The Journal of the U. P. Historical Society

III (New Series) Part I

PUBLISHED BY THE HONY. SECRETARY, U. P. HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

1955
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 B. N. Srivastava.

Hony. Auditor
Sri R. S. Pande.

Editor
Prof. C. D. Chatterjee.

Members of the Executive Committee
Dr. S. L. Pande,
Sri M. M. Nagar,
Dr. Banarai Prashad.

Members of the Editorial Board
Dr. N. L. Chatterji,
Sri M. M. Nagar,
Prof. C. D. Chatterjee (Chairman).
NOTICE

All articles, with or without photos, drawings and maps, intended for publication in the Journal of the U. P. Historical Society, should be sent by registered post to the Editor, at his address given below. Articles should be either typed or neatly written, as far as possible, singly on one side of the paper. If any article is not considered to be suitable for publication in the Journal, it will be returned to the sender, within three months of the date of its receipt. The Editor is not to be expected to state the reason for not publishing a particular article in the Society’s Journal.

All articles published in the Journal, shall be treated as the copyright of the U. P. Historical Society, and they cannot be reproduced elsewhere in any form, without the written consent of the Editor.

The system of transliteration adopted by the Society for the New series of its Journal, is the same as that followed by the Archaeological Department of the Government of India for its official publications.

The Society pays to all contributors at the rate of Rs. 3/- per each fully printed page, for their articles published in its Journal.

All contributors must be prepared to read the proofs of their articles, and no exception will be made in this case.

Books may be reviewed in the Journal, if their authors send two copies of their respective works to the Editor for the purpose. No guarantee can be given regarding the time to be taken for the publication of the review of a particular work; but the Editor will try his best to publish it as early as possible, in the interest of historical research. Books reviewed in the Journal cannot be returned.

All communications, except those which are specifically meant for the Editor, should be sent to the Hon. Secretary of the U. P. Historical Society also at the address given below.

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 SO

Memoirs.

1. Dr. Moti Chandra: Geographical and Economic Studies of Mahābhārata, Upāyana-parva. [Out of reach]

2. Dr. V. S. Agrawala: Gupta Art.

3. Dr. Moti Chandra: Technique of Mughal Painting. [Price]

The following back numbers of the Journal of the U. P. Historical Society are also available:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Volume</th>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Volume</th>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 5/-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 5/-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 5/-</td>
<td>XI</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 5/-</td>
<td>XI</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 5/-</td>
<td>XII</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>Rs. 5/-</td>
<td>XII</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 5/-</td>
<td>XIII</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 5/-</td>
<td>XIII</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
<td>XV</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
<td>XV</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
<td>XVIII</td>
<td>I &amp; II</td>
<td>Rs. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
<td>XIX</td>
<td>I &amp; II</td>
<td>Rs. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
<td>XX</td>
<td>I &amp; II</td>
<td>Rs. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
<td>XXII</td>
<td>I &amp; II</td>
<td>Rs. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
<td>XXIII</td>
<td>I &amp; II</td>
<td>Rs. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
<td>XXIV &amp; XXV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


To be had of

The Honorary Secretary,
The U. P. Historical Society,
Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology,
Lucknow University,
Lucknow (Inherently)

Printed by R. D. Seth at the Pioneers Press,
Lucknow—261.
CONTENTS

1. Munthala Stone Inscription, Kṛita Year 89 [4]—By Dr. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. .. 1

2. The Government’s Attitude to Hindi-Urdu-Hindusthani in the Post-Mutiny Period—By Dr. N. L. Chatterji, M. A., Ph. D., D. Litt. .. 10

3. The Anglo-Dutch Conflict in the East Indies—By Dr. S. N. Das Gupta, M. A., D. Litt. .. 35

4. Some Unpublished Letters about Goa (1835 A. D.)—By Sri Dayal Dass, M. A. .. 50

5. Napoleon’s Egyptian Expedition and Its Repercussions on Wellesley’s Policy—By Dr. G. S. Misra, M. A., Ph. D. .. 62

6. Lord Elgin I and the Social Reforms—By Dr. (Miss) Brij Saigal, M. A., Ph. D. .. 81

7. Review .. 89
CONTENTS

1. Eran Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta—By Dr. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph. D. .......... 91
2. Kingship in the Vishnu-Smriti—By Dr. R. K. Dikshit, M.A., Ph. D. .......... 101
3. The Tri-Kalingadhipati of Hiuen Tsang’s Times and King Himaśītala of the Acalaūka Tradition—By Dr. Jyoti Prasad Jain, M.A., LL. B., Ph. D. .......... 108
5. Cosmetics and Coiffure as Sculptured in the Khajuraho Temples—By Dr. (Mrs.) Urmila Agarwal, M.A., Ph. D. .......... 144
6. Numismatic Studies—II. The Apratīgha Type of Coins of Kumāragupta I—By Sri N.N. Das Gupta, M.A. .......... 156
I hope, the New Series will be a great success and am glad to see that the Department of History, Lucknow University, is associating itself with the Journal. This will lead to continuity. The U. P. is still almost virgin soil for the archaeologist and historian, and there is a great amount of material in this State which has always been the centre of Indian culture generally from early times.

I wish the Society increased strength and success.

[Signature]
MUNGTHALA STONE INSCRIPTION, KRITA YEAR 89[4]

By

Dr. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D.,
Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.

Mungthala near Kharadi is an old village in the Sirohi District (old Sirohi State) of Rajasthan. Two inscribed stone slabs are embedded in the walls of the temple of Mahâdeva in that village. The first of these slabs is fixed in the south wall of the temple and the second in its north wall. The two slabs contain respectively 15 and 12 lines of writing. The inscribed space on the first measures about 19½ inches in breadth and 20½ inches in height while the writing on the second covers a space about 15½ inches broad and 19½ inches high. From an examination of the impressions, it appears that the preservation of the writing on both the slabs is unsatisfactory. Some letters on the borders of the slabs seem to be either lost or built into the walls. The writings on the two slabs appear to form parts of a single record, the inscription on the second slab being a continuation of that on the first.

The characters belong to the Northern Alphabet of the eighth century A. D. The jihvâmuliya is once wrongly used in Slab I, line 5. The single or double daṇḍa is often preceded by a visarga-like sign. The language of the inscription is corrupt Sanskrit and the orthography exhibits a large number of errors possibly due to
the influence of local pronunciation. The scribe seems to have been eager to impart the idea that his composition is partially in verse, although he had little idea about the metres. Interesting from the orthographical point of view is the representation of *sh* by ś, *y* by i, *rsh* by ri, *l* by ly, *sch* by śchy, *yu* by u, *ś* by s, etc. An imprecatory stanza is quoted in Slab II, lines 7-9; but the text, especially of its first half, which is not usually found in inscriptions, is exceptionally corrupt.

The date of the inscription is quoted in Slab I, lines 1-2: Kiritesu—āṣṭaśu variśa-śateśu...vata-yadhikesu Māgha-bahul-āṣṭamyāni, correctly Kiritesho—āṣṭaśhu varsha-śateshu...vata-yadhikeshu, etc. The letters vata-yadhikeshu no doubt point to the lost letter at the beginning of the passage to have been na. Only one other letter is lost before this na at the beginning of the line. Traces of a letter at the end of the previous line (line 1) suggest the reading cha. If this indication is correct, the reading must be caturnavati. The date of the inscription thus appears to be the Kṛita year 894 (837 A. D.), Māgha-badi 8. In any case, there is no doubt that the date of this inscription falls between the Kṛita years 891 and 899 (i.e. between 834 and 842 A. D.), although the reading does not appear to be dvi-navati, tri-navati or shan-navati, our choice being confined to ika-navati, catur-navati, pañcha-navati, sapatya-navati, asha-navati and nava-navati.

Some letters at the beginning of the inscription (Slab I, line 1) are lost; but the line seems to have begun with the Siddham symbol followed by a passage like namah Śivāya. This is followed (lines 1-2) by the date already discussed above. It is then said that a certain person named Subhadra made a gift (cf. dadaṭi) with a view to attaining what seems to be mentioned as svarga-phala, that is to say, with his passage after death to heaven as the object in view. The next sentence refers to the gift that was made by Subhadra. It says that the said person gave away whatever land was asked for verbally, apparently by the temple authorities of the village. This gift land is next stated to have consisted of six pieces of both dry (sthalāḥ) and wet (kedārāḥ) land. The six plots of land are then enumerated. The first plot, measuring five Droṇas, was granted in favour of the āyatana or temple of the god Śambhu (Śiva). In East Indian inscriptions, Droṇa is also called Droṇavāpa, i.e. an area of
land on which one Droṣa weight of paddy seeds (or seedlings of the same weight of paddy) could be sown (cf. Bhārata Kaumudi, Part II, pp. 943 ff.). Unfortunately, the area cannot be definitely determined. The object of this gift was to provide for guggula (a particular gum resin), lamps (dīpa) and oil (taila) as well as for the repairs of the temple. The second plot, also measuring five Droṇas, was granted in favour of the god Muṅgaḍeśvara (Sanskrit Muddgaretvāra?), probably the chief deity worshipped in the Śiva temple referred to above. The object of this gift was the provision of guggula, dīpa and taila in equal shares for the various deities that were already installed in the temple in question and also those that might be installed in it in future. The third plot of the gift land, which is stated to have been granted in favour of the god Bhatheśvara, measured two Droṇas. It is difficult to determine whether the name of the deity in this case has been correctly spelt or it is a mistake for a name like Bhūteśvara. The fourth plot of land, granted in favour of the goddess Āmbalohikā or Āmralohikā, also consisted of two Droṇas. The name of the goddess reminds us of Āmralohitā mentioned in the Kureṭhā (Sivapuri District, old Gwalior State, now in Madhya Bharat) copper-plate inscription (V. S. 1277=1220-21 A. D.) of the Pratihāra king Malayavarman, which is being published in the Epigraphia Indica. The names of these goddesses representing aspects of the Indian Mother-goddess exhibit a confusion between the Dravidian word amba or amma (literally, ‘mother’) and Prakrit ambā=Śanskrit āmra, ‘mango’. This is clearly suggested by the mythology of the Jain goddess Ambikā that is an adaptation of the Brahmanical Mother-goddess of the same name but is intimately associated with both mangoes and the mango-tree (cf. J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XXVIII, pp. 201 ff.)

The above part of the inscription is followed by the names of a large number of witnesses. Some of these were: Chhāṇḍa son of Bhāṭa; Bhādra son of Jhāmjha; Bāuḍa son of Vāṇi and grandson of Jampabharita; Sira, Pura, Mahi, Sāicha, Madāi, Avika and Māicha, who were sons of Rāja; Sahita son of Āṇapta; Dutako; Sattra son of Vāṇi; and Dadā son of Maṭchha. The last two lines (lines 14-15) of the visible part of the inscription on Slab I are damaged. It is again uncertain whether a few lines of writing are lost after them. There is however a possibility that this part contained a reference
to the fifth of the six plots of gift land mentioned in line 4. It will be seen that four out of the six plots have already been enumerated in lines 4-9. The sixth and last plot of land is, as will be seen below, mentioned in the inscription on Slab II. Thus the enumeration of the fifth plot of the gift land seems to be lost in lines 14-15 on Slab I or in one or more lines that may have followed but are now completely lost.

The inscription on Slab II begins with the list (lines 1-3) of a number of witnesses possibly associated with the grant of the fifth plot of land, the reference to which is now lost. These witnesses were: Geriviḍajeu son of Māḥisudhāka-bhāṭa; Vaṇi, Gauḍa, Kesādā, Netuā and Chhāha who were sons of Avuṛgāmva; and Achuvaṇa son of Bhāṭa. This is followed in lines 3 ff. by the mention of the sixth piece of the gift land. This plot was situated in a locality, the name of which ended in bhāṁvāṇa. It appears that the plot measured five Kulakas and was granted for making provision of tīla or sesame. The area of the land-measure called Kulaka cannot be determined. It seems to have been smaller than the East Indian Kulayavāṇa which was equal to eight Droṇavāṇas. This plot was a gift made in favour of the god Mogaḍeśvara, apparently identical with Muṇgaḍeśvara mentioned in Slab I, line 6. In lines 5-7 we have a statement to the effect that, if anybody had any say in regard to the gift land, now the property of gods, he might recover it after making the donor Subhadra free from his debt (to the gods) by paying 10000 (ten thousand) Dramas (i.e. coins called Dramma after the Greek Drachm). Lines 7-9 quote an imprecatory verse to which reference has been made above. The following lines (lines 9-11) state that whatever belonged to the donor Subhadra at the time of the grant would have to be enjoyed by him so long as he lived and that after his death all that would pass on to the possession of the god Mogaḍeśvara-Śaṅkara, i.e. Śiva Muṇgaḍeśvara or Muṇgaḍeśvara who, as suggested above, was the main deity worshipped at the old temple at Munthala (possibly ancient Muṇgaḍa-sthala). Line 12 of the writing on Slab II is damaged.

The importance of the inscription lies in the mention of the era, to which its date has been referred, as Kṛīta. It is well known that the Vikrama Saṃvat of 58 B.C. was at first styled Kṛīta, that later it was associated with the Mālava people or their rulers and
that ultimately, with the development of the saga of king Vikramāditya of Ujjayini, its foundation came to be connected, about the eighth century A. D., with that famous monarch of Indian tradition and folklore. The era seems to have originated in East Iran and to have been brought from there to Sind and the Punjab by the Scythians and from the Punjab to Rajputana by the Mālavas who originally lived in the Punjab to the north of the confluence of the Chenab and the Ravi but later migrated to the Jaipur region of Rajasthan (cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 125, note; p. 144, note). The Maukharis (possibly of Mālava origin), who originally lived in Rajasthan but later migrated to the U. P. and Bihar, carried the use of the same era to those areas (cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, 42 ff.; *ibid.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 115 ff.). The popularity of the era spread widely over North India owing to the patronage of such imperial families as the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty and to the growth of the Vikramāditya tradition to which the Jains appear to have contributed considerably. The students of the Ujjayini school of astronomy appear also to have contributed to its popularity. As to the Mālava association of the era, it may be pointed out that it was first connected with the Mālava people or their republic (Bhandarkar’s List, Nos. 3, 6, 9), then with the Mālava royal family (probably meaning the Aulikara dynasty; *ibid.*, No. 7) and ultimately with the king or kings of the Mālava people or of the Mālava country (*ibid.*, Nos. 16, 18). In the eighth century, this association was transferred to the traditional Vikramāditya regarded as the king *par excellence* of Mālava or Ujjayini, although the root of this seems to have lain in the extirpation of the Śakas of Malwa and the installation of the Aulikaras in that area by the first historical Vikramāditya, i.e. Chandragupta II (376-414 A.D.). In the early Aulikara records, the era is styled *Krīta*, although it is associated often at the same time with the Mālava people (*ibid.*, Nos. 3-5). The earlier inscriptions (ibid., Nos. 1, 2; *Ep., Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 42 ff.) call the era *Krīta*, but do not connect it specially with the Mālavas. The real significance of the name *Krīta* is unknown; but it may be the personal name of a leader of the Mālava people who probably succeeded in overthrowing Kūshāṇa suzerainty in Rajasthan about the end of the second century A. D. Another possibility is that *Krīta* is the Indianised form of a foreign word connected with the Scytho-Parthian origin of the era. The same word was sometimes also Sanskritised as *krīta*
(cf. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang’s Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 265). The latest published record applying the name *Krita* to the Vikrama Samvat bears a date in the year 481 = 424 A. D. But the present record of 837 A. D., showing that the old name of the era was still remembered at least in Rajputana more than four centuries later, points to the vitality of the tradition relating to the original name of the era. This is surprising in view of the fact that the Vikramāditya association of the era was fully established by this time (cf. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, No. 27).
Muogthala Stone Inscription
First Slab.

U. P. H. S.,
al. III, Pt. I.

D. C. Sircar.
First Slab

[cha][5].
je[19] cha [ke*]-
7. ch[i]t tattrā devā[h*] pratishṭhitā[h*] : [20] pratishṭhāpyaṁti[21] 
tesh[ā]m

1. From impressions.
2. This part seems to have contained the Siddham symbol followed by the passage namah Śivaya.
3. Read Kṛtesau=āṣṭāṣau.
4. Read varsha-katesau.
5. This letter is faintly traceable. The following two letters, at the beginning of the next line, which are totally lost, may have been tama so that the number indicated is chaturnavati.
6. Read o_vaty-adhikesau.
7. Seemingly this mark indicates the end of the first half of a verse. But it is better to omit it and write the sentence in the prose order.
8. The reading intended here may be svarga[0].
9. Read phala-nimitta or phala-ārtha.
10. Possibly we have to suggest mukhena.
11. Read y=ārthiṣa.
12. Read bhūmir=dattā.
13. Properly sthalās=cha kedaṛās=cha.
14. This is followed by the details regarding the six pieces of land.
15. Read o_vati bhūmih.
18. See note 15 above.
19. Read ye.
20. The mark of punctuation is superfluous.
21. Read pratishṭhāpyanta.
8. sa[m]vibhāgena¹ gugula-diva-tailya² : | dvi-droṇa[va*]|
   (yām | ⁴a
10. yattra sākshi⁵ Bhāṭa-putra-Chhāṇḍam⁶ ( | *) Jhāmjha-puttra-
   Bhadra(h | *)
11. Jampabharita-puttra-Vāṇi-pu[ttra]-Bāudha(h | *) Rāja-pu[ttra]-
   [Si]-
12. ra-Pura-Mahi-Sāicha-Madāi⁷-Avika-Māicha(chāḥ |) evaṁ s[ākshi-
   (kshi)]
13. [Āña]pta-pu[tta]-Saḥita(h | *) sākshi(kshi) Dutako ( | *)
   e[vam] Vāṇi-pu[ttra]-[Sa]-
14. ttra(ttra | ) [sā]kshi(kshi) Maṁchha-pu[ttra]-Dadā | ........
15. .............................................................

Second Slab

1. Yatra sākshi⁸ Māhisudhākabhaṭa-puttra-Geriviḍajeu ( | *) A-
2. vugāmva-puttra⁹ | Vāṇi-purvvakā¹⁰ sākshi¹¹ Gāudā | Kesāḍā |
3. Netuā | Chhāha¹² | Bhāta-puttra¹³-Achuvaka(h*): | anya(h*) cha
   bhumi¹⁴-khāṁḍa(h*)
4. ........bhāmvane pa(m*)cha-kulakavattrā¹⁵ tilānā¹⁶ ( | *) tā¹⁷
   cha Mo(m*ga)desva(sva)[re | *]

---
¹ Read sāmśvibhāgena or better samśvibhāgena (cf. Slab II, line 11).
² Read guggula-diṣṭa-tailam.
³ a Read oṣati bhūmiḥ.
4 It is difficult to determine the correct form of the name. May it be Bhūteśvara ?
5 See foot-note 2a above.
⁶ A. The Sanskrit form of the deity's name would be Āmralohikā.
⁷ The intended reading is sākṣi; but read sākshiṇaḥ.
⁸ The intended reading seems to be Chhāṇḍaḥ.
⁹ The rules of Saudhi have been ignored here.
10 Read sākshiṇaḥ.
11 Read pattrāḥ and omit the datḥ.
12 Read pārvakāḥ.
13 Read sākshiṇaḥ.
14 Better omit the dat ṭas and read the four names in a compound with the last one in the plural number.
15 The rules of Saudhi have been ignored here.
16 Read bhūmi.
17 Read sā with reference to bhūmiḥ understood.
Mungthala Stone Inscription
Second Slab.
5. ....1 yadi kasyachi(d*) vaktavyam² atta bhuh(bhū)my-arthe
tato drama-sa[ha*]-
6. srāṇi datvā(ṭṭvā) 10000 daśa: | ³ Subhadṛop⁴ niriṇi⁵ kṛītvā
ceta(t*)
7. cha devānā[ṁ] dravyāṁ grahetavyā⁶ || Datatā ravi-cha-
8. [ndra]-vaśeṇa deva-dravyeṇa: | sudari⁷ ( | * ) sa(sh)aśṭīṁ vaśa-
(rsha)-sa[hasrā]-
9. ni vishā(shthā)yāṁ jāyate kṛimi(ḥ*) [ : | 0— ] ja(ya)t=ki(ṁ*)-
chi(t*) Subhadrasya ch=a-
10. [dya] tat=saṃ(a)(ṁ*) jā(yā)va(j*)-ji(ji)vamāno⁸ tāva(d*) upa-
jate⁹ paśchyā(śchā)-
11. t=saṃ(t=sa)ra(ṁ*) Mo(m*)gaḍesva(śva)ra-Saṁ(Śaṁ)kare cha-
sa[mavi]bhāgai(ge)na pyā....
12. ....lāyate ya : | vāpya............

---

1. Possibly we have to read here asti.
2. The rules of Sandhi have been ignored here.
3. The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
4. Read Subhadrām.
5. Read niriṇaṁ.
6. Read grahītyayam.
7. I cannot suggest any proper emendation of this defective passage. But the idea seems
to be dattāṁ deva-dravyāṁ = upahartā na śudhyati.
8. Read ṣāmena tena.
9. The reading intended seems to be upāyuyate; but better read upabhaktavyam.
THE GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE TO HINDI-URDU-HINDUSTANI IN THE POST MUTINY PERIOD

By

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

Among the old records of the U. P. Government, I discovered a bundle of post-Muntiny papers which throw valuable light on the manner in which the problem of Hindi-Urdu-Hindustani as the court language of Oudh was viewed by the Government nearly eighty years ago. The records indicate that the authorities sought to favour Urdu and Hindustani out of political considerations, and the British policy was anti-Hindi from the very beginning.

It appears, however, that the Commissioner of the Patna Division (Mr. S. C. Bayley) made a plea for Hindi in Bihar, and stated that Hindi could be introduced into the courts and offices. He admitted that the Kayasthas and Muslims were opposed to the recognition of Hindi, but he wrote that he could not understand why Hindi which was the language of the people could not be recognised.

The supporters of Hindi gave the following arguments in support of Hindi:

1. Hindi is fit for the transaction of court business.

2. Hindi can also be written quickly by practice.

3. Hindi can be learnt easily in three or four months, but Persian can not be read without one or two years practice.

4. Hindi is better adapted for transliterations than Persian.

5. Hindi cannot be easily altered like Urdu, and so chances of fraud are negligible.

6. Hindi as court language is popular in Nepal, Nagpur and Almora.
7. Hindi takes a little more space in writing, but this defect cannot weigh against other considerations in favour of Hindi.

Most of the officials, however, rejected the claims of Hindi and supported Urdu and Hindustani on the following grounds:—

1. To call Hindi and Urdu two languages is to perpetuate a vicious error. They must be united into one full and harmonious language.

2. Recognition of Hindi would throw the Muslims out of employ.

3. Hindi is less intelligible than Urdu to the ordinary people.

4. Nagri writing is never used by the people. “There is in fact as little reason for introducing Nagri writing as for introducing Chinese”.

5. Hindi cannot be written in a running hand.

6. Bengalis imagine they can learn Hindi easily.

It was also argued by them that the antagonism between Hindi and Urdu must be diminished by all means. They seemed to think that Urdu and Hindustani were synonymous, and were of the opinion that Hindi was artificial and obsolete, being Sanskritic.

One official went to the extent of saying that Urdu, and not Hindi was the vernacular spoken by the people of Oudh. Another officer said that the Indian technical words were Arabic, and they should remain so. Another gentleman opined that the court language should be the common Hindustani, free as far as possible from Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit words.

The papers in question are so interesting and historically important that they are well worth a study. The relevant papers for the first time discovered by me lying uncared for in the mass of district records are printed here for the information of the students of modern Indian history.
"From"

THE OFFG. JUNIOR SECRETARY TO THE
CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF OU DH,

TO

THE COMMISSIONER OF LUCKNOW DIVISION.

Dated Lucknow, the 4th April 1876.

Sir,

I am directed to forward the correspondence, marginally noted, regarding the adoption of Hindi as the Court language of Oudh, and to request that you will favour the Chief Commissioner with your own opinion and with the view of your District Officers on the subject.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Yours most obedient servant,

C. WYLLIE,

Offg. Junior Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oudh.

"From Arthur Howell, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, to the Chief Commissioner of Oudh. Fort William, the 17th November 1875, No. 2/208.

Sir

I am directed to forward the accompanying papers, including a Minute by Mr. A. W. Croft, Inspector of Schools in Bengal, on the adoption of Hindi as the Court Language of Behar.
2. The Government of India are not aware how far Mr. Croft's remarks are applicable to the circumstances of Oudh, but desire to express general concurrence in the view that it is an object to diminish the antagonism between Hindi and Urdu, and that it is inexpedient to foster in Government or Aided Schools under the name of Hindi an artificial, Sanskritized language, which is in most cases as far removed from the common rustic vernacular as it is from the ordinary language of the towns. The Government of India are further of opinion that the Educational Departments can give efficient help in this matter in connexion with the preparation of text books.

3. I am to request that the final orders which you may pass on this question may be communicated to the Government of India.

Dated Lucknow the 24th November 1875.

Copy forwarded to Director of Public Instruction, with a request that he will state his view on the subject.

By order,
(Sd.) A. MURRAY,
Junior Secretary to Chief Commissioner of Oudh.”

“FROM C. E. BUCKLAND, ESQ., OFFICIATING JUNIOR SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, TO THQ COMMISSIONER OF PATNA DIVISION, NO. 17 S. T. ,DATED YACHT “RHOTAS,” THE 9TH JULY 1875.

With reference to your letter No. 182 J, dated 20th May last, reporting on a Nagri Pamphlet, entitled “Why should Nagri be introduced in the Courts and other Offices of Behar?” I am directed to forward for your information, a copy of a Note by Mr. A. W. Croft, Inspector of Schools, on “Hindi as the Court Language of Behar,” and to state that the Lieutenant Governor concurs generally in the views therein expressed.

2. His Honour has no desire to pass any orders that may countenance the idea that Hindi and Urdu are two distinct languages; but he recognizes the tendency of some writers of the former to reject every work which is not Sanskrit in origin, while some writers of Urdu confine themselves strictly to words of Persian origin. He would
wish to encourage the growth of a full, harmonious language, uniting
these two elements now separate and discordant; and for this pur-
pose he would require that all candidates for employment above the
lowest, should be equally familiar with both the Nagri and Persian
characters.

3. The Lieutenant Governor is of opinion that the order of
Government, terminating with Mr. Dampier's letter No. 1210, dated
2nd April 1874, should be steadily carried out. Those orders enjoined
that all processes, notifications, and proclamations should be made
in Hindi; that official records should be kept in Hindi; that petitions
should be received in either Hindi or Hindustani; and that a know-
ledge of the Hindi character should be insisted on in the case of
police officers and amlaha. The late Lieutenant Governor was
strongly opposed to making Hindi the exclusive court language at
present, and to this policy Sir Richard Temple desires to adhere.
It is apparent that there is some amount of passive obstructiveness
to be overcome, although progress is being made in the introduction
of the reform instituted by Government. His Honour trusts to you
to preserve steadily in the policy already indicated.

4. For these reasons the lieutenant Governor is unable to
accede to the request preferred by the subscribers to the pamphlet
above mentioned, and I am to ask you to communicate to the peti-
tioners this decision."

"NOTE BY A. W. CROFT, ESQ., INSPECTOR OF SCHOOLS,
ON "HINDI AS THE COURT LANGUAGE OF BEHAR," DATED
THE 16TH JUNE 1875.

The petition mixes up two things—the character and the lan-
guage—which should be kept distinct.

To call Hindi and Urdu two languages, is to perpetuate a
vicious error, originally due to the antagonism of Pundits and Mau-
lavis. They have the same accidence and syntax, and the same
stock of words for most simple objects and conceptions; they only
diverge when it is necessary to express the language of compliment,
of science, or of complex ideas in general. This is not to have two
languages, but to have a language capable of being enriched from
two different sources; and I conceive that it is the object of Govern-
ment to destroy or to diminish this antagonism,
It can do so in two ways,—in its ordinary civil administration, and by means of its educational machinery in the first place it can, I believe, do much more than it has yet done in discountenancing

It can do so in two ways,—in its ordinary civil administration, and by means of its educational machinery. In the first place it can, I believe, do much more than it has yet done in discountenancing the Persian Urdu of the public offices and courts—a language unintelligible to any native of this country who has not received a special education. I do not refer to technical terms of law or of civil business; these are in possession; they are as convenient as any, and they could not, in fact be replaced by others. They are parts of the Hindi language, just as the legal terms of French origin are parts of the English language, I refer to the jargon in which the body of court documents is couched; a language altogether Persian, except for Hindustani inflexions, and not always with that exception; a language known only to the initiated, who cling to it as the source of their livelihood. Government has repeatedly fulminated against this court language, and, I am told, much has been done towards simplifying it. But the effort requires constant vigilance; the amlahs have every interest in quietly opposing the change, and there still remain in constant use numbers of words and phrases that have not the smallest justification. This is to perpetuate the delusion of two languages; and still more, it is to give the largest section of the people a substantial grievance, by excluding them from the most lucrative forms of civil employ. So long as a document read out in court is not intelligible to any person, Hindu or Muhammadan, of fair education much remains to be done. As it is, our middle schools are deserted, because the education they give is valueless as an avenue to the civil employment. I cannot but believe that the constant and clear expression of the will of Government, the steady discouragement by all officers of exaggeration in language and the occasional rejection of a petition on this ground, would gradually, if not speedily—in the next generation of amlahs, if not in this—produce marked results.

The Education Department can, in a different fashion give efficient help towards the same end, namely, the unification of Hindi and Urdu. The books used in the Schools of Behar ought to be
books of such a style that they might be written in differently, and with equal propriety, in either character. No one will say, for example, that a sentence like “Suraj nikalta hai”, is distinctively Hindi or distinctively Urdu; and it is the business of the Education Department to extend the bounds of this common language. The test of a good School-book for Behar is, that it can be printed without violence in either character. Individual authors, on the other hand (with a few noticeable exceptions), generally strive to intensify the difference by rejecting every work which is not either Sanskrit in origin or Persian in origin for it is not to be supposed that pedantry is confined to writers of Urdu. On the contrary the pedantry that I have chiefly to complain of in my own work, is that of writer of Hindi. The Purism of men who carry their repugnance to Urdu so far as to say, not admi but manush, not sirf but kebal, not chiz but vastu, not magar but parantu, is a thing not to be tolerated in a region where some kind of compromise is necessary. In looking about for books for the Behar schools, I have had to reject numbers for this very fault; one in particular, an elemenary book of Natural History, which I sorely needed, but whose pages bristled with Sanskrit expressions for the commonest conceptions, e.g. Utpatti, Bishay, Manushya, brittanta, paranta, bahuddhu, nirog, karan; all occurring on a page taken at random.

This sort of pedantry reaches its culminating point in the very pamphlet sent for report; I transcribe the opening sentence:


This, coming in a prayer for the restoration of the language of the people, represents, I suppose, that language. It represents, I have no doubt, the language which its author would rejoice to introduce into the courts in place of Urdu. Nothing could be more intolerant or more ludicrous. It is like a man, in his zeal for pure English, rejecting the “impenetrability of matter,” and substituting the “unthorough foresomeness of stuff,”
It is well to recognize, in order to avoid it, the danger that lies before Government when it is asked to support Hindi against Urdu. The danger is that of committing itself to the cultivation of a language as artificial as the most Persianised Urdu, and having just as little relation to the ordinary speech of educated man, Hindus no less than Mussulmans.

I repeat my opinion that it is desirable for Government to guard most carefully against passing any orders which may countenance the idea that Hindi and Urdu are two distinct languages; and more particularly, having this object in view, to guard against encouraging eccentricities of style, whether having a Persian bias or a Sanskrit bias, such as I have described above I regard it as well worth the attention of Government to try, by every means at its command (the educational means being out the least efficacious), to unite these two elements, now separate and discordant, into one full and harmonious language. If civil officers will repress Persian exaggerations, the Education Department can wage vigorous war against Sanskrit aggressions. The result will be a joint language, abounding in synonyms of different origin; in this respect resembling English and the wealthier group of living languages. The varieties of such a language will differ no more than the style of Rasselas differs from that of the Lord's Prayer. It is equally English, whether you speak of "an unlikely thing to happen," or "an improbable event to occur," and it is only usage the determines which is the best style.

Such a language cannot be created by an edict. But authors in Behar and in the Nort-Western Provinces are even now grappling with the question, and Government can, by ready encouragement of such authors, and more especially by the organization of its schools, so control the tendencies of current literature, so help to fix the standard of educated a speech, as to hasten this desirable consummation. In an illiterate age and with no efforts of Government tending to promote the union. It took two centuries to weld the English and the French elements of the language into the national speech of England. It should not take so long now.

Only one condition that efforts are made so to settle the language question do I see any chance of satisfactorily meeting the second difficulty, that of character. Government has already done much.
All processes and notifications—all documents, in fact destined for service outside cities—are in Nagri, and all petitions may be presented in that character. If further, the order of the Magistrate where always transliterated, when required, from Urdu into nagri, probably every need of suitors would be satisfied. But it is not the needs of suitors that have prompted the present petition. It is the needs of that body of Hindus whose education does not fit them for the public service. And they are too numerous for their claims to be lightly set aside.

I should think it a very hazardous experiment definitely to substitute Hindi for Urdu as the language of the courts. The temporary block to public business would be a small matter compared with the political danger involved in the disaffection of a class of men, about whom the complaint already is that their means of living are too scanty. The Mahomedans in fact would be ousted from public employ. But the same principle of fairness to them suggests a course which might possibly be pursued in the interests of the large body of Hindus. Mr. Bayley says that all the Persian-writing amlahs have been required to pass an examination in Hindi; is it too much to require that Brahman and other Nagri-writing candidates for employment should pass (an examination in Urdu)? It is, no doubt, too much as matters stand; for we see that with the exception of the facile Kayasth, no Hindu will now submit to learn a foreign language, as the Urdu for the courts is. But if Government strives to identify the language of the courts with the ordinary language of educated men, to make it a language as much Hindi as Urdu, and fitly adapted to either character, the Hindu aspirant would in such case have only to learn a new character in which to write his own language—a very different and much more simple matter.

If all candidates for employment above the lowest were required to be equally familiar with two characters (and to such an end ought our school education to be directed), and if, consequently, both were used indiscriminately in official writing, it might not happen that one would drive out the other. Nagri undoubtedly takes more time and more room, but the same objection might be urged against English: and if for other reasons it is convenient to write it, it will be written. It might be conjectured indeed, that the forces of numbers would gradually make itself felt and that Nagri would prevail: but even if
not, is there any serious objection to the use in courts of two characters side by side * They exist in fact already, for Kaithi accounts are filed with Urdu plaints, and have to be interpreted by irresponsible experts. But whatever the objection, it could not weigh against advantages on the other side; for it is evident that the friction produced by the contract of two characters would rub down the harsh points peculiar to each, whether Persian or Sanskrit. But the ordinary reaction of character upon language, the conflict of Nagri with Urdu would go far to produce the kind of compromise that we desire. A document that has to be written indiscriminately in one of two characters, will not often bear marks of special alliance with either."


In returning herewith the Nagri pamphlet received with your memorandum No. 101 T, of the 25th ultimo, I have the honour to submit as follows —

2. The pamphlet purports to be a petition from some of the residents of Patna and Bhagalpur, addressed to the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, showing the superiority of the Nagri character to the Persian, and the Hindi language to the Hindustani, and praying that the orders of the late Lieutenant Governor, directing the introduction of the Nagri character into the courts and Government offices in Behar, may be carried out and maintained in force.

3. The following considerations are urged in support of the above petition and prayer:—

1st:—The anti-Nagri party call Hindi a rude language, having neither a literature nor grammar. This cannot be true, as Hindi is a branch of the Sanskrit, which is, according to the principal English and German scholars, such as Professor Max Muller, Haug, Goldstrucker, Wilson Colebrooke, &c. the best language in the world, all the other languages, Greek, Latin, Arabic, Persian, being derived from it. How can, then such a language be unfit for the transaction of court business *

2nd:—It is objected to Nagri that it cannot be written quickly. This is merely a question of practice,
3rd:—Nagri can be mastered in three or four months while Hindustani cannot be learnt so easily. Even the best Persian scholar cannot read an official paper without one or two years practice in reading Persian manuscripts.

4th:—Nagri is better adapted for transliteration than Persian, e.g., "Revenue Board", "First Arts Course," &c.

5th:—The Persian characters can be altered with a much greater facility than Nagri and hence it affords greater temptation to fraudulent tampering with documents.

6th:—Nagri is used in the transaction of all kinds of business in Nepal, Nagpur, and the Commissioner's office at Almora,—a fact which proves that there is no defect in it.

7th:—True, Nagri takes a little more space in writing than Hindustani, but this defect cannot weigh against the many considerations in favour of the use of Nagri, which is the vernacular of Behar throughout the Provinces.

4. I fully agree in the petitioners' view that Nagri can be and should be gradually introduced into the courts and offices of Behar. On this subject I submitted a report to Government in October 1873, from which it will be seen that Nagri has been pretty extensively introduced into the districts of this division, and that all process notifications, proclamations, &c., and all Police reports, diaries, and registers are written in that character. The court amlahs also were made to pass examinations in the Nagri character and language, and they are now conducting their duties with tolerable facility in it. The change, however, is steadily opposed by this class of people, who, as Kyests or Mussalmans, have almost a monopoly of the court language, and consequently of the court places.

5. This opposition is not without its effect on their superiors at the head of offices, who unconsciously imbibe their prejudices, and it requires persevering and steady pressure from above to get the reform carried out. There is to my mind no more reason for having in Behar a court language other than Hindi, than there is in Bengal for having one other than Bengali. The introduction of Bengali as the court language in Bengal was, I have been told, strongly opposed at the time. Now no one ventures to suggest that it was not an improvement.
6. The law papers of the present day, written in so-called Hindustani, differ very little from those of the time when Persian was the avowed language of the courts. Inflexous and auxiliary verbs are Hindustani, but the body of the document consists still of the largest Arabic words, that the mookhtear who compiles it can attain, and it is absolutely unintelligible to any but the specially educated classes. Hindi is the language of the people of the people, the language in which accounts, zemindari business, private business, and, as a rule private communications by letter are conducted; and why the courts should continue to use an absolutely artificial language, which has, to counter-balance all its disadvantages, only the one advantage of being more rapidly written, and more easily miswritten and misread, I cannot understand.”

“FROM DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, OUDH, TO JUNIOR SECRETARY TO CHIEF COMMISSIONER, OUDH DATED LUCKNOW, THE 28TH MARCH 1876, No. 3704 OF, 1875-76.

In reply to your endorsement No. 5500, dated Lucknow 24th November 1875, I have the honour to communicate my views on the question of the adoption of Hindi as the court language of Oudh. In connection with the same subject, I beg to enclose copies of the letter noted in the margin from the two Circle Inspectors. I regret the delay which has occurred in sending up my views on the subject, but it will be seen from the dates of the Inspector’s letter enclosed, that an earlier submission of the former was hardly possible.

2. Whatever may be the right answer to the question under discussion, it seems important not to overlook the motive which appears to have reprompted the Behar and similar petitions. This motive, as Mr. Thomson has pointed out in para 2 of his letter, has nothing to do with the convenience of suitors, the welfare of the majority, or the superior fitness of the one language over the other; but consists in the desire of Bengalis to be more extensively employed than at present in the Urdu speaking provinces of India. Something to the same effect appears to be implied in Mr. Croft’s remarks at the close of the 3rd paragraph in page 3 of his memorandum. It is easy to see the con-
nection between the contents of the petition and the motive which dictated it. The transliterated extract from the petition, with which Mr. Croft has favoured us, is a specimen of the kind of language which, under the name of Hindi, it is proposed to substitute for Urdu in the up-country courts. This is certainly what is meant by Hindi in this part of India whenever the Hindi language is spoken of in contrast with Urdu; and this too is the language of Prem Sagar, the Purans generally, Bhoj Prabandha, and in fact of all classical Hindi books. Now the vocabulary of this language is, with very rare exceptions, nothing more than Sanskrit, so much so that one who, like myself, has made a study of Sanskrit but not of Hindi, can read and understand any Hindi book with facility. But the vocabulary of the Bengali language is as much derived from Sanskrit as that of Hindi, and the consequence is that the acquisition of Hindi is not merely as easy, but considerably easier, to a native of Bengal than to a native of Hindustan. It is not likely, therefore, that this continually revived question of substituting Hindi for Urdu in the up-country courts, will be allowed to drop, so long as the English Schools and Colleges of Bengal continue to turn out about 2,000 men per annum, eager for employment in Government offices, but unable to find it in their own overstocked country.

3. If, however, the question is to be considered on its own merits, that is, with reference to the wants of the people of Oudh, then it is necessary to observe the distinction to which Mr. Croft draws attention between language and character. The former, it is needless to say, refers only to vocabulary, the latter only to the form of writing. The Behar petitioners wish to introduce not merely the Hindi, that is, the Sanskrit vocabulary but also the Hindi, that is, the Nagri character. This is, of course, not one, but two questions; but the Behar petitioners have preferred to treat it as one, knowing that the use of the Nagri Character would be likely to bring in with it the use of Sanskrit vocabulary.

4. The first question then is, should the Hindi language be substituted for Urdu in the Government courts of Oudh? To this there can be but one answer. Barring the grammatical inflections, which are the same in Hindi as in Urdu, the Hindi language as defined above is extinct in this province. Some persons doubt whether in this highly elaborate form it was ever spoken at all by the illiterate masses. But
however this may be there can be no question now that what is distinctively known as the Hindi vocabulary or language,—such, for instance, as that used in the Bchar petition, is not the kind of speech used at the present day by the people of Oudh either in towns or in villages. During my five years’ service in Bengal, I heard so much about the claims of the neglected Hindi language, that I came into Oudh with a mind imbued with the belief that the Urdu language so widely taught in the Oudh Schools was one foreign to the masses, and especially to the village population. But since I have had time to become better acquainted with the vernacular of this province. I have found out my mistake. Take the first clause in the first sentence of our first Hindi Reader, Pratyek balak ko uchit hai and repeat this aloud in any village; not a single villager would understand it. He might detect the grammatical forms of ko and hai, which are the same in Hindi as in Urdu, but the words Pratyek balak uchit are obsolete and unintelligible. Now take the Urdu equivalent to the above sentence, as it is given in our First Urdu Reader. Hareka larke ko chahiye and repeat this aloud in a village; every villager would understand it at once. Illustrations might be multiplied-Bahudha, being derived from Sanskrit, is a highly correct Hindi term for often and consequently it occurs very frequently in Hindi Books. No one, however, but a Pandit or a pedant has the faintest idea what bahudha means while the corresponding Urdu term aksar, which is derived from Arabic, is understood and used by every villager. In a word, substitute unthorough foresomeness of stuff, as Mr. Croft suggests, for impenetrability of matter, and we have an unexaggerated description of the absurdity of the proposal to substitute Hindi for Urdu in Government courts, that is, to substitute an obsolete vocabulary for one which every one understands and uses. When it is remembered that all the vernacular news and all the vernacular periodicals published in Oudh are in Urdu, and none in Hindi, there cannot be much doubt as to what the vernacular of this country really is.

5. But in thus declaring that Urdu, and not Hindi is the vernacular spoken by the people of Oudh, I do not mean to say that the kind of Urdu used at present in court documents coincides as nearly as it could and should do with the spoken vernacular, that is, with that kind of phraseology, which everyman of fair education, whether Hindu or Mohammedan, can at once understand. To make this point more
clear it is necessary to distinguish between the technical terms of law or civil business, and the phraseology in which the body of court documents is couched. To express technical conceptions the use of uncolloquial terms is necessary; and if the choice lies between using terms of Perso-Arabic or terms of Sanskrit origin, preference should certainly be given to the former, not merely because they answer the purpose, and are already in possession, which alone is a conclusive reason, but because they are shorter, more convenient and more easily fixed in the memory than terms derived from Sanskrit would be: (Vide remarks in para 8 of Mr. Thomson’s letter). But to express ordinary facts and ideas, such as form the untechnical portion of the matter of court documents, the use of Perso-Arabic terms, which are not understood by the general public and are intelligible only to those who have received a special education, is altogether indefensible. These foreign Persian phrases are as far removed from the spoken vernacular, as the obsolete Hindi vocabulary of the Behar petitioners; and as long as such language continues to be used in the body of court documents, it affords a pretext to the Nagri party to reiterate their claims for the introduction of Hindi. Some reform in this respect appears to be urgently needed on behalf of suitors and the general public. It is also needed on behalf of vernacular education, for in order to satisfy the requirements of the Oudh court vocabulary, we are forced to teach more Persian in our Primary and Middle Schools than we find convenient, and to teach it at the expense of imparting useful knowledge more efficiently than we might do. If, therefore, some means could be adopted for repressing the unnecessary use of Perso-Arabic or outlandish terms in the body of court documents, and for insisting on the use of Hindustani terms in general use, whenever these are sufficient to express the facts or ideas intended, a great reform would be effected, and much good would be done both in Schools and in Courts. Possibly one way of repressing the use of outlandish Jargon would be to reject petitions which are not worded in the vernacular; but any reform of this kind will of course be steadily resisted by that class of professional writers, whose means of livelihood depends upon the preservation of a language which no one but themselves can understand without the help of an interpreter.

6. The second question proposed is, what kind of character should be used in the writing and printing of court documents?
fore attempting to answer this question, it will be best first to enquire what are the different kinds of writing in vogue in this province. Of Persian writing there are of course two kinds, Nastaliq and Shikasta, and the latter is the one used in the Government courts. Besides these there are three others: (1) Nagri, or the Old Sanskrit character, which the Behar petitioners wish to introduce in the place of Shikasta; (2) Kaithi, which is a form of writing something like Nagri, but yet so far distinct from it, that a person knowing only the one is incapable of reading the other; (3) Mahajani, which differs from Kaithi, in that the letters are more rounded and the vowels are omitted. No further allusion will be made to Mahajani, as the omission of the vowels renders it almost unintelligible, and the only class of men by whom it is used is that of bankers.

7. Now when it is proposed, as is done in the Behar petition, to put the Persian character altogether aside, and substitute the Nagrin in its place, the question arises, what class in the community or in other words what proportion of the population, would be benefited thereby? So far as Oudh is concerned it seems to me that the answer is a very simple one. Since there is no class in the community, not even Brahmins, who transact matters of business either public or private, in the Nagri character, it obviously follows that there is no class in the community which could receive any benefit from the change. Nagri writing is never used by the people. For business matters even Brahmins do not use it, but only for copying out Sanskrit manuscripts. Nagri writing is taught in Government schools certainly in Oudh, as elsewhere, but why it is taught I have never been able to understand, and it is well known that the boys immediately give it up as soon as they leave school. If then the choice lies between the Persian and the Nagri character, I think no one can hesitate to select the former. There seems in fact as little reason for introducing Nagri writing as for introducing Chinese. There is none who can write a Nagri running hand; none of the outside public can write it, or wish to write it, very few of the outside public can read it. No native of Oudh, that I have ever heard of, desires the change. In fact the Nagri character is one which scarcely admits of being written in a running hand, and this fact alone is a decisive proof of its unfitness for being used as the court character. In disproof of the truth of this objection, the Behar petitioners appeal to the stock instance of the facility with which Nagri
penmanship is practised in the Almora Commissioner's court. But Munshi Durga Prasada, the Inspector of the Western Circle, has examined specimens of this writing on the spot and found them so unlike what is usually known as Nagri, that he was quite unable to read them.

8. But in thus condemning altogether the proposal to substitute the Nagri for the Persian character, I still think that the use of an alternative character should be permitted and encouraged, and this not because there is any other character which is better than Persian, but because the convenience of that large section of the native community, which cannot read or write the Persian character, and does not intend to learn it, seem to me to be entitled to some consideration. This second court character should, in my opinion, be not Nagri but Kaithi, Kaithi is the character used by all or almost all Zemindars, who can write any character at all, by all tradesmen and shopkeepers of every grade and description, by Taluqdars accountants, by Patwaris, by Mahommedans as much as by Hindus. In fact there is no kind of writing which has so many followers and is used by so many different classes of the community as Kaithi. It is to the rural population what the Persian character is to the town population, and even among the residents of towns it disputes the ground with Persian, because it is universally used by tradesmen and shopkeepers. Why Kaithi writing has up to the present time been systematically proscribed by the State, is a point which I have never been able to understand. Possibly this may have been owing to the jealousy of court mohurrirs, who were already in possession of the field and whose livelihood depended upon keeping Kaithi out of court. Possibly it may have been owing to a belief that this character was nothing more than a form of Nagri scribbling, which, under the name of Kaithi, encouraged bad spelling and bad penmanship and was, therefore, quite unfit to be used as a medium for transacting Government or any other important business. But the best answer to this is, that all the private business of the natives of Hindustan, which they by no means consider to be unimportant, is carried on in Kaithi, and as to bad spelling and bad penmanship, it is obvious that these are simply the consequences of its being universally neglected both in schools and in offices. These would of course disappear if Kaithi were taught in Government schools, and if neatness and accuracy were insisted on. In the Kaithi charac-
ter there is a couple set of consonants as in Nagri, and as complete a set of vowels also, except that in the case of the single vowels one form has to do double duty for long and short. This slight defect could easily be remedied if necessary. In any case this Kaithi character, notwithstanding its long neglect by Government, is to this day as complete an alphabet and as fit to be patronised by the State, as the Bengali character was at the time when the Serampur Missionaries first took it in hand. These Missionaries finding that there was a character already in common vogue and as widely used by the different castes or classes in Bengal as the Kaithi character is in Hindustan, wisely determined upon adopting the Bengali character in preference to the Nagri as the vehicle of popular instruction. As they had the start of the Government in opening schools and publishing vernacular books, the Bengali character which they had patronized and reduced to proper form was admitted unchallenged into Government schools and finally into Government courts. Such was the fate of the Bengali character, and the consequence has been that in Bengal no collision between two rival characters, Nagri and Bengali, the one patronized by the State and the other used by the people, has appeared, such as we see now existing in Oudh and elsewhere between Nagri and Kaithi. The Kaithi character has received a very different treatment, though its claims, uses, and popularity are precisely similar. It has found no friends but only enemies, has been systematically condemned by Educational Departments, and jealously kept out of court by a class of writers whose only means of subsistence depended upon their being able to exclude it. There is no denying the fact, however, that in spite of all this official neglect or rather opposition, the Kaithi character is still the most popular mode of writing in Hindustan, and is used to this day as much as ever in the transaction of private business. The persistent determination of Government to put down Kaithi and compel the people to use Nagri, appears to me as inexplicable as would be an attempt on the part of the Prime Minister in England to force every one in that country to write in the Roman printed character and to discontinue the use of the script character. If such an attempt were made in England, it would no doubt fail as signally as the attempts to supersede Kaithi have failed in India.

9. If, then, there is any character besides Persian which ought to be used in the writing of court documents, that character, I urge,
should be Kaithi, and not Nagri; because while the Nagri character is used by no one, the Kaithi, and not the one used by tradesmen and agriculturists, and these are not only the two largest sections of the native community, but they are the two who are brought most frequently into contact with the Government courts. And from what I can learn of the present usages of courts in Oudh, the proposed introduction of Kaithi as an optional or second character would be no great novelty. Kathi accounts I understand are already permitted to be filed with Urdu plaints; Patwari’s annual papers are filed in Kaithi, and Extra Assistant Commissioners, I have heard, are required to be able to read Kaithi as one of their official qualifications. It would, I should think, be conferring a great boon upon the public, if orders were passed that all processes and notices should be written in Kaithi as well as in Persian, if suitors might be allowed to present petitions in either character, and if the orders of Magistrates were, when occasion required, transliterated from Persian to Kaithi. Such a change could not of course be completed at once; but the time for its completion would not be far distant, if a rule were made and enforced that in future no clerk could be appointed to a Government office who could not write the Oudh vernacular with equal facility and correctness in both characters.

10. It remains to consider the question to which attention is directed in the Home Secretary’s letter, namely, what amount of help the Educational Department can afford towards furthering the objection of diminishing the antagonism between Hindi and Urdu, and fostering and extending the common element. Respecting this subject, I shall first state what the tendency of our present school-books appears to be, and then indicate the means by which the above object can probably be best secured.

11. At present we have two sets of vernacular school-books, the one Hindi and the other Urdu. The Urdu Prose Readers were written first, and the Hindi Readers are translations from these. The language in which the Urdu Readers have been composed is the Language understood and spoken by the people. They in fact represent the Hindustani language as written or printed in the Persian character. The first of these readers is called Talim-ul-mubtadi; and the care with which it was prepared and the trouble which was taken to exclude
every word or idiom which the commonest village would not be able to understand at once, have been described at length by Mr. Thomson in para 8 of his letter. The other Urdu books deal occasionally with subjects which do not come within the ordinary experience of villagers: hence technical terms and proper names occur here and there, which might at first sound rather strange to the villager's ear. But the phraseology used in the body of these books is almost as strictly vernacular as the language of Talim-ul-aubtadi, or at least it could with very little labour be made so. In our Urdu Prose Readers then we have a correct representation of the Hindustani language, which every man in Oudh understands and speaks. The Hindi books, on the other hand, are of quite different stamp. These contain not the vernacular Hindustani, but the obsolete Sanskrit which the Behar petitioners wish to introduce into the Government Courts and against which Mr. Croft has protested with so much ability in page 2 of his memorandum. Both of the Directors who have preceded me in Oudh have followed the example of the North Western and other Provinces in prescribing books of this stamp for the use of those students who do not wish to learn the Persian character. I myself have followed in their wake, not daring even to hint at proposing such a starting innovation as the suppression of a series of school-books, which while professing to teach the village population how to read and write their own vernacular, do in reality teach them neither, but teach them a phraseology which no one speaks, and a character which no one writes. But as we are now called upon by the Supreme Government to give up the use of books which tend to keep up "the antagonism between Urdu and Hindi," and are forbidden "to foster in Government or Aided Schools, under the name of Hindi, and artificial Sanskritized language which is in most cases as far removed from the common rustic vernacular as it is from the ordinary language of towns," I feel no longer authorised to keep silence, but am forced to confess the truth, that the truth, that the Hindi school-books used in Oudh come fully up to the description of those books which we are warned not to use. But if we are forbidden to teach a vocabulary which is not used by the people in ordinary life, we are, by the same argument, forbidden to teach them a kind of writing which is not less obsolete than the vocabulary. The consistent course then to be followed under these circumstances would be (a) to remove our elementary Hindi Prose Readers from the curriculum, reserving the study of classical Hindi literature for the higher
classes only, as an optional course for the study of Urdu or Persian poetry in the same classes; (b) to have our Hindustani or Urdu Prose Readers transliterated from the Persian into the Kaithi character, so that some students may learn to read their spoken vernacular in the one character and some in the other, accordingly to their respective tastes; (c) to discontinue the teaching of Nagri writing, and to teach Kaithi writing in its place. The very sight of the Nagri Character tends to perpetuate the antagonism between Urdu and Hindi, and to give an undue prominence to words of Sanskrit origin, on account of the long standing and almost resistless association existing between the Nagri character and the Sanskrit vocabulary. No such association, however, exists between Kaithi and Sanskrit. On the contrary, there is a counter association already established between the Kaith character and the Hindustani vocabulary, and this is an additional argument for having Kaithi taught in our school.

12. I think, however, from recommending the adoption of these changes, until the Chief Commissioner shall have been pleased to make me informed of the changes if any, which he decides on introducing as to the characters & languages to be used in Government Courts. The changes which I have ventured to propose for consideration, so far as the Courts are concerned, are the following:—

(1) To adopt some means for repressing the present practice of using outlandish or Persianized phrases and idioms in the body of court documents, whenever Hindustani words in common use are sufficient to express the facts or ideas intended; retaining, however, the use of Perso-Arabic words for the expression of the Technical ideas of law or civil business.

(2) To allow the use of Kaithi as a second character in the issuing of court processes and notices, in the submission of petitions to be filed in court, and in the writing out of the Magistrate’s orders.

(3) To prescribe such tests of qualification for employment in Government Offices, as shall ensure that all clerks to be hereafter appointed can write with equal facility in both characters.

13. It appears to me that the above measures, or something resembling them present the only means available for satisfying the wants and conveniences of all classes of suitors, for diminishing the an-
tagonism between Hindi and Urdu, and for putting an end to the hitherto endless discussion as to the respective claims of the different languages and characters to be used in the Government courts. If some such measures were adopted, the popularity and general usefulness of our vernacular schools would become far greater than they are or ever can be under the existing circumstances, for it would put an end to the ceaseless and mischievous rivalry between Nagri and Kaithi, the former of which is patronized by the State, but still not used by the people, while the latter is used by the people, but still not countenanced by the State. But there are many officers in Oudh, who are far better judges than myself, as to what languages or characters should be used in the Government courts, and as soon as I have been favoured with the Chief Commissioners' orders on the subject, I shall call a Committee to consist of the most intelligent and experienced officers of the Department, who, with myself and the Inspectors, will decide what changes, if any, may be found necessary in order to bring our curriculum into full harmony with the new requirements of the Government's courts."

"FROM A. THOMSON, ESQUIRE, INSPECTOR OF SCHOOLS, EASTERN CIRCLE, OUDH, TO JOHN C. NESFIELD ESQUIRE, M. A. DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, OUDH, DATED CAMP UTRAULA, THE 27TH JANUARY 1876, NO. 841.

With reference to your No. 2628, dated 7th ultimo, I have the honour to offer the following remarks on the use of Hindi as the Court language in Oudh.

2. The real question involved in the Behar petition and similar documents is, as I believe, very simple. It is just this, shall greater facility be given to Bengalis for obtaining Government employment in the North Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Punjab? Bengalis have better opportunities for learning English than up-countrymen have and their superior knowledge of English would enable them to obtain employment more extensively if they know the vernacular of the Upper Provinces also. This knowledge is at present by no means easy to acquire. A foreign character, the Persian, has to be learned, and then there is the ever-recurring difficulty of the Arabic technicalities. The Hindi characters and the Sanskrit technicalities
are so similar to those of Bengal, that Bengalis imagine they could learn Hindi easily and suit themselves for the vernacular, as well as the English part of the work in Government offices in the Upper Provinces. I cannot say, however, that I see any necessity for introducing such a change on such grounds.

3. There is an ambiguity in the use of the word “language” to which I must here draw attention. We sometimes use the words “different languages” to signify forms of speech, the one of which will not be understood by those who speak the other without special and generally protracted study. It is in this sense we use the word when we say the Bengali is a different language from the Persian; but we also say e.g. that Charles Lamb’s language is very different from that used by Dr. Johnson, though quite aware that any one who understands the Eassys of Ellia would understand Rasselas. Now Urdu and Hindi do not differ as Persian differs from Bengali. They are simply the city and rustic forms of one and the same language, the Hindustan. So far as my experience goes, the language of Patna differs very slightly from that of Delhi or Lucknow; but the language of Lucknow differs considerably from that of a village in Gonda district, only 50 miles off. Still the Lucknow Munshi and the village Zamindar have no difficulty in understanding each other.

4. Hindustani consists of two elements, the Sanskrit and the Perso-Arabic; and the question is, in what proportion should these elements be combined, or rather in what proportion do the people of Oudh combine them in ordinary conversation? I believe I have already completely answered this question. About eight years ago I began to prepare a series of Vernacular Readers, one of which was finished and published under the name of Talim-ul-Mubtadi. My object was to prepare a book in language such as correct speakers throughout the Province use in daily conversation. From the labour I bestowed on the work, and from the ability of those who assisted me, I have little hesitation in saying that it is as good a representation of the speech of Oudh as can be made. In regard to every sentence, I might almost say every word, the question was asked again and again, is there any from of expression in more general use than the one we have adopted? Afterwards a Hindi version of Talim-ul-Mubtadi was brought out under the name of Shikshavali. The translator is not an extreme Hindi purist, yet his language differs much more widely
from the ordinary speech of Oudh than the language of Talim-ul-Mubtadi, which has always been called Urdu. Take a dozen ploughmen or cartmen from any village of Oudh and read over to them the same lesson in Talim-ul-Mubtadi and Shikshavali, I have no hesitation in saying the Urdu version will be decidedly better understood than the Hindi version.

5. From this it is clear that the language used by the Behar petitioners is unknown in Oudh, and in my humble opinion we may stick to the language we have, as it answers our purpose very well.

6. There are two other questions to be considered, 1st, in what character should this Hindustani be written? and 2nd, taking the language of the people for ordinary purposes from what source are we to get new words and technical terms?

7. In Oudh we generally in courts always use the Persian character. There is no reason, however, why the Nagri should not be used; but I confess I do not see what would be gained by the change. Nagri is said to be easier to read, but I suspect there is no great advantage on either side. School boys, learn to read the Persian character as readily as the Nagri. And for my own part I find the Ramayan, when printed without spaces between the words, is as puzzling as the Gulistan. When the words are separated the Nagri becomes much easier. But here is no reason why words should not be printed separately in the Persian character, and indeed this has been done in several cases in the Punjab. Shikast writing is often extremely difficult to read; but though English is the most distinct script character in the world, many English officers write a hand as bad as Shikast Persian. In such a case there is no use of complaining of the character. Such scribblers, whether English, Urdu, or Nagri should be put upon leave without pay until they learn to write whatever character they use, legibly; and the evil would soon be remedied. On the whole, therefore I do not see that the Nagri character has any great advantage over the Persian; but I think it is very desirable that in Public Records both should be gradually superseded by the Roman character. Were the Roman character used, neither the Sanskrit element nor the Perso-Arabic would be at a disadvantage; and the Hindustani language would be formed, as it should be, by the survival of the fittest words.

8. Our technical terms, legal, scientific, &c, are Arabic, and I think it is well they should for the most part remain so. Where sim-
ple Hindustani terms can be formed, such as those used in the books brought out in Patna under Dr. Fallon’s auspices, by all means adopt them; but if we must go to a foreign source: Arabic has advantages over either the Sanskrit used in Bengal or the Greek used in Europe. In Arabic words never can be long, while both Sanskrit and Greek words may, and sometimes are, of an inconvenient length. Again the root in Arabic is so prominent that one sees the history of the word at a glance, and thus the word is thoroughly impressed on the memory. I believe any one who has had practice in using all the three, will admit that Arabic terms are more easily kept in mind than either Sanskrit or Greek terms. I am therefore of opinion that in Upper India we should adhere to Arabic technicalities.”


In acknowledgement of your No. 3148, dated the 8th instant, and No. 3317, dated the 24th indem, I have the honour to inform you that I quite concur with Mr. A. M. Croft, Inspector of Schools, in thinking that the Court language should be the common Hindustani Boli, free as far as possible from Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit words, and so simple as to be well adapted to be written either in Urdu or Nagri characters. Now this end cannot be attained unless the Nagri character be introduced in courts, and as it is worth while I think to encourage the introduction of that character into courts, for reasons adduced by Mr. S. C. Bayley, Commissioner of the Patna Division, steps should, I think be taken to encourage the introduction of the Nagri character into the Oudh courts; also by having the printed and lithographed documents, such as Summons, Dakhilas, & c., in both the Urdu and Nagri characters, and by ordering the Amlah people to try and learn how to read and write Nagri also. It may be possible then by and bye to have the court papers written in the Urdu or the Nagri character as suggested by Mr. A. W. Croft, Inspector of Schools.

The enclosure of the docket alluded to is herewith returned.”
THE ANGLO-DUTCH CONFLICT IN THE EAST INDIES

By

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

The Anglo-Dutch conflict in the East Indies was only one phase in the struggle of the two Protestant nations spreading over a wide area in the Old world and the New. It was perhaps inevitable that both aspiring to a predominant position should ultimately fall out, even though they had many ideals in common. England and Holland, it has been remarked, quarrelled "over sea affairs". Such unexciting and drab factors as the control of the herring fishery of the North Sea, the whale fishery of Spitzbergen, the spices and pepper of the East Indian islands influenced mercantile opinion and shaped governmental policies. Added to these were the Dutch attempts firstly to monopolise the supply of slaves to the English plantations and secondly to separate New England from Virginia by planting colonies at the mouth of the Hudson River. The more serious manifestations of the struggle were marked in the East Indies and it was from the transactions in the East, much more than anything which happened in Europe, that the intense hatred between England and Holland steadily took shape.

The Dutch had founded a mighty empire built upon sea power and by sheer industry slowly developed a merchant navy and a valuable home trade. They were the founders of intelligent commerce and were the pioneers in liberal colonization but were the most unscrupulous traders of the day. Apparently they were merchants and not manufacturers; they were the carriers of the goods of others rather than "makers of fresh wealth." It was inevitable, therefore, that England should resent Dutch methods and the supremacy built on those methods. The Dutch were determined to be the sole owners of the Eastern Archipelago and the government gave its entire support to the pretensions of their East India Company. In little more than twenty years they had driven the English from the islands and thence-

1. The Dutch trade profited immensely by the products of British settlements, chiefly silk and cotton goods. Their ships carried nine-tenths of the trade between England and her colonies (Barbados and Virginia).
forward concentrated their energies on the founding of the eastern empire. Admittedly Dutch navy and forces in tonnage, number and strength were far superior to the English.\(^1\) In the building of ships, in the handling of the carrying trade from port to port, in business management and in navigation they were “the pioneers according to the lights of the age”. They guarded their vessels, with fair success, against the much dreaded “teredo navalis” i.e. the sea worm which wrought such havoc upon the English navy and the merchant marine inspite of experiments with sulphur or brimstone, lead, tar and various forms of metal sheathing.\(^2\) Their control of the timber trade of the Baltic and of better artisans and workmen at home gave them ships at a more rapid pace than the English.\(^3\) In a thorough business like manner the Dutch took immense trouble in protecting their cargoes from being destroyed by salt water which was a frequent complaint of the English merchants. Moreover, in the early seventeenth century, the gentry and official class in England had not taken to trade as whole heartedly as the Dutch had done. The efforts of the Dutch aristocracy to build up the mercantile life of Holland can hardly be gainsaid. Trading enterprise in Holland was not limited to any particular class but was “a national sport”, a function of the state and associated with its prosperity and progress.\(^4\) In England, on the contrary, it was the function of the mercantile middle classes, and its social importance was considered distinctly less than that obtained by the possession of land.

In the archipelago, the Dutch appear the same steady defenders of their rights as men who in the swamps of Holland had braved the whole power of Spain. A network of Dutch factories, guarded by a ring of Dutch forts and armed cruisers and sheltered by treaty engagements with local sultanates, successfully kept at bay any attempt on the part of the English to forge ahead. No foreign trading vessels were allowed to pass the narrow straits without their permission and payment of an apportioned duty; “if one vessel by chance slips

---

2. Albion, Forrests and Sea Power, P. 11
3. English ships had the advantage of being built of soft wood, so that when a cannon ball penetrated it simply made a clear round hole without splintering. Dutch ships were built of Norwegian oak so that when a ball entered the body of a ship the wood broke into pieces.
4. Sir William Petty was a great admirer of Dutch methods. Francis Cradocke urged England to imitate Holland in matters of banking and commercial organisation.
through without stopping, the next that arrives is obliged to pay for both."""1

The Dutch political relation with the Moluccas and Java was shaped by considerations of economic interests and reached its apex in the Bongay Contract of 16672 and the Java War of 1745-1757 respectively. They might have, at first, earnestly wished for peaceful relations with the islanders in their desire to secure the monopoly of the spice trade. But commercial rapacity and the prospect of economic aggrandizement clouded their sense of political morality and dragged them on to diplomatic intrigues, extensive campaigns and territorial annexations, which eventually resulted in their assumption of political sovereignty over the southern group of the Moluccas, where the clove cultivation was restricted,3 and practically over the whole of Java. The extension of influence in Java was, in fact, the outcome of the attempt at the economic exploitation of the Moluccas. Bases and supply depots close to the entrance of the archipelago on the route to the spice islands were absolutely essential for the collection and shipment of provisions for the garrisons stationed in the Moluccas. Such provisions could be obtained in Java in view of the richness of its soil, and the abundant growth of rice and other crops.4 The island had also an advantage in its splendid strategic position. But so long as the capricious whims of the local princes held the key to the supplies, the Dutch could hardly expect to make a headway.

Moreover, pepper, produced in Bantam, was one of the first commodities shipped to Europe in the Company's vessels. In their desire to exclude foreign competition the Dutch were inevitably drawn into a policy of intervention in the politics of Bantam. Thus control

---


2. The Bongay Contract marks the complete success of the Dutch attempts to establish a monopoly of the spice trade. The import trade into Makassar became a monopoly in Dutch hands to the complete exclusion of all European, Arabs from Tava, Malays, Archinese, and Siamese.

3. Ambon and the Uliasser Islands were devoted to clove cultivation, and nutmegs were grown in Banda.

4. Rice, vegetables and slaves were exported from the Coromandel Coast to Batavia. The Coromandel Coast played a very important part in the life of the Dutch Company. Heeres described it as "the left arm of the Moluccas and the neighbouring islands, since without the cotton from thence trade is dead in the Moluccas."
over the various Javanese states was gradually obtained with the two-
fold object of promoting the cause of the spice trade of the Moluccas
and of securing the monopoly of the pepper trade of Java.

The "huckstering spirit" of the Company was unpleasantly
shown in the regulations which were passed for the maintenance of
the spice monopoly in the Moluccas, and were "fraught with the most
lamentable consequences for the native population". In general,
the Dutch followed a policy of "divide et impera". They aimed at
"the erection of a single stable authority with whom it would be pos-
sible to enter into exclusive contracts" for the entire spice crop.¹ And
when the supply of cloves, nutmegs and other spices had been assured
to them and political ascendancy in some form or other had been
established in all the spice-producing islands, the Dutch came
forward with their plan of restricting the native cultivation of spices.
The inhabitants were compelled to provide themselves with the grain
brought from Batavia. They were forbidden to sail beyond certain
limits from their own coasts under pain of being treated as pirates.
Inter-state commercial relationship was almost at a standstill. Free
exchange of the monopoly article with the products of India and
other Asiatic powers was interdicted. The inhabitants were not allow-
ed to grant privileges or to hold any intercourse with other European
nations.² The Dutch commenced their own culture of coffee, indigo
and various other crops in an extensive scale to the detriment of local
agricultural efforts. They did not spare even their own servants,
who were prohibited from trading privately in spices, pepper and the
other monopolies.³

The carrying trade of all those numerous islands, abounding in
natural resources, was thus transferred into the hands of a ruthless

---

¹ e. g. The treaty with the Sultan of Ternate enforcing his claim to suzerainty
over various islands in the Moluccas and contracting for the whole of the spice crop. The
islands of Banda owed no allegiance to Ternate and entered into contracts with the Dutch
as free agent


² Factory Records. Java IX; Dutch Records, Transcripts T. O., Series I.

"No European nation besides ourselves is admitted to the trade in pepper on the west
cost of Sumatra, the spices are most in our hands. Whoever comes for trade in Southern
shores, will return empty handed."

"Europeans and Indians were excluded from the ports of Tisco, Priaman and Indra-
pura, so that the Dutch alone could supply to the Asiatic as well as the European markets".

³ Ibid. "Yet dares no man in the service of the Company take one single corn of
it, but everyone is obliged to buy it of the Indians, who deal with the Company for it."
power, who engrossed the monopoly with "a greed admirable in its stupendous character." The policy had involved the destruction of the spice trees, especially in the northern Moluccas where the unreconciled strength of the local princes was a hindrance to the execution of Dutch plans. In one year about seventy thousand trees were burnt down in one island alone and a reckoning of an annual destruction of five to six thousand trees in all the Spice Islands cannot be at all considered as abnormal.¹

The Dutch had, indeed, set up "a mighty monopoly". They desired no competition, and to compensate for the "much effusion of blood, great charges, travails and perils" they had undergone to establish their trade in the East Indies, they imposed exacting restrictions on that trade and looked forward to "rewards" to which they were entitled. The Dutch reaped the ultimate benefits in an increased export and import trade and by the retention of the price of spices fairly high in Europe.²

By slow degrees and by various ways the Dutch had obtained the undisputed command of the great Asiatic archipelago, had taken over the trading enterprises in Ternate, Ambon and Banda, founded Batavia and made it the headquarters of their East Indian Commerce, established factories on different points on the coast of Sumatra and the Malaya Peninsula, but met with little success in Borneo and lost Formosa to the Chinese. Their Indian trade was quite "a subordinate interest" to that of the archipelago. To avoid the disadvantages of paying in money for pepper and spices they gradually brought under their control the already existing active commercial movement by which the populations of the archipelago, with Bantam and Atchin as intermediary centres, exchanged their own products for cotton goods from Gujerat and the Coromandel coast. Factories were founded on the Coromandel coast, in Gujerat and in Bengal. The requirements of the archipelago market were thoroughly studied and, to facilitate intercourse,

¹. Ibid. "The destruction of trees having been accomplished, we shall forbid the planting of new shrub in the island of Timor itself or any of the adjacent dependencies and continually destroy those that may shoot up naturally or may have escaped destruction".
². The prime cost of their imported merchandise was incomparably small, and the selling prices were excessively high. In comparison to the English Company the profits of the Dutch on their Eastern adventures were nothing short of phenomenal.

Stavorinus, Voyages, III, p. 526-539.
the highly technical textile trade was scrupulously supervised. The chief articles which they imported on the Coromandel coast, apart from spices, were sandal wood and pepper from the Malay archipelago, Japanese copper and certain Chinese textiles from the Far East.¹

The Anglo-Dutch commercial rivalry in the East had developed into “an armed struggle”. The rivalry had brought out the insecure foundations on which the English East India Company rested. Ill-equipped and ill-protected, the Company could hardly expect to struggle against “a thoroughly organised trade, having ramifications in nearly every part of Asia, holding more than two million pounds worth of stock and owning many forts and places in the East”. This unequal contest seemed to foreshadow the economic ruination of England. The Hollanders “gleaned the wealth and strength” from the English and “beat them out of trade in all parts of the world”. For a long time, however, the inter-relation of the East India trade and the economic prosperity of England was not fully appreciated inspite of the numerous petitions and manifestoes that showered in from the merchants who complained “of their griefs” and insisted again and again on increased state support and redress of grievances. A host of writers from Raleigh to Robinson gave the clearest expression to the sentiments held by the merchants. James I’s “theoretical sympathies” and representations to the Hague had produced no effect and the “inaction” of Charles I together with his support of Courten’s Association was responsible, more than anything else, for the decline of the Company. The State was bound to come forward, take over the affairs of the Company and prolong its existence in the interest of the nation.

The stalwart champions of the East India trade not only demanded State protection but a powerful and efficient navy to “beat the Dutch into better manners”. The English navy, which had been thoroughly neglected by James I and Charles I and allowed to decline in strength was no match for the Dutch. To win mercantile pre-eminence England must meet and overthrow Holland’s monopoly of the carrying trade. The statutory enforcement of the mercantile ideal through successive Navigation Acts, stimulated English shipping

and enabled England to secure a steady hold over her commerce and her colonies by driving Dutch ships and goods out of the colonial market.¹ The three Dutch Wars that followed, hopelessly weakened the strength of Holland and reduced her to a position of a second-rate power. Even then the encroachment of the Dutch in the East Indies did not cease. The directors at Amsterdam might have desired a peaceful policy towards the English but their instructions were ignored by the officials in the East. Pinpricks and repression continued. The climax came in 1682 when Bantam, "one of the earliest commercial establishments of any importance that had been erected by the English" was lost "mainly, through Dutch intrigues". Bantam had superintended all the factories comprised in what may be called the "Insulinde". "The whole system of settlements of which it had formed the centre was, for the time, disorganised". It had also been the centre of the English pepper trade. The expulsion of the English from the factory at Bantam was indeed a very heavy blow and touched the Company "in a very tender spot".² The "vigorou" protests of Charles II were met with "polit"ic delays" on the part of the Dutch. The English Company was prepared, with the approval of Charles, to launch an expedition against them but the accession of James II forced the Company to alter the plans. The loss of Bantam closed the second phase of the contest of the rival companies in the East Indies. The mercantilist statesmen and writers of the day expressed their "fear of Dutch competition on into the eighteenth century".

The English India Company gradually emerged from the nightmare of adverse circumstances that had dogged its footsteps ever since its inception. Driven from the Spicce Islands and forced almost entirely to abandon the East Asiatic trade, the Company found a field for its activity in India. The commerce of India grew steadily in importance as the merits of the Surat and Coromandel piece goods, of Malabar pepper and spices and of Bengal sugar and saltpetre “came

¹ Andrews, Colonial period of American History, p. 48. The commerce of the Dutch provinces had not been seriously injured by any of the Navigation Acts. In about 1675, the estimate given is that the Dutch had 900,000 tons of shipping to England’s 500,000.

² "To the loss of Bantam may be traced the foundation of the British Empire in India". The Company henceforth concentrated all its strength on "enlarging its investments and establishing more factories in India". Account of the loss of Bantam. C. C., 14, Batavia. Grant, History of the East India Company, p. 93.
to be recognised at home" and were found to be "in demand". It was during the period of the greatest depression that Fort St. George at Madras was erected and factories in Bengal were established. By 1675 the affairs of the Company were "in a progressive state", and between that date and 1757 the Company, in the words of Sir William Hunter, "passed from its mediaeval to its modern basis." It was gradually vested with privileges of establishing fortifications and garrisons, of exporting ammunitions and stores duty free to their settlements, of making war and treaties with non-Christian people, of seizing and deporting to England interlopers and of exercising within their settlements both civil and criminal justice in accordance with the laws of England.

The Charter of 1686 reflected a change in the character of the Company's affairs. The Company was no longer merely "an important agent of trade," but had assumed "a new dignity... since His Majesty has been pleased to form us into the condition of a sovereign state in India". The Company was now inclined "to apply the lex talions" to the Dutch and "vye with them in our owne way of trade". The Dutch, on the other hand, had lost much of their strength to aspire for the sovereignty of India and the archipelago at the same time. Hence they preferred to concentrate on the islands and leave the mainland to the English Company.

At no period the activities of the English Company had been static in reference to the possibility of the plantation of factories on the islands of the archipelago. Efforts in this direction were made in Pegu, Siam, Sumatra, Cambodia, Tongquin, at Tywan (Formosa), Nagasaki, Macao and Borneo. The enterprises were mostly, "peculiarly unfortunate". The English factories were compelled "with great loss of goods and stores" to quit Chusan, an island on the Chinese coast; the attempt to establish themselves at Pulo Condore, an island subject

---

1 An essential change was produced in English commerce by the great quantity of Indian muslins and silks imported into England after 1670. The clamour excited by it contributed, not a little, towards increasing the general hatred against the Company.

2 The value of its imports rose from nearly £500,000 in 1708 to about £1,000,000 in 1748 while its export increased from £376,000 (of which £375,000 was in bullion) in 1710 to £1,120,000 (including £816,000 in bullion) forty years later.


3 Bruce, Annals, etc. Vol. ii. p. 139.
to Cochin China, culminated in the massacre of the British by the natives in 1705. The failure to establish trading factories in Borneo had been due as much to the persistent opposition of the Dutch as to "the ferocity" of the inhabitants. In 1707, only a few of the English factors escaped with their lives at Banjarmassin from the ruthless attack of the natives. The trade with Banjaramassin was reopened in 1738, but was finally abandoned in 1749 owing to the hostility of the Dutch who compelled the Sultan to grant them a monopoly of this trade. In 1759, the Company lost the port of Negrais "by surprise and most of their people were cut off and great part of the timbers and stores there belonging to the Company plundered and burnt". This closed the attempt commenced six years earlier to open trade with the Burmese. All these efforts and failures are placed in the first half of the eighteenth century. Sir Josiah Child had pressed the claims of his Company to a larger share of the trade of the Far East. He was unable to recover Bantam and two years after the evacuation of the place, a mission was despatched from Madras to Acheen under Ord and Cawley "to obtain a grant of a site for a new settlement". The mission proved abortive. The Company failed to secure permission to erect any building "but a wooden factory which was ineffective for any defence purposes. The Directors, then contemplated a settlement at Priammon, in Sumatra. Ord failed to reach Priammon (whether intentionally or due to inclement weather conditions is not known) and settled on Bencoolen "a spot ideal neither for health nor trade" (1687). After angry remonstrances, the Directors, "to minimise the consequences of the blunders perpetrated "resolved to retain Bencoolen, which became the nucleus of the East India Company's establishents in the Malay Indies. Bencoolen was declared independent of Madras and a presidency in 1702. Thomas Pitt, President of Madras, remonstrated against this measure. The

---

1 It was from Borneo that the most daring pirates of the China Sea set out to prey upon all commerce. St. John, Life of Brooke.

2 Bengal to the Court of Directors, December 29, 1751. Six Companies of Sepoys were sent to march from Chittagong for Manipur to "acquaint themselves with the strength and disposition of the Burmahs without committing hostilities".

3 The writings of Sir Josiah Child were saturated with a sentiment of profound respect for the principles upon which "the commercial economy" of Holland were shaped and the measures which the English Company adopted under the directions of Child were studiously modelled upon the system of "the wise Dutch".

4 Second Report from the Select Committee, 1808-12, App. No. 68, p. 340; Wright and Reid, Malay Peninsula.
governing council of Bencoolen "were scarcely qualified for the deli-
cate trust reposed in them".\(^1\) Except for a temporary occupation by the
French in 1760, Bencoolen "the sole station that preserved England's
interests in the archipelago" remained in British hands 'until by the
Treaty of 1824 the English possessions in Sumatra were surrendered to
the Dutch in exchange for Malacca'. As a commercial establishment
and a strategic outpost Bencoolen was "of no importance". Its only
produce of any real value was pepper and that too, after 1792, became
a losing concern when a profuse quantity of the article was obtained
at a cheaper rate from the ceded pepper-producing lands on the coast
of Malabar. The settlement was never in a position to make adequate
returns for the capital spent on its upkeep. Its strategic value was
neutralized by its close proximity to, and chances of frequent attacks
by, the Dutch in Batavia. It did not either "provide a harbour for
the Company's fleet during the north-east monsoon which prevails
along the Coromandel coast."\(^2\)

What principally determined the Company to settle on this
part of Sumatra was the convenience of the pepper trade carried on
from Lampour, "a commodious post seated at the bottom of a deep
bay, twenty leagues within the Straits of Sunda." The settlement
was removed, in 1719, a few miles distant to a place "incomparably
more wholesome notwithstanding its vicinity" to Bencoolen. The
new fort (Ft. Marlborough) was more strongly fortified than Fort
York at Bencoolen and the servants of the Company were free from
apprehensions of a surprise from the natives.

Sumatra was the nearest place for the supply of gold in India
and produced this precious metal in greater quantity than any other
country except China and Japan. The only sure way of acquiring the
benefit of the gold trade was by settling colonies in the most convenient
parts of the island and working the mines assiduously. Usually, how-
ever, gold washed by the torrents into the sands was collected or dis-

---

1 On the improvement of Bencoolen they bestowed "the most careful attention". The ground about the place was cleared; plantations of pepper encouraged, and a fort erected as a protection against possible hostilities on the part of the Dutch. The settlement soon became valuable and annually furnished a considerable pepper investment. Grant, History of the E. I. Coy. p. 112.

Bruce, Ann. Ind. Coy. vol. iii, p. 139 f.

covered in the crannies of the rocks. The Company, no doubt, acted wisely in neglecting the mines on the island, which could only have been secured at the expense of forts and garrisons and worked at the hazard of inviting the dissatisfaction of the islanders and of the Dutch.

After the Revolution of 1688, conditions changed in several ways. An essential change was produced in Indian commerce, by the great quantity of Indian muslins and silks imported into England after 1670. A passion for coloured East Indian calicoes spread through all classes in England. The general outcry raised partly by the manufacturers, partly by the Levant association, against the Company was strengthened by the revived activity of the interlopers inspite of the judgement of the Court of King's Bench against them in 1685. Complaints were made against the Company in the Parliament of 1691 with a demand for open trade. Parliament was definitely aiding the interlopers and the petitioners in their project of establishing a new joint-stock Company. The Company purchased a renewal of its patent on October 7, 1693. It had, however, to witness the unpleasant sight of a second Company spring up by its side, which obtained privileges by the advance of two million pound sterling to the government to extricate the latter from financial difficulties due to the War of the League of Augsburg (September 5, 1698). The disputes of the two Companies were nourished by conflicting political sympathies and threatened to become dangerous to the public quiet. The two Companies were united on July 22, 1702, and conformably to a preliminary compromise, the fund of the two was made one common fund amount-

---

1 Vide, Supra p. 42, n. 1.
2 A whole series of petitions was delivered every year against the Company and may be found in the Commons Journal, Vol. 10.
3 Parliament resolved in 1691, "that the East India Trade is necessary and beneficial to the kingdom; that it will be best managed by a joint-stock: and that a Company to trade there in a joint-stock should be established." Commons Journal, Vol. 10 p. 546.
4 Charters Granted to the E. I. Coy., pp. 141-152.
5 An inquiry into the Company's affairs in 1695 revealed that it had purchased the renewal of its charter by large bribes upwards of a hundred thousand pound. This brought about the political ruin of the Duke of Leeds, against whom the House of Commons preferred articles of impeachment, and the committal of Thomas Cooke, the governor of the Company, to the Tower for his reluctance to make disclosures. Parliamentary History, Vol. 5 pp., 451-54.
6 Commons Journal, April & May, 1695.
7 Parliamentary History, Vol. 5, pp. 1177-80
8 The Old Company offered a loan of £700,000 at 4% to the government, whereas the interlopers offered £2,000,000 at 8%. 
ing to two millions of pounds sterling with a division of the gains. A complete union under one directory was effected by an act of Parliament in 1708; the two Companies were consolidated under the name of “the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies” with exclusive privileges till the year 1726 “on condition of of their advancing to the public a loan of twelve hundred thousand pounds, their capital stock at the same time being augmented to three millions two hundred thousand pounds.”¹ All disputed points were finally settled by the Godolphin award of September 29, 1708, and a new spirit of hope and consolidation was breathed into the united organisation.²

A revival of protectionism in commercial policy is noticeable after the Revolution of 1688. The War of 1695 had been disastrous to shipping and the state of the currency was causing concern. The king’s speech at the opening of Parliament recommended the House to consider “such laws as may be proper for the advancement of trade”, particularly the East India trade, “lest it should be lost to the nation”.³ The attitude of the Crown on the whole was friendly to the Company and the tendency of identifying the interests of the government with those of the Company became gradually very marked under the tolerant liberal philosophy and free thinking of the eighteenth century. It was soon felt that the blessings of a free constitution flowed from the free application of private energy and that the chief wisdom of government consisted, rather in not oppressing any prevailing branch of industry, than in attempting to encourage new branches. A series of acts stretching through the reigns of Anne, George I and George II, suppressed interloping activity and protected the Company from foreign competition and inspite of popular protest the association’s charter was renewed at regular intervals.⁴ Strangely enough, this tolerant care did not prevent the government from squeezing the Company ruthlessly for revenue purposes and yielding to the outcry against the overflow of Indian

¹ Charters Granted to the E. I. Coy., pp. 243-316.
² Letter Book, No. 10, India Office Records.
³ Lords’ Journal, XV, P. 599. The project for a parliamentary committee for the control of trade s-h through and the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations was created (May 15, 1696) which continued to exist though somewhat diminished in importance until 1782.
⁴ A detailed tracing is unnecessary.
calicoes. Excessive duties on tea were levied and the Acts of 1700 and 1720 prohibited the importation, use or wear of printed calicoes in Great Britain. The Company, nevertheless, in return for the exclusive privileges it enjoyed, performed patriotic and useful services for the mother country by the annual import of 500 tons of saltpetre at a fixed price of £31 per ton in times of peace and £40 in times of war,¹ by exporting annually £10,000 worth of British manufactures (particularly woollens) and copper,² and by periodic loans to the government either without or at a low rate of interest.³ The steady development of the Company's trade during a period of fifty years (1700-1750) is attested by the gross profit of £40,000,000⁴ and by its dividends to its shareholders as also by the larger number of ships despatched annually to the East.⁵

By 1688, the period of active growth for the colonial empire of Holland was past. The Anglo-Dutch struggle of the seventeenth century had weakened Holland, strengthened England and opened the way for France. Both England and France began to realise the possibilities for power in North America and in India and the long series of wars which commenced in 1689 and lasted, except for short intervals, till 1815, affected the commercial and political status of the respective foreign companies in the East.

The last thirty years of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century witnessed a gradual decline of the Dutch navy, the ruin of the Dutch carrying trade, the loss of the Dutch colonies and the reduction of Dutch overseas commerce "to meagre proportions". The Dutch seem to have been exhausted by their struggle against Louis XIV and played little part in the eighteenth century contest for dominion in India. "Threatened by the English, insulted by the French and almost universally despised by the rest of Europe, the Dutch lost their leadership in the field of commerce and their place

²  Supplement to Fourth Report, Appendix 47, 1812, p. 123.
³  Macpherson estimates the amount of loan between 1708 and 1750 to £3,080,000; European Commerce, p. 414.
⁵  Between 1708 and 1713 eleven ships on an average, were despatched annually, whereas between 1743 and 1748, the number was twenty per annum.
of prominence among the powers of Europe."1 It will be almost impossible to give a documentary history of the causes of this decline even from the archives of the Company itself. Those causes are to be found in the internal rather than external factors. The Company sank under age as every human institution must do at last, and above all in a strictly monopolising commercial association the germs of dissolution are sure to develop slowly and imperceptibly.2 The canker had set in from the moment of the complete monopoly of pepper and spices of the archipelago. The ease with which that monopoly was administered sapped individual enterprise and individual honesty and the large scale expenditure on its maintenance could not but end in bankruptcy. In 1730 the trade in Europe began to show loss and from that time forward the Company’s dividends were paid out of borrowed money. The war with England in 1780 hastened its ruin and in 1782 it issued its last dividend.3

The Dutch made a bold stroke for ascendancy in Bengal in 1759. An expedition, consisting of seven ships with seven hundred Europeans, principally Germans but commanded by Frenchmen, and eight hundred Malays, was fitted out from Batavia in August 1759 and appeared in the Ganges "with the profession of proceeding to Chinsurah". Colonel Forde "thoroughly discomfited" the Dutch force in the Battle of Biderra, a small village between Chandernagore and Chinsurah.4

1. Andrews, Colonial Policy, p. 49
2. Saalfeld, II, p. 38; Dubois, L’histoire des Establissemens Hollandois aux Indes Orientales, 1763, 4 to.

The explanation of the decline and fall of the Dutch empire is also to be found in the defective naval administration. The Dutch suffered from the evils of divided control with five Boards of Admiralty. The British, on the other hand, devoted attention to the creation of a unified fighting fleet i.e. a fleet built specially for war and controlled by one authority. Stavorinus, Voyages to the East Indies, Vol. I, pp. 524-525.

Macpherson, History of European Commerce with India, p. 67.

3. Ibid. In the statements now made public from the books of the Company for 1613-96 the receipts were three hundred millions of guilders, a surplus of forty millions over the expenditure. After 1697 a gradually increasing deficit commenced for Netherlands India with the object of introducing drastic reforms which were effected at the Cape of Good Hope and in India, whereas in Java estimates were prepared. The debt increased in 1792 to one hundred and seven millions of guilders from twelve millions in 1781. The expenditure was thirty millions more in 1792 than in the twelve preceding years. It may be noted incidently that no less than eleven governors were changed in forty years (1700-41).


"It was given out that the armament was intended for the Dutch settlements on the Coromandel Coast, but had been obliged to run up the Hooghli. It was impossible for a man of Clive’s penetration to mistake its objects although he had no such absolute proof..." We have the clearest evidence of the fact in the Journal of Stavorinus. Forde seemed to have faltered and demanded the Governor’s written authority for “an act so inconsistent with the law of nations".
Thereafter, the Dutch ceased to be a factor in Indian politics. They “undertook never to negotiate war, introduce or enlist troops, or raise fortifications in the country”.

The disagreeable altercations and disputes between the English and Dutch factories had gone so far that early in 1762 the States General had been preparing to send an armament to India even at the cost of a rupture between the two powers in Europe. George III and the States General, however, were desirous of having the disputes adjusted by Commissaries. While the Commissaries were discussing “the respective pretensions,” and before they could come to “an amicable adjustment of them”, the Earl of Bute, under orders from the king, recommended to the Court of Directors “in the most serious manner to contribute as far as lies in our power to put an end to the unhappy disputes which subsist at present between the two companies”. The Directors were sincerely desirous that “the Dutch shall enjoy freedom of trade, safety and protection equally with ourselves”, and despatched “positive orders” to Bengal “to abstain from all voyes de fait or act of violence against Dutch Company’s agents” and “to use your best endeavour to cultivate by all sorts of good offices a reciprocal friendship and good understanding with them.”1 Inspite of these efforts for an amicable settlement on the part of the home authorities, the Dutch continued for another forty years to be a menace in the archipelago in intrigues and puerile diplomacy against the new born English settlement in Penang.

---

1. Concerning the opium trade and English monopoly of weavers.
2. Court’s letter to Bengal, April 2, 1762.
SOME UNPUBLISHED LETTERS ABOUT GOA (1835 A. D.)

By

Sri Dayal Dass, M. A.

The recent disturbances in Goa have aroused world-wide interest. The people of Goa are clamouring for independence and are anxious to throw off the yoke of alien rule. It is interesting to note in this connection that the records of the Government of India in the custody of the National Archives of India (1) contain certain letters which reveal that a somewhat similar revolution took place in Goa exactly one hundred and twenty years back. It culminated in the overthrow of the Government appointed by the Regency of Portugal for the Portuguese States in India and setting up a “Provisional Government.” Don Manuel de Portugal & Castro, the then Viceroy of Goa, was obliged to flee from Goa and take refuge at Vingorla in the British territory, from where he applied to the Government of Bombay for help. The letters referred to above were exchanged between the Government of Bombay and the Supreme Government at Fort William on the basis of communications received from Goa.

On 4th April, 1835, the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, General Department, vide his letter (2) No. 619 of 1835, transmitted to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, “for the purpose of being laid before His Excellency the Hon’ble the Governor General of India in Council . . . . copy of a letter from the Provisional Government of Goa dated the 17th ultimo and of a Petition from the Inhabitants of that place dated the 18th ultimo and of the replies which have been returned to them” by the Bombay Government. The letter (3) from the President and Members of the “Provisional Government” of Goa addressed to the Governor of Bombay runs as follows:—

---

(1) The National Archives of India is the ultimate repository of all records created by the various Departments of the Government of India as well as their attached and subordinate Offices. The regular series of records in its custody start from the year 1748 and continue right up to the present times. It is thus a veritable mine of information and provides unlimited scope for research on the British Period of Indian history. In the words of Sir Henry Yule “these old records are like the cauldrons at Camachos’ wedding; one has only to plunge in a ladle at random to scoop out something valuable or curious.

(2) Government of India, Foreign Department, Political Branch Proceedings, 4th May, 1835, No. 9.

(3) Government of India, Foreign Department, Political Branch Proceedings, 4th May, 1835, No. 10.
"To His Excellency the Most Illustrious

Sir Robert Grant—Governor of the Presidency of Bombay.

Most Illustrious and Exalted Sir,

The troops of the Portuguese States of India at Goa and all the Civil and Military Authorities of this City having assembled and chosen a Provisional Government in the name of the Queen Senhora Dona Maria the Second to deliver the people from the oppression and anarchy in which this Country was submerged as per accompanying document the said Provisional Government has the honour of informing Your Excellency that it has assumed charge of the Government and of assuring your Excellency that it will do the utmost in its power to maintain the good understanding and alliance which happily subsists between our August Sovereign and the Generous English Nation.—

God preserve Your Excellency for many years.

Goa, 17th March 1835.

Your Excellency's Most faithful and obedient humble servants.

(Signed) Joas Casimera Pereira de Rocha de Vascencellos.

President.

" Manoel Jose Rebeira.

" Fr. Constantino de Rita."

The document (1) which accompanied the letter quoted above gives certain details about the Goa revolution of 1835, and the circumstances which led to the formation of the Provisional Government of Goa. Relevant portions from this document are reproduced below:

"On the 11 of March 1835 at Pangim in the Government Palace where by order of the Most Illustrious Military Governor at the request of the Officers Commanding the Corps stationed here had assembled the Members of the Senate of Goa, those usually employed in Government duties,

(1) ibid.
the Civil Authorities, the Judges of the extant Judicial
Tribunals and other Principal persons of the country,
Officers of the said corps,......Commander of the Vessel of War on board on the Pangim River and other
officers of the Royal Navy now at Goa and all the undersigned; and there being present the said Military Gover-
nor, the Commanding Officers of Corps and all the aforesaid persons it was unanimously......declared that
having taken up Arms to restore the Peace and tran-
quillity of this state which had been disturbed since the
1st of February by the Factions party which adopted the
proceedings of that night and committed unheard of in-
fractions of the constitutional Charter and declared open
prosecution against every Portuguese and their descen-
dants and against whom especially those who had most
distinguished themselves and had made the greatest
sacrifice for the constitutional Charter and the cause of
of the legitimacy of our August Queen Senhora Dona
Maria the Second, the Most arbitrary imprisonment and
confiscations had been tried and which unlawful proceed-
ings were prodigiously gaining ground as regards other
peaceful inhabitants of this state and of all classes, and
all this by Judges illegally appointed without Juries or
other guarantee allowed by the said charter and there
being no authority who could put down such evils and
oppressions which will appear more at length in a
manifesto about to be published and which clearly tend-
ed to the dismemberment of this state from Portuguese
Crown the integrity of which it is the bounden and
vigorous duty of this brave Army and of every one else
to preserve unhurt, and lastly the Prefect, the excuse
and origin of all these evils, had lost his office in conse-
quence of having absented himself from the Province
without Royal Licence as expressly provided for in the
Law of Prefecture wherefore he could not again be Pre-
flect among the faithful subjects of the Portuguese Nation,
it was found of absolute necessity to appoint new persons
who should take charge of the Government and give an
account of every thing to her most faithful Majesty and
with this view the present meeting having been convened and proceeded to Votes before the said Most Illustrious Military Governor and Commanding Officers, the Senate of Goa the Corporations... Civil, Military and Naval and other aforementioned persons, it having been previously determined that the Government should be composed of three Members, it was found that by an unanimous Vote the Most Illustrious Joas Casimera de Rocha Vascencellos had been elected President and the Most Illustrious Manoel Jose Rebeira Principal Physician and the Revd. Fr. Constantino de Reta Members, and that Lieutenant Colonel the Most Illustrious Francesco Antonia de Leinos of the Royal Corps of Engineers and also been elected a Member to supply the place of any of the others in case of necessity and immediately at this same meeting before the Persons aforementioned the members that were present were sworn in by the President of the Senate of this City the Most Illustrious Sanr. D. Jose de Noranha and they declared and faithfully promised to depend and cause to be depended on the constitutional Charter... and the laws of the Nation and to maintain its integrity in the Portuguese States in India and it was at the same time decreed that the other Members absent should take the same Oath before the Most Illustrious President of the Provisional Government tomorrow the day of its first meeting and as all this did actually take place this paper has been drawn out to record the fact and it has been signed by the appointed Members of Government, the President and other members of Senate, the Military Governor and other Persons herein specified”” Here follow the signatures.

The Governor of Bombay, Sir Robert Grant, sent the following reply (1) to the “President & Members of the Provisional Government of Goa”:

“To the Most Illustrious Senr. Joas Casimera da Rocha de Vascencellos

(1) Government of India, Foreign Department, Political Branch Proceedings, 4th May, 1835, No. 12.
President, & Members of the Provisional Government of Goa.

Gentlemen,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17th Ultimo announcing the Establishment of a New Provisional Government at Goa and beg to offer my best thanks for this communication.

It would be improper in my foreign authority to offer opinion on the proceedings alluded to in your letter which refer exclusively to the internal administration of the Portuguese Government, but this Government will always be happy to act in a manner consistent with the ancient and faithful friendship which has hitherto subsisted between the Crowns of Great Britain and Portugal and will endeavour to promote the esteem and good will which the two Nations have so long borne to each other.

In the meantime this Government will forward a Copy of your letter to His Excellency the Hon’ble the Governor General of India in Council in whom is vested the Chief Political Control of British India.

Bombay Castle
4th April 1835

I have &ca.

R. Grant.”

However, the authorities ousted by the Provisional Government of Goa did not take their deposition lying down. That they made preparations to oppose their usurpers is evident from an application(1) received by the Military Secretary to the Government of Bombay from one Sir Roger de Faria & Co., on behalf of the Ex-Prefect of Goa, “for the supply on loan from time to time, of Military Stores for the use of the Portuguese Government. The application sought to “obtain the sanction of the Right Hon’ble the Governor in Council for the issue from the Grand Arsenal for the use of Portuguese Government on Loan such Military Store as may be specified from time to time....”

(1) Government of India, Foreign Department, Political Branch Proceedings, 1st June, 1835, No. 8.
The Governor of Bombay, anxious not to get entangled in the conflict, recorded the following Minute(1) on the application referred to above:

“I apprehend that we never supply Stores on Loan except to a Government and therefore we cannot comply with this application, since it would amount to a public recognition of the applying parties as the Government of Goa, without the sanction of the Government.

The case therefore should be referred to the Government of India, and the applicants should be informed accordingly

R. Grant.”

The above Minute by the Governor of Bombay was also endorsed by the members of his Council, Mr. Sutherland and Mr. Ironside. A suitable reply (2) was, therefore sent to Sir Roger de Faria & Co., and copies of the correspondence were sent to Fort William for the information of the Governor General of India in Council and requesting “the instructions of the Hon’ble the Governor General of India on the subject ............” (3).

The Governor General in Council heartily approved of the policy of non-intervention, as will be clear from the following letter. (4)

“To the Secretary to Government of Bombay.

Sir,

I am directed by the Hon’ble the Governor General of India in Council to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from you dated the 8th Ultimo transmitting Copy of an application made by Sir Roger De Faria & Co., on the part of the Ex-Prefect of Goa, for the supply on Loan of Military Stores for the use of the Portuguese Government and of Your reply to that application.

---

(1) ibid.

(2) ibid.

(3) Government of India, Foreign Department, Political Branch Proceedings, 1st June, 1835, No. 7.

(4) Government of India, Foreign Department, Political Branch Proceedings, 1st June, 1835, No. 9.
The Governor General in Council desires me to state in reply that concurring as he does in the Sentiments expressed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council it only remains for him to observe that he approves the tenor of the communication made to Sir Roger de Faria & Co., by the Military Secretary to the Government of Bombay in his letter dated the 5th Ultimo. It appears to the Government of India to be unnecessary and inexpedient to supply Military Stores to any Parties during the existing state of discord at Goa.

Fort William
1st June 1835.

I have & ca.
W. H. Macnaghten
Secy. to the Govt. of India.”

All the efforts of the deposed authorities of Goa to put up an opposition to the Provisional Government appear to have been rendered futile as the Ex-Viceroy, Don Manoel de Portugal & Castro, ultimately decided to leave India and return to Portugal. But he was in such financial straits that he could not secure a passage to Europe and had to apply to the Bombay Government for assistance, That Government managed to secure a passage for the Ex-Viceroy and his “Suite”, as stated in the following letter (1) from the Secretary, Government of Bombay:—

“To,
The Secretary to the Government of India.

Sir,

I am directed by the Right Honorable the Governor in Council to bring to the notice of His Excellency the Right Hon’ble the Governor General of India in Council that in consequence of the disturbances which have taken place at Goa owing to the new constitution of the Government appointed for the Portuguese States in India by the Regency of Portugal, the late highly respected Viceroy Don Manuel de Portugal & Castro was necessitated to take refuge at Vingorla in the British Territory from

---

(1) Government of India, Foreign Department, Foreign Branch Proceedings, 27th May, 1835, No. 1.
whence he addressed letters to this Government stating his inability to procure a passage to Europe without the assistance of the British Government, having lost the most part of all the little he had left in the troubles which had occurred subsequent to his vacating the Government.

2. Taking into consideration the high rank and great respectability of this Nobleman, he being related to the Royal family of Portugal, this Government considered itself peremptorily called upon to contribute its aid in procuring him the means of returning to Europe, and has accordingly engaged with Captain Ardlee of the Ship Ganges to embark Don Manoel and suite at Vigorla and to land him at any one of Azores Islands for the sum of Rs. (7,000/-) Seven thousand which appeared to be moderate as the ex-Viceroy and his Suite were altogether nine in number.

3. An intimation has been made to Don Manoel of the confident expectation of this Government that Her Most faithful Majestys Government will re-imburse the Hon'ble Company the amount thus advanced on an application being made through His Majesty's Ministers.

4. His Lordship in Council trust that the measure now adopted will meet with the approval of His Excellency the Right Hon'ble the Governor General of India in Council and instructs me to state that it has been reported to the Hon'ble Court.

Bombay Castle
14th March, 1835.
I have etc.,
W. H. Wathen,
Secy. to Govt.

But the Governor General did not seem to be very happy with the action of the Bombay Government in giving assistance to the Ex-Viceroy of Goa. He refused to take any responsibility for the act and entirely left the matter on the discretion of the Court of Directors. This will be borne out by the following letter (1) addressed to the Government of Bombay:

---
(1) Government of India, Foreign Department, Foreign Branch Proceedings, 27th May, 1835, No. 2.
"To,

W. H. Wathen Esqre,

Secy. to the Govt. of Bombay.

Sir,

Your letter dated the 14th Ultimo reporting advance of Rs. 7,000/- made by the Bombay Government to Viceroy Don Manoel de Portugal & Castro to enable that nobleman with his suite to proceed to Europe from Vingorla having been laid before the Governor General of India in Council, I am directed to observe in reply that the advance having been made and the circumstances reported to the Hon'ble Court of Directors it lies with the Court alone to express an opinion on the subject.

Fort William,
The 8th April, 1835

I have etc.

H. Torrens
Officiating Secy.
to Government of India."

So far the British Government in India had no direct concern with the happenings in Goa and was more or less in the role of a silent spectator. But an appeal for protection from certain British subjects "regarding property belonging to them at Goa, for the safety of which they entertain apprehension under the present Provisional Government" (1) brought the problem under the immediate and active consideration of the Government. On 20th April, 1835, the following petition (2) was addressed to the Government of Bombay:

"To,

His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Sir Robert Grant—Governor in Council of Bombay.

The humble petition of the undersigned British Subjects Residents at Goa now in Bombay.

---

(1) Government of India, Foreign Department, Political Branch Proceedings, 25th May, 1835, No. 8.

(2) Government of India, Foreign Department, Political Branch Proceedings, 25th May, 1835, No. 9.
Humbly Shewith,

That your Petitioners have been long engaged in mercantile and other affairs at Goa, where they usually reside for carrying on trade and other business, and are also possessed of considerable property there. That by the late rebellion and consequent disturbances by certain evil disposed persons who have unlawfully usurped the Government of that country, Your Petitioners have been compelled to abandon their habitations and seek protection in the British Territories, whereby they are not only prevented from carrying on their business but are in danger of losing their property in consequence of daily plunders and extortions practised by the said Government and Soldiers.

That your Petitioners have been unable to obtain any redress from the lawfully constituted authorities of Goa who have themselves been exepiled by the rebel Government.

Your Petitioners therefore humbly beg to solicit the protection of the British Government and trust that under the circumstances an armed Force either Military or Naval may be dispatched to Goa for the protection of their property placed in imminent danger.

And your Petitioners shall ever pray as in duty bound.

Sd. Muyajee Ahmedbhoy.
,, Tzebjee & Co.
,, Durabjee Jamsetjee
 Bombay ,, Ruttanjee Taspall.
20th April, ,, Nundoo Muljee
1835. ,, Jarom Parekjee
,, Jena Ratha.
,, Ahdubander.

On receipt of the above petition, the Hon’ble Mr. Sutherland, member of the Governor’s Council recorded the following Minute (1) which was also concurred by the Hon’ble Mr. Ironside:—

(1) ibid.
"I presume nothing can be done for these persons but this Petition may be sent to the Governor.

J Sutherland."

But the Governor of Bombay was not inclined to dispose of the matter so casually as the two other members of his Council had done. He took a more sympathetic view of the question as will be clear from the following Minute (1) recorded by him:

"Certainly the prayer of the petitioners, which is for armed protection, cannot be granted, but should be submitted to the Supreme Government. I do not however, therefore think that the Case should be entirely thrown aside, The de facto Government of Goa professes unity to us, and neutral as we are and must remain, it is I conceive, perfectly competent to us to make a pacific representation of injuries suffered under their domination or from their acts, by subjects of this Government, and to ask redress.

The Petitioners might be informed that all armed redress, as far as the Bombay Government is concerned, is utterly out of the question; but that we are willing to represent in an amicable way any specific grievances of which they complain provided they will give us the means of so doing by stating particulars.

R. Grant."

The following letter (2) was, therefore, addressed to the petitioners on 1st May, 1835.

"To,
Mieyajee Ahmedbhoy & ca British Subjects residents of Goa now in Bombay.

In answer to your petition of the 20th Ultimo, I am directed by the Right Honourable the Governor in Council to inform you that this Government is unable to afford you any redress by armed interference, but that the Right

(1) ibid.

(2) ibid.
Honourable the Governor in Council is willing to répré-
sent in an amicable way any specific grievances of which
you may have reason to complain provided that you
furnish Government with means of doing so by stating
particulars.

Bombay Castle
1st May, 1835.

By order & Ca.
W. H. Wathen
Secretary to Government."

The Governor General of India entirely concurred "in the reply
sent to the Petitioners by the order of the Right Hon'ble the Governor
in Council." (1) But records quoted above do not make it clear
whether the Petitioners actually furnished the Government of Bombay
with their "specific grievances" against the provisional Government of
Goa, and whether the Bombay Government made any reference to Goa
in this connection. It will require a more intensive search among
the archives of the Government of India or more likely among the
archives of the Government of Bombay to study fully the attitude of
the British Government towards the Goa Revolution of 1835.

---

(1) Government of India, Foreign Department Political Branch Proceedings, 25th
May, 1835, No. 10.
NAPOLEON'S EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION AND ITS REPERCUSSIONS ON WELLESLEY'S POLICY

By

Dr. G. S. Misra, M.A., Ph. D.

Towards the middle of 1798, the news of the sailing of the French armada under Bonaparte was transmitted to India. A secret dispatch to the governor-general expressed a possibility of the armament being destined for the East Indies.1 Dundas was already of the opinion that the possession of Egypt by any great European power would be a fatal circumstance to British interests, and proceeded upon the supposition that the French armament had successfully reached Alexandria of which the conquest of Egypt would be a natural consequence.2 He did not see any reason why the French object of reaching India should not be accomplished. The pernicious consequences attending the French conquest of Egypt were conveyed to the governor-general, who was advised to bring Tipu to an explanation as soon as the proper moment for doing so had arrived.3 It became necessary, hereafter, to detail the measures adopted by the government for the better security of the Indian possessions. Under the possibility that the French might penetrate into India, either by the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf, the Board of Commissioners deemed it desirable, with the approbation of His Majesty's Ministers, that a Resident should be established at the Court of the Pasha of Bagdad, and appointed Harford Jones of the Bombay Civil Service to that post.4 The Chairman of the Court of Directors in a letter to the Pasha, dated 6th July, 1798, apprised him of the circumstances leading to the appointment of Jones to that Court and called upon his firm support and friendship. The Pasha expressed unequivocally his friendly disposition towards the British, and his determination to exert himself with energy in opposing the designs of the French of passing to India.5 The governments of Fort St. George and Bombay were advised to keep a watch-

---

(1) Minutes of the Secret Committee, V. 4; 18, June, 1798; India Office Library.
(4) Minutes of the Secret Committee, V. 4; 30, June, 1798; India Office Library.
(5) Secret letters from Bagdad, V. 6, H. Jones to J. Bosanquet, 28, Sep., 1798; India Office Library.
ful eye upon every possible mode of the French reaching India. The
Board also submitted for the consideration of the government the
necessity of sending to India, without the least delay, large supplies
of money and warlike stores, in order to enable the several governments
to counteract their designs. ¹ Pitt entirely concurred in the opinion
as to the propriety of sending out to India money and arms, but did
not consider the government to be in a position to make any advances
on that account till the end of the year. He, however, suggested that
such arrangements might be effected with the Bank, on the credit of
government, as would enable the Company to meet the immediate
needs of the situation ². The Court of Directors again emphasised
upon the fact that it was not possible for the East India Company to
stand alone in such a contest, and solicited an advance of a sum of
£ 500,000, either on further account of the claims of the Company
upon the public, or upon any other ground. Pitt finally agreed to
advance this pecuniary aid required by the Company from the govern-
ment, and the several presidencies in India were in consequence ap-
prised of the sanction of such assistance in the supply of specie and
warlike stores ³.

Lord Wellesley realized at this stage the supreme importance of
securing early, regular, and authentic information on the political
affairs of Europe, and of timely appraisals of the opinions entertained
by His Majesty's Ministers with regard to the designs of the enemy.
The system recently established for the overland dispatches to India
already afforded an excellent opportunity of monthly communication
between the two governments. Wellesley, therefore, suggested the
expediency of his being furnished every month with a short statement,
in cypher, of all events and movements of the enemy, and that copies of
a weekly newspaper published in London be despatched to the three
presidencies by the same monthly overland packet. ⁴

Lord Wellesley was given a free hand to meet the peril, un-
hampered by the prohibitions which had bound his predecessors. The
news of Napoleon's success in Egypt impelled the governor-general
to meet the danger before it grew greater. He was determined from

¹ Minutes of the Secret Committee, V. 4 : 23, Aug; 1798; India Office Library.
² Ibid; 28, Aug, 1798; India Office Library.
³ Ibid 15, Sep; 1798; Ibid.
⁴ Wellesley to Dundas, 4, Sep; 1798; Br. Mus. Add. Mss. Wellesley Papers,
13,456,
the outset to abandon the policy of non-intervention. The Indian states must either subordinate themselves to the British power, or they must be compelled to fight for supremacy. Under the expectation of an approaching war with Tipu, aided by the French, the state of British alliances with the country powers became an anxious object of his consideration. The corps commanded by French officers in the service of the Nizam had lately augmented its numbers to 14,000 men and improved its discipline under Monsieur Raymond. On 8th July, 1798, the governor-general instructed the acting Resident at Hyderabad to open negotiations with the Nizam.\(^1\) On 1st September, the treaty between the Company and the Nizam was concluded, a subsidiary treaty which formed the pattern of several compacts enforced upon the Indian powers. The British detachment reached Hyderabad on 10th October, and on the 22nd, under the orders of the Nizam, surrounded the camp of the French army and secured the person of all the French Officers\(^2\). The amount of French force disarmed was about 11,000 men. Thereupon, followed the treaty with the Peshwa, who formed another branch of the triple alliance thus concluded.

Bonaparte's arrival at Alexandria had left no doubt in the minds of the Court of Directors and the government at home that in the course of a month or two some of the British or Portuguese possessions upon the Malabar coast may be surprised. By September, 1500 troops had been sent out to India, and a little over 2,000 were about to sail\(^3\). In order to counteract the French in their eventual designs against the British possessions in India a plan for the occupation of the Island of Perim in the straits of Babelmandel was set forth,\(^4\). The government of Bombay was subsequently instructed to take possession of that Island, in co-operation with His Majesty's Naval Commander in the eastern seas. A treaty with the Imam of Muscat was also concluded on 12th October, 1798, through the zeal and activity of Lord Wellesley's agent, Mehdi Ali Khan, by which the Imam promised to

---

(1) Wellesley to the Court of Directors, 21, Nov ; 1798 ; Br. Mus Add. MSS. Wellesley Papers, 15,446.
(2) Ibid.
(3) J. Bosanquet to Wellesley, 19, Sept, 1798, Br. Mus, Add. MSS, Wellesley Papers, 37,278.
(4) Warren Hastings Papers, 29, 234 ; Copy of an address from Warren Hastings to the King 30, Sept; 1798 ; Br. Mus. Add. MSS.
exclude all Frenchmen from his State, and bound himself whole-heartedly to co-operate with the English\(^1\).

The first intimation of the French descent upon Egypt was communicated to Lord Wellesley on the 11th October by a native of Bengal, who had arrived at Calcutta in an Arab vessel from Port Juddah in the Red Sea. Although, the intelligence was unauthoritative, the governor-general deemed it sufficiently credible to claim their earliest attention. He transmitted the intelligence to Admiral Rainier, who was advised to take immediate measures for establishing a vigilant cruize off the straits of Babelmandel\(^2\). On the 18th of the same month, he received from the government of Bombay intelligence brought by one of Company's cruizers, confirming the accounts of the landing of the French in Egypt. Lord Wellesley was convinced that the invasion of Egypt was connected with the designs which the French had so long meditated against the British possessions in India, and that they had based their hopes on the co-operation they expected from Tipu. This led him to a determination to strike an immediate blow at Tipu.

The governor-general-in-council at first urged the governments of Fort St. George and Bombay to put their garrisons in a state of defence, and effected the due security of the Port of Calcutta and the province of Bengal against any possible attempt of the enemy\(^3\). The commander-in-chief was called upon to give a plan as to the augmentation of troops at Bengal and for operations against Tipu. The governor of the British possessions at the Cape of Good Hope and the naval commander at that station, were requested to co-operate by despatching for the defence of Malabar such part of their force as they could safely spare\(^4\). The government of Bombay, in concert with the Admiral, was directed to seize Mocha, the Island of Babelmandel, and other places at the entrance of the Persian Gulf, or any posts on the coast of the Red Sea.

Wellesley now turned to deal an account with Tipu. The instructions which had followed him undeniably warranted him in treat-

---

(1) European Ms.; V. 2, Part 2, D. 167; India Office Library.
(2) Bengal Secret letters No. V. 3 Governor General-in-Council to the Secret Committee, 30, Oct.; 1798; India Office Library.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid.
ing Tipu’s dealings with the French as an act of hostility and war on his part. The intercepted correspondence between Monsieur Dubuc and Tipu had given an additional proof of his connection with the French. Tipu had despatched Dubuc, one of the French officers engaged for his service at the Mauritius, on a secret mission to Tranquebar with the probable intention of enlisting Europeans for his service. It followed from these circumstances that the British government found an incontestable right to seek effectual security against the designs of Tipu. Accordingly, the governor-general determined to adopt the most vigorous measures, in concert with the allies of the Company, to obtain that security as speedily as possible. Unfortunately, neither the state of British army in the Carnatic, nor the condition of their allies, allowed immediate operations. The revival of the tripartite treaty and the disbandment of Nizam’s formidable French force were, in the meantime, effected. Then followed Lord Wellesley’s correspondence with Tipu. To be near him he resolved to proceed to Fort St. George where he arrived on 31st December, 1798. He addressed two letters to Tipu on 8th November and 10th December, 1798. But Tipu, encouraged by the apparent approach of the French, gave evasive replies to the governor general’s demands of submission.

Lord Wellesley, thereupon, took the effectual step of blockading the coast of Tipu’s dominions in Malabar by the Company’s and His Majesty’s ships in order to preclude him from deriving any succour from the French whatsoever. Reports had reached the governor-general through various channels stating that a French squadron under Monsieur Richany destined for the Arabian Sea had left Europe. In addition to such reports, he was apprised by unquestionable authority that while Tipu had given evasive replies to his communications, three of his Vackeels, accompanied by Monsieur Dubuc, were upon the point of embarking at Tranquebar with an avowed mission from the Sultan to the executive Directory of France. Certain dispatches received later, along with two Persian letters, also alluded to Tipu’s

(2) Abstract of the State of Political Affairs in India compiled from the Minutes and Letters of the Earl of Mornington for the information of His Majesty’s Ministers at the Court of Constantinople, 12, Feb, 1799 ; Public Record Office. Cornwallis Papers, 30-11,208.
(3) Wellesley to the Secret Committee 13, Jan ; 1799 ; India Office Library. Bengal Secret Letters, V. 3.
(4) Wellesley to the Secret Committee, 13, Feb, 1799 ; Br. Mus. Add. MSS. Wellesley Papers, 13,451;
embassy to Constantinople, to Baba Khan's Court at Teheran, as well as to the Court of Zemaun Shah. In order, therefore, to defeat Tipu's object of effecting any junction with the French, Lord Wellesley determined to commence hostilities without any further delay. On 3rd February, 1799, he directed Lieut. General Harris to enter Mysore and to proceed to the siege of Seringapatam with as much expedition as possible. War was formally declared on 22nd February in the name of the Company, and the last Mysore War began.

Lord Wellesley also realized the necessity of improving and extending the relations with Persia to the utmost degree. The great political object to him was the exclusion of the French from that country. Early in 1799, the government of Bombay fitted out an expedition against the Island of Perim, in accordance with the orders of the Secret Committee. The correspondence of that government with the Imam of Muscat did not reveal any signs of an inclination on the part of that prince towards the interests of the French, while, on the contrary, he renounced most enthusiastically all such intentions. By this time the Mysore War had ended in the overthrow and death of Tipu and the conquest of his country. Measures were, therefore, taken by an overland dispatch from Muscat to Mocha to communicate these important events in Mysore to the British detachment in the Red Sea, as well as to the native agents at these two places. In this way there was every possibility of the intelligence speedily reaching the French in Egypt, and there was a chance that it may contribute to divert their attention from India.

It was evident from the tenor of a letter written by Bonaparte to Tipu during this period, and entrusted for transmission to the Shereef of Mecca, that an attempt to penetrate into India constituted a part of their original design, since after his arrival in Egypt, Bonaparte intimated his strong desire to "free the Sultau from the Thraldom of the English yoke." This shows that action against Tipu had not been taken a little too soon. Towards the middle of 1799, it was learnt from concurrent accounts that Bonaparte had withdrawn the main body of his army from Egypt with a view to advance towards

(1) Wellesley to J. Duncan, 13, Feb; 1799; Br. Mus. Add. MSS. Ibid 13,693.
(2) J. Duncan to the Secret Committee, 3, June 1799; India Office Library. Bombay Secret Letters, V. I.
(3) Ibid.
(4) J. Duncan to the Secret Committee, 21, June, 1799; Ibid.
the frontiers of Persia. The government of Bombay consequently instructed Mehdi Ali Khan, then at the Court of Baba Khan of Persia, to ascertain the disposition of that prince in opposing the enemy in case they attempted to penetrate through his dominions.¹ Lord Wellesley did not consider it likely, especially after the overthrow of Tipu, that France would make any efforts to disturb the tranquillity of India without the aid of an Indian ally, or the co-operation of any eastern power. He, therefore, judged it expedient to strengthen the bonds of union with Persia, and decided to despatch an embassy to to the Court of Baba Khan in the person of Captain Malcolm, lately assistant to the Resident at Hyderabad. The principal object of this mission was to engage the Court of Persia to act with vigour either against Zemaun Shah or the French, if the latter should attempt to penetrate to India through any part of the Persian territories.² The Bombay government also despatched a mission to Senna, the capital of Arabia Felix, with a view to secure the co-operation of the Imam in strengthening British influence in that Gulf. The mission succeeded in ensuring the good offices of the Imam's government towards British naval and military force in that quarter of the world.³

At a time when most of the energies of the government at home were bent on combating the insatiable ambition of Bonaparte, Lord Wellesley came to share their cares in his distant outpost of empire, and his survey ranged even beyond the wide limits of his immediate charge. In all the details of his measures he received the full and active support from the authorities at home. He even proposed that an expedition may be fitted out from India to co-operate by way of the Red Sea with any attempt that might be undertaken from the side of the Mediterranean⁴. But he would not venture to prepare any such expedition without express orders from England.

The danger arising from the bad defence of Goa suggested itself as an object of importance to the governor-general. The Portuguese no doubt maintained a considerable military force at Goa, but it was

---

¹ J. Duncan to the Secret Committee, 20, Aug; 1799; India Office Library. Bombay Secret Letters V. I.
³ J. Duncan to the Secret Committee, 16, Sept., 1799; India Office Library; Bombay Secret Letters V.1.
ill-paid, badly disciplined, and incapable of acting with vigour. The fortifications at that station were not in a state to resist the attack of the enemy. Lord Wellesley was impressed with the importance of possessing Goa as early as July, 1798, and his anxiety on the subject was increased by the subsequent establishment of the French in Egypt. Dundas was no less impressed with the same sentiments, and he fully realized the danger that would arise from its falling, along with the possession of Diu, into the hands of France. Lord Wellesley opened negotiations with the government of Goa, whereupon, a detachment of British troops, consisting of about 1,100 rank and file, under the command of Sir William Clarke, was admitted there on the 6th September, with every demonstration of cordiality on the part of the governor and captain-general of that possession.

The expulsion of the French from Mysore and Hyderabad no doubt relieved the English from any apprehension of their attempts in those quarters. But the insular station of Bombay, which was placed at a great distance from the Company’s armies, exposed it to the hostile attempts of the French. At the same time, its position with regard to Persia, the Red Sea, and the nations on the Indies, entailed the necessity that a large body of troops should be stationed nearabout that point, and brought forward a case for larger reinforcements at Bombay. The same motives impressed the governor-general with the necessity of using every practicable degree of caution against the attempts of the emissaries of France to establish an interest in Travancore. The loose and weak government of that Raja prompted Lord Wellesley to appoint Major Bannerman, Resident at his Court, for the purpose of exercising a vigilant attention to the entrance of foreigners into that part of the coast.

Towards the close of 1799, doubts arose as to the Imam of Muscat’s fidelity to the agreement with the British. Malcolm, who was on his way to Persia was, therefore, directed to touch at Muscat for adjusting such points with the Imam as may tend to improve and sub-

---

(1) Dundas to Wellesley, 9, Oct, 1799; Public Record Office. Chatham Papers, 30, 8, 361.
sist the existing connection. The agreement concluded by Malcolm on 18th January, 1800, secured to the English a promise of eternal union and harmony from the Imam, who also agreed to the establishment of an English Resident at his Court. The Sultan of Aden, by a direct communication to the government of Bombay, had already made overtures for a closer connection with the English.

The formation of the Second Coalition in Europe in October, 1799, consisting of Great Britain, Russia, Austria, Naples, Portugal and Turkey gave a fresh impetus to the Anglo-French tussle of this period. Although the French were incapable of exercising any action in India, the depredations of French privateers continued. It was from the Isle of France that they preyed upon the shipping of the Indian ocean and inflicted heavy losses upon the trade of English merchants in the Bay of Bengal. In consequence, the necessity of obliging all ships to sail with convoy as the only means to prevent such losses, and to discourage similar attempts of the enemy, was pointed out. The governor-general also received a petition from the principal merchants of Calcutta earnestly soliciting convoy for certain ships bound to the eastward and to China. Prompt measures were, thereupon, taken to provide as effectually as possible for the protection of those vessels. It was also proposed, for the general protection of the Indian trade, to have a frigate stationed on the coast of Sumatra, another in the Straits of Malacca, and a line of battle-ships to protect the Malabar coast and Ceylon.

The importance of the capture of Batavia had, for some time past, fully suggested itself to the government at home. Dundas was opposed to the military capture of the settlement, but was of opinion that it should be brought under British control by peaceful measures of persuasion, as was lately done in the case of Demerara and Surinam, which were also formerly Dutch. He, therefore, proposed that persons with a flag of truce be sent to Batavia and propose to that government to follow the example of the other two Islands. Such commands were received by the governor-general towards the middle of 1800.

(1) Home Miscellaneous Series, V. 635, India Office Library.
(3) Wellesley Papers, 13,761, Br. Mus. Add. Mss; (The ships were carmo cargo valued at 10,00000; Diligente valued at 3,00000, Diana valued at 6,00000; and Transfer valued at 6,00000).
Lord Wellesley was himself convinced that the failure of the expedition could not produce any material disadvantages, while its success must seriously injure the resources of the enemy both in India and in Europe. The command of the expedition was entrusted to Vice-Admiral Rainier. In a letter to the governor-general of Batavia, Lord Wellesley proposed terms which were "calculated to rescue the Inhabitants of the dominions over which he presided from the tyranny and oppression of France." It was also suggested to him that any resistance to such views would prove injurious to the interests and welfare of that colony. But advices received from Lord Elgin's agent with the Turkish army in Egypt made Lord Wellesley inclined to think at this stage that it would be expedient to postpone the intended expedition to Batavia. There arose the possibility that the military and naval forces in India may be expected to co-operate in the destruction of the French army in Egypt, which rendered it highly desirable for Admiral Rainier and His Majesty's squadron to remain in these seas. In his letter to the Admiral, dated 29th August, 1800, the governor-general announced his resolution to renew the preparations for the expedition, but the final relinquishment of the expedition was communicated to him in a letter dated 12th October. In the meantime, however, the port of Batavia, together with all the ports in the Island of Java, were put in a state of blockade, and any ships or vessels attempting to leave or enter those ports were to be seized.

Lord Wellesley also took into serious consideration the possession of the Islands of France and Bourbon as the only effective means of counter-acting the activities of the privateers, who at that time infested every track of the trade of India. He was convinced that the fall of the Isle of France could be easily effected by sparing only 3,000 Europeans from India, but he would not venture to make the attempt in view of the reduced state of the European force in India. It was highly probable that with a view to attain her objects in Egypt and India, France may attempt to throw a strong reinforcement into the Isle of France. The governor-general had already received information that led him to believe that such a design was entertained by the
enemy. The success of that design would have greatly aggravated the danger to the British possessions in India. He, therefore, suggested the adoption of immediate measures for establishing the most strict and effectual blockade of the Isle of France. The governor of the Cape of Good Hope, anticipating the wishes of the governor-general, had already taken steps by employing five ships in that service. But Lord Wellesley could not give up from his serious consideration the complete reduction of that Island which, he thought, was more essential to the security of the British possessions in India against any possible attempt of the French either from Europe or the Red Sea than any measure of defence which he could adopt. Even if a direct expedition from France to India was to be projected, the loss of that depot and link of communication would have seriously embarrassed the success of that design. The propriety of making the attempt was left to the consideration of Admiral Rainier and Colonel Wellesley. The Admiral objected to the enterprise, stating that it could not with propriety be undertaken, unless by the express command of the King signified in the usual official manner to the governor-general. Lord Wellesley persisted in the opinion that the measure could be adopted without any reference for formal commands to the source of sovereign authority at home. He held that it was “an established measure of State, as well as an unqualified principle of public duty, that in time of war all public officers should employ their utmost endeavours to reduce the power and resources of the common enemy of the State, and should avail themselves of every advantage which circumstances may present for the advancement of the interest of their country by the vigorous prosecution of hostilities”

The home government had it in contemplation for some time past to employ a corps of troops from India to co-operate with the Turkish army in Egypt. Lord Wellesley had expressed his readiness to despatch an expedition to Egypt, on the most extended scale, if the measure was authorized by the government, and if he perceived a reasonable probability of efficient cooperation from the troops.

---

(1) Wellesley to Sir Roger Curtis, Governor of Cape of Good Hope, 24, Oct; 1800; Br. Mus. Add. Miss. Ibid. 13,783;
(2) Ibid.
(3) Rainier to Wellesley, 20, Dec 1800; India Office Library. Home Miscellaneous Series, V, 481.
(4) Wellesley to Rainier 5, Feb, 1801; India Office Library. Ibid.
on the other side. For these reasons he had resolved at first not to
detach any considerable force to the Red Sea. But early in Octo-
ber, 1800, the Secret Committee despatched letters to the several
presidencies, ordering troops to be sent from India to co-operate with
those under Sir Ralph Abercromby in the expulsion of the French
from Egypt. 1 The governor-general, in the meantime, had proposed
measures with a view to the security of the Indian possessions against
danger arising from the establishment of the French in Egypt. He
expressed his concurrence with Admiral Blankett’s idea of destroying
the harbour of Suez 2. He also considered it desirable to destroy any
other port or harbour in the Red Sea of which the French were
masters, or were likely to obtain possession of, and also to seize or
destroy any vessels belonging to any power which should be found
within, or attempting to enter into any port in possession of the
French.

Lord Wellesley, realizing the magnitude of the danger he may
be called upon to expel, was impressed with the necessity of placing
the forces in such a state, and in such a situation, as would enable
him to act with promptitude and effect whenever the expected
exigency should arrive. He had determined to relinquish the expedi-
tion against Batavia, and ordered a force to assemble at Trincomalee
by the middle of December, 1800 3. This force was to be kept in
readiness, either for proceeding up to the Red Sea to co-operate with
the British force employed in the Mediterranean, or to proceed
to any part which the French may menace in India, or may be
employed in striking a blow against the Isle of France. Towards
the close of 1800, preparations for the probable contingency of send-
ing out an expedition to the Red Sea were in great progress at
Bombay, and the force was in perfect readiness to act, at the short-
est notice, according to the instructions that may be received from
the governor-general 4.

The several governments in India were at this stage advised
of the fact that Sir Home Popham had proceeded with a squadron

---

1 Minutes of the Secret Committee, V, 4 : 9, Oct. 1800 ; India Office Library.
3 Wellesley Papers, 13,752.
13,772.
4 J. Duncan to the Secret Committee 3, Dec., 1800; India Office Library. Bombay
Secret Letters, VI.
to the Red Sea, with instructions to negotiate and conclude commercial and political engagements with the Arabian States, and instructed them to furnish him with such further aid and guidance as would tend towards the accomplishment of the object. They were further directed that nothing short of the protection and defence of the Company’s possessions should be allowed to stand in the way of sending an armament from India into the Red Sea. The governments were also authorised to augment the pay of native troops, and to increase the artillery by drafts from the European infantry. The friendly disposition of some of the Arabian States had already been secured before the despatch of Popham. A letter from the Pasha of Bagdad received by the government of Bombay, promised his amity and good understanding with the English. Lord Elgin had opened a direct communication with the Pasha of Aleppo. An attempt had also been made to enlist the support of the Shereef of Mecca, to obtain his promise for repelling the French invasion of Egypt, and for exerting his influence with the Arab chiefs in binding them to the common cause of resisting the aggressions of the French. The Shereef gave the most favourable assurances of his friendship and support to the cause of the English. The alliance between Great Britain and the Sublime Porte against French aggression was already concluded. On January, 1, 1801, Malcolm succeeded in concluding a treaty of defensive alliance with the king of Persia by which the two powers bound themselves to jointly expel and extirpate the French, in case they should attempt to settle themselves on any of the islands or coasts of Persia, while the British promised to support Persia with men and arms in the event of her going to war either with the Afghans or the French.

The governor-general now received overland dispatches under date 16th October, 1800, apprising him that the government had determined to adopt the most vigorous measures for the expulsion of the French from Egypt, that a force under Sir Ralph Abercromby

(1) Minutes of the Secret Committee, V. 4, 2, Dec. 1800; India Office Library.
(2) Ibid
(3) Translation of a letter from the Pasha of Bagdad to the Hon. the Governor (J. Duncan), without date, and received on 7th June, 1800; India Office Library. Home Miscellaneous Series, V. 474.
(5) Home Miscellaneous Series, V 635; India Office Library; (Translation of the Treaty).
had been ordered to proceed up the Mediterranean Sea for co-operating with the Turkish army, and that a force was also ordered to be assembled in the Red Sea with the view of dispossessing the French in that quarter. The naval branch of this armament had been entrusted to Captain Sir Home Popham, who was instructed to proceed from the Cape of Good Hope directly to Mocha. It was signified that the remainder of the military force be provided from India, and Dundas desired that this force may consist of 1,000 European and 2,000 Indian infantry.\(^1\) Lord Wellesley’s early preparations made at Ceylon, Madras and Bombay enabled him to despatch a force towards Egypt without delay, and he determined to relinquish finally the projected expeditions against Batavia and the Isle of France. He resolved that the forces destined for the Red Sea be commanded by Major General Baird, and that Colonel Wellesley be second in command on that “important expedition”.\(^2\)

Lord Wellesley gave specific instructions that the departure of troops from Ceylon for Mocha, and from there to several points, was not to be delayed for additional supplies, which were to follow with all possible expedition. The Company’s agent at Mocha was directed to furnish all necessary supplies of money and provisions. As the attainment of the object depended largely upon the early arrival of this force in the Red Sea, General Baird was ordered to proceed directly to Ceylon and from thence on his voyage to Mocha, from which point he was to open a communication with the British forces on the Mediterranean side.\(^3\) The General was authorized to make whatever requisitions he considered necessary to any of the subordinate governments in India. The governor-general also solicited the cooperation of the governor of Goa in exerting his full influence and authority in raising the necessary supplies of stores and provisions for the Red Sea expedition, while requesting him to observe the strictest secrecy both in respect to the armament as well as to the object of the projected expedition\(^4\). The governor of the Cape of Good Hope was, likewise, requested

\(^2\) Ibid.
\(^3\) Ibid.
\(^4\) Wellesley to the Governor of Goa 23, Feb, 1801, (The Governor of Goa at that time was Antonio Francisco da Viega Cabral); Br. Mss. Add. Mss, Wellesleys Papers, 13,710;
to co-operate with all exertion in the venture. Lord Wellesley realized the importance of employing every means for multiplying and improving communication between India and the British army acting in Egypt, and with this motive directed the British Resident at Bussora to give his special attention to the practicability of opening a more direct and speedy communication. He expressed his high satisfaction at the attention which had been paid to his suggestions respecting the expediency of taking further measures for the improvement of the system of the overland dispatches from Bussora, through Bagdad, to Aleppo.

Before the departure of General Baird, Lord Wellesley stressed upon him the importance of securing the support of the Arab chiefs against the French. He wrote letters to the principal Arab chieftains, which were to be delivered by Baird with suitable presents. The necessity of conciliating the Imam of Senna was particularly emphasised with a view to the free use of the Port of Mocha as a place of general depot, and attention was drawn to the doubtful attitude of the Shereef of Mecca towards British interests. Under Lord Wellesley's orders, a Proclamation was framed with the object of being distributed among the inhabitants of Arabia and of Egypt, inviting them to make common cause against the French. Copies of the Proclamation were also prepared in the Arabic language, and the time and manner of distributing them was to be determined by Baird himself.

In May, 1801, Malcolm had returned from Persia after having accomplished every object of his mission, and having established a connection with that government which promised political and commercial advantages to the interests of the British nation in India. To Lord Wellesley, it had always appeared to be an object of considerable importance to secure the attachment of that power to British interests, not only for frustrating the menaced invasion of Zemaun Shah, but also for safeguarding against any attack by a European power on the British possessions in India. Now that the

---

(1) Wellesley to S. Manesty, Resident at Bussora, 7 March, 1801; Br. Mus. Add. MSS.

(2) Wellesley Papers 13,708; Br. Mus. Add. MSS. The list included the Imam of Senna, the Shereef of Mecca, the Sultan of Aden, and the Governors of Judda and Mocha.


(4) Wellesley to the Secret Committee, 28, Sep; 1801; Br. Mus. Add. MSS. Wellesley Papers, 13,450;
entire command of the Persian coast had been obtained, it would facilitate the means of defeating any attempt on the part of the French to establish themselves in that quarter. Malcolm's mission was, in fact, the first the East India Company had ever sent of a political nature to that Court. It was, therefore, significant not only for the accomplishment of immediate objects, but also for the future interests of the Company's government. 1 In August, 1801, dispatches received from the Red Sea brought the satisfactory intelligence of the Convention for the evacuation of Egypt by the French. Lord Wellesley, therefore, considering that there was no further employment for the force then in Egypt under Major-General Baird, suggested the return of that army. In view of the reduced state of His Majesty's regiments in India, he looked upon its return as a highly desirable measure. 2

Early in October, 1801, the conclusion of peace between Great Britain and the French Republic was notified to the Chairman of the East India Company. The several presidencies in India were apprised of that important event, along with the ratifications of the preliminary articles of peace with France. 3 As all the places in India taken from the enemy during the war would now be restored, it came to be an object of material importance to the Company to attend to the settlement of the definitive treaty, in order to ensure that the French did not come to enjoy greater privileges than before. It was extremely fortunate for the English that Lord Cornwallis had been marked out as the negotiator, one who was fully conversant with all the leading points respecting British interests in India as to stand very little in need of any hints or observations in the adjustment of the cessions now to be made. The discussions over the definitive articles of the treaty occupied the most part of the months during November, 1801, and March, 1802. The relative situation of the two nations with regard to their territories, and their political and commercial arrangements in the East Indies, which had been overlooked in the preliminaries, was in Cornwallis' opinion to be held precisely in the same state in which they were before the commencement of the war. 4

(2) Wellesley to Lord Lewisham, President of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India, 29, Sep. 1801; Br. Mus. Add. Ms. Wellesley Papers, 13,474.
(3) Minutes of the Secret Committee, V. 4; 16 Oct, 1801; India Office Library.
(4) Cornwallis to Addington, Prime Minister, 27 Dec, 1801; Public Record Office. Cornwallis Papers, 30/11,266.
Having received intelligence of the ratification of the preliminary articles of peace, Lord Wellesley deemed it expedient to carry into execution, with immediate effect, reductions in the military establishment under the presidency of Fort William. He issued instructions to the commander-in-chief to proceed in the task of immediate reduction of all the native battalions on the Bengal establishment. After having successfully counteracted the danger of invasion from Zamaun Shah, Lord Wellesley thought it safe and practicable to reduce also two of the regiments then serving within the reserved dominions of the Nawab Vizier of Oude. The intelligence of the peace also prompted the governor-general to propose the reduction of such corps of volunteers, or other temporary and local corps, as had been raised during the exigency of the war, and the discharge of the sepoys supernumery to the peace establishment of each native battalion, and also the retrenchment of various establishments and contingent charges connected with the movement of troops. The situation of the Company’s finances also appeared to call loudly for retrenchments. But Lord Wellesley was not prepared to order any reductions which were not consonant with the safety of the British possessions in India.

The definitive treaty of Amiens between Great Britain, France, Portugal and the Batavian Republic was signed on March 27, 1802, and was signified to the governor-general for notification, in the usual manner, to all the presidencies, possessions, and forts of the Crown, or of the East India Company. A copy of the definitive treaty was also forwarded to him with necessary directions from His Majesty to restore to the French and Batavian Republics, conformably to the stipulations of Articles 3, 12, and 13 of the said treaty, all the territories, possessions or factories belonging to the two nations, with the exception of the Dutch possessions in the Island of Ceylon. In the event of any doubts or questions arising with respect to the situation of the French in India, the governor-general was advised to consider the provisions of the Convention of 1787 as constituting the rule for guiding his conduct.

---

(1) Wellesley to Hon. Henry Wellesley, Lt. Governor of the Ceded Provinces, 8, Feb; 1802; Br. Mus. Add Mss. Wellesley Papers, 13,546
(2) Wellesley to Lord Clive, 8, Feb; 1802; India Office Library. Home Miscellaneaous Series, V, 331.
(4) Ibid.
It can hardly be doubted that the treaty of Amiens once again gave latitude to the French in India. Although, they were granted only a restitution of their former privileges, it involved a fresh danger of a renewal of their intrigues and designs. The commercial advantages conceded to them, along with the permission to reside in their settlements and factories, naturally included the right to erect houses and to raise property which brought in the consequences of a commercial habitation. Warren Hastings could foresee the dangers arising from the peace, and in an address to the Honourable Court, exposed the embarrassments and hazards to which the administration of the Company's affairs in Bengal may be subjected under the treaty, and the peace of the parent state endangered. He suggested the means by which the evil consequences of such a situation may be avoided. The French nation may be allowed to repossess their former factories and settlements, but should not be given the liberty to erect new ones, nor should they be permitted to depute agents into any part of the country. Besides, they should not be permitted to import European soldiers into the provinces, nor to erect fortifications, nor to bring ships of war into the Hoogly river beyond the batteries of Fort William.

The events that occurred on the continent of Europe subsequent to the conclusion of the treaty, particularly the Proclamation of the First Consul to the Swiss nation, commanding them to receive back those rulers whom they had by unanimous impulse set aside, induced the British government to remonstrate in the strongest manner for the protection of their independence. The government decided to interpose, and a note was presented through Monsieur Otto to the French government. The affair involved the prospect of a renewal of hostilities at this stage, and the government thought it advisable not to allow any foreign possessions to pass out from its hands. A dispatch to the governor-general, dated 16th October 1802, conveyed His Majesty's commands for the retention, till further orders, of such French and Dutch possessions in the East Indies as had not till then been restored in consequence of the definitive treaty of peace.

---

(1) Address from Warren Hastings to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors, 20, May, 1802; Br. Mus. Add. Ms. Wellesley Papers 29,178.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Lord Castlereagh to Lord Clive, Governor of Madras, 19, Oct; 1802; India Office Library. Home Miscellaneous Series, V. 505.
(4) Lord Hobart to Wellesley, 16, Oct; 1802; Ibid.
But the subsequent casing of the situation in Europe led to a recall of the orders of the 16th October, and the governor-general was directed to proceed with the immediate execution of the earlier instructions for the restitution of the several possessions to the governments of France and Holland.¹ There was some reason to apprehend that the French government, either by intimidation or otherwise, may endeavour to obtain possession of the Portuguese settlements in the East Indies, or of Macao in China, which might endanger the security of the possessions and commerce of the Company. The governor-general was, therefore, advised to adopt measures, in concert with the commanding officer of the British naval forces in the East Indies, for preventing the Portuguese settlements from falling into the hands of France.² The several governments in India were directed to assist the governor-general in carrying such commands into execution³. The Revolutionary War thus ended in 1802, with a marked advantage to the English in the east, and with it the tension ceased for a while. The failure of the eastern projects of Napoleon ruined for ever his dreams of an eastern French empire.

---

¹ Lord Hobart to Wellesley, 16, Nov, 1802; India Office Library. Home Miscellaneous Series, V. 479.

² Ibid.

³ Minutes of the Board of Control, V. 10; 16, Nov. 1802; India Office Library.
LORD ELGIN I AND THE SOCIAL REFORMS.

By

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

The problem of social reform called for careful attention at this time. The educated classes in India were fully conscious of some of the baneful customs that had settled like a blight upon the people. These customs had taken root in India, for the priestly class which wielded considerable authority in social matters usually did not disapprove them. The hold which the priests had upon the female members of the family was used against the reformers who were thus confronted with bitter opposition in their own homes.

The status of women was thus the key to the whole situation. Unless they were educated and emancipated from the bonds of ignoble customs, there was little hope for the future. Female education was already making some progress in the country, specially in the large cities. During Lord Elgin's Viceroyalty, marked progress was noticeable in Bengal and in the Punjab and North-West Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

Lord Elgin's administration gave an impetus to social progress in some ways. He took to suppress, with the help and influence of Indian Chiefs, the inhuman customs and crimes in Indian states.

The custom of widow burning which had been banned by legislation in 1829 still survived in some parts of the country; and, during Lord Elgin's term of office, the practice was again on the increase specially in Rajputana and the Central Indian States. Lord

1. Asiatic Studies. P. 305.
2. Prichard: Adm. of India from 1859-68 (1869) Vol. II., PP. 84-89.
3. Wood's Adm. of Indian Affairs from 1858-666 (1867) P. 131.
8. Quoted in Zecharias, op. cit. P. 18; from 'SAIT' P 81
(b) Foreign Deptt. Genl. A. Progs. May 1862; Nos. 1-2; from Agent G. G. for Rajputana No. 235-41; March 10,1862.
10 (a) Foreign Genl. A. Regs., April 1863, No. 7 from Major Meade, Agent G. G. Rajputana Central India to Col. Durand, No. 11, March 4 1862.
(b) G. G. Political Letter to Secy. of State, No. 62, May 8, 1862.
(c) Major Meade to Col. Durand No. 8, June 11, 1863. Foreign Jud. Dptt.
Elgin resolved to suppress it with a strong hand. In his speech at the Agra Durbar, he appealed to the various Chiefs and Princes to assist the Government in suppressing the barbarous custom of ‘Sati’. Most of the Chiefs and Princes readily expressed their willingness to support Lord Elgin in this matter. But there were some princes who looked upon the prohibition of ‘Sati’ as an unwarranted interference with their ancient religious beliefs.

Lord Elgin was of the opinion that, if the practice of ‘Sati’ was to be put down, it would not do to allow onlookers and abettors to escape on the plea that the Act had been purely voluntary. A proclamation for the prohibition of ‘Sati’ was thus issued by the Government to stop the practice. Strict orders were issued to the effect that, wherever any person was found ready or determined to sacrifice herself, it was the duty of the Chief of the village, or his Agent, to make every effort in his power to prevent the commission of the crime, and by no means to allow the sacrifice to take place. The Indian Government decided to deal very strictly with those persons who were found guilty of abetting or encouraging the commission of the crime.

But, in spite of all precautions, stray cases of ‘Sati’ were reported during Lord Elgin’s administration from Central India and Rajputana States. In these the onlookers were severely punished.

Her Majesty’s Government entirely approved of the measures adopted by the Government of India and desired that the Princes of India should be made aware of the personal interest taken by Her Majesty in eradicating the inhuman rite of ‘Sati’.

There was another inhuman custom among certain sections of the Hindus, which demanded attention. The practice was to throw into the sea at the mouth of the Ganges a child by way of a sacrifice in

---

1. Notification, Foreign Department, No. 121, Feb. 27, 1863.
3. Foreign Deptt., Genl. A. Progs. May 1862; No. 5; from Col. Durand to Agent G. G. Rajputana, No. 937; May 1862.
(b) From Col. Durand to Agent G. G. Central India, No. 733, April 1862.
(c) Pol. Desp from Secy. of State, No. 61, July 9, 1862.
fulfilment of a religious vow. Although not very widely prevalent, this inhuman practice would not be tolerated by the Government.

Another type of infanticide was far more common, especially among the Rajputs, Jats and Mawats in Central and Western India. Here the difficulty of finding suitable bride-grooms for their daughters led the parents to kill them during infancy by withholding proper nourishment. The Government took steps to stop this practice by persuasion but the efforts were not wholly successful. Ultimately, however, legislation had to be resorted to for banning both the forms of Infanticide. Bengal Regulations XXV of 1795 and VI of 1802 respectively were made applicable in such cases of Infanticide, which was declared to be tantamount to murder.

It is true that these regulations could not be effective all at once, for in the very nature of things, detection was not easy. The practice, therefore, could only slowly die out as a result of the growth of education and general enlightenment. Credit must also go to Lord Elgin for the steps he took to stamp out the human sacrifices still practised by the primitive Khonds in Orissa. When it was found that the maintenance of a special Agency for the suppression of the “Meriah” sacrifices and Infanticide in the hill tracks of Orissa was no longer necessary, it was decided to abolish it. At the same time, it was desired that the effects of the abolition of the Special Agency be carefully watched, and every precaution taken so that the Khonds released from the vigilant supervision of officers who had been specially selected for the duty, did not relapse into their former habits.

During Lord Elgin’s regime, a female Infanticide, however, formed the chief difficulty, and the attention of the Government was drawn by certain local Governments with a view to special legislation on the subject. The Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Provinces of Agra and Oudh proposed to the Government of India that it should employ special or extra police as a preventive measure and include in the proposed bill a provision authorising the local Governments to levy the cost thereof by a cess on the proclaimed villages. This principle had already been recognized in section 15, Act V of 1861, in the case of

1. The Social Reformer, containing Proceedings of the National Social Conferences.
2. G. G’s despatch to Secy. of State, No. 98, Dec. 31, 1862.
3. Home (Pub.) Desp. from Secy. of State, No. 28, April 3, 1862
turbulent or ill-conducted villages, and the extension of the same to female Infanticide appeared to be desirable. This suggestion was offered in the belief that, howsoever inexpedient domiciliary visits of the police might be, these were indispensible to the success of other measures that were to be adopted.

In 1863, the Bengal Presidency, the Bombay Presidency, the Madras Presidency, the Government of North-West Provinces, the Government of the Straits Settlements and various other local Governments were directed to state whether they considered any special legislation on female Infanticide necessary. In Oudh, it is worthy of note, spontaneous efforts were made by the Taluqdns of Oudh, for the suppression of female Infanticide in that area. In the Punjab too, where the practice was widely prevalent, steps were taken to put an end to it.

A public meeting was convened at Amritsar in January, 1863 in which measures for the suppression of this unnatural crime were considered. A similar meeting was called at Multan in March. Printed copies of the proceedings of the Amritsar meeting were forwarded to the Commissioner of the Multan Division with instructions to follow the same proceedings as far as practicable. There was a public warning that the most stringent measures were to be taken in future to ensure the discontinuance of the practice; and that any parties who, after the warning, might persist in the perpetration of the crime, were to be severely punished. The authorities further called upon the public to extend all possible aid in the suppression of the hateful crime.

The Lieut. Governor of the Punjab issued a directive to all local officials that all births were to be registered and an annual census was to be taken of each village in which the crime was known to be perpetrated.

The Commissioner of Multan proposed that such families among whom the crime might be clearly indicated from the paucity or un-

1. From Sir George Couper, Secy to the Govt. of N. W. Provinces to Secy Govt. of India No. 775 A, Oct. 16, 1862.
2. From Secy. Govt. of India Nos. 1442-47 March 4, 1863 vide Legislative Proceedings No. 2 of March 1863.
4. From Secy. to the Govt. of India, No. 522, Dec. 16, 1862.
6. From Foreign Secy. to the Govt. of India to Secy. to the Punjab Govt., No. 16, Jany. 23, 1863.
equal proportion of male and female children should be searched out, and then registered. After giving all reasonable aid to Patwaris, Headmen and the village Watchmen, they were to be bound over with their villages in heavy penalties, if they failed:

1. To report atonce all marriages in suspected families.

2. To report atonce the births in suspected families, whether male or female; and

3. To report atonce all suspicious circumstances regarding deaths of female children, whose bodies were to be inspected by the village Headman.

The Commissioner added that it would be the duty of the Patwari or the village Accountant to maintain registers of all marriages and births in suspected families as well as of all deaths of female children in those families up to the age of four years or more. Copies of these registers, after attestation by Tahsildar, were to be forwarded to the District Superintendent of Police, who, in his rounds would satisfy himself that all was going on well, and see the girls himself, taking care that no fraud was practised on him. When the death of a female child was reported, the police would, by judicious enquiry (should a child have been improperly made away with), endeavour to obtain a conviction. The Police Officer would select men of integrity for such investigations.

It was further proposed that all village midwives should be bound down in personal recognizances to report all births and suspicious deaths of female children. Along with these enquiries, the following questions were also to be considered:

(1) Betrothals. (2) Expenses and (3) Marriages of girls in to more extended circles.¹

So in March 1863 a public meeting was organised by the leading citizens of Multan under the presidency of Mr. Ford² so as to consider measures for the suppression of female Infanticide. The practice was ascribed to the following reasons:

---

(b) From Secy. to the Punjab Government to Foreign Secretary to the Govt. of India, No. 1, Jany 3, 1863.
2. Commissioner of Multan
1. To be called 'Father-in-law' was an insult to the 'Kashtriyas' and so to avoid it, they would even kill their daughters.

2. It was feared that the sons-in-law might ill-treat their daughters.

3. The chief reason was of course the high expenses of marriages.

All these were discussed and the following decisions were reached:

1. Certain clans agreed to inter-marry with certain other clans, and none other; the low ones and the high ones to inter-marry among themselves.

2. That none but licensed midwives should be employed at child-birth. These midwives were to report the birth of every child.

3. That marriage expenses should be cut down as far as possible by all classes.¹

In certain Provinces, all the Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners reported that female Infanticide was not prevalent within their jurisdiction. The basis for this belief was stated to be official records and personal enquiries.² But, in Jaipur and in the Highlands of Goomsoor, human sacrifices and Infanticide were still prevalent, and, in 1862, a special agency was created³ so as to suppress these evils. By 1863, these barbarous practices were almost completely wiped out.⁴ The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal reported that these crimes had already been completely suppressed in the Presidency by the special agency⁵. In Central Provinces also, though the crime was suppressed, the Raja of Bustar was specially warned and was asked to be held strictly and personally responsible for recurrence of any such practice.


²(b). From Judicial Commissioner of C. P. to the Secy. to the Chief Commissioner of C. P., No. 533, Dec. 15, 1862.

²(c). From Offg. Secy. to the Chief Commissioner of C.P. to Col. Durand, No. 845, March 4, 1863.

³. From Secy. of State, No. 83, Oct. 31, 1862.


⁵. From Lt. Governor of Bengal, No. 44J, Jan'y, 29, 1863.
It was believed by the Chief Commissioner that as long as the British Police and the Police of Bustar are alert, no special steps were necessary to prevent a recrudescence of those barbarous practices.¹

But Lord Elgin rightly insisted that constant watch should be kept lest these evils reappeared under any form.²

"Thugee" was still prevalent to some extent in the Central Provinces when Lord Elgin came to India. One case was reported in May, 1863 from Chanderi in Isagarh which was in Gwalior State. Lord Elgin helped the Gwalior Darbar with a squadron of the Central India Horse which was sent under a British officer into the disturbed Parganah. Because of this prompt action, the outlaws were dispersed, their leader Vikramjit was slain, and the Zamindars who had succored and befriended them were either apprehended and punished or called upon to furnish substantial securities for future good conduct. The other decoits along with their followers escaped to dense forests. But, military roads were laid out through the wild fastnesses bordering the banks of the Betwa.³ Villages were connected and the jungles were opened out on all sides. This was the only serious case reported during Lord Elgin’s Viceroyalty. Law and order was maintained in other parts of India⁴. So it was decided to wind up the special agency created for the suppression of Thugee and Dacoity in British India. Its duties were transferred to the local police.⁵

For the Indian States, Lord Elgin was of the opinion that the Thugee and Dacoity Department might be continued as a special agency. But he did not endorse the opinion of Col. Bruce⁶, that an extra special staff of officers was necessary for the discharge of the duties of the Thugee Department. He believed that these duties could be performed by the Assistants to the Residents and Agents, on an extra allow-

---

¹ From Offg. Secy to the Chief Commr. of C. P. to Col. Durand, No. 1024, March 18, 1863.
² Foreign Deptt. Genl. A., Progs. May 1863, Nos. 26-27 ; From Under Secy. to Govt. of India to the C. P. Govt. No. 69, April 21, 1863.
³(a) From Judl. Commr. of G. P. to Secy. to the Chief Commr. of C. P. No. 533, Dec. 15, 1862. (b) Bengal Hurkaru, July 31, 1863.
⁶ Inspector General of Police.
ance of Rs. 200/- The reports of the assistants were to be sent through the Residents or Agents, as the case might be, to the General Superintendent who, if necessary, was to take the orders of the Government in the Foreign Department, in all matters concerning Thugee and Dacoity in Indian States. He was to submit annually to the Government of India a report of such operations in Indian states.

Public opinion was, however, against the abolition of the Agency for the suppression of Thugee and Dacoity. It was suggested that such Agencies should be maintained temporarily for some time at least. But, the special Department had to be abolished, and replaced by a more complete and efficient general police Agency than had hitherto existed.

2. Friend of India, dated May 14, 1863.
3(a). Home (Police) Progs., Oct. 23, 1863, No. 21; from J. W. S. Wyllie, Under Secy. to the Govt. of India to Commissioner, Central India, No. 6722, Oct. 23, 1863.
3(b). Home (Police) Progs. Oct. 23, 1863, No. 20; from Secy. to the Chief Commissioner of Central India to the Secy. to the Govt. of India, No. 4059, Sept. 14, 1863.
REVIEW

(1) Hastināpura: by Sri Jyoti Prashad Jain, M. A., LL. B.,
(2) Mathurā by Sri Krishna Dutt Bajpai, M. A.,
(3) Ahichchhatra by Sri Krishna Dutt Bajpai, M. A., and
(4) Kanauj by Dr. Ram Kumar Dikshit, M. A., Ph. D.

The Education Department of the U. P. Government should be congratulated for the publication of the aforesaid monographs dealing with the history, art, and archaeology of four ancient cities of Uttar Pradesh, viz. Hastināpura, Mathurā, Ahichchhatrā, and Kānyakubja (Kanauj), which were once far-famed as centres of culture and associated with the fortunes of many ruling families of Northern India for nearly two millennia. These works which are both interesting and informative, are therefore expected to be welcomed by all educated men in this country, for acquiring adequate and authentic information about the history and culture of Ancient India, which is exactly the purpose of the Department for including them in the series entitled “उत्तर प्रदेश के सांस्कृतिक केन्द्र”, “The Cultural Centres of Uttar Pradesh”. Judging by the amount of information contained in them, the reviewer is definitely of the opinion that they will go a great way towards fulfilling the purpose for which they are intended. The editor of all the four volumes is Sri Krishna Dutt Bajpai, a well-known scholar in the field of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, who, as it appears, has spared no pains in making them as useful as possible by framing the scheme and determining their scope and character, so that all relevant data, both literary and archaeological, relating to each of those four ancient cities, might find place in the monograph dealing with it. For all these, he deserves our heartiest congratulations and so also the authors of the four works, for their individual effort to make the object and the scheme of the series successful. Within the narrow compass of these treatises, they have supplied only what is useful, but nothing which is irrelevant or controversial. If it is not beyond the jurisdiction of the reviewer, then he would suggest to the Education Department to publish such useful monographs on Śrāvasti, Vārānasi, Kauśāmbi, Kuśinagara, and Prayāga, so that the cultural development in Uttar Pradesh may be studied with their help in its correct perspective.
All the four volumes are profusely illustrated and the printing is fairly satisfactory. They are not intended to serve the purpose of guide-books; nor have they been written from that point of view.

C. D. Chatterjee
ERAN PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRAGUPTA

By

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

Lines 9-10 of the fragmentary Eran pillar inscription, giving the first half of a stanza (verse 3: in the Vasantatilaka metre), were read by the late Dr. J. F. Fleet as follows:

—babhūva Dhanand-Āntaka-tuṣṭi-kopa-
tulyaḥ  manayena Samudraguptaḥ.¹

He noticed the Perfect Tense in the verb babhūva and suggested that it probaly refers to some predecessor of Samudragupta. The epigraph was, however, attributed by Fleet to Samudragupta himself on the ground that none of the names of his successors “can be fitted into any of the places where letters are legible in lines 11-24”.² Several years ago, we proposed to restore the two missing syllables before babhūva as putro implying thereby that the passage speaks of Samudragupta himself as the son of Chandragupta I and not of any of his predecessors.³ In our opinion, the lost first verse of the

² Ibid., p. 29.
³ Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization, 1942, p. 261. Verse 7 seems to speak of the erection of the pillar itself by one of Samudragupta’s feudatories ruling over the district round Airikiṇa (Eran).
inscription mentioned Chandragupta I while his son Samudragupta was introduced in the following two stanzas. Recently the epigraphic passage quoted above has been examined by Professor Jagannath Agrawal of the Department of Sanskrit, East Punjab University, Jullundur. In a paper read before the Jaipur Session (1951) of the Indian History Congress and now published in its Proceedings, Professor Agrawal has advanced arguments to prove that the stanza in question refers to Samudragupta and not to any earlier Gupta monarch as supposed by Fleet, although he has passed over the restoration proposed by us in silence. Like Fleet, he draws our attention to the Perfect Tense in the verb *babhūva* but concludes that “Samudragupta was not alive at the time the inscription was composed.” Thus, while Fleet assigned the Eran pillar inscription to the reign of Samudragupta, Agrawal regards it as a posthumous record. On this point we are inclined to agree with Fleet as Agrawal’s suggestion is based entirely on the evidence of the Perfect Tense in the verb *babhūva*, which is, in our opinion, no evidence at all. Both Fleet and Agrawal ignore the interesting fact that there are innumerable instances in epigraphic Sanskrit poetry of the use of the Past Imperfect (*Lād*) and Perfect (*Liṭ*) Tenses for the Present Indicative (*Lāt*). The attention of scholars is drawn to some such cases in the following lines.

It is well known that ancient Indian kings issued charters in respect of the grants made by them especially for the information of future rulers of their dominions so that there might not be resumption of the gift lands at a later date. On this point the *Viṣṇu-smṛti* has:

\[ \text{pāṭe vā tāmra-pāṭe vā likhitāṁ sva-mudr-āṅkitām c-āgāmi-nṛpa-viṣṇu-ārthāṁ dadyāt,} \]

while the *Vājñavalkya-smṛti* says:

\[ \text{dattvā bhūmiṁ nibandham vā kṛtvā lekhyaṁ tu kārayet l āgāmi-bhadrā-nṛpati-pariṣṭanāya pārthivali} \]

---

2. Chapter III, śāstra 58.
3. Ācārādhyāya, verse 318.
As a matter of fact, the word śāsana, meaning ‘a royal charter’ and occurring in the Ṭājñacalkya-smṛti, has been explained by Vijñāneśvara in his Mitākṣarā commentary as:

śisyante bhunisyanto nṛpatayo=nena.

In view of the above attitude of the Indians of old, it is no wonder that the action of a reigning monarch in respect of a grant made by him is often expressed in the charter, issued on the occasion, in the Perfect Tense, even though, as will be shown below, there are some other reasons underlying the representation of current events as past ones. Reference may be made in this connection to the Tezpur plates of king Vanamālavaran (ninth century) of Prāg- jyotiṣa, recording a grant of the king himself in the following words:

tasmāi dadau śrī-Vanamāladevo
grāmam sa mātā-pitr-puṇya-hetoḥ.

The verb used here is dadau in the Perfect Tense although the dedication of the village was a current event. The same characteristic is also noticed in the recently published Parbatīya plates of the same king, which has the verb pradadau in the Perfect Tense in a similar context:

tatr=āgraṇāya pradadau dvijāya
grāmam hi Cūḍāmaṇaye praśāya l
Haposa=nāmānam=iha prayatnät
puṇye=hani prīti-mañā narendraḥ \l
mātā-pitr=rātmanaś=ca puṇya-yāso-bhīvṛddhaye
ataḥ sarvair=anumantavyam=iti \l

Apparently an extension of the same conception is noticed in some charters which use both the Past Imperfect and Perfect Tenses in the description of other activities of their issuers. The following passages of the Khalimpur plate of king Dharmapāla (circa 770-810 A.D.) of Eastern India use the verbs utalāsa and prajā-

1. Ibid., verse 320.
2. P. N. Bhattacharya, Kāmaśāntotsavañcāla, p. 64.
3. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIX, p. 156. The king’s request contained in the prose sentence added to the stanza has to be noted.
vaśa in the Perfect Tense in describing the exploits of Dharmapāla himself:

(1) samprāptāh parama-tanutāṁ chakravālaṁ panañāṁ
magn-onmilan-maṇi-panipater=ālaghavād=ullalāsa;

(2) viruddha-viśaya-kṣobhād=yasya kop-āgnir=Aurvavat
anirvṛti prajadiśa catur-ambhodhi-vāritaḥ II

The copper-plate grants of Devapāla (circa 810-50 A.D.) similarly describe him as:

urvīm=cā Varuṇa-niketaṇāc=ca sindhor=
ā Lakṣmī-kula-bhavanāc=ca yo bubhoja.2

Although Devapāla was ‘enjoying the earth’ when the charters were issued, the verb bubhoja has been used here in the Perfect Tense. There are also instances of the use of the Past Imperfect Tense in similar contexts. Both the sets of the Baud plates of Prthvīmahādevī (tenth century) of Orissa have the following passage in the description of the ruling queen:

prthvīṁ Prthvīmahādevī cira-kālam=apālayat.3

The verb used here is apālayat in the Past Imperfect Tense.

It should, however, not be supposed that such use of the Past Imperfect and Perfect Tenses is confined only to the copper-plate charters which were avowedly meant for the information of future rulers. We have numerous cases of similar usage in the descriptions of both private and royal personages in stone inscriptions recording

2. Ibid., p. 35; Eo. Ind., Vol. XVII, p. 320; etc.
3. J. A. S., Letters, Vol. XIX, p. 120. Cf. queen Danḍīmahādevī’s description in her own grants (Eo. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 138; Vol. XXIX, p. 88, etc.):

  tato Danḍīmahādevī sutā tasyā mahīyaśa
  mahīṁ=ahīna-sāmarthyā cira-kālam=apālayat II
  avicchinn-āyati-prāṃśau vaṁśe Kara-mahiḥbhṛtām I
  cihna-bhūṭa patik=eva yaḥ bhūtre vibhūṣaṇaṁ II
  lāvany-amṛṭa-nisyaṇa-sundaraṁ dadhati vapuḥ I
  y=naṣṭa=ca candra-lekh=eva vilasat-kīrti-candrika II

For the use of the Past Imperfect and Perfect Tenses in the same context, see further below.
their activities. As to records of donation similar to the copper-plate grants, we may refer to the Nagarjuni cave inscription of Mau-khari Anantavarman (fifth century) which has:

grāmam=analpa-bhoga-vibhavaṁ ramyaṁ Bhavānyai dadau.¹

The Bhitari pillar inscription of Skandagupta (455-67 A.D.) describes the installation of a deity and the grant of a village in its favour in the following stanzas:

iha c=aināṁ pradisṭhāpya supratisṭhita-sāsanaḥ l
grāmam=enāṁ sa vidadhé pituḥ puṇy-ādhivṛddhayē l
ato Bhagavato mūrtir=iyāṁ yaś=c=aṭra samśritah l
ubhayaṁ nirdeṣā=āsau pituḥ puṇyāya puṇya-dhitih l²

As regards the use of the Past Imperfect and Perfect Tenses in the descriptions in contemporary records of pious works other than donation we have innumerable instances, only a few of which are quoted below. The Udayagiri cave inscription of the time of Candragupta II (376-414 A.D.) records the construction of a cave for the god Śiva by the king’s minister Śāba-Virasesa who was a resident of Pāṭaliputra but accompanied his master to Malwa. The passage describing the said action, however, reads:

bhaktyā Bhagavataḥ Śambhor=guhām=etām=akārayat.³

The Gangdhar stone inscription (423 A.D.) of the time of king Viśvavaraman of Daśapura records the construction of a temple and the excavation of a well by his minister Mayūrākṣaka in the following passages:

(1) veṣam-ātyugram nṛpati-savivo=kārayat=puṇya-hetoḥ;
(2) kūpaḥ=c=ainām=akārayad=guṇa-nidiḥśrīmān=Mayūrākṣakaḥ; which are followed by the prayer:

tāvāt=kīrttir=bhavatu vipulā śrī-Mayūrākṣakasya.⁴

The Junāgarh rock inscription (455-58 A.D.) of Skandagupta’s reign records the reconstruction of the Sudarśana lake by the provincial governor Cakrapālita in the following stanza:

2. Select Inscriptiones, p. 315.
3. Ibid., p. 272.
babandha yatnāṁ=mahato nṛdevāṁ=
abhyarcya samya-ghaṭit-opalena l
a-jāti-duṣṭam=prathitāṁ taṭākāṁ
Sudarśanaṁ śāśvata-kalpa-kālam ll1

The Sarnath stone inscription (1026 A.D.) of king Mahīpāla I
records the king’s pious deeds at Kāśi in the following passage:

Gauḍāḍhipo Mahīpālaḥ Kāśyāṁ śrīmāṁ=akārayat.2

It will be seen from the passages quoted above that all of them
have used the verbs either in the Past Imperfect or in the Perfect
Tense in describing current events. Many more instances can be
added to our list quite easily. Another interesting fact to be noticed
in this connection is that sometimes an indiscriminate use of the
Past Imperfect, Perfect and Present Indicative Tenses in the same
context is noticed in the descriptions of ruling princes. A very clear
instance of this is offered by the Barabar cave inscription of the
Maukharī prince Anantavarman incised during the reign of his
father Śārdūlavarman.3 In the description of the son and the father
we have the verbs aḷaṇcokāra and babhūva in the Perfect, actkarat in
the Aorist and karoti and patati in the Present Indicative. Cf.

bhūpānāṁ Maukharīnāṁ kulum=atantu-guno=laṇcakār=ātma=
 jātyā
śrī-Śārdūlasya yo=bhūj=jana-hṛdaya-haro=nantavarmā suputraḥ l
Kṛṣṇasya=ākṛṣṭa-kṛittiḥ Pravaragiri-guhāṁ saṃśritam bimbam=
etan=
mūrttam loke yaśaḥ svāṁ racitam=iva mud=āctkarat=kāntimat
 saḥ ll
kālaḥ śatru-mahībhujāṁ praṇayināṁ=icchā-phalaḥ pādapo
dipāḥ kṣatra-kulasya naika-samara-vyāpāra-sobhāvataḥ l
kānta-cītta-haraḥ Smara-pratisamaḥ pāṭā babhūva kṣiteḥ
śrī-Śārdūla iti pratiṣṭhita-yaśaḥ sāmanta-cuddamaṇiḥ ll
utpakṣmānta-vilohit-oru-tarala-spast-cṣṭa-tārāṁ rūṣā
śrī-Śārdūla-nṛpaḥ karoti viṣamāṁ yatra sva-dṛṣṭiṁ ripau l

5. Gaudālekhamulā, p. 108.
tatṛ=ākarna-vikṛṣṭa-sārāga-saradhi-vyastah śaro=nt-āvahās= tat-putrasya pataṭy=ananta-sukhadasya=Ānantavarma-śrutet∥

Similarly in the description of king Vanamālavaran in his own Tezpur plates we have the following verbal forms: cakre, akāri, vijarghuh, mumucuh, vijahuh, ūhe, vicarati, ajayat, udeti, gāyanti and abharat.2

On previous occasions, while commenting on the Sarnath inscription of Mahīpāla I, the Nagarjuni cave inscription of Anantavarman and the Parbatiya plates of Vanamālavaraman, we tried to justify the use of the Past Imperfect and Perfect Tenses in the description of current events by pointing out not only that the writers of such epigraphic records had future readers in their minds but also that the epigraphs were often engraved after the completion of the action involved in the performance of the pious deeds they refer to.3 It must, however, be admitted that epigraphs like the Barabar cave inscription quoted above exhibit a considerable amount of confusion in regard to the use of the Tenses. Moreover there are some cases of the use of the Perfect Tense, which cannot be explained with reference either to future readers or to the period intervening between the performance of an act and its recording in an epigraph and have to be attributed to the confusion about its use that must have existed in the minds of the students of Sanskrit grammar. In both the Tezpur and the Parbatiya plates of Vanamālavaraman, for instance, we have a stanza recording a speech of the goddess Lakṣmī, conceived as incarnated in a queen, justifying her choice of a king as her husband by pointing out that the king was an incarnation of her celestial husband Viṣṇu. The verse runs as follows:

varṇ-ādy-aśeṣa-guṇa-jātam=ayaṁ babhāra
patyur=mam=ātula-balasya Rathāṅgapaṇeḥ l
ten=āham=agramahiṣi jagatībhujo=sya
bhūtvā jāne na khalu lāghavam=atḥyapaimi ll

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 222-23. For similar cases in literary works, see below.
Now Lakṣmī selected the king as her husband because he was adorned with the qualities of Viśṇu. In spite, however, of the fact that the king was still living and continuing to enjoy the said characteristic as clearly indicated by the Present Indicative Tense in abhyupaimi, the verb used to indicate the idea is kabhāra in the Perfect Tense. We have here no case of Parokṣa, underlying the use of that Tense, as it is ordinarily understood. The poet may have used the Perfect Tense in this case on the ground that Lakṣmī was thinking of the time when she had selected the king as her husband at a later date when she was justifying the selection in the speech recorded in the stanza. This reminds us of the following remark in Patañjali’s Mahābhāṣya on the prevailing controversy among grammarians regarding the significance of Parokṣa:

\[
\text{kecit = tāvad = āhur = varṣa-śata-vṛttam} \quad \text{Parokṣaṃ = iti 1}
\]
\[
\text{apara āhūḥ kaṭ-āntaritaṁ} \quad \text{Parokṣaṃ = iti 1}
\]
\[
\text{apara āhur = dvṛ-aha-vṛttam try-aha-vṛttam} \quad c = eti 1^3
\]

“Some say that Parokṣa means the lapse of a century. Others say that what is screened from the eye of the speaker is Parokṣa. There are still others contending that an interval of two or three days constitutes Parokṣa.”

It is believed that Pāṇini’s Aṣṭādhyāyī has been called an a-kālaka grammar because he excluded from his purview the discussion of Kāla or the Tenses, on the exact definition of which subtle and elaborate arguments were often advanced by the grammarians. Indeed some of the passages cited above from epigraphic Sanskrit poetry clearly exhibit the confusion regarding the use of the Tenses referred to by early grammarians.

The same confusion is also noticed in many works of Sanskrit literature. The words babhūva and bhavitā are both found in the

1. Under Pāṇini, III, 2, 115; Kielhorn’s edition, Vol. II, p. 120.
2. Cf. the Kāśikā of Vāmana and Jayñātīya on Pāṇini, II, 4, 21; IV, 3, 115; VI, 2, 14; Bala Sastri’s edition, pp. 139, 179, 578.
description of Sāvarṇi in the Durgā-saptakāti section of the Mārkandeya Purāṇa, the former being regarded by commentators as a case of bhāvini bhūtavād = upacārah. The Rāmāyaṇa offers similar instances of the use of the Perfect for the Future Tense. Cf.

śādvaleṣu yathā śīṣye vanātār = vana-gocarā
dhāypūjyate ātratam kṛsin syat sukhataram tataḥ II 2

Here śīṣye in the Perfect Tense means "I shall lie". Similarly in the following passage sīceve in the same Tense has been used to mean "I shall climb":

yat = te prṣṭham sīceve = ham śva-vasā hari-puṅgava. 3

The following passages of the same epic offer instances of the use of both the Past Imperfect and Perfect Tenses for the Present Indicative:

putrau Daśarathasya = āstāṁ bhrātararū Rāma-Lakṣmanaū. 4

The verb āstām in the Past Imperfect here means "there are". adya mene vinihataṁ Vālīnaṁ yuddha-durmādam. 5

Here mene in the Perfect Tense means "I take it". There are many instances in the Rāmāyaṇa, as in some of the examples quoted above from inscriptions, of the use of both the Perfect and Present indicative Tenses in the same context. Cf.

(a) śīṣyire c = ābhībhūṭāni santrastāny = udvijanti ca
dhāypūjyathire c = āpi na ca paspandire bhayāt II 6

(b) anye bherih samājaghmur = anye cakrur = maha-svanam
dhāypūjyathire ca = āpi na ca paspandire bhayāt II 7

(c) vividhād = astra-saṁyogād = ṣaṁgir = daḥati tatra vai
nāna-vidhān grhaḥ = citrāṇa daḍāha hutabhuk tāta II 8

1. Adhyāya I, śloka 2; Adhyāya XIII, śloka 17; Venkateswar Press edition, pp. 43,
(d) śara-homa-samiddhasya vidhūmasya mah-ārciṣaḥ ।

babhūvas=tāni liṅgāṇi vijayaṁ darṣayanti ca ā ।

(e) n=aiva jyātala-nirghoṣo na ca nemi-khura-svanaḥ ।

śuṣruve caratas=tasya na ca rūpaṁ prakāśats ā ॥

These are only a few of the peculiar uses of the Tenses found in the epic. ॥

---

KINGSHIP IN THE VISHNU SMRITI.

By

Dr. R. K. Dikshit.

Vishṇu Smṛiti, like other works of the same class, contains an interesting disquisition on 'Rājadharma'. It summarises the cardinal principles of the political system of ancient India, with particular reference to the position of the king. The author of this text does not discuss the origin or the nature of the state, but, following the usual tradition, he refers to the seven prakṛitis of the state (III. 33). Sometimes the Hindu writers designate the prakṛitis of the state as its aṅgas, thereby suggesting their belief in what is now known as the Organic Theory of the State. Śukra, the most remarkable exponent of this theory among the ancient thinkers, has instituted a comparison between the constituent elements of the state and the different limbs of the human body. Other accounts also indicate that the Indian writers did not regard the state as a loose conglomeration of independent units, but a living organism, depending upon the co-operation and co-ordination of the different organs. No element was useless or superfluous. All of them must work harmoniously towards the common goal. Vishṇu has recognised the importance of all the prakṛitis when he condemns to death all those who would cause injury to any of them.

The seven prakṛitis, according to Vishṇu, are svāmin amātya, durga, kośa, daṇḍa, rāṣṭra and mitra (III. 33). Almost all the ancient Indian writers have enumerated the same constituents of the state,

1. Vishṇu Smṛiti, ed. Jolly, chap. III. Macdonell ascribes this work to a period not later than second century A.D.

2. C. f. Aparākṣa on Yājñavalkya, I. 333: यत्म कार्यमुलयांचातवतिष्ठते निमित्ते भवति स भक्तिः। राजवं च विना स्वाभाविकमितीनरत्थ क उत्तममिव न सविना विरकल्लमनुवस्तं। ततो भवति स्वाभविकः राज्यायंगिनि।

3. Śukraniti, I. 61-62: तत्र अप्वर्धान्यसः स्मृता॥ दुग्मार्थाय मुङ्क्ष्यख्यशो मुङ्क्ष्यख्यशो वलं मन:। हुस्त्यवस्य दुग्मार्थायो राज्यायंगिनि स्मृतानिष्ठि॥

4. तत्र शकांच्छ हुन्यात: III. 31,
but, sometimes, they differ in their order of enumeration. That distinction is not without significance for, we are often told that, the constituents have been named in order of their importance, c.f. Manu, IX. 295; Kauṭilya, VIII. 1 etc. Usually, however, they are regarded as complementary to each other.

The king is invariably given the first place in these lists. The Śukranīti, as already noticed, regards him as the ‘head’ of the state, Rājanītiśrāvaṇa describes him as its mūla, while the Arthaśāstra affirms the identity of the rājan and rājya, evidently because it was the king who propelled the administrative machinery and the success of the government largely depended upon him. Consequently our authorities have devoted much space to a discussion of the qualities and qualifications that the head of the state should possess. He must be devoted to law and religion, trained in various arts and sciences, brave and valorous, just and generous, and, above all, free from vices and gifted with qualities that would endear him to the people. Vishṇu, too, echoes similar sentiments. The king, he says, must possess a good personality, and unimpeachable conduct—free from the usual kingly vices, viz. fondness for hunting, dice, women and wine. He should be kind to the people, generous to the friends, respectful to the elders and forgiving to the Brāhmaṇas (III. 96). Personal valour was a necessary requisite. In fact, Vishṇu regards it as the only measure to determine the relative superiority of the Kshatriyas. He should be well

1. C. f. Manu, IX. 294; Yajñavalikya, I. 353, Kāṇḍakya, I. 16; IV. 1-2; Kauṭilya, VI. 1; Śāntiparva, 64-5; Matya Parāśa, 225. 11; Agni Parāśa, 233. 12, etc.
2. C. f. Kāṇḍakya, IV. 1-2: परंपरोपकारां कप्तांम राजव्युञ्जये।
3. एकांगोनाः सिंहवेशसमान वल्ले।
also, Manu, IX. 296-7; Matya Parāśa, 239. 1.
4. Rājanītiśrāvaṇa: सत्त्ववाचविभव राजवस्य मूलं स्वामी प्रवृततिः।
Kauṭilya (VIII. 2): राजवस्यविभव प्रवृत्ति संस्करये।
5. C. f. Manu, VII. 32-44; Yajñavalikya, I. 309-11, 334; Kāṇḍakya, I. 21-22
IV. 6-24; Śukra, I. 73-86; Kauṭilya, VI. etc.
6. ब्रह्मांश्च स्वातः, III. 86.
7. भद्याश्च स्तवः, III. 89; धृष्टिव्यक्तिः न मूकृतोपवरे, III. 90.
8. विभक्तां ज्ञातो यथेष्ठं क्षत्रियाः न बिभक्ते, XXII. 18.
trained in the use of arms and ever ready to wield them. In order to transform a prince into an ideal ruler, our law-givers prescribed an elaborate course of instruction for him. Some of them also made provision for stādhyāya in the daily routine of the king (e.g., Manu, VII. 43). Vishṇu, too, ordains that adhyāyana is one of the duties of the Kshatriyas. According to the tenets of Varnāśrama-dharmā, pronounced in the Sūrītis, sovereignty was the exclusive privilege of that caste—though non-Kshatriya kingship was not altogether unknown to ancient India. However, Vishṇu is emphatic that the protection of the earth was the business of the Kshatriyas. He is altogether opposed to the rule of the Śūdras.

The office of the king was never regarded as sinecure in ancient India. As a matter of fact the very nature of the functions performed by him was responsible for the importance that was assigned to him in society. His foremost duty was the rakṣaṇa and pālana of the people. The Mahābhārata includes prajā-pāñjana also among the duties of the king. The people were to be protected against foreign aggression as well as against the anti-social elements within the state itself, who were to be punished by the king. It was the protection afforded to the people that entitled a ruler to claim taxes from them. Vishṇu only emphasises that laudable principle when he lays down that if the king could not recover the stolen property he must reimburse the victim from the royal treasury. The duty of protecting the subjects subjected the king to great risks, and Vishṇu declares that there was no higher dharma for him than to lay down his life on the field of battle.

---

1. क्षत्रियस्य शत्रु निर्वयता, II. 6.
2. क्षत्रियस्य क्षितिक्रिया, II. 12.
3. न शूद्राणवेनिवेतस्, LXXI. 64.
4. C. f. Manu, VII. 144; Śatīvarṣa, 68. 1-4; Git. on, X. 7-8; Vāivikha, XIX. 1-2, Śatāra, I. 14, etc.
5. रज्जवतस्तव प्रजाय साबृतेन राजेन्ति लक्ष्यते, Śant., 59. 125.
6. परेणाभियुक्तस्तव सर्वभिमानः स्वः राज्यं गोयकेऽर्थात्, III. 43.
7. हुद्वाच हृद्यात्, III. 37.
8. चौर्यतुं पदभवयम् सर्वभेद त्वं मण्डलाये दशालं। अनवाच्यं च स्वःहोलावेद दशालं। III. 66-7.
9. नाति रज्जवतस्तव लक्ष्याय सदृशी धर्मं, III. 44.
Not only the king, but all those who died for the cause of cows, Brāhmaṇas, friends, national wealth, women and social order won for themselves a place in heaven (II. 45).

As a natural corollary to the king's duty of fostering his people, our authorities prescribe that he should support the students, learned Brāhmaṇas and priests—no doubt, as the inheritors, preservers and transmitters of the national culture and learning. It was an obligation as much of the state, represented by the king, as of the society itself to maintain and support them. Vishnu, like others, ordains that Brāhmaṇas should not remain hungry within the dominions of a king and urges upon the rulers to make generous grants to them, particularly the gifts of land. It were not only the Brāhmaṇas and Śrotiyas, wedded to a life of self-imposed poverty who had claims upon the royal exchequer: it was the privilege of all persons devoted to good works (satkarma-nirataḥ, III, 80). Nor were the claims of the poor unfortunate overlooked. Vishnu includes among them the aged, the minors, the destitute and helpless women (III. 77, 65). Such ordinances, undoubtedly, entitle the ancient Indian state to be classified as a Welfare State.

The duty of the rulers did not end with the maintenance of peace and prosperity: it was also incumbent upon them to uphold the social order and to promote religion. Social equilibrium was an essential condition precedent to the successful functioning of the state. Vishnu, in the traditional fashion, requires the king to enforce the practices of different castes and orders, as well as to punish those who swerved from the prescribed course of conduct. It was also obligatory for the king to offer the customary worship and perform the usual sacrifices.

1. C. f. Kṣatrya, II. 1; Manus, Vii. 82, 134; Yajñavalkya, I. 315, 323, etc.
2. न भार्य विवेये ब्राह्मणं: कुष्ठातिंशवसोदेत्; III. 79.
3. ब्राह्मणेणश्च स्तववायामयचेत, III. 84; 
ब्राह्मणेणवधवच भुवं प्रतिगदयेत, III. 81.
4. कालमयमसस्त्री धनांचि च दुःखा परिपालयेत, III. 65.
5. वर्णाधसर्या ले ले धम्म यज्ञ्यायम्, III. 3.
6. ब्रह्ममुण्डलस्तमे युजपेत्यः यज्ञायलो च, III. 76, 78.
Amongst the other important duties of the king, Vishnu includes the determination of foreign policy (III. 38-39), conduct of military campaigns (Ib. 40-43), appointment of important officials (Ib. 16-21), and the administration of justice (Ib. 72-73). Indian texts use the word daṇḍa to denote the punitive and coercive powers of the king. As stated by Manu, among others, the Creator created the king for the protection of the people, and for his sake He created the daṇḍa. If the rulers did not sedulously employ the rod of justice for punishing the wicked, the society would be afflicted by the Māṭya-nyāya. It was the fear of the king’s Punishment that restrained the wicked. This assumption has naturally led to the eulogisation of Daṇḍa in political treatises, including the Smṛiti ascribed to Vishnu. The same writers, however, do not fail to emphasise that, if wielded improperly, the daṇḍa leads to the destruction of the ruler himself (c.f. Manu, VII. 27-28).

The very nature of the functions performed by the king augmented the prestige and importance of the royalty. Vishnu has alluded to it at several places. The administration was conducted in his name, and every order was marked with his seal (muḍrā, III. 82). He constituted the highest court and could personally listen to the disputes of the people, at his discretion (III. 72-73). He was entitled to receive taxes from them (Ib. 22 ff.). Ownerless things went to him (Ib. 55), and the produce of mines and forests, as well as the treasure-trove, belonged to him, entirely or in a fixed proportion (Ib. 56-64). Non-payment of his share was punishable (Ib. 37). The very titles of the king used by Vishnu, viz., niṇapa, rājña, svāmi and neta are suggestive of his authority and lordship.

The same factors also contributed to invest the person of the sovereign with an halo of importance, and to the attribution of sanctity and even divinity to him. Unlike Manu (Vii. 8) and Nārada (Prakṛṇaka, 20), Vishnu does not deify the king. He only claims

1. Manu, VII. 3, 14, 20, 22.
2. Vishnu, III. 95: दम द्यामी लोहितलो दण्डविनिर्मयः।
   प्रजाभूतत् विवर्थते नेता वेस्तसपु वश्यति॥
   C. f. also, Manu, VII. 25, Māṭya Parāṣu, 225. 8, etc.
3. According to Vishnu one attains to kingship as a result of good karmas in the past births (XC. 25).
for him the respect that was the due of a teacher (XXX. 11), and
concedes to him precedence in the use of the road, though the
position of a snātaka was even more privileged in that respect (LXIII.
51). The queen, too, was entitled to respect and her seduction was
regarded as incest (XXXVI. 4). No sacrifice was too great where
the interest of the royalty was involved, and we are told that a
person who gave up his life in the cause of the king enjoyed eternal
bliss (III. 45). On the contrary, treason against king has met with
universal condemnation. Our text prescribes a severe penance for
the regicide\(^1\). Others recommend capital punishment for reviling
or assaulting the king. The measures suggested for the personal safety
of the ruler only reflect the importance that was attached to his
position. Like Kauṭilya (I. 21) or Kāmandaka (VII), Vishṇu is
also anxious for the safety of the king. He recommends residence
for him within the precincts of the fort (III. 60), and desires him
to use antidotes to poisons and only such articles as had been
carefully tested (III 87-88). The privileged position of the chief
executive in the state is also indicated by the rules, for example,
which prescribe that a king did not contact pollution by birth or death,
while his impurity extended to all. Every individual had to observe
āṇaucho for a night on the death of his king (XXII. 45, 48).
People were also expected to abjure food if he was involved in some
calamity (LXVII.5). Vedic studies, too, were suspended on such
occasions (XXX. 23).

The value of unitary control is the obvious reason for the laud-
dation of the person and position of the king. But such glorification
was reserved only for a good king. Wicked rulers have been denounced
as rākshasas\(^2\). They deserved to be killed like mad dogs\(^3\).
The fact is that while the political thinkers of ancient India recog-
nised the necessity of having a strong ruler none of them was pre-
pared to vest in him the absolute authority to rule arbitrarily. If
they have emphasised the rights and privileges of the king they
have also laid great stress on his duties and responsibilities. Nay,
they have even admitted the right of the people to rebel against a
tyrannical ruler. Their conception of kingship was paternal (c.f.

---

1. नृपतिवधे महाराजमेव दीतुर्मण्युपित, L. 11.
2. C. f. Śakuntālī, I. 70, 86-87.
Kâmandaṇaka, VII. 58, 59). Some of them have even described him as the servant of the people e.g., Kautilya, X. 3, Šukra, I. 188. The Mahâbhârata believes that the king held the state in trust for his people. Vishnu has not discussed any of these theories. The ideal king of his conception is one who rejoices in the happiness of his people and feels sorry in their sorrow:

प्रजामुक्ति सुखो राजा लता यत्र च पुःकितः ।
स कृतिप्रको जोकेविरज्जनुम् त्वममहीते ॥

(III. 98).
THE TRI-KALINGĀDHIPATI OF HIUEN TSANG’S TIMES
AND KING HIMĀŚITALA OF THE AKALĀṆKA TRADITION,

By

Sri Jyoti Prasad Jain, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.

Akalāṅka or Bhaṭṭa-Akalāṅka-deva was an eminent Jaina logician, philosopher and author of the 7th century A.D. That he was more or less a contemporary of Bharthari (590-650 A.D.), Kumārila and Dharmakīrti (600-660 A.D.), and preceded not only Haribhadrasūri (700-770 A.D.), but also Jīnadāsagāṇi Mahattara (676 A.D.) and that his famous dispute with the Buddhists took place in V.S. 700 (i.e. 643 A.D.) is proved by internal as well as external evidence.¹ We have also reason to believe that this Akalāṅka was the Pūjyapāda of the Chālukyan records of the first half of the 8th century A.D., whom Dr. D. C. Sircar assigns to Śaka 600 (A.D. 678), that his father was a ruling chief named Laṅghuhavva, that he himself was a resident of Alkatakānagar (modern Altem) in Mahārāṣṭra, that he belonged to the Devagaṇa of Mūlasaṅgha and his guru was saint Ravikṛiti of the Āhole inscription fame and that his chief patron and devotee was the Western Chālukya emperor Vikramāditya I alias Sāhasatuṅga (642-680 A.D.) of Vatāpi, who was the son and successor of Pulkeśin II (608-642 A.D.).²

But by far the most interesting figure in the Akalāṅka tradition is king Himāśitala at whose court the dispute between Akalanka and the Buddhist scholars is said to have taken place. All the sources are unanimous on the point that Himāśitala was a zealous Buddhist


विज्ञानक शक्तियो शत तत्त्र प्रमाणयो ि
कालेक्षणक यत्ती बौद्धवांको महानम्बो महात्मा II E.C. II, Intro.

² Cf. my paper on ‘Pūjyapāda of the Chālukyan Records’ and ‘King Sāhasatuṅga of the Akalāṅka Tradition’.
but was subsequently converted to Jainism by witnessing Akalanka’s victory over the scholars of the other sect. Opinions, however, differ as to the name of the country of which Himashtala was the king.

According to the Rājāvalikathe, a semi-historical work in Kannda, which was compiled by Devachandra at the instance of a royal lady, Devi Rambhā, in A.D. 1838, Himashtala was the king of Kāṇchī. Devachandra, however, gives no dates. The Sanskrit work Bhuvana-Pradīpikā of Ramakrisna Sastri makes Himashtala a king of the Tungira-deśa, and assigns him to Kali 1125 Pingala. The Ārādhana-Sara Kathā-Koṣa of Brahma Nemidatta (1518 A.D.) says that Himashtala was a king of Kalinga and that the scene of the dispute was his capital city of Ratnasāñchayapur. Ajitasena, the author of Nyāya-mani-dīpikā (12th century A.D.), mentions in the colophon of that work that this debate was held in the Mahāsthāna of Sakala Rājādhirāja Parmeśvara Himashtala Mahārāja. The Ārādhana-sat-Kathā-prabandha of Prabhāchandra (c. 980-1065 A.D.) corroborates the account of Nemidatta by asserting that the dispute was held in the city of Ratnasāñchayapur in Kalinga, in the presence of king Himashtala, the ruler of that place. The Mallisena epitaph at Śravaṇ-bel-gola, dated A.D. 1128, also gives an account of the said dispute and mentions the name of Himashtala, but it gives no dates nor the names of any places. Akalanka-stotra and Akalanka-charita, the two still older works, confirm the above.

1. B. L. Rice—My. & Co., p. 200-201. See also ‘Himashata Katha’ alias Akalanka-Charita.
2. MAR for 1918, p. 68.
5. Cat. Mss., Intro., p. xxvi. It is the same Prabhāchandra who is the author of Sāktipranaya Nyāya, Nyāyakumudachandra, Prameyakamalamārthaka, etc. He is a well-known commentator of Akalanka.
6. E. C. II, 67, p. 27; Sr. B. G. Inc. no 54 of 1128. This record contains four verses which refer to Akalanka and his victory over the Buddhist scholars. The first of these verses is evidently composed by the author of this epitaph, but it is also quite apparent from its Cārni that the other three verses which contain the names of Himashtala, Sīhasatunga, etc. have been simply reproduced by him in the form they had been handed down to him by tradition, and so are older than the epitaph itself.
7. See E. C. II, Introduction.
record, whereas the latter of these two works also gives for that famous dispute a definite date, i.e. V.S. 700 (or A.D. 643). Several other epigraphical records and the various authors and scholars who refer to this event give us no more details nor any extra information.

Amongst the modern orientalists and scholars, Wilson, the editor and compiler of the Mackenzie Collections, was perhaps the first to take any historical notice of Akalanka. His chief source of information regarding Akalanka appears to have been the above-mentioned Rijāvalīkathe of Devachandra. He says, "The Boudhas are said to have come from Benares in the 3rd century A.D. and to have settled about Kāñchi where they flourished for some centuries. At last in the 8th century, Akalanka, a Jain teacher from Sravana-belgola, and who had been partly educated in the Boudha College at Pontagga (near Trivatur), disputed with them in the presence of the last Boudha prince Himaśitala, and having confuted them, the prince became a Jain and the Boudhas were banished to Candy." Wilson, however, assigns no definite date to the event. John Murdoch follows Wilson and gives the date as c. 800 A.D. And B. L. Rice wrote, "After Mahesvara Muni was victorious in seventy great discussions which had been otherwise settled, came Akalanka. He is celebrated for his victory at Kāñchi over the Buddhists who were in consequence banished to the island of Ceylon. This is the incident here (Insc. 54 of 1128 A.D.) principally mentioned regarding him, with the addition of a quotation from himself, explaining his motives, in a speech addressed to a king named Sāhasatunga whom, I am sorry, I have not been able to satisfactorily identify. The occu-

---

1. Rao Bahadur R. Narsimhamachar in his Introduction to the 'Insc. at Seasona Belgola' (2nd ed.) also quotes the date-giving verse and is of opinion that the era used in it is the Vikramā era and that, therefore, the date mentioned is V. S. 700 or A. D. 643.

2. The oldest known epigraphical record which refers to this incident is a stone inscription assigned to the 10th century A. D. (MAR for 1923, p. 15).

3. Prabhāchandra, Vādirāja, Brahma-Ajita, Ajtasena, Śubhachandra, Samantarāchandra, Nādirāja, Abhayachandra, Padmaprabha Mādhavīrī, etc. etc. All these authors belong to, circa 1000 to 1300 A. D. Cf. Nādirājanadacandra, pt. II, Introduction.


6. Insc. at Sr. Belgola, 1889; also see Mysore Insc., Intro., p. 56; Pampa Ramayana, Intro., p. 3; Kṛṣṇaṇa Śabdamāssana, Intro., pp. 9-10, 24-25.
rrence took place at the court of a king Himaśītala, and is assigned by Wilson to the 8th century of Christian era. But the Jains have for the date the immemorial sentence ‘सप्त शैलाध्रि’ (‘ Sapta Śailāḍrī’, ..................................................) which gives Śaka 777 (i.e. 855 A.D.).¹ Himaśītala was no doubt a king of the Pallava line of Kāṇchī, who were Buddhists and had Kāṇchī for their capital.” Robert Sewell, probably after a deeper examination of the contemporary Ceylonese history, fixed this date exactly in 788 A.D.² Thomas Foulkes,³ Lewis and Edward Rice,⁴ S. C. Vidyābhūṣana,⁵ R. G. Bhandārkara,⁶ K. B. Paṭhaka,⁷ and others accepted this date as also the identity of King Himaśītala thus established, and consequently they assumed that Akalaṅka lived in the later half of the 8th century A.D. On the same authority of the Rājāvalikathe, it was also asserted that Akalaṅka was a pontiff of the Deśiyagaṇa at Sudhāpur (modern Sud in South Canara).

Some of these scholars, in order to further support this date of Akalaṅka, tried to identify King Sāhasatunga of the same tradition, with Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantidurga (745-756 A.D.) or with Kṛṣṇa I (756-772 A.D.), and also tried to fix Akalaṅka’s contemporaneity in relation to some of the famous Brahmanic and Buddhist logicians of those

¹ The version of the Śaka that came to Rice’s hands seems to have had the words सप्त शैलाध्रि (Sapto Śailāḍrī), in place of सप्त प्रमाजवि (Sapta Pramājavi), and assuming the date to be in the Śaka era, he interprets it as Śaka 777 or 855 A.D. But he, at the same time, does not seem to accept it. Pr. K. C. Sastri (NKC—p. II, Intro.) is, however, mistaken when he asserts that this date, i. e. 855 A. D., is merely Rice’s own invention. But Prof. S. K. Ayenger accepted it as the correct date of Akalaṅka, without heeding the context (Ancient India, p. 269). Dr. Saleatore (Medical Jainism, p. 232), perhaps not knowing Ayenger’s source of information, says “How Prof. Ayenger came to date this event in 855 A. D. is unintelligible”. But Saleatore himself certainly becomes unintelligible when he says, “Since Akalaṅka is said in a small Sanskrit work Akalakha Charita to have defeated the Buddhists in Nikrama year 700, the indentification of Sahastunga with Dantidurga may be accepted as yaliḍ”. If he believes the dispute to have taken place in V.S. 700 or 643 A. D., how can he in the same breath accept Akalaṅka’s contemporaneity with Dantidurga of 745-756 A.D.?²

² A Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India, p. 73.

³ The Pallavas—JRAS, XVII, 1885, pp. 183-220.


⁶ Principal results of my last two years’ studies in Sans. ms., 1889, p. 31.

⁷ Annals BORI, XI, p. 155—‘The Date of Akalanka’ and other articles.

times. Even those of the more modern scholars who do not agree with the above mentioned date of Akālanāka and believe that he must have lived more than a century earlier (i.e. in the middle of the 7th century A.D.), have neither questioned nor examined the facts about Himaśītala and rather accepted them as already finally settled. They seem to have overlooked the obvious implication that if Akālanāka is placed in the 7th century A.D. how can then his direct association with Himaśītala be reconciled with the latter's being a Pallava king of Kāñchī in c. 800 or 788 A.D.

In fact, no prince of the name of Himaśītala is known to have ever belonged to the Pallava dynasty or to have ruled over Kāñchī. No other ruler of that name is also known to have existed in 788 or 800 A.D. or even near about those dates. The Buddhist chronicles of Ceylon also do not mention any Himaśītala as being responsible for the persecution and expulsion of the Buddhists from Kāñchī region. The name of Himaśītala is associated only with the Jain tradition relating to Akālanāka and his dispute with the Buddhists. And of all the sources connected with that tradition, the Rājāvali-kathē alone makes him a king of Kāñchī, but it too does not assign him any date. As has already been stated, this work is of a very late origin (i.e. A.D. 1838), and is of a semi or pseudo-historical character. It is largely based on hearsay and oral tradition which the author reproduces with his own embellishments but without carefully examining them. He often confuses traditions relating to different or unconnected persons, particularly if they also happen to bear same or similar names. That this work is not much reliable is also clear from several other wrong and misleading statements which it makes in its account of Akālanāka. According to this account "The Buddhists at that time had great influence at Kāñchī. Akālanāka was born at Kāñchī of Brahmin parents who were Jains by faith. He studied in disguise at the Buddhist monastery of Bhagvatdāsa. When accidentally his identity was revealed, he had to flee from that establishment for his life. Later on he entered the Jaina order of ascetics, was associated with the famous establishment of Śravaṇa-belgola, and finally became the pontiff of Deśyagaṇa at Sudhāpur. At that time the Vīraśaivas persecuted by the Buddhists came to him

1. See reference Fn. 1, p. 1, above.
for help. Akalaṅka, posing as a Śaiva, confuted the Buddhists and then revealed his identity by displaying his Matyārāpīcchhi. At this the Buddhists became furious and persuaded king Himaśītalā of Kāṇṭhī, who was a zealous Buddhist, to announce that a public disputation between the scholars of the Jaina and Buddhist sects would be held at his court and whichever sect was defeated would be impaled wholesale. Consequently the dispute was held and Akalaṅka represented the Jains. The Buddhist scholars prolonged the dispute with the help of their goddess Tārā, but were finally confuted by Akalaṅka, and the king ordered them to be impaled. But owing to Akalaṅka’s intercession the sentence was commuted into one of banishment to Candy.¹¹

Now, it is a well-known fact that the sect of the Viśāśīvās (i.e. the Lingāyats) was founded by Bāsava, the Brahmin minister of Bijjāl, the Kalchuri king of Kalyāṇi, sometimes after 1156 A.D.,² which eliminates every possibility of their existence in the 7th or 8th century A.D. And the Viśāśīvās seem to have never come in conflict with the Buddhists, because by the time that sect came into prominence the latter had already disappeared from South India. It is also quite unlikely that the Viśāśīvās or even the Śaivas of the 8th century would have approached for help a Jaina scholar when their own highly eminent leader Śaṅkarāchārya (780-800 A.D.)³ was still living and close at hand. It is also unbelievable that Akalaṅka, an orthodox Digambara (nude) Jaina ascetic, should have disguised himself as a Śaiva. Moreover, this Akalaṅka was never associated with Śravāṇa-bel-gola or Sudhāpur, and did not belong to the Deśyā-gana which was a branch of the Nandisangha of Karnatka. On the other hand, he was not even a Kannadiga but was a Mahāratrīan and was the native of the town of Altem in the Western Chalukyan territory⁴, and he was a guru of the Devasaṅgha.⁵ In fact, no other source supports the Rajavali-kathe on these points, and it is quite evident that its author confused the identity of this

1. See The Rājāmatikathe of Devachandra, 1838 A. D.
3. Tāina-binta—Introduction by R. S. Sastry ; also Aukant—X. 7-8, p. 280.
5. R. G. Bhandarkar—op. cit. ; and Mahendrā Kumar—Ākalaṅka Grauha-Traya, Intro., p. 16, Fn. 1.
first Akalanka with that of a much later name-sake of his, i.e. Bhaṭṭā- Akalanka who lived in the reign of Vijayanagar King Venkatapati Rāya (1586-1615 A.D.), belonged to the Desīyagaṇa and was the Bhaṭṭāraka (pontiff) of Sudhāpur. This later Bhaṭṭākalanka was the disciple of another Akalankadeva, the guru of the Jaina establishment of Sangitapur (Hāduvalli in South Canara district). According to R. Narasimhachar, he was expert in the logic of the various schools, was a skillful commentator and was proficient in grammar of both the Kannada and the Sanskrit languages. On many occasions he upheld the Jaina faith in the courts of kings. He completed his Maṇjari Makaranda in the cyclic year Śobhakṛta, Śaka 1526 (A.D. 1604). His guru was a regular descendent in the line of Čāṇak-kīrti Pandit of Kuṇḍakundānvaya, Pustakagachha, Desīyagaṇa, Mullasaṅgha of Śravaṇa-bel-gola Maṭha. Even according to the Rājāvalikathe itself, he learnt all the sciences at Sudhāpur, was able to compose poetry in six languages and acquired renown by writing his Kannada grammar, i.e. the Karnāṭaka-Śabdānusāsana. No doubt, the author of the Rājāvalikathe did confuse things, but not to such an extent, while the modern scholars like Wilson, Sewell and E.A. Rice who made it their chief basis certainly made the confusion worse confounded and took the references to the various Akalankas to mean one and the same person, that is the first and the earliest guru of that name.

Moreover, the Pallava Kings of Kāṇchi in the later half of the 8th century A.D. were Nandivarman (750-775 A.D.) and Dantivarman (788-826 A.D.). Thus the king who was reigning in 788 A.D. or 800 A.D. must have been this Dantivarman. There is absolutely no evidence to show that his other name or alias was Himasātalā or anything even remotely resembling it. He seems to have never been a Buddhist, whereas there is sufficient evidence to prove that at least in the earlier part of his reign he was certainly inclined

1. There have been some eight or ten gurus of that name—See N. K. G.—Pt. II, Intro.
3. Ibid., pp. 221-222.
4. Srinivasachari—A History of India, Pt. I, p. 302,
towards Jainism. It seems, in or after 788 A.D. Dantivarman might have turned a Śaiva. The Ceylonese history, however, might be quite correct when it asserts that the settlement in Candy of the Buddhist emigres from the Pallava country in 788-800 A.D. was caused by their persecution and final expulsion at the hands of a non-Buddhist king. That there was no love lost between the Jains and the Buddhists at that time might also be true. In fact, there appears to have been some sort of struggle between the Jains and the Buddhists in Ceylon in the time of Māṇikya-vatthaka in c. 800 A.D. But the persecution of the Buddhists in the Pallava country had nothing to do with the Jains, and Akalaṇka was not at all either responsible for it nor in any way associated with it. On the other hand, it was the great Śaṅkarāchārya, the arch enemy of Buddhism, who was really and chiefly instrumental in the annihilation of the Buddhists and their final expulsion from Southern India in the last quarter of the 8th century A.D. There have been differences of opinion as regards his date, but now the most accepted view is that of Prof. P.V. Kane and Ramaswami Śāstri who assign Śaṅkara to 788-820 A.D. and his chief disciple Sāreśvara to 800-840 A.D. According to Lewis Rice, the famous Śrīṅgeri Maṭha of Śaṅkara near Kudur in the Pallava country was also established in the 8th century A.D. Saivism was first revived in the Kāñcī region under Saint Appar towards the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century A.D. These Śaiva Nayanars launched their attack chiefly against the Jains, while the Buddhists, who were left alone, gained strength, particularly as the first Śaivite movement began to weaken, so much so that towards the end of the 8th century A.D. the Buddhists began to mock at and torture the Śaivas by their insolent confutations. On hearing these things, Śaṅkara seems to have gone at once to the rescue of his co-religionists. He confuted the Buddhists in a public disputation and succeeded in converting king

1. J. R. A. S.—XVII, pp. 183-220. Under the patronage of the then Pallava king, one Kandavve erected a Jain temple in the north of Sripur in A.D. 777. This fact also refutes the theory that the era of the traditional date of the dispute is Śaka, i.e., S. 700 or A.D. 778.


3. Introduction to Taivobinda by Ramaswami Sastry.


5. Studies in South Indian Jainism—fixes this event in about 750 A. D.
Dantivarman into a zealous Saivite and a deadly enemy of Buddhism, who at once ordered all the Buddhists into exile. Thus banished the Buddhists took refuge in Candy (in Ceylon) in c. 788 A.D. And there these new refugee settlers commenced quarreling with the previously settled Jains, as stated above. The version of the Raja-vālikathe also supports this view since it specifically mentions that the original quarrel was between the Buddhists and the Śaivas, although he wrongly calls them the Virasaivas. It is obvious that the author of this work had before him the traditional story of the expulsion of the Buddhists from Kāñchī, and had also heard of somewhat similar traditions about Akalaṅka. What he did, therefore, was to substitute his own hero Akalaṅka for the Śavite missionary Śaṅkara, and further embellished his story by appropriate details and variations.

Moreover, this is the only version of the Akalanka traditions which makes the persecution so ruthless, although even according to it the original order of the king was for impalement but which Akalanka got commuted into one of exile. Some of the other and older sources do no doubt mention that Akalaṅka chastised the Buddhists by his confutations, but never hint at any persecutions. It is true that religious persecutions in those days though not very common yet they were also not quite absent. Even Jains themselves on several occasions had had to suffer quite ruthless and barbarous persecutions at the hands of the Buddhists, the Saiva Nayanars, the Vaiṣṇava Alvars and the Liṅgāyats. But although Jainism also had its hey-day and on numerous occasions its scholars confuted the famous disputants of other sects and consequently succeeded in converting to their faith important kings and powerful chiefs, never once in its whole history there was an instance when such successes were made an occasion of physical persecution of the followers of the defeated sects. Perfect tolerance has ever been the watchword of the Ahimsite creed of the Anekāntist Jainas.

It is, therefore, quite clear that the exponents of the theory that Akalaṅka was a Kannadiga who confuted the Buddhists in the court of Himaśītala, a Pallava king of Kāñchī, in 788 A.D. and consequently caused them to be expelled from that region, are grossly mistaken. They have not only confused different identities and
unconnected traditions but have also synchronised the two quite unrelated sets of events, namely the settling in Candy of the Buddhist refugees from the Coromandal coast in c. 788 A.D. and the conflation by Akalaṅka of the scholars of that sect in the presence of some king Himaśītala, although the latter event took place in 643 A.D. And so their theory does not help us to fix the identity of Himaśītala which, as Dr. Saleatore also admits, still remains an uncertainty. 1

It is, however, evident that we must look for him amongst the rulers of mid-seventh century A.D. At that time emperor Harsha of Kannouj (606-648 A.D.) was the lord of the better part of Northern India and emperor Pulkeśin II (608-642 A.D.), and after him his successor Vikramāditya I (643-680 A.D.), were the lords of the Deccan. Pulkeśin’s nephew, Indra Bhaṭṭāraka (633-663 A.D.) was the eastern Chāluṇkyan king of Veṇgī, and Bhūvikrama Gaṅga (609-670 A.D.) ruled in South Kṛṣṇaṇa. At Kāṇchī Pallava N arsimhavaran I (630-668 A.D.) ruled, and in Bengal reigned the famous Saśāṅka. Lastly, there was the king of Kosala and Kalinga, i.e. the Tri-Kalingadhipati. Of these, Harsha is obviously out of question as he was a zealous Buddhist and remained so throughout. Similarly, Saśāṅka was a staunch Brahmanite, and although he is said to have been an arch enemy and ruthless persecutor of the Buddhists, he was never associated with Jainism. Moreover, he died sometimes before 625 A.D., and his line seems to have ended with him. 2 The Gaṅga king of Mysore and the Eastern Chāluṇkya of Veṇgī were both, like most other rulers of their respective dynasties, inclined towards Jainism and were great patrons of this religion. No king of these dynasties was ever a Buddhist. The Western Chāluṇkyas of Vāṭāpi, Pulkeśin II and Vikramāditya I, were also great patrons of Jainism, and as has already been stated, the latter was none else but the Sāhasatuṅga of the Akalaṅka tradition. The Pallava king Narsimhavaran I (630-668 A.D.) of Kāṇchī was also like his father Mahendravarman I (600-630 A.D.) a follower and patron of Jainism. 3 In the opinion of some scholars, it was this

2. J. K. H. R. S.—I, 2, p. 120.
Mahendravarman I—who was first a zealous Jaina but who later on coming under the influence of Appar ruthlessly persecuted the Jains. But there are others who disagree from this view and assign these persecutions to a much later date.¹ Hiuen Tsang's testimony also contradicts the theory that Mahendravarman was this persecutor. This Chinese pilgrim visited Kāñchī in about 640 A.D., and he asserts that in his times the king of that place was a non-Buddhist and that there was a preponderance of the Nirgranthas (i.e. the Jains) in that country. They were certainly in much larger numbers and had greater influence than the Buddhists. Hiuen Tsang makes no particular mention of the Śaivas, and from his account it also appears that all the different sects in that region lived quite amicably.² In fact, we have reason to believe that the Pallava prince who patronised Śaiva Appar and persecuted the Jains, must have been either Mahendravarman II (668-690 A.D.) or more probably his son Narasimhavarman II (690-715 A.D.) who is associated with the Śaiva revival in the Kāñchī region.³

This leaves us with the then Tri-Kalingādhipati, i.e., the then king of Kalinga and Kosal. And it is not only the method of elimination alone which fixes our choice upon him, but there are several other sound grounds which leave little doubt as to the king of that country in and prior to 643 A.D. being the Himaśītala of the Akālanka tradition. One of the oldest recorded sources of this tradition, namely the Ārādhana-sat-Kathā-Prabandha of Prabhāchandragī (c. 1000 A.D.) makes Himaśītala a king of Kalinga and names the site of the dispute as Ratnasāñchayapura (the Jewel-hoarding city). And this is corroborated by the other Kathākosa of Śrīchandā and Nemidatta (1518 A.D.). No other equally older source contradicts this statement, and there is no reason why it should be disbelieved.

Fortunately, we have also got the remarkable testimony of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, which amply supports this view. During his travels in India (629-644 A.D.), Hiuen Tsang visited Odra

¹ J. Murdoch (Op. Cit.) placed them in the 10th century; S.I.J.—in 750 A.D.; V. Smith (E. H. I., p. 454-455) says the so called persecutions must have occurred after Hiuen Tsang's visit in 640 A.D. Also see Subrahmanya Aiyer—I.A., XL, 1911, pp. 209-218.
² On Yeiss Chuan's Travels—Watters' Translasiom.
³ A History of India—op. cit., p. 300.
(Utkala), Kongod, Kalinga and Kosala, the different parts of Tri-Kalinga, from 638 to 640 A.D. Therefrom he proceeded via Vengi (Andhra) to Kanchi, and after that, via Banavasi to Maharastra—the Chalukyan territory. Then he went back to Northern India via Malwa, on his way back to China. With regard to Odra, he says, there were about 50 temples belonging to non-Buddhists who were in larger numbers than the Buddhists. He mentions no king and hints that the country was in a disorderly condition. In Kongod (Kanyakodha or Ganjam) also, the people had great faith in the teachings of the aliens and did not believe in Buddhism. There were about 100 temples and 10,000 people belonging to different other sects and castes. In this country, there were about twenty cities situated on the sea-coast which abounded in rare and precious jewels, diamonds and pearls, and a brisk trade was carried on in these commodities. Next he came to Kalinga which, he says, was a prosperous country. Very few people had faith in Buddhism. There were only ten Buddhist monasteries and about 500 monks, while there were a hundred temples in which innumerable people of other sects of which the Nirgranthas (i.e., the Jains) were in the largest numbers, worshipped. Then he came to Kosala, i.e. South Kosala, the country between Mahanadi and Godavari. Huien Tsang found this part of the country very fertile and prosperous, and the people, both Buddhists and non-Buddhists, were highly learned and devoted to studies. The then king of Kosala, according to Watters' translation, "was a Kshatriya by birth, a Buddhist in religion and of noted benevolence." And according to Col. Wedell's rendering of the same text into English, "The king was of Kshatriya caste, who deeply revered the law of the Buddha and was well affected towards learning and art." There were about 100 monasteries and a little less than 10,000 monks, all belonging to the Mahayana sect. Huien Tsang also informs us that this place was associated with Buddha's own victory in disputation over the non-believers, and that the great Nagarjuna had also lived there. It appears from his account that the whole atmosphere of Kosala at that time was very learned and scholarly and that religious or philosophical discussions between the scholars of different sects should have been quite common. After

leaving Kośala the pilgrim came to Vėnti, the capital of Andhra, where the non-Buddhists were again in larger numbers than the Buddhists. Thence travelling through Dhanakaṭaka, the Chola country, the Dravida country (Kāñchhi), Malkūṭa and Banavāsa he came to Mahārāstra which Pulkēśin II ruled from Vātāpi. And as Mr. Rath says that there is sufficient evidence to show that he visited the capital of Pulkēsin in 641 A.D., there seems to be no doubt that he must have visited Kośala in 639 or 640 A.D.

It is, therefore, quite clear that the king of Kośala at the time of Hiuen Tsang’s visit (in 640 A.D.) quite fits in with what we know of king Himāśītala of the Akalaṅka tradition. Scholars were not quite certain about the identity of this king up to very recently. But now Mr. P. C. Rath has been able, after a careful and detailed discussion of the subject in his learned paper, to fix the identity of this monarch. This king of Kośala who was at the same time the Tri-Kalingādhīpati and ruled over Odra, Kongod, Kalinga and Kośala was Nagahuṣa alias Mahābhavagupta IV, the adopted son and successor of Dharmaratha Mahāśīvagupta IV, and was the second son of Abhimanyu, the grandson of Janmejaya Mahābhavagupta II, and belonged to the second line of the Somavāma kings of Kośala and Tri-Kalinga (which included Odra, Kongod and Kalinga). His reign lasted from 619 to 644 A.D. and he was succeeded by his own brother Yayāti II alias Chaṇḍīdhara Mahāśīvagupta V. Tārāṇātha, the Tibetan chronicler, also affirms that Nagesa was the ruler of Orissa in the time of King Harṣa.

That this Nagesa or Nagahuṣa alias Mahābhavagupta IV of the Somavāma of Kalinga and Kośala was the Himāśītala in question is confirmed by other facts and circumstances as well. We know that most of these Somakuli kings had several names or aliases each, and Himāśītala is not an unlikely name for a prince of the Somavāma (i.e., the Lunar family) which has also been called as Śīlāśīvamāṇa. Himānu (icy) is a synonym of Śīlāśīvam or Soma, and it is not

2. Ibid.—‘King of Kośala at the time of Hiuen Tsang’s visit’; also see Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 1944, p. 146-147.
at all surprising that Nagahuṣa might also have been known as Hima-
śitāla (icy cold), not only on account of his connection with the Himām-
śu kūla but being also famous for his cold courage and icy nature. The Bhuvanapradīpika may be otherwise unreliable, yet it too has an interesting corroborative value as regards the above theory. According to this work, the Samvatsara in which Himāśitāla lived was Piṅgala, and we know that this was the Samvatsara of the year 644 A. D., the last year of Nagahusa's reign. And according to a Jaina tradition the founder of the Vijaya or Nanda dynasty preceded Vik-raama by some 425 years, while another Indian tradition makes the Kaliyuga begin from the ascendency of the first Nanda. This would make the year 643—44 A. D. as 1125 of Kali, which is the very year mentioned by Bhuvanapradīpika for Himāśitāla. Moreover, the pedigree of Himāśitāla as given in this work has got several names which are quite similar to those we find in the chronology of the Somavamsi kings of Kośala and Tri-Kalinga. And it is quite possible that its Tūndiradeśa is simply another name for Tri-Kalinga or some part thereof. No other part of India, at least of southern and eastern India, seems to have borne this name. The epithets (Sakala Rājadhirāja Paramesvarā Mahārāja) used for Himāśitāla in the colophon of Nyāyamanidīpika are quite in keeping with the character and achievements of the Tri-Kalingadhipati Nagahusarāja Mahābhavaguptā IV. The Mahāsthāna of Himāśitāla simply meant the capital or court of that king. According to the Kathākosas, the site of the dispute was the city of Ratnasānchayapur (Jewel-hoarding city) in Kalinga, and we know from Hiuen Tsang's account that there were

1. See the character of Nagahusa as brought out by Mr. Rath—J. K. H. R. S., op. cit.
2. MAR for 1918, p. 68.
3. Compare Bhīmaratha, Dharmaratha, Indraratha, etc. of the Somakula (J K H R S—I, 2, p. 124, 147) with Nyāyaratha, Satyaratha, Dharmaratha, etc. of the Bhuvana-pradīpika.
4. Prābaddh Sangratha (Arrah 1942), p. 1.—

"कल राजाविराज परमेश्वरस्य हिमाशितल्यं महाराजस्य महास्यामये निर्दुर कक्षवब
सोहत सोंगतानच बुद्ध घट बादानि परिस्थतम ताराबीतापरमघड़ कुरवानि ब्राह विजयेन
राजां समयो समासुभिन्द्य परिप्राप्त जय प्रसिद्धि: सकल तातक जन्मारणस्य
रेवतेष्ट शिवार ऊर्जा चक्कयायमान चरण नक्रो मगवान्य म्हुटकालं देवो विद्वां
विहर्यं सुह्मालयो मुक्तिः राजास्य आसानम भ्रमणमयं चत्वारं"
about twenty towns on the Diamond coast of Kalinga which abounded with and traded in all sorts of precious stones. Hence this Ratnasāñ-
chayapur must have been the most important of these Diamond coast
towns, which was also probably the capital of Kongod and a sort of
sub-capital of the emperor of Kośala and Tri-Kalinga. That there
was a Ratnapur in eastern Kalinga is also proved by the Ratnapur
inscription of King Jajjaldeva (c. 1110 A. D.).

The traditional story that the Buddhist scholar who disputed with
Akalanka invoked the help of Tārādevī, the goddess of learning and
disputations in the Mahāyāna school, is corroborated, though
indirectly, by Hiuen Tsang himself. In connection with his visit to
Vārānasi, he describes a religious dispute in which one of the
disputants sat behind a curtain and having invoked the help of a
deity, he disputed with his rival. Thus with the help of his goddess
he could go on answering the questions of his rival, but only if those
questions came in a particular set order. His opponent, however,
realised this trick and upset the order of his questions and thus soon
defeated and exposed the former. This is exactly what is said to have
happened in the case of Akalanka’s dispute with the Buddhists. As
Hiuen Tsang informs us, the Buddhists of Kośala and Tri-Kalinga all
belonged to the Mahāyāna school, and it is quite natural and usual
for a Mahāyānist to invoke the help of Tārā, their favourite deity
who was believed by them to preside over disputations.

Further, Akalanka is the first Jaina guru who had the title of Bhaṭṭa.
And this term was in Ganjama or Kalinga a popular title given to those
great scholars who had considerable fame and influence. There
still are in these regions many ancient place-names ending in ‘Bhaṭṭa’,
which according to Prof. B. S. Sheshagiri Rao “were so named

2. According to Dr. S. C. Vidyabhusan, Tārā was a very popular goddess with
the Mahāyānist scholars. There are some 62 works in Tibetan and 34 in Sanskrit relating
to herself alone.
3. In fact, even from the aforementioned Akalanaka-stotra (verse 16) it appears
that Akalanaka was awarded this title of Bhaṭṭa (i.e. a great hero) for his being a pre-eminent
scholar and wonderful dialectician and because he had won this remarkable victory over
the absolute Ekāntists. See also Pt. Pannalal Bakliwal’s introduction (p. 14) to the Akalanaka-
stotra.
after the names of some of these famous scholars who were possibly Jains.¹ There is ample evidence to prove that Jainism had a great hold over Tri-Kalinga in the 7th to the 11th centuries A. D.² There thus remains no doubt as to Akalanka’s association with that country and to his being largely instrumental in enhancing the influence of Jainism there.

A brief survey of the principal events of Nagahuṣa’s reign³ also confirms the fact that he himself was Himaśītalā. It is true that religion did not directly enter politics even in those days, but it certainly did very often become an important secondary issue. We have already seen that of the four principal contemporary rulers of those times, King Harṣa was a devout Buddhist, Śaśāṅka a bigotted Brahmanite, and Pulkeśin II a Jaina, while Nagahuṣa was a Buddhist, at least in 640 A. D. He also seems to have been an ally of Harṣa, like his own predecessor who was also inclined towards Buddhism. Śaśāṅka who was a deadly enemy of Buddhism as well as of Harṣa had, therefore, invaded Odra, the northern part of Orissa, and annexed it to his kingdom in 615-619 A. D. At the same time (i. e. in 615 A. D.) another rival of Harṣa, i.e. Pulkeśin II, conquered Andhra or the Southern part of Orissa and there set up a viceroyalty under his own brother Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana. In these disturbed times, Nagahuṣa usurped the throne of Kośala in about 619 A. D. He made himself an ally of Harṣa, but, on the other hand, also pacified the Chālukyas, which became possible as Pulkeśin was otherwise busy in the north-western parts of his dominions against the inroads of Harṣa. Śaśāṅka had fortunately died in c. 625 A. D. Thus being immune from external danger, Nagahuṣa conquered back Odra and consolidated his hold over Kongoḍ and Kalinga. He thus soon established himself as the sole monarch of Kośala and Tri-Kalinga, and for some time ruled peacefully. He was a lover of art and learning and greatly enjoyed religious and philosophical disputes between the scholars of different schools and sects. And although he was a good Buddhist he must have been tolerant towards all other sects, which is evident from the fact that only in

---

¹. See The Jain period of Andhra Culture—JG., Feb. 1921, p 44.
². Man Mohan Chakravarti—Notes on the remains in Dhauli, 1902, p. 9 ; and I. A.—XL, 1911, pp. 209-218 ; also S S I 7.
³. As narrated by Mr. Rath in J K H R S—op. cit.
Kośala the Buddhists were in any considerable number while in the other parts of his dominions (i.e., in Tri-Kalinga) they were in a very poor minority, and particularly in Kōngod and Kalingā the Jains had a preponderance. Now we know that in about 643-644 A.D., Harṣa invaded Nagahusa’s kingdom. Hiuen Tsang heard the news of this invasion while he was on his way back to China. The question is why should Harṣa have become so hostile to Nagahusa if the latter was his own ally and co-religionist, especially when his arch enemy Šaśāṅka had already died long ago, and his another rival Pulkeśin II had also died in 642 A.D., and since the Chāluṅkas had on their part made no move, nor is Nagahusa himself known to have in any way encroached upon Harṣa’s territories? The reason is not far to seek.

In the closing months of 642 A.D., Nagahusa alias Himaśītala was staying with his court and family in his sub-capital of Ratnasāñ-
chayapur on the Diamond coast of Kalinga. His queen whom the Kāthākoṇas call by the name of Madanasundarī was a devout Jain. The people of that city, who were mostly Jains, inspired by the presence of the royal lady and her devotion to the creed of the Jina wished to celebrate the great Kārtikī-Aṣṭāṃghika festival (which fell sometimes in November of 642 A.D.) on a grand scale and by taking out the car procession of the Jina through the public streets of the city. The king perhaps would have had no objection but his Buddhist gurus and advisers persuaded him not to allow the Jains this privilege. Consequently the king who was otherwise tolerant, did not wish to displease his Buddhist gurus and also took much interest in philosophical disputes, at the same time had regard for the feelings of his own queen as well, decided that the Jains would certainly be given the permission to celebrate their religious festival as they desired but on the condition that to win that privilege the Jaina scholars should first confute the Buddhist savants in open court. At this the Jains were much worried because no famous scholar of their faith seemed to be at hand. However, unknown to them, Akalaṅka had just then happened to arrive in the vicinity. As soon as these news reached him he readily came forward. He could not forego this golden opportunity of glorifying his own faith. The result was that a prolonged philosophical dispute between himself and the principal Buddhist scholar ensued in open court. In the end, Akalaṅka succeeded in confuting his opponent and in impressing the King to such an extent that the latter renounced
Buddhism and adopted Jainism. Naturally, the attitude of the newly convert must have reversed as regards the Buddhists and he might also have imposed certain restrictions on them. After the victory, Akalanka went back to Vatapi where he related the recent events to his devotee, the Chalukya king Vikramaditya I. The news must have also reached Harsha who was perhaps already premeditating some way to invade the Chalukya territories by the easterly route since he had been unsuccessful in the west. The conversion of Nagahusā, which also implied his friendship with the Chalukyas, gave Harsha the necessary excuse, and he at once invaded the domains of the Tri-Kalingadhipati. At this the Chalukyas could also not sit silent and they promptly came to the rescue of their new ally. A bloody battle was fought in which Nagahusā was, however, killed, but Harsha had also to go back frustrated.

Thus there seems to be no doubt that King Hiṃsaśīlā of the Akalanka tradition, in whose presence at Ratnasanañchayapur in Kalinga that Jaina guru disputed with the Buddhist scholars in 642-643 A. D., was none else but the king of Kośala at the time of Hiuen Tsang’s visit and who has now been identified as the Somavāmśi Nagahusārāja alias Mahābhavagupta IV, the king of Kośala and Tri-Kalinga (619-644 A. D.).
THE ALVARS AND VAISNAVA RELIGIOUS SECTS*

By

Dr. Rakesh Gupta, M.A., D. Phil., D. Litt., Professor of Hindi, K. N. Govt. College, Gyanpur.

The first ten centuries of the Christian era, when most of the Purānas were composed, must have been full of vigorous religious activity. The authors of these great works, though unfortunately their names and personal details are lost to us, must have been no mean personalities. It can well be imagined with reason that the Bhakti movement should have taken inspiration and gathered momentum from the magic spell of their writings which are as powerful as fascinating.

Though History records no connected account of the rise and spread of this theistic religion in the Purānic period, yet it can be maintained with certainty that it was in greater vogue in the southern part of our country. The BHĀGAVATA-PURĀNA itself lays down that in the Kali age (which obviously means the period immediately preceding the composition of the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa) the devotees are found in abundance only in the Draviḍa country, and that elsewhere they are scarce. 1 The Bhāgavata-Māhātmya in the PADMA-PURĀNA also refers to the origin and development of the Bhakti in the Draviḍa, Karṇaṭaka and Mahārāṣṭra countries. 2

The Bhakti movement of the south, referred to above, reached its highest pitch during the times of the Ālvārs who were twelve in number. 3 The term Ālvār means "one who has a deep intuitive knowledge of God and one who is immersed in the contemplation of Him." 4 The names and works of these Ālvārs along with certain details about their lives are available. But their dates and chrono-

---

*From Author's unpublished work 'Studies in Nāyaka-Nāyikā-bhedā'.
2. Vide THE KALYANA, BHĀGAVATĀNKA, p. 163.
4. HIST. of PHIL. (Dasgupta), III, p. 68.
logy are very uncertain.\footnote{1} I am, however, inclined to accept the view of Dr. Surendranath Dasgupta, who has considered and weighed all other views, and according to whom all the Ālvārs flourished ‘within a period of only two hundred years, from the middle of the seventh century to the middle of the ninth century.’\footnote{2}

The Ālvārs, who were drawn from both the sexes and from different classes of the society,\footnote{3} were great devotees of Viṣṇu or one of his incarnations. Their poetical utterances are collected in the great work NĀL-ĀYIRA-DIVYA-PRABANDHAM, which contains as many as four thousand hymns. The PRABANDHAM came to be regarded in the south as the most sacred book, and verses from it are sung along with the Vedic Mantras at all ceremonial religious occasions.\footnote{4}

Among the Ālvārs, who were devoted to Kṛṣṇa and who sang of his dalliances with the Gopīs and of the love of the latter for the former, Saṭhakopa (Nāmm’ ālvār), Āṇḍāl and Tīru-maṅgaiy appear to be more prominent. They have introduced further fineness in the legendary love-episode of Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs by creating new situations and new characters. Let us have an illustration. In the Purāṇas there are Gopīs, and all of them are in love with Kṛṣṇa. They love Him of their own accord, and are not actuated by anybody else to do so. But Saṭhakopa has introduced a Dāti (a female messenger) who speaking of Kṛṣṇa’s youth and handsomeness before the Heroine arouses in her heart a longing for Him. She then takes the Heroine to Kṛṣṇa, and, not finding Him at the appointed time and place, speaks of His callousness in bitter terms.\footnote{5}

These Ālvārs have described the dalliances, not only of the Gopīs, but also their own with Lord Kṛṣṇa. They conceived them-

\footnote{1} Vide HIST. of PHIL. III, pp. 67-68.
\footnote{2} HIST. of PHIL. III, p. 68.
\footnote{3} Āṇḍāl was a woman, Kulaśekhara was a king, and some of the Ālvārs were even Śūdras.
\footnote{4} Vide HIST. of PHIL. III, p. 69.
\footnote{5} Vide HIST. of PHIL. III, p. 75 (second stanza). Here we find illustrated the Dāti and her function of bringing about the union (Saṅghaṭṭama). The Heroine is seen here as Abhīṣṭarikā (one who goes to meet her lover) and Vipralabdā (one who does not find her lover at the appointed time and place.)
selves as maids, sometimes even as Gopīs, deeply in love with the Lord, and expressed themselves as such. An earnest longing for a union, pangs of separation, enjoyment from union and similar other feelings find expression in their writings. But whether they speak of their own amours or of those of the Gopīs, and whether they deal with the union side of the emotion of love or with its separation side, intensity and depth of feeling is the prominent feature of their songs, and the grossness of physical relations has never been stressed.

Almost contemporaneous with the last of the Ālvārs was the great philosopher Śaṅkara who was born in 788 A.D. and died in 820 A.D. His theory of monism, which had at its background the force of a great dynamic personality and unchallenged scholarship, was responsible for creating a great upheaval in the religious life and the philosophic sphere of this vast country. The Bhakti movement, which had so far thrived without the basis of a systematic philosophy, now found that its foundations were giving way under the pressure of the uncompromising Advaitavāda (monism) of Śaṅkara, which had for its support all the accepted scriptures. Consequently, it became incumbent on the adherents of the Bhakti cult either to prove the propriety of their existence on the basis of the scriptures or to accept their spiritual bankruptcy. The challenge was taken up, and a number of Ācāryas rose, one after another, to establish a sound philosophic basis for the theistic religion.

The earliest of these Ācāryas was Nāthamuni who is supposed to be a disciple of the last of the Ālvārs. He should have flourished about the beginning of the 10th century. His main work was the compilation of the PRABANDHAM or the Vaisṇava Veda, as it is popularly named. His disciple Śrī Kṛṣṇa Lakṣmīnātha propounded

1. Āṇjālī very often identified herself with a Gopī. Vide HIST. of PHIL. III, p. 77.
2. Vide HIST. of PHIL. III, p. 81.
5. Vide, the UPANIŚADS, the VEDĀNṬASŪTRA and the BHAGAVAD-GĪṬĀ.
7. His grandson Yāmunāchārya lived between 918-1038 A.D.
the doctrine of Prapatti (i.e., complete self-surrender to the God)\(^1\), which was further exemplified by Yāmunācārya (918-1038 A.D.),\(^2\) the grandson of Nāthamuni, in his STOTRA-RATNAM.\(^3\) Yāmunācārya strove hard to establish the antiquity and authenticity of the Pāncarātra literature (the Vaiṣṇava Āgamas), and maintained that it was of Vedic origin, and hence not incompatible with the Vedas.\(^4\)

But the main work in the field of theistic philosophy was done by Rāmānuja (1017-1137 A.D.),\(^5\) who, in fulfillment of the last desire of Yāmunācārya,\(^6\) composed a learned commentary on the BRAHMASŪTRA. In his theory of qualified monism or Viśiṣṭādvaitavāda he emphasized the separate entity of the Jīva (soul), which, according to him, does not lose its identity even after attaining salvation, but enjoys the blissful company of the Brahman.\(^7\) The God, who is kind and compassionate towards His votaries, manifests Himself in five different modes, viz., Arcā (in images), Viabhava (in incarnations), Vyūha (in the forms of Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha), Śūkṣma (in the form of the all-pervading spirit), and Antaryāmin (in the form of internal spirit controlling the human soul).\(^8\) The devotee should begin with the worship of the first mode of the Brahman, and step by step he will get himself qualified to worship His last mode, when he shall enter the Vaikuṇṭha, the region of the Supreme Spirit, whence there is no more return to the human existence.\(^9\)

Though the philosophic ground was thus prepared for the worship of a personal God, yet the theory of devotion to the God in terms of human love was yet to be established. Rāmānuja’s conception of Bhakti is akin to that of the Upaniṣads, where Bhakti means

---

2. Vide ibid., p. 97.
5. Vide ibid., p. 113.
Upāsanā or constant and fervent meditation. This is why Rāma-
nuja restricts himself to the worship of Nārāyaṇa and His consort 
Lakṣmī, and makes no mention of the Vṛḍāvana Lilā of Śrī Kṛṣṇa 
as described in the Purāṇas. But besides the exemplification of Bhakti 
in the sense of human love in the Purāṇas and the PRABANDHAM 
even regular treatises had already been written emphasizing this 
meaning of the term, the chief among them being the Bhakti-sūtras 
of Śaṅḍilya and Nārada. Nimbārka, Vallabha and Caitanya are 
the three great Ācāryas, who accepted Kṛṣṇa as the highest Divinity, 
the Supreme Brahman, and intense love for Him as the best form 
of Bhakti or devotion. They were the pioneers of powerful religious 
movements and wielded great influence on the social and literary 
life of this country. Let us, therefore, discuss them, one by one. 

Nimbārkaśāstra propounded the theory of Dvaitādvaita or 
Dualistic non-dualism. According to him "the soul and the world 
are different from Brahman, since they possess natures and attributes 
different from those of the Brahman. They are not different since 
they cannot exist by themselves and depend absolutely on Brahman." 
He establishes Kṛṣṇa as the Supreme Divinity and Rādhā as His  

2. Lakṣmī, according to Rāmānuja, is the manifestation of the Creative power of 
the Brahman. Vide BHĀRATĪYA DARŚANA (Deviśāja), p. 401. 
3. "ता (मतिः) परमनुष्ठितरीषवरे " —ŚAŅḌILYASUṬRAM. 
4. "ता (मतिः) स्वतंत्रम 5० ग्रहम प्रेमहयां "—BHAKTI SŪTRAS OF NĀRADA. 
5. Madhva was also a great Ācārya, but, following Rāmānuja, he laid stress on the 
Bhakti of Hari (Visṇu) and Lakṣmī. Bhakti, according to him means reverence, and the 
relation of the Bhakta to the Brahman is similar to that of a subject to his king. Vide 
SARVA-DARŚANA SAṀGRAHA, Chapt. V. 
6. No irrefutable evidence is available about the date of Nimbārka. While Bhandarkar and Radhakrishnan have conjectured that he was a junior contemporary of Rāma-
nuja (1017-1137 A. D.), Dastgupta is inclined to place him towards the latter quarter of the 
fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century. (Vide HIST. OF PHIL. III, pp. 399-400). 
It is, however, certain that he lived later than Rāmānuja, but earlier than Vallabha and 
Caitanya. 
7. INDIAN PHIL. II, p. 753. 
8. Rādhā has not been mentioned in the HARIVAMŚA, the VISṆU and the 
BHĀGAVATA Purāṇas. She appears in the fourth section of the PADMA-PURĀṆA and 
in the BRAHMA-VAIVARTA-PURĀṆA. Dr. Hazariprasad Dwivedi has pointed out that her 
name appears in the GĀTHĀ-SAPTA-SAṬI, a work composed before the advent of 
Christ (Vide SŪRA-SĀHITYA, p. 13). But it is doubtful that the name in the GĀTHĀ 
refers to the beloved of Kṛṣṇa. The earliest unmistakable reference to Radha, the spouse 
of Kṛṣṇa, is found in the DHAVANYĀLOKA (850 A. D.) where in a Śloka she shares the 
incense with Kṛṣṇa.
eternal consort. "We worship," says he in his DÅŚASLOKI, "Rådhå, the daughter of Våśabha, the goddess who joyfully adorns the left lap of the great deity Kåśåna, as beautiful as Kåśåna himself, surrounded by thousands of damsels. She is who fulfills all desires." 1 Bhakti is no longer meditation but love and devotion, through which is realized the final emancipation consisting of participation in God’s nature (i.e. the Jiva is not merged in the Supreme Being, but enjoys His company). This is the ultimate end or Prayojana of life to which a Bhakta can aspire. 2 Stress has been laid on the doctrine of Prapatti or complete self-surrender to the Lord. The Premarūpå Bhakti (or the devotion which consists in love for the Lord) is attained through His own grace. The Lord stays eternally in Braja, surrounded by Rådhå, who is the manifestation of His power of love (Prem-Śakti-Svarupå), and other innumerable Gopis. 3

Thus we find that the amorous dalliances of Kåśåna with the Gopis, and absolute self-dedication of the latter for Him, which had already been described in the Purånas in much detail, receive for the first time a canonical recognition in the sphere of the religion and philosophy of Bhakti by a great and acknowledged Ācårya. Nimbarka’s stress on the Bhakti of Rådhå, who is not merely a companion of the Lord, but who has been shown by him to be seated on the lap of the Supreme Deity, clearly indicates his preference for a type of Bhakti which is tinged with Śrngåra. On account of the uncertainty of his date it is difficult for us to point out precisely the extent of his influence on the general public and also on the poets and the philosophers. It is, however, evident that the recognition which he had accorded to Våndåbana-Lilå was upheld even with greater zeal by the succeeding Ācåryas. Both Caitanya and Vallabha should have drawn inspiration from his works and personality. It can, therefore, be maintained with full propriety that the great Kåśåna-Bhakti movement, which had brought the whole of northern India under its spell in the sixteenth century and onwards, and which had influenced almost the entire literature of all the languages of this vast region, had taken impetus from the epoch-making doctrines of this great Ācårya.

1. GUJARĀTA AND ITS LITERATURE, (Munshi), p. 128.
3. Vide ASṬACHĀPA AURA VALLABHA, p. 45.
Vallabhācārya, the founder of the school of Pure Monism (Śuddhādvaita) in the field of philosophy, and the originator of the Path of Grace (Puṣṭi-Mārga) in the sphere of Bhakti, was born in 1479 A.D.¹ and died in 1531 A.D.² at the age of fifty-two years. He has been very often referred to as a follower of Viṣṇu Śvāmī, who has been supposed to be the founder of the Rudra Sampradāya.³ But the date of Viṣṇu Śvāmī, though he was, no doubt, a predecessor of Vallabha, is very uncertain, and any of his writings are hardly available.⁴ There seems to be substance in M.C. Parekh’s observation that he might have been connected with Vallabha’s sect to establish its antiquity at a later date by its own Adherents.⁵

Vallabha has maintained that there is but one God. The world is real, not illusory, and it forms a part of the Brahman Himself. The individual human souls are to God as sparks are to fire, being identical in essence with Him. The creation of the Universe is the result of God’s innate desire for self-expression. He desired to become many, and He Himself has become the multitude of individual souls and the world. He has three qualities, Sat (Existence) Chit (Consciousness) and Ānanda (Happiness). He becomes whatever He wills by the Āvirbhāva (Evolution) and Tirobhāva (Involvement) of these qualities. While Prakṛti (Matter) is the manifestation of His quality of Sat alone, the Jivas (human and the animal souls) are the manifestations of His qualities of Sat and Chit combined.⁶

On the basis of the above philosophical beliefs Vallabha has raised his theological structure. Kṛṣṇa is the highest God. He is not merely an Avatāra (Incarnation), but the Avaśārī (i.e., the

¹ Vide BRAHMANISM, p. 134.
² Vide MATHURĀ—A DT. MEMOIR, p. 262.
⁴ Vide ŚRI VALLABHĀCĀRYA, p. 209.
⁵ “There is a tradition among Vallabha’s followers that he comes in the succession of Viṣṇu Śvāmī……… but there is not a word to this effect in his own writings. Rather what little has been written about the teachings of Viṣṇu Śvāmī would point the other way. Very likely this tradition sprang up later on in his church in order to meet the criticism of its opponents that it was without a succession of any kind.”
—ŚRI VALLABHĀCĀRA, p. 67.
Brahman in His fulness) Himself. Goloka, the highest of the heavens, higher even than the Vaikuṇṭha of Viṣṇu, is His abode. There is the eternal Vṛndāvana with all its paraphernalia and with all sorts of the sports (Līlās) of the Lord going on there eternally. Bhakti, which “consists in firm and overwhelming affection for God with a full sense of His greatness,” can be attained only through His grace, and no personal effort on the part of the Bhakta is necessary. The best form of emancipation is participation in the eternal sports of Kṛṣṇa in the Goloka. This is the privilege of the Bhaktas alone, who join in these sports in the form of Gopas, Gopīs, cows, trees and rivers etc., and thus enjoy boundless joy in the company of the Lord.

A distinguishing feature of Vallabha’s church is the stress on the dignity of the normal life of a house holder which was looked upon by him as inferior in no way to that of an ascetic. He never preached celibacy, and had himself married and had progeny. The human body, according to him, is a temple of the God, and hence nobody has the right of self-mortification through penance. He very much deprecated the tendency of forced renunciation and contended that “renunciation in the Bhakti-mārga proceeds only out of the necessity of the Bhakti and for its proper maintenance, and not as a matter of duty.”

Vallabha emphasised the Vātsalya type of Bhakti, which means that a devotee should love Kṛṣṇa as his own child. The child

1. Vide ŚRĪ VALLABHĀGĀRYA, p. 219 & 221.
2. Vide ITIḤĀṢA, Śukla, p. 155-56.
3. HIST. of PHIL., IV, p. 347.
5. ये तु शान्तेक सत्त्वसत्तास्तेवां लय एव एव हि,
भज्जातास्मात भगवते स्वाभाविक: यति हुलभ: II” 
—SUDDHĀDVATTA-MĀRTANĀ (Quoted in BHĀRATĪYA-DARŚANA, p. 414).
(Those who follow the path of Jñāna merge in the Brahman; the rare joy of enjoying the sports of Kṛṣṇa is meant for the Bhaktas alone.)
6. Vide VAISṆAVISM, pp. 113-114.
8. INDIAN PHIL. II, p. 760.
form of Kṛṣṇa, or Bāla-Kṛṣṇa as it is popularly called, was naturally recognized as the object of devotion of this kind. Rādhā has not at all been mentioned by Vallabha, but some of his disciples have accepted a consort for Kṛṣṇa naming her Svāminīji.  

The Gopīs, nevertheless, have been admitted as ideal Bhaktas.

Other important features of this sect include the recognition of BHĀGAVATA-PURĀṆA as a scripture which Vallabha has referred to for support. He had even written a commentary on it entitled SUBODHINĪ, which, though incomplete, is one of his most important works. The mode of worship in this sect is also different from that in the others. It is technically called ‘Sevā’, and comprises complicated services extending from early in the morning till late in the night. Even minute details regarding ceremonials, clothing, feeding and movements etc. of the Deity are prescribed and are scrupulously adhered to. The Lord is available for Darśana eight times every day at fixed hours, which cannot be altered to meet the convenience of any person howsoever highly placed he may be.  

The idol of Bāla-Kṛṣṇa is caressed and looked after as if it were a living royal child. The finest of clothes, the daintiest of foods and other costliest luxuries are made available for the service of the God with great pomp and show. Even the poets have praised these temples for the splendour of their wealth.

The comparatively unimportant position occupied by the Gopīs in the system of Vallabha, and his emphasis on the worship of Bāla-Kṛṣṇa raise some very relevant questions. They are:

(1) Did Vallabha mean to exclude Kṛṣṇa’s dalliances with the Gopīs from the domain of his system of Bhaktī?

(2) Did he recognize Kṛṣṇa’s love adventures as an unessential part of His personality?

---

1. The idea underlying the term Svāminīji, according to M. C. Parekh, is that she is a married wife of Kṛṣṇa, i.e., a Svaśikā.
5. One of the poets has said about a temple that the saffron is used there in such a large quantity that it is ground every day by a number of hand mills.
Vide ITIHĀSA, Śukla, p. 157.
(3) Is the importation of Kṛṣṇa’s amours in the writings of the poets of his church a result of foreign influence alone?

And the answer to all these questions is an emphatic NO. There is, of course, no doubt that Kṛṣṇa as a lovely divine child had caught the imagination of the great Ācārya. But, in spite of this, he cannot be supposed even for a moment to be apathetic towards His romantic personality on the basis of the facts noted below.

Firstly, Vallabha has recognized the whole of Bhāgavata as a scripture, and not only a part of it. The BHĀGAVATA, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, fully depicts the love-episode of Kṛṣṇa with the Gopīs in much detail.

Secondly, Vallabha has maintained that the best form of emancipation is the participation in the eternal sports of Kṛṣṇa in the Goloka. These sports obviously include Kṛṣṇa’s amorous sports with the Gopīs.

Thirdly, Vallabha has recognized Gopīs as ideal devotees of the Lord, which indicates that he fully commended their mode of Bhakti.

Fourthly, Vallabha has admitted the dignity of sex-relationship even in every day life, and has prohibited celibacy. Under the circumstances how could he disregard the amours of the Lord!

Fifthly and lastly, even Bāla-Kṛṣṇa, whose worship Vallabha has advocated, does not exclude the romantic personality of Kṛṣṇa. Rather it was precisely Bāla-Kṛṣṇa who had captivated the hearts of the Gopīs, and had sported with them. Bhāgavata clearly lays down that Kṛṣṇa was only seven, when he had participated in the Rāsa-līlā with the Gopīs, and that he was not even eleven when he had left Vṛndāvana for Mathura with Akṣūra, never to return.

It is thus fully established that Vallabha never intended to deprive his followers of the most fascinating part of Kṛṣṇa’s personality,

1. Growse has pointed out that Vallabha was once directed in a vision by Kṛṣṇa Himself to introduce a new type of devotion wherein He should be adored in the form of a child. Vide MATHURĀ MEMOIR, p. 262.
and that the poets, who wrote under his direct influence, and who vividly depicted Gopīs’ love for Kṛṣṇa in their poetical compositions, were not at all at variance with and had full approval of their master.

Vallabhācārīya has wielded great influence on the central and the western sectors of North India. Among the very large number of his followers have been some of the best poets of the Hindi Literature. We shall deal with them in detail a little afterwards in the next chapter.

 Caitanya, almost a contemporary of Vallabha, was born in the year 1485 in Navadvīpa, a small town in Bengal.¹ By some of the modern writers he has been associated with the sect of Nimbārka; others have connected him to Madhva as his distant disciple. But while his religious and philosophical views are in closer proximity to those of Nimbārka,² his direct relation to the sect of Madhva appears to be better established, as his Guru Īśvarapuri was a disciple of Mādhavendrapuri, who in his turn was a disciple of Madhva.³

Caitanya, though himself a great scholar, has overwhelmingly emphasized the creed of intense love for the Lord, which according to him superseded all other duties viz., penance and knowledge etc.⁴ He considered too much of knowledge and discussion a vain pursuit, and always avoided to entangle himself in a controversy with anybody admitting in all humility his incompetence for a scholarly disputation.⁵ In sharp contrast to other accredited Ācāryas he himself has practically written nothing, and it is doubtful if he ever sought to establish a sect of his own.⁶ But the charm of his captivating personality and devotional ecstasies attracted towards him an unprecedentedly large number of devotees; and among them were the persons with great qualities of leadership and scholarship. These

¹. Vide BRAHMANISM, p. 128.
². Vide BRAHMANISM, p. 141, and VAISṆAVISM, p. 121.
⁴. Vide BRAHMANISM, p. 141.
⁶. VAISṆAVA FAITH IN BENGAL, (S. K, De) p. 77.
gifted adherents of Caitanya organised an independent school of Bhakti in his name and worked out the details of its philosophical and theological basis. It is from their works that we are able to know about the life, teachings and views of Caitanya. It is, however, impossible to point out at present to what extent these works represent the original views of Caitanya himself.¹

The philosophical theory of Caitanya’s school, better known as Gauḍa-Vaiṣṇaviya Sampradāya, is called Acintya-bheda-bheda or Incomprehensible Duality-Non-duality. Kṛṣṇa, the Supreme Being, has three chief powers: Cit, Māyā and Jīva, “By the first he maintains His nature as intelligence and will, by the second the whole creation is produced, and by the third the souls. The highest manifestation of the Cit power of Kṛṣṇa is the power of delight (Hlādini). Rādhā is the essence of the delight-giving power.”² The Duality of Caitanya consists in his recognition of Jīva and Brahmāṇ as two distinctly separate entities, though the former is dependent on the latter; and his Non-duality consists in Jīva’s feeling of oneness with God out of its undistracted love for Him. Such a state of perfect devotion, when the human soul forgets its own self and perceives with all its senses nothing but the Lord, had been achieved by the Gopīs in the BHĀGAVATA. But this is purely a matter of experience and does not indicate in the least that the God and the soul actually become one.³ Salvation consists in eternally experiencing love for the God. Love alone is Mukti; devotion to the Lord is the final emancipation. The ultimate end of human life is the acquisition of Bhakti for Kṛṣṇa.⁴

The Vṛndāvana Līlā of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, who is not merely an Avatar, but the Avatār Himself, is true and eternal. It is of two kinds. Pra-kāṭa (Manifest) and Apra-kāta (Unmanifest). In His Pra-kāṭa Līlā, which is cognisable in the external world (Prapānas-cogocara), Kṛṣṇa

1. While D. C. Sen believes that Chaitanya had given detailed instructions to Rūpa and Sanatana for the preparation of their books on Vaiṣṇava Jurisprudence (Vide CHAITANYA AND HIS AGE, p. 320), S. K. De thinks that these works were a matter of later deliberate development. (Vide VAISNAVA FAITH IN BENGAL, p. 79).
is the son of Devaki, He appears to be going out of Vrndavana, and the Gopis are seen as apparently suffering from His separation. But in the Aprakata Lilä, which becomes manifest only to a true Bhakta, He is the eternal son of Yasodä, and eternally sports with the Gopis in Vrndavana, which is His eternal abode. The Lilä is the display of His divine Sakti or Energy; it is the sport of the Saktimat with His own Saktis. It is not merely an allegory or a symbol; it is a literal fact of our religious history preserved in the Purânic literature.¹

Rüpagosvâmi, one of the principal disciples of Caitanya at Vrndavana, has imported the traditional Rasa-Śastra, with some modifications of course, in the sphere of Bhakti in his two works BHAKTI-RASĀMṚTA-SINDHU, and UJJVALA-NĪLAMĀṆI. Among the different types of Bhakti he has regarded Premā-bhakti (devotion in the form of love) as the best, and, according to him, there are five Bhakti Rasaś: Sānta (tranquillity), Pṛita (comprising Sambhrama Pṛita, i.e. the love of a servant for his master and Gaurava Pṛita, i.e., love of a younger relative for his elder), Preyas (friendly affection), Vatsalya (parental affection) and Ujjvala or Madhura (sexual love, corresponds to the traditional Śṛṅgāra-Rasa).² Rüpagosvâmi’s later work UJJVALA-NĪLAMĀṆI deals exclusively with the Ujjvala-Rasa which he considers to be the king among the five Bhakti-Rasas.³ Krishna and His beloveds are the Ālambana Vibhāvas of this Rasa,⁴ and a detailed classification of the Heroes and the Heroines has been attempted on this basis.⁵ Radhā, who has been named Vrndavaneśvari (Mistress of Vrndavana), is the best among the Gopis being the foremost beloved of Krishna, and has been identified with the Hladini Mahāsakti (the great delight-giving power) of the Tantra.⁶ She has also been regarded as Mahā-bhāva-svarūpā or the manifestation of the highest form of love for the Lord.⁷

¹ Vide VAIṢṆAVA FAITH IN BENGAL, pp. 163, 181, 139, 190, 265.
² Vide VAIṢṆAVA FAITH IN BENGAL, pp. 126-45.
³ Vide UJJVALA-NĪLAMĀṆI, p. 4.
⁴ Vide ibid, p. 5.
⁵ For the details of these classification please refer to the first two chapters of section one of this work.
⁶ Vide VAIṢṆAVA FAITH IN BENGAL, p. 157.
⁷ Vide UJJVALANĪLAMĀṆI, p. 73.
Radhā, as a matter of fact, occupies a very important position in this sect. She is as important as Kṛṣṇa Himself, for He is not complete without this divine counterpart of His. This is most probably due to the influence of the Śākta system which had been so prevalent in Bengal. It is, however, strange to note that Radhā has not been even mentioned in the BHĀGAVATA-PURĀṇA, which being the basic scripture of this sect is the fundamental source of its inspiration, and which has been regarded by it as Vyāsa's own commentary on the VEDĀNTA-SŪTRA. Here we may refer with advantage to a discourse between Caitanya and Rāya Rāmānanda, as described in the famous Caitanya-Caritāmṛta of Kṛṣṇadāsa. Rāya Rāmānanda was a renowned scholar of the South. Caitanya once happened to meet him on one of his pilgrimages to the South and enquired of him about Bhakti. Rāya Rāmānanda gave several answers, all having the support of either the GīTA or the BHĀGAVATA, but Caitanya did not feel satisfied until the former described Bhakti as 'Radhā-bhāva.' In support of this view was quoted a verse from the GĪTA-GOVINDA of Jayadeva which says that Kṛṣṇa placed Radhā in His heart and abandoned the other beautiful cowherdesses of Braja. This dissertation clearly points out that even GĪTA-GOVINDA was recognized as a scripture by Caitanya.

The importance of Radhā consists not so much in the special favour shown to her by Kṛṣṇa as in her own unselfish love for Him. It has been maintained that she lives not for herself, but for Him alone. Every action of hers is directed towards effecting the pleasure of the Lord, and no sacrifice is too great to her if it can comfort her Beloved even a little. This idea has been very well illustrated by a poet in a lyric. Once Kṛṣṇa suffered from a very severe type of stomach-ache. When no medicine proved to be of any avail, Kṛṣṇa told Nārada that if he could get for Him the water in which the great toe of a lady has been washed, He will be relieved. Nārada approach-

1. Vide ŚRI VALLABHĀCĀRYA, p. 222.
6. Vide VAISṆAVA LITERATURE. (D. G. Sec) p. 223.
ed Rukmini, Satyabhama and all other queens of Krsna, but none of them was prepared to commit the sin for fear of its consequences. Krsna then sent Narada to Radha. When Radha heard about Krsna's affliction, she at once washed her toe, handed the water to Narada, and said to him, "Take it and hasten back. Tell that Cheat that Radha is willing to suffer for His sake the tortures not only of one hell, but of tens of millions of them, and that she can commit any sin for His sake on account of her love for Him."²

So this Radha-bhava, which means devotion to Krsna equal to that of Radha, has been regarded as the ideal form of Bhakti in the cult of Caitanya. It is also known as Mahabhava, or Madana-mahabhava of Radha (The epithet Madana means intoxicating). Caitanya himself was a devotee of this order. He often imagined himself as Radha, called aloud the name of Hari with increasing intensity, and thus overwhelmed with emotion passed away into the state of trance.² The experience of this Madan-mahabhava grew in intensity in Caitanya towards the closing years of his life at Puri;³ and it is quite probable, as is believed by some of the writers, that in one of the fits of this kind he walked into the sea and lost his life.⁴ This erotico-emotionalism of Caitanya led his followers to fancy that he was an incarnation of Krsna as well as of Radha. Krsna, they have imagined, wished to taste His own Madhurya as relished by His most beloved Radha and to experience her sweet feelings; and so He assumed the feelings and the form of Radha. Thus the two became one in Caitanya. According to them "Caitanya, when bewailing His separation from the Diety, is Radha, and when he becomes one in his soul with His beloved God in his trances, He is Krsna's self." This accounts for the white or the golden complexion of Caitanya and also for his epithet Gaurahari.⁵

Krsna's relation to Radha and other Gopis has been sometimes the subject of literary controversies. In the BHAGAVATA Krsna

2. Vide VAISSNAVISM, p. 119.
5. Vide VAISSNAVA FAITH IN BENGAL, pp. 322 and 332 and VAISSNAVA LITERATURE, pp. 222-23. The quotation is from the latter, p. 223.
had never married any of the Gopīs, though the latter had actually
desired to obtain Him as their husband, and had supplicated to the
goddess Kātyāyanī with one month's fasting and bathing in the holy
Yamunā for the purpose.¹ But Rūpagosvāmī has maintained that
they had been married to Kṛṣṇa according to the Gāndharva rites
and as such they could be taken as his wives.² He himself has effec-
ted a regular marriage of Rādhā with Kṛṣṇa in the tenth act of his
drama LALITA-MĀDHAVA. In support of this view of his uncle
Jivagosvāmī has said in his ŚRĪ KṛṣṇA-SANDARBHA that the
Gopīs had been neither married to nor bodily touched by the Gopas.
According to him their illusory forms were substituted for them by
the Māyā-Sakti of Kṛṣṇa at the time of their marriage or meeting
with the Gopas. Moreover, the Gopīs are the manifestations of
Kṛṣṇa's own Sakti, and hence their sports with the Saktimat cannot
constitute the fault of adultery.³

But in spite of these academic and philosophical explanations in
defence of the Svakiyatva of the Gopīs, their social relation to Kṛṣṇa
remains more akin to that of a Parakiyā to a paramour. Rūpagos-
vāmī has himself admitted that for all practical purposes the Gopīs
are considered in Kṛṣṇa's Prakāṭa Lilā as Parakiyās on account of the
secrecy of their love and the unmanifest character of their marriage.⁴
Jiva has also acknowledged at least this much that the mental atti-
dude of the Gopīs towards Kṛṣṇa was characterised by the Parakiyā's
feeling of intense longing for her beloved.⁵ The doctrine of Paraki-
yāvāda was advocated with so great an emphasis by the later, theo-
rists of this school that it came to be regarded as a distinctive fea-
ture of this cult in contrast with that of Vallabha's, where Gopīs
are generally admitted as Svakiyās.⁶

Caitanya considered the human passions to be of great value.
These passions and emotions, according to him, are great motor-
powers of the soul. What is, therefore, required is not their extinc-

¹ Vide BHĀGAVATA. X. xxii. 1-6.
² Vide UJJVALANĪLAMAṆI, p. 52.
³ Vide VAISṆAVA FAITH IN BENGAL, pp. 265-66.
⁴ Vide ibid., p. 155.
⁵ Vide ibid., p. 264.
tion but proper use. Their importance as a vehicle to realise the supreme bliss has been stressed in a number of Vaiṣṇava treatises. "The passions of the soul," says Narottamadāsa in his PREMABHAKTI-CANDRIKA, are to be employed for service to Kṛṣṇa. Greediness, which is an evil passion, is not so in itself; it becomes a holy passion if it has for its object a communion with Kṛṣṇa."

It is in the light of the above statement that Caitanya's great love for the highly sensuous poems of Jayadeva and Vidyāpati can be understood. All his thoughts, feelings, and emotions were directed towards Kṛṣṇa, whom, as we have already noted, he loved with the undying passion of a love-lorn girl. The dalliances of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa with all the grossness of physical relationship, represented in whatever form, were, therefore, the source of his highest pleasure, and he felt so much absorbed in them that he forgot all about his surroundings and often lay unconscious on the ground.

But notwithstanding this unrestricted erotic-devotionalism of Caitanya, his standards of morality were very rigid and had to be meticulously followed by his adherents. He himself had renounced the world and had become a Sanyāśī at a very young age. He advocated abstinence and simplicity and was strongly opposed to even a slight degree of laxity in the matters of sex. His disciple junior Haridasa once indulged in some sort of a romance with a young woman. But as soon as it was known to Caitanya, he forsook him for ever, with the result that the poor fellow had to end his life by committing suicide.

Caitanya's influence which for obvious reasons was marked in the Central and the eastern sectors of North India, can never be fully estimated. He had created a tempest of emotion which had hardly left anybody untouched. The magic spell of his personality bewitched all those who saw him from far or near. Devotion to Kṛṣṇa in terms of human love and the importance of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend reached their culminating point in Caitanya and his sect. Almost the entire literature of medieval Bengal was modelled after his reli-

1. Vide VAISNAVA LITERATURE, p. 231, and CHAITANYA AND HIS AGE p. 326. The quotation is from the former work. Also refer to the BHAGAVATA, X. xxix. 13-16.

igious and devotional tenets. And also nearly the whole bulk of erotico-rhetorical treatises, which were written in Hindi in the seventeenth century and onwards were influenced by the UJJVALA-NAMANI of Rūpagosvāmi, in as much as the latter work showed the way for writing on the subject of Nāyaka-Nāyikā-bhedā with exclusive reference to Kṛṣṇa and His sports with the Gopīs. To cut short, the man in the street, the scholar, the philosopher, the writer, the poet, the rhetorician, and everybody else felt the impact of this great personality, which was as forceful as captivating.

Even after Vallabha and Caitanya there have been a few others who have founded their own sects, which, besides being too minor, are not based on well-reasoned and strong philosophical systems. Moreover, the originators of these sects were primarily poet-devotees and not philosophers. We shall, therefore, do well to discuss them in the next chapter along with other Bhakta-poets.
COSMETICS AND COIFFURE AS SCULPTURED IN THE
KHAJURAHO TEMPLES

By

Dr. (Mrs.) Urmila Agarwal, M.A., Ph.D.

Kajuraho, capital of the Chandellas, is situated in the Chattarpur district of the Vindhya Pradesh. It is situated on 24° 51' latitude and 79° 56' longitude and is about fifty miles from Mahoba, a historic town of the region in the neighbouring Hamirpur District of the Uttar Pradesh. Another route is from Jhansi to Harpalpur, from Harpalpur to Chattarpur and thence to Kajuraho which is 28 miles ahead. It is one of the most important places in Northern India, and its sculptural remains throw a flood of light on the Hindu Society of the 10th and 11th centuries. Out of the eighty five temples built at Kajuraho in the Chandella period only twenty-five are extant.

Kajuraho temples throw a flood of light on the ways and habits of women of the age in regard to their personal toilet. Women in ancient India seem to have been very beauty-conscious and evinced their aesthetic sense in the way they added to their natural graces by artificial aids and embellishments.

In the period under review also ladies seem to have been fond of elegant articles of wear and the application of various kinds of cosmetics to enhance their charms.

---

**Abbreviations.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lt. :</th>
<th>Left</th>
<th>Lak. :</th>
<th>Lakshmana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rt. :</td>
<td>Right</td>
<td>Kand. :</td>
<td>Kundaria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. :</td>
<td>Temple</td>
<td>Pars. N. :</td>
<td>Parvata Nātha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Pradak : | Pradaksin 
| B. Ch : | Bharat Chitrakuta |
| Shanti : | Santinātha |
| Adi. N. : | Adinātha |
| Sm. : | Small |
| Ad. : | Adjacent |
| Vis. : | Vīvānañtha |
|       |       | G. S Chattarpur : | Jagdambi |
|       |       | Vam. : | Gandhi Smāraka |
|       |       | Dula. : | Chattarpur |
|       |       | Ch. Bh. : | Vamana |
|       |       | Out : | Duladeo |
|       |       |       | Chaturbhuj |
|       |       |       | Outside |
Every temple at Khajuraho is crowded with a number of statues depicting men and women engaged in the daily pursuit of pleasure and profession. The Khajuraho statuary also depicts various scenes illustrating the common use of cosmetics and perfumery as will be evident from the figures of various sizes which are still found intact as described below.

As a part of their toilet, preliminary to bathing, the women would anoint their bodies with various pastes called Anulepana and Aūgarāga—a perfumed ointment used to dispel offensive smells such as that of perspiration.

Aūgarāga and Anulepana were pastes prepared from the roots of a grass called ušira or of fine sandal wood. Other kinds of pastes were also prepared from kalūṣaka (an oil producing plant), kalāguru (the black aguru) and harichandana (a yellow pigment) Oils were prepared from Ingudi fruits, manahāṣilā and harīṭāla. Kautilya also mentions these three plants as til-kasmika, in his Arthaśāstra. After the bath, the hair were dried up with the fragrant incense of the black aguru, līdha-dust, dhupa, and other scented substances. The body was further perfumed by musk. Men and women both applied the tilaka mark on their forehead with a paste made by mixing harīṭāla and manahāṣilā. Aūjana (Antimony) was applied to the eyes with a šalākā or pencil. Women also used collyrium for this purpose. Chandana and kuũkutama (saffron and sandalwood paste), besides being used for marking or decorating the forehead, were also applied by women to their breasts in order to give them a cooling effect. Women used the paste of śuklaguru and gorochana for painting their cheeks and waists with various foliage patterns. This was known as viśesaka* and the leafy patterns were called patralekha. These designs were made by artistically arranging the white dots of the śuklaguru and gorochana paste as well as dots of many other colours.

2. Ibid.
3. The Age of Imperial Kanauj 1955—Ed. by R. C. Majumdar, Chap. XII, p. 303.

*"Viśesaka is explained in the Amarakośa as patralekha patraṅguli amūla patra tilaka chitrakaṅ chitrakaṅi Viśesakam B. S. Upadhyaya, Ibid, p. 193.
Women applied lac dye (*altaka*) to their lips and then besmeared over them a kind of powder called *lodhra*-dust prepared from *lodhra* wood which turned them yellowish red. The lip-dye was like a wax solvent to protect the lips from the effects of winter cold. Lac dye was also applied on the sole of women's feet and as they went to fetch water from the tanks it reddened the flight of steps leading to the edge of water in the tank.

The looking glass was an indispensable accessory to toilet and in the absence of glass it appears to have been made of polished metals. Gopi Nath Rara1 also supports the theory that metallic mirrors were made in ancient India and the industry has not yet died out from its native land. The mirrors found at Khajuraho, in the hands of ladies, are of convex surface, and this proves that they were metallic mirrors. Such mirrors are still made in a place called Aramula in Travancore and they are so true that they do not cause any distortion in the reflection. The *Mānasāra*2 says that Mirrors should be quite circular having a decorated rim with the edge a little raised.

There are references to the art of toilet (*prasāhanakalā* and *prasādhanavidhi*) to toilet male and female attendants *prasādhikāḥ* and even perhaps to a toilet case (*prasādhika*).

Of the many articles of toilet, flowers were of great importance and played a great part in the personal make up of the people. Women stuck flowers in their hair and wore them as ornaments. Women played with lotuses in their hands, placed *kunda* blossoms and *mandāra* flowers in their hair, *śirisa* flowers on their ears, flowers blossoming in rainy season on the parting of their hair and knit *kurabaka* flowers in their tresses. Already a professional class had grown up corresponding to florists of to-day. They were then known as *puspālāvi*.

Although the details given above are found in the works of Kālidāsa certain images sculptured at Khajuraho definitely prove the continuance of all those practices in the 10th and 11th centuries and also the familiarity of the ladies of the time with them.

2. Ibid.
Use of scented pastes

The practice of applying Anūgaraga and Anulepāna finds corroboration in scenes depicted at Khajuraho which show women undergoing the elaborate art of toilet.¹

Use of powder

A scene depicted on the wall illustrates what appears to be the daily ritual of toilet, such as, the application of the usual rouge or powder to her cheek² with a puff while holding a mirror in one of her hands (Fig. A).

Decoration of eyelids

The next scene presents a woman putting antimony³ or collyrium to her eyes with a Śalaka while a boy attendant is standing by with the toilet set in his hands (Fig. B), though in another scene both the boy attendant and the ārasi are missing.

Decoration of forehead

A third⁴ scene shows a woman putting a mark (or tilaka) on her forehead while looking into a mirror, held in the other hand. Another woman is represented in the act of dipping her finger in a bowl held in one of her hands, with no other apparent reason than for putting the customary dot on her forehead (Fig. C).

Use of Vermillion

In one of these scenes a woman is shown in the act of putting vermilion⁵ into her hair-parting, while holding a mirror in one of her hands. A boy attendant is also represented as standing by her side.

---

¹ Lt. outside Kand., Vam., Pars. N. and Lak. Ts., Lt. pradak, Kand. T., Rt. outside Kand. and Vis. N. Ts.
² Lt. outside Kand. and Museum, Lt outside Vaman T.
³ Rt. outside Pars. N., Lt. outside Vis. N. and Dula., Back of Lak. Ts.
⁴ Lt. outside Vis. N., Rt. outside Vis. N. & Bh. Ch., Back outside Vis. N. Ts.
⁵ Lt. outside Kand. & Lak., Rt. outside Jag., Back outside Vis. N., Lt. pradak-Lak. Ts.
(Fig. D). This fashion seems to have been newly introduced in society as no earlier mention of the practice has come to the writer's notice.

**Decorating the waist**

In another scene a woman with a pencil in one hand is shown as if making a foliage pattern around her waist while her other hand is folded near her breast.

**Colouring the feet**

One of the scenes shows a woman, standing on her left leg with her back or front towards the spectators, applying the lac dye or what is known as \(\text{ālīṭā}\) to the sole and edge of her left foot. A boy attendant is assisting her with a bowl or ārsi in hand (Fig. E). In a similar scene a woman is shown supporting her breast with one hand while with the other she is applying \(\text{ālīṭā}\) as described above.

**Mirror**

The looking glass is inseparable from the toilet. Whenever a woman is to apply powder or rouge to her cheeks, the tilak mark on her forehead, unguent to the eyes and vermillion in the middle parting of her hair she has to do so with the help of a mirror. Besides its use for the application of cosmetics, it is very frequently used for setting right the position of head jewellery, for making plaits of the hair, for admiring their personal beauty by looking into it (Fig. F) and sometimes for hiding the face from stranger's gaze or even from the husband's out of shyness.

Such uses of mirror are substantiated from the scenes at Khajuraho.

---

1. Back outside Vam. T.
2. Lt. outside Lak., Pars. N. & Vis. N. T., Rt. outside Bh. Ch., Backoutside Dula. Ts.
3. B. S. Upadhyaya in his book “India in Kalidasa” also refers to the custom of colouring the feet though he is silent about the use of Vermillion, p. 194.
In a scene a woman is shown arranging her hair with her right hand while she holds the arasi near her face with the other hand.

In another scene a woman stands in an easy posture and adjusts her head jewellery in its proper place. In her left hand there is an arasi held near her face while the right hand is placed on her head to hold the jewellery.

In some of these scenes the women are shown looking into the mirror, held right in front of the face, in others the mirror is held obliquely to permit the side face to be fully reflected. In another scene the mirror is held in a position so as to reflect the back portions of her body to advantage. They are shown standing in various attitudes—sometimes they fold their hands above their shoulders, resting them on their hips or thighs, support their breasts, admiring them in the mirror, and sometimes again they are represented in dance poses.

In one of the scenes a woman is shown as if screening her face from view with an arasi out of a sense of extreme modesty or shyness.

**Cosmetic containers**

In a different scene a woman is shown holding a square casket, probably a cosmetic container, in her hands. Sometimes the cosmetic container has lotus like petals and looks very much like a full blown lotus. But as the woman seems to be opening its lid with her fingers it can be taken to be a cosmetic container (Fig. G).

---

1. Lt, outside Vam. T.
2. Lt, outside Kand., Rt. outside Lak., Back inside Pars. N. Ts.
3. 7. Lt, outside Bh. Ch. T., Rt. outside Ch. Bh. & Vis N. (Rt. hand of the woman is in Abhaya mudra), Rt. inner Pradak. Kand. Ts.
4. 8. Lt. outside Kand. T.
5. 7. Lt. outside Kand., Rt. outside Ch. Bh. Ts.
6. Back outside Vam. T.
9. Lt. outside Bh. Ch. and Kand. Ts.
10. Lt. and Rt. outside Vis. N. T.
12. Lt. out Adi. N. T.
Use of Flowers:

From some of the scenes it appears that flowers were often used by women for the adornment of their persons.

Tattoo marks:

Some of the female images bear peculiar tattoo marks such as the figures of a lizard\(^1\) or that of a scorpion\(^2\) on the thigh or a little above the ankle. It is rather strange that creatures so grotesque as these were considered in those days patterns pleasing to the eye for the purpose of bedecking women’s bodies. Perhaps like a common belief among villagers in modern days, it was supposed that the tattoo marks would protect the person against the poisonous effect of the bites of these creatures.

The scenes showing women putting vermillion,\(^3\) colouring their feet, assisted by another woman,\(^4\) and looking into the mirror\(^5\) have also been found in some of the temples at Bhuvanesvara though they are not so common as at Khajuraho.

Coiffure:

Nothing strikes the student of the Social History of ancient and mediaeval India more than the numerous styles of hair-dressing as shown in the pictures and images of women in the sculpture of the times. The Ajanta paintings and the female statues from the Gupta times onwards exhibit a variety of hair-styles which can scarcely be rivalled even by modern coiffure, perhaps in any country of the world. The Khajuraho panels and friezes and figures lag in no way behind their precursors in this respect.

Women of the Gupta Age wore long tresses of hair which were either tied in a round knot at the back of the neck\(^6\) or left open to

---

3. Lt. outside Lingaraj T., Rt. outside Brahmēswara, T.
4. Lt. and Back outside Rajarani T.
5. Back outside Lingaraj, Rt. outside Brahmēswara and Lt. outside Rajarani, Ts.
Fig. G
flow in long loose tresses\textsuperscript{1}. The female dancers and musicians seem to have been very stylish and fond of tying their hair in two knots over the ear (like that of the Tabla player in one of the Ajanta paintings) or on the top of the head to the right and left sides of it (like that of the woman sitting next to her in the same painting)\textsuperscript{2}. Sometimes three knots of hair were tied on the head—one to the right another to the left and a third on the top (e.g. the dancer). Another dancer (Fig. 420) has tied a small knot on the top and plaited the rest of the hair with the plait doubled and tied again at the back\textsuperscript{3}.

But gradually the fashion seems to have changed for, at Khajuraho women are depicted only with one knot of hair or else with plaited hair. The knots were tied in different ways to enhance their beauty as well as to show the tastes of the time. Two ways of hair dressing seem to have been common at Khajuraho. In one, the hair are combed downwards at the back with or without parting, for the parting is not very distinct, then the long tresses are gathered together and twisted in one long roll after which they are tied in one big knot at the back. This knot is further beautified with a Borla\textsuperscript{*} inserted in it (Plate V. Figs. 1, 2, 3 and 10).

In a scene in the Pārśvānātha temple\textsuperscript{a} a woman is shown twisting her tresses in one long roll (Plate V. Figs. 4 and 12).

In the Viśvānātha temple\textsuperscript{4} a woman is shown playing on the flute with her hair tied in a beautiful knot at the back. The knot is rather resting at the back of her neck, with the jewels inserted in between, one on top of the knot and the other hanging down below it. Another decorative set of beads goes over her head from ear to ear (Plate V. Fig. 1). There are two more scenes\textsuperscript{5}, to illustrate the same style of hair-dressing with similar kinds of jewels decorating the hair.

In a panel in the Viśvānātha Temple, the woman\textsuperscript{6} with the paint board and a brush in hand has the above kind of coiffure but besides

3. Rt. outside Parś. N. T.
4. Inner Pradak. Viś. N. T.
5. Lt. outside Lāk. T., Inside Viś. N. T.
6. Lt. outside Viś. N. T.

*Borla*—A Marwari jewel worn by married women in the middle parting of hair.
the borla she also has a beautiful coronet placed on top of her head with a pattern of crosses and semicircles (Plate V. Fig. 10).

The woman shown in the Kandariya temple1 is shown with a pointed tumbler shaped knot of hair tied at the back of her neck. The lower portion of her borla hangs at her back between the shoulder bones while its upper part, instead of being placed over the knot as usual, is placed over her head in the middle parting perhaps—though the parting is not visible.

Another woman shown in a niche2 has the above given tumbler shaped knot of hair tied at the usual place. But the decorative set of beads is here tied round her knot or jūra with both the parts of borla hanging at her back.

In the divine Jain couple3 the consort of Gomādha is shown with a very modern type of chignon. Her hair is tied round a circular disc or modern donnet making a complete circle. The lower part of the Borla is not visible but its upper part, is shown on the top of her head in the middle.

Coming to the second type of hair style, we see that here the hair are combed not towards the back but upwards and then they are rolled in a long tress (Plate V. Fig. 7) as shown in an image in the Viśvanātha temple. This long tress is tied on top of the head in the shape of a semicircular disc with the borla inserted at the centre to keep the hair in round shape (Plate V. 5, 6 and 8).

In the Pārśvanāth Temple4 a woman is shown with her hair combed upwards and tied in a knot on top of her head like the hair-knot of the Sanyāśīs (Plate V. Fig. 9).

**Men’s hair-styles**

In the Gupta period5 men wore long hair falling on both the shoulders or below them in long tresses. They tied their hair with a fillet or wore a coronet on the head which kept the hair in place.

---

1. Rt. front outside Kanal. T.
2. Back inside Vis. N. T.
3. Inside Shanti N. T.
4. Lt. outside Vis. N. T., Rt. outside Vis. N. T.
5. Lt. outside Pars. N. T.
Excepting in one case where the musician\textsuperscript{1} with the veena has tied his hair in two knots over his head, tying of the hair in knots does not seem to have been in fashion with men in the Gupta Age. Sometimes short cut hair\textsuperscript{2} were also worn.

It is surprising to see that in images and sculptures of the Gupta Age, men are mostly clean-shaven\textsuperscript{3}. Soldiers\textsuperscript{4}, horsemen\textsuperscript{5}, king's servants\textsuperscript{6}, oil pressers\textsuperscript{7} and shopkeepers\textsuperscript{8} alone are shown with moustaches. Beards\textsuperscript{9} seem to have been worn by foreigners alone as no Indian is depicted with a beard.

Men's hair-styles as depicted in the Khajuraho sculptures seem to have been of the simplest type, and show very little difference from those of earlier times.

In the sculptures, men are mostly shown with their hair tied into a knot at the back of the neck. There are men with bobbed hair tied with a ribbon to keep them in place and also with the hair close-cropped as in our times today. Besides this, men clean-shaven, with goatee beards sometimes having a knot, and whiskers or with flowing moustaches are also depicted. (Plate VI. Figs. 14, 16, 10, 11, 4, 5, 17 and 8).

A god\textsuperscript{10} is shown with his hair combed downwards in the usual style but he has a coronet placed on his head which is very much like the trident shaped diadem of ladies.

Another man\textsuperscript{11} is shown with his hair combed downwards at his back while a sort of halo gives god-like expression to his face.

The god Bhairava (in the Museum\textsuperscript{12}) is again shown with the above given style of combing his hair and with the halo behind his head.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{Ibid}, Chap. X, p. 204, Fig. 346.
  \item \textit{Ibid}, Chap. X, p. 205, Figs. 349, 351 \& 352.
  \item \textit{Ibid}, Chap. X, p. 196-97, 204-5 (Figs.).
  \item \textit{Ibid}, Chap. X, p. 196, Fig. 319.
  \item \textit{Ibid}, Chap. X, p. 197, Fig. 322.
  \item \textit{Ibid}, Chap. X, p. 205, Fig. 352.
  \item \textit{Ibid}, Chap. X, p. 207, Fig. 360.
  \item \textit{Ibid}, Chap. X, p. 208, Fig. 359.
  \item \textit{Ibid}, p. 192-3, Fig. 305, p. 193-3, Fig. 313, p. 213-369.
  \item Rt. outside Vis. N. T.
  \item Rt. outside Bharat C. T.
  \item Museum.
\end{itemize}
To give an expression of ferocity the god Yama has a halo composed of the tresses of his hair, at the back of his head. The tresses look like tongues of fire or a hundred hooded snakes.

In another scene portraying a flying Vidyādhara couple, the consort has her hair tied on top in a semi-circular disc with the borla inserted in centre. The Vidyādhara has a trident shaped head gear tied round his head.

The hair style of the god in the museum is extra-ordinarily plain and simple with no decorative element on his head.

The human figure of the Bhakta 4a & 4b seated with joined palms also has a very plain and simple hair style without any decoration (Plate VI. Fig. 3).

As can be inferred from the simple design of its jewellery, clothes and rustic appearance, a couple shown in a Museum piece seems to belong to the country-side. The hair style of both the man and woman are exactly similar i.e. hair combed downwards and tied into a big knot resting on the right and left shoulders of each.

In the panel of Sādhus in the Museum they are shown having rather a peculiar hair style. Their hair are divided into three equal parts—the central one goes to make a big knot on top of the head while each one of the remaining two parts makes a knot over the two ears—making it a triple knot (Plate VI. Fig. 15). The top knot of these is decorated with a cross band design, with three jewels studded in between two parallel lines drawn vertically.

The pradakšiṇā scene inside the Lakshmana temple exhibits very modern hair-dressing style. The man, standing behind the kneeling woman who is bowing down, has his hair cut in the modern short style reaching up to the ears on both the sides, with the side parting instead of the middle one (Plate VI. Fig. 14).

2, 3, 4a. Museum; 4b G. S. Chattarpur.
5. Museum.
7. Lower frieze inner Pradak. Lak T.
The hair of the image in the Viśvanāth-temple\textsuperscript{1} are a bit longer and reach upto the shoulders. They are combed upwards falling at the back of the neck having no middle or side parting. But sometimes such bobbed hair were parted on one side and combed downwards (Plate VI, Fig. 3).

\textsuperscript{1} Small frieze Rt. front outside Vis. N. T.

Acknowledgement.

The authoress wishes to thank Shri C. D. Chatterjee, M. A., Professor of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Lucknow University, Dr. R. K. Dikshit M. A., Ph. D., Lecturer in Ancient Indian History, Lucknow University, and Shri K. S. Bhatnagār, M. A., LL. B., Professor of History, V. S. S. D. College, Kanpur, and Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Agra University, for their valuable suggestions and keen interest in the work.
THE APRATIGHA TYPE OF COINS OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I
By
Sri N. N. Das Gupta, M.A.

Of late, the belief that is gaining credence is that Kumāragupta I of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, had abdicated in favour of his son, and himself retired to religious life as a Buddhist monk. The source of this belief is a story in the Buddhist work entitled Chandragarbha-paripṛichhā. The story, as is now fairly known, runs to the effect that in the country of Kauśāmbī was born King Mahendrasena, who had a brave son called Duḥprasaha-hasta. When the latter was above twelve years of age, three foreign tribes, viz, the Yavanas, Palhikas and Saguṇas concordedly invaded the kingdom of Mahendrasena and occupied not only Gandhāra but also the countries to the north of the Ganges. Prince Duḥprasaha-hasta, though, young, led his father's army of two hundred thousand men against the enemies. In spite of their greater numerical strength, the enemies could not withstand the attack of the prince, who thus won the battle. When he returned home, Mahendrasena, saying, "Henceforth you rule the kingdom," offered the crown to him and betook himself to religious life. For the next twelve years also, the new king had to continue his fight against these foreigners, and eventually he succeeded to capture and kill the three kings of the three tribes.

The very name Mahendrasena of this story, has tempted the suggestion that he was but Mahendrāditya, alias Kumāragupta I. And this suggestion forthwith generated the belief that the story contained an account of the struggle of Skandagupta with the Hūṇas. The question of the abdication of Mahendrasena has again lent corroboration to it by another story in the Kathsāaritsāgara, where a king Mahendrāditya (of Avanti) is said to have abdicated in favour of his son, Vikramāditya.

Counter to this belief, however, there is the evidence of epigraphy. The Gupta inscriptions know of the abdication of Chandragupta I, but not of Kumāragupta I. The Allahabad Praśasti
of Samudragupta lays emphasis on the abdication of Chandragupta I in such a vivid and bright language, as with a precedence like this, it must be reckoned as indeed a strange phenomenon that the inscriptions of Skandagupta do not seek even to make a covert allusion to the abdication of Kumāragupta I, would it be a fact at all. On the other hand, the Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta explicitly says in l. 12-13, that when his father had died (pitali divam upete), he returned from his campaign (against the Pushyamitrás) with the news of his victory over the enemies. This out and out precludes the idea of Kumāragupta I’s ever having got the opportunity of saying to his victorious son, “Henceforth rule the kingdom.”

But yet the idea of the “abdication of Kumāragupta I on religious grounds” is operating so strongly in the mind of some of us that it is imagined to have been reflected even in the motif of a type of gold coins of this monarch—the so-called Apratīgha type. We had previously one specimen of this type in the British Museum, and have now no fewer than eight more specimens from the Bayana hoard. Of the three figures on the obverse of these coins, the central one, undoubtedly represents Kumāragupta I, standing facing, wears no ornaments or royal insignia, and is with palms folded at the chest and hair tied in a knot on the top of the head. And we are asked to believe that the figure “looks more like a Buddhist layman or monk.” But if lack of ornaments charactizes the central figure, the two attendant figures, one male and the other female, are equally conspicuous by the absence of ornaments, and this feature is, therefore, no reason for singling out the central figure as a Buddhist. Representation as a Buddhist monk would certainly require it to be portrayed as shaven headed, and not with long hair such as it is. Again, any association of the motif with Buddhism is ruled out by the same prominence given to the Garuḍa standard on the obverse of these coins, as is done on that of the Standard type of coins of Samudragupta, the Archer type of coins of Chandragupta II, and so on. The Garuḍa standard symbolizes not so much the regal personality as the article of faith of the Gupta emperors. And above all, the abdication of a king does not properly constitute any occasion for being celebrated by the issue of a special type of coins.
The "mystery surrounding the Apratigha coins" the future will solve. But the belief of Kumāragupta I's abdication is as much unhistorical as the linking of the motif of these coins with Buddhism is, to say the least of it, fanciful.
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 B. N. Srivastava.

Hony. Auditor
Sri R. S. Pande.

Editor
Prof. C. D. Chatterjee.

Members of the Executive Committee
Dr. S. L. Pande,
Sri M. M. Nagar,
Dr. Banarsi Prasad.

Members of the Editorial Board
Dr. N. L. Chatterji,
Sri M. M. Nagar,
Prof. C. D. Chatterjee (Chairman).
NOTICE

All articles, with or without photos, drawings and maps, intended for publication in the *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, should be sent by registered post to the Editor, at his address given below. Articles should be either typed or neatly written, as far as possible, only on one side of the paper. If any article is not considered to be suitable for publication in the *Journal*, it will be returned to the sender, within three months of the date of its receipt. The Editor is not to be expected to state the reason for not publishing a particular article in the Society’s *Journal*.

All articles published in the *Journal*, shall be treated as the copyright of the U. P. Historical Society, and they cannot be reproduced elsewhere in any form, without the written consent of the Editor.

The system of transliteration adopted by the Society for the New Series of its *Journal*, is the same as that followed by the Archaeological Department of the Government of India for its official publications.

The Society pays to all contributors at the rate of Rs. 3/- per each fully printed page, for their articles published in its *Journal*.

All contributors must be prepared to read the proofs of their articles, and no exception will be made in this case.

Books may be reviewed in the *Journal*, if their authors send two copies of their respective works to the Editor for the purpose. No guarantee can be given regarding the time to be taken for the publication of the review of a particular work; but the Editor will try his best to publish it as early as possible, in the interest of historical research. Books reviewed in the *Journal* cannot be returned.

All communications, except those which are specifically meant for the Editor, should be sent to the Hony. Secretary of the U. P. Historical Society also at the address given below.

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.

Memoirs.

1. Dr. Moti Chandra: Geographical and Economic Studies in the Mahābhārata, Upāyana-parva
   Rs. 5/-
   (Out of stock)

2. Dr. V. S. Agrawala: Gupta Art.
   Rs. 5/-

3. Dr. Moti Chandra: Technique of Mughal Painting. Rs. 10/-

The following back numbers of the Journal of the U. P. Historical Society are also available:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Volume</th>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Volume</th>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 5/-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 5/-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 5/-</td>
<td>XI</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 5/-</td>
<td>XII</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 5/-</td>
<td>XII</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>Rs. 5/-</td>
<td>XIII</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 5/-</td>
<td>XIV</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 5/-</td>
<td>XV</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
<td>XV</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
<td>XVIII</td>
<td>I &amp; II</td>
<td>Rs. 6/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
<td>XIX</td>
<td>I &amp; II</td>
<td>Rs. 6/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
<td>XX</td>
<td>I &amp; II</td>
<td>Rs. 6/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
<td>XXII</td>
<td>I &amp; II</td>
<td>Rs. 6/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
<td>XXIII</td>
<td>I &amp; II</td>
<td>Rs. 6/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
<td>XXIV &amp; XXV</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rs. 6/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


To be had of

The Honorary Secretary,
The U. P. Historical Society,
Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology,
Lucknow University,
 Lucknow (India.)