);
Matsya-purāṇa (ed. Panchanana Tarkaratna);
Padma-purāṇa (Anandaśrama, Poona);
Varāha-purāṇa (A. S. B.);
Vāyu-purāṇa (A. S. B.);
Bhaviṣeya, Brahmāṇda, Desābhāga-cuti, Kālikā, Skanda, Vishnu-dharmottara Purāṇas and Gārgya Saṁhitā (Venkatesvara Press).
‘VIGRAHAPĀLA’ COINS—NOT A MAGADHA TYPE

By

R. C. Kar, M. A.

The base silver coins that have on the obverse, rude traces of the Sassanian ‘Head to right’ with a two-line proto-Nāgari legend in front, reading (1) Śrī (2) Vi or (1) Śrī (2) Vīgra, and on the reverse, indications of the Sassanian ‘fire-altar’ with an attendant on either side, have been known since long. Cunningham, who in 1877-78 found a potful of these coins in the ruins of the Devapāla temple at Ghosrawa near Nālandā in Bihar, assigned them to “Vigraha Pāla Deva, one of the successors of Deva Pāla” of the Pāla dynasty of Magadha or Eastern India. Though subsequently in his Coins of Mediaeval India, Cunningham expressed some doubt about this attribution, the assignment of these coins to one or other of the three Vigrahapālas of Magadha has generally been taken for granted. Thus, according to Rapson, the coins should be attributed to Vigrahapāla I, while in the opinion of Vincent Smith the pieces may be assigned “with almost positive certainty to one or other of the kings of Magadha named Vigrahapāla”. Smith has, therefore, no hesitation in calling these coins an “Eastern or Magadha Type” of mediaeval Indo-Sassanian coins. He would assign the least barbarous specimens to Vigrahapāla I, and the wholly corrupt ones, to Vigrahapāla III, while not ruling out the possibility of some of the less debased pieces belonging to Vigra-

1. Read at the 17th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Ahmedabad in October, 1955, and published here with certain modifications since made by the author.
2. The full name ‘Vigrahapāla’ does not occur on any of the coins examined by the present writer so far, but as some of the coins, like coin No. 1 of Bidyabinod’s Suppl. C. C. I. M., i, p. 56, have the letter pa, instead of gra, immediately after vi, the full name or biruda of the king may be taken to have been ‘Vigrahapāla’, assuming that pa stood for pāla, the second part of the name, and vi for Vigraha, the first part.
4. Op. cit., p. 51, where Cunningham says, “As the Siron inscription calls the coins Vigraha Pala drāmas, the prince may have belonged to the Raghuvansa family of Bhoja Deva, as all of his known successors took the suffix of Pala... The only Vigraha Pālas that I know belong to the Pāla Rajas of Magadha. Their dates would suit, but we have not hitherto found any of their coins”.
5. Indian Coins, pp. 31, 34.
6. C. C. I. M., i, pp. 233-34 and 239.
hapāla II. It is, however, unlikely that either Vigrahapāla I (c. A.D. 854-57) or Vigrahapāla II (c. A.D. 992) issued any coins, since, as Dr. H. C. Ray has rightly pointed out, they were both weak rulers with very short reigns. Dr. Ray would, therefore, attribute all the coins of this type to Vigrahapāla III (c. A.D. 1055-81) of the Pāla dynasty of Magadha or Eastern India, assigning the better specimens to the earlier part of his reign. Such an attribution is, however, opposed to the evidence of the Siyaḍoni (Siron Khurd, Jhansi District, U. P.) inscription, according to which, Vigrahapāla-drammas, undoubtedly the same as the coins under discussion, were in circulation as early as A.D. 908-09 (V.S. 965), that is, nearly a hundred and fifty years before their supposed issuer came to the throne.

It appears that scholars have generally been tempted to assign these coins to one or other of the Pāla kings of Magadha named Vigrahapāla, because (i) the name or biruda of the king, as occurring on them, indicated its restoration as ‘Vigrahapāla’, (ii) the three Vigrahapālas of the Pāla dynasty of Magadha or Eastern India were the only Vigrahapālas known to them, whose dates would suit the coins, and (iii) the coins were known to have been very common in Bihar and the eastern districts of U. P., suggesting the ancient territory of Magadha as the country of their origin.

As stated above, the full name or biruda ‘Vigrahapāla’ does not occur on any of these coins. But since some of these coins show the letter pa instead of gra immediately after vi in the second line of the coin-legend, the full name or biruda of the king may be taken to have been ‘Vigrahapāla’, assuming that pa stood for pāla, the second part of the name, and vi for vigraha, the first part. The question now arises, if this Vigrahapāla of the coins was one of the Pāla kings of Magadha of that name, as hitherto generally accepted by scholars. We have already seen that the first two

4. *C. C. I. M.*, i, p. 240, note 1. It is not quite correct, since large hoards of these coins have also been found in such westerly districts of U. P. as Kheri, Hamirpur, Aligarh and Bareilly.
5. Footnote 2 of this article on p. 72 *ante*.
known Vigrahapālas of the Pāla dynasty of Eastern India were not likely to have issued any coins, as they were weak rulers with rather short reigns,¹ and that the attribution of all the coins of this type to Vigrahapāla III of the same dynasty is opposed to the evidence of the Siyaḍoni inscription.

On numismatic and palaeographic considerations also it is difficult to accept the attribution of these coins to the Pāla kings of Magadha named Vigrahapāla. Let us consider, for example, the general type of these coins. This, as we have already seen, shows on the obverse, a rude male head turned to right, and on the reverse, indications of a fire-altar with an attendant on either side. Though one of the commonest type of Skandagupta’s silver issues, namely, the Altar Type, also shows the king’s head turned to right on the obverse, and a fire-altar on the reverse,² the absence of the attendant priests beside the fire-altar on the Gupta type, indicates that this was not the prototype of the Vigrahapāla coins. Numismatists are generally agreed that the type of the Vigrahapāla coins is borrowed from the Sassanian coins. The Sassanian influence is most noticeable on the least barbarous, and apparently the earliest, specimens of the Vigrahapāla coins, such as the one illustrated by Vincent Smith in his Catalogue,³ the type being borrowed in all likelihood from some such debased pieces as the coins of Vahran Chobin (VI), issued in the reign of Hormazd IV, about A. D. 579, illustrated by Smith.⁴ It will be seen that the mobeds or priests, one on either side of the fire-altar on the reverse of the Sassanian prototype, continue to appear in human form, though very much more rude and attenuated, on the earliest and most refined Vigrahapāla coins. In the more degenerate specimens of this type, however, the figures of the attendant priests lose all semblance to human form and become metamorphosed into a pair of creepers with buds.⁵ This same motif of the fire-altar with

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¹ The assignment of a longer reign to Vigrahapāla II from c.A.D. 960 to 988 in the Dacca History of Bengal (Vol. i, p. 128) does not materially affect the position, as he was undoubtedly a weak king ruling over a very much reduced dominion.


³ G. C. I. M. i, Pls. XXV, 10; C. M. I., Pl. VI, 16 represents another variety of this earliest class of Vigrahapāla coins.

⁴ G. C. I. M., i, Pl. XXIV, 10.

⁵ Pl. XIV, fig. 1 shows the full reverse device of the more degenerate Vigrahapāla coins completed from several specimens.
attendants appears also on the reverse of the Ádivarāha coins. But even on the earliest and most refined of these latter issues, which are certainly attributable to the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Bhoja I (c. A.D. 835-85), the priests flanking the fire-altar have the same creeper-like form that we find on the more degenerate among the Vigrahapāla coins. The same may be said to be the case with the treatment of the fire-altar on the Ádivarāha coins. Even on the earliest and most refined specimens of the latter currency, the fire-altar, or whatever remains of it, is treated more in the manner of the fire-altar on the more degenerate Vigrahapāla coins than in that of the fire-altar on their earliest and most refined examples. Moreover, the form of the palatal Š (which may be taken as a test letter) with an open loop in the left limb, occurring in the reverse legend of the earliest and most refined among the Ádivarāha coins, is later than the form of the same letter with a closed loop in the left limb found on the earliest and most refined Vigrahapāla coins, and approximates to the form of palatal Š found on the more degenerate examples of the latter type. When it is further seen that the obverse motif of even the earliest Ádivarāha coins shows little Sassanian influence, the inference that the earliest examples of the Ádivarāha type are later in point of date than the earliest examples of the Vigrahapāla currency, becomes irresistible. If so, it is difficult to see how any of the three known Vigrahapālas of the Pāla dynasty of Magadha or Eastern India could have been the issuer of this currency, for even the earliest of them, so far as we know, did not come to the throne earlier than about midway in the reign of the Gurjara-Pratihāra Bhoja I, the undoubted author of at least the most refined Ádivarāha coins.

Is it then possible that the Vigrahapāla currency was initiated by Dharmapāla (c. A.D. 769-815) or Devapāla (c. A.D. 815-54)

1. The earlier practice of calling the side with the Ádivarāha motif the obverse and the side with the fire-altar motif and the king’s biruda, the reverse, has been followed here. Smith describes them as the reverse and the obverse respectively. (C. G. I. M., i, p. 241).

2. C. G. I. M., i, Pl. XXV, 18.

3. Pl. XCV, figs. 2-4. The first two are from a refined and a debased Vigrahapāla coin respectively, and the last from a refined Ádivarāha coin.

4. The Ádivarāha motif on the obverse of these coins is borrowed from the contemporary Indian art, and is indigenous in both conception and execution; see, author’s article on “Some Observations on the Ádivarāha coins of Bhoja,” in J. N. S. I., xv, pp. 214f.

5. J. N. S. I., xv, pp. 214f.
of Eastern India, who might, as yet unknown to us, have borne the biruda of 'Vigrahapāla'? Both of them had a fairly long reign and were mighty monarchs ruling over extensive territories. It is, therefore, not a little intriguing that with the exception of a solitary freak gold coin of Devapāla of doubtful attribution, there should be no extant coins definitely assignable to either of them. Mention of the excavation of a tank at a cost of 3,000 drammās in the Mahābodhi (Bodhgaya) inscription of the 26th year of the reign of Dharmapāla, suggests that some sort of silver currency called drammās was not unknown in Magadha during his reign. It will indeed be tempting to equate the Vigrahapāla coins, or Vigrahapāla-drammās, as they are called in the Siyadhoni inscription and in the Lekhapaddhati with the drammās mentioned in the Mahābodhi (Bodhgaya) inscription of Keśava, and attribute their issue to Dharmapāla of Magadha. This will not be inconsistent with our finding that the earliest of the Vigrahapāla coins are earlier than the earliest of the Ādivarāha coins of Bhoja I of Kanauj. There are, however, certain difficulties in the acceptance of such an attribution.

We have already seen that typologically the earliest Vigrahapāla coins are more directly descended their from Sassanian prototype than the earliest Ādivarāha coins. As, however, Indian coin-types are predominantly local in character, it is difficult to believe that any Magadhan king could have used such a typical Sassanian device for the currency of his territory, situated so far away from the Sassanian pale. Moreover, if the Vigrahapāla coins were issued by the Pāla kings of Eastern India, is it not a little strange that they are not found in greater abundance in Bengal, the home-territory of the Pālas? Actually Vigrahapāla-coins have come to light very rarely in Bengal. Only one such coin was found in the course of excavations at Paharpur, while the excavations at Bāngarh yielded none. On the other hand, Vigrahapāla-coins are discovered frequently in Bihar and in Uttar Pradesh, including some of the most western districts of the latter. Recently a hoard of these coins, number-

2. Gauḍātekhamūla, pp. 29-32 and Plate.
4. Sen, Dr. B. C., Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal, p. 571.
The excavations at Ahichchhatrā (Rāmnagar in the Bareilly District, U. P.) have brought to light, besides stray pieces of Ādivarāha and Vigrahapāla coins in the same stratum, a single hoard of these two classes of coins, which is now being studied by the present writer. In connection with the study of the coins in that hoard, he took the opportunity of studying three other hoards which were discovered in the districts of Kheri, Aligarh and Hamirpur respectively and acquired by the Lucknow Museum. All the three hoards comprise both Vigrahapāla and Ādivarāha drammas, the Hamirpur hoard containing in addition a few Vināyakapāla drammas as well. This frequent occurrence of Vigrahapāla drammas in association with Ādivarāha drammas in different hoards, and occasionally also with Vināyakapāla drammas cannot be without any significance. While the occurrence of the Ādivarāha and Vigrahapāla drammas in the same hoard will indicate that these two classes of coins were circulating almost contemporaneously over the same area, the absence of any specimen among either class, counterstruck with the motifs of the other, will suggest that their issuers did not possibly stand in hostile relation to each other. The Hamirpur hoard in the Lucknow Museum is particularly illuminating, and, in our opinion, almost clinches the issue. This hoard, as mentioned above, contains a few Vināyakapāla drammas, besides a large number of Ādivarāha and Vigrahapāla drammas. As the Ādivarāha and the Vināyakapāla drammas represented in this hoard, are undoubtedly the coins of the Gurjara-Prathīhāras of Kanauj, it is only reasonable to hold that the third currency, namely, the Vigrahapāla drammas, also represented in this hoard and frequently found along with Ādivarāha drammas in several other hoards should belong to the same dynasty. When it is further seen that there is not a single reference to the Vigrahapāla drammas as such, in the numerous Pāla records, while they are repeatedly mentioned along with Ādivarāha

4. In none of the hoards and museum collections of these coins so far examined by the present writer has he come across any such counter-struck piece.
5. The former coins are generally attributable to Bhoja I-Ādivarāha (e. A.D. 835-85), though the more debated specimens might have been issued by his two immediate successors, Mahendravarāha I (e. A.D. 885-910) and Bhoja II (e. A.D. 911-14); see, *J. N. S. I.*, xx, p. 214. The correct attribution of the Vināyakapāla coins is due to Dr. V. S. Agrawala; see, *J. N. S. I.*, x, pp. 28 ff.
drâmmas in an epigraph recording a series of donations made in the reign of the Gurjara-Pratihāra kings, Mahendrapāla I and his successors between V. S. 960 and 1025 (c. A.D. 903-4 to 968-69), in favour of various Brahmanical deities at Siyaḍōṇi (Siron Khurd in the Jhansi District, U. P.), the conclusion becomes unavoidable that the Vigrahapāla coins were not issued by any of the Pāla kings of Magadha, but by one of the Gurjara-Pratihāra kings of Kanauj. Indeed, on the evidence of the Siyaḍōṇi inscription alone, Cunningham had been led to suggest that the Vigrahapāla coins might have been issued by a prince of “the Raghuvansa family of Bhoja Deva, as all of his known successors took the suffix of Pāla.”1 He was, however, presumably hinting at one of the successors of the Gurjara-Pratihāra Bhoja I as its issuer. But, as we have already seen, the earliest of the Vigrahapāla drâmmas must be considered earlier in point of date than the earliest of the Adivarāha drâmmas. As such, it is not possible to attribute the former to one of his successors, and may, therefore, have to be assigned either to the earlier part of the reign the Bhoja I, or more probably to one of his predecessors, namely, Nāgabhaṭa II (c. A.D. 805-33), who was the first to transfer the family’s seat to Kanauj and lay the foundation of its imperial greatness. It is not impossible that Nāgabhaṭa II-Nāgāvaloka assumed, as yet unknown to us, a biruda ending with the pāla-suffix, such as these coins suggest, after coming into contact with the Pāla kings of Magadha in the Gangetic Doab, though names or birudas ending with the pāla-suffix do not appear to have become a common practice in the family till after his grandson Bhoja I Adivarāha. It is possible that after Nāgabhaṭa II, coins of this class as represented by the debased specimens continued to be minted by his son and grandson, Rāmabhadrā and Bhoja I till the latter was in a position to strike coins in his own assumed name of Adivarāha with the figure of striding Adivarāha on the obverse.

The frequent occurrence of the Vigrahapāla drâmmas in Bihar does not go against their assignment to the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Nāgabhaṭa II as suggested above, for a large number of these coins could easily have found their way into Magadha in the wake of the conquests of Mahendrapāla I in that region.

1. C. M. I., p. 51.
REVIEW

CLIVE AS AN ADMINISTRATOR

By Dr. Nandalal Chatterji

Published by the Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad.

Price Rs. 10/-

The latest work by Dr. Nandalal Chatterji of the University of Lucknow on "Clive as an Administrator" adds a valuable link to the chain of historical literature relating to the formative period of British History in India in which Lord Clive occupied a unique place. But Clive's work in India is not of interest only to students of British History, it is also interesting to the students of Indian History as such. Clive's work in India throws light upon many obscure aspects of India's economic and social conditions with which Dr. Nandalal Chatterji deals in a comprehensive manner. These are dealt with in chapters treating of Clive and Usury, the Company’s Gumasthas, Illicit Arms Traffic, and the like. Thus the book is a valuable contribution to the economic history of India for the period. It was a very happy thought of the author to have devoted the latter part of the work to the collection of select documents as original sources of its history. Among these documents may be mentioned those relating to Clive's Appointment, Grant of Diwani which marked the beginning of British rule in India, Private Inland Trade and the like. The volume fills up a gap in our knowledge of British Indian History and reflects credit on the author, already well-known as the author of several scholarly works, not merely for the original material it presents, but also for the manner of its presentation in clear and lucid language for which he is noted. I hope he will continue to enrich our historical literature by such scholarly publications.

Radha Kumud Mookerji.
Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Uttar Pradesh Historical Society, held on Monday, April 4, 1955, at 5-30 P. M., in the office of the Faculty of Arts, Lucknow University.

Present:
Hon'ble Dr. Sampurnanand (President), Sri Prayag Dayal, Dr. N. L. Chatterji, Prof. C. D. Chatterji, Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, Dr. Radha Kamal Mukherji, Dr. S. L. Pande, Sri M. M. Nagar, Mrs. R. D. Srivastava, Miss C. K. Sachdeva, Sri R. N. Misra, Sri R. L. Sharma, Sri G. Awasthi, Sri K. D. Pandey, Sri M. B. L. Dar, Dr. B. N. Puri, Sri R. N. Nagar, Sri B. D. Rai, Sri B. N. Srivastava and Dr. R. K. Dikshit (Secretary).

1. Offered felicitations to Hon'ble Dr. Sampurnanand, the President of the Society, on his appointment as the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

2. Read and adopted Secretary's Report on the working of the Society for the year 1954.

3. Passed the accounts for the year 1954, and the budget estimates for:
   (i) the period from 1. 1. 55 to 31. 3. 55, and
   (ii) for the financial year 1955-56.

4. Read and approved the Audit Report for the year 1954.

5. Resolved that the Government of Uttar Pradesh be requested to sanction a non-recurring grant of Rs. 2,000/- in the current financial year to balance the deficit.

6. Resolved further that an application be made to the Government to raise the existing grant of the Society from Rs. 2,000/- to Rs. 5,000/- to enable the Society to function satisfactorily.

7. Resolved that the attention of the U. P. Government be drawn to the desirability of repairing the historic Residency buildings at Lucknow which are in a dilapidated and battle scarred state, and of housing the state Records Office there, for all over India and other countries the state archives are always kept near the seat of the Government.
8. Resolved that the Hon'ble Chief Minister of U. P. be requested to revive the Archaeological Department, abolished two years ago, from the new financial year and to allow sufficient funds for carrying on exploration work in this State.

9. Resolved that the Society should become a member of the Indian History Congress with effect from the year 1955.

10. Resolved that the following gentlemen be elected as the office-bearers of the Society for the year 1955-56:

   i. President
   ii. Vice-Presidents
   iii. Hon'ly Secretary
   iv. Treasurer
   v. Chief Editor
   vi. Auditor
   vii. Members of the Executive Committee
   viii. Members of the Editorial Board

   Hon'ble Dr. Sampurnanand
   Sri Prayag Dayal
   Dr. N. L. Chatterji
   Dr. R. K. Dikshit
   Sri B. N. Srivastava
   Prof. C. D. Chatterjee
   Sri R. S. Pande
   Dr. Banarsi Prasad
   Dr. S. L. Pande
   Sri M. M. Nagar
   Dr. N. L. Chatterji
   Sri M. M. Nagar

11. Resolved that the following members should be nominated as the representatives of the Society to the next session of the Indian History Congress and other Societies and Associations:

   1. Indian History Congress
   2. All India Oriental Conference
   3. Indian Historical Records Commission
   4. Museums Association of India
   5. Numismatic Society of India

   Prof. C. D. Chatterjee
   Sri M. M. Nagar
   Dr. N. L. Chatterji
   Sri K. D. Bajpai
   R. B. Prayag Dayal

The meeting terminated with a vote of cordial thanks to the chair.

R. K. DIKSHIT,
Honorary Secretary.

SAMPURNANAND,
President.

U. P. Historical Society,
Lucknow.
April 4, 1955.
Annual Report

The U. P. Historical Society now completes 37 years of its fruitful existence. It can look back with justifiable pride and satisfaction on the amount of useful work it has done for the cause of historical studies in Uttar Pradesh. The members of the Society, by their personal efforts and examples, have raised the standard of historical research and teaching in the educational institutions, while its publications have focussed public attention on the important problems and new researches in the field of Indian History and Archaeology. It is a matter of satisfaction to us to note that our Society is reckoned amongst the leading Historical Associations in the Country.

The last Annual Meeting of the Society was held on the 14th of February, 1954, when the following office-bearers were elected:

President
Hon'ble Dr. Sampurnanand

Vice-Presidents
Sri Prayag Dayal and
Dr. Nandalal Chatterji

Honorary Secretary
Dr. R. K. Dikshit

Honorary Treasurer
Sri M. M. Nagar

Editor-in-Chief
Prof. C. D. Chatterjee.

An ad hoc Executive Committee, consisting of the above and
1. Sri B. N. Srivastava,
2. Sri S. C. Kala, and
3. Dr. S. L. Pandey, was also elected.

It was subsequently resolved at a general meeting of the Society held on April 28, 1954, that the ad hoc Committee do function as the Executive Committee for the year.

Shri M. M. Nagar, on account of his other preoccupations, resigned the post of the Hony. Treasurer, and Shri B. N. Srivastava was elected in his place by the Executive Committee on October 16, 1954.

The Society is also glad to record the signal honour bestowed on its respected president, Dr. Sampurnanand, who has been appointed the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh. We look forward to years of useful service under his able guidance.
The year under review was rather important in the history of the Society. First of all, in accordance with a resolution passed at the last Annual Meeting, a constitution was framed for the Society. It was passed by the Executive Committee on April 5, 1954, and ratified by the General Body on April 28, 1954. Secondly, the Society has been registered under the Registration of Societies Act XXI of 1860. These two things have placed our Society on a sound legal basis.

Another important innovation was in respect of the Journal. It was decided by the Board of Editors, with the approval of the Executive Committee, to close the old series of the Journal with Vol. XXV, and to start a New Series, Vol. I of which was to be for the year 1953. It was also decided to publish an Index Volume of the earlier series. Circumstances permitting, we hope to bring out two issues of the Journal in a year. We have actually made a beginning in that direction.

The Society has adopted a new Seal and an appropriate Motto, the significance of which has been discussed by the learned Editor in his Editorial Notes appended to Vol. I of the New Series.

Further, the office of the Society which had so far been located in the State Museum was transferred to the Department of History, Lucknow University. We keenly feel the necessity of a permanent home for the Society to house its Office and Library.

We had, during the year, 3 meetings of the Executive Committee (respectively held on April 5, Sept. 9, and October 16) and a meeting of the General Body on April 28, 1954. We had also organised a public lecture on 21-10-54, the lecturer being Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, M. P., a distinguished life member of the Society.

Various factors had delayed the publication of the Journal in the past. During the year under review was published a combined issue (Vol. XXIV-XXV) for the years 1951 & 1952. It has been ably edited by Dr. V. S. Agarwala, and includes a number of learned articles.

The new editor Shri C. D. Chatterjee has laboured hard to make the Journal up-to-date, and it is expected that Vol. I (N. S.) for the
year 1953 and part I of Vol. II (N. S.) for the year 1954 will soon be in our hands. The manuscript of the Index Volume is also in the press.

There was a great demand for the publications of the Society from Indian and foreign customers, and we sold, during the year, the Memoirs and the back numbers of the Journal for Rs. 664/5/-

One of the Memoirs, viz. The Geographical and Economic Studies in the Upayana Parva, has gone out of stock, though there is still a demand for it.

40 issues of different Journals, obtained in exchange, were added to our library during 1954.

The Society was represented at Historical and allied Congresses and conferences. One of our representatives, Dr. S. N. Das Gupta, presided at a section of the Ahmedabad Session of the Indian History Congress.

26 new members joined the Society during 1954. I take this opportunity of extending to them, on behalf of us all, a hearty welcome to our fraternity.

There was no financial crisis during the year, but our very limited means seriously handicap the Society in the attainment of its objects. While the sister institution, the Bihar Historical Society, is receiving a grant of Rs. 10,000/- per annum from the Government of that State, our grant is only a fifth of that amount which is not sufficient even to cover the cost of printing the Journal.

The Society urgently needs assistance to bring out a catalogue of the Manuscripts in its possession and to publish them. A rare Manuscript of Śringāra-mañjari is being studied by Dr. Bhagirath Mishra, who hopes to bring out a critical edition of it. It also needs funds to acquire the missing numbers of the various Journals for its library, in order to equip it into a really first class Research Library in the State.

The Society also feels the desirability of publishing a descriptive list of historical monuments, and small brochures on archaeological sites in the State, as well as to undertake exploration and excavation of the ancient sites.
It would be our aim to achieve these ends, so far as possible, within the coming year, and we would appeal to the Government of the State to help us, in the realisation of our objects, by increasing the grant of the Society to at least Rs. 5,000/- per annum.

Lastly, I deem it my pleasant duty to record my grateful thanks to Dr. Sampurnanand for his constant interest and valuable guidance in the work of the Society.

I also thank my friend Shri B. N. Srivastava, Hony. Treasurer, the Executive Committee, Editorial Board, and other members for their willing co-operation and keen interest in the affairs of the Society.

U. P. Historical Society,
Lucknow.

R. K. DIKSHIT,
Honorary Secretary.
### Statement of Accounts (Income and Expenditure) of the U. P. Historical Society for the year 1954.

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<td><strong>2. Gupta Art Rs. 55-0-0</strong></td>
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Sd./ B. N. Srivastava, Honorary Treasurer, U. P. Historical Society, Lucknow.

January, 1955,
Department of History,
Lucknow University.

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Rupees Three Thousand Six Hundred Eighty-eight, Annas Fourteen and Pies Three only.

B. N. SRIVASTAVA,
Hony. Treasurer,
U. P. Historical Society,
Lucknow.
## Budget Estimates for the year 1955-56.

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B. N. SRIVASTAVA,  
Hony. Treasurer,  
U. P. Historical Society,  
Lucknow.
U. P. HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
LUCKNOW.

Patron
Dr. K. M. Munshi, Sri Rajyapal of Uttar Pradesh.

Office-bearers
President
Hon’ble Dr. Sampurnanand, Chief Minister, U. P.

Vice-Presidents
Sri Prayag Dayal,
Dr. N. L. Chatterji.

Hony. Secretary.
Dr. R. K. Dikshit.

Hony. Treasurer.
Sri M. M. Nagar (up to 16th October, 1954).
Sri B. N. Srivastava (from 17th October, 1954).

Hony. Auditor
Sri R. S. Pande.

Editor
Prof. C. D. Chatterjee.

Members of the Executive Committee
Dr. S. L. Pande,
Sri S. C. Kala,
Sri B. N. Srivastava (up to 17th October, 1954).

Members of the Editorial Board
Dr. N. L. Chatterji,
Sri M. M. Nagar,
Prof. C. D. Chatterjee (Chairman).
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Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology,
Lucknow University,
Lucknow (India).

EDITOR,

Journal of the U. P. Historical Society.
PUBLICATIONS OF THE U. P. HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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   Rs. 5/-
   (Out of stock)

2. Dr. V. S. Agrawala: Gupta Art.
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Vol I (New Series) Parts 1—2.

To be had of

The Honorary Secretary,

The U. P. Historical Society,
Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology,
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Printed by R. D. Seth at the Pioneer Press,
Lucknow—281.
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