

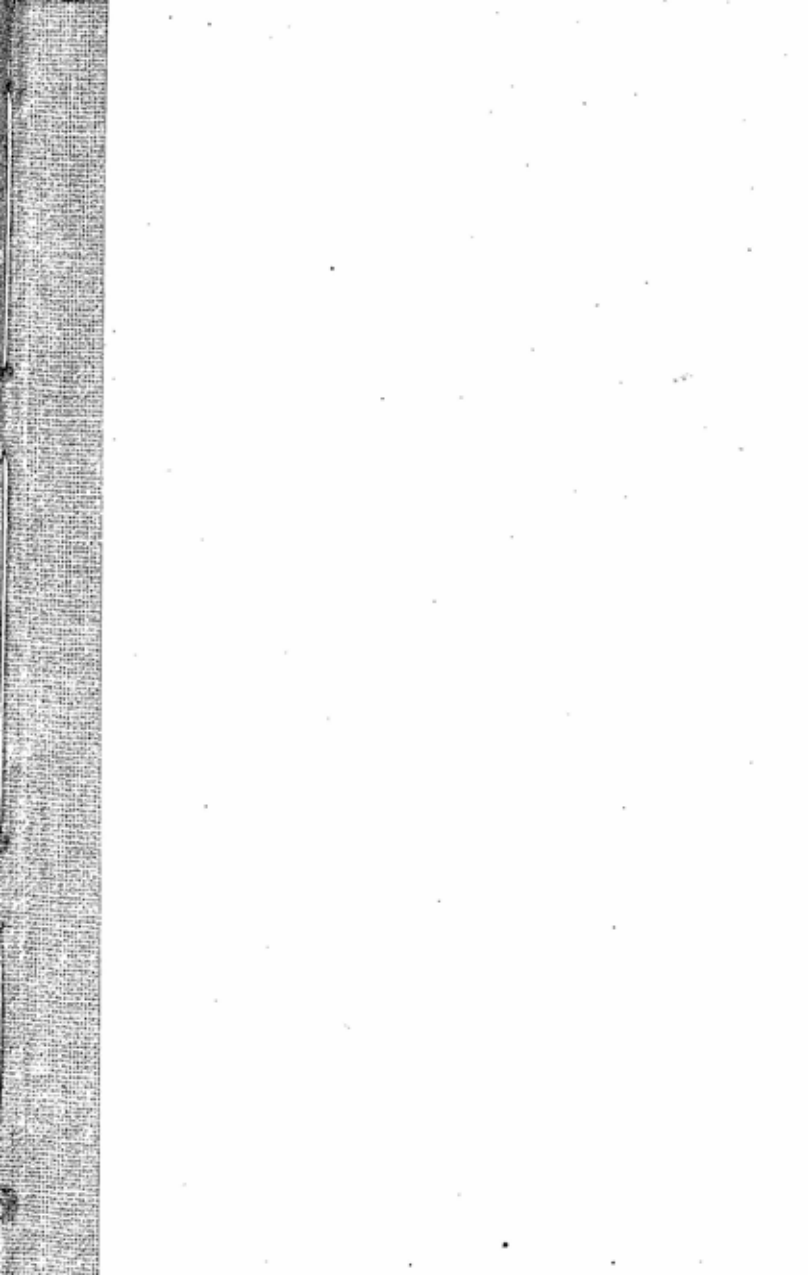
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Vol. VIII (New Series)

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Vol. 8
1960



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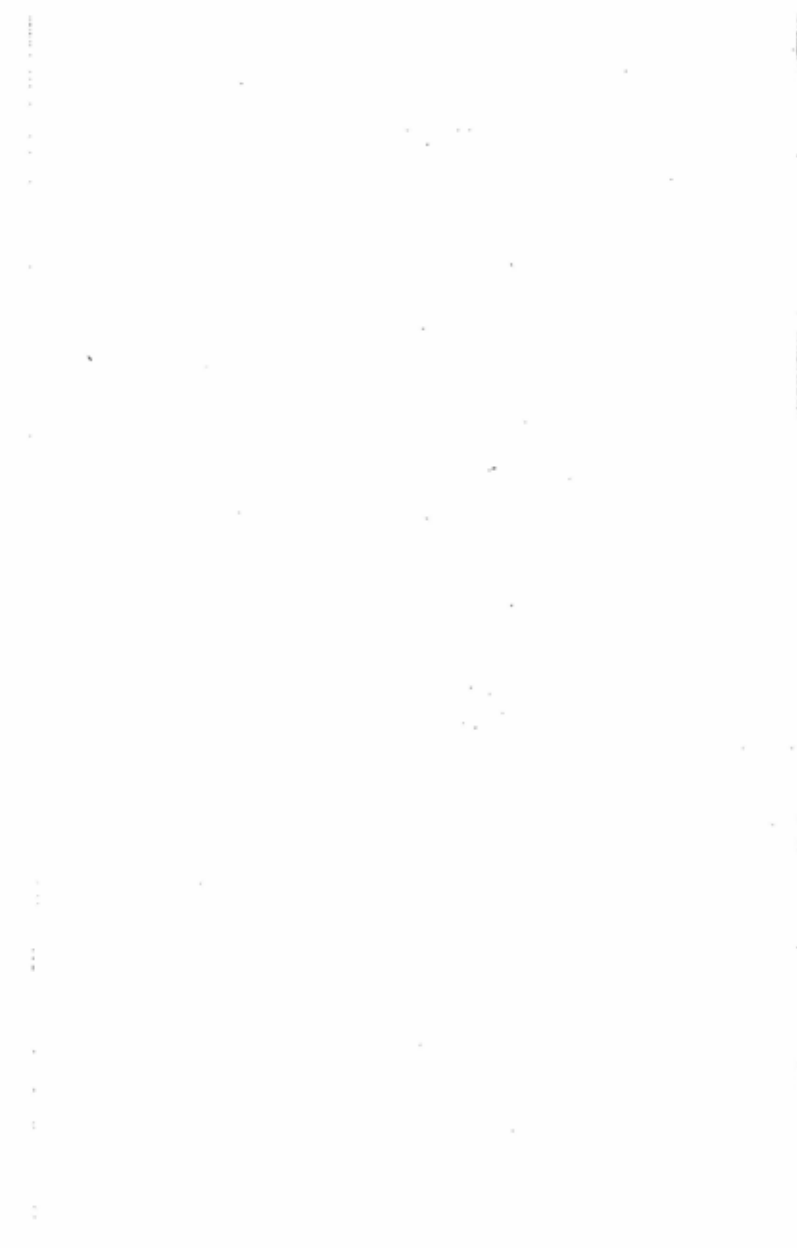
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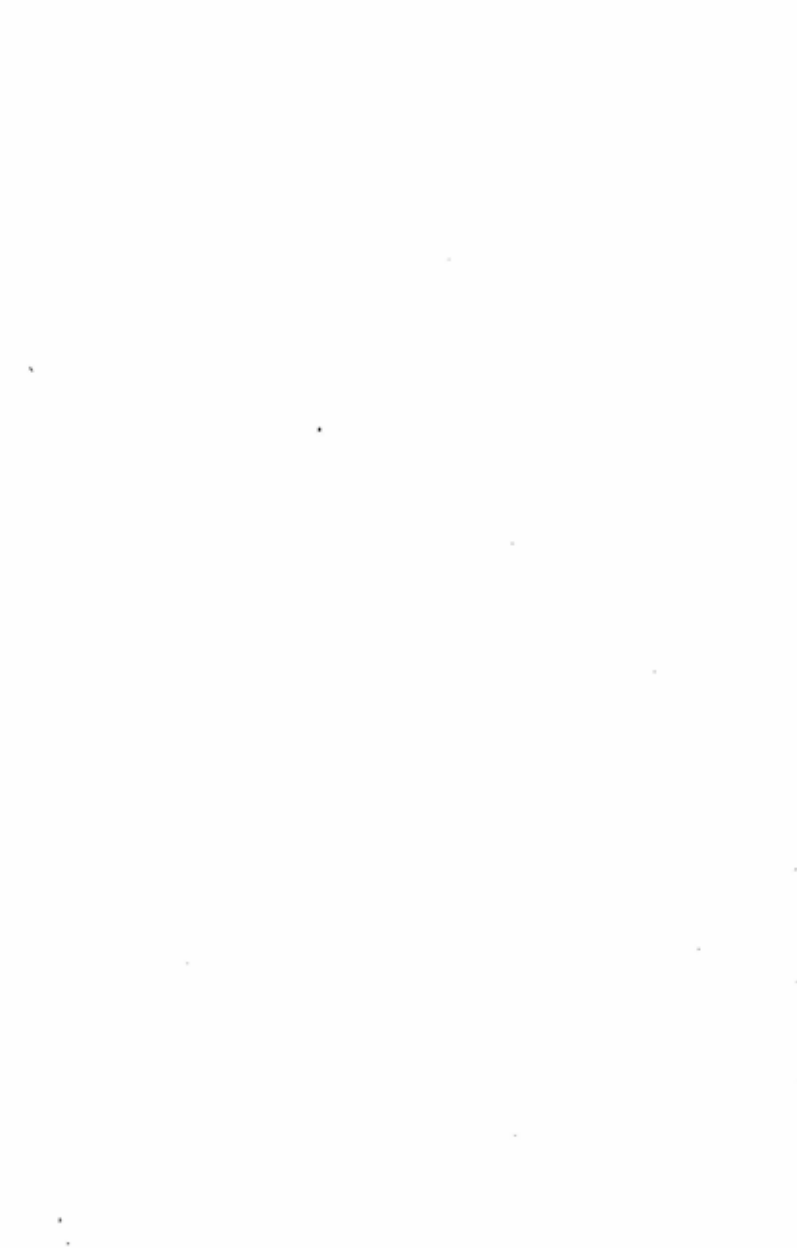
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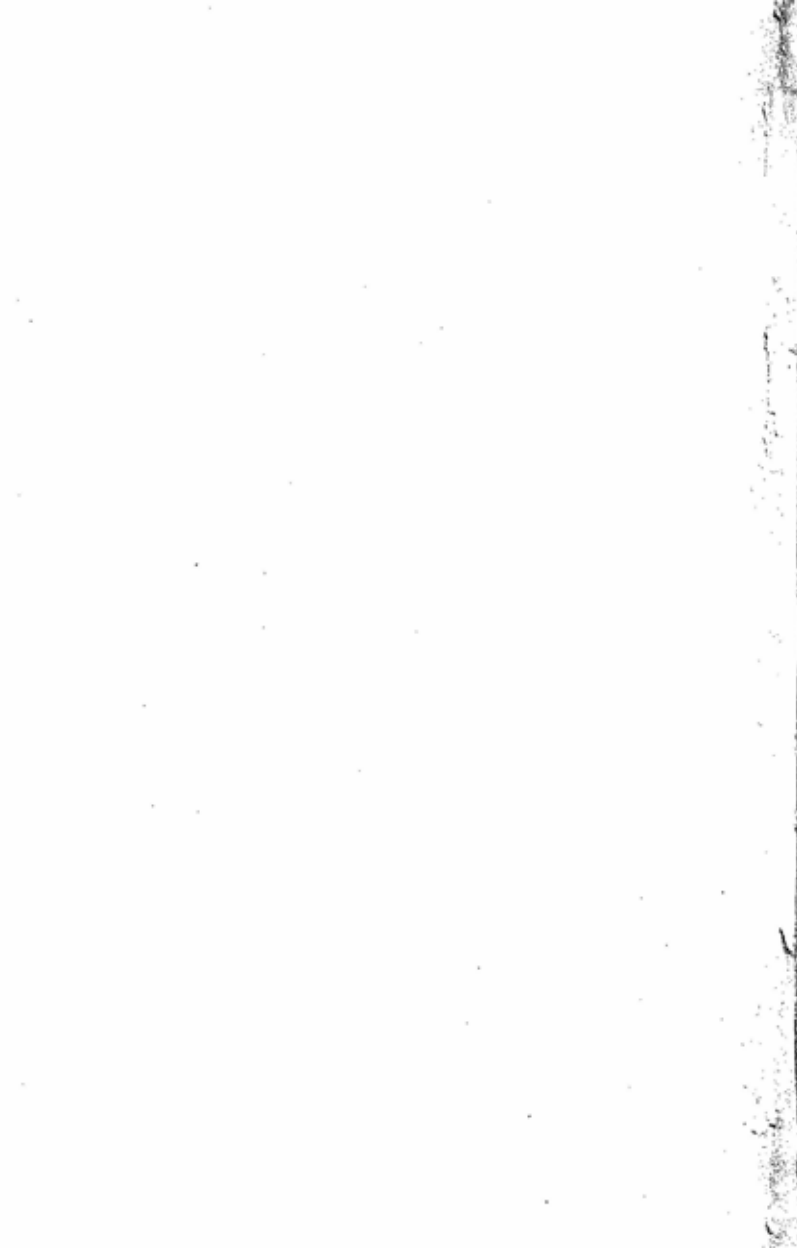
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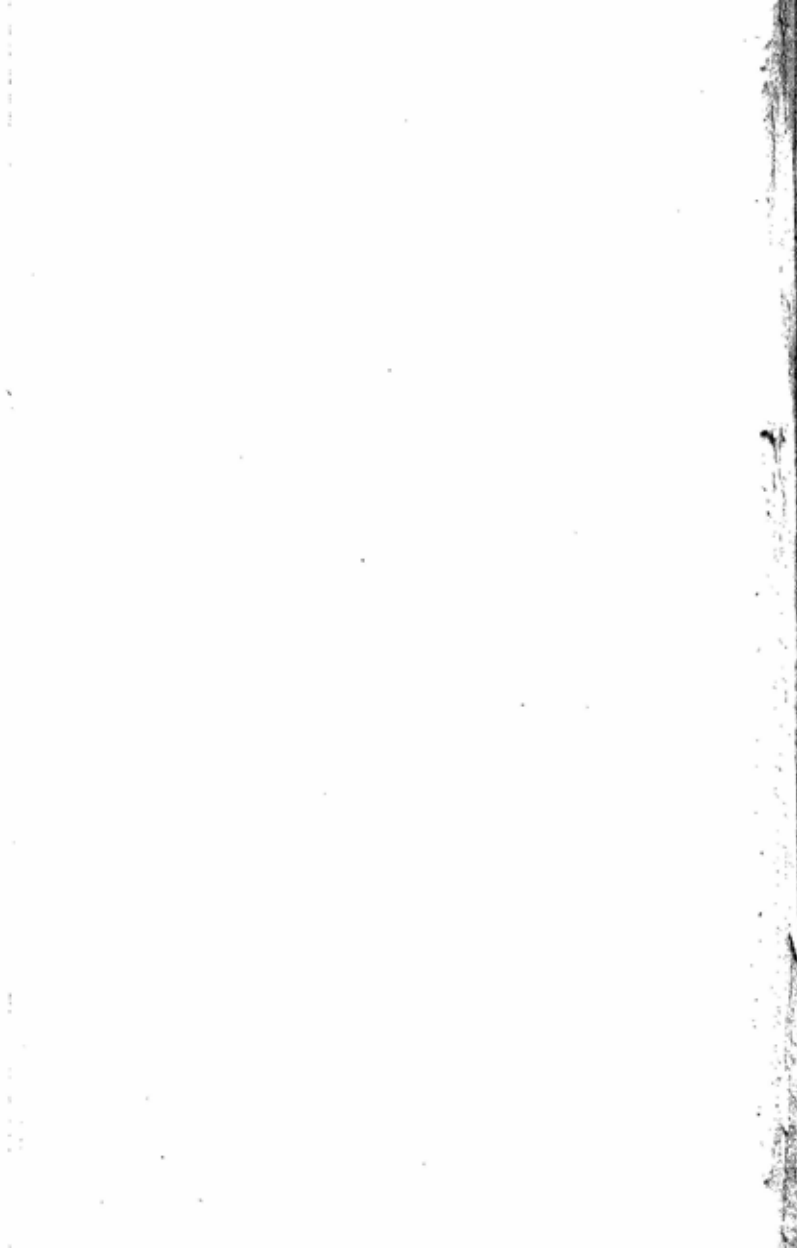
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Part I

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 Chitpawan 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-empere* 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. Dadabhoi 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 rowdyism 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 '*Ghadar*' 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 speculation¹; but, as the name itself implies, it dates to medieval times; and it still exists.² 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 'ट' 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 Akshapatalikas 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 Lekhpāl.

3. Tripathi, R. P., *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration in India*, page 363.

4. *Ain-i-Akbari*: Edited by H. S. Jarret, vol. II, page 66.

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 Kanungo³, 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 communication⁴ 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 minute⁶ 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 Kanungos.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

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.

6. The Government Revenue Records of the North-Western Provinces (1818-20), page 243.

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'.¹ 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."²

These efforts prompted the Government to frame the Regulation XII of 1817 for the 'better administration of the office of Patwari'.³ 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".⁴

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.⁵ If a Zamindar failed to nominate a Patwari within the prescribed period, then he

1. The Government Revenue Records of the North-Western Provinces (1818-20), p. 352.

2. Minutes of the Evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in the Affairs of the East India Company, vol. III, p. 327.

3. Regulations of the Government of Fort William in Bengal, vol. II, p. 408.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., clause VII, p. 409.

became liable to a daily fine until one was nominated.¹ Or, in the alternative, the Collector himself could nominate a 'qualified person' to the office.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.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.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.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'.⁶ He was also required to perform 'all other duties and services' which had been customary for him to execute.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.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."⁹ R. M. Bird recorded in his minute in 1832, "...successful and unobstructed administration of

1. Ibid, clause XI, p. 410.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid, clauses XII and XIV respectively, p. 410.

4. Ibid, clause XV, p. 411.

5. Ibid, clause XVI.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid, clause XVIII.

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"¹. 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."²

Consequently, the Government resolved that the Patwari's *duftar*³ 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.⁴

1. The Government Revenue Records of the North-Western Provinces (1822-32), p. 67.

2. Ibid, p. 69.

3. Ibid p. 449.

4. Proceedings of the Sudder Board of Revenue for North-Western Provinces, vol. III, 13th March, 1832.

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

1. Smith, V. A., *History of Fine Art in India & Ceylon*, 1st ed., p. 60.

2. Marshall, J., *Cambridge History of India*, vol. 1. (edited by Rapson), p. 620.

3. *Vide*, Sahnī, D. R., *Guide to the Buddhist Ruins at Sarnath*, 5th ed., p. 40.

4. Rowland, B., *The Art & Architecture of India*, p. 41.

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 adorsed 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 capital³. 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 at once the resplendent Sun in the sky, the compassionate heart of Bodhisattva, and the proliferating, ever variegated cosmic process⁴." It "is the

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 Edicts 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.

2. Vide, Marshall, I, *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 621; Smith V. A., *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 59; Rowland, B., *The Art and Architecture of India*, p. 40.

3. Vide, Coomaraswamy, A. K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 17; Havell, E., *A Handbook of Indian Art*, p. 44 f; *The Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India*, p. 59; *The History of Aryan Rule in India* p. 106.

4. Mukerjee, R. K., *The Culture and Art of India*, p. 118.

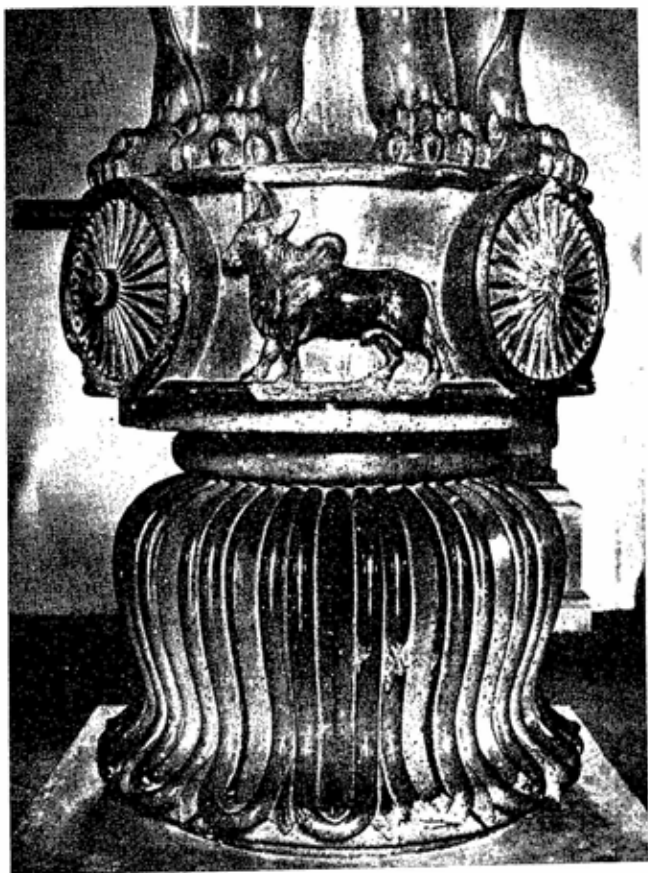


Lion Capital of the Ashoka Pillar at Sarnath

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

(Courtesy: Archaeological Survey of India)





Position of the Abacus in the Lion Capital of the Asokan 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,¹ and serves as a symbol of Buddha's nativity². In *Samyutta 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 world³.

In Brāhmaṇical context, lotus is associated with several deities. It is a flower of Lakshmī. It is held in her hand (*Padmahastā*), it is her seat (*Padmasthā*) 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 upon⁴.

Lotus also occupies an important place in Jaina art and mythology. A red lotus is the cognisance (*lāñchhana*) of Padmaprabha, the sixth Tīrthaṅkara⁵, and a blue lotus of Naminātha, the twenty-first Tīrthaṅkara⁶.

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-

1. Foucher, A., On the Iconography of the Buddha's Nativity: (*Memoirs of Archeological Survey of India*, No. 46), p. 5.

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.

2. "Apparently the lotus recalled those which had sprung up spontaneously under the first seven steps of the Master" (Foucher, A., *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, p. 21).

3. *Vide*, Mukerjee, R. K., *The Culture and Art of India*, p. 119.

4. *Vide*, Majumdar, B., *Guide to Sarnath*, (2nd. ed.), p. 46.

5. *Vide*, Mrs. Stevenson, S., *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 52.

6. *Ibid*, p. 57.

ted as the crowning animals on the Mauryan monolithic pillars. The lion crowned the Basaṇ-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 (*mahābhiniṣkramaṇa*)⁸ and the

1. *Vide*, Watters, T., *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, vol. II, p. 14.

2. This is the interpretation of Bloch (*vide*, Sahnī, 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-pāsaṃda garahā va no bhavē*, 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. *Hastidasaṇā* in R. E. IV; *gajataṃ* at Kalsi; *sarvaseto hasti sarvaloka sukkaharonāma* at Girnar.

6. *Jātaka* ed. Fausboll, vol. I, p. 50, *Bodhisatto setavaravāraṇo hutvā*... This event has been illustrated, besides other places, at Bharhut with appropriate label *Bhagavato ūkrānti* (see, Ray, N. R., *Maurya & Sunga 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.).

8. *Vide*, Foucher, A., *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art* p. 148, f.n.2.



Lion Symbol on the Abacus of the Asokan Pillar at Sarnath

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

Courtesy: Archaeological Survey of India



lion, the *Śākyasiṃha*¹, 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 text². We are told that the Buddha used to take his bath in this lake and his mother Māyā Devī, too, had a bath in the waters of this lake, before conception.³

In the Jaina context, again, these four animals are the cognisances (*lāñchhanas*) of the four Tīrthaṅkaras—the bull of Rishabhanātha, the first Tīrthaṅkara, elephant of Ajitanātha, the second, horse of Sambhavanātha, the third and, lion of Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth and the last⁴. Three of these animals, viz. the elephant, the bull and the lion appeared in first, second and third dreams respectively of Trisālā, the mother of Mahāvīra⁵.

This cosmopolitan character of animal symbolism is also supported by Aśoka's edicts wherein he speaks of his respect to all the sects⁶ and enjoins his subjects to respect religions other than their own⁷. In his opinion concord alone was good⁸. 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" (Malalsekera, *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.

2. Majumdar, B., *op. cit.*, p. 45.; Sahnī, D. R., *op. cit.*, p. 40.; Rowland, B., *op. cit.*, p. 41.

3. Majumdar, B., *op. cit.*, p. 45.

4. *gaugajōśvaḥ ... siṃho lāñchhanānyarhtāṅkramāt*, 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 *Āsavas* (vide Mookerji, R. K., *Asoka*, p. 71 fn.). The use of the terms *jīva*, *pāṇa*, *bhūta* and *jāta* in his edicts, corresponding to the *pāṇa-bhūya-jīva-sattā* of *Āchārāṅga Sūtra*, has been considered as further evidence of his borrowing from Jainism (Bhandarkar, D. R., *Asoka*, 3rd ed. p. 119):

5. Mrs. Stevenson., S., *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

6. *Devānām-piye Piyadasi rājā sava-pāsaṃdāni ... pūjayati*. R. E. XII.

7. *Pūjetayā tu eva para-pāsaṃdā*, *ibid.*

8. *Samavāyo eva sādhu*. *ibid.*

treatment¹ and liberality² both to the Brāhmaṇas and the Śramaṇas and that he appointed *dharmamahāmātras* who were occupied with all the religious sects³.

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 *dharmachakravartī* as well as with Aśoka, the *rājachakravartī*. 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 (*chakratna*) of the *chakravartī* 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 *chakravartī*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 times⁶. 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 Aśokan history, the spread of the *chakravartī* 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 art⁷. These two animals seem

1. R. E. IV; P. E. VII.

2. R. Es. III, VIII, IX and XI.

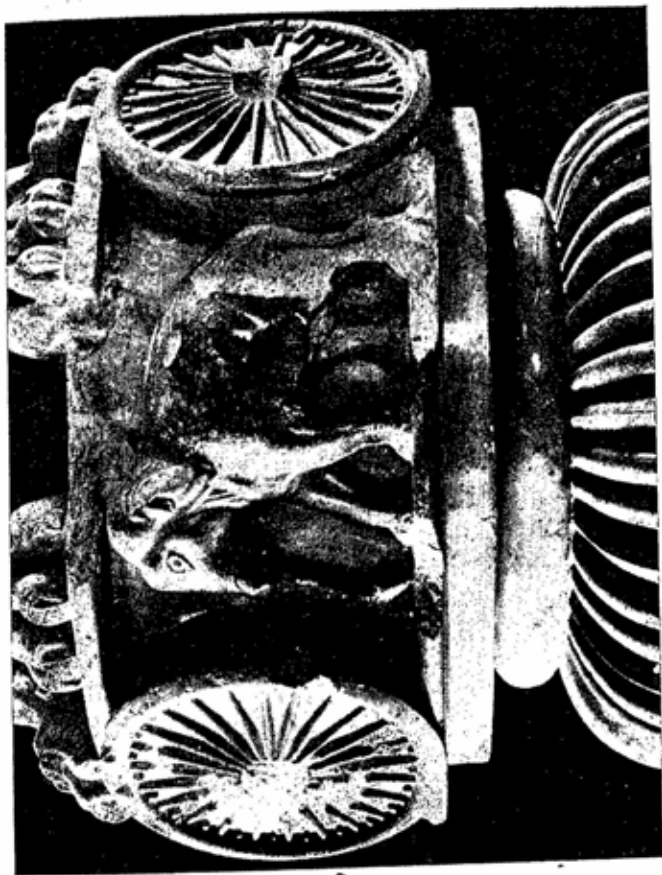
3. *sava pāsaiṇḍesu pi cha viyāpaṭāse*, P. E. VII.

4. Vide, Raychaudhuri, H. C., *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, p. 221.

5. Vide, Sastri, K. A. N. (ed.), *Comprehensive History of India*, vol. II, p. 91; Smith V. A., *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60.

6. Sastri, K. A. N., *op. cit.*, p. 91.

7. Marshall, J., *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, vol. I. P. 71., Coomaraswamy, A. K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 4.



Elephant Symbol on the Abacus of the Asokan Pillar at Sarnath



to have been venerated and perhaps even worshipped by the Harappans¹. 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 Harappans² 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 Aśoka'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 forms³. The bull and the elephant being Indian in conception as well as execution,⁴ whereas "the closest geographical parallel to the horse is the steeds on the silver bowls made in Bactria during the Hellenistic tradition,"⁵ and for lion Khorasabad and Persepolis have been considered as possible sources of inspiration⁶.

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-Siṃhanāda Sutta* of *Majjhima Nikāya*, takes the four lions to represent the monks proclaiming the Buddha's teachings to the four directions⁷. 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 *mahāpuruṣa lakṣaṇas*, as mentioned in *Lakkhaṇa-sutta* of *Dīgha Nikāya*⁸.

1. Marshall, J., *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, vol. I. p. 71.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

3. Not only art but even the imperialism of Aśoka had been considered as "a synthesis of Indian, Achaemenian and Hellenistic ideals" (Ray, N. R., *Maurya and Śunga Art*, p. 62.).

4. Even V. A. Smith, who is an exponent of the theory of foreign influence on Mauryan art, considers the treatment of the bull and the elephant as being entirely Indian. *Vide* Mookerji, R. K., *Asoka*, p. 99.

5. Rowland, B., *op. cit.*, p. 40-1.

6. Sastri, K. A. N. (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 92.

7. Majumdar, B., *op. cit.*, p. 47.

8. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, pt. III, pp. 138-9.

It may be noted that Mahāvīra, the last of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, who has for his *lāñchhana* 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, Trisālā, saw radiant sun, which was interpreted to mean that the child she was bearing would dispel the darkness of ignorance².

In Brāhmaṇical context, the Wheel may represent *Sudarśanachakra*, Viṣṇu'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 Aśoka³ 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 Dhamma⁴.

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 *rājachakravartī* and a *dharmachakravartī*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 representation⁷, symbols

1. Mrs. Stevenson, S., *op. cit.* p. 23.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 23-4.

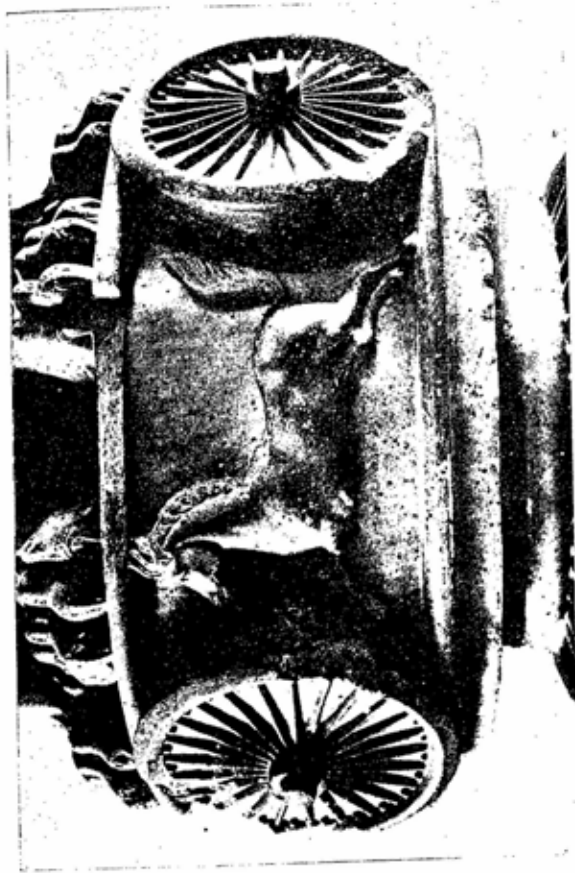
3. "The lion motif is associated with sovereignty in Western Asia and Vedic India," (Mukerjee, R. K., *The Culture & Art of India*, p. 104).

4. *esa hi vidhi ya dhammena pālanā dhammena vidhāne dhammena sukhīyanā dhammena golī ti* (P. E. I).

5. As Aśoka says, *uchāvacha chhamdo uchāvacha rāgo*, 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-simāna-darsanā cha hasti-darsanā cha agi-khamdhāni cha añāni cha divyāni rūpāni dasayitpā janam*.



Horse Symbol on the Abacus of the Asokan Pillar at Sarnath





Bull Symbol on the Abacus of the Asokan Pillar at Sarnath



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' (*Sāraṇadhī*), 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 *Rigveda* 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 *Gītā* that howsoever men approach the Deity so does He welcome them (*ye yathā māṁ prapadyante tāṁstathaiva bhajāmyaham*)⁸. The following words of Tulasīdāsa, a mediæval Indian saint, are merely an echo of the sentiments of the saintly king of 3rd Century B. C.:

जिन्ह कै रही भावना जैसी ।
प्रभु मूरति तिन्ह देखी तैसी॥⁹

1. *Vide*, R. E. XII

2. Beal, S., *Budhist Records of Western World*, vol. II p. 46.

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. *Dighāvuse*, *ibid*.

6. 1. 164.

7. X. 5. 2. 20.

8. IV, 11.

9. *Rāmācharitamānasa*, ed. by Śyāmasundaradāsa, 3rd ed., p. 232.



THE CHĀPOTKAṬAS OF BHINAMALA

By

JAI NARAYAN ASOPA

Chāpotkaṭas are probably the same as the Chāpas, the Chāvoṭakas and the Chāvḍās. The first appears to be the full Sanskrit name, the second its short form, the third the Prākṛita form of the first and the fourth the *apabhraṃśa* form of the third. The Haḍḍala plate inscription of Chāpa Mahāsāmāntādhipati Dharaṇīvarāha gives their origin from the Chāpa or the bow of Śambhu. 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 (*śastropajīvinah*). 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 Haḍḍala plate inscription,³ and Navsari Inscription of Pulakeśi *Avanijanāśraya*.⁴

1. श्री चापवंशतिलके श्री व्याघ्रमुखे नृपे शकनृपाणाम् ।
पंचाशतयुक्तेर्वर्षशतैः पंचभिरुत्तीतेः ॥७॥
ब्राह्मः स्फुटसिद्धान्तः सज्जनगणितमोलवित्प्रीत्यै ।
त्रिशद्वर्षेणकृतो जिष्णुमुत ब्रह्मगुप्तेन ॥८॥

ब्राह्मस्फुट सिद्धान्त, अध्याय २४ ।

2. *Prabandha Chintāmaṇi*, *Vichāraśreṇī Sukṛitasankīrtana* and *Ratnamālā* are the chief sources of information, regarding early history of the Chavdas.

3. I. A. Vol. XII, pp. 193-94.

4. *Nāgarī Prachārīṇī Patrikā*, Part. I. pp. 210-11.

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 (Prākṛit Chauṭā or Choraṭā) meaning thief or robbers; and Jāvaḍā, which is a further corruption of Chāvḍā, 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 Chavḍas noticed in any known contemporary Gujarat copper plates. For this reason it seems fair to regard them as unimportant rulers over a territory extending from Pañchāsar to Aṇahilavāḍa".¹

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 Mahāsāmantādhipati Dharaṇī-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 youngman celebrated for his wisdom and valour, and who was a profound believer in Buddhism and a patron of exceptional abilities."

Dr. Majumdar² 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. Puri³ 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

1. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part. I, p. 150.

2. E. I. Vol. XVIII. p. 89.

3. Dr. B. N. Puri: *History of the Gurjara Pratihāras*, p. 24.

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 Tūta, 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.

Bihler³ 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 Pulakeśirāja 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-rāshṭra, 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 Chintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga we know of another chāpa dynasty, established in Aṇahilwāḍa Pattana by Vanarāja in V. S. 802 or 746 A. D. A third Chāpa dynasty is known from the Haḍḍala inscription of Chāpa Mahāsāmantādhipati 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. ब्राह्मस्फुट सिद्धान्त, अध्याय २४।

3. I. A., Vol. XVII, p. 192.

4. J. R. A. S., 1907, p. 923.

5. *History of the Gurjara Pratihāras*, p. 32.

where in Kathiawar but we have already seen that the Chāvotakas 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. Majumdar¹ 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 Rūpasundarī to the forest under the charge of her brother Surapāla, one of his great warriors. After his death Rūpasundarī gave birth to a son named Vanarāja. Thus we see this dynasty losing its hold on Pañchāsara in 696 A. D. Merutunga, 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 *Vichāraśreṇī*, 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 *Ratnamālā*, 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 Chāvotakas, referred to in Pulakeśi Avanijanāśraya's Navsari plate, are the Chāvotakas of Bhinmal.

Pandit Bhagvan Lal Indrajī and A. M. T. Jackson² are of opinion that the Chāvotakas of Navsari plate could be no other than the Chāvḍās of Pañchāsara on the border of Kachchha. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar³ 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

1. *Classical Age*, p. 161.

2. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., part. I., pp. 149-50.

3. *Ibid*, Part. II, p. 187 (Foot-note).

from Pañchāsara in 696 A. D., as mentioned by *Ratnamālā* and they were not in power at Anhilawara before 746 A. D. in any case, as referred to by Merutuṅga in his *Prabandhaśhīntāmaṇi*. 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 uprooted up to that date.

Ahmad Ibn Yahya Ibn Jabir Al Bilādūrī¹ of the ninth century at the court of the Khalif Al Mutwakkal, in his work *Fatūḥul-Buldan*, writes that Junaid, after killing the sons of Dāhir and suppressing the revolts of Kīraj, sent his officers to Marmad Mandala, Dahnaj and Barūs (Broach). He further writes that he sent a force against Uzain and also sent Habid, son of Marra, against the country of Māliba. 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 Samvat 289 i. e. 609 A. D.². Barus 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 Gurjara 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 Baharimada, probably Barmer (district head-quarter 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

1. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I, pp. 125-26.

2. E. I., Vol. XI, p. 303.

3. I. A., Vol. XIII, pp. 81-88.

दुख गाहे गुर्जरनृपतिवंशमह द घो.....सामन्तदः

4. E. I., Vol. VII, Appendix No. 13.

यस्वाखण्डितविक्रमस्य कटकेनाक्रम्य तीरक्षितिम् ।

सौधेस्मिन्कृतगुर्जरेन्द्र रुचिरे..... ॥

in the vicinity of Sindh. Bilādūrī 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 Pratīhāra line of Harichandra ruled near about Māṇḍavyapura and Meḍantakam. This may, therefore, be the area referred to by Bilādūrī.

Thus the evidences of the Navsari inscription and Bilādūrī 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 Saurāshṭras, 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 Osiā, thirty two miles north-west of Jodhpur, is a city of temples. Its early names were Uvasīśal¹ and Upakeśa² as known from inscriptions and *prāśastis*. Its name did not originate from the fact that a Paramāra prince of Bhinmal, hard pressed by enemies, took refuge (Osiā) here, as Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar opines³. The prince of Bhinmal, who visited Osiā, was not of the Paramāra but of the Gūrjara Pratīhāra dynasty. In the *Upakeśagachchha Prabandha*⁴, written in 1326 A. D., the name of the different princes of Bhinmal is given. Śrīpuñja, the son of Surasundara, the Gūrjara Pratīhāra king of Bhinmal, due to certain differences with his father, came to Osiā 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 Osiā seems to have originated from the land of the 'ausa'.

4. *Lahara*, II, p. 14.

5. NJI, No. 788.

6. Ibid.

After the reign of Vatsarāja, 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 repeopled by the prince of Bhinmal who sought refuge at the hands of a king of the Pratīhāra dynasty which then reigned supreme in Mandor. The rule of the Gūrjara Pratīhāras was supplanted by the Chauhānas. In 1179 A. D., Osiā was ruled from Mandor by Kumāra Siṃha who was the son of Kelhaṇadeva, 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 Mathāniā, 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 Pratīhāras 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 Jhālrapāṭan, 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 Vatsarāja. 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 Viṣṇu and half Śiva God combining the dual aspects of life-giver and annihilation. They are said to have been erected by the Ābhīras¹, 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 Gūjjara Pratīhāras. Two of these temples are of the Pañchāyatana class standing on a high terrace. Their Śikhara is crowned with the *amalaka*. In the shrines of the temples are placed the images of Harihara and Viṣṇu. 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 Pūtana, 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 Śikhara 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 Viṣṇu but his hair is bound in two long plaits. He is clad in a long tight tunic tied on the chest, his waist 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 *torana* or gateway.

1. Marg, 1959, p. 55.

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 *Sachīyāmātā*. 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 Gobadaṁśu family had decorated the sanctum with the images of Chaṇḍikā, Śītala, Sañchikā, *Kṣhemāṅkarī* and *Kṣhetrapāla*¹.

Osiā remained especially associated with Jainism. It is known as the cradle of a class of *banijās* called *Osavālas*. It is said that Ratna-prabhā 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 inscriptions³ dated 1188 A. D. record the gift of her own house for

1. A. S. I., A Report, 1908-09, p. 108.

2. A. S. I., A Report, 1908-09, p. 108.

3. NJI, Nos. 806 and 807.

use as a stable for keeping Mahāvīra's chariot by one Sampūrṇa Śrāvikā, daughter of Pālhiyā, daughter-in-law of Devachandra and wife of Yaśodhara. Even from the *Nābhīnandana-Jinoddhāra* written by Kakka Sūri in 1338 A. D., it is known that this golden chariot of Mahāvīra 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 Vidagdha. It was inhabited by Osavālas with eighteen *Gotras*. One of them was Vesaṭha, who left this town and settled at Kirāḍu when he came in ideological clash with the *goshṭhikas* of the town.¹

Siddhasena Sūri, the author of the 12th century A. D., refers to Osiā as a holy place in the *Sakalāṭīrthastotra*². Upakeśa Gachchha among the Śvetambaras was also named after Osiā in Marwar. 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.

Osiā, 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.

1. BPPI, p. 159. See also *Nābhīnandana-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.

6. *Lahara*, II, p. 14.

ABBREVIATIONS

1. GOS=Gackwad Oriental Series.
2. NJI=Nahar Jaina Inscriptions.
3. PRAS. wc=Progress Report Archaeological Survey Western Circle.
4. EI=Epigraphia Indica
5. A. S. I. An Report=Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report.
6. BPPI=Bhagavāna Pārśvanātha kī Paramparā kā Itihāsa.
7. APJLS=Arbudāchalapradakṣiṇā Jaina Lekha Saṁdoha.

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।^१ ईसा की ७वीं शताब्दी से लेकर १४वीं शती तक के भिन्न-भिन्न समय उक्त कवि के लिए निर्धारित किए गए हैं। श्री ए० बोरूहा ने उपर्युक्त कवि का अस्तित्व सातवीं शताब्दी में माना है।^२ प्रो० पीटर्सन, पं० दुर्गा प्रसाद एवं श्री वामन शिवराम आपटे ने आठवीं शताब्दी में राजशेखर का होना स्वीकार किया है। सर्वश्री स्टोनकोनों, प्लीट, कीथ, मैकडॉनेल, भंडारकर और ओसा इत्यादि विद्वानों ने १०वीं शती में राजशेखर के जीवन काल को स्थिर किया है। प्रो० हेमन ह्योरेस विलसन के मतानुसार ग्यारहवीं अथवा बारहवीं शतियों का मध्य राजशेखर के नाटकों का रचना काल निर्धारित किया जा सकता है। प्रसिद्ध विद्वान मैक्समूलर ने १४वीं शती को राजशेखर की जन्म तिथि स्वीकृत किया है। अतएव उपर्युक्त विद्वानों के कथनों की विवेचना करते हुए प्रस्तुत विषय का एक संवेदनात्मक ऐतिहासिक अध्ययन नितान्तावश्यक है।

१. (क) ए० बोरूहा 'भवभूति एन्ड हिज प्लेस इन संस्कृत लिटरेचर' पृष्ठ सं० १७।
- (ख) प्रो० पीटर्सन और म० म० प० दुर्गा प्रसाद "सुभाषतावलि की अंग्रेजी रिपोर्ट, पृष्ठ सं० १०१।
- (ग) प्रो० रा० गो० भंडारकर "हस्त लिखित संस्कृत पुस्तकों की खोज की ई० सं० १८८२-८३ वाली अंग्रेजी रिपोर्ट", पृष्ठ सं० ४४।
- (घ) वामन शिवराम आपटे, "राजशेखर, हिज लाइफ एन्ड राइटिंग", पृ० सं० ४।
- (ङ) विल्सन, "हिन्दू थियेटर", जि० २, पृ० सं० ३६२।
- (च) प्रो० मैक्समूलर, "इंडिया, ह्याट दैन इट टीच अम्", पृ० सं० ३२८।
- (छ) प्रो० स्टोन कोनो, "हार्बर्ट ओरिएंटल सीरीज में सम्पादित कर्नूरमन्जरी, पृ० सं० १७९।

उपर्युक्त मतों में श्री ए० बोरुहा का सातवीं शती वाला मत ऐतिहासिक तथ्यों के प्रतिकूल है। कविराज राजशेखर ने अपनी 'कर्पूरमंजरी' (सट्टक) के तृतीय यवनिकान्तर में विदूषक के स्वप्न का वर्णन करते हुए कान्यकुब्ज के शासक बज्रायुध की चर्चा की है। विद्वानों ने आयुधवंशीय प्रथम शासक बज्रायुध का शासनकाल आठवीं शती के उत्तरार्ध में स्थिर किया है। अतएव कर्पूरमंजरी (सट्टक) के रचयिता राजशेखर का समय आठवीं शती के उपरान्त ही निर्धारित किया जा सकता है, उसके पूर्व नहीं। दूसरे, 'शंकर विजय', जिसके अनुसार राजशेखर ने अपने तीन नाटक श्री शंकराचार्य जी को भेंट किए थे, कोई ऐतिहासिक ग्रन्थ नहीं है। अतः उस पर अधिक विश्वास नहीं किया जा सकता।

इसी प्रकार प्रो० मैक्समूलर द्वारा राजशेखर को चौदहवीं शताब्दी में मानना भी असंगत है। वास्तविकता यह है कि श्री मैक्समूलर ने भ्रमवश 'प्रबन्ध कोष' के रचयिता जैन राजशेखर को ही जिन्होंने १४वीं शताब्दी में अपने चतुर्विंशति प्रबन्ध की रचना की थी कर्पूरमंजरी इत्यादि नाटकों का रचयिता समझ लिया है। जब कि यह दोनों लेखक पृथक् हैं और दोनों के बीच कई शताब्दियों का अन्तर विद्यमान है। इसके अतिरिक्त हमें सोमदेव तथा सोड्डल इत्यादि के 'यशस्तिलकचम्पू' और 'उदयसुन्दरी कथा' आदि ग्रन्थों में राजशेखर का उल्लेख मिलता है। उपर्युक्त लेखकों के रचना काल, जैसा कि हम आगे देखेंगे, निश्चित रूप से १४वीं शती के बहुत पूर्व है। अतः कविराज राजशेखर को चौदहवीं शती में रखना किसी भी प्रकार न्याय-संगत नहीं है।

डा० पीटर्सन ने राजशेखर को अष्टम शतक के मध्य का स्वीकृत किया है। उपर्युक्त विद्वान के अनुसार काश्मीर के शासक जयापीड़ (७५० ई० स०) के गुरु क्षीर स्वामी ने 'अमरकोष' की टीका लिखते हुए राजशेखर की 'विद्वदाल भंजिका' (नाटिका) से एक प्लोक उद्धृत किया है। परन्तु क्या काश्मीर के शासक जयापीड़ के गुरु क्षीर और अमरकोष के टीकाकार 'क्षीर स्वामी' दोनों एक ही व्यक्ति हैं—यह एक गहरी शंका है जिसका समाधान अभी तक नहीं हो सका।

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- (ज) सी० डी० दलाल गायकवाड ओरिएण्टल् सीरीज में मुद्रित काव्यमीमांसा की अंग्रेजी भूमिका, पृ० सं० १५।
- (झ) "डा० कीलहार्न एपिग्राफिया इंडिका", जि० १, पृ० सं० १७१।
- (ञ) राय बहादुर गौरीशंकर हीरा चन्द ओझा "कवि राजशेखर का समय"—नागरी प्रचारिणी पत्रिका, जि० ६ पृ० सं० ३७०।
- (ट) जे० एफ० पलीट "दि डेट आव् दि पोयेट राजशेखर" इंडियन ऐंटीक्वेरी जि० १६, पृ० सं० १७५, १७६।
- (ठ) मैकडॉनैल, "ए हिस्ट्री आव् संस्कृत लिटरेचर", पृ० सं० ३६६।
- (ड) ए० बी० कीथ, "ए हिस्ट्री आव् संस्कृत लिटरेचर", पृ० सं० ११९।

बिहार प्रान्त के दिववाहुबौली नामक ग्राम में महाराज महेन्द्रपाल का एक शिलालेख प्राप्त हुआ है। प्रथमतः विद्वानों ने इस लेख में उद्धृत तिथि को भूल से वि० सं० ८१८-७६१ ई० पड़ा था। परन्तु पुनराध्ययन से यह सिद्ध हो चुका है कि उपर्युक्त लेख वि० सं० ९५५ अर्थात् ८९८ ई० में लिखवाया गया था। श्री कनिंघम ने भ्रमवश वि० सं० ८१८ के अनुसार ही प्रस्तुत शिलालेख में वर्णित शासक महाराज महेन्द्रपाल को ईसा की ८वीं शती में रखा था। इसीलिए राजशेखर की तिथि निर्धारित करने में भी भूल हुई है।

अतः हम देखते हैं कि राजशेखर के समय के लिए विद्वानों में गहरा मतभेद है। परन्तु राजशेखर की रचनाओं में विद्यमान आन्तरिक प्रमाणों को ध्यान में रखते हुए उपर्युक्त समस्या का समाधान सरलता से किया जा सकता है। राजशेखर के जीवन काल को निश्चित करने के लिए पुरातात्विक एवं साहित्यिक उभय प्रकार के प्रमाणों की छानबीन परमावश्यक है।

राजशेखर ने अपने सभी नाटकों की प्रस्तावना में अपने को रघुकुल तिलक महेन्द्रपाल का उपाध्याय बतलाया है^१। इतना ही नहीं बल्कि बालभारत नाटक में महीपाल को भी नाटककार का संरक्षक घोषित किया गया है^२। प्राप्त अभिलेखों के आधार पर उपर्युक्त दोनों शासकों के समय एवं स्थान से अवगत हो जाने पर कविराज राजशेखर का समय ठीक निर्धारित किया जा सकता है। जर्मन विद्वान फ्लीट ने राजशेखर की तिथि निर्धारित करते हुए निर्भय या निर्भयनरेन्द्र को महेन्द्रपाल से पृथक् व्यक्ति समझा और इस प्रकार उन्होंने महेन्द्रपाल तथा उनके पुत्र एवं उत्तराधिकारी महीपाल के बीच स्थित सम्बन्ध को जानने में भी भूल की है^३। वास्तव में निर्भय अथवा निर्भयनरेन्द्र महेन्द्रपाल का ही विरुद्ध था जैसा कि आप्टे तथा पिशेल इत्यादि विद्वानों का मत है। डा० कीलहॉर्न^४ ने भी सीयडोनी शिलालेख का सम्पादन करते हुए उपर्युक्त मत का ही समर्थन किया है।

अभी तक प्राप्त शिलालेखों में महेन्द्रपाल का सबसे पहला शिलालेख जूनागढ़ के निकट ऊना नामक स्थान से प्राप्त हुआ जिसमें बलभी संवत् १७४ अर्थात् ई० सं० ८९३ की तिथि

१. (क) “बालकवि: कविराजो निर्भयराजस्य तथोपाध्यायः
इत्यस्य परम्परया आत्मा माहात्म्यमाकङ्क्षः। क० मं० अं० १, श्लोक ९।

(ख) “किमपरमपरैः परोपकार-व्यसन. निधेर्गजितैर्गुणैर्मुष्य।

रघुकुलः तिलको महेन्द्रपाल. सकलकलानिलयः से यस्य शिष्यः
विद्व० अं० १, श्लोक ६।

२. “बालभारत” प्रस्तावना, पृ० सं० २।

३. फ्लीट “इंडियन ऐन्टीक्वेरी”, भाग १६, पृ० सं० १७७।

४. कीलहॉर्न, “एपिग्राफिया इंडिका” भाग १, पृ० सं० १७१।

दी हुई है। सबसे बादवाला सीयडोनी का शिलालेख है जिसमें उद्धृत तिथि विक्रम संवत् ९६४ अर्थात् ई० स० ९०७ है। महेन्द्रपाल के पिता मिहिरभोज के शासन काल की अन्तिम तिथि ई० स० ८८२ है जो पिहोवा (पृथूदक) शिलालेख में प्राप्त होती है। अतः महेन्द्रपाल के शासन काल की अवधि ई० स० ८८५ से लेकर ई० स० ९१० तक निश्चित की जा सकती है। इसी प्रकार हृद्दाला वाले शिलालेख तथा बंगाल एशियाटिक सोसाइटी में प्रकाशित ताम्रपत्रों के अनुसार कान्यकुब्जाधिपति महीपाल ने ई० स० ९१४ के कुछ पूर्व से लेकर ई० स० ९३१ के कुछ काल उपरान्त तक शासन किया। उपर्युक्त शिलालेखों में महोदय नगरी का उल्लेख कई बार हुआ है जो कि गुर्जर प्रतीहार शासकों की राजधानी थी। कविराज राजशेखर के बालरामायण, कर्पूरमंजरी तथा बालभारत इत्यादि नाटकों के अभिनय भी कान्यकुब्ज में ही सम्पादित हुए थे। अतः निश्चित है कि गुर्जर, प्रतीहार शासक महेन्द्रपाल और महीपाल ही राजशेखर के आश्रयदाता थे।

इसके अतिरिक्त बाह्य प्रमाणों से भी राजशेखर का समय स्थिर करने में सहायता प्राप्त होती है। बालरामायण में एक स्थल पर राजशेखर ने अपने को भवभूति का अवतार बतलाया है^१। काव्यमीमांसा में अनेक स्थलों पर प्राचीन कवियों एवं आचार्यों जैसे वाक्पति-राज^२, उद्भट^३, वामन^४ तथा आनन्दवर्धन^५ इत्यादि के मतों को उद्धृत किया गया है। "उत्तर रामचरित" तथा "मालती माधव" इत्यादि नाटकों के प्रणेता भवभूति एवं प्राकृत महाकाव्य "गोड़वहो" के रचयिता वाक्पतिराज कान्यकुब्ज के शासक यशोवर्मा के दरबारी कवि थे^६। कान्यकुब्जाधिपति यशोवर्मा का शासन काल विद्वानों ने ८वीं शती के पूर्वार्ध में स्थिर किया है। अतः उर्युक्त दोनों साहित्यिक महारथियों का रचना-काल सातवीं शताब्दी का अन्त तथा आठवीं शताब्दी का आरम्भ है।

१. "स्थितः पुनर्यो भवभूतिरेखया सर्वतन्ते सम्प्रति राजशेखरः।" बालरामायण;
अ० १, श्लोक १६
२. "न, इति वाक्पतिराजः", काव्यमीमांसा द्वादशोध्यायः, पृ० सं० १५२।
३. "तस्य च त्रिधाऽभिधाऽव्यापारः" काव्यमीमांसा
इत्युद्भटाः, षष्ठोऽध्यायः, पृ० सं० ५५।
४. का० मी० पञ्चमोऽध्यायः, पृ० सं० ४९।
५. "प्रतिभाबुत्पत्त्योः प्रतिभाश्रेयसी" इत्यानन्दः, का० मी० पृ० अ० पृ० सं० ३७।
६. कविर्वाक्पतिराज-श्री-भवभूत्यादि सेवितः।
जितो ययौ यशोवर्मा तद्गुणैस्तुतिवन्दिताम् ॥ राजतरंगिणी, तरंग ४,
श्लोक १४०।

कल्हण की राजतरंगिणी के अनुसार कोई भट उद्भट काश्मीर के शासक महाराज जयापीड़ के सभापति थे^१। डा० व्यूलर^२ ने अपनी काश्मीर-रिपोर्ट में अनेक प्रमाणों के साथ यह सिद्ध कर दिया है कि महाराज जयापीड़ के सभापति भट उद्भट और अलंकार-सार-संग्रह इत्यादि ग्रन्थों के लेखक आचार्य उद्भट दोनों एक ही व्यक्ति थे। इतिहासकारों ने महाराज जयापीड़ की शासनावधि ई० सं० ७७९ से ई० सन् ८१३ पर्यन्त निर्धारित की है। डा० जैकोबी भट उद्भट को इनके शासन के पूर्वकाल में ही रखना उपयुक्त समझते हैं। अतः ८वीं शती का अन्त ही उद्भट का रचना काल माना जाना चाहिए। "काव्यालंकार सूत्र" के प्रबन्धकार आचार्य वामन भी उद्भट के साथ ही जयापीड़ की सभा में मंत्रिपद को सुशोभित करते थे। आनन्दवर्द्धनाचार्य का भी उल्लेख राजतरंगिणी में मिलता है। कल्हण द्वारा प्रस्तुत किए गए वर्णन के अनुसार मुक्ताकण, शिवस्वामी, कवि आनन्दवर्द्धन और रत्नाकर ये सब काश्मीर के राजा अवन्तिवर्मा के राज्य-काल में सुविख्यात हुए। अवन्तिवर्मा का राज्यकाल ई० सन् ८१७ से लेकर ८८४ ई० तक निश्चित किया जाता है। अतः आनन्दवर्द्धन के युगान्तरकारी ग्रन्थ 'ध्वन्यालोक' की कीर्ति-कौमुदी ई० सन् ८८४ तक सर्वत्र फैल चुकी रही होगी।

दूसरी ओर सोमदेव, सोड्डल और क्षेमेन्द्र आदि साहित्यकारों ने अपनी रचनाओं में राजशेखर को उद्धृत किया है। उपर्युक्त लेखकों का रचना काल विद्वानों ने ई० सन् ९५९ से १०७५ तक स्वीकार किया है। अतः इसके पूर्व ही राजशेखर का काल स्थिर किया जा सकता है।

इस प्रकार उपर्युक्त पुरातात्विक एवं साहित्यिक प्रमाणों के पर्यालोचन के उपरान्त इतना निश्चित हो जाता है कि राजशेखर ९वीं शती के उत्तरार्द्ध एवं दशम शतक के पूर्वार्द्ध में ही प्रादुर्भूत हुए। निस्सन्देह ही उन्हें बाल कवि से कविराज तथा सर्वश्रेष्ठ प्रबन्धकार बनने में पर्याप्त समय लगा होगा। उनकी विलक्षण प्रतिभा एवं दीर्घानुभूति के कारण ही महाराजाधिराज महेंद्रपाल ने उन्हें अपना उपाध्याय बनाया था। जिसके लिए राजशेखर को अपार गर्व था। तदुपरान्त उन्हें आर्षावर्त सम्राट् महीपाल का संरक्षण भी सुलभ हो सका है। और यदि "विद्वशालभञ्जिका" (नाटिका) के आधार पर प्रस्तुत किए गए प्रो० कोनों के मत को स्वीकार कर लिया जाए तो कल्चुरि-नरेशों की सभा में भी कविराज राजशेखर को पर्याप्त आदर प्राप्त हुआ। अतः उनकी दीर्घायु को ध्यान में रखते हुए ई० सन् ८६० से ९३० तक का समय राजशेखर के लिए स्थिर किया जा सकता है।

१. "भट्टोऽभुदुद्भटस्तस्य भूमिभर्तुः सभापतिः" राजतरंगिणी
तरंग ४ श्लोक ४९५।

२. "ज० आर्क् ब० रायल एशियाटिक सोसाइटी", १८८७।

ग्रन्थ और उनकी ऐतिहासिकता.

कविराज राजशेखर कृत ग्रन्थों में से अभी तक बालरामायण (नाटक), कर्पूरमंजरी (सट्टक), विद्वशालभञ्जिका (नाटिका), बालभारत या प्रचण्ड पाण्डव (नाटक) और काव्य-मीमांसा ही प्रकाश में आ सके हैं। परन्तु जैसा कि उनकी रचनाओं से प्रतीत होता है उन्होंने सम्भवतः नौ या दस ग्रन्थों की रचना की थी। बालरामायण की प्रस्तावना में राजशेखर ने 'नः पट् प्रबन्धान्' कहकर अपने छः प्रबन्धों की ओर संकेत किया है जैसा कि अभी हम देखेंगे: विद्वशालभञ्जिका, बालभारत और काव्यमीमांसा उपरान्त की कृतियाँ हैं। अतः यदि बालरामायण नाटक को भी उपर्युक्त छः प्रबन्धों में सम्मिलित कर दिया जाय तो उनके द्वारा रचित ग्रन्थों की संख्या कम से कम नौ निश्चित की जा सकती है।

राजशेखर के ग्रन्थों में उनकी प्रारम्भिक रचनाओं का कोई वर्णन या उल्लेख नहीं है। बालरामायण^१ में उद्धृत एक श्लोक के आधार पर कहा जा सकता है कि प्रारम्भिक काल में राजशेखर ने कुछ मुक्तक एवं प्रबन्धात्मक काव्यों की सृष्टि की किन्तु उनमें वे अधिक सफल नहीं हुए और उन्होंने दृढ काव्य की ओर अपना ध्यान आकृष्ट किया।

इन प्रारम्भिक काव्यों के नाम अथवा विषयादि का कोई ठीक ज्ञातव्य नहीं उपलब्ध है। 'काव्यानुशासन' के रचयिता आचार्य हेमचन्द्र की उक्ति के आधार पर विद्वानों ने 'हरविलास' नामक महाकाव्य की रचना भी कविराज राजशेखर द्वारा ही स्वीकार की है। कतिपय लेखकों के अनुसार राजशेखर ने 'कवि-विमर्ष' नामक ग्रन्थ की रचना भी की थी। परन्तु इस कथन की पुष्टि के लिए पर्याप्त प्रमाण उपलब्ध नहीं हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त काव्य मीमांसा के सप्तदश अध्याय 'देश-विभाग' में राजशेखर ने अपने 'भुवन-कोश' की ओर संकेत किया है। अतः कुछ आलोचकों का मत है कि राजशेखर ने भूगोल-विषयक 'भुवन-कोश' नामक एक स्वतन्त्र ग्रन्थ की रचना की थी।

कविराज राजशेखर के अभी तक प्राप्त ग्रन्थों का रचना काल ठीक-ठीक निर्धारित नहीं किया जा सका है। प्रो० स्टीन कोनों^२ एवं श्री आप्टे के मतानुसार राजशेखर के ग्रन्थों का रचना-क्रम क्रमशः कर्पूरमंजरी, विद्वशालभञ्जिका, बालरामायण एवं बालभारत या प्रचण्ड पाण्डव होना चाहिए। उपर्युक्त विद्वानों ने कर्पूरमंजरी (सट्टक) को राजशेखर की प्रथम रचना स्वीकार किया है। क्योंकि इसका अभिनय किसी शासक के आदेशानुसार नहीं वरन् स्वयं नाटककार की पत्नी अवन्तिमुन्दरी के अनुरोध पर किया गया था। परन्तु इससे यह निष्कर्ष कदापि नहीं निकाला जा सकता कि कर्पूरमंजरी के रचना काल तक राजशेखर

१. बालरामायण, अ० १, श्लोक १२।

२. 'हार्बर्ड ओरिएण्टल सीरीज में सम्पादित कर्पूरमंजरी', पृ० सं० १८४-५।

सम्राट् महेन्द्रपाल के सम्पर्क में नहीं आए थे क्योंकि उपर्युक्त सट्टक में ही राजशेखर ने अपने को महेन्द्रपाल का गुरु घोषित किया है।^१ अतः निश्चित ही है कि कर्पूरमंजरी की रचना होने के पूर्व ही राजशेखर की पैठ राज-दरबार में हो चुकी थी। गायकवाड ओरिएंटल सीरीज में मुद्रित काव्यमीमांसा की भूमिका लिखते हुए श्री सी० डी० दलाल ने बाल-रामायण एवं बालभारत नाटकों को राजशेखर की प्रारम्भिक रचनाएं बतलाया है क्योंकि उपर्युक्त नाटकों में राजशेखर ने अपने को बालकवि की उपाधि से विभूषित किया है। उक्त विद्वान के कथनानुसार 'कर्पूरमंजरी' के रचना-काल तक राजशेखर 'कविराज' हो चुके थे। अतः यह वाद की रचना है। कुछ भी हो, बालभारत या प्रचण्ड पाण्डव नाटक को हम राजशेखर की प्रारम्भिक रचना स्वीकार नहीं कर सकते क्योंकि इसकी रचना महेन्द्रपाल के पुत्र महीपाल के शासन काल में सम्पादित हुई थी। इसके अतिरिक्त 'बालभारत' नाटक के केवल दो अंक ही उपलब्ध हुए हैं। अतः विद्वानों का अनुमान है कि इस नाटक के समाप्त करने के पूर्व ही कविराज राजशेखर काल-कवलित हो गए। बहुत सम्भव है कि अपने अन्तिम दिनों में कवि ने भविष्य में पूर्ण करने की अभिलाषा से इस नाटक को अपूर्ण छोड़ कर ही काव्यमीमांसा जैसे महा निबन्ध की रचना प्रारम्भ कर दी हो। लेकिन काल की क्रूर गति ने उनके संकल्पों को निःश्व के लिए अधूरा ही छोड़ दिया, प्रस्तुत 'काव्यमीमांसा' के द्वितीय एवं तृतीय अध्यायों में कवि ने अलंकारों और रीतियों के सम्बन्ध में लिखा है कि इनकी व्याख्या आगे की जायगी। अतएव कहा जा सकता है कि पूर्व में बनाए हुए विषय-विभाग के अनुरूप वह काव्यमीमांसा की रचना भी पूर्ण किए बिना ही रह गए और अकस्मात् उनका देहान्त हो गया। अन्त में प्रो० मिराशी^२ ने अपने एक गवेषणात्मक लेख में राजशेखर के ग्रन्थों का रचना-काल निर्धारित करते हुए बालरामायण एवं बालभारत अथवा प्रचण्ड पाण्डव नाटकों को राजशेखर की प्रारम्भिक रचनाओं में रखा है। तदुपरान्त क्रमशः कर्पूरमंजरी, विद्वत्शालभंजिका और काव्यमीमांसा आदि ग्रन्थ लिखे गए। उपर्युक्त विद्वान का कथन है, कि 'बालभारत' नाटक बालरामायण और कर्पूरमंजरी के बीच की रचना है। परन्तु उक्त मत को मानने में हमारे समक्ष दो बड़ी कठिनाइयां उपस्थित होती हैं। प्रथमतः, कर्पूरमंजरी (सट्टक) में स्पष्टतया महेन्द्रपाल का नाम वर्णित है जब कि कहीं पर भी महीपाल का उल्लेख नहीं किया गया। इसके अतिरिक्त महीपाल के शिलालेखों में भी इस काल के प्रमाण उपलब्ध नहीं हैं कि महीपाल का दूसरा नाम चन्द्रपाल था। अतः प्रो० मिराशी का यह कथन कि कर्पूरमंजरी के नायक चन्द्रपाल से नाटककार का तात्पर्य अपने आश्रयदाता

१. "निर्भयराजस्व तथोपाध्यायः", कर्पूरमंजरी, अं० १, श्लोक ९।

२. प्रो० बी० डी० मिराशी, 'के० डी० पाठक कमेमोरेखन बालूम', पृ० सं० ३६०।

महीपाल से था^१, ऐतिहासिक प्रमाणों पर आधारित नहीं है। उपर्युक्त विद्वान के मत को मानने में दूसरी बड़ी बाधा यह है कि यदि बालभारत और कर्पूरमंजरी की रचना महीपाल के शासन काल में मान ली जाए तो यह कैसे सम्भव है कि महेन्द्रपाल के सम्पूर्ण शासन काल की लम्बी अवधि में राजशेखर ने केवल एक नाटक 'बालरामायण' की ही रचना की। फिर, राजशेखर ने स्वयं अपनी रचना 'बालरामायण' में इस बात को स्वीकार किया है कि बाल-रामायण के पूर्व विरचित काव्यों को समाज में विशेष आदर नहीं मिला था। इसलिए यह कहना कि बिना किसी क्वालिटी के ही राजशेखर को महेन्द्रपाल की सभा में राजाश्रय एवं गुरुत्व प्राप्त हो गए, सर्वथा असम्भव है।

अतः उक्त विवेचना के उपरान्त राजशेखर के ग्रन्थों का निम्नांकित रचना-क्रम निर्धारित किया जा सकता है।

(१) बालरामायण :

प्रो० मिराशी ने प्रस्तुत नाटक को इसकी लम्बी प्रस्तावना, इसके अकारण विस्तार एवं अनुपयुक्त चित्रणों के कारण राजशेखर का प्रथम नाटक स्वीकार किया है। बहुत सम्भव है कि महेन्द्रपाल की सभा में प्रवेश पाने के लिए ही कवि ने इसकी रचना की हो क्योंकि प्रस्तुत नाटक का अभिनय भी सम्राट् महेन्द्रपाल की सभा के समक्ष प्रस्तुत किया गया था^२।

(२) कर्पूरमंजरी :

पहले ही कहा जा चुका है कि प्रस्तुत सट्टक को अवन्ति-सुन्दरी से सम्बद्ध होने के कारण न तो कवि की प्रथम रचना ही कह सकते हैं और न ही इसके नायक चन्द्रपाल के कारण उसे महीपाल के शासन-काल में ही रखा जा सकता है। निश्चित है कि यदि कर्पूरमंजरी का नायक चन्द्रपाल सम्राट् महीपाल का पर्यायवाची होता तो 'बालभारत' नाटक की भांति इसमें भी महीपाल द्वारा विजित अन्य देशों अथवा पराजित शासकों की ओर संकेत किया गया होता। परन्तु कर्पूरमंजरी में कहीं पर भी हमें इस प्रकार की सूचना उपलब्ध नहीं होती। इसके विपरीत प्रस्तुत सट्टक की प्रथम यवनिकान्तर के प्रारम्भ में ही बौतालिक द्वारा चन्द्रपाल का परिचय देते हुए उसे पूर्व दिशा के स्वामी, चम्पा नगरी के पालक, खेल में ही राढ़ देश के जीतनेवाले, कामरूप के विजेता और हरिकेलि देश में विहार करनेवाले, इत्यादि

१. प्रो० बी० बी० मिराशी, 'के० बी० पाठक कमेमोरेशन वालूम', पृ० सं० ३६१

२. ".....भो भो भुजस्तम्भालानित लक्ष्मीकरेणुना रघुकुलैकतिलकेन महेन्द्रपाल देवेनाधिकृताः सभासदः सर्वानिधो गुणनिधि विज्ञापयति विदितमेवेत ब्रूयताम्।" बालरामायण, प्रस्तावना।

उपाधियों से विभूषित किया गया है।^१ उपर्युक्त देशों की सूची से प्रकट होता है कि कवि ने केवल पूर्व दिशा में ही उक्त शासक का राज्य-विस्तार दिखलाया है। चम्पा नगरी का तात्पर्य आधुनिक भागलपुर से है। इसी प्रकार राड़ एवं हरिकेलि भी प्राचीन काल में बंगाल में स्थित भूभाग थे। श्री नन्दलाल जी के मतानुसार बंगाल का वह भाग जो गंगा नदी के पश्चिम में वर्तमान है, राड़ कहा जाता था। कामरूप वर्तमान आसाम का परिचायक देश है। अभिप्राय यह है कि राजशेखर के कर्पूरमंजरी सट्टक के नायक चन्द्रपाल का राज्य-विस्तार केवल पूर्व में विस्तृत था। प्राप्त शिलालेखों से ज्ञात है कि गुर्जर-प्रतीहार शासक महेन्द्रपाल ने भी पूर्व में ही विजय प्राप्त की थी। विहार के रामगया^२, गुनेरिया^३, हल्होरी^४ और बंगाल के पहाड़पुर^५ इत्यादि अभिलेखों के आधार पर महेन्द्रपाल का साम्राज्य सम्पूर्ण मगध और मध्य बंगाल तक फैला हुआ था। ध्यान देने की बात यह है कि यहाँ पर दक्षिणापथ का कोई भी नाम प्रस्तुत नहीं किया गया जब कि महीपाल ने मुरल, मेकल, कालिंग, केरल, कुलूत, कुन्तल और रमठ इत्यादि राज्यों पर अपना आधिपत्य स्थापित किया था। प्रो० स्टीन काणों ने भी कर्पूरमंजरी के नायक चन्द्रपाल को महेन्द्रपाल का ही पर्यायवाची स्वीकार किया है। क्योंकि उपर्युक्त विद्वान के अनुसार चन्द्र और महेन्द्र दोनों ही शिव के पर्यायवाची नाम हैं। अतः कर्पूरमंजरी की रचना भी महेन्द्रपाल के ही शासनकाल में सम्पादित हुई होगी। प्रस्तुत सट्टक बालरामायण नाटक के बाद की रचना है क्योंकि इसकी रचनाकाल तक महेन्द्रपाल अपने पूर्ण वैभव को प्राप्त कर चुका था।

(३) विद्वशालभंजिका :

प्रस्तुत नाटिका का अभिनय युवराज देव की सभा में हुआ था। कतिपय विद्वानों ने युवराज का तात्पर्य महेन्द्रपाल को उत्तराधिकारी से लिया है। परन्तु प्रस्तुत नाटिका के चतुर्थ अंक में कर्पूर वर्ण नामक कल्चुरि सम्राट् की सभा का चित्रण किया गया है। अतः निश्चित है कि विद्वशालभंजिका के श्री युवराज देव त्रिपुरी के शासक युवराज देव प्रथम हैं। जिनका दूसरा नाम केयूरवर्ण भी था। राजशेखर ने अपनी नाटिका में केयूरवर्ण को कर्पूरवर्ण

१. "जय पूर्वदिगंगनाभुजंग। चम्पा चम्पक कर्णपूर लीलानिजितराड़ देश ! विक्रमाक्रान्त कामरूप ! हरिकेली केलिकारक....कर्पूरमंजरी, पृ० सं० १५।
२. भण्डारकर-लिस्ट सं० १६४५।
३. 'इंडियन ऐन्टीक्वेरी', १९१८ पृ० सं० ११०।
४. 'ऐनुबल रिपोर्ट आब् आर्कैलाजिकल सर्वे आब् इंडिया', (१९२०-२१) पृ० सं० ३५।
५. वही, १९२५-२६ पृ० सं० १४१।

कर दिया है। युवराज देव का शासन काल दशम शतक का मध्यान्ह स्वीकार किया जाता है।^१ इस प्रकार से युवराज देव को भी हम महीपाल का समकालीन शासक स्वीकार कर सकते हैं। अतः, बहुत सम्भव है कि अपने शिष्य महेन्द्रपाल के निधनोपरान्त राजशेखर कल्चुरियों की राजधानी त्रिपुरी चले गए हों और वहीं पर उनकी नाटिका विद्वशालभञ्जिका का अभिनय श्री युवराज देव की परिषद के समक्ष हुआ।

(४) बालभारत :

पहले ही कहा जा चुका है कि बालभारत नाटक की रचना राजशेखर ने महेन्द्रपाल के पुत्र महीपाल के शासन काल में सम्पादित की थी। अतः निश्चित है कि प्रस्तुत काल तक राजशेखर कल्चुरियों की राजधानी त्रिपुरी से महोदय वापस चले आए थे और वहीं पर उन्होंने अपनी अन्तिम रचनाएं सम्पादित कीं।

(५) काव्यमीमांसा :

निस्सन्देह ही काव्यमीमांसा राजशेखर की परिवर्धनावस्था की रचना है। इसमें उनके जीवन का बृहद् ज्ञान एवं सम्पूर्ण अनुभूति निहित है। प्रो० मिराशी का मत है कि राजशेखर ने अपने पूर्वजों के निवास-स्थल त्रिपुरी में इसकी रचना की। परन्तु महत्वपूर्ण बात तो यह है कि उन्होंने अपने 'भुवन कोश' नामक सप्तदश अध्याय में वेदि जनपद का उल्लेख ही नहीं किया। अतः तय है कि त्रिपुरी से कन्नौज लौटने के उपरान्त ही उन्होंने अपने अन्तिम दिनों में काव्यमीमांसा की रचना प्रारम्भ की।

१. आर० डी० बनर्जी "दि हैहयाज आव् त्रिपुरी ऐण्ड देयर मानूमेन्ट्स"-
पृ० सं० ९।

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Part II

NEW LIGHT ON THE HISTORY OF ERAN

By

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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 Veṇvā) 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 Lakshmi. 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, Indrayashti, 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] Dhamapāla' (of [king] Dharmapāla) is written on the coin reversedly in large Brāhmī characters of the Maurya period¹. 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 Eran². 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 Eran³. 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, Śrīdharavarmā. 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

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

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

K. D. Bajpai



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 (Vaishṇava) 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, Surāśmichandra was the feudatory king of Budhagupta and was ruling over the land between Yamunā and Narmadā. The local Governor at Eran was Matrīvishṇu. According to the inscription, he along with his brother (Dhanyavishṇu), caused to be erected a flag staff (*Dhwaja-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.

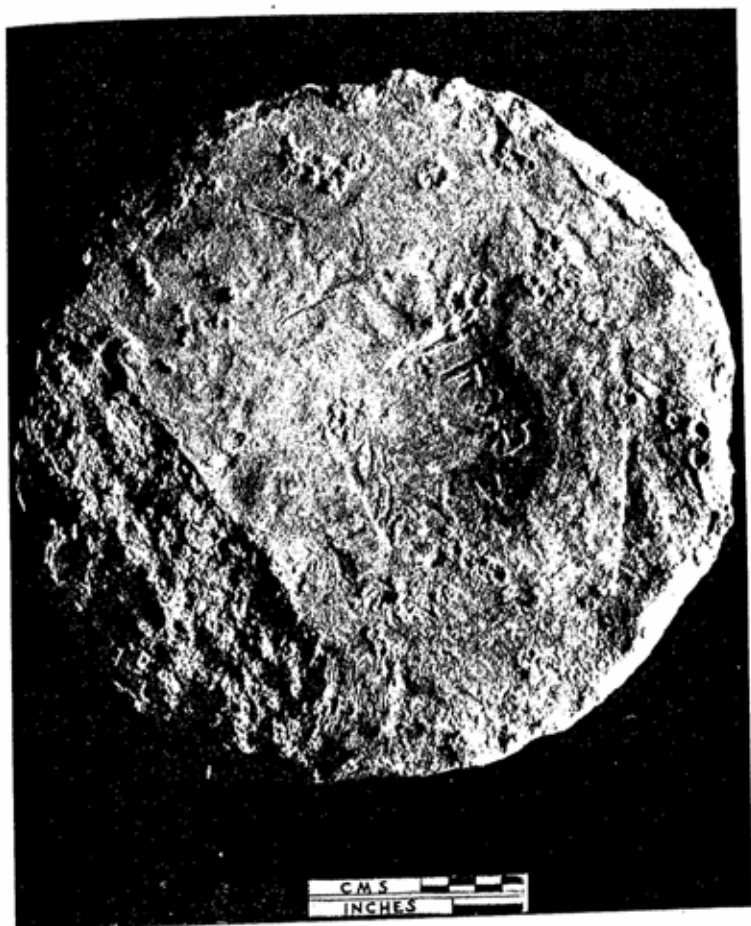
The pillar is surmounted by a two-armed figure of Garuḍa, the vāhana of Lord Viṣṇu.

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 Dhanyaviṣṇu of Eran, after the demise of his elder brother Mātṛiviṣṇu. It is not known whether Mātṛiviṣṇu 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 Śrīdharaśarmā, 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 Bhānugupta 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 Bhānugupta, 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 Yaśodharamā 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



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 Brāhmī character reads "Rāño Īdagutasa".

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 Vidiśā¹ (41 miles from Eran), have further strengthened the historicity

1. Bajpai, 'New Archaeological Discoveries in Vidiśā', *Journal of the M.P. Itihāsa Parishad*, No. 2 (1960), pp. 19-21; and *JNSI*, Vol. xxiii, Pt. i (1961).

Plate IX



Coins and Seals from Fran

J. U. P. H. S.,
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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 Pukhtoos 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 Pathians, 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 Pukhtoonistan 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-Śāstra¹, 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 Rakshādhikṛita² for police³. He places

१. धर्मशास्त्र ।

२. रक्षाधिकृत ।

३. राष्ट्रेषु रक्षाधिकृतान् सामन्तांश्चैव चोदितान् ॥ श्लोक २७२ अ० ९ 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 State¹. 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 them². 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 thieves³, the dacoits⁴, the debauchis⁵ and such other mischief-mongers, and report their activities to their officers concerned⁶.

१. असम्भवाकारिणश्चैव महामात्राश्च किंस्तुकाः ॥ श्लोक २५९ अ० ९ मानवधर्मशास्त्र ॥
एवमादीन् विजानीयात्प्रकाशात् श्लोक कण्टकान् ॥ श्लोक २६० अ० ९ मानवधर्मशास्त्र ॥
२. प्रकाशवञ्चकास्तेषां नानापण्योपजीविनः ॥ श्लोक २५७ अ० ९ मानवधर्मशास्त्र ॥
३. स्तेन ।
४. साहसकारिणः ।
५. जार ।
६. विद्यादुत्सादयेष्वैव निपुणैर्पूर्वं तत्करैः ॥ श्लोक २६७ अ० ९ मानवधर्मशास्त्र ॥

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 unhidden and the hidden ones busy in snatching away the belongings of others¹.

Secret Police attached to the Government Servants

Manu has given a list of persons enmical to the public. He calls them the Lokakṣtakas². 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 unhidden thieves or thagās³. 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"⁴. 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

१. द्विविधान्तस्करान्विद्यात्परद्रव्याभ्यहारकान् ।

प्रकाशाश्चाप्रकाशाश्च चारवक्षुर्महीपतिः ॥ श्लोक २५६ अ० ९ मानवधर्मशास्त्र ॥

२. लोककण्टकान् ॥ श्लोक २६० अ० ९ मानवधर्मशास्त्र ॥

३. अप्रकाशाश्चलोक कण्टकान् ॥ श्लोक २६० अ० ९ मानवधर्मशास्त्र ॥

४. एवमादीन्विजानीयात्प्रकाशालोककण्टकान् ॥ श्लोक २६० अ० ९ मानवधर्मशास्त्र ॥

practices to make money from the petitioners, and confiscate their property"¹.

Secret Police attached to the Businessmen and Profession-holders

Under the second category of the enemy to the public, according to Manu, come business men and various profession-holders in the State. Manu has given a brief account and a list of these businessmen and profession-holders. They are shop-keepers, persons living on bribery, fore-tellers of calamities and troubles, cheaters and deceivers to the people, gamblers and players on tricks, fore-tellers of good fortunes, persons making money by adopting false appearance of gentlemen, palmists, physicians, artisans, cunning market-women, and others. They make money by cheating and deceiving the public in broad day light². Manu, therefore, ordains the king to have up-to-date knowledge of these enemies to the public and their activities in respect of their everyday dealings with the people they come in contact with³. The king, therefore, should employ secret police servants, the spies whom Manu calls the eyes of the king for having full knowledge of the enemies to the public and their activities in this respect⁴.

It is, thus, evident that according to Manu a section of the police, working under the criminal investigation department, be engaged to note the enemies to the public and their everyday dealings with the people they come in contact with. Manu, thus, places a plan before the king to

१. ये कार्य केभ्योर्धमेव गृहणीयुः पापचेतसः ।

तेषां सर्वस्वमादाय राजा कुर्यात्प्रवासनम् ॥ श्लोक १२४ अ० ७ मानवधर्मशास्त्र ॥

२. प्रकाशवञ्चकास्तेषां नानापण्योपजीविनः ।

प्रच्छन्नवञ्चकास्त्वेते येस्तेनाऽटविकादयः ॥ श्लोक २५७ अ० ९ मानवधर्मशास्त्र ॥

उत्कोषकाश्चोपधिका वञ्चकाः कितवास्तथा ।

मंगलादेशवृत्ताश्चमभद्रदाश्चेक्षणिकैः सह ॥ श्लोक २५८ अ० ९ मानवधर्मशास्त्र ॥

चारैश्चानेक संस्थानैः प्रीत्साद्य बधमानयेत् ।

३. एवमादीन्विजानीयात्प्रकाशात्श्लोक कष्टकान् ।

निगूढचारिज्जधान्यान् नायानार्यं लिङ्गान् ॥ श्लोक २६० अ० ९ मानवधर्मशास्त्र ॥

४. द्विविधास्तस्करान्विद्यान् रद्रव्याऽपहारकान् ।

प्रकाशोऽवप्रकाशाश्चचारचक्षुर्महीपतिः ॥ श्लोक २५६ अ० ९ मानवधर्मशास्त्र ॥

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, debauchs 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 etc². Manu prescribes the king to post spies at these and similar places to save his subjects from the thieves³.

It is thus evident that Manu is quite clear on this point. He pleads for the organisation and maintenance of criminal investigation depart-

१. अप्रकाशतस्कराः

२. सभाप्रपापूपशालावेशमद्यान्नविक्रयाः ।

चतुष्पथाश्चैत्यवृक्षाः समाजः प्रेक्षाणानि च ॥ श्लोक २६४ अ० ९ मानवधर्मशास्त्र ॥

जीर्णोद्यानान्यरथ्यानि कारुकावेशनानि च ।

शून्यानि चाप्यगाराणि वनान्युपवनानि च ॥ श्लोक २६५ अ० ९ मानवधर्मशास्त्र ॥

३. एवंविधान्पुपोदेशान्गुल्मैः स्थावरजंगमैः ।

तस्कर प्रतिषेधार्थं चारैश्चाप्यानुचारयेत् ॥ श्लोक २६६ अ० ९ मानवधर्मशास्त्र ॥

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 hosts

Manu pleads for the establishment of police-posts at various places in the country. He calls these police-posts *Gulma*¹. "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"². Their main duty, accor-

१. गुल्म

२. एवंविधान्तुपोदेशान्तुमैः स्थावरजंगमैः ।

तस्करप्रतिपेक्षार्थं चारैश्चाप्यनुचारयेत् ॥ श्लोक २६६ अ० ९ मानवधर्मशास्त्र ॥

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"¹. 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

१. द्वयोस्त्रयाणां पञ्चानां मध्ये गुल्ममधिष्ठितम् ।

तथा ग्रामशतानां च कुर्वाद्राष्टस्य संप्रहम् ॥ श्लोक ११४ अ० ७ मानवधर्मशास्त्र ॥

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 *Yāmikas*.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 यामिक

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 convicts³ 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 *Paṇā*⁴ as his pay, while the highest one should receive six *Paṇās*"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

१. अधार्मिकं त्रिभिर्न्यायैर्नृगृह्णीयात्प्रयत्नतः ।

२. निरोधनेन बन्धने विविधेन बधने च ॥ श्लोक ३१० अ० ८ मानवधर्मशास्त्र ॥

३. बन्धनानि च सर्वाणि राजा मार्गे निवेक्षयेत् ।

४. दुःखिता यत्र दृश्येरन्विकृताः पापाकारिणः ॥ श्लोक २८८ अ० ९ मानवधर्मशास्त्र ॥

५. अभियुक्त

४. पण ।

५. 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.

१. पणोदेयोऽवकृष्टस्य षड्वकृष्टस्य वेतनम्।

पाष्मासिकस्तथाच्छादो धान्यद्रोणस्तु मासिकः ॥ श्लोक १२६ अ० ७ मानवधर्मशास्त्र ॥

२. रक्षोहि रक्षाधिकृताः परस्वादायिनः शठाः।

भूत्याभवन्ति प्रायेण तेभ्यो रक्षोदिमाः प्रजाः ॥ श्लोक १२३ अ० ७ मानवधर्मशास्त्र ॥

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 females¹. 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-Lonvek 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 possibility¹, 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 *Svayambhuva*², 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 Rajendrarvarman also claimed the throne through their respective mothers. Indrarvarman, 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 Jayadevī, the last of the line of Bhavavarman I, and Jyeshthārya of the Vat Tasar Moary inscription. Another inscription³ 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 Goddesses⁴ coupled with the peculiar customs of the country presented a unique atmosphere which

1. In this connection the account of Kāṅg Tai may be noted with interest, which informs us of the importance and influence of Liu-Yeh.

2. Coedes—*Inscriptions du Cambodge*—Vol. IV, p. 88 onwards: The Baksei Chamkron Inscription of the year 947 A. D.

3. Majumdar—*Inscriptions of Kambuja*, Number 189—Banteay Srei Inscription of Śrī Śrīndrarvarman.

4. Majumdar—*Inscriptions of Kambuja*—The Neak Ta Dambang Dek Inscription of Kuaprabhāvatī mentions Śācī 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 inscription¹ makes a mention of one Tilakā, who, on account of her profound learning, got the title of 'Vāgīśvarī Bhagavati.' Education thus was not only open to women, but proper use was also made of this opportunity. From another inscription² we gather that the daughter of Sanigrāma was proficient in all the arts. Similarly we have the instance of the queen of Jayavarman VII. Indradevī, the second queen of this king, had taught her sister, Jayadevī—the first queen of the king³. Indradevī is represented as a pious Buddhist who taught the Buddhist nuns of the convents of Nagendrattuṅgax Tilakottara and Narendrāsrama. 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 Kambujadeśa were quite religious-minded. We have the well-known instance of Kulaprabhāvatī⁴. Another inscription refers to one Kumarambhā's mother as an ascetic⁵. *Tapa* and *Svādhyāya* were the guiding principles of the life of this lady⁶. She made a number of

The Mebon Inscription of Rājendravarman refers to *Sītā*.

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

The Sastern 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 Sūryavarman II.

2. Ibid—number 175, The Chikreng Inscription.

3. Ibid—number 182, The Phimanaka Inscription of Jayavarman VII. Also Coedes, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, Vol. II, p. 161 ff.

4. The Neak Ta Dambangdek Inscription of Queen Kulaprabhāvatī.

5. Majumdar—*Inscriptions of Kambuja*, Number 22; The Nui Ba The Inscription of Nṛpāditya¹.

6. *Ibid*.

“तपः स्वाध्याय निरता ब्राह्मणानां हिताय च ।

प्रसन्ना श्री समायुक्ता कुरुते कर्म संयता ॥”

religious donations. As a matter of fact inscriptions referring to the pious donations made by women are many¹. 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 Apālā, Lopāmudrā, Viśvavarā, Gārgī and such other educated ladies of ancient India. Perhaps the education of women received even a greater impetus in the suitable atmosphere of Kambujadeśa. In strange contrast to this is the reference in the Prasat Komnap inscription of Yaśovarman, which banned the ladies in Vaishṇava-āśrama². 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

“गृहस्थकर्मनिम्मुक्ताः शश्वदिन्द्रियनिग्रहः

एवंविधा भागवता वास्तव्या वैष्णवाश्रमे” ॥

In verse 8 of this very inscription she is called

‘माता तपस्विनी, and ‘सद्धर्मपथ 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 Kulaprabhāvatī.

(b) *Ibid*, No. 22, Nui Ba; The Inscription of the time of Nṛipāditya.

(c) *Ibid*, Number 53. The Vat Tasar Moray Inscription of the year 803 A. D. refers to the religious donations of Jyeshthārya.

(d) *Ibid*, Number 123. The Prasat Kok Po Inscription dated 900.

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

“न वैष्णवाश्रमस्यास्य वैष्णवो वासयेत् स्त्रियं ।

कदाचिदुपशल्पेऽपि सहधर्मचरीमपि” ॥

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

राजात्मजा राजपुत्री राजबुद्धस्त्रियः सती ।

अत्रान्यतिथिवत्पूज्या नारोहेयुः कूटीस्तु ताः ॥

यास्तदन्याः स्त्रियो हीना या वा चतुर विभ्रमाः ।

नात्र प्रवेशमर्हन्ति ता एवाम्यागता अपि ॥

That this was just an exception is apparent from the cases of Indradevī, Tilakā etc. whose learning and attainments are attested to by epigraphic evidence. Similarly inscription A of the Five Prasat Ta Keo inscriptions¹ of Sūryavarman refers to the lady Janapadā. This Janapadā was the disciple (śiṣyā) of Yogīśvara Paṇḍita. 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 æsthetic side of life, and we know of girls interested in dancing and music. The Prah ko inscription² 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 inscription³ 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 inscription⁴ of Jayavarman VII, while dealing with the Spring festivities mentions male and female dancers.⁵

1. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, no. 148.

2. Coedes—*Inscriptions du Cambodge*, Vol. I, p. 22.

नर्तक्यश्च शोभना बहुव्यो वायन्योवादिस्तथा ।

वीणादिवाद्यवादिन्यो वेणुतालविहारदाः ॥

3. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, no. 182.

4. नर्तक्यो नर्तकाश्चात्र नृत्येयुः परितोदिसः

5. 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 *Chīnāhśuka* and also to ornaments of different kinds. The Sdok Kok Thom inscription refers to *Kuṇḍala* (ear pendants) *Keyūra* (bracelets) and *Kajaka* (wrist hand) 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 inscription¹ 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 Tilakā². But perhaps only a suitable match was intended, for we know that the learned Tilakā was married only to the great Śaiva Namaśivāye.³

Women as wives maintained the highest standards. We have the instance of Kulaprabhāvatī who is called "शक्रस्यैव शची" "वराणीव हरस्य" "श्रीलि श्रीपतेः".⁴ Bhavavarman's sister also is called "पतिप्रता" "धर्मरता" and "द्वितीयाहन्वती".⁵ It is interesting to find that she is called "सामवेदविदग्धिणी". 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

1. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, p. 99 A.

The Prasat Ta Kam inscription of Sūryavarman.

2. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*.

Number 173 'The Ban That inscription of Sūryavarman II

दृष्ट्वा समासमादित् यौवनान्तान् तातो वरान्वेषण संभ्रमोऽभूत् ।

3. Similar are the cases of the Bhavavarman's sister and Rājendra-varman's daughter who were married to Somaśarman and Divākara-bhaṭṭa respectively.

4. The Neak Ta Dambang Dek Inscription.

5. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, no. 13. 'The Veal Kantel 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. Bhavavarman's sister was married to the Brāhmaṇa Somaśarman. 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 (*varnas*.) Two new *varṇas* out of these existing seven were to be created. The female members of these two new *varnas* 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 Run² inscription informs us that one Yuvarāja died before his two elder brothers and that his wife Vijayalakshmi became successively the wife of both of them.

Women were also greatly respected as mothers. One inscription³ 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

1. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, Number 110 A; The Kompan Thom Stele Inscription of Jayavarman V, dated 896.

2. Coedes, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*. Vo. V p. 297 ff.

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 case¹ 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 service². 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 Prāṇā³ by the King, the praises of Indralakshmi⁴ in the inscriptions and her erection of an image of her mother, and the foundations of Jāhnavi⁵, 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."⁶

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.⁷ Mention may also be made of the second of the Prasat Khlan inscription⁸ of Jayavarman. In the Khmer text of the inscription a princess named Sativratā

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 Madhyadeśā was a *mālinī* 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. Jāhnavī 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 वारिसन्तापभैषज्य वेपकाय्यस्तु षट्स्त्रिः and 'द्वे स्त्रियौ वारिताव-भैषजमदिके'.

The reference to the 'परिचारिकाः' is also interesting.

8. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, 128 A.

is referred to. From this name Coedes had concluded that she became a *satī* 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 *satī* is a common name in India. Although the word *satīvratā* does not necessarily mean that she died with her husband, yet it is not altogether impossible¹ 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 *satī* is not necessarily used in its literal sense. In other words, the use of the word *satī* 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 Sūryavarman² there is an appeal to protect Janapadā, the female disciple of one Yogīśvara paṇḍita. The actual words in the inscription are "सती जनपदा शिष्या पाल्यता सद्भिर्हस्ता" meaning thereby that Janapadā was living when she was called *satī*. 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 masters 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.³ 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 *Satī* 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 Īśānavarman—

त्रिंशद्वादश चैव किंकरगणान् भार्यास्तदीया नव

(See Majumdar, '*Inscriptions*', no. 23).

speaking 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 Arundhati-Sādhvīs¹ and Pativrātās.²

1. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, no. 11.

Prasat Ta Keo Inscription.

2. *Ibid*, no. 13. The Veal Kantel inscription of Bhavavarman 1.

A NOTE ON TRIŚŪLA-PURUŠA

By

N. P. JOSHI

It is well known to the students of Hindu Iconography that the four emblems of Viṣṇu viz. Śaṅkha, Chakra, Padma and Gaḍā are sometimes represented in human forms and are then known as *āyudha-puruṣas* of Viṣṇu. Though not seen in the Kūṣāṇa period, this practice appears to have been pretty common in the Gupta and post-Gupta ages. Among these four *āyudha-puruṣas*, Gaḍā is shown in feminine form while the remaining three are depicted as males. Apart from these four no other *āyudha-puruṣa* 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 Viṣṇu, there are personified representations at least in the early sculptures, and even in late mediæval sculpture. In the case of individual representations of Sudarśana Chakra there is Chakra-puruṣa 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 mediæval sculpture."¹

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

1. C. Sivaramamurti, *Parallels and Opposites in Indian Iconography*, J. A. S., Letter, Vol. XXI, 1955, No. 2, p. 95.

In the main Hall of the Allahabad Museum there is a rectangular stone-piece (Museum No. AC/2934). On its four sides images of Hari-Hara, Varāha, Viṣṇu 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 *jaṭā-mukūṭa* and *karaṇḍaka-mukūṭa*, the tiger-skin and *pīṭāmbara* are still there to serve as the identification marks. The upper hand of Hari holds *śaṅkha*, 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 a 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 Trīśūla-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.

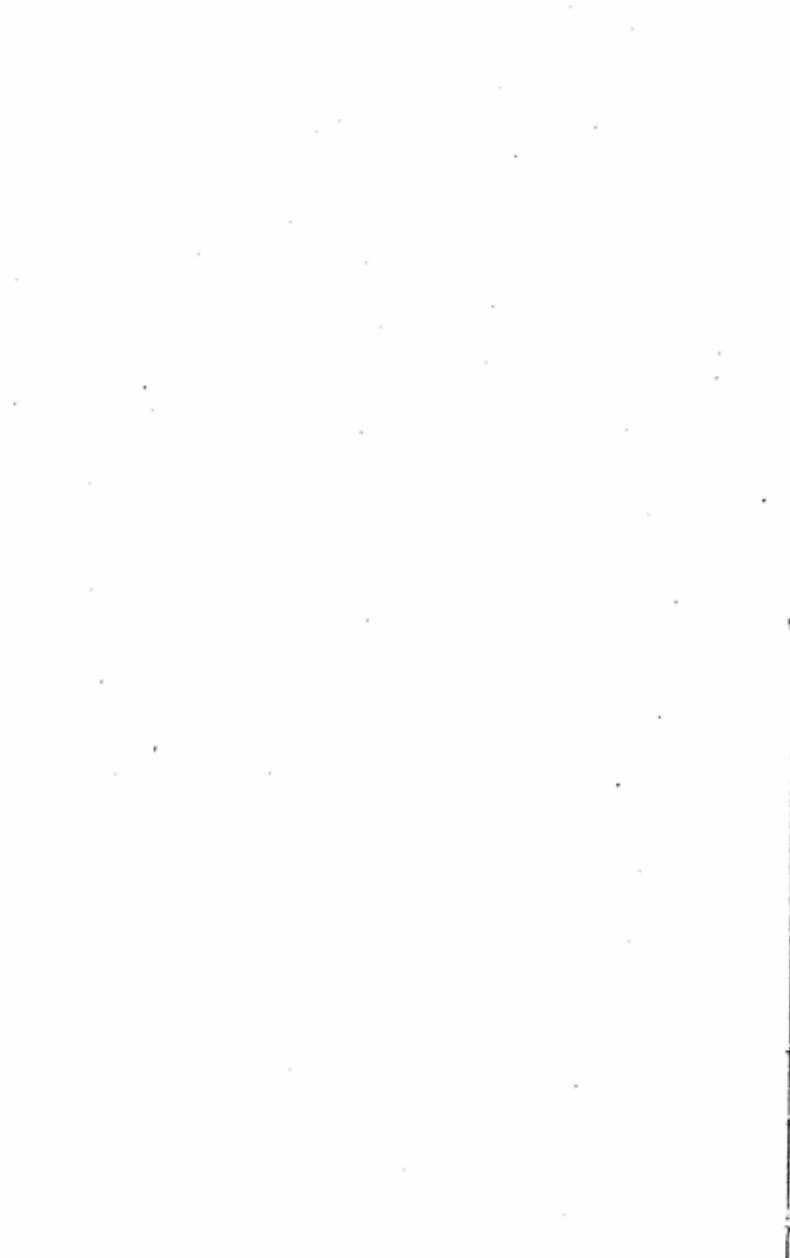
In the Brahmanical Hall of the State Museum, Lucknow, there is an architectural fragment (Museum No. H. 104) attributed to about 6th century A. D. It shows Śiva with his begging-bowl, and *jaṭā-mukūṭa*, which is decorated with three human skulls. He has his third eye also. The right hand of the deity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

Another instance of Trīśūla-purusha comes from a temple in Orissa.¹ On a panel showing Hari-Hara, Śiva holds *trīśūla* in his upper left hand and *mālā* in the lower. Below this hand of Śiva there is a male figure carrying trident in his hand. On the side of Viṣṇu the upper hand holds *chakra* and the lower *śaṅkha*. His *āyudha-purusha* is also seen near him.

1. K. M. Munshi, *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, Bombay, 1957, Pl. 55 A.



Triśūla and Chakra-purusha





Trisūla-purusha



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-Kāraṇḍāgama it has been laid down that the following *āyudhas* could be depicted as *āyudha-purushas* viz. thunderbolt (*vajra*), spear (*śakti*), staff (*daṇḍa*), sword (*khaḍga*), noose (*pāśa*), goad (*aṅkuśa*), 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 (*napuṣhaka*) 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 Kāraṇḍāgama* also gives a similar list.² The *Vishṇu Dharmottara Purāṇa* makes the list further comprehensive by adding the names of standard (*dhvaja*), flames (*hetī*), bow (*dhannu*) and *blinda* (*bhindiṭṭāla*?)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.

1. Vide Sri Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Pt. 2, Appendix C., pp. 77-8.

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 Kāinān, Bharatpur, Rajasthan (Rajputana Museum No. 13).

(ii) LĪNGODBHAVA-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 *chaurī*-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 archæologist like

Shri R. D. Banerji as 'one of the finest known specimens of the Gupta sculptures' (Pl. XII).

LIṄGODBHAVA-MAHEŚVARA

The second sculpture which is dealt with in the present note is a carefully executed piece iconographically entitled as "LIṄGODBHAVA-MAHEŚVARA" i. e. Maheśvara emanating from a Śivaliṅga. An immeasurable Śivaliṅga is carved with the figure of Brahmā (Creator) on its right represented as ascending and Viṣṇu (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 Viṣṇu 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.

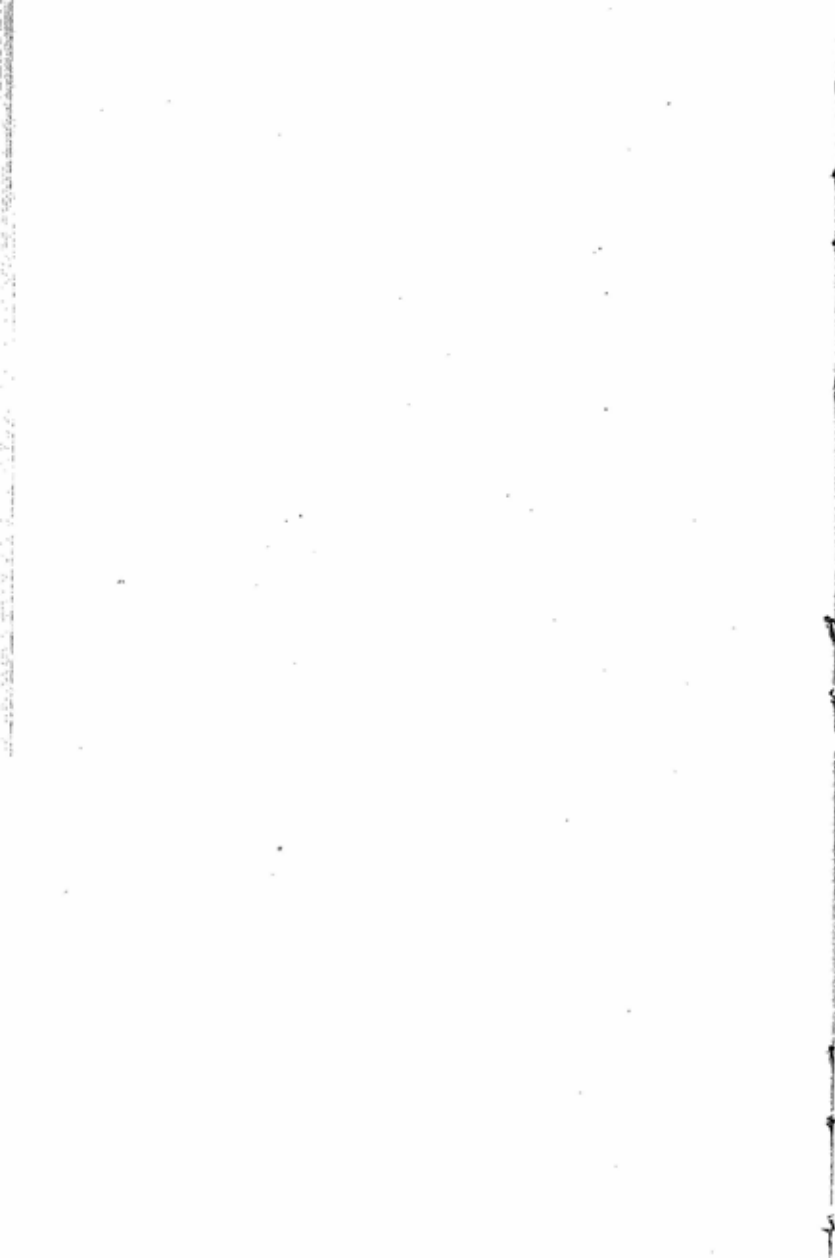
Though in the present sculpture the top of the Phallic symbol is slightly damaged, this whole panel is a remarkable piece of artistic merit which may be rightly regarded as a masterpiece of the early Chauhan period and assigned to C. 10th Century A. D. The descending posture of Viṣṇu and the soaring 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).



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

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

U. C. Bhattacharya





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

प्राचीन कोसल का उत्कर्ष और पतन*

राजेन्द्र बिहारी पाण्डेय

भारत युद्ध के उपरान्त से लेकर महात्मा बुद्ध एवं वर्धमान महावीर के अम्युदय तक का भारत का राजनैतिक इतिहास अत्यन्त ही अल्पज्ञात एवं विवाद-ग्रस्त है। इस काल के ऐतिहासिक विवरण के एक मात्र साधन पुराण हैं किन्तु पौराणिक राजवंशों की सूचियां स्वयं अपर्याप्त, अपूर्ण और पारस्परिक विरोधाभास के कारण संदिग्ध हैं। फलतः इस काल का सही-सही इतिवृत्त संकलित करना दुस्तर सा है। किन्तु महात्मा बुद्ध के जन्म एवं बौद्ध संघ के अम्युदय के साथ ही साथ ऐतिहासिक साहित्यिक सामग्री का बाहुल्य हो जाता है। बौद्ध साहित्य के अतिरिक्त जैन तथा ब्राह्मण धर्मग्रन्थों—विशेषकर पुराणों—के मन्वय से हमें तत्कालीन राजनीतिक परिस्थितियों, वृत्तान्तों, घटनाओं एवं प्रसिद्ध राज्यों तथा राजवंशों का पर्याप्त रूप में विवरण या क्रमबद्ध इतिहास प्राप्त होने लगता है और साधारणतया यही युग भारत के क्रम बद्ध इतिहासके प्रारम्भ का युग माना भी गया है। उपरोक्त समस्त साहित्यिक सामग्रियों में बौद्ध साहित्य अपनी विशेषताओंके हेतु अधिक प्रामाणिक आंका गया है और उससे तथा स्थान-स्थान पर जैन एवं ब्राह्मण ग्रन्थोंकी परिपुष्टियों से हम कोसल (कोशल) का राजनैतिक इतिहास क्रम बद्ध करने में समर्थ होते हैं।

तत्कालीन राजनैतिक दशा तथा व्यवस्था का सर्व प्रथम परिचय हमें बौद्ध साहित्य^१ में अनेकों स्थलों पर वर्णित सोलह महाजनपदों के रूपमें प्राप्त है जो प्रायः सम्पूर्ण उत्तरी भारत

*. समस्त लेखमें पालि ग्रन्थों में प्राप्य नामों का ही प्रयोग हुआ है, उनके मूल (संस्कृत) स्वरूपों का नहीं।

१. सेय्यथापि विसाखे यो इमेसं सोलसन्नं महाजनजनपदानं पृहृतमहासत्तरतनानं इस्सराधिपच्चं रज्ज करेय्य, सेय्यथीदं अंगानं मगधानं कासीनं कोसलानं वज्जीनं मल्लानं चेतीनं वंगानं कुल्लनं पंचलानं मच्छानं सूरसेनानं अस्सकानं अब्बत्तीनं गन्धारानं कम्बोजानं, अट्ठंग-समभ्रागतस्स उपोसथस्स एकं कलं नाय्यन्ति सोलसि” अंगुत्तर निकाय, (पा० टं० सो०) १; २१३; ४, २५२, २५६, २६० और देखिए महावस्तु, १, ३४।

एवं दक्षिण के कुछ भू भागों पर अपने अधिकार या सत्ता के हेतु प्रसिद्ध थे। इस प्रसंग में एक स्पष्टीकरण आवश्यक है। बौद्ध एवं जैन दोनों ही धर्म ग्रन्थों^१ में हमें इन सोलह महाजनपदों की पृथक्-पृथक् सूचियाँ प्राप्त हैं, किन्तु उनकी पृथक्ता पर अत्यधिक महत्व देना उचित नहीं। सबसे महत्वपूर्ण तो बात यह है कि अनेकानेक बौद्ध ग्रन्थों में वही सूची नित्य एक रूप में वर्णित है। इस सूची की प्रायः मुख्य राज्य वंशों या राज्यों की नामावलि में जैन सूची से आंशिक सामंजस्य, उसका नित्य प्रति धर्म ग्रन्थों में स्थान स्थान-स्थान पर दुहराया जाना कुछ विशेष महत्व अवश्य रखता है। प्रायः यह बात अब सर्वमान्य है कि सोलह महाजनपदों की उपरोक्त सूची बौद्ध धर्म ग्रन्थों की रचना के पूर्व ही बन चुकी थी और विशेष रूप से उत्तरी भारत में प्रचलित थी क्योंकि (यह सूची) हमें एक श्लोकके रूप में प्राप्त है। यद्यपि इस सूचीसे तत्कालीन राजनैतिक परिस्थिति पर अवश्य प्रकाश पड़ता है पर साथ ही में उसमें अनेक ऐसे राज्यों या महाजनपदों का भी उल्लेख है जो बौद्ध एवं जैन धर्मों के अभ्युदय के पूर्व से विद्यमान थे पर बुद्ध और महावीर के जीवन काल में अपना स्वतंत्र अस्तित्व शनैः शनैः खो बैठे या खो रहे थे। ऐतिहासिक क्रम में यह एक स्वाभाविक परिणाम थी और यह युग राज्यों के अभ्युदय का समय था। उदाहरणार्थ कासी कोसल का एक अधीनस्थ राज्य था और अंग भी मगध के अधीन हो चुका था। स्पष्ट है कि उपरोक्त सोलह राज्यों की श्लोक बद्ध सूची बौद्ध एवं जैन मतोंके प्रादुर्भाव के पूर्व की राजनैतिक दशा का परिचायक है। कोसल के राजनैतिक इतिहास को क्रम बद्ध करने के पूर्व इस सूची के कतिपय राज्यों एवं राजवंशों का थोड़ा परिचय अत्यावश्यक है।

उपरोक्त सोलह महाजनपदों में कासी का एक अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण स्थान था। प्रारम्भ में कासी राज्य अत्यधिक शक्तिशाली था^२ और सम्भवतः विदेह राजतंत्र के विच्छिन्न होने में उसका प्रमुख हाथ था।^३ कुछ विद्वानोंके अनुसार कासी का प्रभुत्व कोसल पर भी व्याप्त था क्योंकि जातक कथाओं के अनुसार कासी के राजा ने कोसल पर कई आक्रमण किये थे और एक अवसर पर कुछ ही समय के हेतु कासी का कोसल पर अधिकार भी हो गया था। जातक साहित्य से स्पष्ट है कि कासी की राजधानी वाराणसी थी^४ जिसकी गणना भारत की सर्व प्रधान नगरी के रूप में की जाती थी। वस्तुतः वाराणसी प्रायः भारत की सबसे सुसंस्कृत, समृद्धिवासी एवं विशाल नगरी थी^५ और इसके राजाओंकी महत्वाकांक्षा तथा उनके शक्ति-

१. भगवती सूत्र, सय १५, उद्देस्स १ (हूर्नली, उवासगदसाओ, २ अपेंडिक्स);

२. राय बीधरी कृत पोलिटिकल हिस्ट्री आफ ऐशंट इण्डिया छठा संस्करण...पृ० ९६.

३. वही;

४. मलालशेखर, पालि के नामों का कोश, १, ५९२

५. कावेल्, जातक २, १७२-१७८

शाली होने में कोई सन्देह नहीं^१। जालकों के अनुसार^२ इस नगरी का विस्तार बारह योजन था जबकि तत्कालीन दो अन्य प्रमुख नगरों—मिथिला और इंद्रप्रस्थ—का विस्तार केवल सात योजन मात्र उल्लिखित है। पालि ग्रन्थों कासिराज कों समस्त राजाओं में अग्रगण्य कहा गया है (सव्व राज्ञन्म अन्नराजा) और वे समस्त जम्बूद्वीप के एक मात्र स्वामी^३ बनने के उत्सुक एवं लालायति रहते थे जैसा कि उनके हेतु 'महाधन', 'महाबल', 'महाभोग', 'महाबाहन', 'महाविजित', 'परिपूर्ण कोश-कोष्ठागार' आदि प्रयुक्त विशेषणों से स्पष्ट है।^४

बौद्ध साहित्य की उपर्युक्त उक्तियों का पर्याप्त समर्थन जैन साहित्य में भी उपलब्ध है। जैन धर्म ग्रन्थों में भी कासी का उल्लेख एक स्वतंत्र एवं शक्तिशाली राज्य के रूप में हुआ है और इस धर्म के तेईसवें तीर्थंकर पार्श्वनाथ का उल्लेख कासी के एक विद्वान्त राजा अद्वसेन और उनकी महिषी वामा के पुत्र के रूप में हुआ है।^५ पार्श्वनाथ का काल महावीर और उनके समकालीन बुद्ध से प्रायः २५० वर्ष पूर्व का माना गया है और उनकी ऐतिहासिकता में कोई सन्देह नहीं।

ब्राह्मण साहित्य के अन्तर्गत भी कासी के विपुल ऐश्वर्य तथा वहाँ के राजवंश एवं पराक्रमी राजाओं के कृत्यों का अनेकों स्थलों पर उल्लेख आया है। बौद्ध एवं जैन धर्म ग्रन्थों की भांति ब्राह्मण-उपनिषद् साहित्य से भी उत्तर भारत के प्रसिद्ध राज्यों की एक सूची उपलब्ध है किन्तु उसमें वर्णित राज्यों की संख्या सोलह न होकर केवल नौ है।^६ कासी के राजा काश्यप और उनके पुरोहित जातुकर्ण का उल्लेख सूत्र साहित्य में प्राप्य है और काश्यप की वीरता का आभास हमें उपनिषद् साहित्य में भी मिलता है। यह विशेष उल्लेखनीय है कि सूत्र साहित्य में जातुकर्ण के पुत्र जल जातुकर्ण का उल्लेख काशी, विदेह और कोसल, तीनों राज्यों के पुरोहित के रूप में हुआ है।^७ जल जातुकर्ण को उपनिषदों के प्रसिद्ध तत्त्व वेत्ता श्वेतकेतु का

१. यही, राक्षीधवरी

२. काबेल, वही ४, ११-१८

३. वही, २, १०५-१०६

४. "भूतपुर्व्वं भिलसे वाराणसिम् ब्रह्मदत्तो नाम कासिराजा अहोसि अद्दो महधनो महाभोगो महबलो महाबाहो महविजितो परिपुण्णकोसकोष्ठागारो" महावग्ग (पा० टे० सो०) १०, २, ३.

५. कैम्ब्रिज हिस्ट्री आफ इण्डिया, १, १५४ और देखिये कल्पसूत्र ६.१४९-६९.

६. गंधार, केकय, मद्र, उज्जैनर, मत्स्य, कुरु, पंचाल, काशी और कोसल। देखिये 'उत्तर प्रदेश में बौद्ध धर्म का विकास' नलिनाक्ष दत्त तथा कृष्ण दत्त वाजपेयी, पृ० १.

७. "एतेन ह जालो जातुकर्णं द्वा ब्रह्मणां निगुस्वनां पुरोधां प्राप काश्यपैर्दहयोः कोसल्यस्य च"। शांखायन श्रौत सूत्र १६, २९, ५.

समकालीन कहा गया है। श्वेतकेतु राजा जनक और काशिराज अजातशत्रु के समकालीन थे। सम्भव है ऐसी दशमें जल जातुकर्ण अजातशत्रु के भी पुरोहित रहे हों।

ब्राह्मण साहित्य में^१ धृतराष्ट्र नामक काशी के एक प्रसिद्ध राजा का वर्णन है जिन्होंने एक अश्वमेध यज्ञ करने का प्रयत्न किया था और जिनका अश्व भरतवंशीय राजकुमार शतानीक साम्राजित द्वारा पकड़ लिया गया था। काशी के उस अपमान का शतपथ ब्राह्मण में बड़ा ही रोचक वृत्तान्त उपलब्ध है क्योंकि इसके उपरान्त काशी में यथेष्ट समय तक यज्ञ की पुनीत अग्नि प्रज्वलित नहीं की गई थी।

जातक साहित्य का हम ऊपर उल्लेख कर चुके हैं। जातकोसे स्पष्ट है कि काशी एक अत्यन्त ही शक्तिशाली राज्य था। अपनी विशाल बाहिनी सहित काशी के एक राजा ने कोसल पर आक्रमण किया था।^२ अनेकों जातकों^३ से स्पष्ट है कि काशी के 'ब्रह्मदत्त' नामक राजा ने कोसल को जीत कर अपने राज्य के अन्तर्गत कर लिया था। एक जातक^४ के अनुसार तो काशी की राज्य सीमा अश्मक या अश्वक (अस्सक) राज्य तक फैली हुई थी और काशिराज ने अश्मक राज्य की राजधानी पोतलि पर भी अपना अधिकार कर लिया था। एक अन्य जातक^५ के अनुसार काशी के राजा मनोज ने कोसल, अंग तथा मगध के राज्यों पर भी विजय प्राप्त की थी। इस महत्वाकांक्षा के फलस्वरूप काशी पर आक्रमण हुए और एक जातक के अनुसार सात निकटवर्ती राजाओं ने मिल कर काशी पर घेरा डाला था।^६

जातक-कथाओं से एक अनुमान अवश्य लगया जा सकता है कि काशी के राजाओं की उपाधि ब्रह्मदत्त थी। उस शक्ति की पुष्टि पुराणों और महाभारत से भी होती है।^७ इन ब्रह्मदत्त उपाधिकारी राजाओं के कुल का ठीक-ठीक ज्ञान नहीं होता। महाभारत सुतन्त्र के अनुसार^८ काशी के राजा भरतवंशीय थे और पुराणों से भी उनकी पुष्टि होती है।^९

१. शतपथ ब्राह्मण ३३, ५, ४, १९-२३

२. बृहद्देव जातक न० ३३६

३. कोसम्बी जातक (न० ४२८), कुनाल जातक (५३६) और देखिये महावग्ग (एस० बी० ई०) पृ० २९४-९९.

४. अस्सक जातक (नं० १८)

५. सोनन्द जातक (नं० ५३२)

६. भोजाजानिय जातक (नं० २३)

७. दृष्टव्य 'उत्तर प्रदेश में बौद्ध धर्म का विकास' बही, पृ० २.

८. "सत्तभू ब्रह्मदत्तो च वेत्सभू भरता सः, रेणु द्वे च धतरदृठा तदासु सत भारताति। पठम-भागवारं निटठितं।" दीघनिकाय, २, २३६ और देखिये महावत्सु (पा० टे० सो०) ३, १९७ तथा आगे।

९. राय चौधरी बही पृ० ७५

वाराणसी का प्रसिद्ध नगर कासी राज्य की राजधानी था और वाणिज्य एवं व्यापार का उत्तरी भारत में अत्यन्त ही प्रसिद्ध केन्द्र था। यद्यपि इस नगर में विद्यालय थे पर कुछ विज्ञानु तक्षशिला भी विद्याध्ययन के हेतु जाया करते थे। वाराणसी के निकट इसपतन मिनदाय था जो आगे चल कर बौद्ध काल में बौद्धों के चार प्रसिद्ध तीर्थ स्थलों में से एक हुआ। बुद्ध के पूर्व एक कासी के राजा ने सम्पूर्ण कोसल पर अपना अधिकार कर लिया था।^१ किन्तु बुद्ध के जीवन काल में कासी का ऐश्वर्य एवं उसकी राजसत्ता की महत्ता समाप्त प्राय हो चुकी थी और कोसल उत्तरी भारत की प्रमुख शक्तियों में से एक बन चुका था।^२

कोसल का विकास.

कोसल का विकास किस काल में प्रारम्भ हुआ इसका निर्णय करना अत्यन्त ही कठिन है। कोसल और कासी की प्रतिद्वन्द्विता उपरोक्त से ही स्पष्ट है। जहाँ हमें कासी के राजाओं द्वारा कोसल को पट्टित किये जाने के अनेकानेक उल्लेख मिलते हैं वहीं कोसल के कुछ शक्तिशाली राजाओं द्वारा कासी के विनाश और उस राज्य पर अनेकों आक्रमणों के किये जाने के भी प्रमाण उपलब्ध हैं। कोसल के ऐसे राजाओं में वंश दम्बसेन तथा कंस के नाम अत्यधिक उल्लेखनीय हैं। ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि वंश और दम्बसेन तथा अन्य राजाओं के निरन्तर आक्रमणों के कारण कासी की शक्ति क्षीण हो चली थी और अन्त में कंस नामक राजा ने अपने आक्रमण द्वारा रही सही शक्ति एवं सत्ता भी समाप्त कर दी। उसने 'वाराणसीगृह' का विरुद्ध धारण किया^३ जिससे स्पष्ट है कि कंस ने कासी पर अधिकार कर लिया था। सम्भवतः इसी काल से कासी की स्वतंत्र सत्ता का लोप हो गया और कोसल के उत्कर्ष की नींव पड़ी।

कासी या कासी के अधिकांश भू भागों पर कोसलराज प्रसेनजित ने अपनी भगिनी कोसलादेवी के विवाह के अवसर पर कासी के निकट के एक लाख की वापिकआय वाले एक ग्राम को 'नहानचुण्णमूल' के रूप में उपरोक्त कोसलादेवी को प्रदान किया था। उपरान्त तो मगध

१. "भूतपुत्रं भिक्षवे वाराणसियं ब्रह्मदत्तो नाम कासिराजा अहोसि अद्दो महद्धनो महाभोगो महव्वलो महावाहनो महाविजितो परिपुण्णकोसकोट्टागारो। दीधति नाम कोसल-राजा अहोसि दलद्धो अप्पधनो अप्पभोगो अत्पवलो अप्पवाहनो अप्पविजितो अपरिपुण्णकोस-कोट्टागारो। अय खो भिक्षवे ब्रह्मदत्तो कासिराजा चतुरंगिणि सेनं सन्नपह्तिवा दीधति कोसलराजानं भब्भुम्यासि।.... अथ खो भिक्षवे दीधति कोसलराजा दीधायु कुमारो बहिनगरे वासेसि। अथ खो भिक्षवे दीधायु कुमारो.....। विनयपिटक १, ३४२ तथा आगे

२. मज्झिम निकाय २, १११ तथा आगे और देखिये दीधनिकाय १, २००.

३. फूजबोल जातक २, ४०३

के उत्कर्ष-काल में कोसल और कासी दोनों ही की सत्ता अजातशत्रु की बढ़ती शक्ति के कारण समाप्त हो गयी और शनैः शनैः महाजनपदों का काल भी समय के प्रभाव से समाप्त होकर मगध की साम्राज्यवादी नीति का शिकार हो गया।

हम ऊपर कंस के द्वारा कासी पर अधिकार का उल्लेख कर चुके हैं। किन्तु विभिन्न जातकों के अनुसार कासी के पतन और उसके जीतने का श्रेय कई कोसल के राजाओं को प्राप्त है।^१ 'ब्रह्मदत्त' कासिराज ने कोसल के राजा दीघीति को परास्त करके बन्दी बनाया और उपरान्त उसका बंध कर डाला।^२ एक अन्य जातक के अनुसार^३ कासिराज 'ब्रह्मदत्त' ने कोसल के राजा की हत्या करके उसकी अग्रमहिषी को अपनी कामलोलुपताका भाजन बनाया। किन्तु इन दोनों राज्यों का पारस्परिक द्वन्द्व बराबर चलता रहा। कासिराज महासीलव को कोसल के राजा ने परास्त किया।^४ उपरान्त वंक और दम्बसेन द्वारा भी कासी के राजाओं के पराजित होनेका उल्लेख है।^५ अन्ततः कंस द्वारा कासी राज्य की रही सही शक्ति भी समाप्त कर दी गयी।

यदि विचारपूर्वक देखा जावे तो कोसलराज कंस द्वारा कासी की विजय और बौद्ध धर्म के अभ्युदय के बीच का समय अत्यधिक नहीं। बौद्ध धर्म के प्रारम्भिक दिनों में भी कासी को एक स्वतंत्र राज्य के रूपमें माना जाता था यद्यपि हम ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से भली-भाँति जानते हैं कि कासी पर उस समय कोसलराज पसेनदि (प्रसेनजित्) का अधिकार था।

स्वयं प्रसेनजित् के पिता महाकोसल के राज्य काल में भी कासी पर कोसल का अधिकार था जैसा कि कोसलादेवी के विवाहोपलक्ष में एक लक्ष की आय के एक ग्राम को प्रदत्त करने की कथा से स्पष्ट है।^६ स्वयं बुद्ध एवं लोहिच्छ नामक एक व्यक्ति के वार्तालाप से भी यही सिद्ध होता है कि सम्पूर्ण कासी राज्य पर कोसलराज प्रसेनजित् का अधिकार था।^७ महावग्ग

१. रायचौधरी वही, पृ० १५३

२. एस० वी० ई० १७, २९४, ९९ और देखिये जातक वही ४२८ (कोसम्बी जातक)

३. जातक वही, नं० ५३६

४. वही, ५१

५. वही, ३५५ तथा ३०३

६. वही, २३९ तथा २८३

7. "Now what I think you Lohikka ? Is not king Pasenadi of kosala in possession of Kāsi and Kosala ?" "Yes, that is so Gotama." "Then suppose, Lohikka, one were to speak thus, king Pasenadi of Kosala is in posspsion kāsi and Kosala. Let him injoy all the revenue and all the prsece of Kāsi and Kosala, allowing nothing to any body else."

के अनुसार^१ कासी का शासन प्रसेनजित् के भाई के हाथों में था जो उपशासक के रूप में कासी में राज्य करता था।

बुद्धकालीन कोसल की राजनैतिक दशा.

छठी शताब्दी के उस धार्मिक आन्दोलन के युग में बुद्ध एवं महावीर के समकालीन राजा प्रसेनजित् थे जिनका वर्णन बौद्ध साहित्य में प्रसेनदि एवं उपरान्त के अभिलेखों में 'प्रसेनजित्' के नामों से हुआ है। प्रसेनदि महाकोसल (महाकोशल) के पुत्र थे^२ और उन्होंने प्रारम्भिक काल में तक्षशिला (तक्षसिला) में शिक्षा प्राप्त की थी। किन्तु एक दूसरी अनुश्रुति के अनुसार प्रसेनदि आरनेमि ब्रह्मदत्त के पुत्र थे।^३ पौराणिक प्रमाणों के अनुसार प्रसेनजित् राहुत के के उपरान्त सिंहासनाख्य हु।^४ पुराणों में कोसल के राजाओं को इक्ष्वाकु वंशीय कहा गया है और इस कथन की पुष्टि एक बौद्ध सूत्र से भी होती है।^५ किन्तु सभी साक्ष्यों के विवेचना के उपरान्त प्रसेनदि को महाकोसल का ही पुत्र एवं उदराधिकारी मानना उपयुक्त है।

प्रसेनदि या प्रसेनजित् के तक्षशिलामें विद्याध्ययन काल के दो गृहपाठियों का भी उल्लेख प्रसंगानुकूल है। लिच्छवि कुमार महलि और मल्ल राजकुमार बंधु प्रसेनजित् के सहपाठी थे। साधारणतया महाकोसल की मृत्यु के उपरान्त ही प्रसेनदि का सिंहासनाख्य होना माना जाता है किन्तु बौद्ध अनुश्रुतियों के अनुसार महाकोसल ने अपने जीवन-काल में ही प्रसेनदि के तक्षशिला से लौटने के उपरान्त उसकी उपाजित योग्यताओं से विशेष प्रभावित होकर उसे अपना उत्तराधिकार देकर राजा बना दिया।^६ प्रसेनजित् का पुरोहित बाबरी था, जिसका

१. "On one occasion when the Exalted One was at Sāvattī, five rajās, 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.

२. कावेल जातक २, १६४

३. राकहिल् कृत 'लाइफ आफ बुद्ध' पृ० १६

४. 'शुद्धोदनस्य भविता सिद्धार्थो राहुलस्तथा प्रसेनजित्तो भाव्यः।' पाजिटर कृत डायनेस्टीज आफ दि कलि एज पृ० ११.

५. 'भगवापि खत्तियो अहमपि खत्तियो' मज्झिम निकायं. २, १२४.

६. "तत्रायं अनुपुब्बि कथाः—सावत्थियं महाकोसल रज्ज्जो पुत्तो प्रसेनदि कुमारो नाम, वेसालियं लिच्छवि कुमारो महालि नाम, किसि नारायं मल्लराज पुत्तो बंधुलो नामा ति इमे तथो दिसापामोखस्स अचरियस्स संतिके सिण्णुगहणत्थाय तक्षसिलं गत्वा....."।
—धम्मपदवट्ट कथा (पा० टो० सो०) १, ३३८। उसकी वंशावली के अनुसार देखिए बील कृत बुद्धिस्ट रिकार्ड्स आफ दि वेस्टर्न वर्ल्ड (केमनपाल) भाग २, भूमिका ३.

पिता भी महाकोसल का पुरोहित था और जिसे प्रसेनजित् ने भी पुरोहित्य के पद द्वारा सम्मानित रखा। बावरी से भी प्रसेनजित् ने 'सिष्य' या शिष्यों की शिक्षा प्राप्त की थी। उपरान्त बावरी ने सन्यास लेकर एक राजकीय उद्यान में आवास करना प्रारम्भ कर दिया और अन्त में अपने सोलह सहस्र अनुयायियों सहित दक्षिणापथ की ओर प्रस्थान कर दिया।^१ सम्भवतः उसकी मृत्यु भी वहीं दक्षिण में हुई।

कोसल राज्य की समृद्धि में उत्तरोत्तर वृद्धि हो रही थी। बंक, दशसेन एवं कंस ने कोसल का राजनैतिक विस्तार किया था किन्तु उपरान्त कोसल और उसकी राजधानी श्रावस्ती की समृद्धि में भी क्रमशः वृद्धि होने लगी। प्रसेनजित् ने अपने राज्यकाल के प्रारम्भ से ही कोसल की इस व्यापारिक उन्नति पर विशेष ध्यान देना प्रारम्भ कर दिया और परिणाम स्वरूप कोसल में भी सेट्टियों (श्रेष्ठिजनों) के समुदाय का आवास प्रारम्भ हो गया। भण्डक सेट्टि और धनंजय सेट्टि नामक दो प्रसिद्ध सेट्टी कोसल राज्य में सर्व प्रथम आकर बसे।^२ कहना न होगा कि कोसल का यह औद्योगिक अभ्युत्थान कासी के हेतु हानिकर हुआ। पूर्वकाल से ही चले आ रहे वैमनस्यके कारण कासी का पूर्ण रूप से पतन ही कोसल के राजाओं को अभीष्ट था; और दोनों राजवंश वंशानुगत प्रकृत्यमित्र या स्वाभाविक शत्रु थे। यद्यपि कासी के ब्रह्मदत्त राजाओं ने कोसल को इस प्रकार क्षति नहीं पहुँचाई किन्तु कोसल के दूरदर्शी राजाओं ने अपने राज्य एवं अपनी राजधानी को सर्व सम्पन्न बनाने में कासी की व्यापारिक महत्ता नष्ट करने में कोई कसर न उठा रखी।

सिंहासनारूढ़ होने के उपरान्त प्रसेनजित् ने अपनी बुद्धि, पराक्रम एवं दूरदर्शिता का परिचय देना प्रारम्भ कर दिया।^३ भाग्यवश उसे मूल्यवास सरीखे अनेकों चतुर व्यक्तियों का साहाय्य भी प्राप्त था जिनकी सहायता एवं चतुरता से कोसल उत्तरोत्तर वृद्धि करने लगा। प्रसेनजित् के अन्य कार्याधिकारियों में इसिदत्त एवं पूरण के नाम भी उल्लेखनीय हैं जो सदैव उसके विश्वस्त अनुचर रहे।^४ इसी प्रसंग में प्रसेनजित् के राजगुरु गम्ग (गर्ग) का भी उल्लेख

१. "कोसलराजा पि कालं अकासि ततो पसेनदि अभिसिचिनु, बावरी तस्सापि पुरोहितो अहोसि.....।" ततो अचरियो सोलससहस्र जटिल परिवृतो अंचहि अनुगममानो उत्तर-जनपदा दक्खिन जनपदाभिमुखो अगमासि।" सुत्तनिपाट टीका (पा० टे० सो०) २, ५८०

२. "साकिर अंगरट्ठे भद्विज नगरे मेण्डक सेट्ठिपुत्तस्स धनंजय सेट्ठिनो अगमहेसिया सुमनादेविया बुच्छिस्मि निध्वस्ति, तस्सा सत्तवस्सिक काले सत्था सेल ब्राह्मणादीन.....।"

—धम्मपदट्टकथा (वही) १, ३८४ और आगे।

३. संयुतनिकाय (पा० टे० सो०) १, ७४ और १०० (देखिये कोसल संयुत ३. पठमवग्ग १, और ततीय वग्ग ३) और देखिए सारत्थ पकासिनी संयुत टीका (पा० टे० सो०) १, १०० तथा आगे।

४. उदान (पा० टे० सो०) २, ६ 'मूचसिन्द वग्ग' और ६, २ 'जण्चंघ वग्ग'।

कर देना उचित होगा जिसका पुत्र अहिंसक या अंगुलिमाल था और जिसकी कथा बौद्ध साहित्य में बड़े ही रोचक एवं शिक्षाप्रद शब्दों में वर्णित है।^१

किन्तु प्रसेनजित के मंत्रियों में सबसे अधिक उल्लेखनीय दीर्घचारायण था^२ जिसका ही उल्लेख कौटिल्य के अर्थशास्त्र^३ में सम्भवतः नीतिशास्त्र के एक प्रकाण्ड विद्वान् के रूप में आया है और जिसका नाम कदाचित् 'दीर्घ चारायण' था। प्रसेनजित् के दो अन्य मंत्रियों—मृगधर^४ और सिरि वड्ड—(श्री बड्ड)^५ का भी उल्लेख आया है। इनके अतिरिक्त प्रसेनजित के वृहत् मन्त्रि परिषद् का भी अनेक प्राचीन ग्रन्थों में वर्णन आया है और तिब्बती अनुभूतियों के अनुसार तो इसके मन्त्रि परिषद् के सदस्यों की संख्या १०० थी^६। कौटिल्य ने भी राजाओं के हेतु एक विशाल परिषद् का ही विधान उचित माना है और राजाओं के हेतु 'क्षुद्र परिषद्' के स्थान पर 'अक्षुद्र परिषद्' को ही संगत ठहराया है। सम्भव है कि कोसल की उत्तरोत्तर बढ़मान राज्य सत्ता के हेतु प्रसेनजित ने भी एक विशाल मन्त्रि परिषद् या परिषद् को ही आवश्यक माना हो।

प्रसेनजित के सिंहासनाखण्ड होने के उपरान्त कोसल उत्तरी भारत की समस्त शक्तियों में प्रधान हो चला था। कामी की विजय तो उसके पूर्वजों ने ही कर ली थी, पर बौद्ध साहित्य से यह भी सिद्ध होता है कि स्वयं प्रसेनजित ने भी कोसलराज्य का विस्तार किया था। दुर्भाग्यवश प्रसेनजित और अजातशत्रु के युद्धों के अतिरिक्त प्रसेनजित के किसी राजा या राज्य विशेष पर आक्रमण करने का कोई विवरण उपलब्ध नहीं। उसके विपरीत बौद्ध साहित्य में प्रसेनजित को कई स्थलों पर 'पंचराजाओं' का प्रधान कहा गया है।^७ अनुमानतः अवश्य ही प्रसेनजित ने इन राजाओं को अपनी अधीनता स्वीकार करने पर विवश किया होगा या यह भी सम्भव है कि इन राजाओं में कुछ तो प्रसेनजित के द्वारा स्थापित उपराजा थे, और कुछ उन गणराज्यों के मुख्य थे जिन्होंने उसकी अधीनता स्वीकार कर ली थी। ऐसा कहने के पक्ष में हमें विशेष प्रमाण प्राप्त है। इन पंचराजाओं में एक तो स्वयं प्रसेनजित का भाई था जो कासी में हमें विशेष प्रमाण प्राप्त है। इन पंचराजाओं में एक तो स्वयं प्रसेनजित का भाई था जो कासी में उपशासक के रूप में शासन कर रहा था। दूसरा व्यक्ति कदाचित् पवासिमुत्तन्त में वर्णित

१. मज्झिम निकाय (वही) २, १०२

२. राकहिल कृत 'लाइफ ऑफ बुद्ध' पृ० ११२

३. 'तृणमिति' दीर्घचारायणः। कौटिलीय अर्थशास्त्र ५/५

४. हर्नली कृत उवासगदसाओ, भाग २ परिशिष्ट पृ० १६

५. 'दिव्दान सिरिवड्ड महामत्तं आमत्तेसि.....' मज्झिम निकाय (वही) २, ११२

६. राकहिल वही, पृ० ११२

७. मिसेज रीस डेविड द्वारा अनुवादित 'दि बुक ऑफ दि किट्टेड सेइंग १, १०६

सेतव्या का राजन्य पायासि था।^१ तीसरा राजा केसपुत के कालाम^२ गणराज्य का था और इस गणराज्य का एक व्यक्ति आलार कालाम बुद्ध का गुरु भी था। प्रसेनजित का चौथा अधीनस्थ राजा कपिलवस्तु का शाक्यवंशीय राजा उल्लिखित है।^३ उन पंचराजाओं का उल्लेख हमें अनेकों स्थानों पर अन्यत्र भी प्राप्त है। एक स्थल पर समस्त पंचराजा किसी गम्भीर दर्शन सम्बन्धी तत्त्व पर विचार विनिमय के हेतु आयोजित एक परिपद में भाग लेते हुए मिलते हैं जो प्रसेनजित की अधीनता में हुई थी।^४ प्राचीन काल में ऐसी परिपदों के कई स्थलों पर उल्लेख प्राप्त हैं। पांचाल प्रदेश के राजा प्रबाहण जैवल, विदेह के जनक और काशी के अजातशत्रु ऐसी परिपदोंके आयोजन एवं आवाहन के हेतु संस्कृत साहित्य में विशेष प्रसिद्ध हैं।^५

इन अधीनस्थ राजाओं और प्रसेनजित के सम्बन्धों का भली भाँति निरूपण आवश्यकीय है। सोलह महाजनपदों के अतिरिक्त दस गणराज्यों का भी उल्लेख हमें पालिसाहित्य में स्थान-स्थान पर प्राप्त है।^६ किन्तु यहाँ पर उसका वर्णन अभीष्ट नहीं। परन्तु इनमें से मल्ल गणराज्य प्रसेनजित की अधीनता स्वीकार करता था जिसकी पुष्टि जातक साहित्य से होती है। ठीक उसी प्रकार शाक्य भी गणतंत्रीय शासन प्रणाली के समर्थक थे जैसा कि शाक्यों और प्रसेनजित के पारस्परिक सम्बन्धों से स्पष्ट है। प्रसेनजित ने अपने दूत द्वारा शाक्य वंश की एक राजकुमारी से विवाह की इच्छा प्रकट की। शाक्यों की संस्थागार (संथागार) में इस प्रश्न पर विशेष विमर्श हुआ। शाक्यों ने परस्पर कहा कि 'हम एक ऐसे प्रदेश के निवासी हैं जो कोसलराज के अधीन है। अतः यदि हम लोग स्पष्ट 'नहीं' कर देंगे तो उसके क्रोध का ठिकाना न रहेगा'।^७ जातक-कथा से स्पष्ट है कि शाक्य गण-राज्य स्वयं कोसल की सर्वोपरि सत्ता स्वीकार करता था।^८ यह होते हुए भी इन गणराज्यों का अपना निज का पृथक् अस्तित्व था—इसमें कोई आश्चर्य की बात नहीं क्योंकि उसका एक विशेष कारण था। अभी तक कोसल राज्य में इतनी दृढ़ता न आ सकी थी कि इन समस्त छोटे-छोटे गणराज्यों की स्वतंत्र सत्ता का लोप करारकर उन्हें एक विशाल साम्राज्य में परिवर्तित कर दिया जाता।

१. दृष्टव्य मिलिन्द ४,४,१४; विमानवत्थु टीका (पा० टे० सो०), लॉ कृत हेवेन एण्ड हेल, ७९, ८३ तथा सहेत महेत के एक शिलापट्ट पर अंकित लेख में 'पयासि' उल्लिखित है।

२. इण्डियन कल्चर २, ८०८; तथा अंगुत्तर निकाय १, १८८.

३. राय चौधरी वही पृ० १५५

४. कैम्ब्रिज हिस्ट्री ऑफ इण्डिया १, १८१

५. दृष्टव्य हिन्दू सभ्यता—मुखर्जी पृ० ११०—११२

६. राय चौधरी वही पृ० १९१—१९६

७. कावेल जातक ४, ९२

८. वही पृ० ९५

आगे चल कर मगधराज्य इस प्रयत्न में सफल अवश्य हुआ किन्तु महत्वाकांक्षी अजातशत्रु की सोलह वर्षों तक अधिक परिश्रम, अनवरत युद्ध तथा कूटनीति का आश्रय आदि लेना पड़ा और तब कहीं इन गणराज्यों की स्वतंत्र सत्ता समाप्त हुई।

स्वयं प्रसेनजित् भी इन पाँचों राज्यों में अग्रगण्य बनकर सन्तुष्ट नहीं रहा। वह स्वयं एक विशाल साम्राज्य स्थापित करने में प्रयत्नशील था किन्तु उसके दुर्भाग्यवश यही युग मगध के हर्षक कुल के भी उत्कर्ष का था। दोनों राज्यों में संघर्ष भी हुआ जैसा कि हम आगे देखेंगे और जिसका विशद उल्लेख बौद्ध साहित्य में प्राप्त है।^१

ऊपर हम महाकोसल की पुत्री कोसलादेवी और मगध सम्राट विम्बिसार के विवाह का उल्लेख कर चुके हैं जिस अवसर पर कासी के निकटस्थ एक लक्ष की वापिक आय के एक ग्राम को 'नहान चुण्ण मूल' के रूप में कोसलादेवी को दहेज के रूप में दे दिया गया था।^२ यद्यपि जैन ग्रन्थ अजातशत्रु को पितृहन्ता' के रूप में स्वीकार नहीं करते पर बौद्ध ग्रन्थों से स्पष्ट है कि देवदत्त के उकसाने पर अजातशत्रु ने अपने बृद्ध पिता विम्बिसार की निर्मम हत्या करके मगध का सिंहासन हस्तगत कर लिया था। पति शोक में कोसलादेवी का भी देहान्त हो गया और अपनी भगिनी कोसला की उस दुःखदायिनी मृत्यु का समाचार सुनकर प्रसेनजित् का क्रोधित होना और मगध के विरुद्ध युद्ध की घोषणा करना स्वाभाविक था। शीघ्र ही प्रसेनजित् ने उस कासी के ग्राम (कासिगाम) पर अधिकार कर लिया जिसकी आय मगध को दहेज द्वारा प्राप्त थी। दोनों राज्यों में भयंकर युद्ध छिड़ गया। इस युद्ध के वर्षों तक चलने और उभय पक्षों को कभी-कभी विजय श्री हाथ लगने आदि का जैन तथा बौद्ध धर्म ग्रन्थों में उल्लेख प्राप्त है। अजातशत्रु नव युवक, शक्तिशाली एवं महत्वाकांक्षी था और इधर प्रसेनजित् बृद्ध हो चुके थे। जातक कथाओं में इस युद्ध में विजय के हेतु प्रसेनजित् विशेष चिन्तित पाये जाते हैं और अन्त में उन्होंने इस विजय को अपने सभासदों एवं परिपद के सम्मुख रखा। मंत्रणा में निश्चय हुआ कि भिक्षुओं द्वारा ही इस समस्या का निराकरण सम्भव है। अतः प्रसेनजित् ने अपने गुप्तचरों को भिक्षुओं के पारस्परिक वार्तालापों को ध्यान पूर्वक सुनने और इसे सूचित करने का आदेश दिया। संयोगवश एक रात्रि में धनुग्गह तिस्स^३ कोसल राज्य के अन्तर्गत एक

१. वही २, २७५

२. फूजवोल जातक ४, ३४२; २, ४०३ तथा सारक्षपकासिनी संयुक्त टीका १, ११०, १२० तथा आगे

३. पाली के नामों का कोश, मलालसेखर २, ८६७

४. जातक वही २, ३३७, ४०३; ३, १२१ तथा आगे।

५. पाली के नामों का कोश, वही १, ११३४

बिहार में अपने मित्र मंतिदत्त थेर^१ से उसी युद्ध के सम्बन्ध में वार्तालाप कर रहे थे। गुप्तचरों ने तिस्स और थेर के वार्तालाप में वर्णित नीति का पालन करने की प्रसेनजित् को सलाह दी। प्रसेनजित् ने उसी नीति का पालन करके अजातशत्रु को पराजित किया और बन्दी भी बनाया।^२

किन्तु प्रसेनजित् एक अत्यन्त ही अनुभवी तथा नीति निपुण शासक था। निरन्तर युद्ध के कारण उसकी सैनिक शक्ति भी क्षीण हो चली थी और अपनी वृद्धावस्था के कारण वह मगध की उपेक्षा नहीं कर सकता था। साथ ही अजातशत्रु उसका निकट सम्बन्धी भी था। इन समस्त कारणों और मगध के साथ भविष्य में भी अच्छे सम्बन्ध बने रहने के दृष्टिकोण से उसने अपनी पुत्री वजिरा का अजातशत्रु से विवाह कर दिया और पुनः कासी के निकट उसी ग्राम को दहेज के रूप में देकर सन्धि कर लेना ही उचित समझा।^३

प्रसेनजित् का शाक्यों से सम्बन्ध.

प्रसेनजित् ने स्वयं अनेकों वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध किये थे और कुछ विवाहों का राजनैतिक महत्व भी था। उसने मगध राजवंश की एक राजकुमारी से विवाह किया था^४ जो अनुश्रुतियों में विम्बिसार की भगिनी कही गयी है। एक अन्यान्य रानी का नाम उड्विरी था^५। उसकी अनेकों अन्यान्य रानियों के नाम भी प्राप्त हैं। कण्णकत्थल सुत्त के अनुसार^६ दो बहनें सोमा और सकुला भी उसकी रानियाँ थीं। ऐसा जान पड़ता है कि प्रसेनजित् ने वृद्धावस्था तक विवाहों की परम्परा चालू रखी थी और उसकी अन्तिम महत्वपूर्ण रानी मल्लिका थी जो कोसल के एक प्रसिद्ध मालाकार की पुत्री थी^७। मल्लिका के ऊपर

१. वही

२. जातक वही ४, ३४३ और २, ४०३

३. वही ४०४; ४, ३४३ और धम्मपदट्टकथा ३, २६६ यद्यपि इस प्रकार के विवाह हिन्दू शास्त्रों द्वारा वर्जित हैं पर प्राचीन काल में कई स्थलों पर ऐसे उदाहरण मिलते हैं। स्वयं शासकों में प्रतिविद्ध सविण्ड विवाह की प्रथा थी (देखिए 'हिन्दू सभ्यता' पृ० २३३)। बौधायन ने मातुल कन्या परिणयन को शास्त्र सम्मत भी माना है। किन्तु साधारणतया ऐसे विवाह अनार्य प्रथाओं के प्रतीक माने गये हैं। दक्षिण भारत में आज दिन भी यह प्रथा प्रचलित है।

४. 'तेन खो पन समयेन विविसारो वा पसेनदिकोसलो या अञ्जमञ्जं भगिनी पत्तिका होन्ति' धम्मपदट्टकथा १, ३८५

५. पाली के नामों का कोश वही १, ४२५।

६. मज्झिम निकाय २, १२५।

७. कावेल जातक ३, २४५ और धम्मपदट्टकथा १, ३३८ "पसेनदिकुमारो..... तिक्कसिलं गत्वा वह्निगरे सालाय समागता"।

प्रसेनजित् के आसक्त होने, उससे विवाह करने आदि का पालि साहित्य में विषाद विवरण उपलब्ध है। एक बार मगधराज अजातशत्रु से परास्त होकर लौटते समय प्रसेनजित् ने उसे श्रावस्ती के एक उद्यान में देखा और उस पर मोहित हो गया। यद्यपि तिज्जती अनुश्रुतियाँ इस सम्बन्ध में कुछ भिन्न हैं किन्तु मल्लिका श्रावस्ती की ही थी जैसा कि हम आगे देखेंगे।

प्रसेनजित् के शाक्य परिवार में विवाह सम्बन्ध करने के प्रायः प्रत्येक ग्रन्थ में उल्लेख प्राप्त है। जैसा कि ऊपर कहा जा चुका है, प्रसेनजित् ने शाक्य वंश में विवाह करने की इच्छा स्वयं शाक्यों से प्रकट की थी। शाक्यों को अपने अभिजात कुल पर विजेष गर्व था और कदाचित् वे प्रसेनजित् को हेय श्रुति मानते थे। ऐसी दशा में उन्होंने अपने कुल की राजकन्या देना उचित न समझा। संचागार में यथेष्ट विचार-विमर्श के उपरान्त उन्होंने दासमुण्डा नामक दासी^१ और शाक्यगण मुख्य महानाम से उत्पन्न 'वासभखत्तिया' नामक दासी पुत्री को अपनी राज कुमारी के रूप में प्रसेनजित् के पास विवाह के हेतु भेज दिया। सम्बन्धित ग्रन्थों से ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि प्रसेनजित् बुद्ध से अन्वधिक प्रभावित था और उनकी ओर भी सन्निकट आने के हेतु शाक्य कुल में सम्बन्ध स्थापित करना चाहता था। इसी वासभखत्तिया से आगे चलकर एक पुत्र उत्पन्न हुआ जिसका नाम बिडूडभ था और जो शाक्य वंश तथा कोसल राज्य के विनाश का कारण बना^२।

तिज्जती अनुश्रुतियाँ^३ इस प्रसंग पर भिन्न हैं। उनके अनुसार प्रसेनजित् के दो रात्रियाँ थीं। एक का नाम मल्लिका और दूसरी का बधिक था। मल्लिका ही शाक्य कुमारी और दासी पुत्री थी और बिडूडभ इसी के गर्भ से उत्पन्न था। घटनाओं के क्रम को देखते हुए बिडूडभ को मल्लिका का पुत्र मानना अनुचित होगा। यह निर्विवाद है कि मल्लिका ने प्रसेनजित् ने अजातशत्रु से चल रहे युद्ध के समय में विवाह किया था। अजातशत्रु और प्रसेनजित् लगभग आठ वर्ष ही समकालीन राजा रहे। ऐसी दशा में विवाह के उपरान्त बिडूडभ का उत्पन्न होना, पुनः युवा होकर सिंहासन हस्तगत कर लेना आदि सम्भव नहीं। ऐसी दशा में बिडूडभ को वासभखत्तिया का ही पुत्र मान लेना उचित है। समस्त बौद्ध साहित्य में यह उल्लेख इतने सामान्य रूप से प्राप्त है कि इसमें संशय नहीं रह जाता। मल्लिका का पुत्र मानने से समस्त उत्तर तथा दक्षिण की बौद्ध अनुश्रुतियाँ ऐतिहासिक घटनाओं के क्रम में असत्य सिद्ध हो जाती हैं। अस्तु।

सात वर्ष की अवस्था में बिडूडभ ने अपने नाना के यहाँ जाने का आग्रह किया किन्तु

१. कूजबोल जातक १, १३३ तथा देखिए पाली के नामों का कोश वही २, ८१७।

२. कावेल जातक ४, ९१—९२। बिडूडभ के अन्य नामों में विण्डुक या बिडूडभ भी हैं।

३. रॉकहिल, वही, पृ० ७७।

वासभक्षितिया ने दूरी के बहाने पर उसका जाना टाल दिया। किन्तु सोलह वर्ष की आयु को प्राप्त होने पर विडूडभ ने पुनः आग्रह किया और अपने निश्चय पर दृढ़ रहा। विवश होकर वासभक्षितिया को उसे जाने देना पड़ा^१ यद्यपि उसकी इच्छा न थी। शाक्यों ने विडूडभ के कपिलवस्तु जाने की जब बात सुनी तो उनके सम्मुख एक विकट समस्या आ खड़ी हुई। कोसल के राजकुमार के नाते विडूडभ का उचित स्वागत शाक्यों का कर्तव्य था किन्तु दासी पुत्री होने के कारण अभिजात कुलीन शाक्य ऐसा कर भी कैसे सकते थे? विडूडभ को कपिलवस्तु के राजकीय अतिथिगृह में ठहराया गया। उसका वासभक्षितिया के पिता, भाई तथा अन्यान्य समस्त सम्बन्धियों से परिचय हुआ और वय में उन सबके वृद्ध होने के कारण विडूडभ को ही सबको अभिवादन करना पड़ा। विडूडभ के पूछने पर उत्तर मिला कि छोटी आयु के समस्त कुमार किसी उत्सव में बाहर गये हुए हैं^२ और बड़ी आयु के लोगों को अभिवादन करना उसी के हेतु अभीष्ट था। एक दिन कपिलवस्तु में रुक कर विडूडभ वापस लौटा। संयोगवश विडूडभ का एक साथी अपनी कोई वस्तु कपिलवस्तु में ही भूल आया था। उसे लेने जब वह कपिलवस्तु वापस लौटा तो उसने समस्त अतिथिगृह को दुग्ध आवि युक्त जल से प्रक्षालित होते देखा। पूछने पर उसे ज्ञात हुआ कि विडूडभ दासी पुत्र था और उसके वहाँ निवास के कारण वह स्थल अपवित्र हो गया था। यह समाचार जब विडूडभ को ज्ञात हुआ तो उसके क्रोध की सीमा न रही^३। शाक्यों द्वारा इस अपमान एवं प्रवर्धना के प्रतिशोध के हेतु वह व्याकुल हो उठा। उसे अपने पिता की मृत्यु पर्यन्त रुकना भी दुस्सह हो गया और इस प्रतिशोध के हेतु उसने पद्यंश रचना प्रारम्भ कर दिया^४। तिब्बती अनुश्रुतियों के अनुसार^५ उसने मंत्रि परिषद के समस्त सदस्यों को अपने पक्ष में कर लिया। दीघकारायण, जो प्रसेनजित् के भूतपूर्व सेनापति का पुत्र^६ तथा उत्तराधिकारी सेनानायक था, अभी उसके मत में न था। उसने विडूडभ को कुछ दिन और शान्त रहने की सलाह दी पर विडूडभ फिर भी अपने प्रयत्न में लगा ही रहा।

किन्तु इसी बीच दीघकारायण को भी प्रसेनजित् से विरुद्ध होने का एक कारण उत्पन्न हो गया—वह कारण था बन्धुल^७ नामक एक उसके निकट सम्बन्धी का पद्यंश द्वारा मारा

१. पाली के नामों का कोश वही २, ८७६।

२. वही।

३. वही,

४. कावेल जातक ४, ९२—३

५. रॉकहिल्ल वही

६. बौद्ध सूत्र के अनुसार भतीजा था—पाली के नामों का कोश वही १, १०७९।

७. वही २, २६६—बन्धुल प्रसेनजित् का सहपाठी था। बाद में प्रसेनजित् ने उसे सेनापति बनाया। कुछ अनवन हो जाने के कारण राजा ने उसे सीमा पर युद्ध के लिए भेज दिया जहाँ उसकी मृत्यु कर दी गयी।

जाना। अतः दीघकारायण भी विडूडभ को गिहासन दिलाने के पद्यंत्र में सम्मिलित हो गया। एक अवसर पर जब बुद्ध मेदलुम्प^१ नामक नगर में पधारे थे तब कोसलराज प्रसेनजित् बन्धुस की हत्या से सन्तप्त बुद्ध के दर्शन लाभ के हेतु वहाँ गये। उन्होंने अपने समस्त राजकीय चिह्न यथा राजमुकुट, खड्ग आदि दीघकारायण की सीप दिया और दीर्घ काल तक बुद्ध से वार्तालाप में संलग्न रहे^२। उधर दीघकारायण ने शीघ्रता से सावत्थी जाकर विडूडभ को राजचिह्न द्वारा अलंकृत करके उसे राजा घोषित कर दिया। इस प्रकार विडूडभ अपने बुद्ध पिता के जीवन काल में ही मंत्रिपरिषद् एवं सेनापति की सहायता से राजा हो गया^३।

उधर प्रसेनजित् जब बुद्ध से वार्तालाप समाप्त करके बाहर निकले तो उन्हें परिस्थिति का ज्ञान हुआ। मंत्रिपरिषद् के विरुद्ध होने का आभास तो उन्हें था ही, दीघकारायण के विरोध के कारण उन्होंने श्रावस्ती वापस जाना उचित न समझा और मगध की ओर प्रस्थान किया। उनका विचार अजातशत्रु से सहायता और शरण लेने का था। मार्ग में उन्हें उनकी मल्लिका तथा बर्षिका नामक रानियाँ मिलीं। तिब्बती^४ अनुश्रुतियों के अनुसार विडूडभ मल्लिका का पुत्र था, अतः उसे राजा ने श्रावस्ती वापस लौटा दिया और स्वयं बर्षिका के साथ राजगृह की ओर चल पड़े। मार्गश्रम, बुद्धावस्था, कुश्र प्रहण तथा कुजल सेवन के कारण सुकुमार राजा को बार-बार शीच (बुट्टान) की आवश्यकता प्रतीत होने लगी। राजगृह के मुख्य द्वार रात्रि हो जाने के कारण बन्द हो गये थे अतः निरुपाय राजा नगर के बाहर एक धर्मशाला में अशक्त तथा शीच से पीड़ित पड़े रहे। अन्ततः अशक्तता तथा संज्ञाहीनावस्था में बर्षिका के अंक में सिर रखे हुए ही कोसल का यह प्रतापी सम्राट् स्वर्ग सिंघारा^५।

प्रातःकाल जब अजातशत्रु को यह दुःखद समाचार मिला तो उसने प्रसेनजित् के विधिवत् दाह संस्कार आदि का उचित प्रबन्ध किया। अजातशत्रु शीघ्र ही कोसल पर आक्रमण करना चाहता था किन्तु उसके मंत्रियों ने उसे ऐसा करने से रोक दिया^६।

१. "एवं में सुतं एकं समयं भगवा सक्केसु विहरति। मेदलुम्प नाम सक्कानं निगमो। तेन सो पन समयेन राजा पसेनदि कोसलो नगरकं अनुपत्तो होति केनचिद् एव करणीयेन। अथ सो राजा पसेनदि कोसलो दीघंकारायणं आमतेसिः" मज्झिम निकाय २, ११८ तथा फूजबोल जातक ४, १५१

२. वही.

३. पाली के नामों का कोश, वही १, १०७९।

४. रॉकहिल्ल, वही पृ० ७७।

५. पाली के नामों का कोश, वही २, १७२।

६. पंचसूदनी. मज्झिम टीका २, ७५३ तथा आगे, धम्मपदट्टकथा १, ३५३ तथा आगे; मज्झिम निकाय २, ११८ और फूजबोल जातक ४. १५० तथा आगे।

प्रसेनजित् की इस प्रकार दुःखद मृत्यु के उपरान्त उसका पुत्र विरूडक (विडूडभ) सिंहासनाख्य हुआ। भिन्न ग्रंथों में उसके वास्तविक नामके अनेकों रूपान्तर प्राप्त होते हैं। समस्त पालि साहित्य में उसे प्रायः विडूडभ ही कहा गया है। उपरान्त के ग्रंथों में 'विरूडक' रूपमें प्राप्य है।^१ पुराणों में^२ कोसल के एक राजा क्षुद्रक का उल्लेख है और उसके पश्चात् कुलक, मुरथ तथा सुमित्र के सिंहासनाख्य होने का भी वृत्तान्त पाया जाता है।^३ क्षुद्रक तथा विडूडभ या विरूडक को साधारणतया एक ही मानना उचित जान पड़ता है, पर यह समानता केवल नाम की ध्वनि पर ही आधारित है। उपरान्त के ग्रंथों में कोसल के विनाश के सम्बन्ध में भी भिन्न-भिन्न उल्लेख प्राप्त हैं जैसा कि हम आगे देखेंगे।

विडूडभ के सिंहासनाख्य होते ही उसके शाक्य विरोधी सभासदों की बन आयी। दीपकारायण उसका प्रधान सेनापति बना और अम्बरीष जो उसका बाल्यसखा था, प्रधानमंत्री के पद पर नियुक्त हुआ। अम्बरीष ने वीर्य ही उसे शाक्यों से प्रतिशोध के हेतु उकसाया।^४ वीर्य ही विडूडभ ने शाक्यों के विरूद्ध सैनिक अभियान किया।

उपर बुद्ध को जब यह खेदजनक समाचार ज्ञात हुआ तो शाक्य होने के नाते उन्हें अपार दुःख हुआ और उन्होंने कपिलवस्तु की ओर प्रस्थान किया। विडूडभ के मार्ग में शाक्यों की राज्य-सीमा के अन्तर्गत ही एक छायाशून्य 'शकोतक' वृक्ष के नीचे वे जाकर खड़े हुए।^५ विडूडभ ने उन्हें इस प्रकार देखकर निकट स्थित छाया-मुक्त एक बट वृक्ष के नीचे स्थान ग्रहण करनेका आग्रह किया किन्तु बुद्ध ने उत्तर दिया 'चिन्ता मत करो, मेरे आरम्यजनों की छाया मुझे निरन्तर शीतलता पहुँचाती रहेगी।'^६ बुद्धकी इस दशा तथा उनकी भावना का आश्रय समझकर विडूडभ शाक्यों पर आक्रमण करनेसे विचलित हो उठा। उसके मनमें भी बुद्धके प्रति असीम श्रद्धा थी और कदाचित् वह उन्हें दुःखी नहीं देखना चाहता था।^७ अतः

१. 'विरूडकेति मुल्याख्यो विद्यासु च कृतश्रमः।'

—श्वेमेन्द्र अवदान कल्पलता पृ० ४६५

२. 'प्रसेनजित् सतोभाष्यः क्षुद्रको भविता ततः।'

पाजिटर कृत डाइनेस्टीज आफ़ दि कलि एज पृ० ११

३. 'क्षुद्रकात् कुलको भाव्यः कुलकात् मुरथः स्मृतः।

सुमित्रः मुरथस्यापि'—वही।

४. रॉकहिल् बही पृष्ठ ११६

५. पालीके नामोंका कोश वही २, ८७६।

६. वही,

७. बौद्ध सूत्र इससे भिन्न है। उसके अनुसार तीन बार विडूडभ सेना सहित शाक्यों पर आक्रमण करने के लिए आया किन्तु बुद्ध को उसी वृक्ष के नीचे खड़ा देखकर वापस चला गया। चौथी बार बुद्ध समझ गये कि शाक्यों का विनाश अवश्यम्भायी है अतः वे वहाँ से हट गये। अतः विडूडभ ने शाक्यों पर आक्रमण कर उनका संहार कर दिया। दे० वही २, ८७६।

उसने ससैन्य लौट जाना ही उचित समझा।^१

किन्तु बिड़डभ अधिक समय तक अपने कां न रोक सका। उसे अम्बरीष ने, जो कट्टर साम्राज्यवादी था, पुनः शाक्यों पर आक्रमण के हेतु उकसाया।^२ एक अनुश्रुति के अनुसार उधर शाक्यों ने भी के महामौद्गल्यायन नेतृत्वमें अपनी रक्षा के हेतु विशेष तैयारी करना प्रारम्भ कर दिया। बिड़डभ इस बार पुनः शाक्यों को पराजित न कर सका और निराश होकर श्रावस्ती लौट गया।^३ किन्तु बौद्ध सूत्रोंमें इसके तथा बिड़डभ के अन्यान्य आक्रमणों का विवरण भिन्न है। उनके अनुसार पहली, दूसरी तथा क्रमशः तीसरी बार भी आक्रमण के मार्गमें उसी स्थल पर बुद्ध की खड़े देखकर बिड़डभ वापस लौट जाता था। जो भी हो, बिड़डभ का तीसरा आक्रमण भी विफल हुआ, चाहे उसे बुद्ध ने लौटने पर प्रेरित किया हो या शाक्यगण अपनी सुरक्षा में विशेष तत्पर रहे हों।

इन तीनों आक्रमणों की विफलता देखकर अम्बरीष ने कूट नीति का आश्रय लिया।^४ उसने शाक्योंसे वैर भाव भूलकर बिड़डभ के स्वागतार्थ नगर के द्वार खोल देनेका प्रस्ताव किया। शाक्यों की संधागार में इस पर विचार विमर्श हुआ।^५ कदाचित् निरन्तर युद्धके हेतु सन्नद्ध रहने के कारण शाक्य भी ऊब उठे थे और उनमें मतभेद हो गया। अन्ततः नगर के द्वार खोल देनेका प्रस्ताव बहुमत द्वारा स्वीकृत हुआ और कपिलवस्तु के द्वार खोल दिये गये।

नगर में प्रवेश करते ही बिड़डभ की सेनाओं ने शाक्यों का संहार करना आरम्भ कर दिया। लगभग ७७,००० शाक्य इस प्रकार लल्ल पूर्वक एवं निर्दयता से मारे गये।^६ कुछ शाक्य कठिनता से अपने प्राण बचा कर भाग सके और सुदूर पार्वतीय प्रदेशों में जाकर उन्होंने नवीन राज्यों की स्थापना की। इस प्रकार बिड़डभ ने शाक्यों और उनके गणराज्य का पूर्ण रूप से नाश कर दिया। शाक्य गणराज्य मूल रूप से एक गणराज्य था यद्यपि वह कोसल की सधों-परि सत्ता को स्वीकार करता था। उधर कोसल के शासकों ने भी कभी शाक्यों की स्वतंत्रता का अपहरण करने का प्रयत्न नहीं किया था। किन्तु अम्बरीष की साम्राज्यवादी नीति से प्रभावित होकर बिड़डभ ने सर्वदा के हेतु शाक्यों का नाश कर डाला।

पालि साहित्य के अनुसार स्वयं बुद्ध ने शाक्यों का विनाश अवदयभावी जानकर चौथी बार बिड़डभ को रोकने का प्रयत्न नहीं किया। अतः शाक्यों का विनाश बुद्ध के जीवन काल

१. राकहिल, वही पृ० ११६

२. वही

३. वही पृ० ११७

४. वही पृ० ११८

५. वही

६. वही पृ० ११२—१२१

में ही हुआ। तिब्बती अनुश्रुतियों के अनुसार बुद्ध ने भविष्यवाणी की थी कि उपर्युक्त घटना के उपरान्त सात दिन के अन्तर्गत ही विडूडभ तथा अम्बरीष का नाश हो जायगा। इन धर्म-ग्रन्थों के अनुसार वस्तुतः हुआ भी वैसा ही।^१

चीनी स्रोतों के अनुसार विडूडभ ने ५०० शाक्य कुमारियों को बन्दी बनाकर अपने अन्तःपुर में डाल रखा था किन्तु उनमें से एक भी आत्मसमर्पण के हेतु तैयार न हुई प्रत्युत सभी ने उसे तथा उसके परिवार को अपशब्द कहे। अन्ततः उनके हाथ पैर कटवा कर परिखा में फेंक दिया गया। इस स्रोत के अनुसार स्वयं बुद्ध ने अपने एक अनुयायी भिक्षु को उन्हें प्रवचन देने के हेतु भेजा था। उल्लेख में चमत्कार एवं अलौकिकता लाने का भी प्रयत्न किया गया है।^२ स्पष्ट है कि चीनी ग्रन्थों के अनुसार विडूडभ इस घटना के उपरान्त भी जीवित रहा, साथ ही बुद्ध भी जीवित थे। किन्तु दोनों प्रसंग भारतीय एवं सिंहली अनुश्रुतियों तथा ऐतिहासिक घटनाओं के विपरीत जान पड़ते हैं।

विडूडभ के अन्त के सम्बन्ध में भी कई मत हैं। बौद्ध ग्रन्थों के अनुसार शाक्यों के पूर्ण नाश के उपरान्त विडूडभ ने रात्रि में अचिरवती के तट पर पड़ाव डाला। किन्तु अचानक रात्रि में भयानक जल प्लावन होने के कारण विडूडभ अपनी समस्त सेना सहित नदी की तीव्र धारा द्वारा समुद्र में पहुँचा दिया गया।^३ जहाँ उसका मत्स्य एवं कच्छ्यों ने पूर्ण रूप से भोजन किया। इसके विपरीत एक अन्य स्रोत से ज्ञात होता है कि वत्सराज उदयन के सेनापति

१. वही पृ० १२१

२. बील कृत 'बुद्धिस्ट रिकार्ड्स' २, ११ तथा आगे। इसके अतिरिक्त अवदान कल्प-लता के ११वें पल्लव में यही कथा उल्लिखित है।

३. "विडूडभो" ति नामण् करोथा' ति आह। राजा पोरापकण् तो कुल संतकण् नामण भविस्सती' ति चित्तेत्वा विडूडभोति नामम् अकासि सेनापतिट्ठानण् अदासि। सो कुमारपरि हारेन.....कपिल पुरण् संपत्ते संचागारे सन्नपिठिण्सु कुमारो तत्थ गत्वा अट्ठासि..... तस्मिं सावत्थिगण् गते अमच्चा सब्बण् पबत्तिण् रञ्जो आरोचपिण्णु। राजा 'मयूहण् दासि धीतरण् अदण्णु' ति साकियानम् कुञ्जित्वा वासभक्षत्तियाय.....।" धम्मपदट्ठकथा १, ३४६—३४९। "विडूडभो 'सकिये घाटेस्सामी' ति महन्तेन बलेन निक्खमि। सम्मासम्बुद्धस्स वन जातका.....नागराजा 'किं नु खो' ति उपधारेन्तो तस्स संतिकण् आगत्वा तण फणे निसीदापेत्वा नागभवनं.....। सो रत्तिभागे अचिरवत्तिपत्त्वा..... वत्सि, नदिद्या ओगहो अगत्वा विडूडभं सद्धि परिखाय समुद्धं एवं पापेसि, सब्बे मच्छकच्छप भत्ता अहेसुं।....." वही पृ० ३५७—६१ तथा दे० फूजबोल जातक भी १, १३३ तथा ४, १४६ तथा आगे और १५१ तथा आगे।

रुमण्वान् ने अकेले ही कोसलराज को परास्त ही नहीं अपितु उसका वध भी किया था।^१ यह कोसलराज कौन था इसका कोई उल्लेख रत्नावली में प्राप्त नहीं। वत्सराज उदयन के समकालीन कोसल के केवल दो ही शासक हो सकते हैं, एक तो पसेनदि और दूसरा विडूडभ। किन्तु विडूडभ की मृत्यु के सम्बन्ध में पालि ग्रन्थ प्रायः एक मत है। तो क्या विडूडभ का अन्त उदयन के सेनापति रुमण्वान् द्वारा हुआ था ?

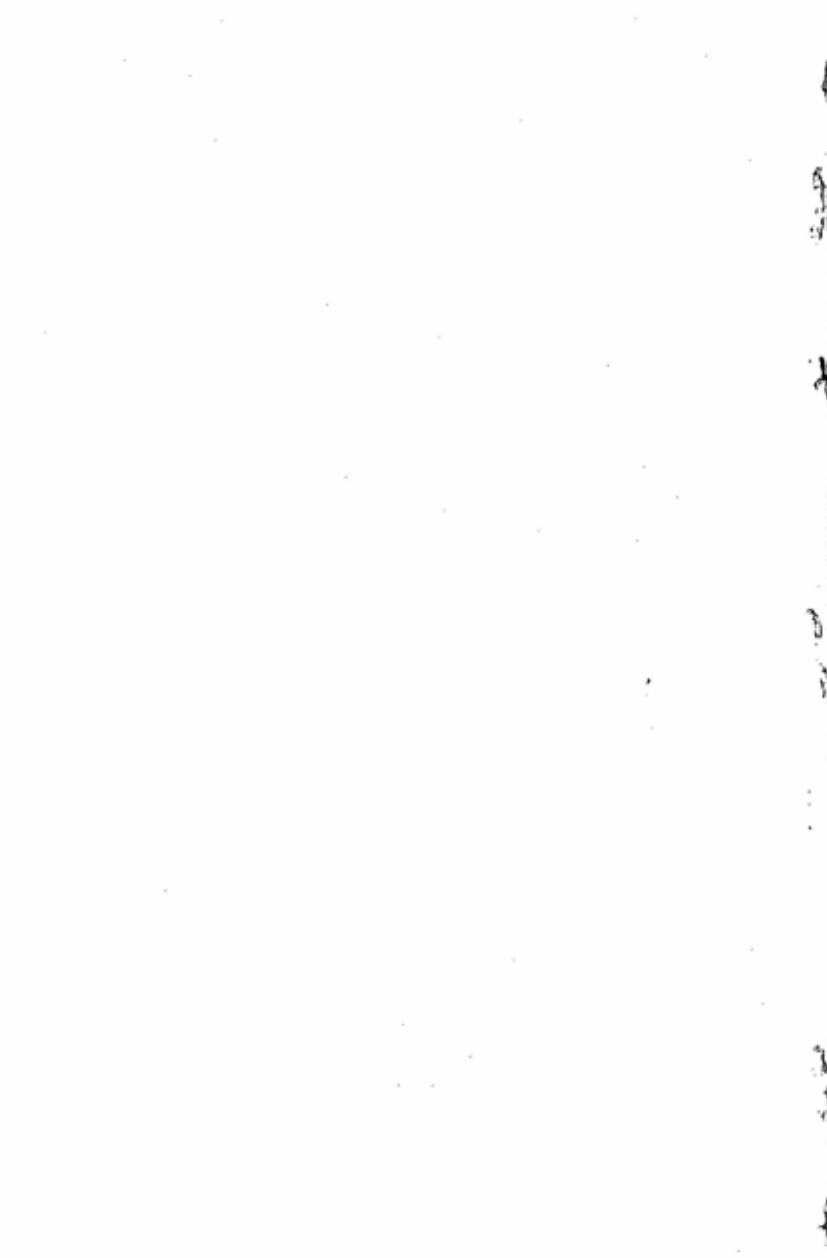
इस सम्बन्ध में एक सुझाव और दिया जा सकता है। पुराणों में क्षुद्रक, जिसे हम विडूडभ मान चुके हैं, के उपरान्त तीन अन्य राजाओं का भी उल्लेख आया है जिनका वर्णन हम ऊपर कर चुके हैं। सम्भव है कि विडूडभ की असामयिक^२ मृत्यु के उपरान्त उपर्युक्त तीनों राजाओं में से कुलक, सिंहासनारूढ़ हुआ हो और उसे उदयन के सेनापति ने पराजित करके मार डाला हो। रत्नावली में वर्णित कोशलराज वस्तुतः कोई अन्य कौशलाधिप था, विडूडभ नहीं जैसा कि पालि साहित्य से स्पष्ट है। पुराणों से वर्णित उपर्युक्त राजाओं के सम्बन्ध में विशेष ज्ञातव्य उपलब्ध नहीं। कालान्तर को कोसल मगध के उत्तरोत्तर बढ़ते हुए साम्राज्य का एक अंग बन गया।

किन्तु यदि रत्नावली का प्रासंगिक उल्लेख आंशिक रूप में भी सत्य माना जावे तो कोसल के पतन में वत्सराज का भी हाथ रहा। सम्भव है कि विडूडभ सहित कोसल सैन्य शक्ति नष्ट हो जाने पर कुलक सिंहासनारूढ़ हुआ हो और परिस्थिति का लाभ उठा कर उदयन ने कोसल पर आक्रमण किया हो। किन्तु वत्सराज उदयन भी इस समय यथेष्ट वृद्ध रहे होंगे क्योंकि वे बुद्ध, बिम्बिसार तथा प्रसेनजित् के समकालीन थे। उधर मगध में अजातशत्रु युवक तथा शक्तिशाली था। कदाचित् उदयन की भी इसी बीच मृत्यु हो गयी और अजातशत्रु को कोशल हस्तगत कर लेने में विशेष परिश्रम नहीं करना पड़ा।

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१. "अस्तव्यस्तशिरस्त्र कपर्णः कृतात्तामाङ्गो क्षणम् ।
 व्यूढासृक्सरति स्वनत्प्रहरणे वर्मोद्विह्निनि ॥
 आहूयाजि मुखे स कोसलपतिर्भङ्गे प्रधाने बले ।
 एके नैव रुमण्वता शरशतैर्भतद्विपश्यो हतः ॥

—श्री हर्ष रत्नावली अंक ४

२. रॉकहिल् वही पृ० १२१



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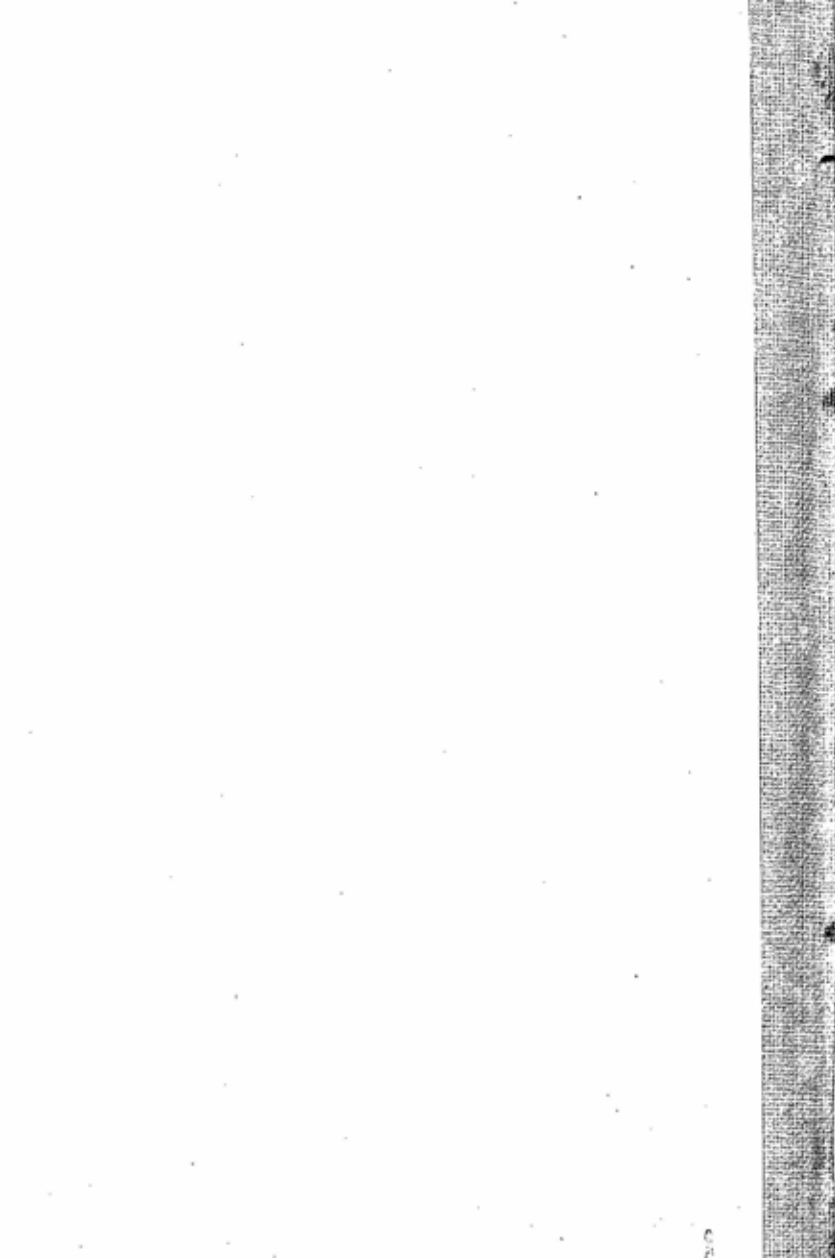
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