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THE CONGRESS BEFORE MAHATMA GANDHI

By

NANDALAL CHATTERJI

Among those who conceived or welcomed the idea that it would be to a great advantage both to India and to the British Government, if Indian politicians could be brought together once a year to discuss matters of general interest were not only prosperous and loyal Indian lawyers like W. C. Bonnerji, Dadabhoy Naoroji, Phiroz Shah Mehta or Badruddin Tayabji, but also some liberal Englishmen like A. O. Hume, George Yule, Charles Bradlaugh, Henry Cotton, and William Wedderburn. The aims and objects of the founders and their annual resolutions were very modest and none of them contemplated the end of the British connection. But, still the Congress marked the birth of Modern India’s organised agitation for a democratic form of Government.

In his Presidential address at the fourth session of the Congress, held at Allahabad, Mr. George Yule said that there are three phases through which all important movements have to pass—ridicule, abuse and concession. Indeed, the Congress too was ridiculed at first as a foolish adventure, but soon ridicule gave way to calumny and the Congress had to face the opposition of a powerful bureaucracy reinforced by the Anglo-Indian Press. The Congress Movement was denounced as an imitation of the Irish Fenians and its methods were looked upon as seditious, even though the Congress followed what has been called “a mendicant”
policy, and did not visualise a goal higher than limited self-government of the colonial pattern. The Congress party was misrepresented as "a microscopic minority" and as a "Hindu body" and its cherished goal as a "big jump into the unknown". While Anglo-India showed no sympathy it was reserved for Lord Curzon to adopt an attitude of undisguised animosity towards the Congress. His reform of the Universities was rightly looked upon as a veiled attack on the Indian educated classes—the backbone of the Congress. The partition of Bengal, specially the time and the manner of its execution formed the spark that ignited the powder magazine of India's radical nationalism.

It is an undeniable fact that the ideology of violence as a political creed did not completely die out after the Great Rising of 1857. The inner spirit underlying the rebellion persisted and smouldered. In the last years of the 19th century the cult of violence had a fresh lease of life. During the plague agitation in Bombay and Maharashtra the murder of Europeans came to be looked upon as a necessary patriotic act. The first political murders by two youthful Chitpaw Brahmins named Chapekar set the ball rolling in the history of revolutionary movement in Modern India. It was, however, in Bengal, as a result of the stormy agitation against the partition of the province that the cult of the bomb was seriously initiated. Secret societies became active in Bengal and elsewhere after 1905. And, the first outburst of this new violent movement continued unabated until the rise of Mahatma Gandhi's Non-co-operation Movement. It later continued only in a sporadic form and underwent a transformation during World War I, and specially during World War II, under the direction of Netaji Subhas Bose.

During the regime of Lord Minto, the bureaucratic manoeuvre successfully engineered the Muslim Deputation of 1906 which asked from the Viceroy for separate communal electorates. This was the thin end of the wedge. The object was to prevent the Muslims from joining the Congress and use them as a counterpoise to the national movement. The policy of divide-et-empera had begun with a vengeance. Public opinion was in the meanwhile roused to fever-heat after the partition of Bengal, revolutionary activity and also an organised boycott of British foreign government. Such was the popular discontent all over the country that a section of the younger Congressmen, the so-called extremists, raised
their voice to protest against the loyalist policy so far followed by the Congress. The inevitable result was a split in the Congress.

"Blow up, if everything else fails", that is said to have been the historic telegram that the Calcutta headquarters of the Congress Extremist Party sent to its delegates on their way to Surat on the eve of the 23rd session of the Indian National Congress held in that city in 1907. One can hardly realise today that the Congress was more or less doomed to death at this ill-fated session, but the Congress was fated not to die, and so, far from being its grave, Surat marked a new milestone in the evolution of India's national movement. The split of 1907 could be anticipated for the first time at the Varanasi session of 1905, but it assumed the proportions of an open cleavage in the stormy Calcutta session of 1906, when a small body of extremists walked out of the pandal as a protest against the begging spirit of the Moderates. That is why Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji, the President, in his address used the word 'Swaraj' as a discreet concession to the extremist sentiment. The extremists, however, were not satisfied and they continued to preach the utter futility of all co-operation with the British Government, and it was at Surat that the extremists came prepared for a trial of strength, and ready also to break up the Congress session, if necessary. In consequence, the session broke up in utter confusion. Chairs were thrown, sticks were brandished and a shoe was hurled at Phiroz Shah Mehta and Surendranath Banerji. The heavy Maratha 'Chappal' which hit the leaders was a symbol marking the unpleasant transition of Indian National Movement from a loyal and upper-class movement to an extremist, middle-class agitation. Even in unseemly rowdism one can trace the birth-pangs of a new phase in Indian history—the dawn of a real nationalist movement and the rise of a revolutionary party outside the Congress. A yawning gulf separated the Moderates and the Neonationalists whose paths lay wide apart. Repressive measures in India and humiliating conditions which Indians had to face in other parts of the Empire as in South Africa further encouraged the growth of extremism. While Mahatma Gandhi fought against unjust racialism in South Africa, political discontent deepened with the rise of a party of direct action in India itself.

Though the Moderates held the Congress from 1907 to World War I, the Minto-Morley Reforms failed to satisfy the political hunger of
India. The creed of the Congress as laid down in the revised constitution of 1908 was stated to be the demand for colonial self-government, but the loyalty of the Moderate leaders to the British Government did not attract the younger sections. Democratic movement was fanned up by official repression and gained a firm foot-hold—in Maharashtra through the cults of Shivaji and Ganapati initiated by Tilak, and in Bengal through the cult of Mother India, whose votaries were prepared to kill and get killed for the freedom of their beloved motherland. The new gospel of radical nationalism was founded on the immortal hymn of Bankim Chandra Chatterji’s "Bande Mataram" which was to become the nation’s clarion-call in the course of its fight for freedom. The party of direct action worked secretly in Asia, Europe and America, and the World War I came as a fine opportunity in their way. These revolutionaries planned a ‘Ghedar’ conspiracy, the pan-Islamic anti-British League and a daring military coup from South-East Asia to bring about an armed revolution in India with German assistance. Repression was redoubled through the Regulation 3 of 1818, Press Censorship Ingress Ordinance and the odious Defence of India Act. Meanwhile, Mrs. Annie Besant sought to lead a new Home Rule Movement. But events moved too rapidly for the Moderates and the end of the War witnessed the birth of a new epoch in India’s freedom movement. This post-war period marks the Gandhian age in modern Indian history.
THE PATWARI IN THE CEDED AND CONQUERED PROVINCES
UNDER THE EAST INDIA COMPANY (1801—1833)

By

R. N. NAGAR

The Patwari, although a small cog in the administrative wheel of the revenue system, was yet an officer of considerable local importance. The office had a sustained history in the past. Whether such an office existed in ancient times may be a matter of interesting speculation\(^1\); but, as the name itself implies, it dates to medieval times; and it still exists.\(^3\) Among Muslim rulers, Alauddin Khalji was, perhaps, the first to notice its existence in his attempt to reorganise the revenue administration.\(^3\) In the days of Akbar, the Patwari was designated as "a writer on the part of the cultivator, but not of any single cultivator".\(^4\) He kept the relevant details of the various holdings of land within his jurisdiction on behalf of the ryots. Thus, he served as a safeguard on their behalf against the possible encroachments of the Amil, the land-holder, and the Kanungo.

1. The word Patwari is obviously of Indian derivation; the letter 'ε' occurring in it precludes it from being of Persian or Arabic origin. If Pustapāla, of the ancient times, which literally means keeper of book, or the later Akshapatañikas are comparable to the office of the Kanungo (Epigraphica Indica vol. XV page 132 Note 3 on Damodarpur copper plate inscriptions), and if the Grāma Kāyastha was a separate office altogether, then he may have fulfilled the functions of a Patwari.
2. Today, he is designated Lekhpal.
He formed an excellent counterbalance against the Kanungo, who maintained the revenue records on behalf of the government. This system of double check, therefore, guaranteed justice to the ryots, and prevented abuse of power.

In the wake of the disintegration of the Mughal empire, and the consequent disruptions which became a common occurrence, the office of the Patwari also was subjected to a severe trial. When the government was unable to offer due protection of life and property to the people, the Patwari, bereft of any security of office, was often forced to seek refuge with the local Zamindar, specially if the latter happened to be a person of power and authority. Placed in such a precarious position he had scarcely any other alternative left to him but to follow the dictates of the person with whom he had sought shelter. Thus, under the duress of one pressure or the other, the Patwari might have tampered with a few records; but, basically, the essential frame of his office remained as before. Such maladministration, on the eve of the British occupation, prevailed in the ceded and conquered territories also, though in a varying degree.

When the British occupied the ceded and conquered Provinces, all external encroachments on these territories ceased; but, internally, the conditions were even more vitiated than before. While, for the best part of the first two decades of British rule, the new administrators almost groped their way about in the dark, almost every district of the Provinces withered with discontent and unrest.¹ In the resultant confusion, for the first few years, the existence or the utility of the Patwari’s office was not even noticed. And so, by the very exigency of the circumstances, the Patwari was forced to toe the line of the Zamindar, instead of remaining the spokesman of the ryot. And the British authorised this transformation. Accustomed to the system of landlordism, as had recently been established in Bengal, the new-comers misinterpreted his functions altogether. They came to regard him as a mere henchman of the

¹. See Early Revenue Policy of the East India Company in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces (1801-15) by the writer: Journal of the U. P. Historical Society.
Zamindar, 'just as gomastah was to the banker'.\(^1\) The Board of commissioners, also, observed, "Instances would be rare in which the officer such as Patwari, unless made the tool of some intrigue in the Collector's office, would dare to brave the resentment of a Zamindar".\(^2\)

In establishing the rights of Zamindars, the Government overlooked the rights of pattidars, and other tenure holders. How could, therefore, the Patwari, or for that matter even the Kanungo\(^3\), have kept records of details which it was not the intention of the Government to admit? In this manner, by the Government's own actions, the Patwari was deliberately thrown into the arms of the Zamindars, and his office remained neglected for some time.

Attention was focussed on this office by a communication\(^4\) from the Court of Directors, who remonstrated with the Governor-General-in-Council that, amongst other things, there were so few references on record in the dispatches of Collectors regarding the office of the Patwari. They pointed out that Lord Teignmouth had recorded his opinion in 1789 that the Patwari was the servant of the State.\(^5\) The Governor-General-in-Council, Earl of Moira, observed in his minute\(^6\) of 21st September 1815 that during the former Government, Patwaris were regarded as public officers, and that in many parts of the country they were appointed by Kanungsos.\(^7\) The value of Patwari's records was brought to the fore by a revenue officer, Henry Newnham by name. The Governor-General recommended the adoption of the method of accounts kept by Patwaris as

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1. The Government Revenue Records of the North-Western Provinces (1818—20), p. 82.
2. Ibid., p. 82.
3. The Kanungo in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces (1801—33) by the writer: Indian Historical Records Commission, Eighteenth Session.
4. Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, 24th Nov. 1815.
5. Ibid.
7. This would have scarcely fulfilled the purpose of his office being a check on that of the Kanungo. It, therefore, was obviously a change for the worse from his original position.
detailed in documents ‘discovered by Newnham’. To Newnham the records kept by Patwaris did not present any problem. While giving evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commission, he stated, “The practice of giving false accounts to the Collectors is very general, and is arisen from the British having considered the village accountant to be servant of the village Zamindar or the farmer, and not the public servant of the village and Government, but the village accounts are easily, by inquiry on the spot, distinguished from the true ones by any one acquainted with the several checks.”

These efforts prompted the Government to frame the Regulation XII of 1817 for the ‘better administration of the office of Patwari’. The preamble of the regulation admitted the importance of the office. It said, “The existing rules regarding Patwari have been found to be in many respects defective, and great difficulties and delays have, consequently, been expressed in the division of estates, the adjustment of revenues to be assessed on their respective shares, the investigation of summary and other suits for rents, the decision of suits relating the limits of estates and villages, and the execution of decrees of the courts of judicature in regard to the possession and property of land, the reform of the office, therefore, to be of the highest importance”.

The regulation, however, did not restore the Patwari to his original position. Clause VII of the regulation permitted ‘the Zamindar, or other land-holder or farmer, engaging with Government for the public revenue’ to nominate a person for holding the office of a Patwari in his jurisdiction, subject to the sanction and approval of the collector. If a Zamindar failed to nominate a Patwari within the prescribed period, then he

4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., clause VII, p. 409.
became liable to a daily fine until one was nominated.\textsuperscript{1} Or, in the alternative, the Collector himself could nominate a ‘qualified person’ to the office.\textsuperscript{2} He could be dismissed from office on the proper recommendation of a Zamindar, or on a petition from the ryots and under-tenants, showing sufficient grounds for his removal.\textsuperscript{3} If a Collector wanted a dismissal on his own authority, he had to procure the sanction of the Board of Revenue or of the Board of Commissioners.\textsuperscript{4}

The Patwari was required to maintain such registers and accounts relating to the village or villages to which he was appointed as had been maintained so far, or as might be hereafter prescribed by the Board of Revenue or the Board of Commissioners.\textsuperscript{5} He was required to prepare and deliver to the Kanungo of his jurisdiction, at the expiration of every sixth month ‘a complete copy of the aforesaid accounts showing distinctly the produce of the Khurreef and Rubbee harvests’.\textsuperscript{6} He was also required to perform ‘all other duties and services’ which had been customary for him to execute.\textsuperscript{7} His remuneration, which could either be in ‘money, or in grain, or in land’, was not paid by the Government; but it was given to the Board of Revenue or the Board of Commissioners to increase, or reduce, his remuneration, or to alter and modify the mode of its payment.\textsuperscript{8}

More attention continued to be paid to the office after the passage of the regulation. Holt Mackenzie advocated, “If a more leisurely proceeding be followed, there seems reason to hope that in the hands of a person competent to check the one with the other, the Patwari accounts will be found to be of the utmost value.”\textsuperscript{9} R. M. Bird recorded in his minute in 1832, “...successful and unobstructed administration of

\textsuperscript{1} Ibid, clause XI, p. 410.
\textsuperscript{2} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{3} Ibid, clauses XII and XIV respectively, p. 410.
\textsuperscript{4} Ibid, clause XV, p. 411.
\textsuperscript{5} Ibid, clause XVI.
\textsuperscript{6} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{7} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{8} Ibid, clause XVIII.
\textsuperscript{9} Holt Mackenzie’s Memorandum: The Government Revenue Records of the North-Western Provinces (1818–20) p. 81.
pattidari estates will be materially affected by the state of the Patwari's office. The important office has been a great deal too much neglected, and from that neglect many difficulties and mischiefs have arisen, which would otherwise have had no place. He continued, "Before our time the Patwari was appointed, as all else was done in these coparcenaries, by the majority of the village community, and, because so chosen, became official accountant of the whole, a reference to whose records was conclusive as to rights, claims, burthens, receipts, payments and all other matters of individual as connected with the common estate."

Consequently, the Government resolved that the Patwari's duftar be put upon an efficient footing under the superintendence and responsibility of the Kanungo and the Tahsildar. But he was still denied the place originally assigned him. In the meanwhile, however, immense injury had been inflicted. By the time wisdom dawned on the authorities, irreparable danger had been perpetrated. A large number of valuable records were either lost, mutilated, or forged by negligent and corrupt officers. Even when this office was better organised, it did not function with the desired efficiency and accuracy. For example, Reade reported as late as 1832 that the old records of Patwaris were more reliable and accurate than the later ones.

2. Ibid, p. 69.
THE SYMBOLISM IN SARNATH LION CAPITAL
AND ITS PURPOSE

By

K. K. THAPLYAL

The celebrated Sārnāth Lion Capital, which “combines realistic modelling with ideal dignity”¹ is “the product of the most developed art of which the world was cognisant in the third century B. C.”² Its component parts have all been excellently finished individually, and when taken in association with other parts, give an impression of harmonious blending.

Though a great work of art, the Sārnāth Lion Capital, however, should not be interpreted exclusively in terms of art and the four animals that appear on the abacus in very high relief cannot be taken as merely ornamental motifs as Vögel has taken them to be³. Indian art is symbolical and “in considering this monument, as indeed every religious memorial in Indian art history, we must keep in mind that its primary function was magical and auspicious, neither ‘decorative’ nor ‘architectural’”⁴. This Capital was not the result of the whim or fancy of artist-craftsmen

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¹ Smith, V. A., History of Fine Art in India & Ceylon, 1st ed., p. 60.
but there was a definite planning behind it, and, perhaps, Aśoka himself had chosen this symbol.¹

The composite Capital (Plate 1) consists of three parts: (i) the lotiform bell, on which rests (ii) a plinth bearing in relief an elephant, a horse, a bull and a lion, separated by four small wheels and, above that (iii) the four addorsed lions, which originally supported a large wheel.

Now let us come to the interpretation of the symbolism in the Lion Capital. Many scholars have interpreted it. An attempt has been made here too, to interpret the different aspects of the symbolism of the Lion Capital from different angles of view and to establish that the intention was not to impose upon the onlooker a particular point of view, but to put before him a symbolism which he could interpret in the light of his own leanings.

The Capital can be identified both as Persepolitan bell-capital,² and the inverted lotus capital.³ In the former case it represents the adaptation of an exotic art-form and, in the latter, a well-known Indian motif. It may be a case like that of Gandhāra art where the form was exotic but the spirit was essentially Indian.

Lotus is much more to India than what rose is to Europe. It is associated with Buddhism, Brāhmaṇism and Jainism. It “represents once the resplendent Sun in the sky, the compassionate heart of Bodhisattva, and the proliferating, ever variegated cosmic process.” It “is th

¹. Aśoka explains in R. E. XIV that the size of the Edicts—short medium or long, the repetition in them and the deletion of certain Edic at certain places was not accidental but deliberate. We can also surmise that the representation of symbols was also planned, for, sometimes, we find them together, sometimes represented singly, and sometimes the same symbol repeated at different places.


³. Vide, Coomaraswamy, A. K., History of Indian and Indonesian Ar

p. 17; Havell, E., A Handbook of Indian Art, p. 44 ff; The Ancient an

Medieval Architecture of India, p. 59; The History of Aryan Rule in India p. 106

Lion Capital of the Asokan Pillar at Sarnath

J.U. P. H. S.,
Vol. VIII (N.S.), Pt. I

(Courtesy: Archaeological Survey of India)
Position of the Aharus in the Lion Capital of the Asoka Pillar at Sarnath

J. U. P. H. S.,
Vol. VIII (N. S.), Pt. I

(Courtesy: Archaeological Survey of India)
appointed symbol of a miraculous birth,"" and serves as a symbol of Buddha's nativity. In *Saññīutta Nikāya* Buddha has been compared to lotus. As lotus, born and full grown in water, is not wetted with water, Buddha likewise, though born and full, grown in the world, was not affected by the world.4

In Brāhmaṇical context, lotus is associated with several deities. It is a flower of Lakṣmī. It is held in the hand (Padmahastā), it is her seat (Padmāstṛā) and residence (Padmālayā). It is also the flower of Viṣṇu and is invariably held by him in one of his four hands. The origin of Brahmā is from lotus, emerging from the navel of Nārāyaṇa. In the later Vedic period lotus was used for meditational purpose as a form of heart in which the Supreme Being was to be meditated upon.

Lotus also occupies an important place in Jain art and mythology. A red lotus is the cognisance (lāṭākharā) of Padmaprabha, the sixth Tīrthāṅkara, and a blue lotus of Naminātha, the twenty-first Tīrthāṅkara.

*Padma* (lotus) is also associated with a particular *Yogāsana* known as *padmāsana*, which again is associated with the gods of different sects and also with the yogīs. Buddha himself attained enlightenment sitting in *padmāsana*. Lotus is also a symbol of purity and beauty and has been the favourite of Indian poets and artists throughout the ages.

The four animals, namely the elephant, bull, horse and lion which have been represented here *en masse*, have been each separately represen-

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2. The origin of this notion can be traced as far back as Harappan times. On a sealing from Harappa (Marshall, J., *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, pl. XII, no. 12), a nude figure is shown turned upside down with outspread legs and a lotus stalk with a flower (described by Marshall as plant (Ibid., p. 52) issuing forth from her womb.


ted as the crowning animals on the Mauryan monolithic pillars. The lion crowned the Basāh-Bakhira, Rampurwa and Lauriya-Nandangarh pillars; elephant, Saṅkāśya pillar; bull, Rampurwa pillar, and there is testimony of Hiuen Tsang that horse once crowned the pillar of Rummindei.¹ This shows that these animals were considered so important as to be especially favoured.

Judging from the religious point of view, these animals (Plates III–VI) can be interpreted in the light of the three major religious system of the time of Aśoka, viz., the Brāhmaṇical, the Buddhist and the Jaina.

In the Brāhmaṇical context, these animals are associated with the four important deities in the form of vāhanas—elephant with Indra, bull with Śiva, horse with Sun and lion with the goddess Durgā. They may also represent the above deities in their theriomorphic form².

In the Buddhist context, these animals may be interpreted as representing four main events of Buddha’s life³. The elephant which has been shown special favour by Aśoka, both by its representation in art⁴ and by its mention in epigraphs⁵, symbolises the conception⁶; bull, the date of nativity⁷; horse, the Great Departure (mahābhānirvakramaṇa)⁸ and the

² This is the interpretation of Bloch (vide, Sahni. D. R. op. cit., p. 40). There is, however, no justification in Bloch’s contention that the Brāhmaṇical deities in animal forms have been represented here as subordinate to the Buddha and the Dharma. This would be against the evidence of Aśoka’s Edicts which so explicitly speak that the sects of others should not be condemned (para-pāśaṇḍa garahā va no bhave, R. E. XII).
³ Majumdar, B., op. cit, p. 46.
⁴ Apart from the one under consideration and the crowning elephant at Saṅkāśya already referred to, we find it represented in the rock-cut form at Dhauli and engraved on the north face of Kalsi rock.
⁵ Hastidasanā in R. E. IV; gajatame at Kalsi; sarvaseto hasti sarvaloka sukhaharonāma at Girnar.
⁶ Jātaka ed. Fausboll, vol. I, p. 50, Bodhisatto setavaravārano huvā... This event has been illustrated, besides other places, at Bharhut with appropriate label Bhagavato ukrahti (sec, Ray, N. R., Maurya & Suṅga Art, illustration no. 12).
⁷ “The bull...incarnated the traditional date of birth, the day of the full moon of the month of Vaiśākha” (Foucher, A., The Beginnings of Buddhist Art, p. 21).
lion, the Śākyasīhā, Lion of the Śākya race, i.e. the Buddha himself.

These animals have also been identified with the guardians of the sacred Anotatta lake, on the evidence of a Burmese Buddhist text. We are told that the Buddha used to take his bath in this lake and his mother Māyā Devi, too, had a bath in the waters of this lake, before conception.

In the Jaina context, again, these four animals are the cognisances (lāṅchhanas) of the four Tirthaṅkaras—the bull of Rishabhanātha, the first Tirthaṅkara, elephant of Ajītanātha, the second, horse of Sambhavanātha, the third and, lion of Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth and the last. Three of these animals, viz. the elephant, the bull and the lion appeared in first, second and third dreams respectively of Trīśalā, the mother of Mahāvīra.

This cosmopolitan character of animal symbolism is also supported by Aśoka’s edicts wherein he speaks of his respect to all the sects and enjoins his subjects to respect religions other than their own. In his opinion concord alone was good. His concern for all the religious sects is also apparent from the fact that he urges his people to show proper

1. Immediately after the birth the boy stands upon the earth, takes seven steps northwards and utters his lion-roar, “I am the chief in the world” (Malalasekera, Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, vol. I, p. 789.). The Buddha is often compared with lion and his preaching with lions roar in early Buddhist texts.


4. gaurgojōsvaḥ ... sīkho lāṅchhanānyārhtāṅkramāt, vide, Bhattacharya, B. C., Jaina Iconography, p. 55. fn. 3.

It may be noted that according to the certain scholars Aśoka, in P. E. III, has followed the Jaina rather than the Buddhist views of the Āśvas (vide Mookerji, R. K., Aśoka, p. 71 fn.). The use of the terms jīva, pāṇa, bhūta and jāta in his edicts, corresponding to the pāṇa-bhūya-jīva-sattā of Āchārāga Sūtra, has been considered as further evidence of his borrowing from Jainism (Bhandarkar, D. R., Aśoka, 3rd ed. p. 119):


6. Devānām-piye Piyadasi rājā sava-pāśāndānī... pūjyati. R. E. XII.

7. Pūjetayā tu eva para-pāśāndā, ibid.

8. Samavāyo eva sādhū, ibid.
treatment\(^1\) and liberality\(^2\) both to the Brāhmaṇas and the Śramaṇas and that he appointed dharma-mahāmātrās who were occupied with all the religious sects\(^3\).

These animals, even when interpreted from non-religious point of view, are symbols of noble qualities. The elephant is symbolic of majestic personality, power and gait; the bull of vigour, patience, service and tolerance; horse of swiftness (which has further been emphasised by showing it in a galloping posture) and the lion of strength, valour and prowess. Thus these animals may be regarded as symbols for inspiring people to acquire those worthy qualities for which they stood.

These animal symbols, again, in association with wheel (chakra) may be taken to be connected with the Buddha, the dharmachakravarti as well as with Asoka, the rājachakravarti. The wheel in the former case represents the Wheel of the Law (dharmachakra) which was turned by the Buddha for the first time at Sārnāth, and in the latter, the Jewel of Wheel (chakraratna) of the chakravarti king. The animals in the former case may be connected with the Buddha, as mentioned above, and in the latter with the chariot and might of the chakravarti\(^4\).

These four animals, again, symbolise the four cardinal points—elephant symbolising the East, bull the West, horse the South and lion the North.\(^5\) This symbolism is traceable as far back as the Vedic times.\(^6\) When taken in the context of Buddhism they indicate the spread of the Master’s religion in all the four quarters and in the context of Asokan history, the spread of the chakravarti king’s in all the four directions.

It may be noted that two of the animals, represented on the abacus viz. the elephant and the bull, have found depiction in the Harappan antiquities. Some of the elephant and bull figures on seals, especially the latter, are undoubtedly the masterpieces of art.\(^7\) These two animals seem

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1. R. E. IV; P. E. VII.
2. R. Es. III, VIII, IX and XI.
3. sava pāsaṅgdesu pi cha vijayapācāse, P. E. VII.
to have been venerated and perhaps even worshipped by the Harappans. It was from this tradition that the conception of these two animal figures and even their plasticity was borrowed. The horse, as is generally believed, was not known to the Harappans and was brought by the invading Aryans. The lion, again, strangely enough, has not been represented either in art or in bodily remains, at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro, the two most important sites of Harappan culture. The representation of the four animals, two belonging to early tradition and two to later one, seem to indicate, at once, the blending of Asoka’s love and respect for both the old and new traditions.

The representation of these four animals also suggests a harmonious blending of Indian as well as exotic art forms. The bull and the elephant being Indian in conception as well as execution, whereas “the closest geographical parallel to the horse is the steeds on the silver bowls made in Bactria during the Hellenistic tradition,” and for lion Khorasabad and Persepolis have been considered as possible sources of inspiration.

The four lions which surmount the Capital, are shown with their mouths open as if in the very act of roaring. Majumdar, on the evidence of Chūla-Sinhanaḍa Sutta of Majjhima Nikāya, takes the four lions to represent the monks proclaiming the Buddha’s teachings to the four directions. They may, however, be taken as representing Buddha’s teachings, like the roar of lion, reverberating in the four quarters. The Wheel, which the lions supported, consisted of thirty-two spokes which may be taken as symbolic representation of Buddha himself, who possessed thirty-two mahāpurusha lakṣhaṇas, as mentioned in Lakṣhaṇa-sutta of Dīgha Nikāya.

2. Ibid., p. 111.
3. Not only art but even the imperialism of Asoka had been considered as “a synthesis of Indian, Achaemenian and Hellenistic ideals” (Ray, N. R., Maurya and Śukga Art, p. 62.).
7. Majumdar, B., op. cit., p. 47.
It may be noted that Mahāvīra, the last of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, who has for his lāṅkhaṇa a lion, was also known as ‘Lion among the recluses’\(^1\). The wheel is also connected with Mahāvīra. We are told that in the seventh of her fourteen dreams, his mother, Triśalā, saw radiant sun, which was interpreted to mean that the child she was bearing would dispel the darkness of ignorance\(^2\).

In Brāhmaṇical context, the Wheel may represent Sudarśanachakra, Vishṇu’s weapon par excellence. It may also represent the Sun.

The Wheel and the lion taken together may also indicate that the policy of the mighty king Aśoka\(^3\) was governed by the Dhamma or the Law of Piety (the latter represented by the Wheel) as is gleaned from one of his Edicts: This is the precept, namely, protection by Dhamma, administration by Dhamma, causing happiness by Dhamma and guarding by Dhamma\(^4\).

Thus judging from the intention expression, and artistic mastery, the Śārnāth Lion Capital appears to be an attempt to blend together different elements, and its symbolism should be interpreted not as this or that, but as this and that combined together. It was an attempt to present a symbolism which could satisfy the people “of various likings and various attachments,”\(^5\) by a monarch who tried to combine in himself the ideals of a rājachakravarti and a dharmachakravarti\(^6\). As Aśoka chose for engraving on the rocks and the pillars principles that were as religious as they were secular and were common to all the religions of his time, likewise he chose, for three-dimensional representation\(^7\), symbols

\(^1\) Mrs. Stevenson, S., *op. cit.* p. 23.

\(^2\) Ibid., pp. 23-4.

\(^3\) “The lion motif is associated with sovereignty in Western Asia and Vedic India,” (Mukerjee, R. K., *The Culture & Art of India*, p. 104).

\(^4\) *esa hi vidhi ya dhammena pālanā dhammena vidhāne dhammena sukhiyanā dhammena goli ti* (P. E. I).

\(^5\) As Aśoka says, *ucchāvaca ckhāndo uucchāvaca rāge*, R. E. VII.

\(^6\) Smith is of the opinion that Aśoka assumed monastic vows and robe while still exercising autocratic control over a vast empire: *Vide, Early History of India*, 4th ed., p. 168.

\(^7\) R. E. IV shows that Aśoka utilized visual representation for the instruction in the principle of his dhamma-vimāna-darsanā cha hasti-dasaṇā cha agi-khaṇḍhāni cha aṇāni cha dīvyāni rūpāṇi dasayītā janāni.
Horse Symbol on the Abacus of the Asokan Pillar at Sarnath

J. U. P. H. S.,
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(Courtesy: Archaeological Survey of India)
which were as secular as they were religious and were common to all the religious sects of the time viz. Brāhmaṇical, Buddhist and Jaina. It was as if an attempt of art-representation of an example of the ‘growth of essential elements’ (Sāravādhi), which Aśoka considered of prime importance.¹

It may be noted, in this connection, that Hieun Tsang, who visited Sārnāth in seventh century A. D., after describing the pillar and paying compliments to its shining polish, says: “All those who pray fervently before it see from time to time according to their petitions, figures with good or bad signs”². We may interpret this as suggesting that the people found different meanings according to their tastes and leanings³. Such interpretation is in consonance with what we find in some of the most important pre-and post-Aśokan texts. In fact, it appears to be an ‘ancient tradition’⁴ that proved to be ‘long enduring’⁵. The Rgveda says that the Essence which is one is called by different names by the learned (ekam sat viprāḥ bahudhā vadanti)⁶. In Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa we are told that “as the deity is approached such he becomes (yathopāsate tadeva bhavati)⁷. We have the testimony of Gitā that howsoever men approach the Deity so does He welcome them (yeyathā maṁ prayāyante tāhastathaiva bhajām-yaham)⁸. The following words of Tulasīdāsa, a medieval Indian saint, are merely an echo of the sentiments of the saintly king of 3rd Century B. C.:

जिन्हूँ कै रही भावना जैसीं।
प्रभु मूरति जिन्हूं देखी तैसीं।°

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1. Vide, R. E. XII
3. To the Chinese monk who “saw everything in India through the spectacles of Buddhism”, the Buddhist alone would find the right meaning in the symbols and hence would see good signs, whereas the followers of other sects interpreting them in their own context would see ‘bad’ i. e. non-Buddhist signs.
4. Porāṇā pakiti, M. R. E. II.
5. Dīghāvuse, ibid.
6. I. 164.
7. X. 5. 2. 20.
8. IV, 11.
THE CHĀPOTKAṬAS OF BHINAMALA

By

JAI NARAYAN ASOPA

Chāpotkaṭas are probably the same as the Chāpas, the Chāvoṭakas and the Chāvdās. The first appears to be the full Sanskrit name, the second its short form, the third the Prākrit form of the first and the fourth the apabhraṃṣa form of the third. The Haḍḍāla plate inscription of Chāpa Mahāśāmantaḥhipati Dharaṇīvarāha gives their origin from the Chāpa or the bow of Sambhu. Like many other mythological origins, their origin is also shrouded in mystery. We may, however, surmise that they were a clan, known for their efficiency in the use of ‘chāpa’ or the bow. As a bow was the chief weapon during their times, Chāpotkaṭas may be taken as earning living by use of weapons (śastropajīvinaḥ). They were, in other words, Kshatriyas, whose profession was that of fighting.

Chāpas have been mentioned by Brahmagupta, the eminent astronomer, who is the author of Brāhma Sphuta Siadhānta (of Śaka 550- A.D.5281), Chronicles of Gujarāta,2 Haḍḍāla plate inscription,3 and Navsari Inscription of Pulakeśī Avanijānāśraya.4

1. श्री चापवंशतिलके श्री लघुपुला नूपे शाकटपुराणाम्।
   पंचाशतयुक्तवर्णशालि: पंचभरतीले। ॥७॥
   ब्राह्म: स्फुटसिद्धान्त: सज्जनगणितशासीतीले।
   निष्णूर्ध्ववर्गको जिज्ञासिज्ञुसिद्धांकुचे। ॥८॥
   ब्राह्मस्फुट सिद्धान्त, अध्याय २४।

2. Prabandha Chintāmaṇī, Vichārasreṇī Sukṛitasankīrtana and Ratnamālā are the chief sources of information, regarding early history of the Chavdas.

Let us now refer to Bhagvan Lal Indraji and A. M. T. Jackson who write, “Whatever be the origin of the name Chāvaḍā, which was afterwards, Sanskritized into the high sounding Chāpotkaṭa or strongbow, it does not seem to be the name of any great dynasty. The name very closely resembles the Gujarati Chor (Prākṛti Chauṭā or Choraṭā) meaning thiever or robbers; and Jávaḍā, which is a further corruption of Chāvāḍa, is the word now in use in those parts for a thief or robber. Except the mention of the Chavoṭakas in the Navsārī copper plate we do not find the Chavāḍas noticed in any known contemporary Gujarati copper plates. For this reason it seems fair to regard them as unimportant rulers over a territory extending from Paṇḍhāsār to Aṇahilavāḍa”.

It appears that the Chāpas were not very kindly taken to by the people of Gujarat in later times when they were not a ruling power. The argument that the name was later Sanskritized into Chāpotkaṭas does not appear to be cogent because, as early as 628 A.D., Brahmagupta has referred to the Chāpa dynasty. The inscription of Navsari referred to by Indraji and Jackson refers to the Chāvoṭakas. Philologically Chauṭā is not derivable from Chāvoṭaka and there is no evidence to show that. Chauṭā is derived from the Sanskrit word Chaura. Then the Haḍḍala plate inscription of Chāpa Mahāṣāmantaḍhipati Dharaṇi-varāha mentions the word Chāpa. It is, therefore, clear that the Chāpas were a ruling dynasty, which patronized Brahmagupta and Hiuen Tsang, who came to Pi-lo-mo-lo (identified with Bhinmal) about this period, has referred to “the king, who was a Kshatriya by birth, and who was a young man celebrated for his wisdom and valour, and who was a profound believer in Buddhism and a patron of exceptional abilities.”

Dr. Majumdar identifies the ruler of Bhinmal of Hiuen Tsang’s time with Tāta, the son of Nāgabhaṭa of Harichandra’s line. But while discussing Hiuen Tsang and the Gurjara kingdom, Dr. B. N. Puri refuses to accept this identification on the basis of the fact that the traveller has nowhere mentioned Māṇḍavyapura or Maṇḍor and Medantakam or Merta, the two capitals of this line. He suggests that the reference may

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be applied to Varmalāta of the Vasantagarh inscription of the year V. S. 682, who was a contemporary of the traveller, and who had a large kingdom with his capital probably at Bhinmal.

According to Mr. Thomas Watters,¹ Hiuen Tsang left the capital Chang-an, the modern Hsi-anfoo, in the year 629. Hence he could not have come to India earlier. We have a reference made by Brahmagupta² of Bhinmal, the author of Brāhma-sphuṭa-siddhānta, that when he wrote his book in the year 550 Śaka (628 A. D.), the ruler was one Vyāghramukha of the Chāpa dynasty. Hence before Hiuen Tsang left the capital Chang-an, the ruler of Bhinmal, was Vyāghramukha and neither Tāta, as suggested by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, nor Varmalāta as suggested by Dr. B. N. Puri. Our conclusion is that the then ruler of Bhinmal should have been either Vyāghramukha or one of his successors, if he had died very early.

Biihler³ and V. A. Smith⁴ have suggested that the reference is to the Bhinmal family ruled by the Chāpa dynasty.

The chāvoṭakas (Skt. Chāpotkaṭas) have been mentioned in the Navsari grant of the Chālukya ruler Pulakesirāja of the year 733 A. D. This record mentions the names of the kingdoms destroyed by the Tajikas before reaching Navasārikā. They are Saindhava, Kachchhella, Sau-rāṣṭra, Chāvoṭaka, Maurya and Gurjara kings. We will discuss here the chāvoṭakas only. We know of a Chāpa dynasty in Bhinmal ruling in 628 A. D. according to Brahmagupta. From Prabandha Chintāmoṇi of Merutuṅga we know of another chāpa dynasty, established in Aṇahlīvāḍa Pattana by Vanarāja in V. S. 802 or 746 A. D. A third Chāpa dynasty is known from the Haḍḍāla inscription of Chāpa Mahāśāmantādhipati Dharaṇīvarāha, of Śaka 836 or 914 A. D. He is fourth from the first ruler mentioned in this inscription. Hence this dynasty might have been established in c. 814 A. D. at the earliest. Dr. B. N. Puri,⁵ in reference to this Arab invasion, writes that the Chāvoṭaka ruler might be placed some-

1. On Yuan Chwang’s travels in India by Thomas Watters. p. 11.
2. Brahma-sphutra Siddhanta, Adbhāya २४।
where in Kathiawar but we have already seen that the Chāvoṭakas of Gujarat or Kathiawar did not come into power before 746 A.D. and c. 814 A. D. respectively. The reference here may, therefore, be to the other dynasty remaining behind i.e. of Bhinmal.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar\(^1\) writes that according to the Gujarat chronicles the Chāpas ruled in Pañchāsara in Vadhiar, between Gujarat and Cutch, in the period c. 720-966. Dr. H. C. Ray also says that the Chāpotkaṭas ruled in Pañchāsara in the period c. 720-956 A.D. We would like to deal with these chronicles here one by one. *Ratnamālā* composed in c. 1230 A. D. remarks that in A. D. 696 (s. 752) Jayaśekhara, the Chāvḍā king of Pañchāsara, was attacked by the Chālukya king Bhūvḍa. Before his death Jayaśekhara, finding his affairs completely hopeless, sent his pregnant wife Rūpasundari to the forest under the charge of her brother Surapāla, one of his great warriors. After his death Rūpasundari gave birth to a son named Vanarāja. Thus we see this dynasty losing its hold on Pañchāsara in 696 A.D. Merutuṅga, in his *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, gives A.D. 746 (s. 802) as the year of the installation of Vanarāja, the posthumous son of Jayaśekhara, and, in his *Vichārasreṇī*, he gives A.D. 765 (s. 821 Vaiśākha Śukla 2) as the date of the foundation of the city of Anhilapura. From *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* it is learnt that Vanarāja got himself installed at Anhilapura when he was about fifty. Placing Vanarāja’s birth in s. 752 or 696 A.D., when his father died according to *Rainamālā*, his installation would fall in s. 802 or 746 A.D., which is also the date of installation, given by *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*. So according to Gujarat Chronicles, there was no Chāpa ruler ruling in Gujarat in or about 738 A.D., who could be defeated by the Arabs. Hence we may conclude that the Chāvoṭakas, referred to in Pulakesī Avanijanāśraya’s Navsari plate, are the Chāvoṭakas of Bhinmal.

Pandit Bhagvan Lal Indraji and A. M. T. Jackson\(^2\) are of opinion that the Chāvoṭakas of Navsari plate could be no other than the Chāvḍās of Pañchāsara on the border of Kachchha. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar\(^3\) is of the opinion that the reference is to the king of Anhilpattan of the Chāpotkaṭa race. We have already explained that the Chāvḍās were uprooted

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from Pañchāsara in 696 A. D., as mentioned by Ratnamalā and they were not in power at Anhilawara before 746 A. D. in any case, as referred to by Merutunga in his Prabandhachintāmaṇi. Hence we may safely conclude that the Chāvoṭakas referred to are, most probably, the Chāpas of Brahmagupta’s reference, who are not mentioned as having been up-rooted up to that date.

Ahmad Ibn Yahya Ibn Jabir Al Bilādurī1 of the ninth century at the court of the Khalif Al Mutwakkal, in his work Futūhul-Buldān, writes that Junaid, after killing the sons of Dāhir and suppressing the revolts of Kiraj, sent his officers to Marmad Mandala, Dahnaj and Barūs (Broach). He further writes that he sent a force against Uzain and also sent Habīd, son of Marra, against the country of Mālilba. According to him they made incursions against Uzain and attacked and burnt the suburbs of Baharīmad. Further he informs that Junaid conquered Al Bailamān and Jurz.

We may infer from it that it was probably Marwar (Marmad Mandal) which was invaded and its rulers were perhaps Morics or Mauryas, who were destroyed by Tajikas as recorded in the Navsari copper plate and from whom Bāuka ultimately took possession of the western Marwad. Dahnaj could not be identified by scholars so far. It may have been the territory of Dahias in Nagour district mentioned in Dadhimatī Mātā Inscription of Gupta Saṅvat 289 i. e. 609 A. D2. Barūs was, no doubt, Broach and at this time and was ruled by the Dadda’s line which claimed to belong to the family of the Gurjarā king.3

Probably Ujjain and the country west to it, known as Malwa, was ruled by the Gurjaras as the palace of Gurjarendra was occupied by Dantidurga in 754 A. D.4 Baharīmad, probably Barmer (district headquarter of the district of the same name in Jodhpur division in Rajasthan) was attacked and the suburbs burnt by the forces of Junaid as it was quite


दोषी वाहे पुर्तजरूपतिबिवशमह ्द घो......................सामस्तदेहः

यस्यालिङ्गविधिस्सव करोधनाम्रम्य तीर्थज्ञितिम्।
सोशेषिनुम्नस्यगुरुज्ञेन्द्र ऋजुरे.........................॥
in the vicinity of Sindh. Bilādurī then mentions Bailamān, which is mostly identified with Bhillamala or Bhinmal town in the Jalore district of the Jodhpur division. He mentions next Jurz which may be near about river Jozri in Western Rajasthan. It extended to the eastern part of the Jodhpur division and at that time the Pratihāra line of Harichandra ruled near about Māṇḍavyapura and Meḍantakam. This may, therefore, be the area referred to by Bilādurī.

Thus the evidences of the Navsari inscription and Bilādurī supplement and do not contradict each other. The Saindhavas of Navasari copper plate may be the rulers of Kīraj; the Kachchhellas, the rulers of Kachchha; the Saurāshtras, the rulers of Surashtra; the chāvoṭakas, the rulers of Bhinamala; Mauryas the rulers of Marumad and Gurjaras the rulers of eastern Marwar, Malwa and Broach.

We may thus conclude that the Chāpas ruled over southern Marwar with their capital Bhinmal, from 628 A. D. to c. 738 A. D.—a period not too long for an average dynasty. The Chāpas of Gujarat and Kathiawar ruled in the later period as already referred to above but in Rajasthan we do not hear of the Chāpa rule any more. We do not have any positive evidence at hand but perhaps the Chāpas might have migrated from Rajasthan to Gujarat and Kathiawar.
HISTORY OF OSIĀ

By

KAILASH CHAND JAIN

The village of Osīā, thirty two miles north-west of Jodhpur, is a city of temples. Its early names were Uvasīśal¹ and Upakeśa² as known from inscriptions and prāṣastis. Its name did not originate from the fact that a Paramāra prince of Bhinmal, hard pressed by enemies, took refuge (Osīā) here, as Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar opines³. The prince of Bhinmal, who visited Osīā, was not of the Paramāra but of the Gūrjara Pratīhāra dynasty. In the Upakeśagachchha Prabandha⁴, written in 1326 A. D., the name of the different princes of Bhinmal is given. Śrīpuṇja, the son of Surasundara, the Gūrjara Pratīhāra king of Bhinmal, due to certain differences with his father, came to Osīā where he founded a new kingdom. He also invited Brāhmaṇas, Vaiśyas and people of other classes from Bhinmal for habitation. This incident took place after the eighth century A. D. but this town was in existence even before. In about the last quarter of the eighth century A. D., it was ruled by Vatsarāja, the Gūrjara Pratīhāra ruler, as is clear from the inscription discovered in the temple of Mahāvīra⁵. At this time, it was a flourishing town decorated with temples and inhabited by people of different classes⁶.

1. GOS, LXXVI, p. 156.
2. NJI, No. 788, Verse, 9.
3. PRAS. wc., 1907, pp. 36-37. The name of Osīā seems to have originated from the land of the 'ausa'.
5. NJI, No. 788.
6. Ibid.
After the reign of Vatsaraṇā, Osiā seems to have been attacked and destroyed by the Ābhīras. They were Mlechchhas and carried on anti-Brāhmaṇical activities¹. As a result of their turbulent activities, this town became desolate. In about 861 A. D., Kakkuka inflicted a crushing defeat on the Ābhīras and forced them to vacate the town and occupied the territory surrounding it². After some time, it was repopulated by the prince of Bhinmal who sought refuge at the hands of a king of the Praṭihāra dynasty which then reigned supreme in Mandor. The rule of the Gūrjara Praṭihāras was supplanted by the Chauhānas. In 1179 A. D., Osiā was ruled from Mandor by Kumāra Siṃha who was the son of Kelhaṃadeva, the Chauhāna ruler of Nāḍol³. During the Hindu rule, it developed into a large city as is clearly seen from the number of ruined temples. According to local traditions, Osiā, when it was at the height of its popularity, had spread to such a length that its grain market was the village of Mathānī, sixteen miles to the south-south east, its oilmen’s quarter was Teori, 13 miles south-south west and one of its principal gates was in Ghaṭiyālā, 28 miles in the same direction. It may be an exaggerated account but there is no doubt in its being a large town in early times.

Under the rule of the Gūrjara Praṭihāras and the Chauhānas, Osiā became a great centre of Brāhmaṇical and Jaina religions. In medieval times, the places with religious centres were sometimes more important than capitals. There are about sixteen Brāhmaṇical and Jaina temples occupying two sites, the first containing the eleven early temples while the rest are built on the second site. The early temples are of the same style and bear a close resemblance to those at Jhālīrāpāṭan, Amvan and so forth in Rajasthan; at Eran, Patharī and so forth in the central provinces. The latter range in point of age from 700 A. D. to 800 A. D. The Osiā temples must, therefore, be referred to this period. This conclusion is further confirmed by an inscription in the outer porch of the Jaina temple which informs that it was originally built in the time of Vatsaraṇā. The other temples which are exactly of the same style of Jaina temples must be supposed to have been built about this time. These early temples are comparatively small structures but they are marked by simplicity and

1. EI, IX, pp. 279-81.
2. Ibid.
3. NJI, No. 804.
elegance. The striking feature in these temples is the variety in their design; no two are alike, one and all show an individuality of conception and originality of composition which is not generally found elsewhere. One of the distinctive motifs of those temples is the vase and foliage convention which may be generally seen in the pillars of early temples. The doorways, which form the entrance to the temple, are decorated with floral designs, nine planets, snakes entwined to form a curious pattern, their tails held by Garuḍas, pairs of lovers and a leaf border.

The three early temples at Osiā probably built in the eighth century A. D. were dedicated to Harihara, the half Vishṇu and half Śiva God combining the dual aspects of life-giver and annihilation. They are said to have been erected by the Ābhīras, but actually this is not the case. Ābhīras were the invaders who only destroyed the town. These temples seem to have been constructed during the reign of the Gūrjara Pratihāras. Two of these temples are of the Pañchāyatana class standing on a high terrace. Their Śikharas are crowned with the āmalaka. In the shrines of the temples are placed the images of Harihara and Vishṇu. On the walls of these three temples have been depicted the exploits of Kṛishṇa such as the story of his birth, the flight of Brindābana, the destruction of Pātanā, Govardhana-Giradhārī etc.

A temple of equal elegance although more restrained in its treatment is dedicated to the Sun God Sūrya. In some respects, it is the most graceful of the entire group of early temples. This temple is also of the Pañchāyatna type. In its proportions and style, this building displays no little dignity while both in the shape of its Śikha and in the manner of its pillar ornamentation, it is admirable. The image of Sūrya in this temple is a remarkable one. He stands erect in primitive tenseness. His face has lotus eyes and mouth that has inherited the compassion and gentleness of the Gupta God Vishṇu but his hair is bound in two long plaits. He is clad in a long tight tunic tied on the chest, his west is bound by a belt and on his feet are high boots.

The most complete example of the Osiā group is a Jaina temple dedicated to Mahāvīra as it consists of a sanctum, a closed hall and an open porch immediately in front of which is an ornate toraṇa or gateway.

It appears to have been first built at the end of the 8th century A. D. and then repaired and added to in the 10th and 11th centuries A. D. respectively. In this way, it is a record of development over two periods. This is shown by the changes in the style of building throughout but particularly in the characters of the pillars. The nalamaṇḍapa, which was erected subsequently over the staircase, was added afterwards. The toraṇa or entrance archway appears to be even a still later addition probably made in the eleventh century A. D.

The temple of Piplā Devī is provided with a large Sabhā-maṇḍapa or assembly-hall in which there are as many as thirty pillars, apparently dating from the end of the 10th century A. D. There is also a celebrated temple called Sachiyāmāstā. The foundations of it may date from the 8th century A. D. but most of it, as now standing, was executed towards the middle of the 12th century A. D. This is also confirmed by inscriptions engraved on pillars which show that about the close of the 12th century A. D., many Brāhmaṇa families contributed money to erect the various portions of the temple. An inscription, of 1177 A. D. engraved on the image of Bhairava mentions that a banker Gayāpāla of the Gobadaṃśu family had decorated the sanctum with the images of Chaṇḍikā, Śītala, Saṅchikā, Kshemāinkarī and Kshetrapāla.¹

Osiā remained especially associated with Jainism. It is known as the cradle of a class of baniyās called Osavālas. It is said that Ratna-prabha Sūri in the line of Pārśvanātha visited this place and converted the king and his subjects to Jainism. As there is no mention and trace of this caste before the 8th or 9th century A. D., it seems to have come into existence afterwards. Even before the visit of Ratnaprabhā Sūri, there seems to be temple of Mahāvīra. The teachings of Ratnaprabhā Sūri give an encouragement to the activities of Jainism. Osiā, which was the Brāhmaṇical centre in the past, now became the stronghold of Jainism. The temple of Mahāvīra continued as a holy place. At the request of the temple committee, a merchant called Jinaka renovated the temple of Mahāvīra.² Two inscriptions² dated 1188 A. D. record the gift of her own house for

3. NJI, Nos. 806 and 807.
use as a stable for keeping Mahāvira's chariot by one Sampūrṇa Śrāvikā, daughter of Pālhiyā, daughter-in-law of Devachandra and wife of Yaśodhara. Even from the Nābhinandana-Jinoddhāra written by Kakka Sūri in 1338 A.D., it is known that this golden chariot of Mahāvira named Nardama moved round the city once within a year. This work supplies us useful knowledge about the town. It was a flourishing town full of parks, tanks and large buildings. There was a wonderful stepped-well called Vidagdhā. It was habitated by Osavālas with eighteen Gotras. One of them was Vesālha, who left this town and settled at Kīrāṇu when he came in ideological clash with the gosṭhīkas of the town.¹

Siddhasena Sūri, the author of the 12th century A.D., refers to Osā as a holy place in the Sakalatirthastotra². Upakeśa Gachchha among the Śvetambaras was also named after Osā in Marwār. The inscription of 1202 A.D. with the name of this Gachchhas has been discovered at this place³. The name of this Gachchha is mentioned in the inscription of 1137 A.D. found at the village Ajūrī in Sirohi State.⁴ It remained popular from the 13th to the 16th centuries A.D. in Jaisalmer, Udaipur and Sirohi states as a large number of inscriptions of this Gachchha have been discovered there⁵.

Osā, the great city of temples, was destroyed by the Muslim invasions. From the Upakeśa-gachchhaprabandha, it is known that the army of the Turks passed through this town in 1195 A.D. and destroyed it. Actually, this seems to be the invasion of Muhammad Ghori over India when the Chauhāna ruler Prithvīrāja III was ruling over Ajmer. People of the town deserted it in panic and went to other places where they settled. Afterwards, it became a completely deserted town because we do not find any monument and inscription of the later period.

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1. BPPI, p. 159. See also Nābhinandana-Jinoddhāra Introduction, verses, 17-48.
2. GOS, LXXVI, p. 156.
3. NJI, I, No. 791.
4. APJLS, No. 404.
5. NJI, Pt. II & III and ABJLS.
ABBREVIATIONS

1. GOS = Gaekwad Oriental Series.
2. NJI = Nahar Jaina Inscriptions.
3. PRAS. wc = Progress Report Archaeological Survey Western Circle.
4. EI = Epigraphia Indica
6. BPPI = Bhagavāna Pārśvanātha kī Paramparā kā Itihāsa.
7. APJLS = Arbudāchalapradakshiṇā Jaina Lekha Sāṃdoha.
राजशेखर और उनकी रचनाएं... 
एक ऐतिहासिक अध्ययन

मोहन लाल निगम

राजशेखर के जीवन काल के सम्बन्ध में विद्वानों ने अनेक विरोधी मत प्रस्तुत किए हैं। ईसा की ७वीं शताब्दी से सेल्कर १५वीं शती तक के भिन्न-भिन्न समय उक्त कवि के लिए निर्धारित किए गए हैं। भी ए० बोहस्का ने उपर्युक्त कवि का अस्तित्व वाली तत्तात्विक माना है। प्रो० पीटरसन, प०० दुर्गा ग्रास्ट्रा एवं भी वामन शिवराम आप्टे ने आठवीं शताब्दी में राजशेखर का होना स्वीकार किया है। सर्वाधीन स्टोनस्कोनी, पुलिट, कीथ, वैकटरिनिस, बह्सरकर और ऑस्ट्रियाई विद्वानों ने १७वीं शती में राजशेखर के जीवन काल को स्पष्ट किया है। प्रो० हुनम हॉरेस विल्सन के मतानुसार व्यावहारिक अवधा बाल्हार्दी जातियों का मध्य राजशेखर के नाटकों का रचना काल निर्धारित किया गया जा सकता है। प्रवीण विद्वान मैक्समूलर ने १४वीं शती की राजशेखर की जन्म तिथि स्वीकार किया है। अलेव उपर्युक्त विद्वानों के कथनों की विवेचना करते हुए प्रस्तुत विषय का एक गवेषणात्मक ऐतिहासिक अध्ययन निर्दांतवाद्यक है।

१. (क) ए० बोहस्का ‘शब्दार्थि पुंड हिस्ट्र व्लेस इन संष्कृत लिटरेशर’ पृ० १७।
(ख) प्रो० पीटरसन और म० म० प० ३० मुर्गा प्रसाद “लुमा लवालवलि की अंग्रेजी रिपोर्ट”, पृ० १०१।
(ग) प्रो० रा० यो० भन्दारकर “हस्त लिखित संस्कृत पुस्तकों की लोह की ई० १५४२-५३ बाली अंग्रेजी रिपोर्ट”, पृ० ४४।
(घ) वामन शिवराम आप्टे, “राजशेखर, हिस्ट्र लाइफ एंड राइटिंग”, पृ० ३०४।
(ड) विल्सन, “हिन्दू विज्ञान”, ज० २, ल० ० ४६२।
(च) प्रो० मैक्समूलर, “इडिया, ह्वाट कैन इट टीज अस्,” पृ० ३१२।
(छ) प्रो० स्टोन कॉनो, “ह्वार्ट ओरिएंटल सीरीज में समाप्तित कर्पुरस्टिरी, पृ० १७९।
उपर्युक्त मतों में श्री ए. ऋषभा का सालवी शती वाणा मत ऐतिहासिक तथ्यों
के प्रतिकूल है। कविराज राजशेखर ने अपनी ‘कूर्मरमर्जी’ (स्तुतक) के तृतीय यवनिके
कालां में विवेक के स्वभाव का वर्णन करते हुए काल्यनकुल के शासक बच्चायुः की चरण की
है। विवेधांतों ने आर्यवर्षीय प्रथम शासक बच्चायुः का शासनकाल आठवीं शती के उत्तरार्ध
में स्थिर किया है। अतः कूर्मरमर्जी (स्तुतक) के रचनात्मक राजशेखर का समय आठवीं
शती के उपरांत ही निर्धारित किया जा सकता है, उसके पूर्व नहीं। दूसरे, ‘शंकर विजय’,
जिसके अनुसार राजशेखर ने अपने तीन नाटक श्री वाङ्करचार्य जी को ‘मेंट किए’ थे, कोई
ऐतिहासिक प्रमाण नहीं है। अतः उस पर अधिक विवाद नहीं किया जा सकता।

इसी प्रकार प्रो॰ मैकस्मूलर द्वारा राजशेखर को बीढ़वीं शताब्दी में मानना भी असंग
गत है। वास्तविकता यह है कि श्री मैकस्मूलर ने भ्रमण ‘प्रवर शौ’ के रचनात्मक जीन राज-
शेखर को ही जिन्होंने १४वीं शताब्दी में अपने चतुर्विंशतवीं प्रथम का रचना की थी कूर्मर-
मर्जी के इतिहादी नाटकों का रचना करके नाम किया है। जब कि यह दोनों लेखक पृथक हैं
और दोनों के बीच कई शताब्दियों का अन्तर लिखित है। इसके अतिरिक्त हमें सोमदेव
लिखता ‘सोमदेव इतिहाद’ के ‘यवनिकोत्सरमू’ और ‘उदयमुन्द्री कथा’ आदि प्रवृत्तों में राजशेखर
का उल्लेख मिलता है। उपर्युक्त लेखकों के रचना कार्य, जैसा कि हम आगे देखने, निश्चित
रूप से १४वीं शती के बहुत पूर्व है। अतः कविराज राजशेखर को बीढ़वीं शती में रचना
fिनी भी प्रकार न्याय-संगत नहीं है।

ढौ पीटरसन ने राजशेखर को अक्षम शतक के मध्य का स्वीकार किया है। उपर्युक्त
विवेदांत के अनुसार काल्यनकुल की शासक जयापिठ राजशेखर (७५० ई. स०) के गुरु श्री रामी ने
‘अमरकोप’ की टीका लिखते हुए राजशेखर की ‘विवृद्धाल मंजिला’ (नाटिका) से एक
प्रतीक उद्धृत किया है। तत्त्व में काल्यनकुल की शासक जयापिठ के गुरु श्री और अमर-
कोप के टीकाकार ‘शैव स्वामी’ दोनों एक ही व्यक्ति हैं—यह एक गहरी विचार है जिसका
समावेश भीमी तक नहीं हो सकता।

(ज) श्री ए. दतलाल गायकवाड ओरिएंटल सीरीज में मुद्दत काल्यनकुलासा
की अंग्रेजी भूमिका, पृ० सं १५।
(ह) "ढौ पीटरसन इतिहाद" इंडिका", जि १, पृ० सं १७।
(क) राय बाहुल्य गोरीवंशकर हीरा बलद ओहो "केंद्र राजसंवर का समय’—
नागरी प्रमाणित पत्रिका, जि ६ पृ० सं १६०।
(द) ए. फौजी पटिक "दि बी आई दि फोटेड राजशेखर" इंडियन एंटीकेसरी
जि १६, पृ० सं १५, १७५, १७६।
(ड) मैकस्मूलर, "ए रिम्बु आव संस्कृत लिटरेसर", पृ० सं ३६६।
(ड) ए. ऋषभा कीव, "ए हिष्टूज आव संस्कृत लिटरेसर", पृ० सं ११९।
विहार प्रान्त के दिवसवारूबीय नामक प्राम में महाराज महेंद्रपाल का एक विलालेख प्राप्त हुआ है। अभिमत: विद्वानों ने इस लेख में उद्देश्त तिथि को मूल से वि ० ४१५-४७६ ई० पढ़ा था। परन्तु नूनाम्यन से यह सिद्ध हो चुका है कि उपर्युक्त लेख वि ० ४२०-४७५ अवरूद्ध १९५ ई० में लिखवाया गया था। यही करिमन हेने भ्रमण तिथि ६.२६ के अनुसार ही प्रस्तुत विलालेख में वर्णित शासक महाराज महेंद्रपाल की ईशा की ५वीं शती में रखा था। इसीलिए राजेश्वर की तिथि निर्धारित करने में भी मूल है।

अत: इस देखते हैं कि राजेश्वर के समय के लिए विद्वानों में गहरा भ्रमण है। परन्तु राजेश्वर की रचनाओं में विनियम आयामका त्राय्य के त्राय्य में रखते हुए उपर्युक्त समय का समाधान सरलता से किया जा सकता है। राजेश्वर के जीवन काल को निरूपित करने के लिए पुरातात्विक एवं साहित्यिक उपयोग कार के प्रामाण्य को छुपायी परमात्मा या वैत्तिक है।

राजेश्वर ने अपने सभी नाटकों की प्रस्तावना में अपने को रथपुकुल तिलक महेंद्रपाल का उपाध्याय बताया है। इसका सी नहीं वरन् बालभारतीय नाटक में महेंद्रपाल को भी नाटककार का संस्थान योगिता किया गया है। प्राया अवधारणाओं के आधार पर उपर्युक्त दोनों नाटकों के समय एवं स्थान के अवगत हो जाने पर कविराज राजेश्वर का समय ठीक निर्धारित किया जा सकता है। जबरन विद्वान प्रीत ने राजेश्वर की तिथि निर्धारित करते हुए निर्माय वा निर्मायनरूप को महेंद्रपाल से पुष्कर व्यक्ति समस्ता और इस रूपक करने उन्होंने महेंद्रपाल तथा उनके पुत्र एवं उत्तराधिकारी महेंद्रपाल के बीच स्थिर सम्बन्ध को जानने में भी मूल की है। वास्तव में निर्माय अवधारणा निर्मायनरूप महेंद्रपाल का ही विषय था जैसा कि उपर्युक्त तथा पिशो इत्यादि विद्वानों का त्राय्य है। दहरांलाई ने भी सीयोवनी विलालेखका सम्प्रदाय करते हुए उपर्युक्त मत का ही सम्बन्ध किया है।

अभी तक प्राया विलालेखाओं में महेंद्रपाल का सबसे पहला विलालेख जूनागढ़ के निकट क्षेत्र नामक स्थान से प्राप्त हुआ जिसमें बलभी संस्कृत ५५४ अवरूद्ध १२७० सं ६० का तिथि

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1. (क) "बलकिन्तु बलकिन्तु कार्यो महेंद्रपाल का निर्मायन राजस्थान तथाप्राप्त: इतिहास परम्पराय आत्मा माहार्यमार्य:। को मौ० अ० १, श्लोक ९।
2. "बालभारत" प्रस्तावना, पृ० ० २।
3. प्रीत "हिंदूया ऐलटीबकरी", भाग १६, पृ० ० १७७।
4. कीलहांलाई "एपियाण्फ़िया इंटिका" भाग १, पृ० ० १७१।
दी हुई है। सबसे बादवाला सोयडानी का घिलालेख है जिसमें उद्धृत तिथि विक्रम संवत्
1648 अश्विनी ५ ० २०० है। महेन्द्रपाल के पिता मित्रिकमण के शासन काल की अन्तिम
तिथि ५ 0 ८१२ है जो विऒवा (पुढूकक) घिलालेख में प्राप्त होती है। अतः महेन्द्रपाल
के शासन काल की अवधि ५ 0 ८१२ से लेकर ५ 0 ९०० तक निश्चित की जा सकती
है। इसी प्रकार हस्सुरोला बाले घिलालेख तथा बंगला एकसाइटिक सोसाइटी में प्रकाशित
तालिकाओं के अनुसार कान्यकुमारियापायी महेन्द्रपाल ने ५ ० ९१४ के कुछ पूर्व से लेकर
५ 0 ९१९ के कुछ काल उपरान्त तक शासन किया। उपरुपक्ष घिलालेखों में महेन्द्र
पाल का उल्लेख कई बार हुआ है जो कि गुजरङ्ग प्रतीहार शासकों की राजधानी थी।
कबिराज राजसेन के बालरामाण, कर्पौरंजनी तथा बालभरत इत्यादि नाटकों के
अभिनय भी कान्यकुमार में ही सम्पादित हुए थे। अतः निश्चित है कि गुजरङ्गः प्रतीहार हासक
महेन्द्रपाल और महेन्द्रपाल ही राजसेन के आध्यात्मिक होते थे।

इसके अतिरिक्त बाहरी प्रमाणों से भी राजसेन का समय स्थिर करने में सहायता प्राप्त
होती है। बालरामाण में एक स्थल पर राजसेन ने अपने को स्वभूति का अवतार
बताया है। कान्यकुमार में अनेक स्थलों पर प्राचीन कथाओं एवं आचारों जैसे बालपाटा-
राजे, उद्गम, शामन तथा आनन्दवर्धन इत्यादि के मतों को उद्देशुः यथियास्तुः की गया है।
“उत्तर रामचरिता” तथा “मालती माधवा” इत्यादि नाटकों के प्रणेता स्वभूति एवं स्वात
महाकाव्य “गोड़खोई” के स्वातिता बालपाटराज कान्यकुमार के राजकीय यास्थोव्मार के दर्शारी
कवि थे। कान्यकुमारियापायी यास्थोव्मार का शासन काल विवाहों ने ध्वनि धारी के पूर्वाधीन
में स्थिर किया है। अतः उपरुपक्ष दौड़ों साहित्यकार महाराजचियों का रचना-काल सातवीं
शताब्दी का अन्त तथा आठवीं शताब्दी का आरम्भ है।

1. “स्थित: पुरावा महवृत्तिरेखा सबसे स्पष्टत्व राजसेनोऽ” बालरामाण; अ० १६, एलोक १६।
2. “न, इति वालपाटराजः”, कान्यकुमार ब्राह्मणायाः; पृ० ५०० १५२।
3. “सत्य च विप्रार्थिधिकवाचार्यापारः” कान्यकुमार ब्राह्मणायाः
इवीद्वृहतः, पाणीवाचार्याः; पृ० ५६।
4. काला मी० पुष्पमोहायाः; पृ० ५६।
5. “प्रतिमास्तुः प्रतिमास्तुः” इत्यानंदः; काला मी० पु० ५० ५० ५०० स० ३७।
6. कविराजपाटराज-वी-स्वभूतिहर एविता;।
शासन यास्थोव्मार तथागतसन्तुतिबन्धितामुः। राजस्तर्गितोः, तरंग ४,
एलोक १५०।
कल्याण की राजतरंगिणी के अनुसार कोई भी उद्देश्य काशीर के शासक महाराज जयपीइंद्र के समाप्ति में। 380 व्यूह से अपनी काशीर-रिसर्ट में अनेक प्रमाणों के साथ वह सिद्ध कर दिया है कि महाराज जयपीइंद्र के समाप्ति भत उद्देश्य और अन्तर्कार-सार-संग्रह इत्यादि प्रमाणों के लेखक आचार्य उद्धव दोनों एक ही व्यक्ति थे। इतिहासकारों ने महाराज जयपीइंद्र की शासनालिक 10 सन 2037 से 10 सन 5715 पर्वतरंगिणी की है। 380 जैनवरी भत उद्धव को इनके शासन के पूर्वकाल में ही रखना उपयुक्त समझते हैं। अतः 600 शती का अंत ही उद्भव का रचना काल माना जाना चाहिए। “काशीरलालकार सूत्र” के प्रबन्धकार आचार्य बामन भी उद्धव के साथ ही जयपीइंद्र की सभा में मंत्रिपद को सुशोभित करते थे। आत्मबद्धकार्य का भी उल्लेख राजतरंगिणी में मिलता है। कल्याण द्वारा प्रस्तुत किए गए वर्ण के अनुसार मुख्यालय, प्रवासी, कवि आत्मबद्धकार और रत्नाकरे ये सब काशीर के राजा अवतारभर के राज्य-काल में सुविधाजनक हुए। अवतारभर का राज्यकाल 10 सन 953 से लेकर 10 सन 854 तक निष्कर्षित किया जाता है। अतः आत्मबद्धकार के सुत्र-सारस्तरकारी प्रथ्य ‘कव्यालोक’ की कीति-कोटुं श्री 10 सन 854 तक स्वरूप फूल चुकी रही होगी।

हुसैनी और सोमदेव, सोडडोर और शमेंद्र आदि शाहिद्दिन कारों ने अपने रचनाओं में राजेश्वर को उद्धृत किया है। उपयुक्त लेखकों का रचना काल विभागों ने 10 सन 959 से 1035 तक स्वीकार किया है। अतः इसके पूर्व ही राजेश्वर का काल स्वीकार किया जा सकता है।

इस प्रकार उपयुक्त पुरातात्त्विक एवं साहित्यिक प्रमाणों के पर्यालोचन के उपरांत इतना निश्चित हो जाता है कि राजेश्वर 1000 शती का उत्तरार्द्ध एवं दक्षिण शतक के पूर्वस्तर में ही प्राकृतिक हुआ। निष्कर्षित हो उन्हें बाल कवि से कविराज तथा सर्वश्रेष्ठ प्रबन्धकार बनने में पयारत समय लगा होगा। उनकी विलक्षण प्रतिभा एवं दीपित भूमिका के कारण ही महाराजाधिराज महेंद्रपाल ने उन्हें अपना उपाध्याय बनाया था। जिसके लिए राजेश्वर को अपार गर्व था। तदुपरान्त उन्हें आयातित समार भूमिपत का संकल्प भी मुलम हो सकता है। और यदि “विकल्पात्मक” (नाटिका) के आधार पर प्रस्तुत किए गए श्रीमान को ने मत को स्वीकार कर लिया जाए तो कल्याण-संस्करों की सभा में भी कविराज राजेश्वर को प्रवर्तित आदर प्राप्त हुआ। अतः उनकी दीपित द्राक्ष में रखते हुए 10 सन 960 से 1030 तक का समय राजेश्वर के लिए स्वीकार किया जा सकता है।

1. “महादीविश्वामित्रमुद्रितमथ भूमिपतमु: समाप्तिम्” राजतरंगिणी 
तरंग 4 रितक 431।
2. “जन्म खोबा, रायल एक्सिशेप्टिक सोसाइटी”, 1887।
कविराज राजशेखर क्रम प्रन्यां में श्रे अभी तक बालरामायण (नाटक), कूरूरमंजरी (सट्टक), विद्वालमंजिका (नाटिका), बालभारत या प्रचण्ड पाण्डव (नाटक) और काव्य-मीमांसा ही प्रकाश में भर सके हैं। परन्तु ज्ञाता कि हम उनकी रचनाओं से प्रतीत होता है उन्होंने समभवति, नौ या दस प्रन्यों की रचना की थी। बालरामायण का प्रस्तुतवाद में राजशेखर ने 'नंस प्रवासता' कहकर अपने छः प्रन्यों की ओर चंकित किया है जैसा कि अभी हम देखेंगे: विद्वालमंजिका, बालभारत और काव्यमीमांसा उपरात्त की छः प्रन्यों हैं। अतः यदि बालरामायण नाटक को भी उपर्युक्त छः प्रन्यों में सम्मिलित कर दिया जाय तो उनके द्वारा दिनव स्तर प्रन्यों की संख्या कम से कम नी निरिक्षित की जा सकती है।

राजशेखर के प्रन्यों में हमकी प्रारम्भिक रचनाओं का कोई वर्णन या उलेख नहीं है। बालरामायण में उद्वृत एक श्लोक के आधार पर कहा जा सकता है कि प्रारम्भिक काल में राजशेखर ने कुछ मूर्तक अथवा प्रबन्धात्मक काव्यों की सृजन की। इन विद्वानों के अनुसार राजशेखर ने ‘कवि-वियोजन’ नामक प्रत्यक्ष रचना की रचना की थी। परन्तु इस कथन की पुंजि के के रूप से पर्याप्त प्रमाण उपलब्ध नहीं हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त काव्य मीमांसा के सप्तवीं अध्याय ‘देश-विभाग’ में राजशेखर ने अपने ‘भूवन-कोष’ की ओर चंकित किया है। अतः कुछ आलोचकों का मत है कि राजशेखर ने ‘भूगोल-वियोजक ‘भूवन-कोष’ नामक एक स्वतंत्र प्रथा की रचना की थी।

कविराज राजशेखर के अभी तक प्रस्ताव प्रन्यों का प्रचण्ड काल ठीक-ठीक निर्धारित नहीं किया जा सका है। प्रौद्योगिक सौदों एवं ब्रह्मादेश के मतानुसार राजशेखर के प्रन्यों का रचना-क्रम क्रमांक: कूरूरमंजरी, विद्वालमंजिका, बालरामायण एवं बालभारत या प्रचण्ड पाण्डव होना चाहिए। उपर्युक्त विद्वानों ने कूरूरमंजरी (सट्टक) को राजशेखर की प्रथम रचना स्वीकार किया है। इसके अतिरिक्त काव्य मीमांसा के सप्तवीं अध्याय ‘देश-विभाग’ में राजशेखर ने अपने ‘भूवनकोष’ की ओर चंकित किया है। अतिरिक्त काव्य मीमांसा के सप्तवीं अध्याय ‘देश-विभाग’ में राजशेखर ने अपने ‘भूवन-कोष’ की ओर चंकित किया है।

1. बालरामायण, अंि १, श्लोक १२।
2. ‘हाबड़े ओरिएंटल सारीज में सम्पादित कूरूरमंजरी’, पृं।० संि १५४-५।
सम्राट् महेन्द्रपाल के सम्पर्क में नहीं आए थे क्योंकि उपयुक्त सट्टक में ही राजशेष ने अपने को महेन्द्रपाल का गुल घोषित किया है। अतः निरन्तर ही है कि कपूरुरंगरी की रचना होगी के पूर्व ही राजशेष की पूर्व राज-सर्वर में ही पकड़ी थी। गायकबाबा ओरियोंटल सीरीज में मुख्य काय्यमीमांसा की भूमिका लिखते हुए श्री सी० डी० दलाल ने बाल-रामायण एवं बालमार्त नाटकों को राजशेष की प्रारम्भिक रचनाएं बताता है यथावतः उपयुक्त नाटकों में राजशेष ने अपने को बालकवि की उपास्यें से विभूषित किया है। उत्तर बिहान के कथनानुसार 'कपूरुरंगरी' के रचना-काल तक राजशेष 'कबिराज' ही चुके थे।

अतः यह बाद की रचना है। कुछ भी हो, बालमार्त या प्रश्न पावन नाटक को हुम राजशेष की प्रारम्भिक रचना स्वीकार नहीं कर सकते क्योंकि इसकी रचना महेन्द्रपाल के पुत्र महीपाल के शासन काल में सम्पूर्ण हुई थी। इसके अतिरिक्त 'बालमार्त' नाटक के केवल दो शंक ही उपलब्ध हुए हैं। अतः बिहानों का अनुमान है कि इस नाटक के समस्त करने के पूर्व ही कबिराज राजशेष काल-कबित्त हो गए। बहुत समझ है कि उन्हें अलीम दिनों में कवि ने भविष्य में पूर्ण करने की आभासिय थी इस नाटक को अपूर्ण छोड़ कर ही काय्यमीमांसा जैसे महा निकटता की रचना प्रारम्भ कर दी हों। लेकिन काल की कूर गति ने उनके संकल्पों को मिश्रित के लिए अबूर्त ही छोड़ दिया, प्रस्तुत 'काय्यमीमांसा' के द्वितीय एवं तृतीय अंशों में कवि ने अलंकारों और रीतियों के सम्बन्ध में लिखा है कि इसकी व्याख्या आगे की जायगी। अतः बहुत कहा जा सकता है कि पूर्व में बनाए हुए विपश्चितक के कारण वह काय्यमीमांसा की रचना भी पूर्ण किए बिना ही रह गए और अकसमात उनका देशान्त हो गया। अतः मृत् मिराशी ने अपने एक गवेशणात्मक लेख में राजशेष के पन्त्रों का रचना-काल निर्धारित करते हुए बालरामायण एवं बालमार्त अंशों प्रश्न पावन नाटकों को राजशेष की प्रारम्भिक रचनाओं में समा रखा है।

तद्युत्तरांत: कशाशि: कपूरुरंगरी, विद्वानतलाभिका और काय्यमीमांसा आदि प्रथम लिखे गए। उपयुक्त विहान का कथन है, कि 'बालमार्त' नाटक बालरामायण और कपूरुरंगरी के बीच की रचना है। परन्तु उसके निकट जो माने में हुमारे समक्ष दो बड़ी कठिनाइयां उपस्थित होती हैं। प्रथमतः कपूरुरंगरी (सट्टक) में स्पष्टतः महेन्द्रपाल का नाम बदला है जब कि कहाँ पर भी महीपाल का उल्लेख नहीं किया गया। इसके अतिरिक्त महीपाल के सिलसिलों में भी इस काल के प्रमाण उपलब्ध नहीं हैं कि महीपाल का दूसरा नाम चन्द्रपाल था। अतः मृत् मिराशी का यह कथन कि कपूरुरंगरी के नायक प्रतिष्ठान से नाटक का तात्पर्य अपने आयतनदाता

1. "निर्मितराजस्वल तन्वारामायण", कपूरुरंगरी, अं० ९०, शताब्दी ९।
2. मृत् मिराशी, 'केसे शतक कच्चामोरेन बालुम', प० २०० ३६०।
महीपाल से थाॅ, ऐतिहासिक ब्रमणों पर आधारित नहीं है। उपर्युक्त विवाद के मत को मानने में दूसरी बड़ी बात यह है कि यदि बालभारत और कृप्यूर्मंजरी की रचना महीपाल के शासन काल में मान ली जाए हो यह कथा सम्भव है कि महेन्द्रपाल के सम्पूर्ण शासन काल की सम्मिलित ब्रम्बियों में राजवंश ने केवल एक नाटक ‘बालरामायण’ की ही रचना की। फिर, राजवंश ने स्वयं अपनी रचना ‘बालरामायण’ में इस वात को स्वीकार किया है कि बालरामायण के पूर्व विशेषतः काश्यप को समाज में विशेष आदर नहीं मिला था। इसलिए यह कहना कि विनय किसी स्वाति के ही राजवंश को महेन्द्रपाल की सभा में राजाध्य एवं गुस्तव प्राप्त हो गए, सर्वथा सम्भव है।

अतः उल्लेखित के उपरांत राजवंश के प्रत्येक का निरन्तरित रचना-रूप
निराधारित किया जा सकता है।

(१) बालरामायण:

प्रौद्योगिक ने प्रस्तुत नाटक को इसकी सम्मिल तथापि, इसके अधारण विस्तार एवं अनुपुक्त चिन्हों के कारण राजवंश का प्रथम नाटक स्वीकार किया है। बहुत सम्भव है कि महेन्द्रपाल की सभा में प्रवेश पाने के लिए ही कवि ने इसकी रचना की ही योग्य प्रस्तुत नाटक का अभिनय भी श्रमातृ महेन्द्रपाल की सभा के समाधि प्रस्तुत किया गया थाॅ।

(२) कृप्यूर्मंजरी:

पहले ही कहा जा चुका है कि प्रस्तुत सूत्र का अवलोकित कर्मी के सम्मान होने के कारण न तो कवि की प्रथम रचना ही कह सकते हैं और न ही इसके नाटक बन्द्वपाल के कारण उसे महीपाल के शासन-नाटक में ही रखा जा सकता है। निश्चित है कि कवि कृप्यूर्मंजरी का नाटक बन्द्वपाल का प्रथम भाग देने के लिए ‘बालभारत’ नाटक की भाषा इसमें भी महीपाल द्वारा विस्तारित और अन्य देशों अपना परिवर्तन आयोजित करके जो अवधि देखा हो। परिस्तु कृप्यूर्मंजरी में कहाँ-पर भी हमें इस प्रकार की सृष्टि उपलब्ध नहीं होती। इसके विचारित प्रस्तुत सूत्र का प्रथम यवनिकात्तर के प्रारंभ में ही वैतालिक द्वारा बन्द्वपाल का पूर्ण दृष्टि देखिए हुए उसे पूर्ण विषय के स्वामी, चंपा नगरी के पालक, खेल में ही राज देश के जीतनेवाले, कामयाब के जीतकर और हरिकेल देश में विहार करनेवाले, इत्यादि

1. प्रौद्योगिक, 'कृप्यूर्मंजरी', 'कृप्यूर्मंजरी' पाठक कमेंटरी बालामू', पूरा सं. ३६१
2. "......मौ मो भो मुगेटम्पालादित्व द्वारकरेंचुरु प्राप्तकृतकलिक महेन्द्रपाल देनायाधिकरण: समावेश: सब्नियों भो मुगेतम्पाल विभाषिततिविदितमेति जुबतामू।" बालरामायण, प्रस्तावना।
उपायियों के विभूषित किया गया है। उपर्युक्त देवाने की सूची से प्रकट होता है कि कब्जे के की वेंकत पूवय विश्वा में ही उक्त सासक का राज्य-विस्तार दिखाया है। चम्पा नगरी का तालय आधुनिक भारत से है। इसी प्रकार राज्य एवं हरिकेली भी श्रीराम काल में बंगाल में स्थित भूजान थे। श्री नदीपाल के मतानुसार बंगाल का वह भाग जो गंगा नदी के पश्चिम में वर्तमान है, राज्य कहा जाता था। कामपुर नर्मदान आसाम का परिचयक देश है। अभिप्रयाव यह है कि राजशेखर के कुर्रमंजरी सदुक के नायक चन्द्रपाल का राज्य-विस्तार केवल पूर्व में बिस्तूर था। प्रायद विलालों के भाव है कि हुजर-प्रतीहार शासक महेन्द्रपाल ने भी पूर्व में ही विजय प्राप्त की थी। विहार के रामगढ़, गुजरिया, हृद्योरी और बंगाल के पहाड़पुरी इत्यादि अभिलेखों के आधार पर महेन्द्रपाल का साम्राज्य समूह मध्य और मध्य बंगाल तक फैला हुआ था। ध्यान देने की वात यह है कि यहां पर दक्षिणापथ का कोई भी नाम प्रस्तुत नहीं किया गया जब कि महौपाल ने मुरल, मेकल, कलिंग, केरल, कुलूत, कुनल और रमल इत्यादि राज्यों पर अपना आधिपत्य स्थापित किया था। प्रो० स्टीव कार्ट ने भी कुर्रमंजरी के नायक चन्द्रपाल को महेन्द्रपाल का ही परिसमाप्त भूखार किया है। क्योंकि उपर्युक्त विवाह के अनुसार चन्द्र और महेन्द्र दोनों के विवाह के भूखार नाम है। अत: कुर्रमंजरी की रचना भी महेन्द्रपाल के ही शासनकाल में सम्पन्न हुई होगी। प्रस्तुत सदुक वालरामायण नाटक के वाद की रचना है क्योंकि इसकी रचनाकाल तक महेन्द्रपाल अपने पूर्ण वैभव को प्राप्त कर चुका था।

(२) विद्वासालंभिका:

प्रस्तुत नाटिका का अभिनय युवराज देव की सभा में हुआ था। कितिपय विबानों ने युवराज का तालय महेन्द्रपाल को उत्तराधिकारी से लिया है। परन्तु प्रस्तुत नाटिका के चतुर्थ अंक में कुर्रूर वर्ष नामक कल्पित सम्राट की सभा का भीतन किया गया है। अत: निर्दिष्ट है कि विद्वासालंभिका के ही युवराज देव नागर के शासक युवराज देव प्रथम हैं। जिनका हुसरा नाम केवूरवर्य भी था। राजशेखर ने अपनी नाटिका में केवूरवर्य को कुर्रूरवर्य

1. "अय पूवय विवाहामानसुकं। चम्पा चम्पर्क कर्णपूर शेताजीनितताराग देव। बिहरकमा कालय भूखार। हरिकेली केसोकारक....कुरूरमंजरी, पृ० सं० १५।
2. भंडारकर-लिस्ट सं० १६४२।
3. ‘इंडियन ऐडीटर्सबरी’, १९१० पृ० सं० १०३।
4. ‘ऐनुवल रिपोर्ट आवू आलोसाजिजल सबू आवू इंडिया’, (१९२०-२१) पृ० सं० ३५।
5. वही, १९२५-२६ पृ० सं० १४१।
कर दिया है। युवराज देव का शासन काल दशम शतक का मध्यान्त स्वीकार किया जाता है। इस प्रकार से युवराज देव को भी हुम महोदय का समकालीन शासक स्वीकार कर सकते हैं। अतः, बहुत सम्भव है कि अपने शिष्य महेंद्रपाल के निष्क्रियायान्त राजशेखर कल्चुरियों की राजधानी तिरुपुरी चले गए हैं और वहाँ पर उनकी नाटिका विद्वान्रसंग्रहित का अभिनव भी युवराज देव की परिप्रेक्ष्य के समाया हुआ।

(४) बालभारत:

पहले ही कहा जा चुका है कि बालभारत नाटक की रचना राजशेखर ने महेंद्रपाल के पुत्र महोदय के शासन काल में सम्पर्कित की थी। अतः निर्दिष्ट है कि प्रस्तुत काल तक राजशेखर कल्चुरियों की राजधानी तिरुपुरी से महोदय वापस चले आए थे और वहाँ पर उन्होंने अपनी अन्तिम रचनाएं सम्पर्कित कीं।

(५) काथ्य भीमांता:

निस्सन्देह ही काथ्यभीमांता राजशेखर की परिप्रेक्ष्यक्रम की रचना है। इसमें उनके जीवन का बहुद सात एवं सम्पूर्ण अनुस्मरणित निहित है। प्रो. मिराको का मत है कि राजशेखर ने अपने पूर्वजों के निवास-स्थल तिरुपुरी में इसकी रचना की। परंतु महत्वपूर्ण बात है कि उन्होंने अपने ‘भूमि कोश’ नामक सप्तदश अथ्याय में वेदि जनपद का उल्लेख ही नहीं किया। अतः यह है कि तिरुपुरी से कलक्की लोटने के उपरान्त ही उन्होंने अपने अन्तिम दिनों में काथ्यभीमांता की रचना प्रारम्भ की।

1. आरो ठी कर्में “दि हैदराबाद आवृ तिरुपुरी एण्ड देवर मानुसेंडा” -
पृ० सं० ९।
NEW LIGHT ON THE HISTORY OF EREN

By

K. D. Bajpai

Location.

Eran (ancient Airakaṇa or Erakiṇa) is situated in the Khurai Tahsil of Sagar district in Madhya Pradesh. It is 45 miles west-north-west from Sagar and can be reached via Khurai. There is a pakka road up to Khurai and a cart-track of 12 miles from Khurai to Eran. The latter is closed during the rainy season, on account of the river Bina, which one has to cross at the 9th mile from Khurai to reach Eran. There is another route to Eran via Mandi-Bamora; a railway station on the Bina-Bhopal main line. Eran is reached by a 6 mile-kachcha but all-weather road from Bamora.

The present village of Eran stands on the left bank of the river Bina (ancient Venvā) a tributary of Betwa. The Bina river encircles the village on three sides—north, west and east. The village, standing on a high mound, commands a panoramic view of the green land all-round.

Previous Discoveries and History of the Place.

General A. Cunningham was the first to discover Eran in 1874-75. He identified it with the old town of Airakaṇa or Erakiṇa, mentioned in inscriptions and coins. He obtained a number of ancient copper coins, some being of great historical value. These included a good number of punch-marked coins, die-struck and a few cast-coins. Some of the punch-marked coins bear the figure of goddess Lakṣmī. Among the die-struck copper coins, the square Kārshāpaṇa of standard weight (144 grains) and
its various denominations are noteworthy. They bear the symbols of elephant, horse, tree in railing, Indrayashṭi, Ujjain symbol, river with fish etc. Some inscribed die-struck coins were also found by Cunningham. Among these the most remarkable is the one bearing the name of Dharmapāla. The legend '[Raño] Dhamapalasa' (of[king] Dharmapāla) is written on the coin reversely in large Brāhmī characters of the Maurya period. This coin from Eran can be counted among the earliest inscribed Indian coins bearing a ruler's name. Dharmapāla may have been the ruler of the Eran region in the latter part of the third Cent. B. C. or early in 2nd Cent. B. C.

Several inscribed copper-coins bearing the name 'Erakaṇya' or 'Erakiṇa' have also been found at Eran. Besides giving the old name of the town, these coins exhibit a semi-circle design, a crescent, Swastika, Bodhi-tree within railing, Dharma-chakra, Bull and the Ujjain symbol. Cunningham thought that the river symbol with the fish, occurring on several coins of Eran, represented the river Bina, on which the town stood. He also surmised that the semi-circle of the coins was representative of the shape of the old Eran town. The Brāhmī script of these coins assigns them to the Śuṅga period.

The name Airakaṇa or Erakiṇa as the name of the administrative unit (Pradeśa or Vishaya) is found in three stone inscriptions found at Eran. The first is the inscription of the Gupta Emperor Samudragupta (now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta). The second is the Boar inscription (in situ) of the first regnal year of Toramāṇa, the Hūṇa king. The third inscription, which has recently been discovered, is that of a Śaka king, Śridharavarmā. It is incised on the famous pillar of Goparāja, which stands at Eran, near the village Pahlejpur. This shows that the name Airakaṇa or Erakiṇa was applied both to the region and the capital town.

History.

The region of Eran and the rest of the eastern Malwa, of which Vidiśā was the main town, was included in the Maurya empire. It appears that

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1. Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India (London), 1891, Pl. XI, Fig. 18.
2. Ibid. Pl. XI, Fig. 21; Cunningham. Archaeological Survey Report, Vol. XIV, Plate XXXI, Fig. 18.
3. In one of the votive inscriptions at Sanchi also the name 'Erakaṇa' occurs (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, p. 375).
A General View of the Excavations in Eran

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soon after the disintegration of the Mauryan empire, the Vidiśā-Eran region became independent. It is borne out not only by the discovery of the coin of King Dharmapāla, but also by the recent discoveries of the coins of Indragupta, Śivagupta and other rulers from Vidiśā and Eran. From about 100 B.C. the Sātavāhanas appear to have occupied the major part of eastern Malwa. In the first two centuries of the Christian era there seems to have been a prolonged struggle for supremacy between the Sātavāhanas and the western Kshatrapas. From two inscriptions of the Śaka King Śrīdharavarmā, found at Sanchi and Eran, it appears that he was the master of the eastern Malwa in the 3rd cent. A.D. A large number of the coins of the Nāga kings has been found in this region. This shows that the Nāgas probably ousted the Śakas from this part of the country and remained supreme till the rise of the Gupta power in Malwa.

The inscription of the Gupta emperor Samudragupta found at Eran refers to this town as Svabhoganagara (pleasure-town) of this monarch, who performed here some religious act, which was probably the erection of a temple. Besides its beautiful surroundings Eran occupied a strategic position, lying on the main route, joining Malwa with the Vatsa Kingdom. Hence the Gupta emperors devoted particular attention to it. Samudragupta's son, Chandragupta II, uprooted the western Kshatrapas and is known to have put an end to the life of his inglorious brother Rāmagupta. To the reign of Chandragupta II are assigned several (Vaishāhava) edifices and sculptures of great artistic beauty at Eran and (Udaigiri) near Vidiśā.

From an inscription found at Eran, dated the Gupta era 165 (484 A.D.), we know that this area was still included in the Gupta domain. The name of the Gupta emperor, as given in the inscription is Budhagupta. At that time, Suraśmichandra was the feudatory king of Budhagupta and was ruling over the land between Yamunā and Narmadā. The local Governor at Eran was Maṭrivishṇu. According to the inscription, he along with his brother (Dhanyavishṇu), caused to be erected a flag staff (Dhoaja-stambha) in honour of Lord Vishṇu, whose temple built by Samudragupta already existed there. The stone-pillar (47 feet high) bearing this inscription stands just in front of the Vishṇu temple.
The pillar is surmounted by a two-armed figure of Garuḍa, the vāhana of Lord Vishnu.

By the close of the fifth century A.D. the Hūṇas had penetrated right up to the Sagar district. Their chief, Toramāṇa, had established his supremacy over eastern Malwa. One of his inscriptions, dated in his first regnal year, has been found at Eran. It is incised on the colossal Boar image and records the construction of a temple for this image by Dhanyavishṇu of Eran, after the demise of his elder brother Mātrivishṇu. It is not known whether Mātrivishṇu died while fighting against the Hūṇa army of Toramāṇa or died a natural death. But this much is clear that Toramāṇa, at this time (close of the fifth century), was the lord of Eran and the contiguous regions. He has been called 'Mahārājādhirāja' in the Eran inscription.

Another notable inscription at Eran, on the pillar containing the inscription of śaka Śrīdharavarmā, bears the Gupta date 191 (510 A.D.). It records that a chief, named Goparāja, came to Eran in company of the powerful Gupta king Bhāṇugupta and after fighting very bravely gave his life on the battle-field. His devoted wife burnt herself on the funeral pyre of her husband. This inscription reveals that Bhāṇugupta, the last ruler of the main Gupta dynasty, probably made his last effort to free this region from the Hūṇas and therefore he personally came to Eran with his selected chiefs. It seems that this battle of Eran against the Hūṇa king (Mihirakula) proved unfavourable to the Guptas, who lost one of their chiefs, Goparāja, in the field. This decisive battle was fought in or shortly before 510 A.D. The Hūṇas may have continued to occupy this area for some time more, possibly till the defeat of Mihirakula at the hands of Yaśodharama of Mandasor.

Excavations

All this testifies to the considerable archaeological and historical importance of Eran. The site, being a promising one for digging, was thoroughly surveyed by the Department of Archaeology, University of Saugor, and in the season of 1960-61, excavations were conducted in three of the mounds. The cultural sequence, as revealed by these excavations, represents the following four periods:
Lead-piece bearing the Die-impression

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Period I—Chalcolithic (second half of the second millennium B.C.);  
Period II—Early historic period of the pre-Christian era;  
Period III—(first five centuries of the Christian era) and  
Period IV—Late Medieval Period (C. 16th to 18th centuries A.D.)

Period I. The earliest Period, chalcolithic in character, is indicated by the presence of microliths, Black-and-Red Ware, thick grey ware and painted Black-on-Red ware, mostly of the “Malwa fabric”. The thick grey ware appears to be of a superior fabric. Four sherds of thick grey ware are painted in light red with linear pattern. Occurrence of plain thin grey ware, side by side, is noteworthy, although it is in less quantity. Besides microliths and pottery, other finds include terracotta animal figurines, beads of terracotta, stone and steatite, fragments of terracotta and shell bangles and a small piece of copper. Except for a roughly circular fire-pit, with rammed floor and slightly raised burnt walls, no structural remains of the period were found. This may, to a great extent, be explained by the availability of a very small area for excavation, in ERN 1 and 3. Chalcolithic finds have been recovered from the top of black soil, while in ERN 2 a deposit of 4 ft. over the black soil and the top of the latter have yielded chalcolithic remains.

Period II. This Period ushered in the Early Historic Period. No structures were encountered but the occurrence of brick-bats and stones suggests the structural debris. The general use of iron is evident from a few finds of this metal. The common pottery was of coarse Red ware. The Black-and-Red ware-tradition of Period I continues, while the other wares totally disappear. Of the N.B.P. ware, one distinct sherd was found from the top of the deposit. Other important finds of the Period constitute beads of terracotta, shell, paste and semi-precious stones; a jasper ear-ornament, fragments of shell bangles and iron objects. The most significant find of the Period is a circular lead-piece bearing the impression of a die of King Indragupta. The legend in Mauryan Brāhmi character reads “Raño ḍagutasa”.

Period III. This Period, marked by the disappearance of Black-and-Red Ware and emergence of the Red Polished Ware, can be sub-divided into three structural phases. No major difference was, however, discernible in the masonry ceramic industry and other finds of the three sub-phases, the Red Polished Ware being common to all. The structures are
rather shabby and disturbed. Burnt bricks (Measuring 1' 5" x 10" x 3" and 1' 3" x 10" x 3") have generally been used. Among the notable finds may be mentioned the copper coins of Rāmagupta (both Lion and Garuḍa types), coins of the Nāga dynasty and of the Indo-Sassanian rulers; one broken terracotta seal of some Western Kshatrapa ruler, bearing both obverse and reverse, beads in terracotta, glass, shell and semi-precious stones; fragments of shell bangles; objects of iron and bone, terracotta animal-figurines and stone objects.

Period IV. This Period, noted for abundance of glass and lac bangles, can be roughly ascribed to 16th to 18th centuries A.D. on the basis of the find of copper coins of Native States of Bhopal and Gwalior in the latest sub-phase of the Period. It was in this Period that the area of occupation came to be restricted from the river side (ERN 3) in the north to the end of the present main mound (ERN 2) in the south, where a long stone wall was constructed to provide a fortification for the town. In the absence of any datable material in the two earlier sub-phases and the occurrence of similar pottery and other finds in all the three, these have been broadly ascribed to one Period.

The excavation at Eran, may be said to have established an almost continuous cultural sequence from the Chalcolithic Period down to the late medieval period. The occurrence of thin plain grey ware (along with chalcolithic deposits) is interesting and may throw welcome light after further investigations. The continuance of the Black-and-Red Ware tradition in Period II, after the disappearance of other chalcolithic complex, may bridge the gap between the Chalcolithic and Early historic Periods, which requires confirmation by further diggings at the site. The discovery of the inscribed lead-piece from Period II brings to light an early, but so far unknown, King Indragupta of the eastern Malwa region. On further evidence, he may be related to Dharmapāla and Śivagupta, whose coins are known from this region.

The copper coins of Rāmagupta, similar to those recovered from Vidiṣā (41 miles from Eran), have further strengthened the historicity

Plate IX

Coins and Seals from Fran

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of this ruler. The clay seal of the coin of some Kshatrapa ruler corroborates the epigraphic evidence of the Śaka rule over eastern Malwa. The occurrence of the Indo-Sassanian coins confirms the evidence of the Hūṇa occupation in this area, already revealed by a dated inscription at Eran of the Hūṇa Chief, Toramāṇa.
INDIA AND THE PATHAN COUNTRY

By

NANDALAL CHATTERJI

The tension between Pakistan and Afghanistan over the question of a sovereign Pukhtoonistan has made India’s position on the North-West Frontier both delicate and difficult. The demand of the Kabul Government for a revision of the Durand Line makes the frontier situation much too combustible for the future safety of India. The solicitude of the Afghan Government for the Pukhtoon people is not a novel symptom, for the tribal country had always been a bone of contention between Afghanistan and British India before 1947. The present tension has its roots in the past.

In order to understand the historical background of the Afghan attitude, it is necessary to recall the circumstances which gave birth to the scientific frontier policy of the British Indian Government in the 19th century. The need for a forward military frontier in the tribal country was increasingly felt when the intrinsic unsoundness of the previous defence line became apparent to the British military strategists. The quest for a scientific frontier gave rise to the grandiose idea of pushing the Indus line to the vicinity of Kabul and Kandahar. In Lord Lansdowne’s time, Sir Mortimer Durand, Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, went on a mission to Kabul. This mission forms a landmark in the history of the tribal country. Its objects were, firstly, to assert a definite right of suzerainty over the tribal country, secondly, to demarcate a scientific frontier, thirdly, to rectify the existing anomalies, fourthly, to tackle the problem of tribal unrest, fifthly, to curtail Kabul’s rights over the tribal country, sixthly, to prevent the possibility of Afghan
expansion in the extreme north including Chitral and Gilgit, and, lastly, to define a permanent Indo-Afghan boundary. The mission succeeded in carrying out a partition of the tribal country in 1894.

The partition was hardly palatable to the Afghan Government and it had to accept it reluctantly, merely because it could not have resisted the British Government over this matter. Afghan resentment was due to a number of reasons. First, the old and traditional right of the Kabul Government to suzerainty over the entire Pukhtoon country was now challenged and circumscribed. Second, Afghanistan could no longer seek expansion in the only direction where expansion was feasible. Third, Afghanistan lost a useful buffer between its dominions and British India. Fourth, Kabul’s military position was adversely affected by the sudden advancement of the British defence line. Fifth, the manner in which the Durand line was drawn was hasty and shortsighted, for it was wrong to leave only a part of Waziristan to the Amir when the majority of the Wazirs were kept on the British side, and it was equally wrong to bifurcate the Mohmand country in the same manner. Sixth, the Durand line accentuated lawlessness on the frontier. And, lastly, chances of friction between British India and Afghanistan were now aggravated, for mischief-mongers could always escape from the one side to the other.

The Durand line does not satisfy the conditions of a sound military frontier. It is not a satisfactory defence line. It does not follow clearly defined salients. But, the worst feature of the line is the violation of ethnic considerations. The enormity of the blunder was heightened by the fact that the wishes of the Pukhtoon people were not consulted at all. They were treated like pawns in a diplomatic bargain, and were divided like so many cattle.

Now that the British have left, and India has been partitioned, both the Pukhtoons and the Afghans are eager to rectify their position. The Afghans are anxious to create a buffer state in the shape of Pukhtoonistan. That is why the Afghans have chosen to support the demand for a separate Pukhtoonistan in the tribal country.

The considerations on which the Afghan move is based may be thus summed up. First, the people of the Pukhtoon country are essentially Afghan by race, and, as such, they have the right to form an independent
state of their own. Second, the choice between Pakistan and India given to the frontier people was unfair and undemocratic. Third, the Durand line needs revision now that the British rule is over in India. Fourth, the Pukhtoons are naturally keen on guiding their own destinies as an independent people. Fifth, the Pukhtoons do not like to be treated as pawns in the game of power politics. Lastly, Pukhtoon culture and genius cannot grow under the alien peoples of Pakistan.

There are strong arguments both for and against the demand for Pukhtoonistan. It is necessary to weigh them carefully. On the one hand, it is urged that the bond of religion alone cannot keep the Pukhtoons loyal to Pakistani Muslims, for even in Medieval times the tribal people had always been hostile to the Muslim rulers of Delhi. A hostile land would be a thorn on the side of Pakistan. Besides, it would lead to needless friction between the Panjabis and Pathans, and lead to foreign intervention. The allegiance of a part of the Pukhtoon area to Afghanistan is also a standing argument for the creation of a separate state. The Pukhtoons can also claim separate home-land of their own in accordance with the principle of self-determination.

On the other hand, there are counter-arguments. The Durand line is internationally recognised, and cannot be revised at this late hour. The Pukhtoon country is also too poor to maintain an independent status. The resources of Afghanistan itself are slender. Without the Durand line, Pakistan's defence would be adversely affected. The Indus frontier is useless under modern conditions, and there is no certainty that tribal unrest would be solved with the creation of Pukhtoonistan.

How does this situation affect India? One view is that Pakistan's problem is to India's advantage. If Pakistan is preoccupied with this problem, she cannot be a menace to India. It is also believed that if Pakistan's dispute with Afghanistan is kept alive, India's good-will will be sought by both sides. Besides, the present deadlock in the tribal country would make the Kashmir problem easier for India.

It is on these grounds that the claims of the Pukhtoon people are supported and opposed. Reasonings such as these betray a lack of a grasp of the realities of the situation. The position of Soviet Russia in Central Asia has led the Anglo-American bloc to support Pakistan and oppose Afghanistan. The Durand line is essential to the safety of Pakistan,
and, as such, it is bound to be defended by the western Powers. India’s sympathies for the Pukhtoons are bound to be misunderstood. India with her neutralist foreign policy cannot afford to take sides in this dispute. The division of the world into two armed blocs makes India’s position much more hazardous today than it could have been in the past. It is true that Pakistan’s difficulties may prove temporarily to be India’s opportunity, but can it be seriously argued that India’s own defence will not be jeopardised, if Pakistan’s defence system breaks down? To argue that Pakistan’s break with the Pathans will solve the Kashmir problem is to imagine solace where it does not exist in fact. If anything, any trouble in Pathan country will adversely affect Kashmir. The hazards would outweigh any probable advantages resulting from a conflagration on the North-West Frontier.

The real consideration for India is whether she can allow Pukhtoon-istan to be used as a base by any foreign power. Should India get entangled in international power politics for no real benefits? Has India any moral right to intervene in the dispute between Afghanistan and Pakistan? It is India’s interest also to see that Pakistan should have a proper defence line. So, India must see that the defects of the Durand line are amicably removed through the good offices of the UNO, so that the problem of Pakistan is peacefully solved.
MANU ON POLICE ADMINISTRATION

By

SHYAM LAL Pande

Necessity and Importance of Police

The most important function of the State is to make herself a fit place for her citizens to live in. She has to make every possible effort for the settlement of peace. She must see that peace and order find a permanent abode within her limits. But there are dangers to peace and chances for the spread of disorder. These dangers may either be external or internal or both at a time. One of the effective measures to save the State from the internal dangers and the chances for the disorder is to employ the police. The primary duty assigned to the police is to find out the causes of dangers to peace and order and remove them. Every modern State, therefore, tries to organise and maintain efficient police for the purpose.

People in ancient India were also not unmindful of this fact. They, too, had realised the necessity and importance of this essential branch of the government. Evidence from the ancient Indian literature may be safely quoted in support of the fact that States in Ancient India were keen to organise and maintain efficient police for the establishment of peace and order within their respective jurisdiction. Manu, the great law-giver of Ancient India and the foremost authority on the Dharma-Śāstra, advocates in favour of the employment of police for the maintenance of peace and order in the State.

Its Classification

Manu uses the Sanskrit word Rakshādhikritā for police. He places

1. धर्मशास्त्र ।
2. रक्षाधिकृत ।
3. राज्येऽुर रक्षाधिकृतान्तत्सामत्तांश्च चोकितानु ॥ श्लोक २७२ अ ५ ८ मानवधर्मशास्त्र ॥
the entire police of the State under two main departments. They may conveniently be called the criminal investigation department and the general police department. The police under the criminal investigation department worked like spies. They did not come in contact with the people in their real garb. Their activities were of a secret and confidential nature. Their duty was to trace out crime and criminals in the State secretly by the dint of their specialised knowledge and sharp intellect. They had to undergo a special type of training that enabled them fit for their job. Manu, thus, recognises the necessity and importance of the criminal investigation department of police.

*Sub-divisions of the Criminal Investigation Department*

Manu goes further and sub-divides the department of criminal investigation under three sub-divisions. Under the first sub-division he places those police employees who were secretly attached to the government servants of the State to watch and note their every day conduct and behaviour; and report the same to the proper authorities of the State. The second sub-division consisted of those police employees who were entrusted with the work of watching over and reporting the tactics played and the foul means adopted by the various class of business men and profession-holders in the State to cheat and deceive the innocent people in every-day dealings, in order to make money from them. Under the last and third sub-division came those police servants belonging to the criminal investigation department who were engaged secretly to watch over the activities of the thieves, the dacoits, the debauches and such other mischief-mongers, and report their activities to their officers concerned.

1. अस्मयकारिण्यमब्रम्हमानासिन्धिक्षितकाः श्लोक २५९ अ० ६ मानववर्ध्मारस्तः
2. अयानादीन्वजानीयात्रकाशकालोक कुष्टकान् श्लोक २६० अ० ६ मानववर्ध्मारस्तः
3. स्तेन।
4. साहित्यकारिणः।
5. भार।
6. विज्ञानसादविषयं निगुणापूर्वं तस्करः।। श्लोक २६६ अ० ६ मानववर्ध्मारस्तः।।
Thus the work of the criminal investigation department, according to Manu, is to keep the king and the other responsible authorities concerned fully informed as regards the position of the crime and whereabouts of the criminals in the State. "The king", says Manu, "should see with his eyes, the spies, and thus know the two kinds of thieves, the unhidered and the hidden ones busy in snatching away the belongings of others."

*Secret Police attached to the Government Servants*

Manu has given a list of persons enmical to the public. He calls them the Lokakanṭakas. According to Manu, they try to make money by foul means at the cost of the public interest. The list includes some important government servants also. Manu calls these government servants the unhidered thieves or ṭhagas. They deceive people and snatch away money from them in broad day light. They are a great curse to the society and do a lot of harm to it by adopting corrupt practices and foul means to make money. Thus they fall from their duty. "Such government servants," says Manu, "be noted and their activities and movements carefully watched and then reported to the king in order to keep the king fully informed of the enemies to the public." It was a plan to purify the government servants so that they may be compelled and encouraged to serve the people in their best interest. This would save the public from the undue encroachment of the government servants upon their legitimate rights and privileges and unnecessary harassment by them. Manu prescribes a very severe punishment to such government servants. According to him they should be exiled and their property be confiscated by the State. "The king," says Manu, "should exile the government servants who adopt corrupt

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1. दीविधानान्तस्करान्निन्वादशतर्यद्वादशाःप्रहारकानु ।
   प्रकाशांचारकाशिच चारचर्चुगौरभीति: || श्लोक २५६ अ ० ९ मानववधात्राः॥
2. लोककण्ठकानु " " || श्लोक २६० अ ० ९ मानववधात्राः॥
3. अप्रकाशांचारलोक कण्ठकानु " || श्लोक २६० अ ० ९ मानववधात्राः॥
4. एवमादीश्वाजानीयात्मकाशालोककण्ठकानु " || श्लोक २६० अ ० ९ मानववधात्राः॥
practices to make money from the petitioners, and confiscate their property."
purify the public life to a certain extent by uprooting the corruption and malpractices from the sphere of business and professions held by various sections of the people in the State.

Secret Police attached to the Thieves, Dacoits, Robbers, etc

The third and last category of the enemies to the public whom Manu calls the hidden thieves1 are thieves, dacoits, robbers, debauches and such others as try to hit at the life, body or property of the people. The activities of these enemies to the society are generally limited to the places where man is often helpless to save himself from their attacks. They generally choose the time for their misdeeds when he is not the least aware of their attacks and likewise not at all prepared to face them. In order to know this type of the enemies to the public and their activities, Manu prescribes the appointment of the secret police spies. He points out even some of the places where these mischief-mongers and their movements can easily be watched and noted. These places, according to Manu, are public halls, public places where drinking water for the thirsty is available free of cost, shops where sweets are sold, market-women’s shops, liquor shops, places of worship, large and shady trees where the people stop to take rest, gatherings at the time of processions or functions, theatre halls, ruined gardens, dense forests, residences of artisans, deserted houses, forests, gardens etc. Manu prescribes the king to post spies at these and similar places to save his subjects from the thieves2.

It is thus evident that Manu is quite clear on this point. He pleads for the organisation and maintenance of criminal investigation depart-
ment and entrusts the police employees under this department with the duties of a very responsible nature. He would like to have a group of very active workers for this section of the police department. There is no doubt that the plan chalked out by him is practical and can do much to purify the government and the public both.

Other Sections of the Police

The other section of the police, according to Manu, is different to the above one. The police employees working under this section are not expected to work like spies. They are to come in contact with the public in their real garb. Their main duty is to prevent crime with their vigilance and their quick and intelligent movements to catch hold of the criminals and hand them over to the authorities of the State for punishing them according to the nature and kind of the crime committed by them. They are expected to produce evidence to prove the crime committed by the criminal concerned.

These police employees, according to Manu, are to be posted at various places of the State with their assigned duties. A number of policemen be posted near the frontiers of the State. Then, there are places where mischief-mongers generally lurk to plunder the travellers and traders. Manu recommends the king to post police officers and spies both at these places to prevent these mischief-mongers from doing harm to the people concerned.

Police posts

Manu pleads for the establishment of police-posts at various places in the country. He calls these police-posts Gulma. "The king," says Manu, "should establish police-posts for the protection of the people from the thieves. The whole country be divided into various circles and a police-post be established at the centre of each of them. A number of police constables be quartered at each post". Their main duty, accor-
ding to Manu, is to free the area under them from thieves, robbers, dacoits, debauchs and such other undesirable persons. They are to help the cess-collectors in realising the cess by catching hold of the merchants trying to escape the collectors and run away without paying the dues against them. Manu prefers one police-post for two, three or five villages as the case may be. It appears that Manu does not favour in having only one police-post for a cluster of villages. The smallest unit is an area of two villages while the largest is that of five villages. “Police-posts,” says Manu, “be established at the central place of two, three or five villages.” Thus there would be a chain of these police-posts all over the State.

Manu, thus, realises an urgent need of police-posts widely spread all over the country.

*Police-patrols*

Manu seems to be favourably inclined to assign a section of police the duty of patrolling the various places of the country as regards their protection against the mischievous activities of the undesirable persons in the State. The list of the places has already been mentioned above. At these and similar places police men should be posted as a security measure. These police men should patrol specially at the night when this undesirable element of the society finds opportunity to commit theft and such other crimes. These police-patrols should help the people and exert themselves to clear off the locality from the undesirable persons.

*Police as a Security Measure for the Safety of Important Officials and Places*

Men in power become centres of criticism. There are fair chances when they may be misrepresented and misunderstood. The people, thus dissatisfied with their work or behaviour, may try to injure their name and fame and even some of them may attempt at their life. The safety of their life, thus, becomes an urgent concern of the State. As a precautionary measure police men of trust and confidence are attached to them

1. इन्द्रौप्न्यानां पञ्चानां मध्ये गुरुमस्थित्वं।
तथा ग्रामशतानां च क्रयंग्राह्य संयमम्॥ श्लोक ११४ अ ३७ मानवसंस्कार॥
for the protection of their life. There are some important government offices and buildings which are to be well guarded. These offices have records, registers and files of great importance and of confidential nature. They should be preserved carefully. There are places, buildings and halls politically or culturally of great importance. They are to be well-guarded. Manu, therefore, would like to post police men to guard them properly.

*Watch-keepers in Villages and Towns*

Man works hard at day and takes rest at night. The undesirable persons like thieves, robbers, dacoits, debauchs and such others find opportunities to commit mischief while the village or the town is asleep. It is because of this, watch-keepers are to be posted in the various localities of the village and the town so that these mischief-mongers be prevented from committing such mischief. They should be posted at the gates of the important offices and government buildings in the State also. Manu calls these watch-keepers Yamikas.¹

*Female Police*

Problems of man, not all, differ from those of the fair sex. It will not, therefore, be always wise on the part of man to tackle them without their co-operation. Some of the female problems are quite typical. Only women may be able to solve them successfully. Every effort of man to solve the problem utterly fails. It is because of this fact, perhaps, every modern State has begun to think that the problems concerning the fair sex be solved by them, and, if not, at least with their full co-operation. The same is true in the sphere of police also. In order to work among the women, female police is urgently needed. We have, therefore, both the male and the female police to look after the internal peace and order in the State. How far this view was shared by Manu is not clear from his work. We have no authentic proof at our disposal on the support of which it may definitely be said whether Manu is in favour of having

¹. Yamik
female police in the State. It is, therefore, wise to be silent on this point.

_Jails_

According to Manu crime can be checked by three methods, namely, by arresting the offender or by putting him in jail, or by inflicting upon him various sorts of corporal punishments.\(^1\) He, therefore, recommends the construction of jails at suitable places in the State and their inspection by the king. "The king," says Manu, "should construct jails by the roadside and inspect the unhappy and sinful prisoners therein"\(^2\). These jails, according to Manu, are to be run under the control of the Police department. In these jails persons of doubtful character, under arrest and convicts\(^3\) are to be kept under strict supervision of the jail authorities.

_Gradation of Posts and Ranks, and Fixation of Salaries_

Manu gives little information as regards the gradation of posts and ranks, and salaries of various employees in the police administration. It is, therefore, not possible to throw light on these topics. But Manu has laid down a principle as regards the fixation of salaries of the government servants. According to this principle there should be a ratio of one-to-six in the salary of the lowest and the highest government servants. Thus the difference between the minimum and the maximum salary should be six-times. "The servants of the lowest rank," ordains Manu, "should be given one Pan\(^4\) as his pay, while the highest one should receive six Panas"\(^5\). But it is very much doubtful if this principle was ever followed. It is just possible that a particular section of government servants would

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\(^1\) अभारिकर्मिक त्रिभिन्यविद्वानुगृहीतवत्मकः।

\(^2\) निरोधनेन कर्मेन विविधेन सवनेन च।। श्लोक ३१० अ० ६ मानवभमवास्त्र।।

\(^3\) वन्यनाथि व सवाणि राजा मार्गिन्यवेवेत्।

\(^4\) दु:खिता वन्त द्वूधरविश्वकुःः पापाधारिणः।। श्लोक २५५ अ० ९ मानवभमवास्त्र।।

\(^5\) अभिमुक्त

\(^6\) पण।

\(^7\) पण।
have been governed by this principle. As regards the fixation of their salaries, Manu is equally not clear on the gradation of the posts and ranks as regards the employees under the police department. It is, therefore, wise to remain silent on this issue, too.

_Corruption in the Police Department_

There is a reference in the _Mānava-Dharma-Śāstra_ that indicates the possibility of corruption in the Police department. Manu warns the king to be careful to protect the people from the police men who try to make money from them. “The government servants appointed as policemen,” says Manu, “are often corrupt and try to make money from the people whom they are attached to for their protection. The king, therefore, should take special measures to protect them against these government servants.”

To sum up, Manu has given a very useful account as regards the organisation and working of the police department. In many respects it is in no way inferior to the one existing now in our State. It is of no mean credit that about two thousand years ago Manu was able to chalk out such an elaborate and workable scheme for the guidance of the rulers, which, if worked out, would help us in purifying our society on a large scale.
WOMEN IN EARLY KAMBUJA INScriptions

By

KAUSHAL KISHORE

Kambuja has yielded many inscriptions, ranging over a period of a thousand years, from the 5th century A. D. onwards. These inscriptions were set up both by the kings as well as by commoners. Issued for different purposes and at different times, these inscriptions throw some welcome light on the early history of Cambodia—political, social, economic and religious. Other sources of information being comparatively rare, they have become all the more important for the study of Cambodian history. The inscriptions incidentally throw some light on the position of women in Kambujadeśa. It is true that inscriptions containing references to women are many, yet not all are important from our point of view. Only a few of these inscriptions help us in conjuring up a picture of the womenfolk in that Indianized country.

The inscriptions are unanimous in giving a high status to women-folk who were not only greatly respected, but in certain respects were even more important than their opposite sex. Descent was often traced through the females. Precedence was thus conceded to them. Although inscriptions referring to matrilineal descent are many, yet it seems to have been a refined sort of society, where in the husband and wife lived in complete harmony. Tracing descent through the females is symbolical

1. R. C. Majumdar—Inscriptions of Kambuja Number 71—Prah Keo Inscription dated 815. Also number 129-Vat Thi Pedi Inscription of Sūryavarman I dated 927 and number 160-Lonvēk Inscription of Harshavarman III.
and is indicative of the respect in which the women were held. The relations between husband and wife will subsequently be discussed. About the question as to whether this practice of tracing descent from the mother was an Indian influence, or an indigenous custom, the latter seems to be the correct view, for the original inhabitants of Kambuja, in all possibility, had a matriarchal society and matrilineal descent. Moreover, in Aryan India, instances are rare where descent from the mother was traced. Almost certainly, therefore, this custom of conceding precedence to females and tracing descent from them was maintained, despite the predominance of the Indian culture and traditions in Kambuja.

As the earliest ancestor of these people Somā finds mention along with Kaundinya, and Merā with Suyambluwa, thus giving equal importance to their womenfolk.

Kambuja kings often claimed the throne through the female side. We have the case of Jayavarman IV who got the throne by virtue of his being the husband of the king’s sister. Harshavarman II and Rajendravarman also claimed the throne through their respective mothers. Indravarman, who comes earlier than all these kings, also perhaps, legalised his claim to the throne due to his distant relationship with the queen of Jayavarman II. Instances as these can be cited in large numbers leaving very little room for doubt about the great importance which the women enjoyed. Moreover, often we come across ladies as rulers, such as Jayadevi, the last of the line of Bhavavarman I, and Jyeshthārya of the Vat Tasar Moary inscription. Another inscription refers to a recommendation made by the queen to the king for a particular work, indicative of the say which the former could at times exercise in royal affairs.

Familiarity with the ideals of Indian Goddesses coupled with the peculiar customs of the country presented a unique atmosphere which

1. In this connection the account of Kang Tai may be noted with interest, which informs us of the importance and influence of Liu-Yeh.
2. Coedès—Inscriptions du Cambodge—Vol. IV, p. 88 onwards: The Baksei Chamkron Inscription of the the year 947 A. D.
3. Majumdar—Inscriptions of Kambuja, Number 189—Banteay Srei Inscription of Sri Šrīndravarman.
4. Majumdar—Inscriptions of Kambuja—The Neak Ta Dambang Dek Inscription of Kuaprabhāvatī mentions Šachi and Rudrāṇī.
largely contributed to the importance enjoyed by the women. Society thus offered the women a privileged position.

It is but natural that in such a society women be cultured and educated. The Ban That inscription⁴ makes a mention of one Tilakā, who, on account of her profound learning, got the title of 'Vāgiśvarī Bhagavatī.' Education thus was not only open to women, but proper use was also made of this opportunity. From another inscription⁵ we gather that the daughter of Sanigrāma was proficient in all the arts. Similarly we have the instance of the queen of Jayavarman VII. Indrādevī, the second queen of this king, had taught her sister, Jayadevī—the first queen of the king⁶. Indrādevī is represented as a pious Buddhist who taught the Buddhist nuns of the convents of Nagendratuṅga and Narendrāśrama. The Phimanaka inscription composed by her not only testifies to her scholarship of the Sanskrit language but also speaks of her acquaintance and understanding of Indian literature.

The women of Kambujadesa were quite religious-minded. We have the well-known instance of Kulaprabhāvatī⁴. Another inscription refers to one Kumarambhā’s mother as an ascetic⁵. Taṇḍa and Śvādhvāya were the guiding principles of the life of this lady⁶. She made a number of

The Mebon Inscription of Rājendravarman refers to Sīlā.

The Chikreng Inscription (Number 175, Majumdar—Op. cit refers to Gaurī).

The Eastern Baray Inscription of Yasevarman refers to Ahalyā. The Phnom Sandak Stele inscription of this very king refers to Sarasvatī.

1. Majumdar—Inscriptions of Kambuja, number 173 The Ban That inscription of Śuryavarman II.
2. Ibid—number 175, The Chikreng Inscription.
4. The Neak Ta Dambangdek Inscription of Queen Kulaprabhāvatī.
5. Majumdar—Inscriptions of Kambuja, Number 22; The Nui Ba The Inscription of Nripāditya⁷.
6. Ibid.

“तपः स्वाध्याय निरता ब्राह्मणानां हितायष्ट ।
प्रसन्ना श्री समापुक्त, कुस्तयु नमं संयता॥”
religious donations. As a matter of fact inscriptions referring to the pious donations made by women are many. From the fact that women could make donations of their own initiative and that they were educated and could sometimes turn ascetics, it seems that they justly deserved the privileged status allotted to them in the society. It may further be concluded from all these details that women participated in the religious life of the country. This reminds us of Apāli, Lopāmudra, Viśavārā, Gārgī and such other educated ladies of ancient India. Perhaps the education of women received even a greater impetus in the suitable atmosphere of Kambujadesa. In strange contrast to this is the reference in the Prasat Komnap inscription of Yaśovarman, which banned the ladies in Vaishñava-āśrama. But it may, however, be treated only as an exception. Such an exception may have been necessary in view of the strict regulations at the āśramas. Moreover in the inscription itself we are informed

"महास्यहवमि" कताः सदविनिर्मितवित्रहः
एवविभा भागवता वास्तव्या वैभवाशम्।।

In verse 8 of this very inscription she is called 'माता तपस्विनीः' and 'वृद्धमण्डा चारिणी'

See also the Phimanaka Inscription of Jayavarman VII (Majumdar—Op. cit Ins. No. 182) which also perhaps contains a similar reference.

1. M. I. K.
(a) The Neak Ta Dambang Dek Inscription of Kulaprabhāvati.
(b) Ibid, No. 22, Nui Ba; The Inscription of the time of Nṛpāditya.
(c) Ibid, Number 53. The Vat Tāsar Moray Inscription of the year 803 A. D. refers to the religious donations of Jyeshṭhārya.
(d) Ibid, Number 123. The Prasat Kok Po Inscription dated 900.

2. Majumdar, Inscriptions of Kambuja, No. 66, verse 74.

"न वैभवाशम्यस्य वैभवो वास्तेति स्त्रियो"
कदाचिन्तुर्वस्तेति सहस्यम्यवरीमिति।।

Moreover the Prasat Komnap Inscription, the Prei Prasat Inscription and the Tep-Aanam Inscription of Yaśovarman, which prescribe regulations for the Vaishñava, Brāhmaṇa and Saugatāśrama respectively, contain the following stanzas—

राजाम्या राजपुत्र राजवृष्द्धसियः सत्ति।
अत्रान्यतिविवस्त्वृष्ण्य नारोदेः क्रूरोऽसुः ।।
वास्तव्या: सियो हीना या वा चतुर विभ्रमः।।
नाग प्रवेशान्त्वृत्ति तता एवम्यावत्या अपि।।
That this was just an exception is apparent from the cases of Indradevi, Tilakā etc. whose learning and attainments are attested to by epigraphic evidence. Similarly inscription A of the Five Prasat Ta Keo inscriptions\(^1\) of Śūryavarman refers to the lady Janapadā. This Janapadā was the disciple (śishyā) of Yogiśvara Pāṇḍita. From the fact that she had sons and grandsons, it may rightly be concluded that she must have been a fairly old lady. The evidence furnished by this inscription may also be utilised to suggest that women took to religious life in old age.

Women, moreover, did not ignore the aesthetic side of life, and we know of girls interested in dancing and music. The Prah ko inscription\(^2\) refers to beautiful dancing girls, some of them versed in vocal and instrumental music, skilled in playing on lyre and other musical instruments. Besides, from the Phimanaka inscription\(^3\) of Jayavarman VII, we are informed about a body of nuns who took part in a dramatic performance arranged by the queen of Jayavarman VII. Further, the Ta Prohm inscription\(^4\) of Jayavarman VII, while dealing with the Spring festivities mentions male and female dancers.\(^5\)

1. Majumdar, Inscriptions of Kambuja, no. 148.
3. Majumdar, Inscriptions of Kambuja, no. 182.
4. For the dresses of the women we have to take help from other sources. Briggs, who draws his information from Chou-ta- Kouan, writes—"All men and women alike, even the wives of the king, wore only a loin-cloth. They ordinarily went naked above the waist and went barefoot. When they went out, they draped a large band of cloth over the smaller one. The character of the cloth depended on rank ....... They did their hair in a chignon and had no head ornament. They wore gold rings and bracelets, even the working women."—'The Ancient Khmer Empire' p. 246.

The inscriptions on their part contain references to Chināhāṣuka and also to ornaments of different kinds. The Sdok Kok Thom inscription refers to Kūṇḍala (ear pendants) Keyūra (bracelets) and Kajaka (wrist band) etc.

The tradition may also be noted which mentions that Hun-tien dressed Liu-Yeh in a fold of cloth, with a hole through which she passed her head.
Marriage was a ceremony of sufficient importance. At times, in questions of marriage also, the women were given a certain amount of freedom. Although one inscription\(^1\) suggests that marriages were negotiated between the elders, yet in this instance the lady Me Sok approached the prospective bridegroom with the proposal of marriage. All the more interesting is the fact that she is said to have offered as dowry one horse and saddle and some other objects! In this case the lady's name which was Me Sok was changed to Me Mani afterwards. Ultimately, however, marriage seems to have been the responsibility of the parents. We have the case of Tilakā\(^2\). But perhaps only a suitable match was intended, for we know that the learned Tilakā was married only to the great Šaiva Namaśivāye.\(^3\)

Women as wives maintained the highest standards. We have the instance of Kulaprabhāvatī who is called "वज्रस्वल्प वर्णी" "हर्षापित हर्षस्य" "श्रीलिन श्रीपते." Bhavavarman's sister also is called "पतिक्रता" "वर्मस्य" and "द्वित्यायन्वति".\(^4\) It is interesting to find that she is called "सामवेदविद्वद्यानी". Similarly about Jayadevī, the first wife of Jayavarman VII, we are informed that when her husband went out against Champā she performed hard austerities of different kinds. Further, after the safe return of her husband, she like a devoted wife, gave away gifts and performed other pious deeds, including a drama—the theme of which was taken from the Jātakas. Incidentally, it may be noted that after the death of Jayadevī, Jayavarman VII took her elder sister Indradevī as his queen. Obviously such marriages were possible. This Indradevī was further asked by the king to teach the Buddhist doctrine in the various convents, indicating

\[\text{1. Majumdar, Inscriptions of Kambuja, p. 99 A.}
\text{2. Majumdar, Inscriptions of Kambuja.}
\text{Number 173 'The Ban That inscription of Sūryavarman II}
\text{दृष्ट्वा समासविदित्व शीवनात्ताल्ल सततो वर्नाश्वविकर्षनं सर्सरोपः।}
\text{3. Similar are the cases of the Bhavavarman's sister and Rājendra-
\text{varman's daughter who were married to Somaśarman and Divākara-
\text{bhāṭṭa respectively.}
\text{4. The Neak Ta Dambang Dek Inscription.}
\text{5. Majumdar, Inscriptions of Kambuja, no. 13. 'The Veal Kantel
\text{Inscription of Bhavavarman.'}]}\]
thereby that her position as a queen was no hindrance to her acting as a teacher.

Marriages between Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya families were possible and often Kshatriya girls were married to Brāhmaṇa boys. Bhavarman's sister was married to the Brāhmaṇa Somāsarman. Likewise Rajendravarman's daughter had a Brāhmaṇa husband Divākarabhaṭṭa. An interesting piece of information comes to us from one other inscription¹. This inscription mentions seven (varṇas.) Two new varṇas out of these existing seven were to be created. The female members of these two new varṇas were to be given only to men of high caste—again pointing towards the great esteem in which the women were held. Polygyny was known and widow marriage also was possible. The Phnom Run⁵ inscription informs us that one Yuvarāja died before his two elder brothers and that his wife Vijayalakshmī became successively the wife of both of them.

Women were also greatly respected as mothers. One inscription² refers to the installation of an image of Viṣṇu, by sons out of devotion to their mother. Whether the women had a share in the family property or not, cannot be asserted definitely, but property could go to the sister's side. An inscription of the time of Harshavarman III⁴ informs us that property belonging to three brothers should, on their demise, devolve upon their sister's sons.

Concubines are also referred to. What is more peculiar is that they are said to have come even from a Brāhmaṇa family. Dr. R. C. Majumdar rightly remarks that it shows "that the Brāhmaṇas of Kambuja were not very particular about the profession adopted by them." The reference to these concubines is suggestive. It shows that, despite the high standards of womanhood, society was not spotless and that certain social evils had found their way into the otherwise clean atmosphere⁵. Women

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¹ Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, Number 110 A; The Kompan Thom Stele Inscription of Jayavarman V, dated 896.
³ Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, Number 112. The Prasat Komphus Inscription of Jayavarman V.
⁴ *Ibid*, Number 158 The Palhal Stele inscription of Harshavarman III.
⁵ Chou-Ta-Kuan also refers to these concubines.
often engaged themselves in services. We know of one case where a lady held some office in the royal palace. From the fact that she was a married woman and was also a mother, it may rightly be concluded that marriage was no bar to royal service. There may have been many such women in the royal service. The wife of Rajendravarman after her husband’s death occupied a high office. Briggs aptly praises the position of women while dealing with the history of Jayavarman V: “The exalted trust confided to Prāṇā by the King, the praises of Indralakshmi in the inscriptions and her erection of an image of her mother, and the foundations of Jāhnāvi, show the high social and political position held by the women of Cambodia at this time. Chinese writers praise the women of Cambodia for their knowledge of astrology and government and say that the women of the royal family sometimes held high political posts, including that of a judge.”

The Say-Fong inscription of the time of Jayavarman VII furnishes us with some important information. While dealing with the hospital establishments it informs us of the existence of women workers, indicating thereby that women took up the medical profession as well. Mention may also be made of the second of the Prasat Khlan inscription of Jayavarman. In the Khmer text of the inscription a princess named Satīvratā

1. Majumdar, Inscriptions of Kambuja no. 123 The Prasat Kok Po Inscription, dated 900.
2. From the Phnom Prah Net Prah Temple Inscription, dated 928, we learn that a lady named Madhyadesa was a mālīnī or ‘supplier of flowers’ to the royal temple. She is also said to have participated in pious works and religious donations. (See Majumdar, Inscriptions, 131 A).
3. Prāṇā was the chief of confidential private secretaries. Her brothers were priests.
4. Indralakshmi was the name of the daughter of Rājendravarman.
5. Jāhnāvi was the younger sister of Yajñavarāha, the preceptor of Jayavarman V.
6. The Ancient Khmer Empire page 135.
7. Majumdar, Inscriptions of Kambuja, no. 179. Here we have passages like वारिसिंतापमैष्वयो वेपकायमस्तु पद्स्त्रित्र्: and ‘इ इत्याय वारितात्-वेपजमिके’.

The reference to the ‘परिचारिका:’ is also interesting.
8. Majumdar, Inscriptions of Kambuja, 128 A.
is referred to. From this name Coedes had concluded that she became a 
_sati_ i.e., followed her husband on the funeral pyre. Dr. R. C. Majumdar
while dealing with this inscription in his ‘Inscriptions of Kambuja’ objects
to this view. He argues that _sati_ is a common name in India. Although
the word _satiwratā_ does not necessarily mean that she died with her hus-
band, yet it is not altogether impossible and Majumdar rightly uses only
the words ‘very doubtful’ with regard to the arguments of Coedes. It may
be pointed out, however, that in the Kambuja inscriptions the word _sati_
is not necessarily used in its literal sense. In other words, the use of the
word _sati_ does not necessarily indicate that the lady followed her husband
on the funeral pyre. It is generally used as a term of respect. For instance
in the Prasat Ta Keo inscription of Sūryavarman there is an appeal to
protect Janapadā, the female disciple of one Yogiśvara pañḍita. The
actual words in the inscription are “सती जनपद विध्या पाल्यता सर्वेभमुखता”
meaning thereby that Janapadā was living when she was called _sati_.
Ordinarily, therefore, the word was used only as a term of respect.

The above noted facts make it sufficiently clear that women enjoyed
a privileged status and were held in great esteem. There is, however, a
marked difference between the women of the higher class and the slave
women. Whereas the former were honoured in different ways, the latter
were ignored and uncared for. The slave women worked along with the
male slaves, toiled hard and still depended upon the mercy of their mas-
ters who could donate them at will, or could give them away as gifts.
They were the sole property of their owners and had no such rights as the
women of the higher class. Polyandry was prevalent among them. Slaves
as a matter of fact form an altogether different class in Cambodia. The
sex of the female slave did little towards redeeming her plight. When we

1. The custom of _sati_ was known to the ancient people of Indo-
China and the case of Harivarman IV (1070-81 A.D.), King of Champā
may be noted with interest, whose fourteen wives followed him on the
funeral pyre after his death.

2. Majumdar, ‘Inscriptions of Kambuja’ no. 148, Five Prasat Ta Keo
Inscriptions of Sūryavarman.

3. Vat Sabab Inscription of Ṛṣānavarman—
रेश द्रव्य चैव चिकरणात् भायोन्तरदीयो नव
(See Majumdar, Inscriptions, no. 23).
speak of the women in Kambuja and talk of their general conditions we exclude the slave women, who were slaves first and women afterwards. They were treated more by the prevailing rules and practices for the slaves, and less by those that were in vogue for womenfolk of the society.

From what has been stated above we get quite a prosperous picture of the women of Kambujadeśa. They ruled as Queens. Kings legalised their claims to the throne through them. Above all, they were loved as spouses, liked as sisters and respected as mothers. They were equals of men in education, religion and royal services and yet lived in harmony with the latter. Despite their privileged status they were like Arundhatī-Sādhwīs\(^1\) and Pativrata\(^2\).

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A NOTE ON TRIŚŪLA-PURUSHA

By

N. P. Joshi

It is well known to the students of Hindu Iconography that the four emblems of Vishṇu viz. Śaṅkha, Chakra, Padma and Gadā are sometimes represented in human forms and are then known as āyudha-purushas of Vishṇu. Though not seen in the Kushāṇa period, this practice appears to have been pretty common in the Gupta and post-Gupta ages. Among these four āyudha-purushas, Gadā is shown in feminine form while the remaining three are depicted as males. Apart from these four no other āyudha-purusha has, to the best of my knowledge, been noted up till now in the field of Hindu art. Shri Sivaramamurti has made the following observation in this connection:

“...In the case of the āyudhas of Vishṇu, there are personified representations at least in the early sculptures, and even in late medieval sculpture. In the case of individual representations of Sudarśana Chakra there is Chakra-purusha shown against the chakra—wheel. Similarly in the case of the śūla of Śiva and Kālī there are anthropomorphic representations placed right on the central prong of the trident. However, as there is usually no personified representation of any weapon of Śiva in the early or medieval sculpture...”

The present writer has recently come across certain Gupta and medieval sculptures, wherein trident (trīśūla) has also been given the form of an āyudha-purusha. It is proposed to describe and discuss this new form in the present note.

In the main Hall of the Allahabad Museum there is a rectangular stone-piece (Museum No. AC/2904). On its four sides images of Hari-Hara, Varāha, Vishṇu and Vāmana have been carved. It is a fairly well preserved piece. On stylistic grounds it can be ascribed to the Gupta age, c. 6th century A.D. In the above group the image of Hari-Hara (height 21") is specially interesting for our purpose. In this combined form of the two deities the right side represents Hara and the left Hari. The face is mutilated but the portions of jata-mukuta and karandaka-mukuta, the tiger-skin and pīḷāmbara are still there to serve as the identification marks. The upper hand of Hari holds śākha, while his lower hand rests on the head of a male figure standing by his side. The object in the upper hand of Hara is not distinct. Under the palm of his lower hand there is similar human figure. The figure appearing below the hand of Hari has a wheel or chakra behind his head showing thereby that the figure is of Chakra-purusha. The male figure in the right side has three prongs of a trident on his head; and it may, therefore, be taken to be a figure of Triśūla-purusha. The conclusion is further supported by the facts that the figure is on the side and under the hand of Hara and, moreover, it is quite in juxtaposition with that of Chakra-Purusha.

In the Brahmanical Hall of the State Museum, Lucknow, there is an architectural fragment (Museum No. H. 104) attributed to about 6th century A.D. It shows Śiva with his begging-bowl, and jata-mukuta, which is decorated with three human skulls. He has his third eye also. The right hand of the deity rests on the shoulder of a small but handsome male figure bearing the trident over his head. Here the aforesaid figure—obviously the Triśūla-purusha—coils Śiva's below with his left hand. The height of Śiva and his Triśūla-purusha is respectively 18" and 10". This is the second instance where instead of Triśūla the Triśūla-purusha has been shown in association with Śiva.

Another instance of Triśūla-purusha comes from a temple in Orissa.1 On a panel showing Hari-Hara, Śiva holds triśūla in his upper left hand and māḷā in the lower. Below this hand of Śiva there is a male figure carrying trident in his hand. On the side of Vishṇu the upper hand holds chakra and the lower śākha. His ṣūṇḍha-purusha is also seen near him.

1. K. M. Munshi, Saga of Indian Sculpture, Bombay, 1957, Pl. 55 A.
Triśūla and Chakra-purusha

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N. P. Joshi
Plate XI

Triśūla-purusha

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N. P. Joshi
This sculpture is important because in this case the emblem of the āyudha-purusha viz. the trident does not appear over his head but is being carried in hand.

In the Uttara-Kāraṇāgama it has been laid down that the following āyudhas could be depicted as āyudha-purushas viz. thunderbolt (vajra), spear (śakti), staff (danda), sword (khadga), noose (pāśa), goad (ākūśa), club (gadā), trident (triśūla), lotus (padma) and wheel (chakra). Among them śakti and gadā are to be shown as females (jāyā), chakra and padma as eunuchs (nāpushaka) and the rest as males (purushas). They are to carry their respective emblems either on their crown or head or in their hands.¹ The Pūrva Kāraṇāgama also gives a similar list.² The Vishṇu Dharmottara Purāṇa makes the list further comprehensive by adding the names of standard (dvaja), flames (heti), bow (dhamu) and bhinda (bhindiṃḍā?)³.

Thus it would be clear that the idea of a Triśūla-purusha was not a new creation of the sculptor’s mind, but had some authority behind it. Similarly the practice of carving the emblem on the head as is seen in the first two instances discussed above, or showing it in the hand of the figure, as is seen in the Orissa temple, was quite in keeping with the old canons. Excluding Triśūla-purusha and the four āyudha-purushas of Vishṇu others have not been observed in the field of Indian sculptures as yet.

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2. Ibid, p. 79.
3. Ibid, p. 78.
TWO MASTERPIECES OF RAJASTHANI SCULPTURE

By

U. C. Bhattacharya

In the sculptural collections of the Rajputana Museum at Ajmer there are on display two unique pieces of antiquarian interest finely carved on red stone as per below:

(i) ŚIVA-PĀRVATĪ PARIṆAYA (Size 2' 1" x 2');
Collected from Kāmān, Bharatpur, Rajasthan (Rajputana Museum No. 13).

(ii) LIṆGODBHAVA-MAHEŚVARA (Size 3' 8" x 1' 7"
Collected from Haras hill, Sikar, Rajasthan (Rajputana Museum No. 374).

ŚIVA-PĀRVATĪ PARIṆAYA

In this exquisite bas-relief depicting the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī (Vaivāhika or Kalyāṇasundara-mūrti), Śiva and Pārvatī are standing side by side, Śiva being on the left side of Pārvatī. Both of them are festively dressed and profusely ornamented suiting to the occasion of the marriage ceremony. Unfortunately, Śiva’s head and four hands are mutilated, and of the two hands of Pārvatī only the left holding mirror survives. Between Śiva and Pārvatī is sitting a figure with three visible faces making offerings with a ladle to sacred fire. On either side there is a standing figure holding a pitcher in hands. Behind Pārvatī is a female chaupī-bearer and near the left leg of Śiva one sitted figure.

Though the entire upper part of the sculpture is broken off, enough remains to appreciate it in words of a distinguished archaeologist like
Shri R. D. Banerji as 'one of the finest known specimens of the Gupta sculptures' (Pl. XII).

**LIŅGODBHAVA-MAHEŚVARA**

The second sculpture which is dealt with in the present note is a carefully executed piece iconographically entitled as "LIŅGODBHAVA-MAHEŚVARA" i.e. Mahēśvara emanating from a Śivaliṅga. An immeasurable Śivaliṅga is carved with the figure of Brahmā (Creator) on its right represented as ascending and Vishṇu (Preserver) on its left as descending in course of fathoming it. In a well-known story in the Śiva Purāṇa it is narrated that Brahmā went upwards to find out the upper end of the Śivaliṅga while Vishṇu went downwards to find out its lower end but neither of them could reach the top or the bottom of the anādi and ananta Śivaliṅga. Brahmā (Creator) uttered a lie that he had found out the top and for that he was cursed not to receive any worship on earth and is never enshrined in a separate temple anywhere. Excepting at Pushkar near Ajmer, Brahmā temple can only be met with rarely as a result of this curse.

Though in the present sculpture the top of the Phallic symbol is slightly damaged, this whole panel is a remarkable piece of artistic merit which may be rightly regarded as a masterpiece of the early Chauhan period and assigned to C. 10th Century A. D. The descending posture of Vishṇu and the soaring up posture of Brahmā are exquisitely sculptured. Apart from its high artistic quality, this interesting piece of Brahmanical sculpture is so far unique as an iconographical specimen (Pl. XIII).
Plate XII

Marriage of Siva and Parvati
(From Kaman, Bharatpur, Rajasthan)

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U. C. Bhattacharya
A Sivalinga (c. 10th cent. A.D.)
(From Haras Hill, Sikar, Rajasthan)

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U. C. Bhattacharya
प्राचीन कोसल का उत्कर्ष और पतन*

राजेन्द्र बिहारी पांडेय

भारत युद्ध के उपरान्त से लेकर महाभारत बुद्ध एवं यवघरण महाभारत के अभ्युदय तक का भारत का राजनैतिक इतिहास अद्यतन ही अलजाल एवं विवाद-प्रस्त है। इस काल के ऐतिहासिक विवरण के एक मात्र साधन पुराण हैं किन्तु महाभारत की सूचियां स्वयं अभावन्त, अर्थात् और पारस्परिक विरोधाभास के कारण संदिश्य हैं। फलतः इस काल का स्वरूप तथा इतिहास संकलित करना दुस्तर सा है। किन्तु महाभारत युद्ध के जन्म एवं बीढ़ संग्रह के अभ्युदय के साथ ही साथ ऐतिहासिक साहित्यिक सामग्री का बाहुल्य हो जाता है। बीढ़ साहित्य के अविरित संग्रह तथा ब्रह्माण्ड धर्मसम्बन्धी—विशेषकर पुराणाः—के ममत्व से हमें तत्कालीन राजनैतिक परिस्थितियों, वृद्धि, चतुर्दश एवं प्रसिद्ध राज्यों तथा राजपरिवारों का पर्याय रूप में विवरण या कभी-कभी इतिहास प्राप्त होने लगता है और साधारणतया यहीं युग भारत के काल बदल इतिहासके प्रारम्भ का युग माना भी गया है। उपरोक्त समस्त साहित्यिक सामग्रियों में बीढ़ साहित्य अपनी विशेषताओंके हेतु अधिक प्रामाणिक बाका गया है और उससे तथा स्वाभाविक प्रमाण पर जैन एवं ब्राह्मण प्रायोंकी परिपूर्णतियों से हम कोसल (कोशल) का राजनैतिक इतिहास कम बदल करने में समर्थ होते हैं।

तत्कालीन राजनैतिक दर्शन तथा भवन्या का सर्व प्रथम परिस्थित हमें बीढ़ साहित्यः में अनेकों स्थलों पर विभिन्न सोलह महाभारतके क्षेत्र में प्राप्त है जो भाय: सम्पूर्ण उत्तरी भारत —

* समस्त लेखों में पाति प्रस्थरों में प्राप्त नामों का ही प्रयोग हुआ है, उनके दूर (संशोध) स्वरूपों का नहीं।

१. सेव्याचार बिवालो यो इस प्रकार सोलसय महाभारतसम्बन्ध महाभारतसम्बन्ध इस्सरामिचकव रूप रहेगी, यो इस प्रकार सोलसय महाभारतसम्बन्ध महाभारतसम्बन्ध इस्सरामिचकव रूप रहेगी, यो इस प्रकार सोलसय महाभारतसम्बन्ध महाभारतसम्बन्ध इस्सरामिचकव रूप रहेगी, यो इस प्रकार सोलसय महाभारतसम्बन्ध महाभारतसम्बन्ध इस्सरामिचकव रूप रहेगी, यो इस प्रकार सोलसय महाभारतसम्बन्ध महाभारतसम्बन्ध इस्सरामिचकव रूप रहेगी, यो इस प्रकार सोलसय महाभारतसम्बन्ध महाभारतसम्बन्ध इस्सरामिचकव रूप रहेगी, यो इस प्रकार सोलसय महाभारतसम्बन्ध महाभारतसम्बन्ध इस्सरामिचकव रूप रहेगी, यो इस प्रकार सोलसय महाभारतसम्बन्ध महाभारतसम्बन्ध इस्सरामिचकव रूप रहेगी, यो इस प्रकार सोलसय महाभारतसम्बन्ध महाभारतसम्बन्ध इस्सरामिचकव रूप रहेगी, यो इस प्रकार सोलसय महाभारतसम्बन्ध महाभारतसम्बन्ध इस्सरामिचकव रूप रहेगी, यो
एवं दलित के कुछ भू भागों पर अपने अधिकार या सत्ता के हेतु विवश होते थे। इस प्रसंग में एक स्वतंत्रकरण आवश्यक है। बीड़ एवं जैन दोनों भर्म प्रत्यक्रिया में हुए इन सोलह महाजनपदों की पुष्कर-पुष्कर मूल्य भावना प्रदान की है, किन्तु उनकी पृथकता पर अत्यधिक महत्व देना उचित नहीं। सबसे महत्वपूर्ण तो बताये यह है कि अनेक भ्राता बीड़ प्रत्यक्रिया में बढ़ी सूची निर्माता एक रूप में वर्णित है। इस सूची की प्राय: मूल्य राज्य वंशों या राज्यों की नामांकल में जैन सूची से आतिक तालमेल, उसका निम्न रूप भरम प्रत्यक्रिया स्वाम स्वाम स्वाम-स्वाम पर हुआ जाना कुछ विशेष महत्व अवश्य रखता है। प्राय: यह बताये अब सर्वमान्य है कि सोलह महाजनपदों की सूची बीड़ भर्म प्रत्यक्रिया से रूप में अधिक महत्वपूर्ण रखते हैं। उदाहरणार्थ कांसी कोशल का एक अधिन राज्य या अंध भी मान से आतिक रूप से रखा है। स्वतंत्र है कि उपरोक्त सोलह राज्यों की वर्तभ कुछ सूची बीड़ एवं जैन मत्तों प्राणुमान्य भर्म प्रत्यक्रिया की नामांकल की प्रस्तुत रूप में प्रस्तुत रूप में प्रस्तुत है। यादि इस सूची से तलाशता राजनैतिक परिवर्तन पर अवश्य प्रकाश प्रदान करते हैं पर साही ही में उसकी अनेक ऐसे राज्यों या महाजनपदों का भी उल्लेख है जो बीड़ एवं जैन दोनों के अभ्युदय के पूर्ब से विधानसेवा पर ब्रह्म और महानायक के जीवन काल में अपना स्वतंत्र अभिलक्ष बना: नाना: नीके नींद को नींद के नींद के प्रतिक प्रभाव राज्यों एवं राजवंशों का भोज्य परिणाम स्वरूपयोग है।

उपरोक्त सोलह महाजनपदों में कार्य का एक अधिवेश महत्वपूर्ण स्वाम स्वाम था। उदाहरण में कार्य राज्य अधिकार शाक्तिशाली थी और सम्भवत: बिहार राजप्रत्यक्रिया के विविधांकन होने में उसका प्रभाव होता था। कुछ विवाहित अनुसार कार्य का प्रभाव दलित पर भी व्यापक था विविध जातीय, केस भर्मों के अनुसार कार्य के राजा ने कोशल पर कई आक्रमण किये थे और एक अवसर पर कुछ ही समय के हेतु कार्य का कोशल पर अधिकार भी हो गया था। जांच सही है कि कार्य की राजधानी भारतीय थी जिसकी गणना भारत की सर्व प्रधान महाराज रूप में की जाती थी। वस्तुतः भारतीय प्राचीन भारत की सबसे सूचनात्मक, समृद्ध माती एवं विशाल नवरी थी। और इसके राजाओं की महत्वपूर्ण तथा उनके शाक्ति-

1. भगवान सुन, साह १५, उदेश्य १ (झूमली, उवास-शासक, २ अनेकों); 2. राय चीरो जूत पोलिटिकल हिस्ट्री आफ एवर्ट इंडिया छटा संस्करण----पृ ९६; 3. हाँ; 4. मलालशेखर, पाल नामों का कोश, १, २५२; ५. काबिल, जातक २, १७२-१७५
अस्ताली होमेने कोई सन्देह नहीं। जातकों के अनुसार इस नयी दो बिस्तार योजना था जबकि तत्कालीन दो अन्य प्रमुख नयारों—भिन्निता और ईश्वरस्य—को हीस्तार केवल भाग योजना मात्र लिखित है। पाल इस कारण कासिराजों को समस्त राजाओं में अन्यदिश कहा था (सम्पन्न राजसूची अभ्यास) और वे समस्त जमींदारी के एक ब्यान स्वामी बनने के उल्लेख एवं लागू होने रहे थे जैसा कि उनके हेतु ‘महायान’, ‘महाएव’, ‘महाभोग’, ‘महावाहन’, ‘महाविश्वजि’, ‘परिपूर्ण कोल-कोष्ठोपागर’ आदि प्रयुक्त विशेषणों से स्पष्ट है।

बीढ़ साहित्य की उपर्युक्त उद्धरणों का पयांस्क साखरण जैन साहित्य में भी उपलब्ध है। जैन धर्म प्रगति में भी काय्य का उल्लेख एक स्वतंत्र एवं अभिव्यक्ति रूपके रूप में हुआ है और इस धर्मके द्वितीय तीर्थकर पारा तीर्थकर का उल्लेख काय्य का एक विश्वास राजा अरसेन और उनकी महिंद्री बालकुल पुत्र के रूप में हुआ है। पारा तीर्थकर का काल महाकवी और उनके समकालीन व्यत से प्रायः २५० वर्ष पूर्व का माना गया है और उनकी ऐतिहासिकता में कोई संदेह नहीं।

बाल्यकाल साहित्य के अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण भी काय्य के विषय ऐतिहासिक ज्ञात नहीं है। बीढ़ एवं जैन धर्म प्रगति की भांति बाल्य-उपनिवेद साहित्य से वह समुद्र भारत के प्रसिद्ध राज्यों की एक सूक्ष्म उपलब्ध है। इसके उल्लेख करता का तत्कालीन राज्यों की संख्या कोई नहीं है। बाल्यकाल के राजा कादर्या और उनके युवती जातुकरण का उल्लेख मुन्त साहित्य में प्रायः है और युवती की बीती वर्तमान है। जय-बीती उल्लेख निक्षेपी है कि मूल साहित्य में जातुकरण के पुत्र जल जातुकरण का उल्लेख काय्य, बीढ़ और कोलम, तीनों राज्यों, के पुरुषों है। जल जातुकरण को उपनिवेदों के प्रसिद्ध तत्त्व बतला लिखित करना है।

1. यही, राजपुरीरो
2. कार्यजय, बहु ४, १९७८
3. यही, ३, १९५६-१९६७
4. “भूलुस्वर्ति दिलाए वरायालिङ्ग ब्रह्मदत्ते नाम कासिराजा भोसले आदि महाभोग महाधरा महावाहन महाविश्वजि परिपूर्णकोल्सोपात्सरी” महायान (पार ७० सौ १०, २, ३.
5. कौशिक हिंदी आदि ईश्वर, १, १९४५ और देवि कथा तुल्य ६, १९६५-६६.
6. गंगाश, कैयम, मत्र, उद्धरण, मत्त, कुम, पंचायत, फाशी और फाल। रेश्मे ‘उल्लेख प्रदेश में बीढ़ धर्म का विकास’ निहित क्रम दश्त क्रम दश्त वर्तमान, ७० २, २.
7. “रेवन ह जाय जातुकरण द्वृक्ता ब्यवहारान्न मनुस्मृतानां पुरांग्राम प्राप्त काय्यवैद्वेदोऽऽ: कोल्सोपात्सरी”। शापायण तीत सृज १६, २२, ४.
समकालीन कहा गया है। श्वेतकेतु राजा जनक और काविराज अजातशार्कु के समकालीन थे। सम्भव है ऐसी दशाओं में जल जातुरक्ष अजातशार्कु के भी पुरोहित रहे हों।

ब्रह्माण साहित्य में¹ धूतरामक नामक काशी के एक प्रसिद्ध राजा का वर्णन है जिन्होंने एक बशमेंत यज्ञ करने का प्रयास किया था और जिनका अश्व धर्मरत्नीय मार्गकुमार धाराविक साराजित द्वारा पकड़ लिया गया था। काशी के उस अयान का शतपथ ब्रह्माण में बड़ा ही रोचक वृत्तान्त उपलब्ध है क्योंकि इसके उपरांत काशी में परस्पर समय तक यह की पुनर्जीवन प्राप्तवित नहीं की गई थी।

जातक साहित्य का हम ऊपर उल्लेख कर चुके हैं। जातकों को स्पष्ट है कि काशी एक असत्य ही शक्तिसाधक राज्य था। अपनी विशाल वास्तुविद्या सहित काशी के एक राजा ने कोसल पर आक्रमण किया था। अनेकों जातकों ले स्पष्ट है कि काशी के 'ब्रह्माण' नामक राजा ने कोसल को जीत कर अपने राज्य के अन्तर्गत कर लिया था। एक जातक² के अनुसार तो काशी की राज्य सीमा अश्वम या अश्वक (अश्वक) राज्य तक ही थी और काविराज ने अत्यन्त राज्य की राजधानी स्थापना पर भी अपना अधिकार कर लिया था। एक अन्य जातक³ के अनुसार काशी के राजा मनोज ने कोसल, अंग तथा गंगा के रायस्थों पर भी बिजय प्राप्त की थी। इस महत्वपूर्ण काल में फलस्वरूप काशी पर आक्रमण हुए और एक जातक के अनुसार सत्ता निष्कासित राजाओं ने मिल कर काशी पर बैठा दाला था।⁴

जातक-कथाओं से एक अनुमान अवश्य लगवा जा सकता है कि काशी के राजाओं की उपाधि ब्रह्माण थी। उस शक्ति की पुष्टि पुराणों और महाभारत से भी होती है।⁵ इस ब्रह्माण उपाधिकारी राजाओं के कुल का ठीक-ठीक शान नहीं होता। महाभारत सुखान्त के अनुसार⁶ काशी के राजा धर्मदेवी थे और पुराणों से भी उनकी पुष्टि होती है।

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¹. ब्रह्माण ब्रह्मण २२, २५, २६, २६२-२६३
². ब्रह्माण जातक न० २३६
³. कोसम्बी जातक (न० ४२८), कुनाल जातक (५२६) और देलिक्येह महावाण्य (एस० बी० ई०) पृ० २९४-२९६.
⁴. अश्वक जातक (न० १८)
⁵. सोनवत जातक (स० २६२)
⁶. श्रीकाश्मा जातक (न० २३)
⁷. ब्रह्मण ‘उत्तर प्रदेश में वैद्य धर्म का विकास’ बनी, पृ० २.
⁸. “सतत्मू ब्रह्माणो च वेशसू भरता त:रेणु हे च भक्तस्तु तदादेव सत्य भारताति। फॉटॉ-फॉटॉवार्तिन नितिनिकनुन्तिवतात्।” दीपिकाय, २, २६२-२६३ और देलिक्येह महावाण्य (प० २० स० २०) ३, २०७ तथा २०८।
⁹. राय चौधरी बनी पृ० ७५.
बाराणसी का प्रसिद्ध नगर काशी राज्य की राजधानी और वाणिज्य एवं स्थानात्मक रूप से उत्तरी भारत में अत्यन्त ही प्रसिद्ध केंद्र था। यद्यपि इस नगर में विवाहलय थे पर कुछ जिलाउं तक सिद्धिविजयन के हेतु जाया करते थे। बाराणसी के निकट इसिशपत मिस्रदाय था जो आगे चल कर बौद्ध काल में बौद्धों के चार प्रमुख तीर्थस्थलों में से एक हुआ। बुद्ध के पूर्व एक कासी के राजा ने सम्पूर्ण कोसल पर अपना अधिकार कर लिया था। फिर बुद्ध के जीवन काल में कासी का ऐतिहासिक इतिहास एवं उसकी राजस्वता की महत्ता समाप्त प्राय हो चुकी थी और कोसल उत्तरी भारत की प्रमुख शिलाऐँ में से एक बन चुका था।

कोसल का विकास.

कोसल का विकास किस काल में प्रारम्भ हुआ इसका निर्माण करना अत्यन्त ही कठिन है। कोसल और कासी की प्रतिहतिन्द्र उपरोक्त से ही स्पष्ट है। जहाँ हमें कासी के राजाओं द्वारा कोसल को पहुँच लिये जाने के अनेकानेक उल्लेख मिलते हैं वहीं कोसल के कुछ शताब्दियाँ राजाओं द्वारा कासी के विश्व और उस राज्य पर अनेक आक्रमण के फिर जाने के भी महामाय उपलब्ध है। कोसल के ऐसे राजाओं में वक्त द्विपक्षीय तथा कंट के नाते अत्यधिक उल्लेखीय है। ऐसा तत्त्व होता है कि वक्त और द्विपक्ष प्रभाव के राजाओं के निर्देश आक्रमणके कारण कासी की शक्ति धीर हो चली गई और अंत में कोसल राजा ने अपने आक्रमण द्वारा बड़ी बड़ी शक्ति एवं सत्ता भी समाप्त कर दी। उसने 'बाराणसीमहाद्वीप' का विषयं धारण किया जिससे स्पष्ट है कि कासी पर अधिकार कर लिया था। सम्बन्ध: इसी काल से कासी की स्वतंत्र सत्ता का लोप हो गया और कोसल के उल्लेख की नींव पड़ी।

कासी या कासी के अधिकांश भू भागों पर कोसलराज प्रस्तावित ने अपनी भावन कोसलावेदि के विवाह के अवसर पर कासी के निकट के एक लाख की वाणिज्यिक बाजार एक राम को 'नहानचुम्बूल' के रूप में उपरोक्त कोसलावेदि की प्रवदन किया था। उपरात्ति हो मध्य...

1. "मूलपुर्व भिक्षुवे वाराणसियव ब्रह्मादत्तो नाम कासिराजा ब्रह्मोद्विगु ब्रह्मवर्गी महाबोधिसिद्धो परिपुरुषकोसलात्मकार। दौरान स्नानति नाम कोसल-राजा ब्रह्मोद्विगु दलितों अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो अपत्यो

2. मिध्यम निपाय 2, 111 तथा जाने और देखिये दीपिनिकाय 1, 200.
3. पूज्यबीच जालक 2, 403
के उत्कर्ष-काल में कोसल और काशी दोनों ही की सत्ता अजातशातु की बहुती थकित के कारण समाप्त हो गयी और शान्ति: नाम: महाजनपदों का काल भी समय के प्रभाव से समाप्त होकर मध्य की साधारणवादी नीति का बिखार हो गया।

हम उपर कस्त के द्वारा काशी पर अधिकार का उल्लेख कर चुके हैं। किन्तु विभिन्न जातकों के अनुसार काशी के पतन और उसके जीतने का ढेर कई कोसलके राजाओं को प्राप्त है। 'ब्रह्मवंश' कास्तिराज ने कोसल के राजा दीघीति को परास्त करके बढ़ी बनाया और उपरान्त उसका बच्चा कर डाला। एक अभ्यास जातक के अनुसार कास्तिराज 'ब्रह्मवंश' ने कोसल के राजा की हत्या करके उसकी असमहित को अपनी कामलोलपता का भाजन बनाया। किन्तु इन दोनों राज्यों का पारस्परिक खंभ बराबर चलता रहा। शब्दिराज महासीलव को कोसल के राजा के परास्त किया। उपरान्त वंश और दध्वसेन द्वारा भी काशी के राजाओं के पराजित होने का उल्लेख है। अन्ततः कस्त द्वारा काशी राज्य की रही सही शक्ति भी समाप्त कर दी गयी।

वर्तमान विचारों के अनुसार देखा जाता है कि कोसलराज कस्त द्वारा काशी की विजय और वीज धर्म के अभूतपूर्व के दीन का समय अवश्यक नहीं। वीज धर्म के संप्रभुक दिनों में भी काशी को एक स्वतंत्र राज्य के हुमें माना जाता था यद्यपि हम ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से भली-भाँति जानते हैं कि काशी पर उस समय कोसलराज पसेननिदि (पसेनजितु) का अभिकार था।

शब्द पसेनजितु के पिता महाकोसल के राज्य काल में भी काशी पर कोसल का अभिकार था जैसा कि कोसलराज ब्रह्मवंशी की बिवाहोपलक में एक लक्ष की गाय के एक प्राढं को प्रदत्त करने की कथा से स्पष्ट है। शब्द ब्रह्म एवं लोहितज्ञ नामक एक व्यक्ति के बारात्लाप से भी यहीं सिद्ध होता है कि सम्पूर्ण काशी राज्य पर कोसलराज पसेनजितु का अभिकार था। महाजन

1. राजाचौरी बढी, पृ० १५३
2. एस. वी. ई० १७, २९, ११ और देखिये जातक बढी त४२० (कोसम्बी जातक)
3. जातक बढी, न०५१७६
4. बढी, ५१
5. बढी, ३६५ तथा ३६३
6. बढी, ३६९ तथा २५३
7. "Now what I think you Lohikka? Is not king Pasenadi of kosala in possession of Kāśi and Kosala?" "Yes, that is so Gotama." "Then supose, Lohikka, one were to speak thus, king Pasenadi of Kosala is in possession kāśi and Kosala. Let him injoy all the revenue and all the prsece of Kāśi and Kosala, allowing nothing to any body else.......


1. "On one occasion when the Exalted One was at Sāvatthi, five rajas, the Pasenadi being the chief among them, were indulging in various forms of amusement, provided for and surrounding themselves: Which of the pleasing of sense is the highest?"—The Book of the Kindred Sayings (P.T.S.) I, 106; see also S.B.E., XVII, 195.
पिता भी महाकोसल का पुरोहित था और जिसे प्रसेनजित ने भी पीरोहित के पद द्वारा सम्मानित रखा। बावरी ने भी प्रसेनजित के ने 'सिंह' या विल्यम की विश्रा प्राप्त की थी।

उपरान्त बावरी ने समाज लेकर एक राजकीय उद्धार और आवास करना प्रारंभ कर दिया और अन्य अपने पालतू सहकर्मी अनुयायियों सहित विज्ञापन की और प्रस्तावना कर दिया।

सम्मान से उक्ति मुख्य भी बहुत दर्शन में हुई।

कोसल राज्य की समृद्धि में उत्तरार्थ बृद्धि हो हो रही थी। बंक, दयभेजन एवं कल्यन ने कोसल का राजनीतिक विरास्त किया था किंतु उपरान्त कोसल और उसकी राजधानी अलक्ता की समृद्धि में भी क्रमश: बृद्धि होने से। प्रसेनजित ने अपने राजधानी के प्रारंभ से ही कोसल की इस ध्वनियाँ उत्प्रेरित तथा प्रत्येक ध्वनि देना प्रारंभ कर दिया और परिणाम स्वरूप कोसल में भी सेटियों (अपेक्षयान) के समृद्धि का आवास प्रारंभ हो गया। नामक सेटियों और शान्ति सेटियों नामक दो प्रसिद्ध देशी कोसल राज्य में सब प्रथम आकर बसे।

कहना न होगा कि कोसल का यह वैष्णोधिक भम्मुख राजस्व कार्य के ठूलो हानिकार हुआ। पूर्वार्ध से ही चलते थे रहे बैशाख के कारण काशी का पूर्ण रूप से पतन ही कोसल के राजाओं को अभीष्ट था; और दोनों राजवंश वसा नुसनु मुक्तिकार या स्वाधीन बने थे।

प्रसेनजित के ब्रह्मदत्त राजा ने कोसल का इस जड़ार ज्ञात नहीं पहुँचते किंतु कोसल के दूरदर्शी राजाओं ने अपने राज्य एवं अपनी राजधानी को सब संपूर्ण बनाने में काम की ध्वनियाँ महत्व नहीं करते थे।

सिंहासन न लेने के उपरान्त प्रसेनजित ने अपनी बृद्धि, पराप्रभु एवं उर्वरार्थ का परिवर्तन देना प्रारंभ कर दिया। भारतवर्ष उसे मूल्यवान सदोच से अनेकों चुटकुले ध्वनियों का साहाय्य भी प्राप्त था जिनकी सहायता एवं चुटकुले के कोसल उत्तरार्थ बृद्धि करने लगा।

प्रसेनजित के अन्य कार्यों को यास चीजें में इतिहास एवं पूर्ण के नाम में भी उल्लेखित हैं जो सर्वथा उसके विश्वस्त अनुभव रही।

1. “कोसलराजा पि कार्य अवकाश ततो प्रसेन भारी सहिष्नु, बावरी वस्तुपि पुरोहितों अन्योतिरस्तस्य।”

2. “साकार अंगिकत शिविय नाम्धे मेन्धे सेडयुवृत्त राजप्रश्न सेडिों अभमोहिक्या मुनावतियां बुझ्यद्विष्म निध्वन्ति, तत्त्व सत्तविशिक कारों सत्ता शेष ब्रह्माणार्थीवर्ती।”

3. संभुतिकाय (पाद २० वि २०) १,७५ और १०० (देखिये कोसल संस्कृत २, पस्मवर्ग १, और तत्तीय वर्ग ३) और देखिए नारायण पक्काशिय संस्कृत दितिका (पाद २० वि २०) १,१०० तथा बागें।

4. उद्धार (पाद २० वि २०) २,६ 'मूरचन्द वर्ग' और ६, २ 'श्रीकांच वर्ग'।
कर देना उचित होगा जिसका पूजा अहिंसक या अंगुलिमाल आ और जिसकी कथा बीढ़ साहित्य में बड़े ही रोचक एवं शिलालिपद शब्दों में वाणित है।

किन्तु पशेनजित के मंत्रियों में सबसे अधिक उलझानीय शीर्षकारायण था। जिसका ही उलझानीय कौटिल्य के अर्थमर्ग में सम्भवतः नीतिशास्त्र के एक प्रकार का विद्वान के हुए में आया है और जिसका नाम कदाचित्तु 'दीर्घ चारागाह' था। प्रसेनजितु के दो अन्य मंत्रियों—मूगधर्म और सिरि बड़ा—(अर्थात् बड़ा) का भी उलझ आया है। इसके अतिरिक्त प्रसेनजित के बूखुंड मंत्रि परिपार्द्व के भी अनेक प्रथम में वर्णन आया है और तिव्वली अनुवादियों के अनुसार तो इसके मंत्रि परिपार्द्व के उपरी वर्ष दस्य की संख्या २०० थी। कौटिल्य ने भी राजाओं के हुए एक विशाल परिपार्द्व का ही विचार उचित माना है और राजाओं के हुए 'दुःख परिपार्द्व' के स्थान पर 'अहूंभ परिपार्द्व' को ही संगत ठहराया है। सम्भव है कि कोसल की उत्तरोत्तर वर्ष मान राज्य स्वता के हुए प्रसेनजित ने भी एक विशाल मंत्रि परिपार्द्व या परिपार्द्व को ही आवश्यक माना हो।

प्रसेनजित के सिद्धान्ताकोष होने के उपरान्त कोसल उत्तरी भारत की समस्त शक्तियों में प्रयास हो बनाल था। कार्यों के विषय तो उनके पुर्वजों ने ही कर ली थी, पर बीढ़ साहित्य से यह भी सिद्ध होता है कि वर्ष प्रसेनजित ने भी कोसलराज का विद्वान किया था। तुम्हारीवर्ष प्रसेनजित अंदर अज्ञातवाद के गुड़ों के अतिरिक्त प्रसेनजित के किसी रा राज्य विशेष पर आकर्षित करना चाहने का कोई विषय उलझना नहीं। उनके विपरीत बीढ़ साहित्य में प्रसेनजित की कई स्थलों पर 'पंचराजाओं' का प्रश्न कहा गया है। अनुमानतः अवस्थण ही प्रसेनजित ने इन राजाओं की अपनी अधिनता स्वीकार करने पर विषय किया होगा यह बोधीमान है कि इन राजाओं में कुपित तो प्रसेनजित के द्वारा स्वाधिकरण परिपार्द्व थे, और कुछ इन गणराज्यों के गुड़ में जिन्होंने उसकी अधिनता स्वीकार कर ली थी। ऐसा कहने के पश्चात् में हुई विषेष प्रश्न प्राप्त है। इन पंचराजाओं में एक तो वर्ष प्रसेनजित का भागी था जो कार्यों में उपशासक के हुए में शासन कर रहा था। दूसरा व्यक्ति कदाचित पवारगुप्त तथा वाणित

1. मल्लिक मिकाय (बहुती) २, १०२ ।
2. राकृपवत्तु हुसून ‘लाख लाख बुध’ पृ. २१२।
3. ‘मणिमिक’ दीर्घचरायण। कौटिल्य अर्थशास्त्र ५/५।
4. हृद्योतक हुसून उपाधिकारिकालों, मारात २ परिचित पृ. २१२।
5. 'विस्तार सिरिवड़े महामंतु आमतिसिंगिनु...” मल्लिक मिकाय (बहुती) २, १२२।
6. राकृपवत्तु हुसून, पृ. २१२।
7. मिनेतर स्वेट द्वारा अनुवादित 'द बुक ऑफ दिं फिक्स्ड सेक्स' १, १०६।
सेल्यु हा का राजथ्य प्रायस्की था। १ तिस्रा राजा केसुङुक ते कालाम े गणराय का था और इस गणराय का एक व्यक्ति आला कालाम बुद्ध का पुनः भी था। प्रसेनजित का चौथा अभीनस्य राजा कपिलवस्तु का शास्त्रहंदीण राजा उद्धितिर है। २ उन पंचराजाओं का उल्लेख हीं अनेकों लोगों पर अपने भी प्राप्त है। एक उद्धरण पर समस्त पंचराजा किसी सम्प्रभु संवैधानिक तथा परिवार मिसंग के हेतु आवश्यक एक पत्रिका में भाग लेते हुए मिलते हैं जो प्रसेनजित की अवधीनता में दुःख थी। ३ प्राचीन काल में ऐसी पत्रिकाओं के कई स्थलों पर उल्लेख प्राप्त है। पंताल प्रदेश के राजा प्रवाहण जैविक, विवेचन के जनन और काशी के अतात्विक ऐसे पत्रिकाओं को संगठन उथान विशेष आश्रय में हेतु संस्कृत साहित्य में विशेष रूप से है।

इन अभीनस्य राजाओं और प्रसेनजित के सम्बन्धों का भली भांति निरूपण आवश्यक है। सोलह महाजन्यवर्डों के अंतरित सब गणरायों का भी उल्लेख हुमे पालिसाहित्य में स्थान-स्थान पर प्राप्त है। ४ किश्तु यहाँ पर उसका वर्ण अभी सत्य ही। परस्तु इनमें से विल गणराय प्रसेनजित की अवधीनता स्वीकार करता था जिसकी पुष्टि जातक साहित्य से होती है। ठाँक उसी प्रकार शाखा भी गणतंत्रीण शासन प्रणाली के समर्थक थे जैसा कि शाखों और प्रेमजित के पर्याप्तर सम्बन्धों से स्पष्ट है। प्रेमजित ने अपने हुए द्वारा शाखा वंश की एक जातीय संगठन से विवाद की इच्छा प्रकट की। शाखाओं की संस्थागार (संस्थागार) में इस प्रण से विवाहित विवाह हुआ। शाखाओं ने परस्तु वहा कि 'हम एक ऐसे प्रदेश के निवास न हैं जो कोसलराज के अवधीन हैं। अतः यदि हम लोग स्पष्ट 'नहीं' कर देंगे तो उसके तो कोसलराज का ठिकाना न रहेगा।' ५ जातक-कथा उसे स्पष्ट है कि शाखा गण-राजय स्वर्य कोसल की सर्वभौपर सत्ता स्वीकार करता था। ६ यह होते हुए भी इन गणरायों का अपना निध न का पुष्क अस्तित्व था—इसमें कोई आश्रय की बात नहीं। कोन्ह उसका एक विवेक आधार था। अभी तक कोसल राजय में इतनी दुःखता न आ सकी थी कि इन समस्त छोटे-छोटे गणरायों की स्वतंत्रता हाल करकर उन्हें एक साहित्य संस्कृत में परिवर्तित कर दिया जाता।

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1. दृष्टव्य मिलिन्द ४,४,१४; बिमानवत्सव टोका (पा० ३० सो०), लॉ हुल हवें एन्द भी, ७९,२३ तथा सहेल महत्ता के एक खिलापुर पर अंकित लेख में 'पवासिः' उल्लिखित है।
2. इण्डियन कल्वर २,५०५; तथा अंगुर निकाय १,१६५।
3. राम बौद्धो पूर्व २४१।
4. कृष्ण दिनित्ता अक इण्डिया १,१८१।
5. दृष्टव्य हिन्दौ सम्मता—मुक्तजी पूर्व १०१—१०२
6. राम बौद्धो पूर्व २९१—२९६।
7. कृष्ण जातक ४,७२।
8. पूर्व ६५।
अगर चल कर माधवराज्य इस प्रयास में सफल अवस्थ हुआ किन्तु महत्वाकांक्षी अजातशामु की सोतह बढ़ी तक अश्लील, अवस्था युद्ध तथा कूदनीति का आधार आवं लेना पड़ा और तब कहाँ इस गणराज्यों की स्वतंत्रता तत्त्व सामान्त हुई।

स्वयं प्रजनित भी इन पाँचो राज्यों में अवलंबय बनकर स्वतंत्र नहीं रहा। वह स्वयं एक विशाल सार्थक रूप से प्रस्तावना था किन्तु उसके दुर्मायवश यही युग मघ के हर्ष्यक कुल के भी अवलंब था। दोनों राज्यों में संगम भी हुआ जैसा कि हम आगे देखें और जिसका विचार उलझन बौद्ध साहित्य में प्राप्त है।

उपर हम महाकौसल की पृथ्वी कोसलदेवी और मगध सम्राट विबिंदसार के बिचार का उल्लेख कर चुके हैं जिस अवसर पर कासी के निकटस्थ एक लक्ष की बारिक आय के कारण को ‘नहर बुधु मूल’ के रूप में कोसलदेवी की यथाज्ञ के रूप में दे दिया गया था।’ वचन जैन ग्रंथ अजातशामु को पितृहुलार्थ के रूप में स्वीकार नहीं करते पर बीढ़ प्रवृत्तों से स्पष्ट है कि देशदल के उकसाने पर अजातशामु ने अपने बुध प्रति विविंदसार के निर्देश हुया करके मगध का सिद्धान्त स्वतंत्र कर लिया था। पति वोक्ष में कोसलदेवी का भी बेहतर हो गया और अपनी भूमिका कोसल का उस दुनियादानी मूम्यु का समाचार खुशक प्रजनित का शोधित होना और मगध के बीढ़ युद्ध की घोषणा करता स्वागतविक कथा। श्रीहरी प्रजनित ने उस कार्य के प्रार (कास्मार) पर अविश्वास कर लिया जिसकी आय मगध को देखें दारा प्राप्त थी। दोनों राज्यों में भयम्यक बुध लिया गया। इस युद्ध के बर्बर तक चलने और उभय पश्चिम और दक्षिण-पश्चिम विजय प्रति खुश लगने आता का जैन तथा बीढ़ के प्रणयों में उलझन प्राप्त है। अजातशामु ग्रहण बुध, शक्तिशाली एवं महत्वाकांक्षी था और इन प्रजनित युद्ध हो चुके थे। जातक कथाओं में इस युद्ध में विजय के हेतु प्रजनित विजय प्रमाण प्राप्त हो और आता में उन्होंने इस विजय को अपने समस्तयों एवं परिप्रेक्ष्य के अनुसार लिया। मंच से मनाया हुआ कि समस्तय ही इस समस्या का निराकरण सम्भव है। अतः प्रजनित ने अपने गुलामों की मिसालों के परार्थर सार्थक वार्तालापों का ध्यान पूर्वक मुने और इसे समझिए करने का आदेश दिया। संयोजन विजय युद्ध में धनुगाहिण वस्त्र की प्रजन राज्य के अन्तर्गत एक

1. बही 2,275
2. पौज्जेल्ला जातक 4,142; 2,471 तथा सार्थककालिनी संयुग 70 का 1,110,
1,20 तथा अङ्गे
3. पाली के नामों का कोष, मलालसंस्कर 2,567
4. जातक बही 2,337,20; 3,922 तथा अङ्गे
5. पाली के नामों का कोष, बही 2,9134
बिहार में अपने मित्र मन्त्रिदल चेते से उसी युद्ध के सम्बन्ध में वातालीमान कर रहे थे। गुप्तचा ने तिस्त और चेते के वातालीमान में बर्णित नीति का पालन करने की प्रसन्नजित की सलाह दी। प्रसन्नजित ने उसी नीति का पालन करके अजातशात्रु को पराजित किया और बनंदी भी बनाया।

किन्तु प्रसन्नजित एक अस्मृत ही अनुभवी तथा नीति निपुन शासक था। निरस्तर युद्ध के कारण उसकी सैनिक प्रशिक्षा भी की गई थी और अपनी वृद्धाश्वास्था के कारण वह मगध के उपेक्षा नहीं कर सकता था। साथ ही अजातशात्रु उसका निकट समस्तदी था। इन समस्त कारणों और मगध के साथ मिल्चय में भी अच्छे सम्बन्ध बने रहने के दृष्टिकोण से उसने अपनी पुत्री विभिन्न का अजातशात्रु से विवाह कर दिया और पुत्र कासी के निकट उसी प्रांम को देखने के लिए देकर सत्ता कर लेना ही उचित समझा।

प्रसन्नजित का शास्त्र एवं सम्बन्ध।

प्रसन्नजित ने स्वयं अपनों सैनिक सम्बन्ध किये थे और कुछ विवाहों का राजनीतिक महत्व भी था। उसने मगध राजवंश की एक राजकुमारी से विवाह किया था। जो अनुभूतियों में विभिन्न की भगिनी कही थी। एक अन्याय रानी का नाम धन्रावरी था। उसकी अनुभूति अन्याय रानियों के नाम भी प्राप्त है। कप्रवत्यल मुल्क के अनुसार वे बहुत सोमा और सुकुला भी उसकी रानियों थीं। ऐसी जान पड़ता है कि प्रसन्नजित ने वृद्धाश्वास्था तक विवाहों की परमप चालू रखी थी और उसकी अन्तिम महत्वपूर्ण रानी मालिका थी जो कोसाल के एक प्रसिद्ध मालाकार की पुत्री थी। मालिका के उपर

1. बही
2. जातक बही ४, ३२४३ और २, ३८३
3. बही ४०४; ४, ३२४३ और धम्मपदपुक्तक ३, २६६। यद्यपि इस प्रकार के विवाह हिन्दू शास्त्रों द्वारा बर्णित हैं पर राजपूताना में कई स्पष्ट पर ऐसे उद्देश्य में भिड़े हैं। स्वयं शासकों में प्रतिभाग स्वरूप विवाह की प्रथा थी (वेषिक 'हिन्दू सम्प्रदय' पृ २२१)। वीयामन के मातृक कर्म कर्तव्य का शास्त्र सम्बन्ध भी माना गया है। किन्तु साधारणतया ऐसे विवाह अनावश्यक तथा प्राथमिक मात्र नहीं है। दक्षिण भारत में बाज़ दिन भी यह प्रथा चलती रही है।
4. 'देव श्री पन समयेत विविषारो वा पस्रेनिकोलो वा अमास्मे महिनी पतिका होति' धम्मपदपुक्तक १, ३८५।
5. पालों के नामों का कोश बही १, ३२५।
6. महिम निकाय २, १२५।
7. काविय जातक ३, ३२५ और धम्मपदपुक्तक १, ३२५。“पसरेनिकुमारी...”

तितकसियों मंत्रा वहिनमरे सालाय समागता।
प्रसन्नित्र के आसपास होने, उससे विवाह करने आदि का पालिका साहित्य में विवाह विवरण उपलब्ध है। एक व्यक्ति महादेश अजयचन्द्र से परस्पर होकर लीटे समय प्रसन्नित्र के उसे आवश्यक के एक उद्यान में देवा और उस पर मोहित हो गया। यद्यपि तत्त्वज्ञानी अनुसन्धान इस समस्ति में कुछ बिंदु हैं जिन्हें मलिका आवश्यक की हो गई थी जैसा कि हम आने देखेंगे।

प्रसन्नित्र के शायक परिचार में विवाह सम्बन्ध करने के प्रायः प्रसंग के में उल्लेख ग्राम्य है। जैसा कि कहा कहा जा चुका है, प्रसन्नित्र के शायक बंधे में विवाह करने की इच्छा स्वयं शायकों से प्रकट की थी। शायकों को अपने अभिज्ञता कुल पर विवेचन गरव्य था और क्या विवाह से प्रसन्नित्र जो हृदय अविम होते थे। ऐसी दशा में उन्होंने अपने कुल की राजकुमारी देवा उचित न समझा। संबंधार में ग्रंथि विवाह-विवाहर से उपरान्त 'उसके दास भूरूढ़ नाम दासी' और शायक प्राप्त व्यक्त महानाम के उल्लास 'बासमततिया' नामक दासी पुजी को अपनी राज कुमारी के रूप में प्रसन्नित्र के पास विवाह के हेतु भेज दिया।

सम्बन्धित प्रावृत्तियों से ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि प्रसन्नित्र कुल दास मिठाक्षेत्र प्रमाणित था और उनकी ओर भी सर्वहारा आने के हेतु शायक कुल में समस्ति स्वाभाविक करता चाहता था। इसी बासमततिया ने दासी चतुरसर एक पुत्र उत्पन्न हुआ जिसका नाम विवृद्ध था और जो शायक वंग तथा कोसल राज्य के विनाश का कारण बना।

तिवस्री अनुसूचिती" इस प्रसंग पर भिन्न है। उनके अनुसार प्रसन्नित्र के दो राज्यों थीं। एक का नाम मलिका और दूसरी का बांस्करा था। मलिका ही शायक कुमारी और दूसरी पुजी थी और विवृद्ध इसी के गर्भ से उत्पन्न था। घटनाओं के रूप में देखते हुए, विवृद्ध को मलिका का पुत्र मानना अनुसूचित होगा। वह निवास है कि मलिका से प्रसन्नित्र ने अजयचन्द्र से चल रहा पुत्र के समय में विवाह किया था। अजयचन्द्र और प्रसन्नित्र लगभग आठ वर्ष ही समकालीन राजा रहे। ऐसी दशा में विवाह के उपरान्त विवृद्ध का उपयोग होता, पुत्र: युवा होकर विशालक छोटम बन लेना आदि सम्पत्ति नहीं। ऐसी दशा में विवृद्ध को बासमततिया का ही पुत्र मानना उचित है। समस्त बीज तात्त्विक भाषा में यह उल्लेख इतने सामान्य रूप से प्राप्त है कि इसमें संवर्ग नहीं रह जाता। मलिका का पुत्र मानने से समस्त उत्तर तथा बोधण की बीज अनुसूचिती ऐतिहासिक घटनाओं के रूप में असाध्य सिद्ध हो जाती हैं। अस्तु।

सात वर्ष की आवश्या में विवृद्ध ने अपने नाम के यहीं जाने का आयाम किया तिन्तु इत्यादि।

1. कूमलबोध जातक 1, 131 तथा देखिए पाषाण के नामों का कोम वर्षी 5, 657।
2. काविल जातक 4, 91-92। बीजबंध के अंश नामों में विवृद्ध या विवृद्ध भी हैं।
3. राक्षक, वही, पृ. 77।
वासमनखानिया ने हुरी के बहाने पर उसका जाना टाल दिया। किन्तु सोलह वर्ष की आयु को प्राप्त होने पर विन्दुमंडल ने गुना आग्रह किया और अपने निश्चय पर दूर रहा। विवाह होकर वासमनखानिया को उसे जाने देना पड़ा। यद्यपि उसकी इच्छा न थी। शायद ने विन्दुमंडल के कपिलवस्तु जाने की जब बात गुनी तो उनके सम्मुख एक विकट समस्या आ खड़ी हुई। कोसल के राजकुमार के नाते विन्दुमंडल का उचित स्वागत शायद का कर्मबह था किन्तु वासी गुनी होने के कारण अभिभाषत कुलीन शायद ऐसा कर भी कैसे सके पे? विन्दुमंडल को कपिलवस्तु के राजकीय अतिथिमूड़ में ठहराया गया। उसका वासमनखानिया के पिता, नाई तथा अन्याय समस्त सम्बन्धियों से परिचय हुआ और वह में उन सबके बुद्ध होने के कारण विन्दुमंडल को ही सबको अभिवादन करना पड़ा। विन्दुमंडल के पूछते पर उत्तर मिला कि छोटी आयु के समस्त हुमारी किसी उत्तर में बाहर गये हुए हैं और बड़ी आयु के लोगों को अभिवादन करना उसी के हेतु अभीष्ट था। एक दिन कपिलवस्तु में एक कर विन्दुमंडल वापस लौटा। संयोगवश विन्दुमंडल का एक साथी अपनी कोई बस्तु कपिलवस्तु में ही भूत आया था। उसे लेने जब वह कपिलवस्तु वापस लौट तो उसने समस्त अतिथिमूड़ को दुख आदि युक्त जल में प्रतापित होते देखा। पूछते पर उसे हात हुआ कि विन्दुमंडल दासी पुत्र था और उसके बहरी निवास के कारण वह हृदय अपवित्र हो गया था। यह समाचार जब विन्दुमंडल को हात हुआ तो उसके प्रोश की सीमा न रही। शायद द्वारा इस अपमान एवं प्रतिक्रिया के प्रतिक्रिया के हेतु वह व्यापक हो उठा। उसे तपस्या की मुल्य पर्याप्त रक्षा भी दुसरे हो गया और इस प्रतिक्रिया के हेतु उसने पद्यांश रचना प्रारंभ कर दिया। तत्त्वज्ञानी अनुभूतियों के अनुसार उसने मनो परिवार के समस्त सदस्यों को अपने प्रमाण में कर लिया। दीर्घकालायन, जो प्रसेनजित्र के भूमिका सेवानिवृत्त का युग तथा उत्तराधिकारी सेवावस्था था, अभी उसके मत में न था। उसने विन्दुमंडल को कुछ दिन और शाल रखने की वजह दी पर विन्दुमंडल फिर भी अपने प्रयास में लगा ही रहा।

किन्तु इसी बीच दीर्घकालायन को भी प्रसेनजित्र से विन्दु मंडल होने का एक कारण उत्पन्न हो गया—वह कारण था बम्बुल् नामक एक उसके निकट सम्बन्धी का पद्यांश द्वारा मारा मारा।

1. पाली के नामों का कोश बहरी २, ४६६।
2. बहरी।
3. बहरी,
4. काबेल जातक ४, ६२—१३
5. राक्षिलु बहरी
6. बीड सूत्र के अनुसार भर्ती था—पाली के नामों का कोश बहरी २, ४६६।
7. बहरी २, २६६—बम्बुल प्रसेनजित्र का सहभागी था। बाद में प्रसेनजित्र ने उसे सेवानिवृत्त बनाया। कुछ अवधि हो जाने के कारण राजा ने उसे सीमा पर युद्ध के लिए भेज दिया नहीं उसकी मत्त कर दी गयी।
जाना। अतः दीपकारण भी विद्युतं को गिथासन दिलाने के पहले में सम्मिलित हो गया। एक अवसर पर जब बुझ में देवलुम्प्का नामक नगर में प्रचार तथा कोपलाराज प्रस्तुति वन्दन का हुआ तो सनातन बुझ के दर्शन लाम के हँसू यहाँ गये। उन्होंने अपने समस्त नागरिक चित्त मथा राजमुकुट, कड़ाय आदि दीपकारण की सीख दिया और दीर्घ काल तक बुझ से विद्वान में संलग्न रहे। उस से दीपकारण ने शीघ्रता के साबली आकर विद्युतं को राजनीति द्वारा अवलक्षित करके उसे राजा घोषित कर दिया। इस प्रकार विद्युतं अपने बुझ पिता के जीवन काल में ही मंगितिक एवं सेनारति की सहायता से राजा हो गया।

उस प्रस्तुति जब बुझ से वाराणसी समाधान करके बाहर निकले तो उन्हें परिपूर्णता का आनन्द हुआ। मंगितिक रूप से विद्युतं होने का आभास तो उन्हें था लो, दीपकारण ने बिरोध के कारण उन्होंने अभावस्ती वापस जाना उचित न समझा और चन्द्र की ओर प्रस्थान किया। उसका बिचार अजातशत्रु से सहायता और दर्शन लेने का था। मार्ग में उन्हें उनकी महिला तथा पति नामक राजनीति भी मिती। तिथियों अनुपुरुषियों के अनुसार विद्युतं महिला का पुत्र था, अतः उसे राजा ने अभावस्ती वापस वाटी दिया और धर्म विविधता के साथ राजमुकुट की ओर चल पड़े। मार्गरथम, बुझमुक्त, कुक्कुल वहन चाहता देवलुम्प्का ने कुक्कुल सेवन के कारण मुकुटाराम राजा को बार-बार श्री (बुझमुक्त) की आभास्वतता प्रतीत होने लगी। राजमुकुट के सात द्वारा राजस्व हो जाने के कारण बन्द हो गये थे जब: निस्माय राजा नगर के बाहर एक धर्मादान में अवक्त तथा श्री से सम्प्रदाय पड़े गये। अनुतात: अवक्त तथा संहवाहिनावनसंहार में विविधता के अंत में सिर रते हुए ही फोसल का यह प्रतापी समाधार स्वयं सिद्धार्थ।

प्राप्तकाल जब अजातशत्रु को यह दुखद समाचार मिला तो उसने प्रस्तुति के विविधता दाह संस्कार आदि का उपयोग व्यवस्थाय किया। अजातशत्रु श्री भी फोसल तथा आब्रजण करना चाहता था किन्तु उसके मननों ने उसे ऐसा करने से रोक दिया।

1. "युद्ध में सुलभ एक समय भवान सकेमु विशालभवी। में देवलुम्प्का नामक सबसे न्याय। तेन जो पन समयत्व राजा वसनाभ दोस्तों नंदों अनुजुला होता केन्त्रियाँ एवं वर्णः री। अथ यो राजा वसनाभ दोस्तों दीपकारणण आपत्तिः।" मंगिई निकाय 2, 198 तथा फुजवोल जातक 4, 131।
2. वहीं।
3. पाली के नामों का कोष, वहीं 1, 1079।
4. राकृष्टल, वहीं पृ 77।
5. पाली के नामों का कोष, वहीं 1, 172।
6. पारंचत्तुवुत्तिः मंगिई टीका 2, 155 तथा आवे, धनमालकल्प 1, 353 तथा 13 ने; मंगिई निकाय 2, 118 और फुजवोल जातक 4, 150 तथा 33।
प्रसेनजित तु कहा प्रकार हुजूढ़ मृत्यु के उपरान्त उसका पुत्र विलुकङ्क (विलुकङ्क) सिहासनाध्य हुआ। मित्र पद्मों उसके वास्तविक नामके अनेको रूपस्तर प्राप्त होते हैं। समस्त पालि साहित्य में उसे प्रायः विलुकङ्क ही कहा गया है। उपरान्त के प्रथमें में ‘विलुकङ्क’ रूपस्तर प्राप्त है। ३ उपरान्त के अनेको राजा स्थान का उल्लेख है और उसके पश्चातु कुल, पुरुष तथा मुनिभ के सिहासनाध्य होने का भी उल्लेख पाया जाता है। विलुकङ्क तथा विलुकङ्क या विलुकङ्क का साहित्यपत्ता एक ही मानना उल्लेख जाता है, पर यह समानता केवल नाम की ध्वनि पर ही आधारित है। उपरान्त के प्रथमें कोसळ के विनाश के समय में भी मित्र-मित्र उल्लेख प्राप्त हैं जैसा कि उसे आगे देखेंगे।

विलुकङ्क के सिहासनाध्य होते ही उसके शासक विरोधी समाख्यातिकों की बन आये। देवकारायण उसका प्रधान नेताजी बना और अभ्यर्थी जो उसका साथ लेते थे। प्रथम मास के अंत में स्थल हुआ। अभ्यर्थी के द्वारा उन्हें हँसी दी लें वे शासकों से प्रतिव्रोध के हेतु उठाया। जः विलुकङ्क ने शासकों के विलुकङ्क सम्भालक बदलाव किया।

उत्तर कुल को जब यह नेताजनक समाधार सता हुआ तो शासक होने के नाते उसे अपार ख़ुश हुआ और उसे नेता के प्रति विश्वास की ओर प्रस्थान किया। विलुकङ्क के भाषा में शासकों की राजा-श्रेष्ठों के अनुसार ही एक छायापूर्वक ‘सत्यासमाय’ गृह के नीचे वे जा रहे ख़ुद ए हुए। विलुकङ्क ने उसे इस प्रकार देखकर निकट समाय छाया-पुरुष एक बात वृक्षके नीचे स्थान प्रहण करना आप्रवश्यक किया जिसे वृक्ष उसे उत्तर दिया च्याता गत करो, मेरे वास्तविक शासनों की छाया मुझे निरस्त वीरता पहुँचाती रहेगी। वृक्षकी दी दस्क तथा उनकी भाषा का आयोग समाहरण विलुकङ्क शासकों पर आक्रमण करने से विचारित हो उठा। उसके मनमें भी वृक्षके प्रति अर्थात वृक्ष था और कदाचित्त वह उसे दुसी नहीं देखना चाहता था। अतः

1. विलुकङ्ककी मुख्याध्यायों विचारांशु जः उत्तम।’
   —सेमेन्त्र अब्दाल रणपास पू० ४६५।
2. ‘प्रसेनजित तत्वतका भविश्या: कुलको भविष्या तत्।’
   पालिकोतु कुल टाइटेसित कुल दिस एस बूँए पू० ११।
3. ‘कुलकाल कुलको भविश्या: कुलकाल कुरुपुरुष: समृत।’
   सुमित्र: सुरवस्यात्—धर्मी।
4. ‘राज्यकल हरी पूज़ उ० १०६।’
5. पालिके नामोंको कोश धरी पू० २,५७६।
6. ‘धरी।’
7. विलुकङ्ककी नसे भविष्या है। उसके अनुसार तीन बार विलुकङ्क तीन सहित शासकों पर आक्रमण करने के लिए आया किन्तु वृक्ष को उसी बृक्षके नीचे खड़ा देखकर वापस चला गया। चौथी बार वृक्ष समाचार मे निर्देशको का विनाश आवश्यकात्ती है अतः वे बहुत ही उत्तम गये।
   अतः विलुकङ्क ने शासकों पर आक्रमण कर उनका सहार कर दिया। देषे धरी पू० २,५७६।
उसने सरीसृप सीट बाना ही उचित समझा।

फिनतु वियवूड अवधिक समय तक अपने का न रोक सका। उसे अम्बरीप ने, जो कट्टर सामाजिकवादी था, पुनः शाख्यों पर आक्रमण के हेतु उकसाया। एक अनुशुद्धि के अनुसार उसके शाख्यों ने भी के महामार्गत्व ने सुधार अपनी रहस्य के हेतु विशेष तैयारी करती ब्राह्म मार्ग कर दिया। वियवूड इस बार पुनः शाख्यों को पराजित न कर सका और निराश होकर अलावस्ती तीड़ गया। फिनतु वीद सूचीयः इसके तथा वियवूड के अन्याय आक्रमण का विवरण बिहृत है। उनके अनुसार पहली, दूसरी कथा प्रमाण: दूसरी बार भी आक्रमण के मार्गसे उसी ज्ञान पर बुद्ध को लड़े देखकर वियवूड बापस लीट जाता था। जो ती बुद्ध, वियवूड का तीसरा आक्रमण भी विकल हुआ, चाहे उसे बुद्ध ने लोटने पर प्रेषित किया ही या शाख्यण अपनी चुराहा में विशेष तत्व रहे ही।

इन तीनों आक्रमणों की विवादता देखकर अम्बरीप ने कूट नीति का आध्ययन लिया। उसने शाख्योंके वैर माय भूखकर वियवूड के स्वागतार्थ नगर के द्वार खोल देनेका प्रस्ताव किया। शाख्यों की संयोगार्थ में इस पर विचार विमाल हुआ। कत्तकितू निरस्त युद्धके हेतु सनाद रहने के कारण शाख्य भी ठी उठ उठे और उनमें मतभेद हो गया। अन्ततः नगर के द्वार खोल देनेका प्रस्ताव बहुमुख द्वारा स्वीकृत हुआ और कपिलस्तु के द्वार खोल दिये गये।

नगर में प्रवेश करते ही वियवूड की शेतनेरों ने शाख्यों का संहरण करना आदेश कर दिया। लगभग ७५,००० शाख्य इस प्रकार इतर पूर्वक के भर्त्यों से मारे गये। कुछ शाख्य कहती है कि अपने प्राण बचाना और सबूत ढांचतक प्रवेशों में ब्राह्म उन्होंने नवीन राज्यों की स्थापना की। इस प्रकार वियवूड ने शाख्यों और उनके गणराज्य का पूर्ण रूप से नाश कर दिया। शाख्य गणराज्य मूल हृद एक गणराज्य था बधिर वह कोसल की स्वायत्त-परिवर्तन को स्वीकार करता था। उत्थर कोसल के शासनों ने भी कभी शाख्यों की आर्थिक का अपहरण करने का प्रयत्न नहीं किया था। फिनतु अम्बरीप की सामाजिकवादी नीति के प्रभावित होकर वियवूड ने संबंध के हेतु शाख्यों का नाश कर ब्राह्म।

पाचार साहित्य के अनुसार शाख्य बुद्ध ने शाख्यों का विनाश अवस्थितमारी जानकर चौथी बार वियवूड को रोकने का प्रयत्न नहीं किया। अतः शाख्यों का विनाश बुद्ध के जीवन काल

1. राकृति, बह्यः पृ ११६
2. बह्यः
3. बह्यः पृ ११७
4. बह्यः पृ ११८
5. बह्यः
6. बह्यः पृ ११२—१२१
चीनी लोटों के अनुसार बिंदूम ने ५०० शाखय उपलब्धियों को बनाया कराकर अपने अस्तात्वाम में डाल रखा था किन्तु उसमें से एक भी आत्मसमर्ण के हेतु तैयार नहीं प्रस्तुत रही थी उसे तथा उसके परिवार को अपवाद नहीं। अन्ततः उनके धार ने परा कर अवलेख में फँक डिया गया। इस लोट के अनुसार रमण बुद्ध ने अपने एक अनुसारी भिक्षा को उर्जाएँ उवचन देने के हेतु भेजा था। उलझ में बमलकार एवं बलीकिकिता लाने का भी प्रयत्न किया गया है। १ साथ है कि चीनी व्यास्कों के अनुसार बिंदूम इस चटनी के उपरान्त भी बवित था। किन्तु दोनों प्रत्यक्ष भारतीय एवं सिंहाली अनुसारियों तथा ऐतिहासिक पत्रादि के विपरीत ज्ञान पड़ते हैं।

बिंदूम के अनुसार शाखय के अनुसार व्यास्कों के पूर्ण उच्च के उपरान्त बिंदूम ने राज्य में अन्तिम दो के तत्क पर पड़ा दला। किन्तु अधिकार न राज्य में भयानक जब ज्ञान होने के कारण बिंदूम अपनी समस्त सेवा सहित नवी की ठीक धारा द्वारा समुद्र में पड़ा रखा दिया गया। जहाँ उसका मस्तिंग एवं कठिनाई ने पूर्ण रूप से भीमाक फिरा। इसके विपरीत एक अन्य लोटों से तत्क होता है कि वल्लराज उद्यान के सेवापति

१. बहु पृ. १२१ ।
२. बहु कल 'बुद्धिस्ट रिकार्ड' २,१२१ तथा आगे। इसके अतिरिक्त अपवाद काल-लता दे १२१ में पहले में यही कथा उल्लिखित है।
३. "बिंदूमो" निपामूल लोको निपामूल नामग भविष्यानी हए "बिंदूमो निपामूल मानसक निपामूल अतिकच संग्रहालय अवाहन। यो कुमारपरि हर्रेन।-----------काहल पुरुष संपत संग्रहारों संग्रहालय। कुमारो तत्क गोविका अवाहन।-----------
लक्ष्मी साधन गोविका अवव्यक्त नामका मानसक पशुशति रचना आरोचित। राजा 'मियूडूम लोको होत्रणपु अवव्यक्त। हो साक्षाय कुलकार्या कामाख्यात गायनादित्य आयोजित। ।' शक्तविद्य क्रम १,३४६—१३४९। "बिंदूमो पुंक्यो भाटेरानी" निपामूल बलिया निपामूल।
सम्मानणुद्ध्वस्त्व बन आटाका................ नागराजा 'कि न बो' निपामूलस्तो तस्म विशिष्टो आरोचित नाम रिम नितीवाहिने कामाख्यात। सो निपामूला अवाहनिविता बनी रोति लोगो अंगवारा बिंदूम वार्ता परिवार समुद्र एवं पापेस, सब विशिष्टकहन भला बहुत।............." बहु पृ. ३५३—३६ तथा दें। फूजबोल जात्क भी १,३३३ तथा ४,१४६ तथा गर्भ और १५१ तथा आगे।
हम्म्वानां ने अबृत्ति ही कोसलराज को परास्त ही नहीं बतितु उसका वच्च भी किया था। यह कोसलराज की वाण था इसका कोई उल्लेख रत्नावली में प्राप्त नहीं। वस्त्राराज उदयन के समकालीन कोसल के केवल दो ही शासक हो सकते हैं, एक तो परस्क और दूसरा विद्वृद्ध। किन्तु विद्वृद्ध की मृत्यु के सम्बन्ध में पालि प्रत्य प्राप्त: एक मत है। तो यह विद्वृद्ध का अन्त उदयन के सेनापति हम्म्वानां द्वारा हुआ था?

इस सम्बन्ध में एक सूदाल और प्रत्य जा सकता है। पुराणों में भूदुत, जिसे हम विद्वृद्ध मान सूखे हैं, के उपरान्त तीन अन्य राजाओं का भी उल्लेख आया है जिनका बर्बाद हम उपर कर चुके हैं। सम्भव है कि विद्वृद्ध की असामान्य २ मृत्यु के उपरान्त उपयुक्त तीनों राजाओं में से कुलक, सिन्धुसनाश्रृंख्ला हुआ हो और उसे उदयन के सेनापति ने पराजित करके मार डाला हो। रत्नाली में वाणित कोसलराज वस्त्रार: कोई अन्य कोसलराज था, विद्वृद्ध नहीं जैसा कि पालि सहिष्ठ्य से स्पष्ट है। पुराणों में वाणित उपयुक्त राजाओं के सम्बन्ध में विवेक ब्राह्मण उपलब्ध नहीं। कालान्तर का कोसल मध्य के उद्देश्य वृद्ध हुए साधारण का एक अंग बन गया।

किन्तु यदि रत्नाली का प्रस्ताव उल्लेख अंतिम कुर्म में भी सत्य माना जाबे हो कोसल के पतन में वस्त्राराज का भी हाँच रहा। सम्भव है कि विद्वृद्ध सहित कोसल सैन्य शक्ति नष्ट हो जाने पर कुलक सिन्धुसनाश्रृंख्ला हुआ हो और परिस्थिति का लाभ उठा कर उदयन ने कोसल पर आक्रमण किया हो। किन्तु वस्त्राराज उदयन भी इस समय चेतन वृद्ध रहे होंगे क्योंकि वे तुढ़, विम्बिसार तथा प्रेमनिवेश के समकालीन थे। उधर मध्य में अजात-श्राप गुरुक तथा शक्तिवाली था। कदाचित्तु उदयन की भी इसी बीच मृत्यु हो गयी और अजातश्रुप को कोसल हर्षाल सक कर लेने में विवेक परिवर्म नहीं करना पड़ा।

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