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Part I

THE WAR OF NATIONAL LIBERATION IN
MAHARASHTRA (II)

By

Dr. Brij Kishore M.A., Ph.D.

Fall of Satara and Parli

The news of Rajaram's death reached the Imperial camp on March 5, 1700, and "xxx....the Emperor ordered the drums of rejoicing to be beaten, xx and the soldiers congratulated each other xx saying that another prime mover in the strife was removed, xx and that it would not be difficult to overcome two young children and a helpless woman. They thought their enemy weak, contemptible and helpless....."¹ Finding the spirits of the marathas very low on account of their King's death, Aurangzib redoubled his efforts to give the knock-out blow.

Tarbiyat Khan was carrying on his job zealously before Satara. The brave garrison held on for longer than could be expected but their king's death took the heart out of them and the battle of endurance came to an end one-and-a-half months after Rajaram's death on April 21, 1700, when Satara was taken and re-named Azamtara.²

Pressing his advantage home Aurangzib despatched Fathullah Khan the very same day to open trenches before Parli which was

1. Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 468.

2. An authentic and vivid account of the siege of Satara is given by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in the proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, 1922.

only 6 miles west of Satara and served as the temporary seat of the Maratha government during the siege of Satara. Parashuram Trimbak was in-charge of the fort of Parli. He was busy in securing his own position in the reshuffling which followed Rajaram's death. He escaped from Parli and opened negotiations with Aurangzib. Then followed a keen tug-of-war over Parashuram's allegiance. He was ultimately won over by the resourceful Tara Bai who made him her *pratinidhi* and the virtual head of administration which position Parashuram coveted. The weak garrison continued its resistance, but on June 9, 1700, the Qiledar of Parli evacuated the fort for a bribe.¹ The fort, sacred to the Marathas as the seat of Ramdas Swami, was re-named Nur-i-Satara, indicative of Aurangzib's pious wish to Islamize even the landscape of Maharashtra.

Tara Bai, the defender of Maharashtra.

Tara Bai had by now consolidated her position and came to the fore front to fill with dignity and ability the void created by the death of her husband. Aurangzib had thought that the widows and the infant sons of Rajaram would soon come to their knees. When he felt that he had virtually turned his dream into a reality Fates conspired to pit against his failing energies, a woman stronger than any man he had hitherto fought after the death of the great Shivaji.

So ably did Tara Bai conduct the war and the administration of the state as to extort from the hostile Muslim historian, Khafi Khan, nothing but high praise. "The Chiefs," writes Khafi Khan, "then made Tara Bai, the chief wife, and the mother of one son, regent. She was a clever intelligent woman and had obtained a reputation during her husband's life time for her knowledge of civil and military matters..... Tara Bai, as the wife of Rajaram was called, showed great powers of command and government, and from day to day the war spread and the power of the Marathas increased."² In short, out of the ashes of Shivaji's kingdom, she raised to life a new and greater Maharashtra within the next few years.

1. According to *Dilkasha* (p. 133a) it was Prince Azam who negotiated the surrender.

2. Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 468.

Though determined to maintain the integrity and independence of the newly created Maratha state at all costs she would not at the start break the bridge behind. To gain time and humour the old Emperor she started negotiations for peace. The motive behind her move was to avail herself of a national reaction in her favour, should her terms be rejected. What she asked for was a 7-hazari mansab and the *Deshmukhi* rights over the Daccan for her son, Shivaji III, and in return proposed to supply a contingent of five thousand man for service under the imperial viceroy of the Deccan and to cede 7 forts.¹ But Aurangzib thus befooled, became more adamant and insisted upon unconditional surrender. Aurangzib in fact had under-rated the Maratha power and was dreaming already of a quick return to Delhi.

War having been decided upon, in sheer self-defence the talented daughter of Senapati Hambir Rao Mohite threw herself heart and soul into it : "With the tireless vigour with which Hera strove to rouse against Priam the Princes of Hellas, the Maratha Queen flew from camp to camp and from fortress to fortress, sharing the hardships of a trooper, exposed to the sun, sleeping on the ground, Tara Bai seemed to multiply herself to be everywhere and always, encouraging her officers, and planning campaigns on a wider front. So clear was her vision, so unerring her judgment, that she was equally welcome on the battle field and in the council chamber by the war-worn soldiers and astute politicians of the older generation. Within a short time the Maratha counter-offensive, at first halting and ineffective, assumed alarming proportions and began to threaten the very heart of the Mughal Empire."²

How she planned campaigns and encouraged her officers is to be seen from a letter dated November 17, 1700, to Kanhoji Jujhar Rao telling him to join Malhar Rao who was being sent against the siddi of Janjira with 7000 troops.³ Another such letter is to

1. The terms were offered through Ruhulla Khan. Another condition was that the Maratha King was to be exempted from personal attendance on the Emperor (*Akbarat* of 12th March, 1700).

Two Maratha agents—Ramaji Pandit sent by Ram Chandra Nilkanth and Ambaji sent by Parushram Trimbak—also met Prince Azam in May, 1700, for securing terms.

2. Kincaid and Paramis: *A History of the Maratha Peoples*, p. 180; *Bharat Varsha* No. 5 year 1, p. 39.

3. Rajwade, Vol. XVI. doct. No. 35.

Pratap Rao Moré written in January, 1702. In this letter Tara Bai praises the addressee and Santaji Pandhre for taking a Mughal out-post near Malkapur and encourages them to harass the Mughals constantly so that they do not succeed against Vishalgarh and other Maratha forts. She described Aurangzib as treacherous and warns Pratap Rao to be always on his guard.¹

Her strategy consisted in widening the area of operations. She had decided to carry war to the settled provinces of the Mughal Empire in the North and in the West in order to relieve pressure on the Deccan. Her field armies and free-lance captains were over-running Khandesh, Berar and Malwa. In Berar Sharza Khan alias Rustam Khan became their captive for the second time. He procured his liberty on paying a ransom of three lakhs of rupees. Several raids were made into the Province of Malwa.² Ranuji Ghorpade, Dhanaji Jadhav and other leaders were constantly harassing the Mughal forces besieging the Maratha hill forts. Rajaram's death thus made no difference. In fact, under the influence of a greater personality the war effort gained momentum.

The movements of Aurangzib : The miserable plight of his armies.

Satara and Parli had been costly victories for the Mughals. A large number of men and animals had perished and the reduction of these two forts had told heavily upon their striking power and caused financial bankruptcy to Aurangzib. Soldiers were in arrears for the last 3 years and the sufferings of these ill-fed and unpaid fighters were aggravated by the inclemency of weather. There were unusually heavy rains and most of the transport animals had perished.³ Hence many persons of noble birth had to wade their way through mud and mire for miles together⁴. The movement of the force was so slow that sometimes only three miles could be covered in a day and each march was followed by two

1. *Ainhasik Patren*, January, 1702, p. 2.

2. Sardesai : Rajaram, pp. 124-125. According to Manucci the Marathas mustered a huge force of 50,000 horse and raided Mughal territory right upto Calabad. The Cababad mentioned here is Kalabagh on the old road from Sirong to Narwar, 16 miles north of Shahdaura. (Sarkar: *The India of Aurangzib—Topography, statistics and roads*—p. CXV.)

3. "The gypsies willy nilly had to load their house hold goods on cocks" thus humourously remarks Saqi Musta'd Khan, the author of the *Maasir* (p. 429).

4. *Ibid*; Khasi Khan, 472-73; *Dilkasha*, II, 133b.

days halt. With the utmost difficulty the flooded Krishna was crossed and Bhushangarh¹ was reached where a halt was ordered for a month. Orders were sent to the provincial governors to send fresh troops to the Emperor.²

On August 30, 1700, the Mughal camp shifted to Khawaspur³ on the river Man where a greater misery awaited the Emperor and his followers. One dark night the whole camp was flooded by the waters of the river, causing much loss to life and property. The Emperor himself had a knee dislocated while running about in alarm and became a little lame for the rest of his life.⁴

These misfortunes of the Mughals did not escape the keen eye of Tara Bai who was bent upon turning their misfortunes to her own advantage. Encouraged by her the Maratha captains intensified their efforts. Ramchandra, a Maratha, whom the Mughals had left in command of the thana of Khatau was attacked and killed by Hanumant Rao on August 18, 1700. Hanumant Rao's son died of wounds received in this battle.⁵ Ranuji Ghorpade looted and killed another Mughal Thanadar—that of Bagehwari⁶—and looted as well the outpost of Indi.⁷ Other Maratha leaders organised raids in different parts of the country but their main concentration was in the Bijapur district where their Berad ally, Pidia Nayak, had posted his infantry. On November 15, 1700, the daring Marathas plundered upto the very tank of Shahpur on the out-skirts of Bijapur city.

The next Mughal objective was the fort of Panhala which was the principal seat of Tara Bai.⁸ The Mughal camp reached Miraj on January 1, 1701, on its way to Panhala. The Emperor himself arrived at Panhala on March 9, 1701, and formed

1. It is 30 miles south-east of Satara. It was re-named Islam Tara (Dilkasha, 133b).

2. Maasir, p. 429.

3. Khawaspur is in the Sangola Taluqa of the Sholapur district.

4. Curiously enough Maasir does not mention this tragedy. According to the *Akhbarat* the Emperor took his bath of recovery on November 30, 1700.

5. *Akhbarat*.

6. 30 miles South-east of Bijapur.

7. North-east of Bijapur city.

8. Tara Bai and her son lived both at Vishalgarh and at Panhala. Shivaji III was crowned at Vishalgarh and the throne was never removed from Vishalgarh to Panhala.

a complete circle of investment, 14 miles in length round Panhala and its sister fort of Pavangarh. The work of the siege was greatly handicapped on account of the notorious strife amongst the Mughal generals. Firuz Janj and Nusrat Jang could not be employed at one place. Neither the entreaties nor even the frowns of Aurangzeb could set matters right.

While this was taking place in the Mughal camp, the Marathas were planning an all-out effort to save Panhala. On January 23, 1701, Dhanaji attacked the besieging army and a bloody battle followed 2 miles away from Panhala. Pressed by the enemy the Mughals had to entrench their position against surprises and night attacks. Two days later when Dhanaji heard that Nusrat Jang was coming from Panhala to chastise him he withdrew four miles. Hamidud-din gave him a chase, but the fleeing Maratha force suddenly wheeled round, fought the pursuing Mughals and inflicted on them serious losses and drew in pursuit the Mughal force 22 miles away from its camp. The following day a pitched battle was fought in the vicinity of Raibagh and yet another fierce battle on the day following. Finding it difficult to face the Mughals in the open field the elusive Maratha disappeared beyond reach.¹ Nusrat Jang followed Dhana's trail and again defeated him 12 miles beyond Chikodi² and then rejoined the Emperor at Panhala. Dhana again made a bid to intercept some heavy Mughal guns at Kararabad while Krishna Malhar, whom he sent with 10,000 horse to attack the Mughal line of communications with a view to cutting off their supplies, attacked the out-post of Khatau.

Two brave officers of Tara Bai, Ramchandra and Dado Malhar, were doing their job in the Konkan. They fought a battle with siddi Yaqut of Janjira, a vassal of the Mughals, on February 4, 1701. Having finished his job in the Konkan Ramchandra moved towards Panhala. In the way he tried to intercept at Kolhapur a party of *Banjaras* carrying grain to the siege camp but Nusrat Jang came in time to rescue them and escorted them safely to the Imperial camp.³ Later when Ramchandra was commissioned to convey provisions to the beleaguered garrison of Panhala with an

1. *Diksha*, 124b corroborated by *Akhbarat*.

2. Chikodi is 40 miles south-east of Panhala.

3. *Diksha* p. 135a.

escort of 2000 musketeers he had again to give way to Nusrat Jang who looted the provisions and killed many of his men. Ramchandra ultimately succeeded in entering the fort on February 24, 1701.

It was, indeed, a hard job for Nusrat Jang to pursue the elusive Dhana here there and everywhere and the forced marches which he had to undertake every now and then resulted in much loss of men and horses to him. Dhana also felt fatigued and halted for sometime in Singhgarh; but his main army of about fifteen thousand strong raided the Mughal territory under Dado Malhar. It was remoured that Baharji Ghorpade was taken by the imperialists, and Ranuji Ghorpade was reported to be heading towards Panhala at the head of twenty thousand men.

The fort ultimately surrendered on May 28, 1701,¹ not through any successful feat of arms on the part of the Mughals but through the usual means of bribery. Tarbiyat Khan successfully conducted negotiations with Trimbak, the Qiledar, who delivered the fort for a bribe of rupees fifty thousand.² Ramchandra took Trimbak to task and ultimately imprisoned him at Vishalgarh for treachery. Panhala was re-named Nabishah Durg.³

The very next day, on May 29, 1701, the Emperor ordered return for the duration of the rains to the safer and more fertile region of Khatau but the monsoon having already broken out the Mughal army had to undergo great hardships. During this period of forced idleness Fathullah added to his laurels by taking Wardhangarh on June 6, Nandgir on July 6 and Chandan and Wandan on October 6.

As soon as the campaigning season re-opened in October, 1701, Aurangzib set out for Khelna, thirty miles west of Panhala. On January 16, 1702, the royal tent itself moved to a place only one mile from Khelna or Vishalgarh. The Maratha field forces were busy in a different theatre of war, far from Khelna, and were creating havoc in Khandesh, Berar and Telingana where with the help

1. Sir William Norris, the English ambassador to the Mughal court, witnessed the scene of surrender. According to the *Akhbarat* of June 7, he had come to Aurangzib in April.
2. The Qiledar was Trimbak Vitthal Mahadkar son of Vitthal Trimbak, appointed Qiledar of Panhala by Shivaji.
3. *Diksha* p. 136a.

of sympathetic local zamindars they were said to have mustered some 60,000 men.¹ They looted Burhanpur and the defeated Mughal officers had to purchase their liberty. They also raided Golkonda and brought back much booty. The roving armies of Nusrat Jang, which were said to have covered 6,000 miles and fought 19 big battles, were not very effective against them.²

Fathullah showed great energy during the siege but did not meet with much success on account of the stiff opposition offered by the garrison under the inspiring guidance of Parashuram Trimbak. Just as at Satara, they rolled huge stones on the Mughal trenches which caused great loss of men and material. Fathullah himself was so badly hit that he had to be confined to bed for a month. The Marathas also made sallies at night. Bidar Bakht, who had taken Fathullah's place, delivered an assault led by Swai Jai Singh, the young Raja of Amber, on April 27. Having no hope of taking it by force, Aurangzib resorted to the usual means of bribery. He himself wrote a letter to Parashuram on May 27, 1702.³ On June 4, the Maratha commandant of the fort, Parashuram, planted the Mughal banner on the fort and the garrison passed out of it in the night of the 7th.⁴ It seems that the surrender of the fort was an isolated act on the part of Parashuram; there were people in the garrison who did not see eye to eye with him. "Spies report," says a court newsletter, "that Parashuram, the head assistant (Peshdast) of Ramchandra, is in Khelna and wished to cede the fort to the Emperor. Having heard of it Trimbak Ingle (Dingle) and other officers of the enemy have arrested and imprisoned him."⁵ The loss of man power on the Mughal side was great.⁶ The name of the fort was changed to Shakhkharalana⁷ and Udit Singh was appointed its Mughal Qiledar.⁸

1. *Ibid* p. 137a.

2. *Ibid* pp. 129a—138b, also 141a.

3. *Maasir*, pp. 448-457; *Sardesai* : *Rajaram* p. 118; *Sarkar* : *House of Shivaji* pp. 260-261 (English translation).

4. Bidar Bakht gave Parashuram a bribe of rupees two lakhs (*Sardesai* : *Rajaram*, p. 118).

5. *Sarkar* : *Aurangzib*, Vol. V, p. 186.

6. Manucci, III, 419 says that 6,000 *mansabdars* were killed. It seems a much exaggerated account. This may have been the number of ordinary soldiers.

7. Bhimsen says that it was named Sakhar-ullah—Tara (p. 142a).

8. *Sardesai* : *Rajaram*, p. 119.

The famished Mughal force had to undergo the usual sufferings on account of the heavy monsoon. Aurangzib, anxious to cantone in safety, hurriedly wound up the affairs of Khelna (Vishalgarh) and left it only 3 days after its capture. Covering 30 miles in 38 days he arrived at Panhala on July 17, 1702. After a brief sojourn of only 5 days, he left the place for Vadgaon where he rested for a month. Crossing the Krishna at Miraj under very distressing conditions the war-worn army reached Bahadurgarh or Pedgaon on the northern bank of the Bhima on November 13, 1702.

The sufferings already undergone did not discourage the obstinate monarch. He pushed on to Kondana or Singhgargh (8 miles south of Poona) and reached the place on December 27, 1702.¹ For three months the Mughals struggled hard but with no success against the defence organised by Dhanaji and Balaji Vishwanath Bhat, the Sar-Subedar of Poona Prant.² Rains were about to set in and the Mughals were left no stomach to stand them. The same old story of bribing the Qiledar was repeated and the fort surrendered on April 8, 1703.³ Overcome by a feeling of gratitude to God Aurangzib re-named it *Bakhshshenda Bakhsh* or the gift of God though for a bribe. His officers shortly after took Purandar which was re-named Azamgarh. The Marathas had become very strong in Khandesh and in Berar and in order to stem the rising tide of their power Bidar Bakht was appointed to the government of that region in February, 1703.

From Kondana Aurangzib marched back to Poona which was selected for passing the rains. There the Mughal army enjoyed a comparatively comfortable sojourn for 7 months.⁴

For two years, 1703 and 1704, Maharashtra was in the grip of a severe famine and pestilence owing to lack of rain. A large number of poor people and cattle died of hunger and thirst. Manucci's estimate is two millions. Unmoved by what happened around

1. Mansir, 469.

2. Babaji's message to Kashi Vishwanath and Ambaji Pant Purandare is given in *Purandare Daftar*. Vol. I, document No. 21 to 24.

3. The negotiations were concluded by Tarbiyat Khan through one Gomaji Vishwanath Purandare, (Sardesai, Rajaram, p. 120), also Khafi Khan, 510; *Dilkasha* p. 145a.

4. Aurangzib reached Poona on May 1, 1703 (Sarkar : Aurangzib, Hindi Edition, p. 468).

him, Aurangzib continued his campaign and left Poona (re-named Muhiabad) for Rajgarh which he reached on December 2, 1703. The brave garrison under Firangji and Hamanji kept up resistance for nearly two-and-half months but ultimately surrendered on February 16, 1704. Aurangzib pushed on to Torna, only 8 miles from Rajgarh, and reached there on February 23, 1704. The fort was taken on March 10, 1704. This was the only fort against which the Mughal arms succeeded under the brave leadership of Amanullah. The name of Ftoh-ul-Ghaib or "victory from the invisible" was given to the fort. On March 15, 1704, Aurangzib retired from Torna to Khed (25 miles north of Poona) on the Bhima and stayed there for 6 months from April 17 to October 21, 1704. During this time his officers reduced Lohgarh.

A battle of nerves and diplomacy.

The task of Tara Bai was doubly difficult. On the one hand, she had to enlist allies in her crusade against the alien enemy; on the other hand, she had to keep her mutually jealous and warring officers pacified. The energetic Tara Bai not only equipped and sent armies to face the Mughals in the field and defended the forts against them; through clever diplomatic moves she created trouble for the Emperor all over the country. Wild rumours of all sorts were purposely circulated to mislead the Mughal generals and to create schism in the enemy ranks.

The Marathas gave out that they had taken out of prison Abul Hasan Qutub Shah, the late ruler of Golkonda, and would shortly restore him to his throne. Many Mughal officers, particularly the former Qutubshahi nobles, believed the stunt and walked over to the Maratha camp. Aurangzib in alarm shifted the unfortunate Prince, in 1700, from Golkonda to Gwalior.¹ Another act of audacity on the part of the Marathas was the release from prison, in 1701, of Bahadur Khan, a former officer of Daud Khan's contingent, who had been thrown into prison by the Emperor on suspicion of being in collusion with the enemy. He served the Maratha state faithfully ever after.

In fact, the Marathas "had now assumed the alarming character of being the ally and rallying-point of all the enemies of the

1. Manucci.

empire and all disturbers of public peace, and regular administration throughout the Deccan and even in Malwa, the Central Provinces and Bundelkhand." The Maratha diplomacy aimed at giving aid and encouragement to such adventurous chiefs as could muster a respectable number of followers and could harass the alien enemy. The Berad chief, Pidia Nayak, was an ally of the Marathas. Tara Bai's officers were on friendly terms with him and Dhanaji and other leaders, considering Wagingera, the stronghold of the Berad chief, more safe had shifted their families and goods there when Aurangzib was threatening their country proper.

Pidia's efforts gained momentum when he received Maratha aid and his activities assumed such menacing proportions that the city of Bijapur itself was threatened. Aurangzib decided to march in person against the Berad chief. Leaving his work unfinished in Maharashtra, he disbanded his camp at Khed on October 22, 1704, and reached Wagingera, a distance of about 250 miles, by slow marches on February 8, 1705. The Maratha leaders, anxious to relieve pressure on Maharashtra had actually brought about this situation through clever manoeuvring. From principals they now became auxiliaries, and when Aurangzib besieged Wagingera Tara Bai sent a large force under Dhanaji Jadhav and Hindu Rao (Baharji Ghopade) to harass the besieging Mughals.¹ By a clever ruse the Marathas succeeded in removing their families and their goods from the beleaguered fortress. The Marathas inflicted heavy losses on the Mughal army which was itself besieged. There was extreme scarcity and considerable hardship in the Mughal camp. The Emperor fretted and fumed in vain; his officers seemed cowed down by the combined Maratha and Berad effort.

Ultimately Nusrat Jang succeeded in driving Pidia away from his stronghold. But Pidia continued his depredations in alliance with his Maratha allies. He and Hindu Rao induced by bribe the starving Qiledar of the strategic fort of Penu-Konda, "the key to both the Karnataks," to surrender it to them, but they soon lost it to Daud Khan, the Faujdar of Karnatak.² The Marathas had

1. This force of five to six thousand horse arrived near the fortress of Wagingera on March 8 according to the Maasir and on March 26, 1705, according to the *akhbarat*.

2. *Dilkasha* p. 156b.

already plundered some districts of the Bijapur Karnatak uplands in 1704; in 1706 they directed their attack at its capital, Sera. In another quarter they wounded, captured and ransomed Siadat Khan,¹ an officer of the court. Basantgarh was also taken by them.

Another Maratha ally was Chhatra Sal Bundela. He was doing the work of national liberation in Bundelkhand on the lines indicated by Shivaji. Tara Bai's government had included Malwa in the plan of counter-offensive against the Mughals and so they strengthened the ties of friendship with this chief. Early in 1703, "the Marathas crossed the Narmada again and caused disturbances upto the environs of Ujjain. Then another band shortly thereafter plundered Burhanpur, came upon and ravaged the city of Khar-gaon within a part of the subah of Malwa lying south of Narmada."² The seminor raids were soon followed by another of great magnitude. After the rains of 1703 on the invitation of Chhatra Sal,³ Nimaji Sindhia started for the North with a force of about 50,000 horse.

He first raided Berar in October where the Deputy Governor, Sharza Khan alias Rustam Khan, taken by surprise and completely over-whelmed by large numbers, was captured alive and ransomed.⁴ The Marathas then proceeded towards Hoshangabad but before raiding that town they had divided themselves into two commands:⁵ One went down towards Mandu; while the other, under the leadership of Nimaji Sindhia, crossed the Narmada at Handia and marched down to Sironj plundering and burning many of the villages on the way.⁶

When the Emperor heard of these raids he became very anxious because the imperial treasure coming from the northern provinces

1. *Ibid* p. 157a.

2. *Akhbarat* of February 11, 1703; also *Dilkasha* p. 144b.

3. *Dilkasha* p. 148.

4. (Gadadhar Prahlad Shakavali for the *Shaka* year 1625).

"मार्गेश्वर मासी नमाजी सिंदे व केसोपती सर्जाखानासी लडाई करून कैद केला दोन हजार घोडे आकरा हाती घेतले तीन लाख येऊन सोडून दिले।"

5. Manucci, III, 426.

6. *Dilkasha* li p. 147a.

was waiting for an escort at Sironj. He ordered both Bidar Bakht and Azam to proceed immediately to Malwa to punish the Marathas and to save the treasure. But having found that they could not do so he ordered Firuz Jang, then campaigning in Khandesh, to chastise the Marathas. Firuz Jang overtook the Marathas in time when they were besieging Sironj. The raiders were defeated and the treasure was saved through the bravery of Gopal, the Chaudhari of Sironj.¹ The Marathas then ran towards Kalabagh thinking of returning home by way of Dhamuni and Garh but were defeated again near the Jungles of Dhamuni. The victorious Firuz Jang returned to Burhanpur on April 8, 1704, and was highly rewarded by the Emperor. Firuz Jang's victories once again opened the roads to the Deccan, and early in March, 1704, some three hundred and fifty bags of letters and fifty-five baskets of fruits reached the Emperor.

The second band of Marathas numbering about 20,000 horsemen had taken the route to Mandu from Bijagarh. Guided by Mohan Singh, the zamindar of Barwani, this force had come to Sultanpur; they then crossed the Narmada and had moved towards Mandu. Nawazish Khan, the Faujdar of Mandu, in the absence of substantial help from the Governor of the province of Malwa, had found himself unequal to the task of facing the Marathas. He, therefore, hid himself at Dhar and posted his men to guard the hills and passes of Jahangirpur so that the Marathas might not be able to go towards Ujjain. There was some fighting but the Maratha force was scattered, most probably on the news of the defeat of Nimaji Sindhia at Sironj.² Thereafter there was no major raid in Malwa; in 1705 one or two minor incidents took place.

The astute Aurangzib left nothing undone to weaken the Maratha solidarity. Every discontented Maratha captain was received

1. Sironj is near Dipalpur and Ujjain.

The defeated Maratha force included several prominent chiefs such as Nimaji Sindhia, Parsoji Bhonsle, Keshopant Pingle and others. The *Gadadhar Prahlad Shakanali* for the *Shake* year 1625 has an entry about this raid :

“माघमासी नेमाजी सिदा व केसोपत व परसोजी भोसले पनास हजर स्वार मिलोन नर्मदा उतरोन कालाबाग पावेलो गेले त्याचे पाडोवरी गाजदी खानास रवाना केले”

The *Akhbarat* of March 11 and 13, 1704, also mention it.

2. On the basis of Inayatullah's letters Dr. Raghubir Singh is inclined to place this expedition in March—May, 1704 (Malwa in Transition or a century of Anarchy, footnote on page 64).

with open arms in the Mughal camp. And of the discontented Maratha captains there was no dearth. The dynastic quarrel initiated by Tara Bai at a most inopportune moment was complicated by the cross-currents of personal rivalry among the Maratha officers. Soon after the death of Rajaram, one of the supremely able officers, Parashuram Trimbak, then besieged in Parli, came out of the fort and out of jealousy for the other Maratha ministers at Satara offered to join the Mughals. Similarly, prompted by the temporary pressure of rivals at home Ranuji Ghorpade made an offer to join Mughal service and Dhanaji made a similar proposal in July, 1703.¹ When the anger of Tara Bai fell on Baharji Ghorpade, she ordered Dhanaji to arrest him. Dhanaji besieged him in fort Kurkal² and siezed all his property and cattle. Pressed hard Baharji looked round for help but no Maratha would help him for fear of provoking Tara Bai. In this predicament he begged help from Nusrat Jang, who was guarding the environs of Bijapur in January-February, 1707, while Chin Qilich Khan was recalled to court, and offered to enter the Emperor's service. The Mughals could not let go such a golden opportunity. Nusrat Jung readily responded to the call and crossing the Bhima and the Raichur Doab came to the bank of the Tungbhadra. Dhanaji being informed of his designs and finding himself too weak to face him in the open field had already marched away towards Mysore. Baharji thus saved himself but having no desire to fulfil the pledge of entering the Mughal service he quietly retired to his home in fort Sindur.³

Tara Bai, surrounded as she was by greedy sardars anxious to add to their *Vatan* lands and prepared to fight the enemy only on promise of rewards, herself fell into the vicious circle and continued the award of *Jagirs* although on principle she was averse to it. In fact during her regime the evil became more prominent than ever before because the question of succession had given greater scope for bargaining to the Maratha Saradars.⁴ Through

1. Sarkar : Aurangzib Vol. V, p. 203.

2. *Dilkasha* places this fort 14 kos from Adoni.

3. *Ibid* p. 158a.

4. This tendency is noticeable in a marked degree in the sardesai *Ghorangocha Itihas*, Nos. 74 to 80.

superior dash Tara Bai succeeded in counter-acting the intrigues of Aurangzib in this battle of nerves and diplomacy.

Tara Bai Triumphant : Aurangzib returns to Ahmadnagar.

The Emperor left the environs of Wagingera on April 27, 1705, and arrived at Devapur (8 miles south of that fort) where he pitched his tent for the rains.¹ His designs of conquest had not yet left him. He thought of going towards Mysore and got the depths of the rivers measured.² But a veritable storm of untoward events forced him to bow before them. He had defied old age so far and had struggled courageously with disease. He, however, received the first summons of death at Devapur, and anxieties of State and domestic bereavements quickened its pace. His work in Maharashtra was being undone by the Marathas. The fort of Kondana which had cost him so much blood and sweat was recovered by the Marathas who drove away its cowardly and negligent Mughal Qiledar. On the failure of Hamid-ud-din Khan the task of retaking the fort was entrusted to Nusrat Jang, who did it in a month's time by completely cutting off the grain supplies.³

To add to his difficulties news of a very serious nature was pouring from the North. The king having been absent from Delhi for decades all disorderly forces had raised their heads. In his attempt to crush the South Aurangzib had lost his grip on the North. Administration had practically broken down. Corruption, bribery and incompetence were the order of the day and no body was interested in the preservation of law and order and the protection of the people.

Aurangzib could no longer close his eyes to these hard facts. On October 23, 1705, he marched for the north in a *palki*. He reached Ahmadnagar on January 20, 1706. His retreat from Wagingera to Ahmadnagar was not unmolested. Maratha hordes of 50 to 60 thousand men were pursuing the retreating Mughals with confidence, killing stragglers, cutting off supplies and even threatening to break into his camp. When Hamid-ud-din was sent against the Marathas he was defeated and captured and his baggage looted.

1. Mansir, 507; Khafi Khan, II, 527.

2. Sardesai : Rajaram, pp. 142-143.

3. Dilkasha, 155 b; Mansir, 508 to 512.

In this pitiable state the worn out Emperor reached Ahmadnagar after an interval of 23 years during which period much water had flown down the Bhima and the Krishna and a complete change had taken place in the Mughal-Maratha affairs. Men could already see death firmly stamped on the face of the Emperor and he himself recognised Ahmadnagar as his "journey's end."¹

The Marathas dominant : Their daring Raids.

With the advent of Tara Bai a vast change had come in the affairs of the Maratha state. She had infused new enthusiasm into the limping Maratha war effort and galvanised the nation for the last ditch stand. In the words of Khafi Khan she "showed great powers of command and government, and from day to day the war spread and the power of the Marathas increased."²

Although the Marathas had put up a good defence against the Mughal onslaught, they were too weak and too ill-equipped to take the offensive. Rajaram on his return from Jinji had taken the bold design of raiding Malwa and Khandesh, but just when he had taken the initial steps he died too suddenly. Tara Bai took the cue from her husband's policy of carrying war beyond the Deccan and it developed so wonderfully in her able hands that she can virtually be called the originator of the policy of Maratha expansion. To quote Khafi Khan again "she sent armies to plunder the six subas of the Dakhin as far as Sironj, Mandisor, and the Suba of Malwa. The daring of the Marathas increased and they penetrated into the old territories of the Imperial throne, plundering and destroying wherever they went."³

Under the guidance of Tara Bai the Marathas became the masters of the situation and the initiative had now definitely slipped into their hands. Tara Bai brought about a complete transformation in the nation's political out-look, military potentialities and morale. "They were no longer a tribe of benditti or local rebels, but one dominating factor in Deccan politics, the only enemy left to the Empire and yet an enemy all-pervasive. elusive as the wind, without any headman or strong hold whose capture would

1. Khafi Khan II, 541; *Alkam*, 56.

2. Khafi Khan, II, 468.

3. *Ibid*, II, 510.

naturally result in the extinction of their power..... A nation was up in arms against the officers of the Emperor and the cause of law and order in general."

A corresponding change was visible in Maratha tactics and equipment. The Marathas, no longer half-naked light forayers, moved about with a confidence born of successive victories against the enemy. "These (Maratha) leaders and their troops," observed Manucci in 1704, "move in these days with much confidence, because they have cowed the Mughal commanders and inspired them with fear. At the present time they possess artillery, musketry, bows and arrows, with elephants and camels for their baggage and tents..... In short they are equipped and move about just like the armies of the Mughal..... At the present time they move like conquerors, showing no fear of any Mughal troops."¹

The Marathas took the maximum advantage of the difficulties of the Mughals and made a living out of this war by preying on the Emperor's misery and prayed for the long life of the Emperor and his perpetual stay in their midst. From small beginnings their power increased with rapid strides. They began as ordinary robbers and brigands, but gradually as their resources increased they even attacked and looted walled cities like Haidarabad, Bijapur, Aurangabad and Burhanpur. "When the Emperor," says Bhimsen, "was involved in the siege of Khelna, the Marathas became completely dominant over the whole Kingdom and closed the roads." They plundered the imperial baggage near Bahadurgarh and set fire to what they could not carry off in November, 1704, when the Emperor was marching from Khed to Wagingera.²

The Marathas spread like locust throughout the length and breadth of the Deccan and reduced spoliation to a well-organised system. "In imitation of the Emperor, who with his army and enterprising *amirs* was staying in those distant mountains, the commanders of Tara Bai cast the anchor of permanence wherever they penetrated, and having appointed Kamavish-dars (revenue-collectors), passed the years and months to their satisfaction, with their wives and children, tents and elephants. Their daring went beyond all

1. Storia, III, 505.

2. *Dilkasha*, 141a, 146a, 149, 138b.

bounds. They divided all the districts (parganas) among themselves, and following the practice of the imperial rule, they appointed their Subadars (provincial governors), Kamavishdars (revenue collectors), and rahdars (toll-collectors)."

"Their principal Subadar is commander of the army. Whenever he hears of a large caravan, he takes six or seven thousand horse and goes to plunder it. He appoints Kamavishdars everywhere to collect the Chauth, and whenever, from the resistance of the Zamindars and Faujdars the Kamavishdar is unable to levy the Chauth, he hastens to support him, and besieges and destroys his towns. And the Rahdar of these evil-doers takes from small parties of merchants, who are anxious to obtain security from plunder, a toll upon every cart and bullock, three or four times greater than the amount imposed by the Faujdars of the government. This excess he shares with the corrupt jagirdars and Faujdars, and then leaves the road open. In every Subah (province) he builds one or two forts, which he makes his strongholds, and ravages the country round. The Mukaddams, or headmen of the villages, with the countenance and co-operation of the infidel subadars, have built forts, and with the aid and assistance of the Marathas they make terms with the royal officers as to the payment of their revenues. They attack and destroy the country as far as the borders of Ahmedabad and the districts of Malwa, and spread their devastations through the provinces of the Dakhin to the environs of Ujjain. They fall upon and plunder large caravans within ten or twelve kos of the imperial camp, and have even had the hardihood to attack the royal treasure."¹

Even at Ahmadnagar Aurangzib had no peace. He was surrounded on all sides by the Marathas and his territory was being ravaged before his very eyes. In april or May, 1706, a large Maratha force under such big leaders as Dhanaji Jadhav, Nimaji Sindhia, Dado Malhar, Rambha Nimbalkar and others hovered round only 4 miles from the camp. Khan-i-Alam could drive them away only after a bloody contest.²

1. Khafi Khan, II, 510.

2. *Dilkasha*, 155b.

Affairs had taken a rather serious turn in Gujrat. A brewer had brewed trouble in that quarter for the Emperor. The Marathas were led into Gujrat by Inu Mand, a former brewer of Khandesh, who had taken to a very profitable course of brigandage and highway robbery. Before Bidar Bakht could reach there to take Azam's place,¹ a large force of Marathas, led by Dhanaji Jadhav, took advantage of the defenceless condition of Gujrat and raided it. The rich trading centre of Baroda was sacked for two days in March, 1706. The weak opposition offered by its Faujdar, Nazar Ali, was soon overcome and he himself was captured with his men. A force sent by the deputy governor of the province was routed at Ratanpur near Rajpipla, the camp was looted and two high officers were held to ransom on March 15, 1706. Another force led by Abdul Hamid Khan, the Deputy Governor, was also defeated near the Baba Piara ford, the camp was plundered and the deputy governor himself was taken prisoner. The victorious Marathas then looted the rich cities at their pleasure and levied Chauth.² In 1706 they also raided Burhanpur.

The province of Aurangabad being nearer home was subjected to more frequent raids than such distant provinces as Gujrat and Malwa. Nusrat Jang, however, acted successfully here and several times defeated the Marathas under Dhanaji and other leaders. He ultimately pushed them back to their refuge in the Mahadeva hills in the Satara district. Unable to make much headway in this region Dhanaji diverted his activities to the environs of Miraj but when things were made too hot for him even there by Nusrat Jang, he crossed over to the other bank of the Krishna, outside the range of the indomitable Khan.

Maratha activities greatly intensified as soon as the skies were clear after the rains in 1706. Dhanaji made a dash for Berar and Khandesh but before he could go far Nusrat Jang issued from his Miraj camp and drove away Dhanaji to the Bijapur region and thence beyond the Krishna. A long train of caravans coming to the Imperial camp from Aurangabad was completely plundered at

1. Prince Azam left Gujrat on November 25, 1705, and Bidar Bakht reached there on July 30, 1706.
2. *Dilkasha*, 156a; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*; 378-388; Khafi Khan gives a very brief and confused account and wrongly places the event before the siege of Wagingera.

Chanda, 24 miles from the camp.¹ According to Manucci the Marathas attacked Daud Khan Pani in 1704 while he was on his way to Adoni. He saved himself by paying rupees seven lakhs.

The diplomatic discomfiture of Aurangzib.

With growing age and infirmity Aurangzib had become anxious to return to his capital to restore order in the affairs of his Empire and to ensure a peaceful succession to himself before he finally closed his eyes. When he saw that the Mughal arms were ineffective against the Maratha resistance even when he led the armies in person and the Maratha tangle seemed insoluble he redoubled his efforts in the diplomatic sphere and thought of coming to a settlement with the Marathas by making use of Shahu. The acute observer, Manucci, remarks that Aurangzib tried to sow the seeds of a civil war among the Marathas by releasing Shahu and by granting to him the *Chauth* of the Deccan.² Prince Kam Bakhsh was authorised to start negotiations with the Maratha leaders. The services of Raibhanji,³ an illegitimate son of Shahji Bhonsle, were secured by creating him a six-hazari Mansabdar on June 9, 1703, and he was to serve as an intermediary. Raibhanji visited Shahu on July 10 and on November 27, 1703, the tents of Shahu were shifted from the *Gulal-bar* to a place near the tents of Prince Kam Bakhsh. The prince was anxious to conciliate the Marathas in order to fulfil his ambition of creating an independent principality in Bijapur and started negotiations with Dhanaji Jadhav.⁴

Dhanaji on behalf of all the Maratha generals made the demand that the Emperor should grant the *chauth* and the *Sardeshmukhi* of the six Subahs of the Deccan to the Marathas in return for which they will keep the peace in the Deccan. He also demanded the issue of *farmans* to all the officers of Tara Bai reassuring them and inviting them to meet him and Shahu. After their acceptance of

1. *Dilkashia*, 157b.

2. *Storia*, III, 499.

3. Shambhuji and Rajaram used to call Raibhanji *Kaka* or uncle and hence he was known as Bhanji Kaka. He was formerly an Adilshahi *Mansabdar* but later lived at Tanjore. He entered Mughal service on purpose. He became a sort of adviser to Aurangzib on Maratha affairs. He died on August 23, 1709.

4. Khafi Khan wrongly says that Dhanaji proposed terms of peace, p. 376.

the Mughal sovereignty they would take back Shahu with them. The procedure suggested was that when these sardars arrive Prince Kam Bakhsh should meet them with Shahu at a place ten miles in advance of the Imperial camp; after paying their respects to Shahu and the Prince they were to be conducted to the Emperor who should grant robes to seventy of them. The Emperor at first reluctantly agreed to the proposal and ordered seventy farmans to be issued to individual sardars; but when the Maratha sardars began to assemble in large numbers in the vicinity of his camp and their demands increased with their growing number his usually suspicious nature smelled foul play on the part of the wily Marathas and he abruptly broke off the negotiations.¹ Poor Sultan Hussain, Kam Bakhsh's secretary, who acted as the intermediary, had to fight his way back to the Mughal camp. "It appears evident that Dhanaji and Shahu had open conferences at this time, in the presence of Kam Bakhsh and Zulfiqar Khan, and possibly Balaji Vishwanath was then a confidential adviser to Dhanaji. This accounts for Dhanaji's respect for Shahu just before the battle of Khed in 1707 and his quick desertion of Tara Bai's cause."²

What Aurangzib suspected was that assembled in great force as the Marathas were they might carry away Shahu with them and despite the fact that the maintenance of Shahu and his large party was a heavy burden on his depleted finances, Aurangzib had some plan up his sleeves of making use of Shahu for the purpose of creating division among the Marathas and hence was unwilling to part with him. The negotiations broke off with no regrets to the Marathas who were conscious of their dominant position and were unwilling to accept Mughal sovereignty. Shahu was sent back to his camp within the *Gulal-bar*. Aurangzib was, however, not discouraged and continued the exhausting war of nerves and diplomacy with a vehemence well worthy of him.

Just a year before his death he made another attempt to make use of Shahu. He gave out that he had given the province of Bijapur and Karnatak to Kam Bakhsh and that he himself was going back to Delhi and that he would set Shahu free, give him a

1. Khafi Khan; 510.

2. Sardesai : New History of the Marathas, Vol. I, p. 356.

7-hazari mansab and instal him as a vassal king under Kam Bakhsh. He actually granted him some lands and the right to levy *chauth* over others. On February 6, 1706, Shahu was transferred to the charge of Nusrat Jang¹ and Raibhanji was also deputed to serve under the Khan with the express purpose of bringing about a compromise with the Marathas. And the occasion appeared a most opportune one. The smouldering ambers of rivalry between Tara Bari and Rajas Bai had burst in to a flame and the already existing factions had come into greater relief. The Emperor thought of making some gain by turning the contest into a three-cornered one by sending Shahu back to his people. With this end in view he made Shahu write letters to some of the Maratha sardars, inviting them to come and see him. These letters were not taken seriously by the addressees because, they knew that Shahu was not a free agent, and they were too shrewd to walk into a trap laid for them by the unscrupulous enemy.² Shahu was made apparently free and was allotted an independent place near Zulfiqar Khan's camp where Maratha sardars could come and meet Shahu. But Zulfiqar had secret instructions to keep a close watch on Shahu. How wise was Shahu in not making an attempt at escape!

Thus, this attempt also failed and fates allowed no time to Aurangzib to make any further attempt. Who knows what would have happened if Aurangzib had released Shahu in his life time? There is perhaps some justification in holding that the Maratha civil war between Tara Bai and Shahu which came about after his death might have begun then and had given him some relief in his closing years. The Maratha camp was hopelessly divided when in the interest of national survival they should have stood as one man against Aurangzib. It cannot be said that patriotism did not exist in the Maratha country for Shivaji's life's labour was not yet completely lost, but it was patriotism tainted with a corresponding urge for personal gain. Extremely suspicious as Aurangzib was, he failed to take advantage of this opportunity; it seems he purposely refrained from adopting this course because perhaps at the back of his mind he had a vague misgiving that Tara Bai and

1. *Shiva Charitra Pradip* (Gadadhar Prahlad Shakavali for the *Shaka* year 1627, p. 64; *Dilkasha*, 154b.

2. *Dilkasha*, 155a.

Shahu might unite against him. This was a major mis-reading of Maratha character by the senile Emperor.

The Emperor was fast decaying in health, at Ahmadnagar under pressure of adverse circumstances. With manly courage he tried to reconcile himself to his losses and to make the best of a bad situation, but the sense of utter disappointment completely overwhelmed him in the end. Outwardly, he continued the routine of his life with the precision of a clock,¹ but inward mutterings of a very mysterious nature haunted him perpetually and he turned moody and irritable. He felt a sense of utter loneliness and there was practically none to console him. All his comrades of youth with the sole exception of the Prime Minister Asad Khan were already in their graves. His domestic life was darkened as bereavements thickened round his closing eyes. The behaviour of his sons added to the sorrows of the dying monarch. All men now saw that the end was not long in coming. In the morning of February 20, 1707, died the mighty Alamgir while his fingers moved mechanically over his rosary and his lips gasped out the *Kalimah*.

Deccan was the El Dorado of Aurangzib's ambition but he had to keep in abeyance his arch ambition for sometime; ultimately, divine retribution drew him to his doom. The rebel son of Shah Jahan had come to the Deccan following hard on the heels of his own rebellious son, Akbar, and there he was destined to spend the last 25 years of his life in tents and wear out the Empire's revenue, army, and organised administration as well as his own health in an unending and fruitless struggle. He had said good bye to the magnificent royal mansions of Delhi with all their gorgeous splendour and by his own choice had become a sort of gipsy king living in a strange land among people speaking a strange language, and here he lived not for a day but for the whole quarter of a century during which "a new generation was born (in the camp). They passed from infancy to youth, from youth to old age, and passing beyond old age girt up their loins for the journey to the world of the angels, and yet (all this time) they did not see the face of a house, but only knew that in this world there is no better (i.e. other) shelter than a tent."² The

1. Maasir, 508.

2. Dilkasha, 141a.

tragedy of his life worked itself out slowly but pitilessly with increasing clearness during the last eighteen years of his life, from 1689 to 1707, when this frail man buffeted bravely in the tumultuous sea of Maratha lawlessness. The best course for him was to patch up a compromise in the Deccan and to go back to Delhi. He was at last overwhelmed by the surging waves; a strenuous reign of fifty years ended in colossal failure. Whatever be the causes of his failure, Deccan proved to be the grave of not only his body and his reputation but also of his empire and his progeny. The days of Mughal dominance were over and henceforth was to follow a period of grim struggle for existence by his weak successors.

Tara Bai recovers the lost ground.

The battle of the Maratha forts was organised by Tara Bai and although Aurangzib had succeeded in taking a number of them each one of them with the exception of Torna was reduced not through any feat of arms but through bribing the Qiledars.¹ In some cases the surrender of the forts by the Qiledars was not an isolated act actuated by corrupt motives. It was in fact in pursuance of a well concerted plan thought out by Tara Bai and her ministers. The resources and the might of the Mughals were beyond question and hence the fall of the forts which they besieged was a foregone conclusion. To drive away the besieging force through bombardment from the fort walls and through the exertions of the roving Maratha soldiery in the field was a foolhardy effort. Therefore, the garrisons adopted the sound strategy of holding out as long as they could and then surrendering on payment of huge sums of money.

The Mughals got almost nothing in the forts and situated as they were in rough hilly country of difficult access it was not possible to hold them for long in the face of the hostility of the people surrounding the neighbourhood. The Marathas easily re-took these hill forts and the time and energy spent over their capture was

1. Khafi Khan's defence of Aurangzib's policy of bribing the Qiledars is interesting: "The clemency and long suffering and care of the Emperor were such that, when he ascertained that several fortresses had been long and vigorously besieged by the forces appointed to the duty, and that the garrisons were in difficulty, he paid sums of money to the commandants, and so got the forts into his possession."

wasted. It was a sickening tale of a fortress taken then lost and then taken again. This is, in fact, what actually happened. As soon as Aurangzib turned his back on the *navals* to take up the more important job against pidia Nayak his six years hard labour in that region was lost. The weak garrisons which he had left behind in the forts were easily driven out. Parashuram Trimbak took back Basantgarh,¹ Panhala, Pawangarh and Satara. The last was taken through the remorseless activities of one Annaji Pant, who first gained the confidence of the garrison and entered the fort. With the keen eye of a *maval* huntsman he watched his prey and when opportunity offered itself to him he jumped upon his victim with the stealth and spring of a tiger and put to the sword the very men who had shown him kindness, a transaction which can escape condemnation only under the cynical maxim, that "every thing is fair in love and war." The indefatigable efforts of Shankraji Narayan, the Sachiv, gained to the Marathas the fort of Singhgarh, Rajgarh,² Rohida and some other places. "The loss of these forts, particularly Singhgarh and Panhala, gave Aurangzib great vexation, and augmented an illness from which he could hardly recover."³

Zulfiqar Khan was sent to re-take Singhgarh and before he went there Shahu was entrusted to his care. Zulfiqar succeeded on account of the shortage of supplies⁴ in the fort but as soon as he turned his back Shankraji Narayan drove away the weak garrison. The Marathas went on pressing their advantage home, and succeeded in snatching away from the unwilling hands of the enemy the forts of Lohgarh in January, Rajmachi in June and Kondana in July, 1705.⁵ Tara Bai now shifted her headquarters to Panhala and administered the State and organised the defence with the help of Ramchandra Nilkanth who was again admitted to her confidence.

It has been noticed how quick was Aurangzib in changing the names of the Maratha forts which came into his hands. In taking

1. *Dilkasha*, 156b.

2. Santaji Salimkar was killed in this effort in 1704 (Rajwade Vol. XVII—24, 29, 33.

3. Khafi Khan, II, 527.

4. Khafi Khan, II, 540; *Dilkasha*, 155b; Sardesai Says that Zulfiqar took the fort through bribery (Rajaram, p. 147).

5. Dhavji Visar was rewarded for taking Lohgarh and Rajmachi (*Peshwa Daftar*, 30, 88 and 90.)

these forts he had a dual purpose : to deprive the Marathas of their strong-holds which provided shelter to their roving field armies, and also to strike hard at the system of Shivaji. These hill forts were assigned an important place in the liberation movement launched by Shivaji and they had rightly become an object of pride to the people of Maharashtra. By taking them and re-naming them he wanted to impress upon the Maratha people the fact that he had undone the work of Shivaji. Thus, the onslaught against the Maratha forts was a direct blow aimed at the ideology and system of Shivaji. Rajaram and Tara Bai had simply hatched the Shivajian egg; in fact it was the life-work and ideology of Shivaji which was on trial and the credit of saving it in its most critical phase must necessarily go to Tara Bai. It was through her energy and ability that the Marathas not only emerged successful from this life-and-death struggle but became so powerful that they overran Northern India during the regime of Aurangzib's weak successors. This seven years dual between Tara Bai and Aurangzib shall ever remain the most glorious episode in the annals of the country.

THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND THE PUNJAB FAMINE OF 1860-61.

By

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The rule of the East India Company came to an end in 1858, when the administration of India passed to the Crown. The Government of India Act of 1858 and the Proclamation of the Queen started an era of reconstruction and reform in our country. The Rebellion of 1857 had shaken the whole of Northern India and left a legacy of disorganisation, racial bitterness, and heavy financial burdens. Apart from the actual destruction and loot and the dislocation of trade that it caused, the whole cost of the suppression of the rebellion incurred by the Government of the Company was placed on the Indian finances, which raised the Debt of India from about sixty million sterling in 1857 to over 100 million sterling in 1860.¹

In these difficult circumstances, when the echoes of the rebellion had not yet died out, the upper part of the North Western Provinces² including Ajmer Merwara, and the adjoining districts of the Punjab between the Sutlej and the Yamuna, comprising an area of 48,000 square miles with nineteen million people in British territory were affected by the first widespread famine of the post mutiny era in 1860-61.³ Besides these, some of the states in Rajputana to the South-West like Alwar also suffered to a limited extent and the pressure of migrants and rising prices affected neighbouring districts like Bareilly, Shahjahanpur, Farrukhabad and Etawa as well. It will be noticed that the famine occurred for the

1. Dutta—Economic History of India, Victorian Age, p. 373.

2. The North Western Provinces then comprised the present U.P., the division of Jubbulpore now in Madhya Pradesh and the district of Delhi.

3. Districts affected were Sirhind, Thaneshwar, Panipat, Ambala, Rohtak, Hissar, Sirsa, Delhi, Gurgaon, Saharanpur, Muzaffarnagar, Meerut, Bulandshahar, Mathura, Agra, Bijnor, Moradabad, Badaon, Mainpuri, Aligarh and parts of Ajmer. Col. B. Smith's Report of 25th May 1861 paras 3 to 10 and Maps in the report; F. C. 1880 Pt. I para 49 and Part III p. 29.

most part in the areas where the fighting connected with the mutiny had mainly taken place. The dislocation of agriculture during the mutiny in this region must therefore be cited as the basic reason for this famine.

The famine was, however, ostensibly caused by the deficiency and irregularity of rain in three successive seasons from 1858 to 1860,¹ but the immediate cause was the failure of the monsoon in 1860. The rain did not start till the thirteenth July and even after this it was only concentrated to a few days.² The ground was moistened to enable the seed to germinate, but it was not enough to help growth or bring the crops to maturity.

Conditions deteriorated as early as the latter part of June and early July when people in Western Rohilkhand and parts of the Meerut Division were driven to use mango stones as food.³ Reports received from the neighbourhood of Agra, Allahabad and Fatehpur were similarly alarming. The Lt. Governor of the North Western Provinces, Sir George Edmonstone, apprehended the coming famine in time and issued a Circular on 18th July, 1860 to all Commissioners asking them to study the situation and take steps to relieve the sufferings of the people. The policy thus enunciated was approved by the Government of India⁴ and similar instructions were also issued by the Lt. Governor of the Punjab.⁵

At the same time, the Government of the North Western Provinces warned the Board of Revenue that suspension of Kharif instalments, if not their remission, might be necessary, and asked it to collect all possible and necessary information for meeting the distress. The Board of Revenue on the same day sent confidential letters to all Collectors and Commissioners asking them to watch the prospects of the season and send reports about the condition of the crops and the people.⁶

1. Progs. of the N.W.P. Govt. Revenue No. 12 to 45B, 17th Nov. 1860; Report of the Sudder Board of Revenue on the Revenue Administration of the N. W. P. for the year 1859-60, p. 4.

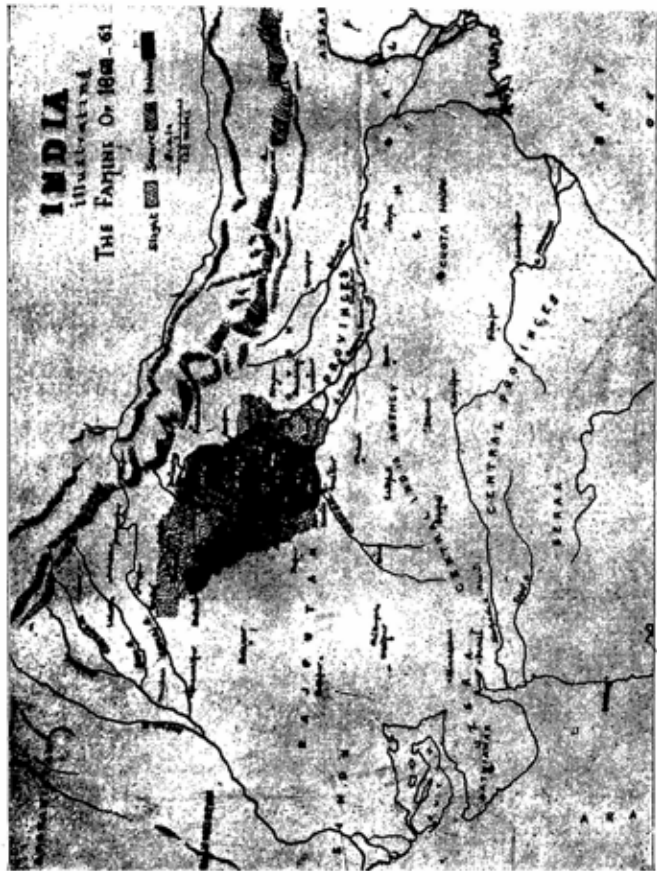
2. Progs. Rev. Dept. N. W. P., number 49, 51, 53, and 54 of 28th Sept. 1861; Allahabad Govt. Gazette of 31st July 1860 and also for the months of August, September and October 1860.

3. Progs. of the Govt. of India, Home Dept., Public, No. 103 of October 22, 1860.

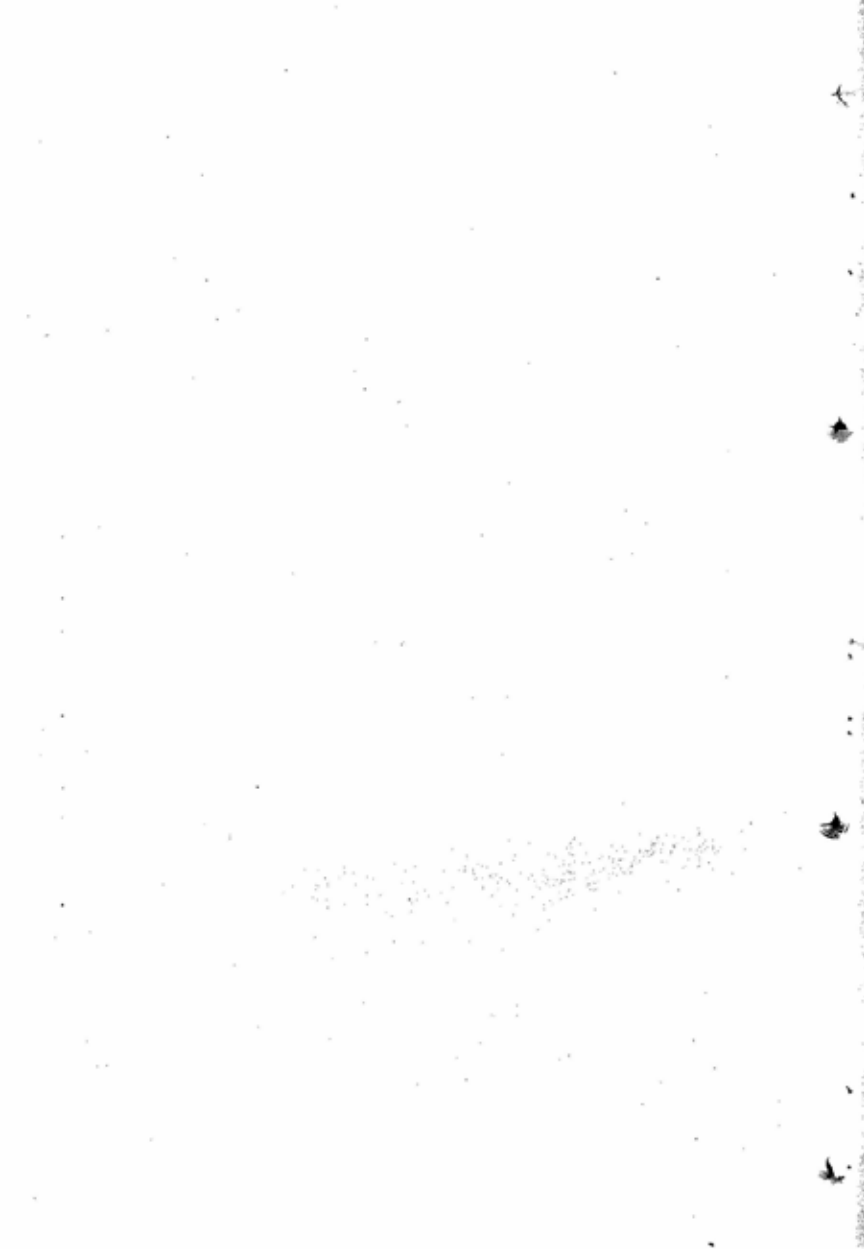
4. Progs. Revenue, N. W. P. Government No. 9 dated Sept. 1, 1860; Circular of 18th July, See Girdlestone para 121.

5. F. C. Report 1860 Pt. III, p. 31.

6. Girdlestone—opp. cit. para 121.



Map of Northern India showing the Famine-stricken Areas (1860-61)



Rainfall for the week ending 20th July temporarily revived the prospects of a better season. The Board of Revenue unfortunately came to a hasty conclusion and wrote on the 27th July that there was no fear of distress.¹ This was a serious mistake of calculation, and lack of further rain and rise in prices² of coarse grains, later clearly indicated that a 'scarcity' was inevitable. Little rain fell in August and with the exception of the week ending the 17th, and next to none in September. The kharif crops, specially rice, were severely affected and were almost complete failures in many divisions.³ In Ajmer, the bajra and jowar crops perished totally, and wells in Ajmer, Rajgarh, and Beawar became exhausted resulting in severe suffering.

Conditions deteriorated still further by the end of October and gloomy reports about 'excessive cattle mortality', 'unequal kharif crops', 'undeniably bad condition', 'absconding cultivators' and 'discouraging prospects' were received from the affected districts.⁴ The Lt. Governor of the North Western Provinces who visited the affected parts in November was convinced of the seriousness of the coming danger and consequently obtained the sanction of the Government of India to spend five to six lakhs of rupees on relief measures.⁵ Public sentiments had also been aroused and in January 1861 a Central Relief Committee was organised at Agra and another in the Punjab with branches in the affected districts.

The winter rains also failed⁶ and in February the dry West winds caused incalculable harm in the district of Badaon. Prices

1. Progs. of the Govt. of N. W. P. Revenue No. 259 of 22nd Aug., 1860 and also No. 260 of 22nd Aug. 1860; Girdlestone opp. cit. para 122.
2. Average price of wheat in the famine tract was 18 Srs. 9 ch. a rupee in June 1860; 16 Srs. in July; 10 Srs. 12 Ch. in August; 10 Srs. 13 Ch. in September and 9 Srs. 5-3/4 Ch. in October; Girdlestone opp. cit. Appendix VIII Table A; Barley in Saharanpur in July 1860 was 34 Srs. 6 ch. a rupee and in Oct. 1860 it rose to 11 Srs. 12 ch. a rupee. Girdlestone opp. cit. Appendix VIII Table B. In the Punjab prices were—1st. Jan. 1860—21 Srs. a rupee, 1st. June 1860—18 Srs. a rupee, 1st. Jan. 1861—7 Srs. a rupee, 1st. June 1861—12 Srs. a rupee, F. C. 1880 Pt. III, p. 31.
3. Progs. N. W. P. Govt. Revenue No. 49 and 51 of Sept. 28, 1861; Progs. N. W. P. Govt. No. 52, April 6, 1861, General Dept.; Report F. C. 1880 Part III p. 28.
4. Progs. Govt. of N. W. P. Rev. No. 46, January 5, 1861.
5. Progs. Govt. of India Home (Public) No. 1 and 2 November 2, 1860.
6. Administrative Report N. W. P. 1860-61 p. 238; For rainfall figures between June 1860 and May 1861 see Progs. N. W. P. Govt. Rev. Nos. 16 to 20 of 14th June 1862.

of food grains also rose considerably and the famine turned into a severe calamity.

Destitutes and labourers went back to their fields in March 1861 to reap the limited rabi harvest, but soon returned to the relief centres, as work was not available in the fields. Failure on the rabi in 1861 affected several other classes of the people who had upto this time stood on their own legs, and compelled them to come to relief works. The number receiving relief consequently showed a considerable rise in May and June.¹

In 1861, the monsoon started early (28th May) but after a few days, no rain fell till the 20th June. This caused considerable anxiety and suffering reached its highest intensity in the middle of June. 'The reports from every district' writes Col. Baird Smith 'then told the same tale of daily increasing crowds of starving people flocking to the relief houses or relief works and the demands from the various local committees for additional means to meet the growing pressure.'²

The regular monsoon, however, started from the 20th June and continued favourably in the later months. The sowings improved greatly and the number in poor houses diminished after July. The kharif was extremely good and was of a type 'not seen since long'³. All relief works were closed by the end of October 1861 and the famine came officially to an end.

Famine Policy.

The policy for relief was laid down by the Government at a very early stage of the famine.⁴ It consisted of providing work to the able bodied and gratuitous distribution of food to the very old, the very young and the infirm who were absolutely unable to work. The Government declared it to be its duty to devise measures which would give employment to the poor classes. It

1. Baird Smith's Report of 14th August 1861 para 14. Number of helpless poor in the famine tract increased from 80,000 in May to 1,30,000 and 1,40,000 daily in June according to B. Smith's estimate also see Girdlestone opp. cit. para 136.

2. Col. B. Smith's Report of 14th August 1861 para 14.

3. Progs. N. W. P. Govt. Rev. Nos. 16 to 20 June 14, 1862; Report of the Sudder Board of Rev. N. W. P. for 1268 Fuslee (1860-61) para 123 to 126.

4. Progs. of the Govt. of India Home Department Public No. 62 Sept. 28, 1860 and No. 18, 9th June, 1861.

therefore, instructed the officers of the Irrigation and Public Works Departments to pay 'ready attention to the representations of the district officers and receive into their labouring gangs as many people as they can furnish with suitable employment.'¹ In case this proved insufficient, special works of real utility and benefit were to be selected by the commissioners with the help of district officers in each district. These works were to be such as could be completed within a short period of time and were to be local so as to facilitate supervision and check. The rate of wages was to be kept at the lowest possible scale and was 'not to be higher than what would enable the people to buy food sufficient to sustain life and strength to labour.'² The Government also helped in the collection of public subscriptions for gratuitous relief and promised to add to the collections a sum equal to that raised in India either in the form of donations or subscriptions from private charity. As a condition of this help, it nominated one or two of its officers to each of the relief committees, which were asked to accept the fundamental rules of famine policy laid down by the Government, though in actual practice much latitude was allowed to the committees.³

The policy of non-interference with private trade in food grains was insisted upon by the Government but it made advances to traders, without interest, repayable in instalments, for the supply of grain to the workers on large relief works at lower prices than those prevailing in the neighbouring⁴ markets.

Besides these the Government also gave advances to the cultivators and remitted revenue.

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1. Memorandum of 18th July 1860; Girdlestone opp. cit. para 121.
 2. Progs. Home Dept. (Public) No. 47, Dec. 29, 1860; Letter from G. Couper, Secy. to Govt. of the N. W. P. to Fort William to the Commissioner of Meerut Division No. 1375 A dated Camp Agra the 4th Dec. 1860; Progs. of the Govt. of India Home (Public) No. 18, 9th June 1861; Progs. Home (Public) Nos. 102, 103 October 22, 1860; Girdlestone—opp. cit. para 121; The rates of wages could not be increased without express sanction of the Commissioner with a report for the approval of the Lt. Governor. Less wages however were permitted to be given. Wages fixed by the Memorandum of 18th July were not to exceed 1-1/2 anna for each men, one anna for each women and 1/2 anna for each child under 12 years.
 3. Progs. of the Govt of India Home Dept. (Public) No. 7 June 1, 1861 and No. 21, 9th January 1861.
 4. Progs. Home (Public) No. 18, 9th January 1861 and No. 62, Sept. 28, 1860. In Ajmer when the transport of grain was prohibited, order was at once issued to cancel it and allow free trade. See Progs. of the N. W. P. Govt. General Dept. No. 51 and 55, dated 6th April 1861.

Famine in the States of Rajputana.

It was anticipated that the states of Rajputana would also suffer but the kharif crops proved to be good there except in Mewar. The neighbouring states of Jaipur, Kishangarh, Tonk and Harauti (Kota & Bundi), however, stopped the export of grain and fodder due to the fear of their own harvests proving insufficient. Similar restrictions were also put in Marwar.¹ The Commissioner of Ajmer suggested an embargo within his own jurisdiction. His suggestion was, however, not accepted as the Government refused to interfere with private trade. Rajputana did not experience much suffering as the rabi crops were good except in small and limited areas. The Government of India did not interfere nor adopted any positive policy in regard to famine administration in the Indian states.

RELIEF MEASURES.

Relief Works.

The works started for the famine relief in British India were of three kinds—ordinary, special and miscellaneous or local. These were run on the principles described above.

In the earlier stages of the famine and even later, it was thought proper to utilize the public works already in operation to provide employment to the famine stricken people. For this purpose, the Irrigation and Public Works Departments were instructed to employ as many additional people as they could.² The railways also provided some work. These works were carried on according to the sanctioned budgets of the year, at the ordinary rates of task work. It was estimated that forty to fifty thousand people were daily employed on these works in the affected areas.³

The back-bone of relief works, however, were the special works selected by the Commissioners in consultation with the District Magistrates. Ten such works were started in the North Western Provinces⁴ and four in the Punjab. In the North Western

1. Progs. N. W. P. Govt. No. 52 and 54 April 6, 1861, General Dept.

2. Progs. of the Govt. of India Home Deptt. Public Nos. 102 and 103 dated October 22, 1860.

3. Col. B. Smith's Report of 25th May 1861, para 24.

4. Progs. Govt. of India, Home Deptt. Public No. 24, May 29, 1862 A.

Provinces, these were carried on either by the Public Works Department or by the Road and Ferry Fund Committee¹ but even on the works under the Public Works Department, supervision was done by the Road and Ferry Fund Committee, as the expenditure on these works was charged to the famine account and not to the Public Works Department.² In the Punjab, on the other hand, all the special works were placed under the responsibility and supervision of the local Public Works Department.³

The labourers on these works in the North Western Provinces were divided into gangs of convenient numbers, each of which was provided with a small establishment formed by the Road and Ferry Fund Committee; which was responsible for providing separate sheds, movable grain shops, maintenance of accounts, making of daily payments, superintendence, measurement of works and the making of weekly and monthly reports to higher authorities. Wages were paid in cash⁴ at the rates fixed in the Circular of 18th July 1860 mentioned above. The Road and Ferry Fund Committee was responsible for the inspection of works and correction of errors, or if the work was under professional direction to report such errors to the officer in charge for correction. The works undertaken included earth works, cutting of roads through hills and excavating side channels to existing canals.⁵ The average daily number of men on such relief works during the ten months from the middle of December 1869 was 25,140.⁶ The figures for the Punjab are not available, but on the basis of the North Western

1. Progs. Govt. of India, Home Deptt. Public No. 62 Sept. 28, 1860. Road and Ferry Fund Committee consisted of Commissioners (at Central Head-quarters) District Magistrate and Collector, the Engineer, Medical Officer and one or more non official or influential Indians.
2. Progs. of the N. W. P. Govt. General Deptt. May 1861 Index No. 115 p. 158 Letter from Secy. to Govt. N. W. P. to the Commissioner of Meerut no. 1333 A. Camp. Bharatpur 26th November 1860.
3. Report F. C. 1880 Pt. III p. 33.
4. In the N. W. P. only once uncooked flour was given but this was abandoned. Smith's Report 25th May 1861 para 23; J. C. Geddes-Administrative Experience Recorded in Former Famines p. 53.
5. Progs. of the Govt. of India Home Deptt. (Public) No. 24 dated May 29, 1862(A).
6. Progs. of the Govt. of India, Home Deptt. Public No. 24, dated May 29, 1862(A) puts the total number of people employed as 7,505,008 or 21,880 per day from 14th Dec. 1860 to 22nd Nov. 1861; I have accepted the figures of 1880 Famine Commission Pt. III p. 32; Home Public Progs. No. 25 of May 29, 1862 puts approximate figures at 33,000 labourers daily for 7-1/2 months or 24,750 labourers for 10 months.

Provinces wage rates, probably 9,000 persons were employed daily for ten months, between January and October 1861.¹

No calculation seems to have been made at the end of the famine as to the actual amount of work done and hence no figures can be given for it.²

Besides the above, certain local and miscellaneous works like tanks, embankments, and small irrigation cuts, were started specially for people, who were not able to travel to the large relief works but were physically not so infirm as to receive gratuitous relief. These works were small undertakings, involving an expenditure of not more than Rs. 5,000 and were started after the approval of the Commissioner of the division. Wages were paid in the form of food and the works were controlled by the local relief committees.³ These local works were confined to the districts of Agra and Etawa and the Meerut Division.

Relief works, except the few local and miscellaneous works, admitted only those who were physically fit to work. In a famine like that of 1860-61 when a large percentage of people was affected, it was difficult to draw a line between those able to work and those not able to do so. A majority of the people who came to these works were professional labourers. Then came weavers, who had lost their trade during the famine. The latter could not do full time ordinary labour and no provision was made to employ them in their own trade. People of high castes did not come to these works⁴ and no arrangement was made by the Government for their relief.

1. F. C. 1880, Report Pt. III, pp. 33-34. The total sum expended in the Punjab was Rs. 3,25,106 and in the N. W. P. the total outlay including establishment was Rs. 9,14,294 or Rs. 3/10/- per mensem per labourer relieved.
2. Col. B. Smith in his report of 14th Aug. 1861 para 9 says that the usual rate of the work done at Mohan Pass was Rs. 4/- per thousand cubic feet but the actual cost was estimated at Rs. 16.2 per thousand cubic feet. Girdlestone opp. cit. para 124 writes 'Earth work which under ordinary circumstances was accomplished at the rate of Rs. 1/6 per 1000 cubic feet cost treble that sum, and the most sanguine person did not expect that the value would ever be less than Rs. 2 per 1000 cubic feet, whilst the Lt. Governor acknowledged that he should be satisfied if an average of Rs. 3/- per 1000 cubic feet was maintained'.
3. Girdlestone opp. cit. para 129; Administrative Report N. W. P. Govt. 1860-61 paras 264-65. The expenditure on these works in the N. W. P. amounted to Rs. 29,918 and was credited to the General Famine Relief Fund.
4. Col. B. Smith's Report of 25th May 1861 para 25.

The works were unpopular and one of the causes for this was the extremely low wage,¹ which meant extreme hardship specially when the prices of food grains rose to seven seers a rupee. In a large number of cases the people worked in rotation. Families divided themselves into two sections, one going to the work for a certain period, while the other remained at home. Later, they interchanged their positions.² Conditions at many of these relief works and places were, deplorable. Colonel Baird Smith, who visited one of the works in Saharanpur district, writes that 'the condition of the labourers was very wretched. They looked wasted away, and were quite incapable of any really hard work. The children as usual showed the marks of famine most strikingly and I saw some very sad examples of utter and apparently almost hopeless exhaustion among them.'³

Gratuitous Relief in the North Western Provinces.

Orders for the organisation of local relief committees in the headquarters of each distressed district and for inviting private subscriptions were issued by the Lt. Governor of the North-Western Provinces to the District Magistrates as early as 19th December, 1860. The function of the Central Relief Committee, which was formed at Agra in January 1861, was to collect subscriptions from the public, distribute aid to various districts, co-ordinate the work of local committees, and organise relief to the poor and the disabled. All local committees were asked to keep the Central Committee duly and fully informed of the conditions of the people, local requirements, the state of the local funds, and the state of the distress.⁴ The Committee appealed for funds to civil and military officers in the various districts of India, the Lord Mayor of London, and the general public. As soon as subscriptions started coming in, the District Magistrates were called upon to send reports about their districts and the Committee allotted money in proportion to the distress in each locality.⁵ The Central Committee met every

1. Progs. of the Govt. of India, Home (Public) No. 47 Dec. 29, 1860 and No. 18 9th January 1861.

2. Col. B. Smith's Report of 14th August 1861 para 8.

3. Col. B. Smith's Report of 14th August 1861 para 6.

4. Progs. N. W. P. Govt. General Deptt. No. 51-52, February 23, 1861.

5. Girdlestone opp. cit. para 126.

week after the 9th January 1861, and did creditable work. It collected in all Rs. 11,80,000 of which Rs. 3,07,000 was subscribed in England and Rs. 1,02,000 was contributed by the Government and the rest about Rs. 7,71,000 came from various parts of India including Rs. 1,34,000 subscribed in the Province.¹

The measures of relief adopted by the Committee consisted of opening of poor houses, provision for indoor relief to pardanashin women, starting local relief works, making of grants for seeds, grains and bullocks, and provision for the relief of orphans.

Poor Houses.

An excellent poor house was organised during this famine at Moradabad, under the supervision of its District Magistrate, Mr. (later Sir) John Strachey, and (Sir) Sayyad Ahmad Khan. This institution came to form a model for all the poor houses subsequently established in different parts of the distressed area, in this and also in later famines and was greatly appreciated by all.²

These poor houses were like industrial establishments situated outside the city with enclosed sheds for residence, sanitary arrangements, dispensaries, kitchens and other necessary buildings.³ The Local committees arranged to send the helpless from the interior of their districts to the poor houses, making arrangements for their conveyances and food for the journey.⁴ Careful scrutiny and selection was made at the time of admission after which the names of persons admitted were registered and seats allotted in the House where the person seeking relief had to live compulsorily.⁵ All the inmates who were able to do some work were divided into groups

1. F. C. Report 1880 Part III p. 35; Girdlestone *op. cit.* para 142; In Ajmer also Rs. 6000 was collected for the relief of the helpless; Progs. N. W. P. Govt. No. 54, April 6, 1861 General Deptt; Progs. of the Govt. of India Home Deptt. (Public) No. 8 June 1, 1861.

2. Progs. N. W. P. Govt. General Deptt. No. 88 of May 11, 1861 and also No. 148 of June 1, 1861. (The latter says that in the Moradabad Poor House the cost of relief had decreased by 27 percent by the sale of manufactured articles.

3. Progs. N. W. P. Govt. General Deptt. No. 88 May 11, 1861; See Col. B. Smith's Memorandum on the organisation of Poor Houses; Orders of Govt. N. W. P. for 1861.

4. Progs. N. W. P. Govt. General Department Nos. 90-115 dated 13th April 1861; Selections from the Records of the N. W. P. Govt. No. XXXVI, J. Strachey's 'Note on the measures adopted for the Relief of the Poor in the district of Moradabad'.

5. Progs. of the N. W. P. Govt. General Department No. 78A May 11, 1861.

and were assigned tasks according to their strength which they had to complete by the evening. Such tasks included making of ropes, daree and newar, spinning, weaving, earth works and repair of roads.¹ Spinning and grinding of wheat were tasks specially allotted to women. A fixed quantity of food was distributed to them at a fixed time and a fixed place once a day under the supervision of two or more members of a sub-committee consisting of officials and non-officials, who were also responsible for the purchase of food materials and their preparation.² The food supplied was ordinarily cooked by a brahman so that it might not be objected to by caste Hindus.³

The first poor house was established in January 1861 and the last was closed by the end of September 1861. The total number of poor houses opened was 156.⁴

This form of relief was cheaper and it reduced the expenses of relief at Moradabad Poor House by twenty seven percent.⁵ For a period of nine months, from January to September 1861, an average of 33,800 persons a month were relieved in the seventeen districts of the North Western Provinces at a total cost of Rs. 5,14,783 or rupee one and twelve and half annas per head per month.⁶

1. Progs. of the N. W. P. Govt. General Department No. 136, June 1, 1861.

2. Average ration distributed was :—

Adults both sexes—	16 oz.	of bread or flour and 4 oz.	of vegetable or dal
Children above 10 years	12 oz	-do-	4 oz -do-
Children below 10 years	8 oz	-do-	2 oz -do-
Children in arms	4 oz	-do-	2 oz -do-

Col. B. Smith's Report of 25th May 1861, para 22; Orders of the Govt. of N.W.P. for 1861. In special circumstances variations could be made. As for example in Moradabad dal and vegetable provided to adults and children was only 1½ Chataks and working members were given 10 Chatak of flour and 2 Ch. of dal; for details of rules see Geddes-Administrative Experience in Former Famines pp. 163-66.

3. At Moradabad Poor House two kitchens were maintained one general and another for caste Hindus; General cooking was done by contract and the other by Brahmans, but in most places only Brahmans were employed as cooks. Girdlestone opp. cit. para 126 and also Appendix IV, p. XVIII.

4. Col. B. Smith's Report dated 25th May 1861 para 22; Girdlestone opp. cit. para 136 and also Appendix VII p. XXX.

5. Progs. of the Govt. of N. W. P. General Department No. 148, June 1, 1861.

6. F. C. Report 1880 Pt. III p. 35; Progs. of the Govt. of N. W. P. Rev. No. 20 June 14, 1862; Administrative Report N. W. P. Govt. 1860-61.

Relief of Pardanashin Women.

It was experienced during the course of the famine that many Muslim women of respectable families refused to go to the public kitchens. It was felt that something had to be done, for them to save them from death by starvation. Accordingly, a list of such purdahnashin ladies, who required relief, was prepared by respectable persons or members of the relief committees after personal enquiries and scrutiny. Such women were provided with cotton for spinning at their homes in lieu of which work they were paid cash to enable them to maintain themselves. At the end of the fixed period the yarn spun by them was taken back and another basket of cotton was sent to them with the cash wage.¹ This form of relief was approved by the Government of the North Western Provinces in February 1861, though it felt that the system was open to 'great abuse' and suggested all possible precautions against misappropriation of funds.² Relief to pardanashin women was given to an appreciable extent only in the districts of Meerut and Moradabad though such relief was also provided in Agra and a few other places. The system was economical and worked successfully.³

Grants for Seed and Advances for Cattle.

The Central Relief Committee further felt it necessary to help the agriculturists in purchasing seed grain and plough cattle. They, therefore, made grants to each district according to the estimated local loss which was distributed among the needy through the Collector and his subordinates. The grant for seed grain was a free gift but that for purchasing plough cattle was an advance, which was to be refunded on conditions laid down by the Collector in his discretion.⁴

Besides the advances made by the Central Relief Committee, the Government also gave advances recoverable within five years for digging wells and purchase of seeds.⁵

1. Progs. of Govt. N. W. P., General Department No. 109 and 114 April 13, 1861. In Moradabad 8 chs. of cotton and 8 annas were sent for 8 days.
2. Progs. of the Govt. of N. W. P. General Deptt. No. 28 and 33, dated February 23, 1861.
3. In Moradabad for example 43½ percent in April and 44½ percent in May was recovered. Selections from the Records of the Govt. N. W. P. Part XXXVI.
4. Girdlestone opp. cit. para 142. The total money spent for seed and cattle in the N. W. P. was Rs. 3,40,000.
5. Progs. of the Govt. N.W. P. 29th Dec. 1860 No. 1 and 2 Rev. Dept. and No. 16-17, Rev. Dept., September 7, 1861.

Orphans.

The most pitiable casualties of the famine were a large number of orphans who were also to be looked after by the relief committees. Many of them were given to persons of their own faith willing to support them, while a good number were taken over by Christian missionaries.¹ At the end of the famine, a large number of orphans were still left on the hands of the committees both in the Punjab and the North Western Provinces. The Central Relief Committee of the North Western Provinces, therefore, assigned Rs. 2,70,000 for their maintenance which was invested in Government Securities.² The orphans got an allowance of Rs. 2/8/- per month upto the age of 18. On attaining that age or in case of females marriage, they were given a donation of rupees fifty.³ In 1870, however, the whole balance of the consolidated Famine Relief Fund amounting to Rs. 3,58,000 was credited to the general revenues, and the Government undertook the entire liability for the maintenance of the famine orphans in the Punjab as well as those in the North Western Provinces.⁴

Gratuitous Relief in the Punjab.

The measures adopted for the relief of the helpless poor in the Punjab were based on the same system as in the North Western Provinces. A Central Committee was appointed in the province which collected rupees 10,50,275 from the public and received Rs. 80,439 as grant from the Government. The total expenses on poor houses in the Punjab was Rs. 7,83,945. No account of the number relieved is available in Government records of the famine, but the Famine Commission of 1880, after indirect calculation based on the ration rate adopted in this famine in the North Western Provinces, came to the conclusion that 50,000 people were relieved for nine months in the poor houses in the Punjab.⁵ Advances

1. Col. B. Smith's Report of 14th August 1861 para 16.

2. Girdlestone opp. cit. para 143.

3. Girdlestone opp. cit. para 143, footnote; Geddes-Administrative Experience in Former Famines opp. cit. p. 211; Selections from the Records of the Govt. of N. W. P. Pt. XXXVI; Progs. of the Govt. of India Public (Famine) No. 56 May 13, 1871 and No. 82 July 15, 1871.

4. F. C. 1880 Pt. III p. 40; Progs. of the Govt. of India Home Deptt. (Public) Nos. 50-52 December 24, 1870.

5. F. C. 1880 Pt. I page 71.

to the cultivators given by the Relief Committee amounted to Rs. 5,60,456 of which Rs. 3,33,456 was contributed by the Government. The money was distributed by the Tahsildars after careful village enquiries supervised by an Assistant or extra Assistant Commissioner.¹

Remissions of Land Revenue.

It was rightly felt at an early stage of the famine in the North Western Provinces that a large amount of revenue might have to be remitted. Colonel Baird Smith estimated the sum at rupees forty lakhs but in the end only two and half lakhs were remitted.² Government records provide no explanation of this change of policy. In a good number of cases, however, the orders for suspensions and remissions were received after the officers had already collected the revenue from the people.³ This naturally meant a severe suffering to the people who paid the revenue with great difficulty in adverse circumstances.

No detailed account of the remissions in the Punjab are available but the 'doubtful' and 'irrecoverable' balances of 1860-63 there amounted to Rs. 14,25,635. All of these, according to Major Wace's evidence before the Famine Commission of 1880, were ultimately remitted.⁴

Besides remissions in revenue, the balances of the fines levied after the rebellion of 1857 were also remitted in some cases.⁵

Account of Charitable Contributions.

This was the first occasion when public subscriptions were raised for an Indian Famine in Great Britain, and British Colonies.

1. F. C. Report, 1880, Part III p. 35.
2. Col. B. Smith's Report of 25th May para 27; Progs. of the N. W. P. Govt. No. 16-20 June 14, 1862; Girdlestone opp. cit. para 146; F. C. Report Pt. I para 171. At the end of the revenue year 1860-61. Out of the total demand of Rs. 1, 48,00,000 from the eleven affected districts ninety one percent was collected leaving an arrears of 13 lakhs. Deducting 3 percent on account of the loss due to Settlement or, Government occupied land, the loss due to famine was 11 lakhs. Out of this hardly Rs. 2,34,700 were remitted and the rest was collected.
3. In Bulandshahr original remission was Rs. 11,891 of this Rs. 2,559 was realised before the Govt. order sanctioning original remission was received by the Collector and so finally only Rs. 9,332 were remitted. Girdlestone opp. cit. para 146.
4. F. C. Report 1880 Pt. III p. 37.
5. Progs. of the Govt. of India Home (Public) No. 48 June 8, 1861. As for example Goojars had been fined 45,000 of which they had been able to pay only half the amount till 1860-61, Col. B. Smith's Report of 25th May 1861 para 16.

No central all-India body was, however, formed to organise and spend the money on charitable relief, but local relief committees were formed at Agra, Bombay, Calcutta and the Punjab. The subscriptions collected were remitted to these bodies. Out of total receipts of about Rs. 32,92,765 only Rs. 19,73,614 were spent in 1861 and the rest was utilised in the Orissa Famine of 1866, the Punjab Famine of 1869, the Lancashire Cotton Famine of 1863 and the remaining sum of Rs. 3,58,000 was taken over by the Government to meet the expenditure on orphanages.¹

Effects of the Famine.

The classes affected first and most severely by the famine were the chamars, landless agricultural labourers, and weavers, of whom many turned beggars.² A good number of people belonging to the upper classes, specially amongst the Hindus, also suffered grievously as they preferred to die than to accept food from relief kitchens. No arrangements were made for the relief of such persons. So far as the agriculturists were concerned, the great loss to agriculture³ and the large cattle mortality,⁴ broke their back-bone.

Foreign trade was severely affected at the time of the famine as well. Prices of foreign goods fell by 10 to 25 percent and there was also a decrease in the import of foreign goods to the affected areas.⁵ Difficulties of communication also increased considerably during the famine and ordinary rates of carriage were doubled and sometimes trebled.⁶

1. F. C. 1880 Pt. III p. 40.

2. Geddes opp. cit. pp 361-81; Col. B. Smith's Report on the Commercial condition of N. W. P. May 1861 para 31 mentions weavers selling their instruments for a meal.

3. Col. B. Smith in his report 25th May 1861 para 27 estimated agricultural loss to about 3½ million sterling. In any-case about 1-3 of the produce was definitely lost; F. C. Report 1880. Pt III p. 30; Girdlestone opp. cited para 144; Progs. of the Govt. N. W. P. No. 46 Jan. 5 1861 Rev dept.

4. Col. B. Smith estimated that not less than 6 lakhs of cattle worth 75 lakh of rupees died. In Meerut district alone about 40,00 pairs of cattle out of 80000 pairs died. Col. B. Smith's Report of 25th May 1861 para 26.

5. Progs. of Govt. of India Home Deptt (Public) No 13 Feb. 8 1861; Col. B. Smith's Report on the Commercial condition of the N. W. P. of India paras 16, 23 to 28. Foreign goods sent from Calcutta to N. W. P. between Dec. 1860 to Jan. 1861 fell to half and even to 1/3 of the normal quota.

6. Col. B. Smith's Report on the Commercial Condition of the N. W. P. May 1861 para 28.

Migration of people from famine areas to those where food or work was available, was adopted by the sufferers as a spontaneous relief measure. People went to the neighbouring Indian states or to the less affected British districts, and a good number of them went to the Tarai areas.¹ Exact figures of such movements can not be given, but in all, probably not less than 660,000 people shifted in this way from one locality to another.² The migration was heaviest in the district of Mathura, where no local works to check such movements were started.

The people in both the provinces were much more peaceful during the famine of 1860-61 than in 1837 and it was not found necessary to appoint a single extra constable. The number of petty crimes against property, however, increased with the pressure of the famine.³

Mortality.

The famine took a heavy toll in human lives caused not only by starvation but also by subsequent diseases, malnutrition, and the consumption of unwholesome herbs, vegetables and wild fruits. No proper record of mortality was kept, nor were there any adequate means to report such cases. It was impossible, it was alleged, to distinguish between starvation deaths and those caused by diseases like dysentery and fever which were indirectly the results of the famine. Besides, many of the 'tribes', people of higher castes and those of old renowned families, did not give any correct information of such deaths. Thus, only deaths of migrants or people without families or friends were reported to the police and many of such deaths, though caused by starvation were attributed

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1. Geddes-Administrative Experience opp. cit. pp. 230-31 ; Col. B. Smith's Report of 14th August 1861 para 10 and 12.
 2. Loveday-History and Economics of Indian Famines p. 48 puts the figures of emigration as 160,000. This is not correct. 5 lakhs people migrated from the 3 affected tracts, besides 160,000 persons who emigrated into canal villages. See Girdlestone opp. cit. para 134; Col B. Smith's Report of 14th August 1861 para 10; Col. B. Smith's Report of 25th May 1861 para 26.
 3. Col B. Smith's Report of 14th August 1861 para 57; Girdlestone opp. cit. para 150; F. C. Report 1880 Pt. III pp. 37-38. Figures of crime in the N. W. P. were as follows :—

Year : Dacoities & Robberies : Burglaries : Theft including cattle theft			
1860	152	8272	18397
1861	280	9780	21935
1862	289	9242	18805

to disease. All contemporary estimates agree that the mortality was 'excessive' and 'great' but they differ as to the exact number of deaths. It can be said that approximately two to three percent of the people died due to the famine in the affected areas.¹

Expenditure.

The expenditure on the famine was not excessive being hardly forty five lakhs and fifty seven thousand rupees to Government,² excluding the charitable contribution by the people which has been mentioned above.

The famine also affected the Excise Revenue and the total loss under this head in comparison to 1859-60 was Rs. 2,01,080.³

Review.

Failure of crops and the consequent suffering differed in intensity from district to district and even village to village.⁴ It has been estimated that the proportion of the area of great intensity to the total area of famine was as one to three. The suffering was specially severe along both the banks of the Yamuna between Delhi and Agra, including the southern part of Delhi, Gurgaon, Mathura, one paragana of Agra and parts of Aligarh.⁵ "In southern parts of Delhi and Gurgaon, the country between the Kutub Minar and the station of Gurgaon" writes Colonel Baird Smith, "where I had been accustomed to see wide expenses of grain..... there was not a blade of green produce to be seen excepting in the bed of some dried up tank or along the narrow valley of rivers

1. Col. B. Smith's Report of 25th May 1861 para 28; Girdlestone opp. cit. para 141. Sir Arthur Cotton 'The Famine in India' on p. 5 estimated mortality in this famine as 2 lakhs. Mr. Colledge Offg. District Magistrate of Bulandshahar who had visited all the affected parts of his district estimated $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent mortality. B. Smith 14th Aug. Report para 11. In Bulumghur a sub-division of Delhi 4 percent people died of starvation. Col. B. Smith estimates 80 to 90 thousand mortality in the central section alone; on the basis of 2 percent mortality 25,000 and on the basis of 3 per cent mortality 375,000 people perished.
2. For details see F. C. 1880 Pt. I para 71; Progs. of Govt. N. W. P. Rev. No. 20 June 14, 1862; Supplement to Punjab Gazette of 12th Feb. 1862, para 4; Girdlestone opp. cit. para 145.
3. Report of the Sudder Board of Rev. on the Rev. Administration of the N. W. P. 1859-60, 1860-61 and 1861-62.
4. Final Report of the Central Committee, Progs. N. W. P. Govt. No. 376 of March 29th 1862; Girdlestone opp. cit. para 122.
5. Baird Smith's Report 25th May 1861 paras 3-10 and 13.

or near the sparsely spread wells."¹ Late in February 1861, Mr. Carmichael, the local Magistrate, wrote of the region to the west of Suheswan that, 'whole tracts of country (were) totally uncultivated, villages half deserted, cultivators dead, dying or absconded, the poor women and children (it is pitious to behold these, for they appear to be deserted by the men) in the jungles picking the prickly thorns called 'gokroo' and grabbing up grass for the sake of the seed of it..... I am credibly informed that after a whole day's labour two chittacks is the amount of grain which shifted from this mass of dust."²

The policy adopted by the Government to meet this terrible calamity was the same as in earlier famines, the only advance made consisting in a slightly improved system of administration and in the initiation of relief measures at an early stage of the famine. The organisation of poor houses, relief works, and relief committees was better than in previous famines. But the relief measures were inadequate and defective in many cases which discounted their value. Defects in the relief works, the back-bone of the relief system, have already been pointed out above. The distribution of gratuitous relief was limited in scope, the poor houses were unpopular and admissions to them was strict. Large numbers of people of respectable families, with caste prejudices, and those who did not like to leave their homes died uncared for as nothing was done to relieve them. A large amount of money was collected for charitable relief but a good amount of it, as already described, was left and utilised in later famines. If this amount had been distributed more sympathetically a larger number of people would have benefitted by it.

The policy of preferring Europeans and distrust of Indians is also noticeable in the administration of famine relief measures. For the supervision of a poor house, a large relief work, or any other work, the Government invariably wanted an European in all key posts of relief administration.³ Even when it was suggested that

1. B. Smith's Report of 25th May 1861, para 10.

2. Girdlestone opp. cit. para 133.

3. Orders of the Govt. N. W. P. for 1861 p. 240; Progs. of the Govt. N.W. P. General Deptt. No. 81 May 1861; Girdlestone opp. cit para 126; Progs. N. W. P. Govt. General Deptt. No. 117, April 6, 1861.

waste lands should be distributed to the people under a permanent settlement as a future safeguard against famines, the Government expressed the view that such uncultivated lands may be given to Europeans.¹

The attitude of Government officers towards the victims of famine was not always sympathetic. Though some revenue was remitted, the bulk of the demand was fully collected in most cases.² and this can only have been done by force and threat and must have caused intense suffering to the people. The attitude of the canal officers was also harsh and un-sympathetic and the people complained of their strictness³ in the collection of water rates.

In the absence of official sympathy, the measures adopted could not be effective. For example, Colonel Baird Smith writes about the Delhi Poor House, that 'no more pitiable mass of human misery, was ever before seen by me than was there gathered together, and the sight was the more so for the crowd being formed chiefly of widows and children.'⁴ The Civil Surgeon of Meerut Relief Hospital described the condition of the people as 'one and all starving and the majority were skeletons from dropsy.'⁵ E. C. Bayley, an eye witness, a member of the Agra Famine Committee in 1861 and later Secretary to the Government of India, gives a similar pathetic description of the suffering and practical working of the relief machinery. 'The Central Committee at the Sudder Stations', he writes, 'were by themselves almost helpless to touch the main body of the distress, the people would not or at least the bulk of them did not, leave their villages to come to the relief works or did not attempt to do so till it was too late and they were too weak to undertake the journey. Multitudes died in this way and many reached the place of relief too exhausted to survive. I have seen them fall insensible literally within sight of the garden where distribution of food was made and many others fall immediately after receiving their first meal'.⁶

1. Col. B. Smith's Report of 14th Aug. 1861 para 82.

2. Girdlestone opp. cit. para 146, footnote.

3. Progs of the Govt. N. W. P. Rev. Deptt. No. 50-52, March 2, 1861.

4. Col. B. Smith's Report of 14th August 1861 para 13.

4. Col. B. Smith's Report of 25th May 1861 para 28.

5. Progs. of the Govt. of India Home Public (Famine) September 24, 1868 No. 74.

When we examine such authoritative statements, together with the defects of the relief works and gratuitous relief, we can safely conclude that the measures adopted were inadequate and suffered from omissions which caused a huge mortality of men and cattle. In the circumstances, it is difficult to agree with the statement of the Secretary of State for India that relief measures 'have been well calculated to secure the double object of affording the greatest practicable relief to the suffering poor and obtaining the best possible return to Government for the outlay, which they sanctioned.'¹ On the other hand in spite of limitations and difficulties the Indian people, as Baird Smith stated, 'faced the calamity with steadier and stronger heads than any other people on earth'.²

1. See his despatch dated February 28, 1853; Girdlestone *opp. cit.* para 123.

2. Col. B. Smith's Report of 25th May 1861, para 10.

LUCKNOW MUSEUM NOTES

By

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Of the recently added exhibits in the State Museum, Lucknow, an inscribed stone-seat from Ahichchhatrā (No. 52.1) and a terracotta plaque containing the seated figure of Supārsvanātha (No. 53. 69) from Mohamdi (Kheri Distt.) deserve special consideration and close study on account of their peculiar iconographic qualities and other features. They are described as follows :—

1. "An inscribed red sandstone seat (No. 52. 1) carved with the figure of a grotesque Yaksha on the lower side. The sculpture, rectangular in shape, measuring 1'-5" long and 9" wide, is carved on all sides except the top which has been hollowed out in the direction of the length. The dwarfish Yaksha is shown in a very unusual manner. He is represented as seated with the weight of the body supported on the bent knees and hands (which perform the duty of the legs of the stool) and draws the ends of his mouth with his forefingers. The belly is large with a deep round navel in the middle. The figure puts on a necker coming down to his knees with a flop in the centre, a heavy garland around his neck, armlets and wristlets. The eyes, nose and the moustache are conspicuously shown, the middle and side hair having been indicated by small indented lines. A band of creeper ornaments emerging from the mouth of a crocodile decorates what may be called the frame of the stool while the hollowed surface at the top represents cushion, and the four legs of this seat are represented by the bent elbows and knees of the Yaksha. On one narrower end which contains the head of the Yaksha and represents the front of the stool, is cut an inscription in two lines written in Brāhmi script of about 2nd century A.D. The language is mixed Sanskrit which is commonly met with in a majority of Kushana inscriptions from Mathura. The inscription can be read as follows :—

1. मिश्र धर्मपोषस्य करगुल वि-
2. द्वारा अहिछत्राया

I.e. "The gift of monk Dharamaghosha in the Phargula monastery of Ahichchhatrā".

In his article under the caption "A new Yaksha image from Ahichchhatrā", Sri K.D. Bajpai has indentified this sculpture as an image of Yaksha (J. U. P. H. S. 1951-52 p. 193-95) but a keen persual of the object will show that it is not a Yaksha image at all but a stone seat used by Buddhist monks. The sculpture cannot stand independently which it should otherwise have done had it been installed as an image. The depression on the upper side was not due to grinding spices as opined by Sri Bajpai—it was just done to make these seats more comfortable. Again the sculpture can not represent an atlantis or bracket used in some building either (Cf. Consolidated Annual Report of the State Museum Lucknow for the years, 1951-54 wherein it is described as atlantis (52.1) and illustrated as there are no traces of mortar or like on it, nor does the position of the carved Yaksha figure and the absence of any tenon to be inserted in the wall justify it. We must also take notice of the smoothness on the elbow and knees of the Yaksha figure to which we cannot assign any reason except that it must have resulted due to the constant use of this sculpture as a seat, the elbows and the knees serving the purpose of legs.

From the Buddhist canonical texts we come to know that there were two kinds of seats (āsandi) prescribed for the Buddhist monks—one, which were spread on the floor (apparently a sort of matting) and the other having short legs and high from the floor (some sort of stools) (Chullavagga 6, 14). These seats were not more than eight angulas high (Atthangula Param, Chullavagga 6, 2, 5) and were to be of 2 X 1 of the span of the Buddha in size (Bhikkha Patimokkha 5/90) and strangely enough this stool is just a shade more than two spans long and one span wide if measured by average human hand—the difference being most natural, Buddha possessing large hands (ājānubāhu) his span was therefore bigger than those of common folk.

In course of surveying ancient sites and monuments in India, Cunnigham discovered a number of stone stools from the ancient Buddhist sites of Bhita, Patna, Kausambi, Durg and Shahdheri in Taxila (A.S.R. Vol. III, VII and XI).

But they generally measured 12" long and 6 inches high (except Bhita stools which were 15" long) with four small legs. (The anomaly of this varying measurements can be explained by the fact that the sculptors did not always follow rigidly the prescribed measurements. The same discrepancy is to be found in several images also which do not strictly adhere to iconometric texts and thereby create problem for scholars). Some of these seats were plain while others were carved with Buddhist Symbols. In the collections of the Lucknow Museum there are two other stone stools having four legs and depressions on the top, with the front legs carved in the form of half-lions while the back feet are left plain. There are two plain stools in Mathura Museum also of more or less the same dimensions. The abundance with which these seats have been found proves that they were largely used by Buddhist monks and were considered essential articles in Monastic establishments.

In the Vinayapīṭaka reference has been made to stone stools being fitted in the Jantāghara (Bathrooms) attached to monasteries and are suitably called Jantaghārapīṭha (Chullavagga 5, 14, 3) and I think that the object under review must have been kept in the bath-room of the Buddhist monastery of Phargula at Ahichchhatrā, the end containing the head and the inscription forming the front position. Cunningham also admits that the stone stools which he discovered from the ancient sites "were used by men when bathing" (A. S. R. Vol. II p. 52 foot note) and this confirms my theory. He further states that these stones "are in some unaccountable way connected with departed spirits and are worshipped as Goreyas" (A. S. R. XI p. 163) and since Yaksha worship was very popular in ancient times and had come to stay as a motif in Buddhist art, it is no surprise if the sculptor carved the figure of the Yaksha on the back of the seat not only to give it an artistic outlook but also to add significance and sanctity.

As the inscription indicates the sculpture was dedicated by the monk Dharmaghosha in Phargula Vihāra of Ahichchhatrā.

This sculpture is important for more reasons than one. It is the earliest known stone seat with a Yaksha figure carved on it. (A similar stone seat but smaller in size and without inscription has recently been found at Etawah) and secondly it brings to

light the name of a new monastery at Ahichchhatrā, using for the first time perhaps the correct name of this ancient place.

The name of the monastery Phargula is, however, very peculiar and sounds un-Indian. It might have derived its name like Yasha Vihāra or Huvishka Vihāra, from the founder of the monastery or else the name may have some connection with the mythological river Phalgu, which according to Buddhists texts is as holy to the Buddhist as Sarasvati is to Brahmanas.

2—"A terracotta plaque ($5\frac{1}{2}$ " x $2\frac{1}{2}$ ") bearing the figure of Tirthaṃkara Supārśvanātha (Museum Register No. 53-69).¹ The figure rises from a rectangular background in high relief, the lower part of which forming a pedestal. The Jina is represented as seated in dhyānamudrā on a raised cushioned seat. The serene and contemplative mood of the Jina is clearly marked. There is a plain halo behind his head. The plaque which was originally painted in red colour is in a fairly good state of preservation. On the pedestal is inscribed horizontally an inscription of four letters in early Gupta Script which reads "Supārśaḥ" i.e. "Sri Supārśa" or more correctly "Sri Supārśvanātha."

According to Jaina Texts Supārśvanātha, is the seventh pontiff of the Jaina Church whose cognizance is Svastika and snake and his attendant Yaksha and Yakshni are Mātanga and Śāntā respectively.

Besides its great importance as an inscribed terracotta, a feature which is very rare in Indian archaeology, the most noteworthy thing about this plaque is the iconographic peculiarity in the treatment of hair which have been parted in the middle and fall side ways in wiglike fashion. The Jaina Tirthaṃkaras are always given plain or short curly hair and no where else perhaps such an extraordinary treatment of hair on a Jaina image has been found so far.

Outwardly there does not seem to be a Śrivatsa symbol on the chest of this figure but minute examination reveals indistinct lines which must have symbolized this mark originally. The absence

1. This figure has been identified as that of the Buddha in the Consolidated Annual Report of the State Museum, Lucknow for the years 1951-54.

of the Jina's cognizance can be explained by the fact that upto the beginning of the 6th century A.D. Thirthamkaras were never given their symbols in plastic art and it was very difficult to identify them rightly except in the case of Pārśvanātha or sometimes Supārśvanātha who had the conspicuous snake canopy over their heads and could be distinguished by the number of snake hoods, or where they have been named in the inscriptions on the pedestal. Perhaps the artist forgot to show a snake canopy on the head of this figure and realising his mistake after the figure was moulded just scribbled the name of the pontiff to facilitate its identification. Whatever may have been the reason for this discrepancy this terracotta has come to stay as a unique specimen of its kind and it is hoped scholars will throw more light on this important antiquity.

The discovery of this plaque from Mohamdi (distt. Kheri) which was a Buddhist stronghold, may indicate that Jaina religion was predominant there in the Gupta period at least if not earlier.¹

1. See my article published in Kheri Supplement of the National Herald dated February 9, 1958.

CHARACTER OF MINISTRY IN THE NĪTISĀRA OF KĀMANDAKA

By

Dr. R. K. Dikshit, M.A., Ph.D.

Importance of the Ministers.

The political thinkers of ancient India were altogether opposed to one-man rule, and, therefore, they regarded the council of ministers as a very vital organ of the body-politic. The *amātya* has been invariably assigned the second place amongst the *prakṛitis* of the state,¹ and his importance has been emphasised by all the writers. Manu, for example, states that even a very easy and simple task can not be accomplished by a person single-handed. How then, he asks, can the work of the king, which involves great issues, be accomplished without the assistance of others? Similar views have been expressed by other writers, too. Kauṭilya, who compares the king and his ministers to the two wheels of a chariot, says that 'kingship is possible only with (the aid of) assistants : a single wheel can not work (a chariot).....'.² Likewise, we read in the *Mahābhārata* that a king can not rule without the assistance of ministers even for three days.³ Śukra is more explicit. According to him, a ruler should not decide political issues without consulting the ministers, howsoever, proficient he might be in practical polity, and other branches of knowledge; otherwise, he would plunge the state into misery, and invite unpopularity and ruin for himself.⁴ Somadeva, too, asserts that a king who neglected the counsel of his ministers was liable to be overwhelmed by his foes.⁵ It is in consonance with these principles that the

1. Śukra (II. 269) ranks the ministers very high in order of precedence, while Kauṭilya (V. 3.4) assigns to them the same pay as was admissible to the royal priest, commander-in-chief, the crown-prince, the chief queen or the dowager queen.

2. Manu, VII, 55.

A king, without good assistants (*su-sahāya*) was not fit to administer the state, *Ibid.*, VII. 30-31. Cf. also, *M.Bh.*, XII, 80.1; *Matya*, 215.3; *V. D.*, II. 24.3; *N.V.*, XVIII. 2, etc.,

3. *A. S.*, I. 7.15. Cf. *N. V.*, XVIII. 3.

4. *M.Bh.*, XII. 106. 11.

5. *S. N.*, II. 2-4; also, I. 95.

6. *N. V.*, X.

ministers have been described as the pillars of the state,¹ or as the eyes, ears, arms and the tongue of the king—nay, as his very heart.²

Some of these maxims find an echo in the *Nītisāra* as well, which describes the ministers as the hand or as the eyes of the king.³ Further, it compares a king without ministers to a wingless bird,⁴ and, conversely, it advises him to spare no efforts to tamper with the loyalty of the ministers of his adversary.⁵ The ministerial debacle was one of the greatest calamities that could befall a state.⁶

Designations.

The political treatises as well as the epigraphic records of ancient India use three terms in the sense of 'minister', viz., *Amātya*, *Sachiva* and *Mantri*.⁷ Generally, these words have been used synonymously, but sometimes they have been also distinguished. For instance, in *Manu Smṛiti*, *sachiva* has been equated with *amātya*,⁸ while *Rājantīprakāśa* affirms the identity of *amātya* and *mantrin*.⁹ Some of the ancient inscriptions, too, point to the same conclusion.¹⁰ Elsewhere, however, we have indications to the contrary. *Amarakosha*, which classifies the *Amātyas* as *Dhī-sachivas* and *Karma-sachivas*, reserves the title of *mantrin* only for the former.¹¹

1. *Pañchatantra*. I. 126.

Matya, 215.2., also asserts that ministers impart stability to the state.

2. *A. S.*, I. 15. 61-62; *S. N.*, II. 12-13; *N. V.*, X.55. Also, *E. I.*, IV. p. 60; दक्षिणहस्तवत्; *I. A.*, XIV. p. 70, थो जिह्वा पृथिवीशस्य यो राज्ञो दक्षिणकरः ।

3. *N. S.* XVIII. 28: अमात्यो युवराजश्च भुजावेदी महीपतेः ।

also, IV. 46; XV. 5: मंत्री नेत्रं हि ॥

4. *Ibid*, XIV. 25. Cf. *A. S.*, VIII. 1.9.

5. *N. S.*, IX. 70-71; XVIII. 27-28; *S. N.*, IV. 1130, 1241.

6. *N. S.*, XIV. 24; XVIII. 28.

7. These words have been used in the sense of minister from very early times, Cf. *Ait. Br.* XII. 9 (*sachiva*); *Ap. Dh. S.*, II. 10. 25.10 (*amātya*), etc.

8. *Manu*, VII. 54; 60, and Kullūka's notes thereon.

9. *Rājantīprakāśa*, p. 178.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Sumantra is designated both as *amātya* (I. 7.3), and as *mantrin* (I. 8.4).

10. E.g., the Mau Inscription of Madanavarman Chandella describes the minister Ananta as *mantri* and *sachiva* (*E. I.*, I, p. 200, v. 30). In another record of the same family, again, a minister is designated as *amātya* and *mantrin*, *I. A.*, XVIII, p. 238, v. 5.

11. *Amarakosha*: II (Kshatriya-varga): मंत्री धी सचिवोऽमात्योऽन्ये कर्मसचिवास्ततः । Kullūka, on *Manu*, VII. 60, also describes *amātyas* as *Karma-sachivas*.

The *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and *Arthasāstra* also draw a distinction between *amātyas* and *mantrins*¹, while Śukra distinguishes all the three terms on the basis of qualifications.² Somadeva, likewise, has devoted two separate chapters to the *mantrins* and *amātyas* in his work.³ The same is the case with Kāmandaka. He has not only used the two terms simultaneously,⁴ but has also distinguished them on the basis of their functions and qualifications.⁵ Any individual who withstood one of the *upadhā* tests could be appointed as *amātya*, but only such persons could be selected for the post of *mantri* as had proved their loyalty and integrity by all the four tests.⁶

Qualifications.

The ministers played a very important role in the administration of the state. Naturally, therefore, they were expected to possess very high qualifications, and the king was advised to exercise the greatest care in their selection.⁷ Kauṭilya, who devotes three chapters (I. 8-10) to this topic, classifies the ministers as 'best', 'middling', and 'inferior', according to their qualifications.⁸ He has also discussed the opinions of his predecessors in this connection. *Bharadvāja* favoured the appointment of king's classmates, whose honesty and capacity were known to him personally. *Viśālākṣha* was in favour of those persons whose secrets, 'possessed of in common', were well-known to the ruler, for they would never hurt him, lest he should betray their secrets. *Parāśara* emphasised faithfulness and tried devotion, while *Pīṣuṇa* gave his preference to 'tried ability'. *Kaṇvāpadanta* was an advocate of hereditary ministership, but *Vātavyādihi* preferred 'new blood'—proficient in the science of polity. *Bīhudanti* would insist on nobility of birth, wisdom, purity of purpose, bravery, loyalty and practical experience.

1. *Ram*, II. 112.17; VI. 130. 17-20; *M. Bh.*, XII. 85.6-11; *A. S.*, I. 8. 83.

2. *Infra*.

3. *N. V.*, chaps. X (*Mantri-Samuddēśa*), and XVIII (*Amātya-Samuddēśa*).

4. *N. S.* VIII. 1; XIV. 45; XVI. 46; XVIII. 27. 28.

Certain inscriptions also mention *Mahāmantri* and *Mahāmātya* simultaneously. cf. *C. I. I.*, IV, No. 48, 11. 34-5; No. 56, l. 25, etc.

5. *N. S.* IV. 24-30.

6. Cf. *A. S.*, I. 10. 20-24.

7. Śukra (III. 278) rightly says that a bad minister caused the greatest trouble to the king : कुमन्त्रिभिर्दुःपः रोगीकुर्वन्नेः कुदुःपैः प्रजा

8. *A. S.*, I. 9.1-2. Cf. *Ram*, II. 100. 25-26.

Kautilya, too, agrees with him, and considers 'capacity' as the best qualification.¹ He has set forth in great details the qualifications that a minister must possess, as also the rules for their verification.²

Kāmandaka's statement is substantially the same as that of his 'preceptor'. The *sachivas*, according to him, should be distinguished for the following qualities : nobility of birth, purity of conduct and character, good health, physical capacity, heroic temperament, proficiency in arts and scriptures, practical experience of administration, eloquence, intelligence, accuracy of memory, self-confidence, farsightedness, enthusiasm, dexterity, readiness of wit, truthfulness, equanimity, firmness, patience, gravity, perseverance, friendly disposition, freedom from obstinacy, fickleness or such qualities as provoke hatred and enmity, and, above all, unswerving devotion to the ruler. He should also be a citizen of the state, and have a good many friends and relations (to deter him from going astray). The *mantri* should, in addition, be capable of taking a right decision and enforcing it with firmness. He should also be capable of maintaining the secrecy of counsel.³

We are further told that only such persons should be appointed ministers as have successfully withstood the *upadhā* tests, and then there follow certain practical hints for verifying their qualifications. That could be done either by direct (*pratyaksha*) and indirect (*paroksha*) observation or by inference (*anumāna*.) Family

1. A. S., I. 8.

2. *Ibid.*, I. 9.

3. N. S., iv :

कुलीनाः शुचयः शूराः श्रुतवन्तोऽनुरागिणः ।
 दंडनीति प्रयोक्तारः सचिवाः स्युर्महीपते ॥ २४.
 स्वयग्रहो जानपदः कुलशीलबलान्वितः ।
 वाम्नी प्रगल्भश्चक्षुष्मानुत्साही प्रतिपत्तिमान् ॥ २७.
 स्तम्भबापलहीनश्च मैत्रः क्लेशसहः शुचिः ।
 सत्यसत्त्वधृतिस्थैर्यं प्रमायारोग्य संयुतः ॥ २८.
 कृतशिल्पश्च दक्षश्च प्रज्ञवान् धारणान्वितः ।
 दृढमवितरकर्ता च वैराग्यं सचिवो भवेत् ॥ २९.
 स्मृतिस्तत्परतार्थेषु वितर्को ज्ञान निश्चयः ।
 दृढता मन्त्रगुप्तिश्च मन्त्रिसम्पत् प्रकीर्तिता ॥ ३०.

Elsewhere, he describes procrastination, sluggishness, conceit, carelessness and cultivation of (other's) ill-will as the *gyanas* of a *sachiva*, *Ibid.*, XIV. 62.

The *mantri* should be capable of giving the correct advice, (XV. 5; XII. 1.) and the king is advised to hold counsel only with the intelligent and trustworthy ministers, and not with the untrustworthy and foolish ones (XII. 4).

status and place of residence should be ascertained from the relations of the candidates; physical and medical fitness, character and conduct, affability, determination and non-procrastinating nature from their intimate friends; and educational attainments and proficiency in arts from the experts. Dexterity, intelligence and memory should be tested by actual practice; devotion, sincerity and purity by behaviour; and self-confidence, genius, eloquence, and veracity by personal conversation (*kathāyogēṣhu*), while energy, enthusiasm, fortitude, endurance, equanimity and loyalty could be judged best in times of distress (*āpadi*.) The good and bad qualities of the ministers could be judged by direct observation, while the information gathered from indirect sources or based on inference could be checked by their actions and the success they attained.¹ Indeed, some of these devices are strangely modern. Kāmandaka's ideal of a minister is furnished by Kauṭilya "the wisest of counsellors"—who single handed, by means of *mantra-śakti* and *utsāha-śakti* brought the entire earth under the sway of his king.²

Manu, a believer in the efficacy of a combination of *brahma-śakti* and *kṣātraśakti*³, recommends the appointment of Brāhmaṇas as ministers, particularly as the Chief Minister.⁴ Yājñavalkya concurs with him.⁵ This suggestion of the *smṛitikāras*, however, did not meet with universal approval. The *Mahābhārata*, for example, recommends a ministerial council representative of all the *varṇas*, including śūdras and sūtas.⁶ Bṛihaspati has no objection to the appointment of Kshatriya and Vaiśya ministers in the absence of qualified Brāhmaṇas, but he rules out the Śūdras.⁷ The same is the attitude of Śukra and Somadeva.⁸ Kāmandaka has not alluded to this topic: probably, he did not attach much importance to

1. *N. S.*, IV. 32-38; Cf. *A. S.*, I. 9. 3-13.

2. *Ibid.* I. 2-5.

3. *Manu*, IX. 322; XI. 83.

4. *Ibid.*, VII. 58-59.

5. *Yājñavalkya*, I. 312.

6. *Infra*.

Different castes, including the Śūdras, were also represented amongst the Rājanīn ministers of the Vedic age.

7. *Bṛihaspati*, I. 79.

8. *S. N.*, II. 418-19; *N. Y.*, X. 5.

Elsewhere (II. 54-55), however, Śukra says that caste should not determine the selection to public offices.

it. Epigraphic records also show that ministership was not the monopoly of any caste or community in ancient India.¹

Strength of Ministry.

We notice considerable divergence of opinion amongst ancient writers with regard to the strength of the ministry. Kāmandaka says that Mānava, Bārhaspatya and Auśanasa schools favoured, respectively, a ministry of 12, 16 and 20, (while others were in favour of a smaller cabinet of 'five, seven or more'). Another school recommended the appointment of as many ministers as the needs and resources of the state warranted (*yathā-sambhavam*). It is evidently an allusion to the views of his 'preceptor' Kauṭilya.²

A later writer, Somadeva Sūri, is opposed to both a very large and a very small ministry. A large cabinet may not always find it possible to arrive at unanimous decisions, and it may also be torn into factions on account of the mutual jealousies of the ministers. On the other hand, a single minister may tend to behave autocratically, and if they are two, they may combine to harm the interests of the state. Therefore, he recommends a compact cabinet of 3, 5 or 7 ministers.³ Several other authorities take up the 'middle path', and prefer a moderately sized ministry of 7 or 8 members.⁴

There is also some evidence to suggest the existence of a large ministry with a small 'Inner Cabinet'. It must have been the necessity of preserving secrecy in deliberations that led to the formation of the smaller body. The *Mahābhārata*, for example, suggests that the king should have thirty seven *amātyas* (4 Brāhmaṇas, 8 Kshatriyas, 21 Vaiśyas, 3 Śūdras and 1 Sūta), but adds that he

1. Chandella inscriptions, for example, refer to Brāhmaṇa and Kāyastha ministers. Dr. Jayaswal also points out on the authority of the 'Coronation details given by Nīlakantha and Mitramiśra..... that ministers were taken from all the *varṇas* upto the last days of Hindu regime', *Hindu Polity*, p. 319.
2. *N. S.*, XII. 48-49. The words within brackets are added to by the commentator (B. I. edn. p. 280). They do not occur in the printed editions of the Text. *Cf. A. S.*, I. 15. 53-56.
3. *N. V.*, X. 66-74.
4. *Cf. Ram.*, I. 7. 2-3; *M. Bh.*, XII. 85. 11; *A.C.*, II. v. 58; *S. N.*, II. 71-72. A casual remark in the *Prabodha-chandrodaya*, Act I, (T. S. S. p. 23) shows that eight ministers, (*aṣṭāmātya*) had become traditional in the country. Śivaji, too, had the same number of *pradhānas* in his government.

should discuss and decide his policy in the midst of eight *mantrins*.¹ Likewise, Vālmīki and Kauṭilya advise a ruler to hold consultations with three or four ministers.² They were known as *mantra-dharas* or *mantragrahas*.³ A statement of Kauṭilya, viz., "When there is an extraordinary matter the Mantrins and the Mantri-parishad should be called together and informed"⁴, suggests the existence of senior and junior ministers, whom we may designate as ministers of the cabinet rank, and those who did not enjoy that privilege. The prefix *mahā* that we occasionally find added to ministerial designations points to the same conclusion.⁵ The title *Kumārāmātya*, too, may be an indication of the same fact.⁶ We presume that junior ministers did not enjoy the cabinet rank. Unfortunately, kāmāndaka has not expressed any opinion on the strength of the ministry, but being an advocate of absolute secrecy in ministerial deliberations he could not have favoured a large cabinet.

Śukranīti is the only work to preserve a list of the eight ministers and their functions. It is as follows :

- (i) Pratinidhi : 'Who knows what is to be done and what is not to be done (*kāryākārya*). He was the Chief Adviser to the king, whose duty it was to advise him as to when a thing should be done, and when it should not be done;
- (ii) Pradhāna : 'Who has his eye on (i.e. supervises) all things (*sarvadarśi*). He appears to have been the Chief Executive Authority, in charge of the entire administration (*sarveshām rājakṛtīyeshu*);
- (iii) Sachiva : Army Minister, whose duty it was to look after and advise the king in respect of the different units of the army, its personnel, combatant or non-combatant, and equipment, including transport, commissariat, arms and ammunition;

1. *M. Bh.*, XII. 85. 7-11.

2. *Ram.*, II. 100.71; *A. S.*, I. 15.37.

3. Cf. *Ram.*, II. 100. 16; *M. Bh.*, XII. 83. 50.

4. *A. S.*, I. 15. 63.

5. Cf. *R. T.*, IV. 142-43; 512 (*Mahāsandhivigrahika*); *C. I. I.*, IV. No. 48, 11.34-35; No. 56, 11. 25-26 (*Mahāmantri*, *Mahāmātya*, *Mahāsandhivigrahika* etc.); *E. I.*, I. p. 199, v. 17 (*Mahāmātya*); *Ibid.*, p. 211 v. 30 (*Mahāsachiva*), etc.

6. This title occurs in Gupta inscriptions very frequently; also, in the Kalacchala Plate of Išvararat, *C. I. I.*, IV No. 116. 1.3

- (iv) *Mantri* : Foreign Minister. Adept in diplomacy (*nītikusāla*), he advised the head of the state on the advisability of adopting a particular *upāya*—*sāma*, *dāna*, *bheda* or *daṇḍa*—in respect of a particular party or on a particular occasion;
- (v) *Pandita* : 'Who is well up in the principles of 'Dharma',—*Śāstra-dharma* as well as *Loka-dharma*, both 'ancient and modern (*varṣamānś-cha prāchīnā*)' We may describe him as the Ecclesiastical Minister.
- (vi) *Prādvivāka* : 'Who has the knowledge of the *Śāstra*, Common Law and the rules of discipline or punishment (*loka-śāstra-nayajñā*). He was the Chief Justice, who also appears to have been the Judicial Adviser to the King;
- (vii) *Amātya* : 'Who knows all about *deśa* (land) and *kāla* (time)'. He was the minister in charge of revenue and records; and
- (viii) *Sumantra* : Finance Minister, who knows the items of income and expenditure (*āyavyaya*). It was his duty to advise the ruler in respect of all financial matters, viz., annual receipts and expenditure, debts, and balance—both in movables and immovables.¹

Functions of the Ministers.

Kāmandaka does not specify the duties of individual ministers. Collectively, they were called upon "to hold counsel, to secure the results of counsel, to direct others in the performance of their functions, to ascertain beforehand the effects of future events and occurrences, to look after the income and expenditure, to administer justice, to subjugate enemies, to avert threatening evils and calamities and to protect the king and the kingdom."²

1. *Sukranīti*. II. 71-72; 74-76; 83-85; 87-106.

It is rather unfortunate that our inscriptions do not contain a list of all the ministers. Prof. Mirashi, on a study of their records, says that "if there was a council of eight ministers in the age of the Later Kalachūris, it may have consisted of. . . . Mahāmantrin, Mahāmātya, Mahāsandhivigrahika, Mahādharmaḍhikarajika (or Mahāpurohita), Mahākshapaṭalika, Mahāpratihāra, Mahāsāmanta and Mahāpramāṭṭi". C. I. I., IV. Pt. I, p. CXXXIX.

2. *N. S.* XIV. 23-24.

मन्त्रो मन्त्रकलावाप्तिः कार्यानुष्ठानमायतिः ।

आयव्ययौ दण्डनीतिरमित्रप्रतिषेधनम् ॥

व्यसनस्य प्रतीकारो राजराज्याभिषेचनम् (भिरक्षणां) ॥

Elsewhere (XII. 37), we are told that the ministers should direct the accomplishment of all undertakings, undertake new projects and turn into advantage works or acts already done.

Unlike Manu,¹ he does not specify the matters on which the ministers were to be consulted, but we are specifically referred to two such occasions, viz., when considering the despatch of an ambassador to a foreign court,² or when deciding to march against an enemy.³ These were the two most important matters of foreign policy, and we can presume that their opinion was sought on other matters as well. Important officers of the state, including *senāpati*, were appointed only on their approval [XIX. 27].

The primary duty of the ministers was to advise the king, but they were also the administrative heads of different departments. They assisted the ruler in the disposal of law suits,⁴ and were, not infrequently, entrusted with the conduct of military campaigns.⁵ Special responsibilities devolved upon them when the king was ill or otherwise engaged.⁶ On his death, they installed the heir-apparent on the throne, or if necessary, they assumed the reins of administration temporarily in their own hands. If the new king was a minor, they acted as regents and gave him the requisite training.⁷ In extraordinary emergencies, the ministers were also called upon to select a successor to the throne.⁸

The commentator on *Nītisāra* has, no doubt, classified the *amātyas* as advisory (*buddhī*) and executive (*karma*) *sachivas*⁹, but the statement of Kāmandaka given above suggests that this distinction was not always maintained. Other evidence also points to

1. *Manu*. VII. 56; 151-55. Also *Yājñavalkya*, I. 325.

2. *N. S.*, XIII. 1.

Yājñavalkya (I. 328), and Manu (VII. 153-54) also ordain that the king should see the secret emissaries and foreign envoys along with his ministers.

3. *N. S.*, XVI. 47. Also, XVIII. 57.

4. Cf. also, *S. N.*, I. 328; IV. 528, 576, 793, and *Kātyāyana*, cited in *Vīramitrodaya*.

5. Kāmandaka refers to the presence of ministers in the camp of the army (XVI. 46), and charges them with the responsibility of curbing the disaffection of frontier-guards, and foresters (XVI. 21). They were the principal leaders of the army, XVI. 20. Cf. also, *S. N.*, IV. 1166; *E. I.*, I. p. 204, v. 23; p. 205, v. 30; p. 323.

6. *N. S.*, XIV. 60; Also *Manu*, VII. 226; *A. S.*, V. 6; *S. N.* II. 265-66.

7. Cf. *A. S.*, V. 6; *S. N.*, II. 265-66.

8. *A. S.*, V. 6. 38. ff.

The history of Kashmir very well illustrates the role of ministers in this respect e.g. *R. T.*, VII. 703. Cf. also, *C. I. I.*, IV. No. 56, v. 8; No. 57. v. 8.

9. Śāṅkarārya, on *N. S.*, IV. 30; IX. 71.

These terms correspond to *Dhī* and *Karma* *sachivas* of *Amarakosa* (*op. cit.*) and *Matī* and *Karma* *sachivas* of the Junagadh Ins. of Rudradaman, *E. I.*, VIII, p. 44. Kāmandaka, too, agrees with this distinction when he compares the *mantris* and *amātyas*, respectively, to the eyes and arms of the king (XVIII. 28).

the same conclusion. Bharadvāja describes the functions of the ministers in almost the same words as Kāmandaka.¹ Kauṭilya, too, agrees with him, and says that "all activities proceed from the minister—activities such as the successful accomplishment of the works of the people, security of person and property from internal and external enemies, remedial measures against calamities, colonization and improvement of wild tracts of land, recruiting the army, collection of revenue and bestowal of favour."² Megasthenes corroborates them. Councillors and Assessors (i.e. ministers), according to him, "deliberate on public affairs"; "to them belong the highest posts of government, the tribunals of justice and the general administration of public affairs", and "they enjoy the prerogative of choosing governors, chiefs of provinces, deputy governors, superintendents of treasury, controllers and commissioners who superintend agriculture."³ Epigraphic records, too, leave the same impression.⁴ We occasionally notice there epithets prefixed to the names of ministers which indicate their connection with several departments. Thus, in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, Harishena is described as Sāndhivigrahika, Kumārāmātya and Mahādanḍanāyaka.⁵ Likewise, in another inscription, a minister of his grandson is styled Mantri, Kumārāmātya and Mahābalādhikṛita.⁶

The history of ministers in India can be traced back to the Vedic period.⁷ In that early age they had also an effective say in the matter of succession to the throne, and were, consequently designated as 'kingmakers' and 'bestowers of the state'.⁸ Later on, however, when monarchy became hereditary, and the law of primogeniture determined the succession, the ministers naturally lost that privilege. Still, they retained their most important prerogative, viz., to advise the king on the affairs of the state.

1. Vide, *A. S.*, VIII. 1.8.

2. *Ibid.*, VIII, 1. 23-24; Trans. p. 350.

3. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, pp. 43, 85, 212.

4. Cf. *E. I.*, I. p. 205 v. 30.

5. *C. I. I.*, III, No. 1, l. 32. ✓

6. *E. I.*, X. p. 72. ✓

7. The *Brāhmaṇas* contain a list of twelve Ratnins, the forerunners of later ministers, e.g. *Sat. Br.*, V. 3.2; *Tai. Br.*, I. 73; *Tai. Sam.* I. 8. 9. 1-3, etc.

8. Cf. *Tai. Br.*, I. 7.3:

एतै वै राष्ट्रस्य प्रदातारः

also, *Ram.*, II. 79.1 : *rājakartāraḥ*, which a commentator explains as *mantripaḥ*; *Dighanikāya*, Mahāgovinda Suttānta, 32 : *rājokattāra*.

Ministerial Deliberations.

Kāmandaka, like other authorities, insists that the king should consult his ministers on all the important affairs of the State. He is advised to first discuss a matter with each minister individually, and then to deliberate with the 'highly intelligent, well-wishing, experienced and numerously supported minister, who acts in conformity to the *śāstras*'.¹ Evidently, it is a reference to the Chief Minister.² Finally, he is asked to reconsider the whole matter by himself, in the light of their advice, and then take a decision 'that would not prejudice his interests in the least'.³ Thus, the final decision is left to the ruler himself. It was only natural, for the ultimate responsibility rested with him alone. Normally, however, no king would flout the advice of his ministers, and Kāmandaka observes very pertinently that "the king who crosses his ministers is himself crossed by his enemies."⁴

Kāmandaka differs from Manu and Yājñavalkya in as much as he does not provide for collective deliberations with the ministers.⁵ Individual consultation had its own advantage.⁶ A minister might have good reasons for not giving out his mind in the presence of his colleagues. No doubt, the ministers are advised to speak out 'boldly and sensibly, with no fear of contradiction from

1. *N. S.*, XII. 50-51

एकैकेनापि कार्याणि प्रविचार्य पुनः पुनः ।
प्रविरोत्स्वहितान्नेषां मतमेषां पृथक् पृथक् ॥
महापक्षो यथाशास्त्रं दृष्टकर्म हितः सुधीः ।
यद्ब्रूयाच्च मतारूढस्तत्तत्तासु समाचरेत् ॥

2. Cf. *Manu*, VII. 58; *Yājñavalkya*, I. 312.

3. *N. S.*, XII. 40 :

वृत्तेऽपि मन्त्रेमन्त्रज्ञैः स्वयम्भूयो विचारयेत् ।
तथा वर्तेत मन्त्रज्ञो (तत्पज्ञो) यथा स्वार्थजपीडयेत् ॥

4. *N. S.*, XII., 32 :

यौऽतिक्रामति मन्त्रिणाम् ।

अचिरात्तं वृधामन्त्रमतिक्रामन्ति विद्विषः ॥

It prefers a king who abides by the advice of his ministers (*mahāmātramate-sthitah*; XV. 6); the foolish prince who acts otherwise suffers inevitable defeat, XII. 56-57.

5. Cf. *Manu*, VII. 57-59; *Yājñavalkya*, I. 312.

The latter asks the king to consult the ministers collectively (*taish sārḥam*), while the former says that they should be consulted both individually and collectively.

6. Cf. *Medhātithi*, on *Manu*. VII. 57: 'Some people are shy in assemblies, but bold in private.'

the cabinet',¹ but Śukra feels that they might prefer to 'go dumb', through extraneous considerations, and, therefore, he advises the king to invite their opinions in writing.²

It was the aim of these deliberations to discuss a question threadbare in all its aspects. That is the import of the statement that *mantra* has five *aṅgas*, viz., the consideration of the means to achieve an end, provision of necessary means, proper appropriation of means according to the exigencies of time and place, anticipation of the difficulties that might be encountered and provision of remedies against them.³ Elsewhere we are told that the object of these discussions was to study the *pros* and *cons* of a question : "to know what is unknown to decide and resolve upon what is already known, to remove the doubts and to realize fully the implications of a problem that was only partially 'seen'."⁴ Again, he describes that *mantra* as commendable which does not entail future sorrow, which yields a succession of good results and which does not extend over a long period.⁵

The king must consult the ministers before taking any action and, therefore, it was essential that he should be fully acquainted with 'the technique of counsel'. A bad counsel (*durmantra*) proved disastrous—just as a sacrifice loses its value because of a flaw in the *mantras* or sacred formulae.⁶ Our author cites several verses to point out the importance of mature deliberations.⁷ They should be held in accordance with the prescribed rules of procedure (*yathā-vidhi*), in a calm and cool atmosphere, with minds concentrated and undisturbed.⁸

1. Cf. A. S., V. 4-8.

2. S. N., I. 362-63.

3. N. S., XII. 36.

सहायाः साधनोपाया विभागो देशकालयोः ।

विपत्तेश्च प्रतीकारो मन्त्रः पंचांग उच्यते ॥

(Var सिद्धिः for मन्त्रः)

Cf. A. S., I. 15. 47; N. V., X. 25; A. C., II. v. 696-97; Agni, 241.4, etc.

4. N. S. XII. 30 :

अविज्ञातस्य विज्ञानं विज्ञातस्य विनिश्चयः ।

अर्थद्वैधस्य सन्देहच्छेदनं शेषदर्शनम् ॥

Cf. A. S., I. 15.22; N. V., X. 23.

5. N. S. XII. 35 :

अपस्चात्तापहृत्सम्बन्धनुरक्ति (Var अनुबन्धि) फलप्रदः ।

अदीर्घकालोऽभीष्टश्च प्रशस्तो मन्त्र इष्यते ॥

6. N. S., XII. 1-3.

7. Ibid, XII. 5-29.

8. Ibid, XII. 49.

Secrecy of Counsel.

It was of utmost importance to preserve the secrecy of counsel,¹ which has been variously described as the 'seed of the king' or 'the root of the state'.² Manu pertinently observes that even 'a poor king who maintains the secrecy of his plans enjoys the whole earth'.³ Consequently, we find the political thinkers of ancient India recommending various devices to prevent the leakage of the deliberations of the cabinet. Its meetings, we are told, should be held in a secluded place—inside a special chamber, on the roof of the royal palace or in the seclusion of the forest. Kāmandaka adds that there should be no pillars inside the council chamber to resound the conversation, no windows to let out the speeches and no corners to conceal the inquisitive eavesdropper.⁴ None was allowed near the place of meeting, particularly the idiotic, deaf, dumb and very aged persons, women, *mlechchhas*, and the sick and maimed. Animals and birds, too, were kept away.⁵ The participants in the deliberations were warned to take care of themselves also, lest they might give out the secret in an unwary mood, come out with it in a fit of inebriation or anger, or divulge it inadvertently during sleep.⁶ Even changes in the attitude and facial expression of the people 'often led to the disclosure of counsel'.⁷

1. Cf. *N. S.*, XII. 44: नावर्तयेन्मुहुर्मन्त्रं संरक्षेत्तत्परितुषन् ।
also, XIV. 44. श्ररक्षमायां मन्त्रं हि भिनत्याहमपरम्पराम् ॥
2. Cf. *Ibid.*, XII. 33 : संरक्षेन् मन्त्रवीजं हि तद्वीजं महीमुजाम् ।
Yājñavalkya, I. 344.
3. *Manu*, VII. 148; *Dakṣa*, III. 18. Capacity to preserve the secrecy of counsel was an essential qualification of the king; *N. S.*, IV. 16; VIII. 9, XII. 44. The divulgence of counsel had disastrous consequences; XII. 33; 44-45.
4. *Ib.*, XII. 47; also, *Manu*, VII. 147; *S. N.*, I. 350.
5. Cf. *Manu*, VII. 149-150, and notes of Medhātithi thereon; *A. S.*, I. 15. 3-5.

Kāmandaka also warns against the secretive, despised persons, and women, as well as against the chain of confidants (*āptāpta-parāṇparā*, XII. 45-46).

Kautilya adds by way of warning : "it is narrated that secret consultations were divulged by parrots, *sārikās*, dogs and other lower animals." We get a curious confirmation of it in the *Hārthacharita* (ch. VI) : King Nāgasena's policy had been divulged by a *sārikā*; Śrutavarman's secret was disclosed by a parrot, while Suvarṇachūḍa met his death in consequence of babbling his policy out in sleep.

6. *N. S.*, XII. 46 : मदः प्रमादः कामश्च सुप्तप्रलपितानि च ।
मिन्दन्ति मन्त्रं प्रच्छन्नाः कामिनीऽवमतास्तथा

Cf. *A. S.*, I. 15. 11-12.

7. *Ibid.*, I. 15. 7.

The importance attached to the secrecy of counsel is evidenced by a long discussion in *Arthasāstra* of the views of earlier writers. Bharadvāja held the extreme view that the "king shall singly deliberate over secret matters; for ministers have their own ministers, and the latter some of their own; this kind of successive line of ministers tends to the disclosure of counsels." Viśālāksha disagrees with him. The nature of state business was so intricate that its accomplishment was "possible of decision only by ministers"—"no deliberations made by a single person will be successful." Parāśara is more cautious. According to him the king should consult the ministers, but without disclosing the secret. "He shall seek their opinion on a work similar to the one he has in view, telling them that 'this is the work, it happened thus; what is to be done if it will turn out thus.'" Piśuṇa is opposed to this method. He feels that the ministers would either approach such hypothetical questions "with indifference, or give their opinions half-heartedly." His own advice is that the king should consult such ministers as are proficient in the matter under discussion, and are capable of maintaining the secret. Kauṭilya concludes with the recommendation that the king should consult three or four ministers in whom he has confidence.¹ He allows considerable latitude to the ruler in this respect, and permits him "in accordance with the requirements of place, time and the nature of work" to deliberate "with one or two ministers, or by himself" alone.² However, he adds that consultation with a single minister may not lead to any definite conclusion, and he may "proceed wilfully and without restraint". Two ministers may easily put up a combined front against the king, or imperil counsel by their mutual dissensions; and if they are more than four the king "will....come to a decision (only) after a good deal of trouble", and the secrecy of counsel will also be endangered.³ Consequently, Manu suggests that he should discuss the confidential matters 'pertaining to the six-fold

1. *A. S.*, I. 15.

2. *Ibid.*, I. 15. 46.

3. *Ibid.*, I. 15. 38-45.

Similarly, it is stated in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, II. 100. 18, that a king should neither determine his policy by himself alone, nor in consultation with too many ministers.

statecraft' only with the Prime Minister.¹ Ancient authorities evidently believed in the maxim : the greater the number of counsellors the less would be the output, and more the chances of leakage.

To ensure absolute secrecy, Kāmandaka is opposed, like Kauṭilya, to prolonged sessions of the council,² which may open the way to leakage of counsel. He further ordains that the decisions of the king "should be known even to members of his family only when they are in fair way of being done and to the others when they are already accomplished."³ His dictum '*gupte guptiranuttamā*' puts the whole thing in a nutshell.⁴ The divulgence of state secrets was a serious offence, calling for the severest punishment.⁵ Śukra even warns the people against discussing government politics in public.⁶ They must not leak out to the enemy, though every attempt must be made to know his secrets.⁷

Mantriparishad.

Unfortunately, Kāmandaka throws very little light on the functioning of the Ministry, but this deficiency can be made good from other sources. Ministers were appointed by,⁸ and individually responsible to, the king,⁹ who could punish them for their lapses and short-comings.¹⁰ Whether there was any joint responsibility of the ministers, too, is not known; but the existence of the Cabinet and a Prime Minister presupposes collective functioning of the ministry. The council of ministers is designated as Mantri

1. *Manu*, VII. 58.

Pāṇini's *ashvaśakṣiṇa-mantra* (V. 4.7) implies the same vide, Agarwala, *India As Known to Pāṇini*, pp. 402-3.

2. *N. S.*, XII. 35; *A. S.*, I. 15.51.

3. *N. S.*, XII. 34 : क्रियमाणं स्वकुल्यास्तु विदुरस्य परे कृतम् ।

For similar provisions, Cf. also, *Yājñavalkya*, I. 343; *A. S.*, I. 15. 19.

4. *N. S.*, XII. 33.

Cf. also, *Agni*, 225. 16-19 and *A. C.*, II. vs. 699-704, for the secrecy of counsel.

5. *A. S.*, I. 15.6 : *Yājñavalkya*, II. 302 etc.

6. *S. N.*, III. 308.

7. Cf. *A. S.*, I. 15.65.

8. *A. S.*, VIII. 1. 12-13, *S. N.*, IV. 1193.

9. *Ibid*; II. It requires the *amātyas* to submit regular reports to the king.

10. *Ibid*; I. 375-76; IV. 96.

Śukra does not favour the idea of punishing the ministers openly for minor lapses, as that would lower them in public estimation.

maṇḍala in the *Nītisāra*,¹ corresponding to the Mantri-parishad (Parisā in Pali) and Mantri-gaṇa of other texts.² The Prime Minister was the leader of the cabinet. In the *Smṛitis* he is styled the Brāhmaṇa (minister)³ and elsewhere as Mantri—mukhya or Mahāmantri.⁴ Kāmandaka designates him as Mahāmātra (var. Mahāmatya) and Mantri-pravara.⁵ He must have presided over the deliberations of the Cabinet in the absence of the king,⁶ and duly reported their decisions to him. He was the chief confidant of the ruler, and wielded great power. He even administered the state when the king was ill or otherwise engaged.⁷ We are indebted to the *Mālavikāgnimitra* for an interesting illustration of the working of the Cabinet: how they discussed an important issue of foreign policy, and communicated their decision to the king. The latter had his views conveyed to the Cabinet, which considered and approved them. Thereafter the plan was put into operation.⁸

The most important function of the Cabinet, as already stated, was to advise the king on all the important issues confronting the government. It considered the *pros* and *cons* of a question,⁹ and once a satisfactory decision had been arrived at, it was implemented. The proper time for giving effect to it must not be allowed to lapse. In case that did happen, the matter was considered *de novo*.¹⁰ There is, however, a difference of opinion, among the ancient

1. *N. S.*, XII. 48.

2. Cf. *A. S.*, I. 15.63; *Pāṇini*, V. 2. 112; *Jātaka*, VI. pp. 405, 431; *Mahāvastu*, II, pp. 419, 442; *R. E.* III and VI of *Aśoka*; *S. N.*, II. 361. *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act V, calls it Amātya-parishad.

3. *Manu*, VII. 58; *Tājñyavalkya*, I. 312.

Pāṇini mentions *ārya-brāhmaṇa* (VI. 2. 58) and *rāja-brāhmaṇa* (V. 2.59) in the same sense, vide *India As Known to Pāṇini*, p. 402.

4. Cf. *E. I.*, I. p. 199, v. 21; p. 201, v. 41; p. 210, v. 20; *C. I. I.*, IV. No. 48, ll. 34-5; No. 56, l. 25; *Mudrārākṣasa*, Act II. etc.

5. *N. S.*, VIII. 61; XV. 6 (var. Mahāmātya); XVI. 46.

6. *A. S.*, I. 12.8, however, mentions a Mantriparishadādhyakṣa who must have presided over the meetings of the Cabinet. Śukra (II. 88), on the other hand, suggests that it was Pradhāna who allocated business to individual ministers. For king's presence in the Cabinet meetings, Cf. *N. S.*, XII. 49.

7. *N. S.*, XIV. 60; *Manu*, VII. 226.

8. *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act V.

Śukranīti, II. 335-61, furnishes important information on how orders were passed by the ministry, and, incidentally on the system of noting and drafting in ancient days.

9. *N. S.* XIV. 44: (मन्त्रोद्देशोऽनुमन्त्रवत्)
also, XII. 44 : आवर्तयेन्नुद्देशं (Var., नावर्त०) ; and XII. 50; 55.

10. *N. S.* XII. 52-54; Cf. *A. S.*, I. 15.50.

writers, on how the different issues were decided in the Cabinet. Kāmandaka, like Manu and Yājñavalkya, leaves the final decision to the king,¹ but Kauṭliya suggests that the king must abide by the verdict of the majority.² Śukra concurs with him,³ and it is quite in conformity with the responsibility assigned to the ministers.⁴

Relations between the King and the Ministers.

Lastly, we are told that the relations between the king and his ministers should be very cordial, based on mutual regard and consideration. If the former is advised to inculcate the virtue of self-discipline in his ministers, the latter are asked not only to pay homage to the king but to instruct him,⁵ and to exercise restraint on a ruler inclined to go astray.⁶ Only those ministers are worth the name who can deter a king from following the evil course.⁷ "Like the mahouts of an infuriated elephant, the minister of a king is held to blame when, intoxicated with pride, he goes astray".⁸ We are further told that it was the duty of the ministers to protect the king and to avert the calamity in which he might get involved. "When a monarch, blinded by passions, pride and arrogance, falls from rectitude, it is the exertions of his ministers alone that can extricate him".⁹ No wonder, therefore, that Kāmandaka asks a

1. N. S., XII. 40:

पृष्टेऽपि मन्त्रेमन्त्रज्ञः स्व्यम्भूयो विचारयेत् ।

Cf. Manu, VII. 57;

तथा षट्तेतत्तत्त्वज्ञो तथा स्वार्थं जपीडयेत् ॥

Yājñavalkya, I. 312.

2. A. S., I. 15.64.

3. S. N., I. 364.

In the face of these provisions it is difficult to agree with Prof. Dikshitar that "there was nothing like the majority view. Unanimity was always aimed at", *Gupta Polity*, p. 147.

4. Cf. S. N. II. 82.

5. N. S. XVI. 46; IV. 41 : तं बोधयेज्जगन्नाथं

6. *Ib.*, IV. 39, 42, 43, 45 etc.

7. Śukra pertinently remarks : "How can the state be brought to prosperity by those ministers whom the king is not afraid to offend". He regards them as no better than ladies decked in finery, II. 81.

8. N. S. IV. 47 :

मदोद्भूतस्य नृपतेः संकीर्णस्येव दन्तिनः ।

गच्छन्त्यन्यायवृत्तस्य नेतारः खलु वाच्यताम् ॥

9. *Ibid*; IV. 46; also, XV. 5.

Cf. A. S., V. 6. 1; VIII. 1. 10.

king to attach the same importance to their advice as to that of his spiritual guides.¹

The king was required not only to consult his ministers but to abide by their decision.² The latter, too, were required to advise him in the best interests of the royalty and the state.³ The Mantri-parishad could discuss the suggestions of the king. It could even countermand his orders.⁴ Normally, the king did not veto the decision of his Cabinet.⁵ Kāmandaka echoes the sentiments of a majority of political thinkers when he says "finding that the councillors are unanimous in their decision, their minds uninfluenced by any misgiving and finding that their decision is approved by men of quality" the king should adopt it unhesitatingly.⁶ Somadeva says the same thing, only in a more emphatic language.⁷ However, the ruler was not supposed to surrender his discretion altogether. If he felt that a question needed reconsideration, he could refer it back to the Cabinet with his own observations.⁸ It was not desirable that he should become a puppet in the hands of the ministers.⁹ In reality, far from compromising his position, the Parishad was a source of strength to the king. Pāṇini aptly styles

1. *N. S.*, IV. 39: गुरुणामपि चैतेषां श्रुत्याद्वचनं दृढः ।

The contentment of ministers was very essential, XVIII. 30; XVI. 20.

2. Cf. *N. S.*, XVI. 57 XII 56-57; also *S. N.* II. 80, *A. S.*, I. 15.63 advises the king to consult his ministers even on emergent occasions.
3. Śukra brands a ruler who did not listen to the advice of the ministers as an exploiter of the peoples' wealth and the ministers who militated against the king as secret thieves, II. 247-49.
4. Cf. *R. E.* VI of Aśoka: "Ye cha kinchi..... ānāpāyāmi svayam.....tāya athāya vīrādō nijhātī va saśōto parisāyān ānāhārān pāpīvedetāyān m.....". According to *Divyāvadāna*, p. 430, the ministry refused compliance with the orders of Aśoka to make certain gifts to the Saṅgha. Similarly, Rudradaman's proposal to repair the Sudarśana Lake was opposed by his ministers, and he had to finance the project from his privy purse, *E. I.*, VIII. p. 44, 11. 16-17.
5. Cf. *S. N.*, II. 3-4. Jayaswal observes, "It is a law and principle of Hindu constitution that the king cannot act without the approval and co-operation of the council of ministers", *Hindu Polity*, p. 287.
6. *N. S.*, XII. 39. Also, XII. 38.
7. *N. V.*, X. 58.
8. *N. S.* XII. 40.
9. Cf. *Ibid*, XII. 41; *S. N.*, II. 108. According to Kāmandaka, the king should be firm and decided in his judgement; otherwise, he loses the respect and confidence of his ministers, and renders himself susceptible of an easy victory; IX. 25,35.

him *parishad-valaḥ*.¹ Another writer describes the ministers as *rāja-rāshṭra bhṛta*.² Kāmandaka, too, regards *mantra-śakti* as superior to *prabhāva* and *utsāha śaktis*, as well as to the power of arms.³ A king aided by the power of counsel (*mantra-bala*) is favoured by the goddess of victory.⁴

1. *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, V. 2. 112.

2. *S. N.*, II. 74.

3. *N. S.* XII. 7; XVI. 57.

4. *Ibid*, XII. 58.

निर्वाण का अर्थ

श्री राधाकृष्ण चौधरी, एम० ए०, एक. आर. ए. एस. (लण्डन)

विभिन्न धर्मों के तुलनात्मक अध्ययन के बाद हम इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुँचते हैं कि बौद्ध धर्म कई अर्थों में अपना एक विशिष्ट स्थान रखता है। मूलतः यह एक सदाचार का धर्म है। प्रारम्भिक अवस्था में इसमें प्राण्यात्मिक तत्वों का अभाव था और यह एक सीधा-सादा उपदेश पर आधारित धर्म था। बुद्ध ने वेदों की अपौरुषेयता अस्वीकृत की। उनके अनुसार वैदिक कर्मकाण्ड से मनुष्य के पापों का नाश और निर्वाण का लाभ नहीं हो सकता। उनका कथन था कि जिस मनुष्य का जीवन सरल, सच्चा एवं सीधा हो, वही धार्मिक है। तत्कालीन सामाजिक दृष्टिकोण से बुद्ध का धर्म सब मार्गों से निपुण और सुलभ था¹। बुद्ध ने अपनी शिक्षा का प्रयोजन निम्नलिखित बतलाया है।²—“भिक्षुओं! यह ब्रह्मचर्य (= भिक्षु का जीवन) न लाभ-सत्कार प्रशंसा के लिए है, न शील (= सदाचार) की प्राप्ति के लिए, न समाधि के लिए, न ज्ञान-दर्शन के लिए। जो न अदृष्ट चित्त की मुक्ति है -- उसी के लिए यह ब्रह्मचर्य है। यही सार है, यही उसका अन्त है।” — “भिक्षुओं³। बह्वजन के हित के लिए, बह्वजन के सुख के लिए—देव-मनुष्यों के प्रयोजन और हित-साधन के लिए विचरण करो।” उत्पान, विचार और अप्रमाद उनके जीवन और शिक्षा का सार था⁴। आत्मसंयम ही इस धर्म का सार पदार्थ है। यही उसकी भित्ति है और यही उसका आधार भी। उन्होंने सकल संस्कृति को कर्म प्रधान बतलाया⁵।

1—सुत्त-निपात—३८१, ३८३ ।

2—मज्झिम-निकाय—१।३।६ ।

3—संयुक्त-निकाय—४।१।४; महावग्ग—१।२ ।

4—सुत्तनिपात—३३१-३४; धम्मपद—२१-२५ ।

अप्रमादो अमत्तपवं पमादो मच्चनो पवं ।

× × ×

ते भायिनो सातनिका निचवं दलहपरकम्भा ।

कुसगित धीरा निश्वाणं योगमक्खेनं अनुत्तरं ।

5—अनूपशर्मा—“सिद्धार्थ”—सर्ग १५-पृष्ठ २३१ ।

समय पाकर कर्म-विपाक से, सुख दुःखादिक भी मिटते सभी ।

कथित है निगमागम में यही, मुहुः, मुक्ति सदा अविनाशिनी ॥”

तुलना कीजिये—तुलसिदास—“कर्म प्रधान विश्व करि राखा

और बैलिये—ब्रह्मदारण्यक—४।४ जो जस करि सो तस फल चाखा ।”

धम्म की ज्योति और शरण में जाना ही बुद्ध का अन्तिम उद्देश्य था¹। सत्कार्य का फल सदा ही अच्छा होता है और एक बार के अच्छे कार्य का फल संसार में कार्य-कारण का रूप धारण कर अनन्त काल तक फल जाता है। उनका लक्ष्य था कि प्रत्येक व्यक्ति को निर्वाण प्राप्त करने में सहायता की जाय।

निर्वाण के प्रश्न पर अभी तक विद्वानों में एकमत हो पाया है अथवा नहीं यह कहना असंभव है। इसकी व्याख्या कई प्रकार से बौद्ध साहित्य और दर्शन में हुई है और विभिन्न विचारकों के मत भी इस प्रश्न पर अनेकानेक हैं। उदान² के अनुसार, बुद्ध ने निर्वाण उस अवस्था को कहा है जहाँ तृष्णा क्षीण हो गयी और आस्रव नहीं रह गये। निर्वाण को "परम सुख" भी कहा गया है³। प्रसिद्ध बौद्ध-वार्शनिक नागार्जुन के अनुसार निर्वाण अन्तिम सत्य है⁴। अपने अन्तर एक अनिर्वचनीय अवस्था को प्राप्त करना ही निर्वाण है—ऐसी अवस्था जो अवश्य है और विनाशवान नहीं है। अजात, अभूत, अकृत, (= असंस्कृत), आदि निषेधात्मक विशेषण से किसी भावात्मक निर्वाण को तभी सिद्ध कर सकते हैं जब कि उसके आनन्द को भोगने वाला कोई नित्य शुद्ध आत्मा होता। सांसारिक वासनाओं एवं भावनाओं के अभाव को ही निर्वाण कह सकते हैं। ध्यान एवं समाधि के द्वारा ही इसकी प्राप्ति हो सकती है। ज्ञान-शक्ति के अतिशय केन्द्रीयकरण से सत्य का दर्शन होता है⁵। क्लेश के क्षय से ही शांति की अवस्था आती है⁶। अवधोष ने निर्वाण की व्याख्या इस प्रकार की है—“जिस प्रकार तेल समाप्त हो जाने पर प्रदीप बुझ जाता है और उसके बाद न आकाश, पृथ्वी या उधर जाता है वल्कि वहीं रहता है जहाँ पहले था, उसी प्रकार साधक भी निर्वाणोपरान्त कहीं नहीं जाता है। उसका संपूर्ण क्लेश समाप्त हो जाता है और उसे शांति मिल जाती है।” यहाँ स्मरण रखना होगा कि निर्वाणोपरान्त अवस्था क्या होती है इसपर अवधोष भी चुप हैं।

उदान-सुत्त—के उपर्युक्त वाक्यों को लेकर कुछ लोगों ने निर्वाण को एक भावात्मक शोक जैसा मान लिया है। इस तरह के विचार का मुख्य कारण है कि उन लोगों ने तयागत के मूल उपवेशों को अच्छी तरह नहीं समझा। तयागत के अनुसार जीवन और निर्वाण के बीच अन्धोनाश्रय सम्बन्ध है और वे दोनों एक दूसरे से अलग नहीं हैं। जीवन में तृष्णा एवं अहं के लोप हो जाने पर जब

1—धम्मदीपा धम्मसरणा अमञ्ज् असरण ।

2—उदान-८।२ बुद्धं अनत्तं नाम नहि सच्चं सुदस्सन् ॥

पटि विद्धा तप्पहा जानतो पस्सतो नत्थि किञ्चन ॥

3—धम्मपद—निब्बानं परमं सुखम् ।

4—माध्यमिक सूत्र-२५।२२—निर्वाणस्य च या कोटिः कोटिः ससंख्यच ।

नतयोरनतरं किञ्चित् सुसुखमनपि विद्यते ॥

तुलना कीजिये—निपुणो पण्डित वेदनियो, अतएव विचारो, पञ्चतम वेदितव्यो विम्यूहि—

5—पर्यकीर्ति-ग्यापविशु-भूताये भावना प्रकये पर्यन्तजं योगिज्ञानं चेति ।

6—अवधोष—क्लेशप्रज्ञात केवलमेति शान्तिम ॥

स्वच्छ ज्ञान की अनुभूति होती है, तभी मनुष्यों के जीवन में वास्तनाभों का अन्त होता है और उसके बाद ही निर्वाण प्राप्त होता है। बोधिसत्व के निर्वाण का वास्तविक अर्थ यह है कि सभी लोगों को मुक्त करने का प्रयास किया जाय। अतः निर्वाण से आत्मा का विनाश समझना गलत है। प्रतीत्य-समत्पन्न^१ (विच्छिन्न प्रवाह रूप से उत्पन्न) नाम-रूप (=विज्ञान एवं भौतिक तत्त्व) तृष्णा के गारे से मिल कर जो एक जीवन-प्रवाह का रूप धारण कर प्रवाहित हो रहा है, इस प्रवाह का अत्यन्त विच्छेद ही निर्वाण है। बुद्ध ने निर्वाण शब्द को इसी भाव के छोटन के लिए चुना था किन्तु उन्होंने यह नहीं बतलाया कि निर्वाण-गत पुरुष (तथागत) का मरने के बाद क्या होता है। उन्होंने स्वयं इससे अस्पष्ट रखा^२। एक बार महामती ने बुद्ध से पूछा—“निर्वाण क्या है?” बुद्ध ने बतलाया कि निर्वाण की व्याख्या विभिन्न लोगों ने विभिन्न प्रकार से किया है जिन्हें चार भागों में विभक्त किया जा सकता है—(क) जो निर्वाण की बात सोचते हैं, (ख) दार्शनिक जो निर्वाण को दूसरी वस्तुओं से अलग करना चाहते हैं, (ग) जो अपने सम्बन्ध में ही निर्वाण के विषय में सोचते हैं और (घ) बुद्धों का निर्वाण। प्रथम कोटि के सोचने वाले लोग यही नहीं समझते कि जीवन को निर्वाण से अलग नहीं किया जा सकता है। इसका मुख्य कारण यह है कि ये लोग निर्वाण की वास्तविक विशेषता को न समझ कर मुक्ति के कई रास्तों पर विचार करते हैं। तथागत की शिक्षा से अपरिचित होने के कारण ये लोग निर्वाण को जीवन से अलग वस्तु समझते हैं। बुद्ध ने इसे इस प्रकार भी समझाया कि बुद्ध कर्म के बन्धन से होता है। कर्मके छूटने से बन्धन छूट जाता है तथा शान्ति मिल जाती है और इसे ही हम निर्वाण कह सकते हैं।

बुद्धचरित में इस प्रसंग में और भी दो तीन बातें हैं जिनका उल्लेख करना आवश्यक है—(क) मुक्ति पाने के लिए तृष्णा का उच्छेद आवश्यक है। कारण के क्षय से ही कार्यका क्षय होगा (ख) तृष्णा के क्षय से ही बुद्ध का क्षय होगा। अतः धर्म के साथ आत्मीयता होनी चाहिए। मंगलमय एवं शांतिमय धर्म का आश्रय लेने से तृष्णा पर विराग होगा। (ग) धर्म ही प्राप्य वस्तु है और सभी वृष्टिकोण से सर्वश्रेष्ठ भी। बुद्ध से जब यह पूछा गया कि निर्वाण के बाद कुछ रहेगा अथवा नहीं तब उन्होंने उत्तर दिया—“नहीं।” इसी अवस्था को महायान में “शून्य” कहा गया है। तृष्णा और काम के पूर्ण त्याग के निमित्त बुद्ध ने अपनी नई उक्ति उपस्थित की, जिसके समझाने में उनने सिद्धान्तलय और देशनानय का आधार लिया और सूत्र भी नीतार्थ व नेपार्थ प्रस्तुत किये। निम्न-निम्न दृष्टि और योग्यता के मनुष्यों के लिए उनने शिक्षा के यान भी

१—अजिप्तम-निकाय-१।४।८— प्रत्युक्त किसी वस्तुके उपस्थित होने पर; समुत्पाद किसी अग्न्य वस्तु की उत्पत्ति। और देखिये—बुद्धघोष—विशुद्धि-मग्न—अध्याय १७। प्रतीत्य-समुत्पाद कार्य-कारण नियमों को अविविच्छिन्न नहीं वरन् विच्छिन्न प्रवाह मानता है। इसके आधार पर नागार्जुन ने अपने शून्यवाद को विकसित किया।

निष्ठा बनाये ¹ । विभिन्न मार्गों के संकेत होने पर शिक्षाका सार एक ही रहा ² । मज्झिम-निकाय में कहा गया है—“वह उन धर्मों से चित्त को निवारण करके अमृत (=निर्वाण) धातु (=पद) की ओर चित्त को एकाग्र करता है ³—यह शांत प्रणीत (=उत्तम) है, जो कि यह संस्कारों का शमन, सारी उपाधियों का परित्याग, तृष्णा का क्षय, विराग, निरोध (रूपी) निर्वाण है।”

बुद्ध का निर्वाण भी निपत-मुख स्थान स्वर्ग से भिन्न था, वह बुद्ध-क्षेत्र भी नहीं था, बल्कि बुद्धवशा का अमर शान्त निरंजन जीवन था। वह अभाव रूप न होकर शब्द आत्मा का अजात, अमर अनुभव-गम्य, योगक्षेम, जरा रहित, शोकहीन, अनुत्तर स्वभाव था ⁴ । उन्होंने सदा अपने को अनित्य दुःख रूप इन्द्रियादि अनात्मा से भिन्न समझते हुए भी वे प्रज्ञा-सम्पदा के ज्ञानदान में तत्पर रहे ⁵ । इस निर्वाण का स्वरूप, अपने व्यक्तित्व को त्याग कर ज्ञानज नित्य आनन्दमय अमरत्व में लीन होना है, जिसकी श्रेष्ठता समझाते हुए बुद्ध से बहुत पूर्व ही यम ने बुद्ध आत्म-ज्ञान जिज्ञासु नचिकेता को ‘गौतम’ नाम से सम्बोधित करते हुए उपदेश दिया था ⁶ ।

“हृतं त इदं प्रवक्ष्यामि गुह्यं ब्रह्म सनातनं ।

यथा च मरणं प्राप्य आत्मा भवति गौतम ॥

यदा सर्वे प्रमुच्यन्ते कामजोऽस्य हविर्भिताः ।

अथमर्त्योऽमृतो भवत्यत्र ब्रह्म समश्नुते” ॥

उपनिषद् में आत्मा का प्रचार जोरों से हुआ था। प्रतीत्य समत्वाद में आत्मा की नित्यता का कोई स्थान नहीं है। बौद्ध-दर्शन में आत्मा से विज्ञान प्रवाह का बोध होता है। इस दृष्टिकोण से निर्वाण इसी जीवन में लभ्य धर्म-पद से उच्च आनन्द की दशा का द्योतक था।

1—संकावतार सूत्र—“वेद्यानं ब्रह्मयानं श्रावकीयं तपैव च ।

तयागतं च प्रत्येकं यानान् एतान् वदाम्यहम् ॥

परिकल्पनार्थं बालानां यानभेदां वदाम्यहम् ॥”

2—सर्वदर्शनसंग्रह—“दर्शना लोकनायानं - सत्वाशयवशा नगाः ।

निघाते बहुधा लोके उपायैर्बहुभिः किला ।”

(बोधिचित्तविवरणे)

3—मज्झिम-निकाय-महामांलुक्ख सुतन्त-६४ (राहुल जी का अनुवाद) पृ० २५६. तुलना कोजिए—लेखक का “सिद्धार्थ” ।

4—मज्झिम-निकाय (अट्टि-परियेसनसुतन्त)—“निव्वानं परिये समानं अजातं अनुत्तरं योगक्षेमं अज्जगमं । अजरं अव्याधि अभवं अशोकं असंक्लितं । अधिगतो क्षीमं अयं धम्मो गंभीरो दुव्वसो दुरनुबोधो सन्तो पणीतो, अतक्कावचरो, निपुणो, पंडितवेदनीया ।”

5—वहाँ—(भयभेल-सुतन्त-४)—“पण्णाये सम्पन्नोऽहंस्मि, ये हि वो अरिया पण्णा सम्पन्ना अरण्णे । ते सं अहं अणतयो, एवं अहं ब्राह्मण पण्णा संपदं अतानि संपत्तमानो मिव्योपसामं अरणे विहाराम ।”

6—कठोपनिषद्—२।५-६; ६-१५

सारिपुत के अनुसार यह काम घृणा भ्रशान-जरा से रहित था¹। निर्वाण की अवस्था पर अनेका नेक विचार हैं।

निर्वाण की व्याख्या के विषय में मिलिन्द ने भी नागसेन से पूछा था। प्रश्न था—“निर्वाण क्या है?” नागसेन ने कहा कि निर्वाण को किसी रूप में समझाना तो कठिन है। पुनः मिलिन्द ने कहा कि यह तो समझ में नहीं आता कि निर्वाण के विषय में लोगों को समझाया नहीं जा सकता। इस पर नागसेन ने राजा से पूछा—“बतलाओ कि महासमुद्र नामक कोई वस्तु है?” राजा ने उत्तर दिया—“हां है।” नागसेन ने राजा से कहा—“मान लो कि यदि तुमसे कोई पूछे कि उस महासमुद्र में कितना जल है और उसमें कितने जन्तु रहते हैं, तो क्या तुम ठीक-ठीक बतला सकोगे?” राजा ने कहा—“मैं इसका उत्तर यह दूंगा कि ऐसे प्रश्न न पूछे जायें क्योंकि न कोई समुद्र के जल को नाप सकता है और न कोई उसमें रहने वाले जन्तुओं को गिन ही सकता है।” तब नागसेन ने फिर पूछा—“जब समुद्र एक वास्तविक चीज है तब तुम ऐसा उत्तर क्यों दोगे?” राजा ने कहा—“बूँक उस प्रश्न का उत्तर ठीक-ठीक नहीं दिया जा सकता है।” तब नागसेन ने कहा—“महाराज! ठीक निर्वाण का रूप बतलाना इसी प्रकार असम्भव है।” उपरोक्त आधार कुछ लोग निर्वाण की तुलना वेदान्त-दर्शन के निर्गुण ब्रह्म से करते हैं²। कथावस्तु में कहा गया है—“निर्वाण ही मुक्ति है, शांति है, आश्रय है, सर्वोत्तम पथ है, स्थिर है, एवं अथाह है।” बुद्धचरित में अवधोय बुद्ध से कहलाते हैं—“जब तक आत्मा का अस्तित्व स्वीकृत होगा, तब तक किसी प्रकार से उसकी मुक्ति नहीं हो सकती।” मन के अनुसार निर्वाण की रचना की जा सकती है। निर्वाण के बाद पुनः इस संसार में लौटने की आवश्यकता नहीं रह जाती है³। अविद्या के नाश से ही निर्वाण प्राप्त हो सकता है। बोधिचित् होने के बाद वह सत्पथ अथवा धर्मपथ पर अग्रसर होता है। निर्वाण के बाद एक अनिर्वचनीय अवस्था का उदय होता है। सोपाधिशेष निर्वाण एवं निरुपाधिशेष निर्वाण के बाद ही पूर्ण मुक्ति होती है। बोधि-वृक्ष के नीचे जो बुद्ध को निर्वाण प्राप्त हुआ था उसे ही सोपाधिशेष कहते हैं और कुशानारा जो परिनिर्वाण हुआ उसे निरुपाधिशेष निर्वाण कहते हैं। सोपाधिशेष निर्वाण को ही बुद्ध ज्यादा महत्व देते हैं। उनके

1—तुलना कीजिए—Hume—*Thirteen Principal Upanishadas*.

Introduction, p. 6—“In *Bṛihadāraṇyaka* (3 : 2.13), it is stated that after death, the different parts of a person return to different parts of Nature.....and that only his karma remains over. This is out and out the Buddhist doctrine.”

2. R. Kimura—“*Journal of the Department of Letters*,-iv—p. 161..

3. Oldenberg—“*Buddha*”—P. 263. “While he thus knows and apprehends, his soul is freed from the calamity of desire, freed from the calamity of becoming, of error, ignorance. In the delivered, there arises the Knowledge of his deliverance,.....there is no more any returning to this world.”

शिष्योंने आत्मा को शून्य रूप, अनिर्वचनीय रूप, चतुष्कोटि विनिर्मुक्त रूप समझा¹। नागसेन ने प्रत्यक्ष रूप से बताया है कि चार प्रश्नों का उत्तर न तो सम्भव ही है और न वेना ही चाहिए²।

तैत्तिरीयोपनिषद्³ के अनात्म रहस्य से यह प्रतीत होता है कि बुद्ध ने 'अनन्त' शब्द ब्राह्मण-दर्शनसे ग्रहण किया और अव्यक्त अस्तत् सम्बन्धी प्राचीन मतों को ध्यानमें रखते हुए उसके अनिर्वचनीय स्वरूप पर अपना युक्त निपुण महल बनाया। तैत्तिरीय में कहा गया है—“यदा ह्येवैष एतस्मिन् ब्रह्मेऽनात्म्येऽनिरुक्तेऽनिलयनेऽभयं प्रतिष्ठं विदते।” उपनिषद् का प्रभाव बौद्ध-दर्शन पर विशेष रूप से प्रत्यक्ष है⁴। इसमें संदेह नहीं कि बुद्ध सभी प्राचीन मत से परिचित थे और सभी महान् ग्रंथों का उन्होंने अच्छा अध्ययन भी किया था। आध्यात्मिक क्षेत्र में जो उजल-गुल उपनिषद्-काल में प्रारम्भ हुआ, वही बौद्ध-युग में अपने चरमोत्कर्ष पर पहुँचा। अतः यह कहना गलत न होगा कि ब्राह्मण दर्शन के मूल पर विकसित जैन मतों के सिद्धान्तों से बुद्ध ने अपना मत निश्चित किया। बुद्ध होने के पूर्व उन्होंने कई धर्मों का रसास्वादन किया और प्रारम्भ में जैन मत का आचरण भी। यह सही है कि वे उस पर स्थिर नहीं रहे⁵। उन्होंने ब्राह्मण मत के त्रिकाम कर्म का भी चिन्तन किया और बाद में उन दोनों को त्याग कर मध्यम मार्ग का अवलम्बन किया। मनुष्य को अपना कर्त्ता आप कह कर उनके कल्याण को कर्म-नय पर बुद्ध किया। उनके समय में सामाजिक कृत्यों में साधारण पुरुषों का ज्यादा विश्वास

1. T.H. Huxley—*Romanes Lectures*(1893)—finds hope in the fact that “a system which knows no god in the western sense, which denies soul to a man, which counts the belief in immortality a blunder and the hope of it a sin, which refuses any efficacy to prayer and sacrifice, which bids men to look to nothing but their own efforts for salvation, which in original purity knew nothing of vows of obedience and never sought the aid of secular arm; yet spread over a considerable motley with marvellous rapidity.”

2—(क) एकांश व्याकरणीय; (ख) विभज्य व्याकरणीय; (ग) प्रतिप्रच्छा व्याकरणीय और (घ) स्थापणीय—मिलिन्दपण्हो—४।२।४ तुलना कीजिए—अभिधर्मकोश—५।२२

3—तैत्तिरीयोपनिषद्—२।७

4—जीवन मरन के सम्बन्ध—देखिए—ऋग्वेद—१०—१२१—२; १०, १२६, १—२

5—मज्झिम निकाय—१२ (महासीहनाव सुत्त)—में बुद्ध ने सारिपुत से अपना तपस्या का वर्णन करते हुए कहा है—“अचेलो होमि..... हत्यापलेल्लो..... एकाहं आहारं आहारेमि..... एय रूपं अद्दामासिकंपि परिचाय मतभोजानानुपोयं..... अनुपुपा विहरामि..... नमोच अग्निं असीनो, एसनापसुतो मुनीति।”

था और उनके संघ में वैसे ही लोग अधिक थे¹। इसको कम करने का प्रयत्न बुद्ध ने किया। मंजूषी मूलकल्प में बुद्ध के समय से प्रचलित अनेक मंत्र मुद्रा-मण्डल-धारिणियों के उल्लेख हैं।

अनात्मन् का निर्वाण सिद्धांत अत्युच्च था। वे आत्मा को अप्रमाणित समझते थे। मनुष्य के अतिरिक्त आत्मा नामक कोई वस्तु नहीं है। मनुष्य पंचतत्व का संग्रह है। नित्यता वादियों के आत्मा-संबंधी विचारों को बुद्ध ने दो भागों में बांटा है—एक में आत्मा को इन्द्रियगोचर (रूपी) और दूसरे में अरूपी माना है। फिर इन दोनों विचार वालों में कुछ शांत नित्यवादी और कुछ अनित्यवादी हैं²। उनके अनात्मवाद से हमें यह नहीं समझना चाहिए कि वे भौतिकवादी थे। उनके अनित्य अनात्म एवं प्रतीत्य-समुत्पाद दर्शन में ईश्वर का भी स्थान नहीं था³। उनकी जिज्ञासा अनुभव पर आधारित थी। उनका विचार था कि सत्य की खोज जिव्यी में होनी चाहिए। उनके दर्शन में विशाल लोक हित की भावना थी⁴।

निर्वाण की संतोवजनक व्याख्या बुद्ध ने स्वयं भी नहीं की। बुद्ध ने उसका अर्थ “अभावा या सर्वथा नाश” भी नहीं किया। निर्वाण की अवस्था अनिर्वचनीय और अतर्कणीय है⁵। मयानुरत साबुद्ध के निर्वाण की परिभाषा में भी परिवर्तन हुआ। मिलिन्द-बन्धु में तो निर्वाण का

1—B. Bhattacharya—*Buddhist Esoterism*—pp. 16-17, “Buddha had naturally to be content with the vast majority of the Vratyas and aboriginal inhabitants, who were not raised to the status of the Sūdras.....”

तुलना कीजिए—T.W. Rhys David—“*Pali-English Dictionary*” p. 121.

2—राषाकृष्ण चौधरी—“सिद्धार्थ”—पृ० २१२-१४.

3—अंगुत्तर निकाय—मज्झिम निकाय

4—चौधरी—इहाँ—

5—मज्झिम निकाय (मय मेख सुत्त-४)—“अयं लोके ब्राह्मण रतिया पछिमे यामे

तमो विहृतो अलोको उत्पन्नो, यस्मा तं अयमत्तस्सु आतापिनो पहितत्तस्स विहरतो”—

तुलना कीजिए—प्रम्मपद— जिघच्छा परमा रोगा संसार परमा दुक्का ।

एवं जहवा यथाभूतं निव्वारणं परमं सुखम् ॥

आरोग्य परमा लाभो संतुड्ढि परमं धनं ।

विस्सास परमा आति निव्वारणं परमं सुखम् ॥

और देखिये—

Childrer's—*Pali Dictionary*, S.V. *Nibbāna* “There is probably no doctrine more distinctive of Sākyamuni's original teaching than that of the annihilation of being.”

George Grimm—“*Buddhist Wisdom*”—“p. 75; *The Doctrine of the Buddha*—, 475.

सुन्दर विद्वेषण है पर निर्वाणगत का स्वरूप अंकित नहीं हुआ है¹। अश्वघोष ने अपने सौन्दरानन्द काव्य में निर्वाण की तुलना लहर की शांति से की जो हीनयान मत की अन्तिम ध्यास्या कही जा सकती है²। यहाँ तक निर्वाण के भाव का अतिक्रमण नहीं हुआ। महायानियों ने निर्वाण को शून्य कहा जिसका अर्थ माध्यमिकों ने इस प्रकार किया है—“अस्ति नास्ति तदुभया-नुभय चतुष्कोटि विनिमुक्तं शून्य रूपम्”³। नागार्जुन ने इसकी ध्यास्या इस प्रकार की—“अतस्तत्त्व सद् सदुभयानु भयात्मक-चतुष्कोण विनिमुक्तं शून्यमेव”⁴। वज्रयान ने महासुख-वाद को निर्वाण में मिश्रित किया और अब शून्यवाद के तीन तत्व हुए—शून्य, विज्ञान और महासुख। वज्रयान में यह धारणा अविनाशी समझी गयी⁵। इन लोगों ने इसे संकीर्ण बना दिया और इसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि अन्त में बुद्ध-जानी की हत्या हुई।

प्रारम्भिक काल में निर्वाण का अर्थ सरल था। अविद्या पर विजय प्राप्त करने वाले को पारितोषिक मिलेगा ही, इसमें संदेह नहीं। बुद्ध के अनुसार यह पारितोषिक इसी जीवन में मिलता है। घृणा और इच्छा पर विजय प्राप्त करना ही निर्वाण है। निर्वाण पूर्णता का द्योतक है। पाप रहित मनुष्य ही निर्वाण प्राप्त कर सकता है। निर्वाण के पीछे वास्तविक उद्देश्य यह था कि मानव समाज को इस संसार के दुःख और विन्ता से मुक्त कराया जाय। जिस प्रकार समुद्र में एक ही प्रकार का नमकीन स्वाद रहता है उसी प्रकार बुद्ध के सिद्धान्त में मुक्ति छोड़कर और दूसरा स्वाद नहीं है। निर्वाण में ही चेतना को पूर्ण शांति मिलती है।

निर्वाणोपरान्त अवस्था का वर्णन स्वयं बुद्ध ने भी नहीं किया है। संयुक्त-निकाय में वत्सगोत्र बुद्ध से पूछता है कि आत्मा रहता है या नहीं? पर बुद्ध इसका कोई उत्तर नहीं देते। बुद्ध ने निर्वाण के बाद आत्मा के प्रश्न को प्रश्न रूप में ही रहने दिया। वे तत्त्वज्ञान को अपने कार्य-क्षेत्र से बाहर रखते थे। संयुक्त-निकाय में एक विधर्मों भिक्षु यमक बुद्ध के कथन से यह सिद्ध करता है कि भरणोपरान्त तयागत सर्वथा नष्ट हो जाते हैं। सारिपुत्र इसको नहीं मानता था। बौद्ध-वार्शनिकों के बीच इस प्रश्न को लेकर सर्वथा मतभेद बना ही रहा। कुछ लोगों ने तो यह समझा कि निर्वाण के बाद आत्मा में परिवर्तन नहीं हो सकता अतः आत्मा का अस्तित्व मिट जाता है⁶।

1—*Sacred Books of the East*—Part—II p. 186 (The questions of King Milinda).

2—अश्वघोष-सौन्दरानन्द— १७।४१-६०

3—सर्वदर्शन संग्रह—(बौद्ध दर्शन-पृ० १४)

4—मध्यमकारिका-२५३।

5—Bhattachārya—op. cit. p. 27— बुद्ध सारमसीसीयं अचछेदा-भेद्यलक्षणम्। अद्याहि अविनाशी च शून्यता वज्रमुच्यते ॥

6—Lin-Yutang—‘*Wisdom of China & India*’—p. 550

“To call it a destruction is to assume that there is something to destroy, and to call it emptiness is to assume the contrast of a substantial world.”

दुख निरोध की अवस्था का वास्तविक ज्ञान प्राप्त करना आवश्यक है और इस दुख निरोध को ही निर्वाण कहते हैं। इसकी प्राप्ति जीवन-काल में भी होती है। राग-द्वेष पर विजय प्राप्त कर आर्य सत्त्यों का निरन्तर ध्यान करते हुए मानव-गण समाधि के द्वारा जब प्रज्ञा प्राप्त कर लेते हैं तब फिर उन्हें सांसारिक विषयों के लिए आसक्ति नहीं रहती। मानव एवं प्रकारेण निर्वाण प्राप्त करता है। निर्वाण-प्राप्त व्यक्ति को ही अर्हत् कहते हैं। निर्वाण से अकर्मण्यता का बोध करना गलत है। सम्यक् ज्ञान की प्राप्ति तब तक सम्भव नहीं जब तक मन से वाह्य वस्तुओं को नहीं हटाया जाय। इसके लिये आर्य सत्त्यों पर केन्द्रीभूत होकर मनन करना आवश्यक है।

बोधि वृक्ष के नीचे बुद्ध को इसी आर्य सत्य का दर्शन हुआ और उन्होंने मनन किया—“अविद्या के कारण संस्कार होता है, संस्कार के कारण विज्ञान होता है, विज्ञान के कारण नामरूप, नामरूप के कारण ६ आयातन, ६ आयातनों के कारण स्पर्श, स्पर्श के कारण वेदना, वेदना के कारण तृष्णा, तृष्णा के कारण उपादान, उपादान के कारण भव, भव के कारण जाति, जाति (= जन्म) के कारण जरा (बुढ़ापा), मरण, शोक, रोना, पीटना, दुःख, चित्त-विकार और चित्त-खेद उत्पन्न होते हैं.....” इन्हीं के नाश होने से निर्वाण प्राप्त होता है¹। उन्होंने अहिंसा, सवाचार एवं त्याग पर सब से ज्यादा जोर दिया। धम्मपद में उन्होंने उपदेश दिया है कि कभी किसी से बुरा न मानना चाहिए, किसी से घृणा न करनी चाहिए, हृदयको शुद्ध करना चाहिए और दूसरों को भलाई करनी चाहिए²। संसार की सभी धार्मिक

1—राहुल सांकृत्यायन—बुद्ध-चर्या—पृ० १६-१८

- अनुपशर्मा—यहाँ उद्धृत—(i) जब धर्म होते जग प्रगट, सोत्ताह ध्यानी विप्र (अर्हत्) को। तब शांत हो कांक्षा सभी, देखै स-हेतु धर्म को ॥
- (ii) तब शांत हो कांक्षा सभी हो, जानकर क्षय कार्य को।
-
- (iii) ठहर” कौता मार सेना, रवि प्रकाश गगन ज्यों।
- (iv) जो विप्र बाह्य-पाप मल-अभिमान जिन संयत रहे। वेदान्त पारग ब्रह्मचारी ब्रह्मवादी धर्म से। सम नहीं कोई जिसता जगत में।

तुलना कीजिए—सुत्तनिपाट—३८१; धम्मपद-२४-२५ दीर्घनिकाय २/६ (महासति पट्टानसुत्त)

Paul Dahlke—“Buddhist Essays”—p. 18-19.

2—न हि वेरेन वेरानि सम्मनीध कुदा चनं ।

अवेरेन च सम्मन्ति एस धम्मो सनंदनो ॥

तुलना कीजिए—Mrs. Davids—*Outlines of Buddhism* p. 29

“Buddhism showing moral law not merely as a veto for the immoral doer, but also as a guide for the man willing to do well”.

प्रवृत्तियों के मूल तत्वों में समानता होते हुए भी बौद्ध धर्म की अपनी विशेषता है। इतना सरल और सौम्य उपदेश का दूसरा उदाहरण शायद मिलना कठिन है।

बुद्ध ने दो प्रकार से कर्म की व्याख्या की है।—(क) कर्म राग, द्वेष तथा मोह का कारण होता है (ख) कर्म बिना राग, द्वेष, मोह का भी होता है। प्रथम प्रकार के कर्म के फलस्वरूप ऐसा संस्कार पैदा होता है जिससे हमें जन्म ग्रहण करना पड़ता है। दूसरे प्रकार का कर्म अनासक्त भाव तथा संसार को अनित्य समझ कर किया जाता है। इसे पुनर्जन्म की सम्भावना नहीं रह जाती है। इसका वृष्टान्त अंगुत्तरनिकाय में इस प्रकार दिया गया है कि साधारण ढंग से यदि बीज का तपन किया जाय तो पौधे की उत्पत्ति होती है किन्तु यदि बीज को भूँज लिया जाय तब पौधे की उत्पत्ति नहीं हो सकती है। निर्वाण प्राप्ति के बाद दूसरों के प्रति प्रीति और दया बढ़ जाती है। कई प्रकार के प्रश्नों की चर्चा करते हुए भी, बुद्ध उसका समाधान नहीं करते। पोट्ठपाद सुत के अनुसार बुद्ध ने दश प्रश्नों का समाधान¹ करना असम्भव तथा व्यावहारिक दृष्टि से व्यर्थ बतलाया। निर्वाण के बाद पुनर्जन्म एवं तज्जनित दुःख सम्भव नहीं है क्योंकि उसके बाद की अवस्था पूर्णतया शांत, स्थिर एवं तृष्णाविहीन होती है। इसके बाद ही सभी दुःखों से मुक्ति मिल जाती है। निर्वाण शब्द का अर्थ ही है “बुझना”—बोप अधदा भ्राग का जलते- जलते बुझ जाना, अतः प्रतीत्य समुत्पन्न प्रवाह का अत्यन्त विच्छेद ही निर्वाण है। बुद्ध का अमर सन्देश है—“अपनी ज्योति आप बनो²।”

1—दश प्रश्न—

- (क) क्या यह लोक शाश्वत है
- (ख) क्या यह अशाश्वत है
- (ग) क्या इसका अन्त है
- (घ) क्या यह अनन्त है
- (ङ) आत्मा तथा शरीर क्या एक है
- (च) क्या आत्मा शरीर से भिन्न है
- (छ) तत्प्राप्त क्या मरणोपरांत जीवन धारण करते हैं
- (ज) क्या वे मृत्यु के बाद पुनर्जन्म नहीं धारण करते
- (झ) क्या वे मृत्यु के बाद जीवन धारण करते हैं और नहीं भी करते हैं
- (ञ) क्या वे न अमर होते हैं न मरणशील ही?

2—अतः दीपा विहरथ अतः सरणा अनञ्जसरणा धम्मदीपा धम्मसरणा अनञ्जसरणा।

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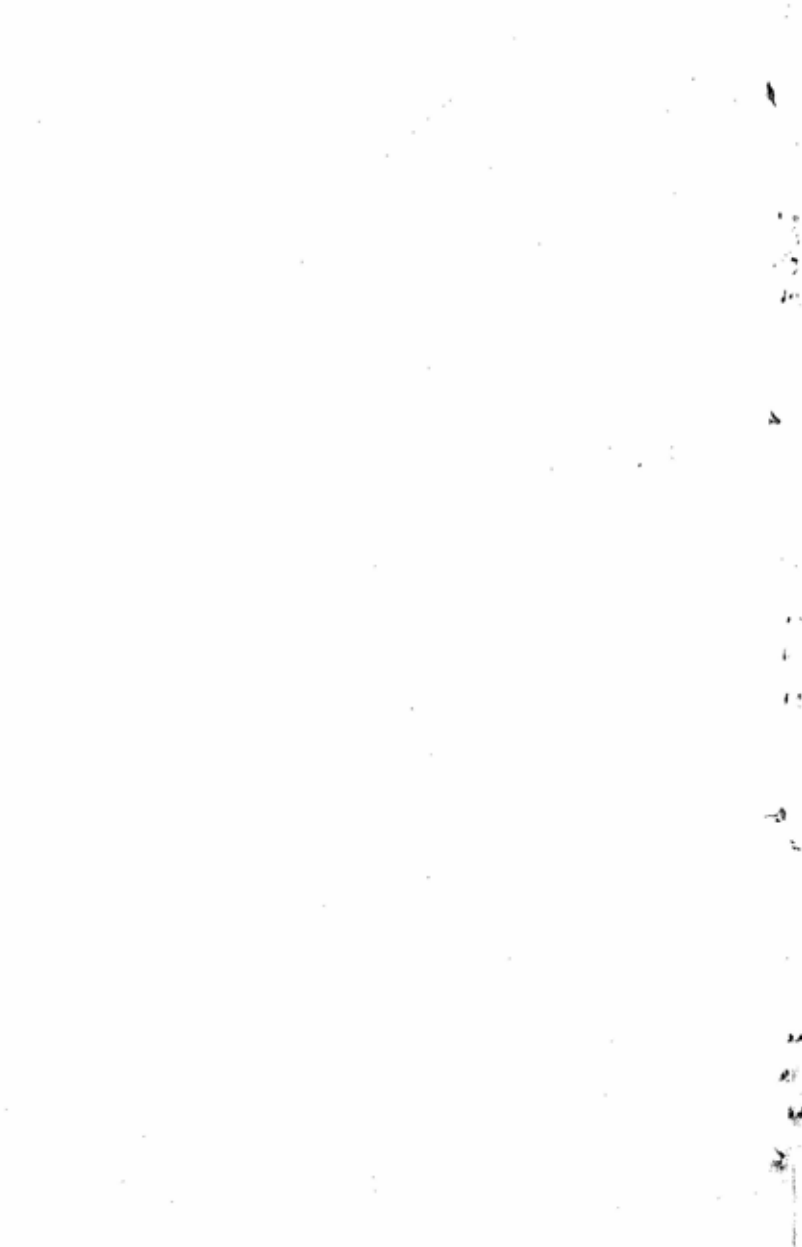
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Part II

BRITISH RELATION WITH TRIBUTARY STATES IN
ORISSA BETWEEN 1803 AND 1820.

By

Dr. Bhabani Charan Ray, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.)

During the Maratha rule that part of Orissa which was known as Garjat was held by a number of tributary chieftains. They managed their own territories, maintained their own forces and paid a quit rent to the Maratha government either in money or in kind.¹

If the tributary chiefs committed any offence or acted contrary to the interest of the Maratha government, they were punished. Maratha troops marched into their territories to apprehend criminals and occasionally dethroned a chief himself. The chiefs of Khurda, Athgarh, Ali and Darpan had each been imprisoned, and the first died in the fort of Barabati. Thus though the tributary chiefs generally enjoyed freedom in the internal administration of their territories, the Maratha government interfered if it thought fit.²

When the British took possession of Orissa they found 30 hill chiefs. The territories of some of them constituted the Garjat. The territories of others were scattered over the Mughalbandi. The most powerful of them, the chief of Khurda, rebelled against the British

1. 19 January 1804, Harcourt and Melville to Government, Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No. 42.

2. 17 October 1815, E. Impey, Superintendent of tributary mahals to Government, Bengal Criminal Judicial Consultations (Lower Provinces), 14 November 1815, No. 41

government and consequently his estate was annexed to the Mughalbandi. The territories of the remaining 29 were generally called "Tributary Mahals". In accordance with the practice of the Maratha government the British entered into engagements for a fixed jama with these tributary chiefs. It was considered that such a liberal policy was likely to bind them to the British government. In these engagements there was no provision for the protection of the agricultural community against oppression from the chiefs. But this did not prevent the British government from exercising an active control in such matters if it wished. The sum total annually derived by the British government from these 29 mahals amounted to sicca Rs. 118,687. The surplus thought to be enjoyed by the proprietors was estimated at approximately Rs. 523,250.¹

Thirteen out of the twenty-nine mahals were subjected to the British regulations and the remaining sixteen were exempted from them. While the former were absorbed in the Mughalbandi, the latter with some later additions emerged as the real tributary states of Orissa.²

This group of sixteen states covered a hilly tract, having the districts of Singhbhum and Midnapur on the north, the Mughalbandi on the east, the district of Ganjam in the Madras presidency in the south and the states of Athmalik, Baud, Bamra, Radhakol, Sonpur and Patna on the west. In many parts of this tract there were hill tribes. The southern part was inhabited by a large number of Kandhs, the middle by Savaras and the northern by Kols and Santhals. The greater portion of this tract was unfit for cultivation and the small portion cultivated produced a scanty subsistence. The majority of the inhabitants turned to employments like the manufacture of iron, charcoal, boat building and felling timber.³

1. 17 July 1818, Governor General-in-Council to Court of Directors, Revenue Letters from Bengal 1818-19, vol. IX, pp. 106-9; 20 December 1814, Richardson to Government, Bengal Revenue Consultations, 18 March 1815, No. 29.
2. The sixteen states were Mayurbhanj, Nilgiri, Angul, Athgarh, Dhenkanal, Banki, Daspalla, Nayagarh, Narasingpur, Ranpur, Talcher, Tigiria, Hindol, Sukinda, Keonjhar and Khandpara; Bengal Civil Judicial Consultations 5 September 1805, No. 32 (Regulation XII 1805).
3. 20 December 1814, Richardson to Government, Bengal Revenue Consultations, 18 March 1815, No. 29.

At the time of the conquest of Orissa, the hilly nature of this tract and "the uncivilised manners of the zemindars" and of the other inhabitants prompted the British to adopt a policy towards them that was quite different from their policy elsewhere. While the British regulations were extended to other mahals, the chiefs of the sixteen states, in accordance with special agreements made with them, enjoyed full freedom in the internal administration of their territories. Their only obligation was to pay a stipulated tribute to the British government punctually. The provisions of the agreements show that these chiefs were treated as subordinate allies : on the one hand, they were required to acknowledge the supreme authority of the British, on the other hand, they were pledged to prevent the passage of enemies of the British through their territories and to help the British in punishing and reducing to obedience any offenders in their neighbourhood. It was administrative expediency that regulated the British relationship with these sixteen states. It did not arise out of any rights asserted by the chiefs. The British government reserved the power of interfering in these states if it was found necessary.¹ Their tribute was treated as ordinary revenue by the British. If they delayed payment they were fined as a penalty. If they could not pay at all their lands were sold up. Thus as in the case of the zamindars of the Mughalbandi as well as in that of the chiefs of the tributary mahals not exempted from British regulations, the common mode of enforcing the collection of tribute from these sixteen states was to put the lands up for sale. For example, on one occasion six of them were advertised for sale for the recovery of arrears. As suitable bidders were not found, the collector purchased them on account of government. But subsequently they were restored to the Rajas on the discharge of the arrears due from them.²

Formerly the method of collection was defective in that there was no exertion on the part of the government to press the collection of tribute from the chiefs. There were therefore arrears out-standing

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1. Encl., 1 October 1804, Harcourt and Melville to Government, Bengal Secret and Political Consultation, 4 April 1805, Nos. 3, 4.
 2. 29 February 1820, A. Stirling, Secretary to the Commissioner of Cuttack to Government, Bengal Revenue Consultations, 19 May 1820, No. 25; 26 October 1818, Ker to Government, Bengal Revenue Consultations, 20 November 1818, No. 52; 29 September 1818, Trower to Stirling, Bengal Revenue Consultations, 20 November 1818, No. 53.

in every year. In 1818 when Ker was the Commissioner of Cuttack a better arrangement was made for securing the punctual payment of the tribute from the sixteen states. A rule was established that each Raja should send in the amount of each kist on the day of its being due with a despatch (chalan) to the collector's office and address a petition (arzi) at the same time of their having done so. If this petition were not given, orders (parwanas) would be despatched calling for payment and Peons would be sent from the Commissioner's office after a certain interval. This system proved a success. Stirling, writing on behalf of Ker, stated that "punctual collection of the tribute due from the sixteen Garjats exempt from regulations was very happily and successfully effected by Mr. Ker during 1226 Ummlee (1818-19) without its being found necessary to advertise any one of them for sale."¹

True to the agreement made with the tributary chiefs, the British government avoided interfering in the internal administration of these sixteen states.² They thought that those chiefs would be "the conservators of the Public Peace and the distributors of Justice." But in 1814 it was reported that some of them were indulging in serious crimes. The chief of Dhenkanal was said to have killed one person and tortured others. Similarly the chief of Mayurbhanj was said to have killed some one. The government directed the Magistrate of Cuttack to take cognizance of these cases. Enquiries were conducted. Owing to the want of evidence however, these chiefs were acquitted of the charge of murder. But the chief of Dhenkanal was convicted of other charges. The government also came to suspect that the chiefs had been party to the alleged crimes.³

Therefore the government decided to appoint an officer to supervise the conduct of the chiefs of the sixteen states so as to prevent the commission of crimes and outrages. This officer was designated the "Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals". Impey, the

1. 29 February 1820, Stirling to Government, Bengal Revenue Consultations, 19 May 1820, No. 25.
2. Encl., 1 August 1812, I W. Sage, Magistrate of Cuttack to Government, Bengal Criminal Judicial Consultations L.P. 22 August 1812, No. 26; 22 August 1812, Government to Sage, Bengal Criminal Judicial Consultations, L.P. 22 August 1812, No. 27.
3. 18 October 1814, Government to Richardson, Bengal Revenue Consultations, L.P. 18 October 1814, No. 43.

magistrate of Cuttack was the first to hold this office. He was appointed in 1814. The power enjoyed by the Superintendent was of a political nature; it was not closely defined. It was thought that the Superintendent, "being unfettered by any precise rules, might serve as a useful check on their conduct". The whole idea underlying this arrangement was to secure the interest of the people by interfering as little as possible in their chiefs' internal administration.¹

An attempt was made to see if the police in these states could be improved. Impey was directed to obtain accurate information regarding the states and the character and disposition of their chiefs. When his enquiries began some of the chiefs apprehended that police thanas would be established in their states and objected to the enquiries on the ground that it was not consistent with the agreements made with them by the first Commissioners. It was only when the Governor General-in-Council made clear that, "It was not in contemplation to establish police thanas on the part of the government" in the tributary states that the chiefs' suspicions were allayed.²

In fact the enquiries showed that on the one hand the application of the Bengal regulations to these states would be "very inexpedient." First it was thought that the daroghas at such a distance "amongst a people so ill-informed" and "so little acquainted with the nature" of British laws and methods would harass and oppress the people. Secondly even if the regulations were extended they would be productive of much expense but as the tribute of the states was fixed, there was no means to recover the expense. On the other hand enquiries convinced the government that if the tributary chiefs were left entirely uncontrolled, that would increase the amount of crime in the states.³

Therefore the British government took a middle course. As a result, in 1816, these states were brought under the ordinary jurisdiction of the criminal courts in so far as serious crimes were concerned. The chiefs were left in control of the police but their

1. Board's Collections Vol. 494, 11899, pp. 1, 2, 33-4

2. 14 December 1815, Government to Impey, Bengal Criminal Judicial Consultations, L. P. 14 November 1815, No. 43.

3. 20 December 1814, Richardson to Government, Bengal Revenue Consultations, 18 March 1815, No. 29.

exercise of this control was now made subject to the supervision of the Superintendent. They received Sanads from the Superintendent under the authority of the Governor General. They were to send all persons charged with murder, robbery or heinous crime within 24 hours of arrest to the nearest police darogha or military detachment. They had to transmit monthly reports to the Superintendent of all occurrences relative to the police of their states, especially all heinous offences.¹

The enforcement of the police regulations in the tributary states does not appear to have been very successful. The orders of the government for the submission of monthly reports of crimes to the Superintendent were not properly carried out. Ker thought the reports "were made up—in the Cuttack bazar without reference to the actual state of things". Therefore he discontinued the practice of submitting such reports. But he specifically asked the chiefs to report to him the occurrence of any crimes of magnitude and to send in the accused with the necessary information and evidence so that proper steps might be taken against them. In other words the chiefs were deprived of jurisdiction over serious crimes. From 1816 to 1819 only two cases were brought before the Superintendent. In one case a charge of murder was preferred by a merchant against two Khandaits in Mayurbhanj. The charge could not be properly established; the defendants were acquitted. In another case of a similar nature the prisoners were released from want of proof. But there was no definite procedure for trying criminal cases from the tributary states. This, in Ker's opinion, to some extent, made it difficult to prove the guilt of the defendants.²

Similarly, the civil jurisdiction of the British Courts was not extended to the tributary states until 1816. In some of the states succession disputes had resulted in murder. For example, after the death of Tarwar Singh, the chief of Angul, his younger brother Jai Singh succeeded him. He was in possession of the state for three months when it was alleged that Prithwi Singh, his half-brother, murdered him and his three children in 1809/10 (1217 Amali) and retained possession of the kingdom. Lokanath Singh,

1. Encl., 20 October 1815, M. H. Turnbull, Registrar, Nizamet Adalat to Government, Bengal Criminal Judicial Consultations, L. P. 10 May 1816, No. 2.
2. 29 February 1820, A Stirling, Secretary to Commissioners of Cuttack, Bengal Revenue Consultations, 19 May 1820, No. 25.

a son of Tarwar Singh, claimed the succession. He appealed to the British Government. An enquiry was made. Government was convinced that the crime was committed by Prithwi Singh. But as a matter of expediency the government did not inflict any severe punishment on him because it was apprehended that in view of his power and influence over the people any such punishment would provoke disturbances.¹

After this incident, a regulation was passed to control the decision of claims relating to succession to the sixteen states. All claims to the succession to any of these states were to be decided in the first instance by the Superintendent. He was to be generally guided by the established laws and usages of the states. An appeal could be made from the Superintendent's decision to the Sadar Dewani Adalat provided that the petition of appeal was preferred within three months after the original decree had been passed.²

The policy of the British government in determining the relation of the Mughalbandi with the Garjat was one of avoiding any complication or confusion within the limits of the agreement.

On two occasions, when some of the inhabitants of the Mughalbandi applied for the recovery of debts from the hill chiefs, the Superintendent dismissed the applications on the ground that the regulations relative to suits for the recovery of debts did not extend to the Garjat chiefs and that he had consequently no jurisdiction over them in such matters.³

When two Mughalbandi estates were purchased privately by two hill chiefs, the government objected to it on the ground that the lands taken under their control would be liable to the British regulations and consequently would involve the purchasers in inconvenience and embarrassment. To quote the opinion of Ker, "as the Hill chiefs are exempt from the operation of the Regulations in their proper capacity of tributaries, we are entitled to demand from them in return for this and other high privileges which they

- 1- Encl., 23 July 1814, Richardson and W. C. Ward, Commissioners appointed to investigate into disputed claim to succession to Angul, Bengal Criminal Judicial Consultations, L. P. 16 August 1814, No 31; 16, August 1814. Government to Richardson and Ward, Bengal Criminal Judicial Consultations, L. P. 16 August 1814, No. 33.
2. Encl., 10 May 1816, Government to Impey, Bengal Criminal Judicial Consultations, 10 May 1816, No. 16.
3. 29 February 1820, Stirling to Government, Bengal Revenue Consultations, 19 May 1820, No. 25.

enjoy that they confine themselves to their Hills and abstain from intruding on an order of things of which they form no part."¹

In the matter of trade between the Mughalbandi and the Garjat, at first during Impey's superintendence many of the tributary chiefs were imposing vexatious duties on merchants and grain dealers trading with or through the Garjat. When Ker was Superintendent he considered that this was injurious and that the chiefs had no right to do so. Therefore he prohibited the chiefs from imposing duties on trade.²

If we examine how far the chiefs were eager to keep themselves within the limits of their agreements, it seems that the chief of Nayagarh for many years afforded shelter and support to several of the most active leaders in the rebellion of 1817. He also failed to help in the capture of rebel leaders whose haunts lay beyond his own frontier.³

The country of the chief of Mayurbhanj suffered for some time from the depredations of a tribe of Kandhs or Kols. But when the chief was called on, he did not make any adequate exertions to restore law and order.⁴

Sometimes inhabitants of the Mughalbandi charged with crimes absconded to Keonjhar and remained safe from pursuit. Orders from the Superintendent's office calling on the chief to apprehend them were often evaded and the regulation for bringing the offenders to task did not often produce the desired effect.⁵

In short, in the management of the tributary states exempted from the regulations, the British strictly enforced the punctual payment of tribute from their chiefs. They were also anxious to enforce the observance of the engagements made by the chiefs with their first Commissioners. They reserved the right to interfere in the internal administration of the tributary states, and they did interfere when some chiefs committed heinous crimes. They tried to persuade the chiefs to improve their administration, but they thought it expedient to abstain as far as possible from interference lest it might create discontent against the British rule.

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

BRITISH INDIA'S MILITARY POSITION IN 1835

By

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In the post-Napoleonic period the steady Russian expansion towards Central Asia constituted an ever-recurring cause of anxiety to the authorities at Calcutta. Though no external attack was imminent in any real or tangible shape, the military situation was difficult all the same. The Company's Government knew that the safety of British India which depended upon the reliability of a mercenary army could never be free from anxiety. British India might be assailed from the north by the Gurkhas; from the east by the Burmese; from the north-west by the Sikhs, the Afghans, and the hordes of Central Asia, in co-operation or otherwise with Russia. Among these dangers the one from the north-west was the gravest, for an attack from any other direction might only partially succeed as a diversion, but could only end in failure.

A number of reasons were responsible for the dangerous position on the North-West Frontier in the thirties of the last century. First, in its distracted state Persia was susceptible to Russian influence. Second, the Persian attack on Herat was believed to be inspired by the Russians. Third, the Russian approach along the Caspian and the Sea of Aral was a direct menace to Kabul. Fourth, the Afghans had no means to resist the power of Russia and Persia. They might even make a common cause. Lastly, the Sikhs also were powerless to stop a foreign invasion. It will be sufficient to state that it is out of these considerations that the Forward policy on the North-West Frontier was planned in the time of Bentinck—a policy which culminated in the First Anglo-Afghan War in the regime of Auckland. A valuable state paper penned by Bentinck on March 13, 1835, brings out the implications of the military position of this period. This minute which has not attracted the attention of historians is an elaborate account and is worthy of extensive reproduction.

"Before I proceed to describe what the constitution of the army is, and to offer an opinion as to what it ought to be, a preliminary enquiry seems to be necessary as to the specific dangers by which our dominion may be assailed. It is easy enough to determine upon the general principles to be followed and the great end to be attained, viz. that the military body should be so constituted and regulated that by its imposing moral attitude, by its established fidelity and allegiance, it should render hopeless all internal rebellion, as also that by the adequacy of its numbers and by its reputation for discipline and valour, it should be able, as well in the general opinion as in the reality, to overcome any foreign attack. But the elements both of our danger and of our security are of more difficult estimation, and without an exact knowledge both of the one and the other, it is very possible that the precautions adopted for our security may become the very means of our subversion.

Of internal dangers nobody, I believe, entertains less alarm than myself. In answer to those almost universal representations from authorities of the existence of danger, and of the consequent necessity of maintaining a large native army, I have in vain asked to have pointed out to me what the danger is—where are the Horse, Foot, and Artillery by which we are to be ejected? The most recent document of this kind that I have seen is the minute of the Commander-in-Chief at Madras, who describes disaffection as everywhere prevailing, and argues in consequence against any reduction of the army, and thinks necessary an augmentation of it. Indeed, there are those who contend for the same establishment now as when Haidar and Tipu were in the plenitude of their power, and when several substantive states existed in other parts of India. But in Madras, as in Bengal, there no longer exists a single chief, or a combination of chiefs, who possess even the semblance of a military force. Nor are there any large masses of the population who have the least disposition to rebel against our authority. A vague expression is often used that ours is a Government of opinion. Our security rests upon a very much better foundation, upon the fact which every one from his own observation and experience is thoroughly convinced of, and which is true, that our power is irresistible.

But though no danger appears in any real or tangible shape, it must be allowed when one hundred millions of people are under the control of a Government which has no hold whatever on their affections, when out of this population is formed that army upon the fidelity of which we rely principally for our preservation, when our European troops, of whose support under all circumstances we are alone sure, are so exceedingly limited in number and efficiency as to be of little avail against any extensive plan of insurrection, then indeed the truth of that expression of Sir John Malcolm is not without force, that in an Empire like India we are always in danger, and it is impossible to conjecture the form in which it may approach. This state of uncertainty is greatly aggravated by our conditions of peace, by the spread of knowledge, and by the operations of the press—all of which are tending rapidly as well to weaken the respect entertained for the European character and the prestige of British superiority as to elevate the native character, to make these men alive to their own rights and more sensible of their power. Of the dangers of our old position, upon which men's minds continue to harp and against which they see no security but the largest possible native army, I have no apprehension.

But there is much more reason to fear the changes incidental to our new position of peace and more enlightened state of mind,—a higher elevation of character, knowledge, improved morality, courage, all concurring causes that must produce effects to be dealt with by a very different philosophy from that which has hitherto obtained. So much for internal evils.

I shall now consider the danger from without, thinking of this as of the other, that there is no ground for any present alarm, but that we do not know the time or the quarter, when and where it may appear, but thinking in like manner of both, that it is by immediate preparation only that security can be obtained, and that relief will be too late if we wait, as would be most convenient, the actual occurrence of the mischief.

The following is a brief abstract of our military position. British India may be assailed from the north by the Gurkhas; from the east by the Burmese; from the north-west by the Sikhs,

the Afghans, and the hordes of Central Asia, in co-operation or otherwise with Persia and Russia; from the sea on all the other sides of her territory.

An attack from the Gurkhas might partially succeed as a diversion against our hill provinces, but without cavalry or artillery their efforts on the plains could only terminate in disgrace and defeat.

The Burmese have proved themselves totally unequal to compete with our forces in the field.

An attack from the sea, even supposing a momentary superiority against us on that element, could only produce an insulated debarkation, devoid of all the necessary requisites for taking the field or to subsist in a fixed position.

The only real danger with which we may be threatened must come from the north-west, and consequently to that important line of operation our main attention should be turned.

Under its present able and judicious leader it is not possible that the forces of the Punjab will be ever directed against us. Ranjit Singh is old and infirm, and there is no apparent probability that the wisdom of his rule will be inherited by his successor. Troubles, upon his decease, will certainly arise, and it is impossible to foresee the result as relates to the line of conduct which we may be called upon to pursue.

The present state of Afghanistan presents no cause of alarm to India. The success that attended the wretched army that Shah Shuja had under his feeble guidance affords the best proof of the weakness of the Afghan power. The assumption of the supremacy by Dost Muhammad Khan may possibly give greater strength and consolidation to the general confederacy. It is much to be desired that this state should acquire sufficient stability to form an intermediate barrier between India and Persia.

Persia, in its distracted state since the death of the late King, is unequal to any great effort unassisted by Russia, but the co-operation of 20,000 Russians from the Arras would speedily

terminate the civil war, and the advance of the combined force would give them in the first campaign possession of Herat, the key of Kabul.

It is the interest of Russia to extend and strengthen the Persian Empire, which occupies a central position between the double lines of operation of the Autocrat to the eastward and to the westward, and as Persia can never be a rival of Russia the augmentation of her strength can only increase the offensive means of Russia.

From the days of Peter the Great to the present time the views of Russia have been turned to the obtaining possession of that part of Central Asia which is watered by the Oxus and joins the eastern shore of the Caspian. The latest accounts from Kabul state they are building a fort between the Caspian and Khiva. This is their best line of operation against India, but it can only be considered at present as a very distant speculation.

The line of operation of a Russo-Persian army to advance upon Herat is short and easy; the distances are as follows :—

From the Arrus to Tabriz	.. 60 miles
Tabriz to Teheran	.. 300 „
Teheran to Muschid	.. 601 „
Muschid to Herat	.. 228 „
Total	.. 1189 „

In the campaigns against the Turks the army of Georgia supplied Paskewitch with 30,000 men. It may therefore be assumed that the same army could assist Persia with an equal number as an auxiliary force. With a good understanding between the two Governments, with time for preparation, and with good management there could be no difficulty in transporting this force to Herat. The Russians are accustomed to move in countries similarly circumstanced. In Turkey the Russian army always carried with it two month's supply of grain and handmills for grinding it, but never issue any part of this supply until all other means of obtaining it have failed.

What the policy of Russia might be after taking possession of Herat it is necessary now to consider, but it is impossible to deny that she might arrive at that point in legitimate support of her ally, the King of Persia, and it is equally difficult to deny that from that point she may proclaim a crusade against British India, in which she would be joined by all the warlike restless tribes that formed the overwhelming force of Timur. The distances from Herat to Attock are :—

Herat to Kandahar	..	..	560 miles
Kandahar to Ghazni	..	..	190 „
Ghazni to Kabul	..	..	82 „
Kabul to Attock	..	..	200 „
Total			<hr/> 1,032 „

The Afghan confederacy, even if cordially united, would have no means to resist the power of Russia and Persia. They probably would make a virtue of necessity and join the common cause, receiving in reward for their co-operation the promise of all the possessions that had been wrested from them by Ranjit Singh, and expecting also to reap no poor harvest from the plunder of India. But however this may be, it will be sufficient to assume the possibility that a Russian force of 20,000 men fully equipped, accompanied with a body of 100,000 horse, may reach the shores of the Indus, that Ranjit Singh has no means to resist their advance, and that the invaders, having crossed the Indus into the Punjab, would find themselves in possession of the parts of India, the most fertile of resources in every kind, and secure on every side from being harassed and attacked even if they had not on their side a body of irregular cavalry much more numerous and efficient than any we have to oppose to them.

I shall assume, then, that the attack against which we have to provide is to consist of the above-mentioned force. I shall now proceed to inquire into the composition of the army of India, of the physical and moral qualities of the native armies of the different Presidencies, and of the adequacy and efficiency of the present proportion of our European force to our security and defence against all dangers.

In the margin¹ is inserted an abstract of the rank and file of all descriptions in the native armies of the three Presidencies—their height and weight, and the countries from whence they are recruited.

It appears from the annexed statements that the whole of the Bengal army, and one-half of that of Bombay including all the cavalry, are Hindustanis. The Madras army is recruited principally from their own territories, and has only a small portion of Bengal men in their ranks. When at Utakamand all the Governments were

1. Rank and File of the Three Armies.

Regular Infantry.			Irregular Infantry		
Bengal,	74 regiments ..	50,320	Bengal,	10 regiments ..	7,504
Madras,	52 regiments ..	35,360	Bombay,	1 regiment ..	680
Bombay,	26 regiments ..	17,680			
		<u>103,360</u>			<u>8,184</u>
Regular Cavalry.			Cavalry.		
Bengal,	10 regiments ..	4,440	Bengal,	4 regiments ..	2,526
Madras,	8 regiments ..	3,552	Bombay,	1 regiment ..	832
Bombay,	3 regiments ..	1,332			
		<u>9,324</u>			<u>3,358</u>
Total Regular Native Troops ..			..	..	112,684
Total Irregulars ..			..	..	11,542

Average of Heights and Weights.

Bengal Infantry		Height.	Weight.
		ft. in.	st. Lbs.
Recruited generally in the Upper Provinces of Bengal		5 7.82	9 0.8
Madras Infantry.			
Men formerly recruit boys	..	5 6.36	7 9.73
Madrasis recruited	..	5 6.34	8 1.10
Hindustanis recruited	..	5 6.59	8 5.28
Bombay Infantry.			
Men formerly recruit boys	..	5 4.75	8 5.15
Konkanis recruited	..	5 5.5	8 5.25
Deccanis recruited	..	5 5.5	8 9.25
Hindustanis recruited	..	5 6.3	9 0.5

requested to submit to a Military Committee the following question, 'Whether the order of the Court of Directors, issued about three years ago, restricting the recruiting of each of three armies to the limits of its own Presidency, had operated beneficially; or whether it would be better to permit the Madras and Bombay armies to recruit as formerly in the Bengal territory? The question did not apply to the Bengal army. The Madras Committee recommend that in the cavalry no alteration should be made, the men being chiefly Mussulmans from the Carnatik. The number of Hindus in each regiment amount to about fifty, which it is proposed to increase to an hundred. In the infantry they think that a proportion of Bengal men, about an hundred per regiment, might be introduced with advantage. In the Golundauze one-fourth of the whole are from the Bengal Provinces.

The Bombay Committee report that the Court's restrictive order has been totally imperative, because though the order had been so far obeyed that no recruiting parties had been sent to Bengal, yet the Bengal men having voluntarily presented themselves for enlistment, they had been engaged as before. The only change recommended by the Committee is that, for the purpose of getting a better description of men, recruiting parties shall, as before, be sent to Bengal.¹

One of the members, Major Robertson, dissents from his colleagues. He prefers recruiting exclusively from the Bombay territories with the exception of that cavalry and Golundauze, 'who, requiring a much larger description of men, must have recourse to Hindustan.'

From the preceding statements it appears that the Hindustani is larger and more robust than the native south of the Narbada, and the presumption must be that he is considered a more powerful if not a better soldier. His habits, indeed, are much more military, for not only, as appears above, does he go to seek service in Bombay,

1. The following statement would seem to support the opinion that the Hindustanis engaged at Bombay are inferior in stature and character to those of the Bengal army :—

Infantry.	Height.		Cavalry all Hindustanis
	ft.	in.	
Bengal ..	5	7 32/100	Corporal Punishment.
Bombay ..	5	6½	Bengal 1 4/10 per cent.
			Bombay .. 42

A more severe discipline is supposed to prevail in the army.

but the infantry in the service of the Raja of Nagpur, as well as the Nizam's contingent, consist entirely of Hindustanis. In a late letter from the Resident of Haidarabad he mentions that one of the Arabs, or of the Horsemen from our Bengal Province of Rohilkhand, was equal to ten or twenty of the other men of the Nizam's force; and in the attempt recently made by Shah Shuja to recover his territories, it was the battalion of Hindustanis and the Rohillas, under an officer of the name of Campbell, that was particularly distinguished.

I have not read without surprise the pretensions set forth in behalf of the Madras army. Sir Thomas Munro upon many occasions advocates their occupation of the whole of the Peninsula south of the Narbada. I submit the following extracts from his correspondence (A. D. 1820) :—

“The Narbada is unquestionably the proper boundary between Bengal and Madras, not only on account of its natural barrier formed by the river and the broad range of hills which accompany it, but of its being the line of separation between the Deccan and Hindustan, and between natives speaking different languages. The Bengal army, composed of men from Hindustan, dislike serving south of the Narbada, and do not readily assimilate either with the natives of the country or with the Madras troops.”

I must presume that the Bombay army was at that time upon a very low establishment, and had no Hindustanis in its ranks. The dislike of the natives of Hindustan to serve south of the Narbada has subsequently been proved to be entirely unfounded. The Government and army of Bombay are quite disregarded. Again (A. D. 1804) :—

‘When Haidarabad and Nagpur were great foreign and independent states’ (and more likely to act against us than with us) ‘the immediate control of Bengal was right, more especially as it did not affect the authority of the Madras Government over its army, of which only two battalions were several years at Haidarabad, but both Haidarabad and Nagpur are as completely dependent upon us as Mysore. They must at some period or other fall entirely into our hands, and the internal administration must in the meantime be chiefly directed by our Resident. At present the discipline of

our army is much injured by our having 20,000 men beyond our frontier removed in a great measure from our control.¹

Again (A.D. 1804) :—

‘I am sorry to hear it reported that it had been in agitation to relieve the subsidiary force at Haidarabad with Bengal troops, I think there are many strong public grounds for having no Bengal troops either there or at Poona. It is easier to carry on war in all the countries south of the Narbada from Mysore than from Bengal. Where troops are in all respects equal there is still an advantage in having those who are to act together drawn from one and not from different establishments, but the local troops are perhaps in some respects superior to those of Bengal. They are more regular, more tractable, more patient under privations, and they have been more accustomed to military operations.’

These remarks are more applicable to 1804 than to 1835. There are no enemies to war against. The greater experience in military operations now rather belongs to the Bengal troops, and the preference assigned to the Madras sepoy for certain qualities would not now be as readily admitted.

I have quoted largely from Sir Thomas Munro because I consider his authority superior to all others, but allowance must be made in the present case for a spirit of partiality, if not of partizanship, which as a Madras officer it was natural for him to feel. But it is impossible for any dispassionate observer who has seen the Madras sepoys not to say that their physical defects and delicate frame, supposing all other qualities equal, render them very inferior to the Northern Hindustanis, and that consequently as a body of men they are inferior to either of the other armies. The regulated standard of each army is noted in the margin.²

1. This will be in part obviated by the transfer of a General Officer from the ceded districts to Haidarabad.

2. Bengal.

Madras.

Bombay.

M. C., 8 August, 1796, Carrol's code, chap. 1x, sec. 42. No sepoy is to be entertained who is under 16, or above 30 years of age unless in the latter case he shall have served before.

The standard of the Madras army was raised in 1829 from 5 ft. 4 in. to 5 ft. 6 in. for Horse Artillery and Cavalry, to 5 ft. 5 in. for infantry of the line. Before 1829 the standard for all appears to have been 5 ft. 4 in.

The lowest standard for the Cavalry is 5 ft. 6 in. age 24 years. For infantry 5 ft. 3 in., age not above 22 years For Grenadiers 5 ft. 6 in. and upwards.

I come next to the Bombay army, composed in equal proportions of Hindustanis and of men from their own proper territories. It would have been satisfactory if the Committee, who do not recommend any change in this divided composition, had stated their reasons for it. The Bombay men seem to have no advantage in strength and size over the Madras sepoy.

I have often had occasion to remark upon the expensive character of the Bombay establishment, urging always the expediency of a compulsory order for the adjustment of their expenditure to their income. And in no instance has this assertion such strong confirmation as in respect to the formation of the Military Establishment. The army of Bombay consists of :—

Native Infantry	..	..	17,680
Native Cavalry	..	..	1,322
			<hr/>
			19,002

To superintend this small force they have one Lieutenant-General and three Major-Generals, the same general staff as in the other Presidencies, with all the appendages of commissariat, ordnance establishments, pay and audit departments etc. belonging to a large army. I beg a reference to the general distribution abstract of the Bengal army furnished by the Quartermaster-General, in which it will appear that there are three divisions almost equal in amount to the whole Bombay army under the charge of one Major-General viz. :—

Presidency	..	..	17,308
Cawnpur	..	..	11,798
Meerut	..	..	16,551

This arrangement was caused by a different order of things when the Bombay Presidency was disconnected with the others, and when separate establishments were indispensable to its efficiency. The necessity no longer exists, and it seems practicable to substitute for it another which will have a very great charge, and will, I venture to think, not be unacceptable to all the individuals concerned.

I would propose that the Bombay army as such should be at once abolished, the Hindustani half of it being transferred in

complete regiments to the Bengal army, the Bombay half¹ to remain as a separate corps to be recruited always within the territories; to be commanded by a Major-General with the same staff as any other division of the army, and the commissariat and ordnance departments being incorporated with those of Bengal or Madras as may be convenient. I am of course supposing the previous adoption of the general equalisation of all allowances.

To the officers I conceive that the larger field of employment and the superior healthiness of many of the stations in the Upper Provinces would be agreeable. To the men it would be much more satisfactory to be brought nearer their homes, and to be saved the danger of the long journey which has been so fatal to many when returning on furlough. The State, besides the saving from the reduction of the staff, would make a great gain in the comparative cheapness of all camp establishments, of followers, &c. It is an extraordinary fact not yet accounted for that in all the stations occupied alternately by Madras, Bombay, and Bengal troops, the Bazaar prices have invariably fallen with the last and risen with the two former.

The Bombay division would under this alteration occupy only the stations within their frontier, transferring the southern Maratha country to Madras, Nagpur² and Disa to Bengal.

In considering the question of internal danger those officers most conversant with Indian affairs who were examined before the Parliamentary Committee apprehend no danger to our dominion as long as we are assured of the fidelity of our native troops. To

1. As this separate corps would be liable to degenerate into a sort of militia it might perhaps be a better arrangement to incorporate the Bombay half in the Madras army, in the same manner as the Hindustani half would be drafted into that of Bengal.
2. The following table of distances shows that Nagpur is as conveniently placed for support from three of the great military stations in Bengal as from Bombay, and much nearer to the divisions in Malwa and Sagar than even to Bombay.

Nagpur to	Miles	Nagpur to	Miles
Bombay ..	560	Sagar (c) ..	181
Madras ..	735	Benares ..	446
Mhow (a) ..	351	Allahabad ..	450
Nimach (b) ..	505	Agra ..	669

- (a) Left cantonment of the Rajputana force.
- (b) Centre of the Rajputana force.
- (c) Head-quarters of Sagar division.

this opinion I entirely subscribe. But others again view in the native army itself the source of our greatest peril. In all ages the military body has been often the prime cause, but generally the instrument, of all revolutions; and proverbial almost as is the fidelity of the native soldier to the chief whom he serves, more especially when he is justly and kindly treated, still we cannot be blind to the fact that many of those ties which bind other armies to their allegiance are totally wanting in this. Here is no patriotism, no community of feeling as to religion or birthplace, no influencing attachment from high considerations, or great ignorance, capable of the strongest religious excitement, and very sensitive to disrespect to their persons or infringement of their customs.

I shall quote from the evidence a few of those passages bearing upon this subject which appear to me to have the greatest force and truth. Mr. Henry Russell observes :—

‘The greatest danger we have to apprehend is from our native army; our military force is the exclusive tenure by which we hold the government, and the fidelity of the troops of whom that force is composed is necessarily precarious. They are foreigners and mercenaries. They are attached to a Government that pays them well and treats them kindly, &c., but we have no hold upon them through either national honour or national prejudices, and cannot expect from them what we do from English soldiers fighting for English objects. They are peculiarly susceptible of being practised upon, and may be induced either by our own mismanagement or by the artifices of designing persons to turn against us those very arms which now constitute our only strength.’

This intelligent officer makes a remark too true at the present day with respect to the Madras Army :—

‘The details of the army had for the first time in India fallen into the hands of school which thought that everything depended on show, and that the sacrifice was too great for the attainment of outward smartness and uniformity.’

There are parts of Mr. Holt Mackenzie’s evidence well worthy of attention, for no man of his time in India possessed the same general knowledge or could form a more accurate and enlightened

judgment upon all subjects connected with our rule. He observes : 'I do not think the sepoys have any attachment to the English as a nation; on the contrary, I apprehend that a considerable number of that part which consists of Moslems must generally have a national, or rather I should say a religious, dislike to the English.' He thinks the sepoys have a great deal of attachment to their officers, but that this rests upon personal character rather than on anything that may be called attachment to the nation generally. He thinks 'the sepoys, as long as they are well paid, will have so strong a sense of the duty of being faithful to those who so pay them as to be only overcome by some powerful cause of discontent or excitement.' He thinks a larger native army is quite essential for maintaining the tranquillity of the country, but he would be 'very sorry to see its defence entrusted to them without a large European force.' He is not aware of any circumstances causing immediate danger but he thinks, 'on general principles that there is much prospective danger.

It is only since I recorded different minutes enforcing the precedence and expediency of bettering the condition of the native army and of preventing discontent by timely concession and precaution that I have read a passage in a letter from Sir Thomas Munro, written in 1817, in which I find a view of our future situation and the consequences appertaining to it quite in unison with the sentiments I have so often expressed. He observes : 'But even if all India could be brought under the British dominion, it is very questionable whether such a change, either as it regards the natives or ourselves, ought to be desired. One effect of such a conquest would be that the Indian army, having no longer any war like neighbours to control, would gradually lose its military habits and discipline, and that the native troops would have leisure to feel their own strength, and, for want of other employment, to turn it against their European masters'. He concludes a long and able argument upon the question whether in the event of our conquest of the whole of India the condition of the people would be better than under their native princes, which he doubts, with this remark : 'There is perhaps no example of any conquest in which the natives have been so completely excluded from all share in the government of their country as in British India.' The only conclusion that I

wish to establish from the preceding remarks, which contain indisputable truths, is that in the native army alone rests our internal danger, and that this danger may involve our complete subversion. But the fidelity of our native army, though wonderfully great and deserving of high confidence, cannot be considered exempt from the possibility of seduction, and thus an adequate European force is the sole security against this, the greatest evil that could befall us. What should be the proportion of our European to our native force will be presently considered.

The external danger comes next under review. The capability of the native army to meet it, and the manner in which the native military means of India can be turned to the greatest advantage, are subjects of the first magnitude.

As far as experience can teach us, the prospect is discouraging as to any great degree of direct and positive assistance in the field, that is in actual conflict, to be expected from the sepoy in a contest with the stronger and bolder races of Central Asia, with or without the co-operation of a Russian force. Mr. Holt Mackenzie has given an opinion upon the question before us, which quite coincides with my view of it :—

‘My impression is that as far as regards any Indian enemy the native army may be considered to be very efficient. I am not equally confident of this efficiency if placed in any new and unusual position and exposed to encounter enemies that may possibly come upon us from without. I think the result of the war with the Burmese seems to show that when brought against enemies superior in physical strength to those with whom they have been accustomed to contend, and required to surmount obstacles of a different kind from what they have been accustomed to surmount, the native troops, however well led, will be found to want resolution and nervous vigour so as to be inferior to European troops in a degree not ordinarily to be perceived in Indian warfare. Consequently I should apprehend that if they were called upon to meet an European enemy in the north of India they might fail partly from the want of physical strength and partly from the want of moral energy.’

The defects of the native of India are want of physical strength and of moral energy. The first is beyond our remedy. It only depends upon ourselves to raise the latter to a much higher standard. Our system has, I fear, tended to depress it.

The late wars have brought the sepoy in contact with enemies of masculine character, and have shown the justice of the preceding opinion.

Sir David Ochterlony, in his confidential report to Government during the Nepal War, has recorded his opinion that the sepoys were unequal to contend with the Gurkhas in the hills.

The Burmese war was exclusively carried on by British troops. The Madras troops entirely failed. It is understood that Sir Archibald Campbell was strongly prejudiced against them, and when granting the request of their officers to be permitted to lead their men to the attack, he neglected the practice invariably adopted upon all other occasions of joining with them a proportion of European troops. To this their ill-success may be in part owing. My own impression is also that in the short war against Coorg the Madras sepoys showed the same want of energy.

With respect to the inability of the sepoys to contend with a European enemy, the concurrent opinion of all the evidence, to which may be added the inference to be drawn from all our own conquests in India, seems to be decisive upon the question.

For my own part I am not quite disposed to come to the same desponding conclusion, because if the bolder and larger man of the north were mixed with a due proportion of European troops, and excited to acts of valour by sufficient encouragement, I know not why he should not acquire the same superior bearing as the Portuguese and the Neapolitans under British and French direction. But of the sepoys of the south of India, of those of the territories proper of Madras and Bombay, I entertain no such hope. Their case cannot be more favourably put for them than by supposing them to be Europeans, and to have all the advantages of the European character, and then let it be asked if men of such physical inferiority would be received as recruits in any European army, or if an army so constituted would not be considered perfectly inefficient.

All these facts and opinions seem to me to establish incontrovertibly that a large proportion of European troops is necessary for our security under all circumstances of peace and war. It surprises me to find how little attention was paid by the Committee to one of the most important parts of the inquiry, the relative proportions between the native and European force. But we fortunately possess the opinion of Sir Thomas Munro, the first of authorities, confirmed by another only second to his, that of Colonel John Munro, who filled the office of Quarter-master General when I was at Madras. The opinions on both these questions are worthy of being noticed.

'The native troops are in an excellent state of discipline, but of course the Europeans are always superior to the natives. Question is, what should be the relative proportions of the European infantry to the native infantry? Answer: I should say one-third of European; that was the proportion observed at Madras,—indeed we have sometimes rather more, now we have considerably less.'

I once conversed with Sir Thomas Munro on that point, and he expressed his opinion very decidedly that there should be that proportion. This is also my opinion, but I think that it would suffice at present to fix it at one-fourth, being careful that the establishment should be always kept complete, and that on the most remote indications of danger it should be increased to one-third.

The statements annexed to this Minute show the actual proportion of Europeans to natives in the army of each presidency, and in the whole army.

The raising the European proportion to one-fourth would require an establishment of 28,171 rank and file. The present establishment of King's troops consists of twenty regiments of infantry and four of cavalry. The numbers wanting to complete amount to 1945 rank and file, and the effective strength consists only of 15,587 rank and file. The three European regiments in the Company's service amount to 2,429 rank and file. They exceed their complement. The total effective force, both King's and Company's, amounts to 18,016 rank and file, and the deficit required to complete the whole to one-fourth would be 10,155 rank and file, of

which 8,599 would be in excess of the present establishment, supposing the King's regiments to be complete and the Company's European corps reduced to their complement. In order to maintain the proportion of one-fourth in a state of efficiency, it is necessary to advert to the very great difference there is, and must always be, between the apparent and the real force, that is between the number of men actually borne on the rolls, and those if the regiment took the field who would be forthcoming. Many from the effects of climate must be left behind in hospital and quarters.

I called on Dr. Burke, the Inspector-General of Hospitals an officer of great experience and intelligence, for an opinion of the deductions that ought to be made on this score. His answer gives 8 per cent for sick left behind and 4 per cent more for the effects of even a long march on a very short service. In order to keep up this one-fourth to its proper quota I think the establishment of rank and file should be fixed at 25,000 infantry and 5000 cavalry, and to effect it at the least possible charge I would raise each of our twenty-three regiments of infantry to 1000 rank and file, and add to our establishment two regiments of King's infantry. The cavalry, as I have already proposed in a former minute, should be raised to 800 rank and file, and the establishment augmented from three to five regiments, being 1000 men short of the force proposed.

I would station these two additional regiments of infantry and two of cavalry as follows—one of infantry at Bangalore, making three regiments at their station, which I consider as the most convenient position for a reserve, to be applicable to all exigencies in India; one regiment of infantry and one of cavalry to be placed in the great central cantonment, Rajputana, proposed to be established on the Beas river, and the other regiment of cavalry at Haidarabad.

In Rajputana there are above 10,000 native troops without any European force, which I consider to be highly objectionable in many points of view. This tract of country between the Narbada and Jumna, or rather Nagpur and Agra, is by far the most important in the whole line of our military occupation.

I do not feel called upon to suggest the means by which this extra expense shall be defrayed. My duty is performed in stating the imperfections of our present military defence and the measures

that are necessary for the security of our empire. At the same time it appears to me that the reduction of one captain in every regiment of native infantry and cavalry may be made without any compromise of efficiency. When two companies were reduced in each regiment the former complement of officers remained unaltered. I consider the establishment of European officers in a native regiment to be far more than is necessary, and it is their number and high pay which swell to such an immense amount the military expenditure. Men differ very much as to the proper proportion, some contending that the amount cannot be too great; others, again, that the sepoy army was never in a better state than when there were not more than three or four officers with each corps. I am much inclined to be of this opinion. The connection between European and native officers was much closer, their dependence upon each other greater, and a more cordial intimacy existed between all ranks. I believe the sepoys have never been so good as they were in the earliest part of our career; none superior to those under De Boigne, and at the present day none better than the Nizam's contingent, where the same proportion, I believe, about six officers, is maintained. There is one fact that is universally admitted, that no number of European officers will make a sepoy corps equal to an European regiment, and in my opinion that establishment would be sufficient that allowed the presence of one officer to a company. The saving proposed would go far to meet the charge, in addition to the charges that have been suggested in respect to the Bombay army.

There are two points adverted to in the reports of the Committee that are well deserving of early consideration.

Both the Madras Committee and the Adjutant-General and Quartermaster-General of the Bengal army have recommended the augmentation of each native centre to 1,000 men, without any increase of officers, and I would strongly support its adoption as soon as the finances will allow. It would give great relief to the duty devolving upon all sepoy corps, which is often very harassing and distressing as military duty, and increased by the interference and interruption often caused to their religious customs. This increase would permit the extension of a much valued indulgence, that of furlough, to a much larger proportion of every regiment—

say one-fifth, and for a longer period—say a year. I should think it would in any new general regulation be advisable to reduce the amount of pay received during absence. There is at this time a great difference of practice in this respect between the Bengal sepoy and those of Madras and Bombay, to the advantage of the latter.

The same Bengal officers have urged the formation of a portion of the regular regiments into light infantry. As there is not a single chief in India or on the frontier who can resist us in line, an army formed principally for that purpose is in a great degree useless. Within our territories all insurrection must be confined to hills or the jungles. Without we have either the Nepal Hills or the jungles and stockades of Ava, where soldiers well trained in irregular fighting and in the expert use of a light musket can alone be useful. I am of opinion that one cause of the defeat of the two columns in the late Coorg war may be ascribed to the ignorance of both men and officers in this species of warfare, which requires a particular and constant instruction as well as experience.

The irregular cavalry is the arm of all others in India that may be placed on a par with any of the military means that we could command for our defence against foreign invasion—not even excepting the European cavalry. I need not repeat what has been so often stated, that the Rohillas and all the other highest caste and bravest men in India who will not enter our ranks from dislike to our rigid discipline, and from the fear of personal disrespect from our young inconsiderate officers, have no repugnance to serve in the irregular cavalry. The irregular cavalry is of peculiar importance in India. It is the favourite arm of the native. It attaches him to our service by the strong ties of interest and affection. It prevents his being engaged against us, and if the system were sufficiently extended it would, at a trifling expense, afford us all the advantages, moral and military, which the Russians have derived from the Cossacks, who, from being the bitterest enemies of Russia in the time of Peter the Great, have become the most faithful subjects of the empire. This force should be increased to 20,000 men.

Steam power must be included among the most powerful means of reducing the difficulties of protection and support to such extensive and distant lines of defence and of multiplying the military resources that we already possess. In illustration of the practical

use that might be made of this power, I take the liberty of introducing here an opinion that I have elsewhere expressed :—

‘But an efficient marine steam establishment in India is called for by considerations more powerful even than those of commercial advantage or improved political control. It would multiply in a ratio little understood the defensive means of the Empire. Let me advert to an event, the particulars of which are within your recollection, the Burmese war. If five powerful steamers had then been at our command to bring up in quick succession all necessary reinforcements and supplies, the war would probably have terminated in a few months, and many millions of treasure, many thousands of lives, and extraordinary misery and sickness would have been spared. Allow me to submit another estimate of advantage, of the correctness of which you all can likewise judge. The proper station for the principal reserve of our European troops in India is at Bangalore, Madras the place of embarkation. In a few days, at any period of the monsoons, the same five steamers would carry this force to the most distant part of the shores of the Empire. In five weeks with the aid of the river-steamers this reserve would reach Allahabad, the most central point of our territories, and one of our most commanding positions. The same steam power that would enable us to baffle any invader in war would be ample in times of peace to carry into complete execution the whole plan of the Bengal Steam Committee, for which I continue to be a decided advocate.’

I will only offer a remark that if such power be provided it should be exclusively appropriated to the transport of troops and to the maintenance of the communication with Europe. From all purposes of less utility—as passage or tug vessels—it should be interdicted as being uselessly expensive, and as affecting without any adequate return of benefit the efficiency and readiness for constant service of the steam machinery.

I shall only now take the liberty of suggesting the advantage that would accrue from including the military establishments of Ceylon in those entertained for the defence of our Indian Empire. Ceylon could well spare one regiment of infantry, which would be *pro tanto* a relief to her finances. For the ordinary duties of the colony a sepoy corps at one half of the expense would probably answer every purpose, and in case of more urgent service the regiment at

Trichinopoli might be held at the disposal of the Government of Ceylon, and would be able to cross the straits in a very short time. The Ceylon regiment, if stationed at Bangalore, would be of much more extended benefit, could march down to replace the Trichinopoli regiment if necessary, and could move on to Ceylon in case of increasing urgency. There is a Malay corps in Ceylon, an element of defence not known in our Indian establishment, and which might be most usefully employed in our provinces on the Eastern coast, and perhaps in the Lower Provinces, which are so hateful to the up-country sepoy. If the experiment succeeded, this corps would afford a nucleus for the foundation of a larger force. It is a great desideratum in our military arrangements, the obtaining a mode of defence for Bengal proper at once efficient for the State and satisfactory to the individuals employed. I had much conversation with Sir Edward Barnes on the subject, I possess, indeed, a written memorandum from him strongly concurring in the view here taken, but I cannot immediately lay my hand upon it.

I regret that these observations should have run to such extreme length, but no one before me has had the opportunity of a season of peace to reflect upon the alterations that the union of our Presidencies into one Government, and of our territories into one Empire, imperatively call for. It would have ill become me, upon a subject so momentous as the safety of this great possession, to have been prevented by any move of delicacy from the full development of my opinion. I fearlessly pronounce the Indian army to be the least efficient and most expensive in the world. The realisation of the hypothesis with which I started, of the presence of 20,000 Russian infantry on the Indus, with its accompanying multitudes, would now find us in a state utterly unable to resist them. The national resources at home might possibly rescue us from the impending ruin but we must recollect that we are not likely to have again the same large armies to supply us with great reinforcements, and that men recruited for the occasion would be very inefficient and quite inadequate to bear the effects of the climate.

But even if we could command this aid, it would be utterly inexcusable if, with ample time for preparation, with the sum of ten millions sterling appropriated to our military establishments, we were not able to secure ourselves against every calculable danger."

PRAYĀGA IN INSCRIPTIONS

By

Dr. V. S. Pathak, M.A., Ph.D.

It is known from inscriptions that Prayāga in fifth century A.D. was a sacred place where kings of Deccan came on pilgrimage and bestowed gifts on *Brāhmaṇas*.¹ An admonitory formula² in old Kanarese language which usually occurs in inscriptions of this period from Dharawar area indicates that it was regarded as one of the three, four, five or seven holiest cities of the country. Sena inscriptions mention it with Vārāṇasī and Purī.³ The *Cintra Prastāsi* of Śārṅgadeva⁴ records the visit of ascetics to it.

(A) **Prayāga as Prajāpati-kshetra** :—The earliest epigraphic reference to Prayāga as a *Prajāpati-kshetra* occurs in the *Rithpur*⁵ *C. P. of Bhattabharamman*. Inscriptions of Viśvarūpsena also refer to the performance of sacrifices by the lotus-born Brahmā on the bank of Trivenī.⁶

(B) **Religious Suicide at Prayāga** :—Kumārgupta,⁷ the later Gupta king of Magadha (C. 554 A. D.), Gaṅgeyadeva, the Kalachuri ruler (1041 A.D.), the Chandella king Dhangadeva (1001-02 A. D.) and the Chandella minister Ananta committed suicide at

1. *El.* XIX, p. 102.

2. Different forms of this formula are found in

(a) Moritagi Ins. of Vikramāditya VI, 1124 A.D. *ETI*, XVIII, 118.

(b) Nirgali Ins. of Someśvara I, *El.* XVI, 67,

(c) Bankpur Ins. of the time of Someśvara I, *El.* XVIII, 175.

3. See note '6' below.

4. *El.*, I, p. 166.

5. भगवतः प्रजापतिः (ते) क्षेत्रे गंगायामुनयोः सविधे प्रयागस्थिते ।

El. XIX, p. 102, LL. 4-5.

6. तीरोत्संगे त्रिवेण्याः कमलभवमखारम्भनिर्व्याजपूते । V. 14. It may be noted that *Matsya* (CIV, 5) and *Kūrma-purāṇa* (1, 36) describe it as *Prajāpati-kshetra* while the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* do not refer to it.

7. शौर्यसत्यव्रतधरो यः प्रयागगतो घने ।

अम्भसीव करोषाम्नी ममः स पुण्यपूजितः ॥ LL. 7-8. *CHI*, p. 203.

Fict notes, "This verse seems to indicate that Kumāragupta Gupta's funeral rites took place at Allahabad but not necessarily that he placed himself on the funeral pyre while still alive." *loc. cit.* but *Contra* K. C. Chattopādhyāya : *JUPHS*. X, pp. 60 ff. See also *HDS*. IV, p. 605 note 1372.

Prayāga. There is some evidence for the suicide of Vallālasena,¹ the Sena ruler. Data for the suicide of Dhruva Rāshtrakūṭa are not certain.

The Baroda C. P. of Suvarṇavarsha states that Dhruva "obtaining from his enemies, at the confluence of the Gangā and the Yamunā of beauteous waves, the status of an overlord, attained at the same time the high region of Śiva as a direct mark as it were (of his elevated condition²)", Prinsep, thereupon, concluded that Dhruva drowned at the confluence of the Gangā and the Yamunā³ but Dr. Altekar controverted the view and held that the verse need not be construed to mean the suicide of Dhruva at the confluence. It, on the other hand, describes figuratively the occupation of Doab by the Rāshtrakūṭa invader.⁴ Prof. Chattopadhyaya, however, struck a dissenting note. According to him "the *Purāṇas* mention that the death near the famous banyan trees at Prayaga takes one to the region of Śiva. I have therefore no hesitation in rejecting the suggestion of Dr. A. S. Altekar that the verse has to be interpreted as referring to Dhruva's occupation of the Ganga-Jamuna Doab. His further statement that "the poet imagines that the acquisition of heaven by Dhruva, which is mentioned in the latter half-verse was due to his possession of the holy Jumna and the Ganges" is quite absurd. Nobody can possess the Jumna and the Ganges. And how can possession of the contiguous land take him to heaven either."⁵

1. In the *Adbhuta-nāgara* of Vallālasena, the royal author has been described to have drowned himself at Prayāga.

ग्रन्थेस्मिन्नसमाप्त एव तनये साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीं मुदा
दीक्षापर्यन्ति दक्षिणे निगृह्ये निष्पत्तिमस्थापयत् ।
नानादानतिलाम्बुसम्बलनम् सूर्यात्मजा संगमं
गंगायां विरचय्य निर्जरपुरं भार्यानुयायी गतः ॥ *IB*, p. 174.

But the tradition is not beyond doubt. The compilation of *Dānasthāna* in 1091 Śaka militates against the statement that Vallālasena committed suicide in 1089 Ś.

2. *Baroda C. P. of Karka Suvarṇavarsha* (JA, XII, p. 159) records—

यो गंगायामुने तरंगसुमने गृह्णात् परेभ्यः समं
साक्षाच्चिह्ननिभेन चोत्तमपदे तदप्राप्तवानैश्वरम् ।
देहात्मितयैवैरिव गुरोर्यस्य भ्रमश्चिदिदो
श्वाप्तास्तस्य बभूव कीर्तिपुत्रो गोविन्दराजः सुतः ॥

3. *JASB*, 1839, p. 304.
4. *The Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 58.
5. *Journal of U.P. Historical Society*, X, p. 75.

Arguments of Prof. Chattopadhyaya are, however, weak. His contention that "nobody can possess the Ganga and the Jumna" goes against the epigraphic evidence of the period. *The Prince of Wales Museum Copper Plate* of Chalukya Vijayaditya mentions the "bringing of the Ganga and the Jamuna under the suzerainty of his father"¹ and consequently "the defeat of the king of *Uttarā-patha* brought him the insignia of overlordship."² "The status of an overlord" (*aiśvaram uttama padam*) of the Baroda Copper Plate may be compared with 'the of insignia overlordship'. (*paramēśvara-chinha*) of the *Prince of Wales Museum Copper Plate*.

The verse in the Baroda Copper Plate yields two meanings—one in favour of Śiva and the other in case of Dhruva. *Īvara* is one of the names of Śiva. Gangā and Yamunā are his door-keepers. *Uttama-pada* is the high position of Devadeva. In favour of Dhruva "*Uttamapadam aiśvaram*" means overlordship indicated by the fact that the Gangā and the Jamunā were under his jurisdiction. Lastly "the possession of the contiguous land, has not taken Dhruva to heaven" but has certainly given some ground to the poet for figuratively stating that Dhruva obtained the great position of *aiśvaram* i.e. overlordship and the nature of Śiva, simultaneously.

Thus, the evidence for Dhruva's suicide is very weak.

(a) **Suicide in the Fire of Cow-Dung Cakes** :—Kumāragupta the later Gupta ruler entered in the fire of cow-dung cakes at Prayāga.³ This mode of suicide is regarded as most meritorious in the *Purāṇas*.⁴

1. गंगायमुनापालिष्वजपटहृदकमहाशब्दविहमाणिक्वमतगजादौन् पितृसात्कुर्वन्
LL. 22-23, *El*, XXV, p.
2. सकलोत्तरापथनाथमथनोपागिर्जतोर्जितपालिष्वजादिसमस्त-पारमेस्वर्य-विहस्य
17-18, *El*, XXV.
3. गंगायमुनयोर्मध्ये कर्पाग्निवस्तुसाधयेत् ।
अहीनांगो ह्यरोगस्य पंचेन्द्रियसमन्वितः ॥६॥
यावन्ति रोमकृपाणि तस्य गात्रेषु देहिनः ।
तावद्वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गलोके महीयते ॥१०॥ *Matya-purāṇa*, CVII.
4. प्राप्ते प्रयागवटमूलनिवेशे (श) व (ब) न्यौसाद् शतेनगृहिणीभिरमुग्रमुक्ताम् ॥१२॥
Jabalpur Ins. of Yashakarnadeva, *El*, II, pp. 1-7.

It is rather strange that this important fact has not been mentioned in grants of his son Lakshmi Karna and specially when the *Banaras C.P. Grant* was issued at the time of the annual *śrāddha* of Gangeyadeva. It is for first time mentioned in the grants of his grandson.

(b) **Suicide at Akshayaṇa** :—The Kalachuri king Gāṅg-yadeva obtained salvation at the foot of *Ṣaṭa* tree at Prayāga along with his hundred wives.¹ Suicide by jumping from the tree has been described by Hiuen Tsiang and recommended in the *Matsya-purāṇa* as quoted in *Tīrtha Kalpataru*.

(c) **Suicide by Drowning at the Confluence** :—Dhṛṇaga after living for more than hundred years at last “abandoned the body in the waters of the Gangā and Yamunā and entered into beautitude, closing the eyes, fixing his thoughts on Rudra and muttering holy prayers.”² Ananta³ also drowned himself at the confluence.

(d) **Suicide by a Brāhmaṇa** :—Some medieval⁴ writers prohibit suicide by *Brāhmaṇas* at Prayāga. But the example of the *Brāhmaṇa* minister Ananta indicates that there was no such prohibition in earlier times.

(C) **Shrines at Prayāga** :—Inscriptions mention the shrines of Gaṅgāditya⁵ and Trilochana.⁶

(D) **Prayāga in Sculptures** :—The confluence of Gangā and the Yamunā at Prayāga is depicted as the meeting of two river-goddesses in anthropomorphic form in the Ādivarāha image at Udayagiri.

1. बटमूलं समासाद्य यस्तु प्राणान्परित्यजेत् ।

सर्वलोकानतिक्रम्य ह्रस्वलोके स गच्छति ॥ *TK.*, p. 152.

2. *El*, I, p. 137, V. 55.

3. *Mauchandella Ins. of Madanavarman*, *El*, I, pp. 200-201.
That Ananta was Brāhmaṇa is mentioned in V. 29.

4. “*Tīrtha-Prākāśa* holds a long, learned and highly polemic discussion on the subject of religious suicide at Prayāga. Its own view appears to be that a Brāhmaṇa should not commit suicide at Prayāga on account of prohibition contained in kalivariya verses and that members of other *varṇas* may do so.” *HDS*, IV, p. 609.

5. *Kamanli Plate of Jayachandra*, *El*, IV.

6. *El*, p. 310.

CEMETERY H CULTURE OF HARAPPA

By

Sri O. P. Sharma, M.A.

Two important burial sites, Cemeteries H and R37, were excavated at Harappa—a chalcolithic site in the Indus Valley in 1928-34 and 1937-41, 46 respectively.¹

Two kinds of burial practices—complete as well as fractional were in vogue in the Indus Valley.² Cemetery R 37—the earlier cemetery contained pottery, similar to the household pottery from the habitation area and is therefore different from the Cemetery H pottery. Cemetery H at Harappa consists of two distinct strata, the upper one of pot-burials and the lower one of earth-burials. Stratum I yielded about 120 burial pots. Below this in Stratum II corpses, entire or fractional, were buried with funeral pottery.³ A representative collection of pottery from Cemetery H is in the possession of the Department of Archaeology and the National Museum of India, New Delhi.

There is fundamental difference between the burial pottery of Cemetery H and the household pottery from the habitation area. The household pottery is usually made of coarse clay, has light-red slip on which the painting is executed in black. On the other hand the Cemetery H ceramic is made of finer and better levigated and puddled clay (Pl. I, Fig. I, II).⁴ It has a deep red colour with brighter slip on which painting in black is executed prominently. Shapes of the Cemetery H pottery are also in sharp contrast with those of the household vessels. The paintings on Cemetery H pottery show a predominance of naturalistic motifs such as the goat, deer, bull, peacock, fishes, plants, trees, stars and leaves etc. On the other hand household pottery indicates a distinct preference for geometrical patterns and other linear forms.⁵

1. Vats, M.S., Excavations at Harappa, Vol. I p. 203. Ancient India No. 3 p. 85.

2. Marshall, J., Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization Vol. I, p. 79—82.

3. Vats, M.S., Excavations at Harappa, Vol. I, p. 204.

4. Vats, M.S. : Excavations at Harappa, Vol. I, p. 246, Vol. II, Pl. LIX.

5. Vats, M.S., Excavations at Harappa, Vol. I, p. 246.

Cemetery H pottery also shows a contrast with Cemetery R. 37 pottery which represents the mature Harappa ceramic and is mostly identical with the household pottery.¹ Main types of Cemetery H pottery are flasks, ribbed dish-on-stand, elliptical jars, round jars, carinated jars, saucers, flat covers, dishes and small round vases etc.

Pottery of Stratum I consists of various types viz. round, ellipsoid or carinated having a height ranging from $9\frac{3}{4}$ " to $23\frac{3}{4}$ ". The round pots are either plain or painted, the latter ones being flanged at the neck and sometimes having ring-bases. The plain jars have their lower portion decorated with finger-tip or finger-groove patterns. The former pattern was made by beating the body of a wet jar with a special dabber, prepared by impressing the finger tips, on its surface before firing. The latter pattern was obtained by passing the fingers over the wet clay while the jar was turned on the wheel. For making both those patterns wet clay was applied to the lower portion of sun-dried pots before they were fired. The neck flange was also added afterwards while the smaller jars were finished on the wheel at a time, the larger ones were made in two parts and joined later on. The elliptical jars have a short, straight collared rim with or without a flange. This type of neck is common to all burial pots except those with the finger tip pattern. Some of these jars, are plain, some are merely decorated with bands and there are a few others with elaborate paintings. Carinated pots are all painted and flanged at the neck, but with the exception of one are much smaller in size. These pots are concave above, convex below and have a projecting base. All these burial jars were found originally covered with inverted bowls, vases, handled lids, pot sherds or bricks.²

As regards the contents of pot burials of Stratum I, with the exception of two or three pots, they contained nothing but human remains. The methods of pot burials suggests that the dead bodies were first exposed to the birds and beasts of prey and the excarnated remains were subsequently deposited in the jars.³

1. Ancient India No. 3. p. 101.

2. Vats, M.S., Excavations at Harappa, Vol. I, p. 204.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 205.

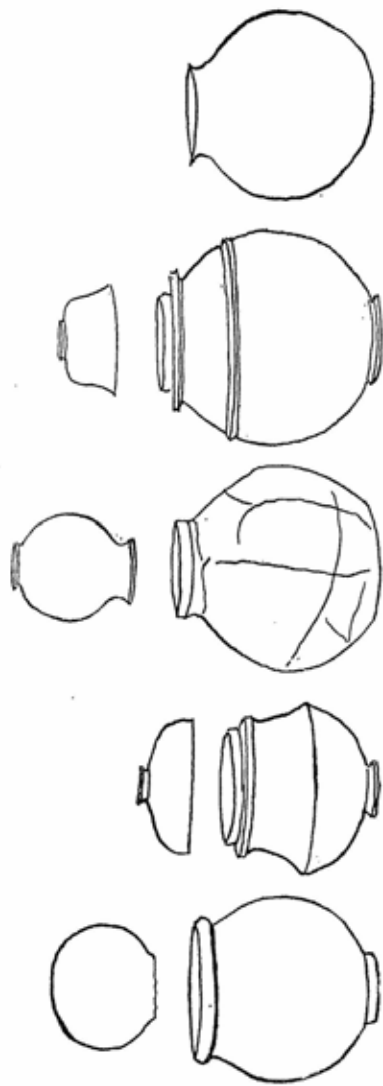


FIG. I

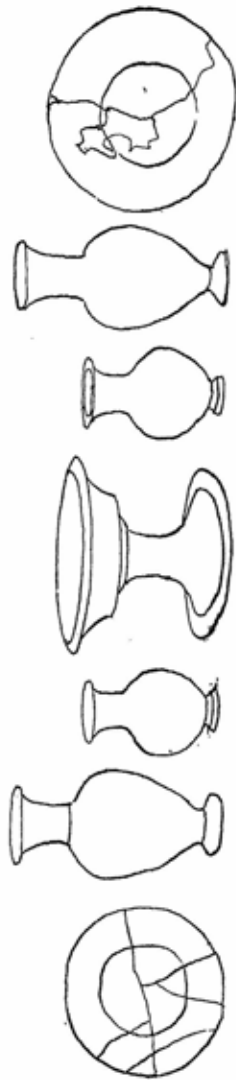
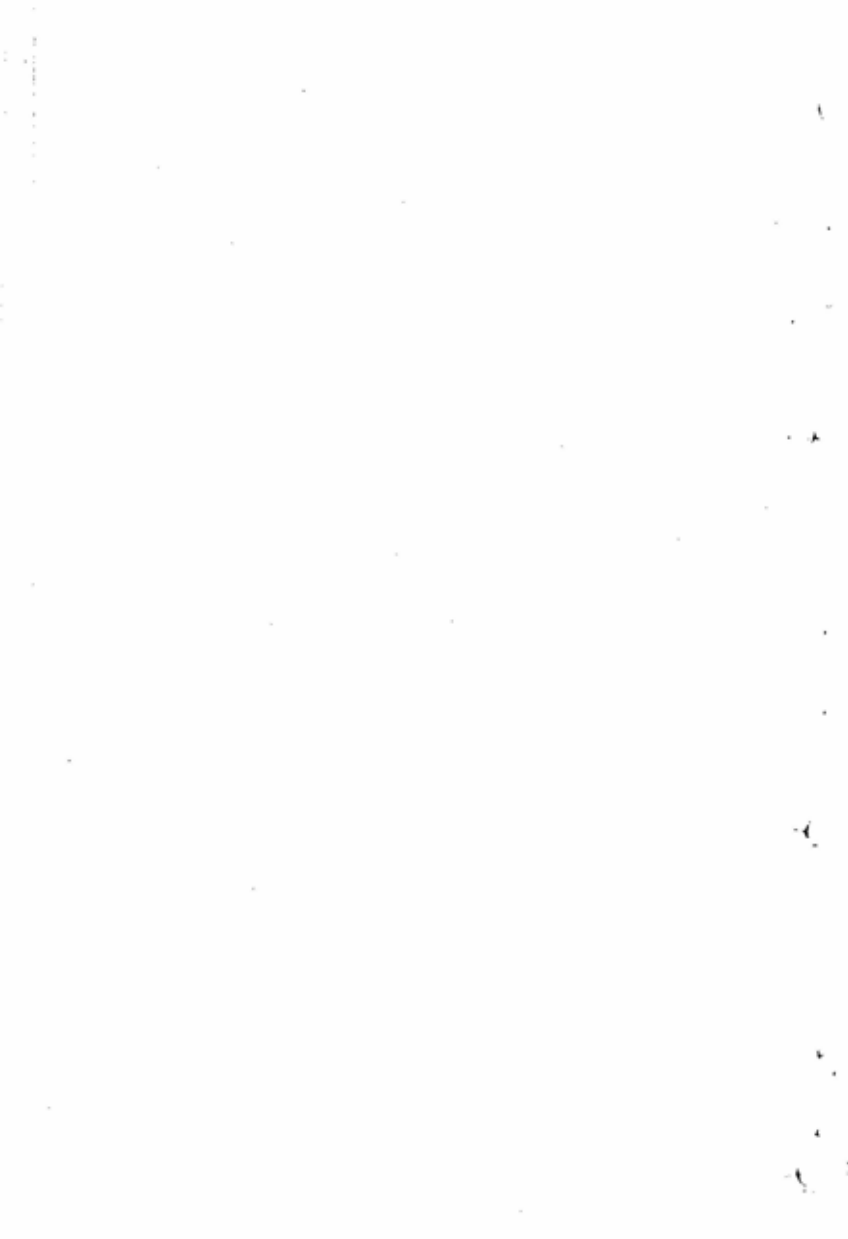


FIG II

Cemetery H Pottery, Harappa.



A number of burial jars of Stratum I have very elaborate mythological scenes painted on them. On pot H 206a, are painted at the shoulder three flying peacocks alternating with stars (Pl. II, Fig. III). In the body of each peacock is placed horizontally a therianthrope figure (*Sūkshma Śarīra*) of the dead being taken to heaven. Occurrence of the peacock on this and other jars shows that this animal was regarded sacred and was associated with the cult of the dead.¹ Jar 206b also represents an elaborate and very interesting scene of mythological character indicating a bull on either side of a beaked human figure holding them in his hands by means of a rope and also having a bow and arrow in his left hand. On the left side the bull is shown as being attacked by a hound. Two horned peacocks are shown in flight behind the hound. To the right of the left hand scene is shown a huge goat with eight trident like devices. On the other side of the jar is described the same scene with the difference that the bulls are bedecked with a trident-shaped crest between the horns and that the tail of the left hand animal is missing. Between the bulls and composite figure are shown two small peacocks. According to Mr. Vats the scene represents the journey of the dead to the heaven. The composite figure represents the spirit of the dead, the bovine animals are prototypes of *Anustaranī* and *Vaitaranī* cows meant for crossing the rivers on the way and the dog represented in the scene is Yama's dog (Pl. II, Fig. XIII. a, b).² References to the former are found in Rigveda, X, 16, 7., *Aśvalāyana Ghrihyasūtra*, IV, 3., *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, III, 3, 8; and *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, XXV, 7, 30; and to the latter in *Rāmāyaṇa*, IV. 44, 65, *Mahābhārata*, II, 373, and III, 6054 and 8148; and *Harivamśa*, 7736 and 9511. It may also be stated that there is mention of the sacrifice of goat and bull for the dead in the Rigveda.³ As the above discussion shows there are striking parallelisms between the Vedic rites and mythology and the scenes depicted on the Cemetery H burial jars.

Pot H 148a is almost hemispherical in shape below the shoulder but tapers gradually towards the neck with a horizontally grooved

1. Vats, M.S., *Excavations at Harappa* Vol. I, p. 207, Vol. II, Pl. LXII, 2.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 207, 208; Vol. II, Pl. LXII-1(a), 1 (b).

3. Rigveda-X, 16. A.B. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 423.

flange and pierced with three vertical, equidistant holes. It has ring base and a cordon round the body. It is decorated above the shoulder with five flying peacocks alternating with rows of birds¹ (P. II, Fig. IV). Its lid is pierced with two holes at opposite points of the rim and is decorated with four pairs of horn-like objects each separated from the other by a star, with two or three fishes in it² (Pl. II, Fig. V).

Jar No. 7435e has an elaborate and interesting scene painted on it. On it are depicted bovine animals with bird-like heads and a curious device around the neck. The bird-headed spirit of the dead seems to be carried on the back of the sacred animal from left. On the third figure it becomes a part and parcel of the animal's head³ (Pl. II, Fig. VI).

Apart from the mythological scenes other motifs like flying birds, stars, star-in-crescent, solar orbs, fishes, oblique wavy lines, rows of leaves, pairs of horns etc, also appear on the burial pottery.

The paintings on Cemetery H pottery represent the then prevalent popular beliefs regarding the fate of the man after death. The Cemetery H people believed in the continuity of human life after death. After a perilous journey the spirit of the man reached the Solar world—the Land of Bliss where there was eternal sunshine, majestic shady trees, and streams teeming with fish and resided there in peace and happiness. The bull, the peacock, the *pīpal* and the lotus were associated with the Solar world in one way or the other. The Cemetery H people unlike Sumerians or the Semetics did not believe in a dark under world but in a luminous celestial or the Solar world like the Indo-Aryans.⁴

There is little stratigraphical difference between Stratum I and II. According to Mr. Vats there is a radical difference between earth burials, complete or fractional, of the II Stratum and the later post-exposure pot-burials of the top stratum which proves that this sudden change from one kind of burial to the other was

1. Vats, M.S., Excavations at Harappa Vol. I, p. 210, 211, Vol. II, Pl. LXII-8.

2. Vats, M.S., Excavations at Harappa Vol. I, p. 211; Vol. II, Pl. LXII-10.

3. Vats, M.S., Vol. I, p. 212, Vol. II, Pl. LXII-13.

4. Sastri, K.N: Belief in a solar world 'The Hindustan Times' dt. 19th May, 1957.



FIG III



FIG IX



FIG VI



FIG VIII



FIG IX



FIG VII



FIG I



FIG II



FIG XII (a)



FIG XII (b)



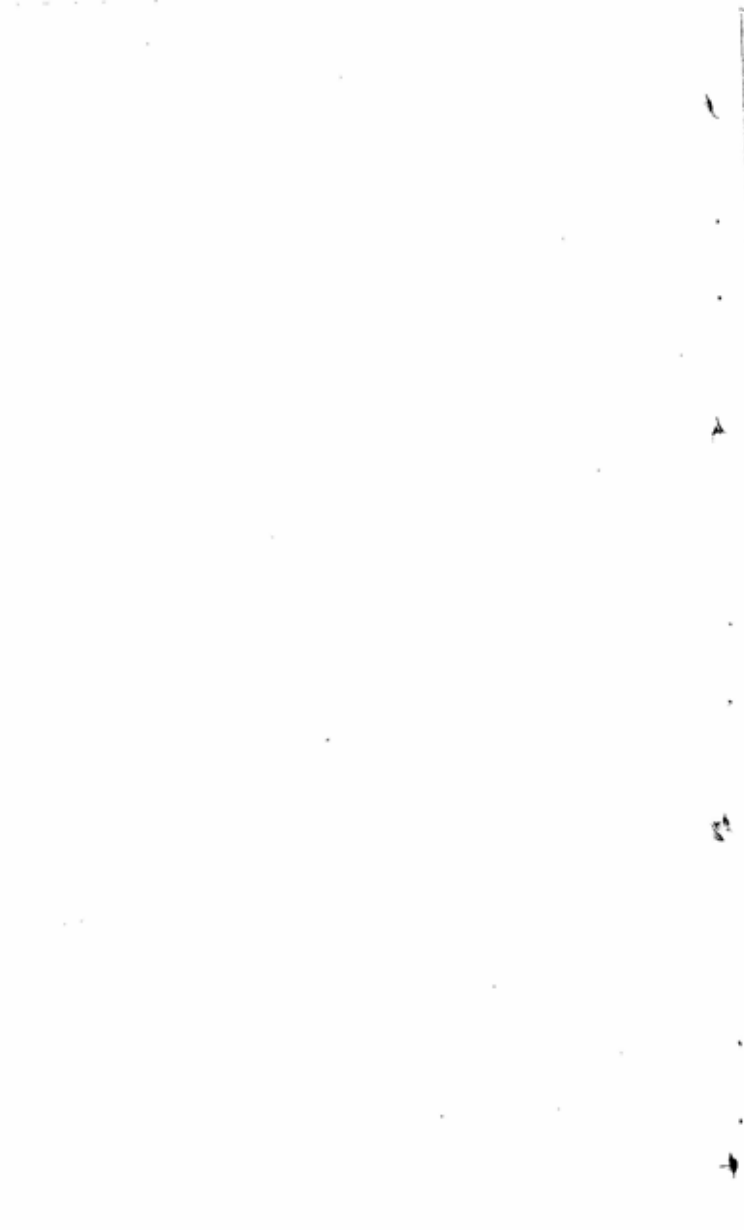
FIG XII (c)



FIG XIV A



FIG XIV B



due to some racial or cultural upheaval caused by the immigration of a foreign people. The craniological evidence furnished by Dr. Guha also supports this inference. According to him the large-headed dolichocephalic type with well developed supraorbital ridges and high cranial roof, long face and prominent nose which has been recovered from the earth-burials of Stratum II had undergone a definite admixture with a small low-headed type of people, by the time we come to the pot-burials of the upper Stratum. Whereas the skulls from Area G and from the II Stratum of the Cemetery show a continuity of the Indus People of Harappa and Mohenjodaro, a fresh element in the population is indicated by the skulls recovered from the top Stratum of the cemetery.¹ The evidence furnished by Stratum I and II proves that there was not only sudden change from complete to fractional burials but also there was a marked change in the pottery types of the two strata, although the two types are essentially the same.

According to Mr. Vats the date of cemetery H corresponds to the latest period of the Protohistoric Indus Culture viz., middle of 3rd millennium B.C. approximately.² Dr. R.E.M. Wheeler, basing his theory on the latest excavations at Harappa suggests a date of circa 1500 B.C. for the Cemetery H.³

The identity of cemetery H folk who appeared at Harappa at the closing phase of the Harappa culture is very problematic. Dr. Wheeler has suggested that the cemetery H people were Aryan invaders who destroyed the fortified cities of the aborigines, that is, the Indus Valley people and settled in the land of Seven Rivers in the middle of second millennium B.C.⁴

Col. D.H. Gordon while discussing the pottery industries of Indo-Iranian border and the problems concerning chronology of the Baluchistan and the Indus Valley cultures has tried to draw up a

1. Vats, M.S., Excavations at Harappa, p. 234, 235.

2. Vats, M.S., Excavations at Harappa, Vol. I, p. 234.

3. Ancient India No. 3, p. 81. Mr. K. N. Sastri has suggested the beginning of 2nd mil. B.C. as the date of cemetery H. Sastri, K.N. New Light on the Indus Civilization Vol. I, p. 75.

4. Ancient India No. 3, p. 81, 82. Professor V. Gordon Childe, has also supported this view. See Childe, V.G. New Light on the most Ancient East, p. 187.

tentative chronological chart based on the comparative study of cultures of different regions. He has based his chronological framework on three fixed points—the arrival of the potters who made wheel-thrown painted pottery, the start of the Indus Valley Culture and the start of the period of invasions.¹ According to him the period of invasions in Baluchistan and Sind started from circa 1800 B.C.² These invasions were the result of movements which spread throughout all the countries south of the Caucasus from Anatolia to Elam and were connected with the appearance of the Aryans upon the historical horizon. Supplementing the theory of Wheeler he says that the resistance of the Indus Valley people to these invaders lasted from circa 1700 to 1650, and the city of Harappa also fell to the first Ravi people (he calls the two successive groups of Cemetery H people as Ravi I and Ravi II).³

No concrete proof is however available to show that the Cemetery H people were Aryans. On the other hand there is some negative evidence to be accounted for.

Excavations of 1946 at Harappa in Cemetery H area have revealed a hiatus of 5 to 7 feet thickness between Cemetery R 37 and cemetery H thus proving that there was no overlap between the two cultures. Cemetery H people did not come in contact with the earlier people and therefore the theory of destruction of Harappan settlement by the Cemetery H folk falls to the ground. The latter seem to have occupied the site after the extinction of true Harappa Culture.⁴ Horse was unknown to the Indus Valley people but was associated with the Aryans. Had the Cemetery H people been Aryans equine remains must have been found at the upper levels alleged to be associated with the Aryan occupation. It is also a noteworthy feature that the Cemetery H pottery has

1. Ancient India Nos. 10 & 11, p. 159.

2. Ancient India Nos. 10 & 11, p. 168.

3. Ancient India Nos. 10 & 11, p. 169, 170.

4. Lal, B.B.: Ancient India No. 9, p. 88. Sastri has expressed different opinion: 'In Mr. Var's excavations it was a common experience to find cemetery H Sherds lying in association with fragmentary structures and antiques of true Harappa culture of earlier period. The overwhelming evidence gathered from the previous exploration amply proves that the cemetery H people after their arrival in the declining phase of the Harappa Civilization, lived with the early people for at least a couple of centuries. They got mixed up with them and adopted their culture wholesale. Sastri, K.N.: New Light on the Indus Civilization, Vol. I, p. 74.

not been found at any other site either in India or outside. The Indo-Aryans on their march towards India must have settled at different places in Afghanistan and North West India and we should naturally expect such type of pottery from those sites. No doubt some similarity between the cemetery H mythology and some of the Vedic rites and customs does exist as shown above, but in the absence of any concrete evidence this can only be taken as coincidental or may simply indicate the influence of the one over the other culture.

The data furnished by cemetery H is really baffling. The Cemetery H people represented by Stratum I and II belong to two different racial stocks as evidenced by the study of skulls and the marked difference between the burial practices and pottery types of the two strata, although both of the pottery types are essentially identical and culturally the people are the same. Again, it seems that the Cemetery H culture was not altogether cut off from the earlier traditions of the mature Harappa Culture in as much as the peacock and the *pipal* motifs are common in both pottery types. It may be stated that both the motifs are typically Indian and on this ground also the Cemetery H people cannot be regarded as aliens.

Although the Indus Valley represented one particular type of culture, racially it was composed of heterogeneous mass. It would not look surprising as the valley was a great trading centre and a meeting place of different races. This is supported by ethnological evidence as two racial groups have been identified by Dr. Guha, from the Cemetery H at Harappa.¹ At Mohenjodaro four ethnic groups viz. Alpine, Mediterranean, Proto-Austroloid and Proto-Mongoloid were identified by Col. Sewell and Dr. Guha.

It can safely be concluded from the foregoing discussion that the Cemetery H folk were not foreigners but belonged to the Indian soil and that they came to occupy the Harappan site in two successive waves as indicated by the two racial types of the people

1. "The Harappa remains also demonstrate the presence of a non-Armenoid and probably also of an Armenoid-Alpine race in the Indus Valley during the chalcolithic times, whose presence was surmised at Mohenjodaro from the presence of a single skull of a child."

Vats. M.S: Excavations at Harappa, p. 238.

represented by Stratum I & II and other collateral evidence. It seems that they were to some extent culturally affiliated to the true Harappans. They introduced new ceramic traditions but continued the old traditions of their progenitors in other spheres.

Burial pottery from Rupar—a newly excavated chalcolithic site in Panjab, does not reveal any identity with the Harappa Cemetery H pottery. However, some similarity with Harappa R 37 pottery is undoubtedly there which proves that settlers of Rupar had migrated from Harappa before the arrival of Cemetery H folk at Harappa. Typical paintings as on jars of R 37 are absent from the burial pottery of Rupar. This indicates that the Rupar people belonged to a late phase of Harappan culture before the Cemetery H era.

One important feature of the Cemetery H pottery is that it stands alone in the whole realm of the Indian ceramics except that some similarity with the lustrous red pottery of Rangpur—a chalcolithic site in Saurashtra is noticeable. The lustrous red ware of Rangpur and the Cemetery H pottery of Harappa, which is also lustrous red both come from the post Harappan deposits at Rangpur and Harappa respectively. There is some identity in regard to their colour, fabric and paintings. The antelope and the cattle heads painted on some Rangpur sherds and the Cemetery H ware are closely similar to each other (Pl. II, Fig. VII, VIII, IX, X, XI XII (a), XII(b) XII(c)).¹ It may be stated that the typical shapes and elaborate paintings appearing on Cemetery H pottery are not found on the lustrous red ware of Rangpur. A cultural sequence from the Harappan to N.B.P. Ware period has been brought to light at Rangpur. According to Indian Archaeology, (1954-55) the Harappan Culture at Rangpur died a natural death by gradual deterioration and transformation into the subsequent culture characterised by the use of lustrous red pottery.² Mr. Sastri's view is that this pottery was not the result of gradual transformation but of sudden change due to the immigration of

1. Indian Archaeology, 1954-55, P. XII B.
Vats, M.S.: Excavations at Harappa, Vol. II, LXIII, 9, Pl. LXIV, 2,3 Pl. LXVI, 53, 64 etc.

2. Indian Archaeology, A Review, 1954-55, p. 11, 12.

new people and that the identity of the lustrous red ware with the Cemetery H ware of Harappa indicates that the cemetery H people migrated southwards like the earlier migraters from Harappa and settled at Rangpur at a time when the Harappan Culture was in a decadent phase.¹ The existing evidence is too meagre to lead to any concrete results. The identity of Cemetery H pottery with that of lustrous red ware of Rangpur may indicate that the authors of the lustrous red ware were descendants of Cemetery H folk of Harappa who settled at Rangpur a long time after the deseration of Harappa site and by the time they reached Rangpur they had forgotten most of the characteristic customs and manners of their forefathers while still retaining some of the old techniques of the arts and crafts; or it may simply indicate some direct or indirect influence of the Cemetery H people on the lustrous red ware people of Rangpur.

1. Sastri K.N., *New Light on the Indus Civilization* Vol. I, p. 123, 124.

TWO RARE IMAGES OF ŚIVA AND ŚŪRYA IN THE STATE MUSEUM, LUCKNOW.

By

V. N. Srivastava, M. A.,

Archaeological Museum, Mathura.

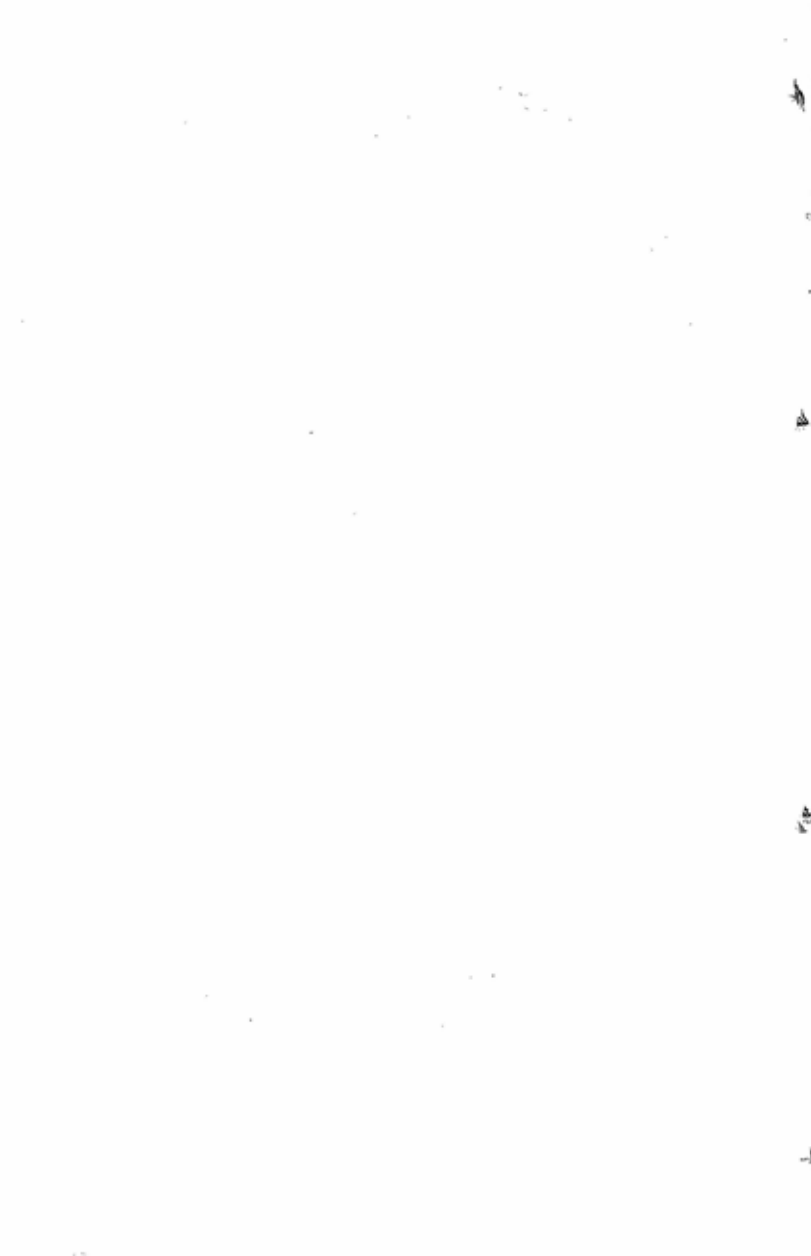
Among the new exhibits in the State Museum, Lucknow, two images of Śiva and Śūrya from Ballia district are the most notable. Their significance lies not only in their being of early age and artistic merit but in their unique iconographic peculiarities. Both these sculptures were acquired by me, when I was the Custodian of the Archaeological Section at Lucknow, in course of exploratory survey work carried out at the ancient site of Lakhnesardih in Ballia District.

The earlier of the two is a sculpture (ht. 35", width 16", Museum Register No. 56.331) representing a two-handed deity standing facing with a flabby body and pot-like belly. The right hand is held in boon-bestowing attitude (*Varadamudrā*) while the left raised upto the level of the waist holds a trident. The hair parted in the middle fall on either side of the head in wig-like fashion. The forehead is adorned with a third-eye shown vertically. Of the ornaments only a beautiful broad torque and bracelets are noticeable, much of the details of which are, however, obliterated now. The dress consists of a *dhoti* tied round the hips with pleats gathered between the legs. Another piece of cloth passing over the thighs supports the girdle with two loosely tied knots on either side of the waist. The halo behind the head is devoid of any ornamentation. The statue is in a fairly preserved condition except for the legs below the knees which are lost. It is, however, difficult to ascertain the quality of the stone from which this sculpture was carved out as due to its continuous exposure to the changing weather conditions it has lost its natural colour and has become deep grey but in all probability the material is the buff-coloured stone of Chunar quarry. The art of this carved-in-the-round figure is rather crude but stylistically it seems to belong to the 1st or 2nd century of the Christian Era.



ŚIVA AS YOGĪ

(From Lakhnesardih, Ballia)



There is hardly any difficulty in indentifying this deity as Śiva, as the corpulent body, the third eye and the trident furnish us with unfailing clues to fixing its correct identification, still the *dhyāna* exhibited by it is most intriguing. Nowhere do we come across any *dhyāna* tallying with it even fundamentally. Nor does it resemble in any way with the other available images of this god. An attempt is being made in the following lines to interpret the actual *dhyāna* of this image.

Śiva is one of the most influential members of the orthodox Brahmanical triad and is a more widely worshipped than any other deity of the Hindu pantheon. His activities are five-fold (*pañcakṛityas*) and his numerous manifestations are connected with the performance of one or the other of them for the edification and benefit of his worshippers. He is the great Lord (Mahāśvara) the greatest of the Gods (Mahādēva) and Iśāna. Also known as Śaṃblu, Śankara, Nīlkanṭha, Bhava, Sarva and Paśupati, etc. Śiva is regarded as the Supreme Iśvara, the source of all activities. He is typically the great Yogi, "Conceived as a wandering ascetic of the Himalayas." He is also the Lord of Dance (Naṭarāja) whose dance is the world process of evolution.

Śiva has been represented both anthropomorphically and theriomorphically and his worship can be traced from Mohenjodaro age. His anthropomorphic images showing two, four or multi-armed human forms can be classified under two heads: those depicting his *ugra* (terrific) form and the other illustrating his *saumya* or *śānta* (peaceful) one. The Śaiva āgamas describe his graceful or placid forms under various names such as Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Nrītyamūrti etc. which portray the God as the master in various arts of dancing, playing on musical instruments, expounding the śāstras and practicing the *yoga*.

According to Śilpsara there are 16 types of Śiva images while the Karanāgama mentions 25. Gopinath Rao has described most of these varieties of Śiva images in his monumental work Vol. II.

We are not concerned with the terrific forms of Śiva here nor need we discuss all types of his *saumya mūrtis*. Comparing the *dhyāna* of the present sculpture with the other *dhyānas* of this God

mentioned in literature only one type of his image which bears a distant affinity with it is the Dakṣiṇa Mūrti. According to Gopinath Rao there are four types of Dakṣiṇa Mūrtis, viz. Yoga Dakṣiṇa mūrti; Viṇādhara Dakṣiṇa mūrti; Jñāna Dakṣiṇa mūrti and Vyākhyāna Dakṣiṇa mūrti. The general posture of the images of Dakṣiṇa mūrti show him with his right leg bent vertically at the knee and placed on the body of the demon Apasmāra and the left leg bent across so as to rest upon the right thigh. He has a calm countenance, indicative of perfect peace within. His hair are either dishevelled or are formed into a *Jaṭā mukuṣa*. The body is besmeared with ashes and all the usual ornaments of Śiva decorate him. His right forearm points the *Jñānā mudrā* and the back arm holds the rosary, the left forearm shows the boon-conferring attitude (*varada*) and the remaining hand holds a fire-pot, the deer, the kettle drum or the rosary. When his fore-arms hold *veṇṇā* his image is called Viṇādhara Dakṣiṇa mūrti. The Jñāna mūrti shows the right forearm raised close to the heart with palm of the hand turned inwards. The name Yoga mūrti is applied when the legs crossing each other from the root of the thigh are held in position by a belt, (*Yogapaṭṭa*) passing round the waist and the forelegs a little below the knee. The front arms hold the rosary and the water pot. All these sculptures are, however, seated and have four hands. Except the Lingodbhava, Kāmadahana, Chandra Śekhara and Bhikṣāṭana mūrtis this god is seldom shown alone. He is either accompanied by Pārvatī, Nandī or attendants. Our present sculpture does not tally with the above mentioned Mūrtis as except the Gundimallam Lingodbhava image all images have generally four hands. Two-handed Śiva images are extremely rare and their number will hardly exceed a dozen, more so when the date of the sculpture is considered.

A perusal of the *dhyānas* mentioned above will show that the present sculpture has practically no bearing with any of the *dhyānas* mentioned above and was conceived of independently and the unknown artist should be congratulated for producing such a unique sculpture which has become an iconographic enigma. The *saumya mudrā* and the *varada*, however, tally to a degree with the mediaval Dakṣiṇa mūrtis of this god while the idea for having his two hands seems to have been taken from literature. The late

Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy in his book "Catalogue of Sculptures in the Boston Museum", refers to Śiva as "a great Yogi conceived as wandering ascetic of the Himalayas." Unfortunately he does not mention the source of his information, yet these words are full of meaning. It was this very *dhyāna* which the sculptor conceived and he converted his idea into concrete form by carving out this figure representing Śiva as Yogi preaching and blessing the entire humanity.

The present sculpture is, therefore, very important as apart from its being a thing of great beauty as evinced by the excellent *saumya mudrā* of the face, it is of great iconographic importance, being the earliest and the only known image of this god in plastic art. It revolutionizes the hitherto known *dhyānas* of this god mentioned in the āgamas by introducing an entirely new *dhyāna* of God Śiva shown as a great Yogi moving among the people for which the unknown sculptor of that area deserves all credit. The reason for this difference in *dhyāna* is that this image belongs to a formative period of Indian art when the iconographic forms of the deities were not fully evolved and standardized. In any case the State Museum is very fortunate in having this unique image in its collections.

(Compare in this connection the Asutosh Museum image of Śiva Lokeśvara where the deity holding trident and *varada* is shown standing on a *sampadasthāṅka* pose on a double petalled lotus with a tiny figure of Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha on the top of his Jaṭāmukha and has two standing male figures on either side. Probably the Buddhist sculptor had in mind the same Yogic conception of the God as our present sculpture but being jealous of Śiva's greatness assigned to him a subordinate position). Cf. J.N. Banerjee: "Development of Hindu Iconography," 2nd Edition, Plate XVI, figure 4.

Second in date is an image (ht. 38" x 16"; Museum Register No. 57. 401) of Sūrya, the Sun-God, standing erect on a beaded pedestal. The close-fitting skirt descends down to the shins and a second piece of ornamented cloth is flatly hung in his front passing over the thighs. The girdle (*avayanga*) which holds the skirt tight round the waist is clasped in front with two beautiful small

sashes forming an arch on either side. The legs of the God are covered with high boots (*Upānat*) and a sheathed dagger is attached to the girdle on left side. The breast is left bare but the god wears an elaborate necklace, *kunḍalas* and plain bracclets. His frizzled locks of hair shown beautifully at the back with three tiers falling on either shoulder are crowned by a flat but ornamented *kiriṭamukuṣa*. He holds two fully blossomed lotuses in his two hands which rise just to the level of the shoulders. The oval halo behind the head is simply remarkable, being made of three rosettes, springing from his head, shown in low relief. On the God's left is shown the headless figure of Danda, also in top boots and skirt, holding a lance in his right hand while a similarly clad attendant is shown on his right. Unfortunately the *kulah* cap and the beard are absent but the pot-belly and the objects in his hands, if they are taken to represent inkstand and palm leaf, lead us to conclude that this figure is that of Piṅgala, his other attendant.

The sculpture, the upper part of which is carved in round, has been made of an Aśokan pillar of buff-coloured stone as is evinced by the typical Mauryan polish seen at the back of the statue which, however, due to continuous exposure to the changing weather conditions has become grey. The sculpture is a fine example of Gupta art and except for a little disintegration here and there is in a fairly good state of preservation.

Sūrya, the visible celestial luminary was being worshipped in India from very early times. The Vedas refer to him and his various aspects as Sāvitra, Pusan, Bhaga, Mitra, Vivasvata, Ārymāna and Vishṇu. The Rig Vēda describes him as "the soul of movable and immovable thing" (*Sūrya ātma jagatastast śaśca*, I, 115, I). He is an *āditya* whose number is variously given in different texts. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa once enumerates them as eight but raises their number to twelve in two other passages. Like Agni and Indra he is the "Giver of temporal blessings". The Vedic bards conceived him as "golden eyed" and "golden handed" moving in a car drawn by one, by several or by seven fleet and muddy horses. He was also worshipped as one of the nine planets (*Navagrahas*). In Paurāṇic age he assumed the form of Nārāyaṇa, Brahmā in the morning, Maheśvara in midday and Vishṇu in the evening.



SŪRYA

(From Lakhnesardih, Ballia)



All traditions point to the Āryan community in Scythia as the people who were the first worshippers of the sun. The introduction of solar worship in material form in India is ascribed to Sāmba, son of Lord Krishna, who is said to have been cured of leprosy by worshipping the sun. The Brihatsamhitā expressly lays down (Ch. 59-V, 19,) that it was the Magas (the Indianized form of Magi, the sun-worshipping priests of Persia) who were entitled to instal ceremoniously the images of Sūrya in temples. In course of time, however, solar worship became the order of the day and many images of this god were made and temples constructed.

The various *dhyānas* of this deity are enumerated in literature. The Matsya Purāṇa states that the Sun-God should be placed on a car (his image may be seated or standing) with one wheel and seven horses and he should have lotuses in his two hands. His lustre should be purple like the inside of a lotus and his body should be covered with an armour and he should be provided with two clothes. His feet should be invisible, being covered with effluence. He should have two attendants, Daṇḍa and Piṅgala with swords in their hands. The VangaVāsi edition of the Matsya Purāṇa, however, states that, "Sūrya should have fine moustaches, four arms (*chaturbāhu*) and the dress of an inhabitant of northern country (*Apīchyaveśa*).—." According to Brhatasamhitā, the sun should be dressed in Northern fashion (*Udīchyā Veśa*), he should have two lotuses in his hands and should be surrounded by heavenly bodies. His body should be protected by armour, he should have a smiling face and a halo of light should surround his head. (It should be noted that the text does not say anything about the chariot, horses and other attendants of the god). Similar *dhyānas* are also contained in the Bhavishya and Agni Purāṇas. According to Āgamas the image of the sun should be placed in the centre of the planets. Round, red and decorated with red flowers he must be clothed in garments of variegated colours with a lion flag in the car which must have one wheel (*eka chakrah*) drawn by seven horses driven by Aruṇa. The Viśvakarmā śilpa also describes sun likewise :

एक चक्रं सप्तारव सप्तारिधं महारथम् ।
हस्त द्वयं पद्मवरं कञ्जुक्त्वमं वज्रसम् ॥

According to Vishṇu Dharmottara, the sun should wear northern dress, should have two hands holding lotuses and should be riding on a seven-horsed chariot and should have attendants :

पद्मसनः पद्मकरः पद्मगर्भदलयुतिः ।
सप्ताश्वरथ संस्थानच द्विभुजश्च सदागतिः ॥

The Anśumadbhedāgama and the Suprabhedāgama describe him as a two-handed deity holding lotuses which should be such held up as to cause the fists reach the level of the shoulders. His garment should be of red colour (*Rakta Varṇa*), should stand on padma-pīṭha, have halo (*Kāntimāṇḍala*) and wear a coronet (*Karaṇḍa Mukuṭa*), ear pendants (*Kuṇḍalas*) and necklace (*Hāra*). The Śilparatna describing sun like-wise adds that on his each side should be dwārapālakas Maṇḍala and Pingala respectively. Hemādri says that on the right and left sides of the god are represented the attendant Gods, Daṇḍa and Pingala or Atipingala worshipping him with pen and paper in his hands. His sons Revanta, Yama, two manus and his wives should be on either side of him.

These Northern and the Southern texts, however, possess very marked peculiarities which are easy of recognition. The South Indian Sun images have their hands lifted up as high as the shoulders and are made to hold lotus flowers which are only half blossomed; the images have invariably the *udarabandha*, and their legs and feet are always left bare. The North Indian images have generally their hands at the natural level of the hips or the elbows and are made to carry full-blown lotuses; their forelegs have covering resembling modern socks and the feet are protected with a pair of high boots. (*upānat pinaddha pāda Yugulam*). (Aruna and the seven horses almost invariably present in the North Indian varieties of Sūrya are very often absent in their South Indian counterparts and the number of attendants in the latter is very small). Common features of the southern and northern varieties are that the head is adorned by a *Kīrti*, surrounded by a halo (*prabhāmaṇḍala*) and there are ornaments on the body. These differences in the two varieties of the images, can partially be explained by the remark that whatever importance the Sun-cult enjoined in the Pallava and later periods in South India was not due to East Iranian form of Sun worship and although Ptolemy mentions the Maga Brahmanas

as residing in South India in second century A.D. the cult itself does not seem to have made any headway there. Another reason is that the sculptors belonging to different parts of the country based their work on different texts. Of the various texts which describe the icons of the sun, the *Aṅsumadbhedāgama*, the *Suprabhedhāgama* and the *Śilparatna* do not at all record the features found in the *Surya* images of Northern India while the *Brihatsamhitā*, *Viśvakarmāvatara śāstra*, *Matsya Purāṇa*, *Agni Purāṇa* and *Vishṇudharmottara*, etc. do so. The *Pūrvakarnāgama*, which is presumably a Southern text contains passages which are reminiscent of Northern features and this text seems to have been influenced by the later group of texts. Like-wise the *Rūpamaṇḍana* a Northern text describes the *Sun* images in Southern fashion and does not contain the well known iconographic traits of the sun image of the North.

Strangely enough our present sculpture does not tally with any of the *dhyānas* cited above in toto—it shows a happy blending of the iconographic peculiarities of North and South and has an individuality of its own. The bare bust of the deity devoid of the coat of mail is certainly a South Indian feature but the absence of *udarbandha* and the position of arms and lotuses go against its South Indian character too. Like-wise the total absence of the armour is contrary to the North Indian descriptions. The chariot and other attendant divinities are also absent. *Surya* images of Gupta period being very few and the combination of Northern and Southern varieties a rarity, this sculpture is of great iconographic importance. Another noteworthy characteristic of this image is the alien feature retained in drapery of the principal and attendant deities which is undoubtedly Persian. Since the worship of the Sun was introduced by the East Iranian Aryans these features were adopted by the Indian artists also and such motifs persisted upto the early or even Late Gupta times in parts of Northern India. They were, however, gradually Indianized and transformed into the approved varieties of the early and late mediæval sun icons of the region. That the gradual idealization of these traits and predominance of Indian elements had already begun in the Gupta period can well be imagined from this image where the sweet expression of the face and the simple yet magnificent carving of the body fully

answer to the highest concept of Indian Beauty. Yet the sculptor could not do away with the deep rooted foreign characteristics and he combined these foreign and indigenous features with so great an ability and endowed the image with such grace and beauty that the sculpture has become a unique object of great importance. The Gupta artist seems to have been well informed about the earlier mode but he introduced some innovation in conformity with local convention and with the need of the transformed cult.

Another noteworthy thing of sculpture is its tallying with the *Śāstrika* measurements. According to *Śāstras* the images of Brahmā, Vishnu and Śiva should be of *Uttamatāla*, those of female deities should be of *Madhyamatāla* and those of the sun, the moon and other deities of *Adhamatāla* measurements. It has also been laid down for the sun image that if the figure be made so as to be one cubit in height it would be *saumya mūrti*, if two it would be productive of wealth and if three or four it would bestow happiness and prosperity. The present sculpture is roughly 54 *angulas* and agrees with the *Adhamatāla* measurement. Then the image is approximately one cubit in height and hence is a *saumya mūrti*.

The other point which we must not miss is in respect of the stone. As has already been referred to above this image has been carved out of an Aśokan pillar and this indicates that there must have been an Aśokan pillar in Ballia district or its vicinity and when the monument tumbled down the sculptor made use of one of its fragments. If this assumption is correct we may add to our list of known pillars another pillar erected by that Mauryan Emperor. It is, therefore, easy to assess the historical importance of this image also.

TREATMENT OF PRISONERS IN ANCIENT INDIA.

By

Dr. S. L. Pande, M.A., Ph.D.

Necessity of Jails : One of the chief aims of the State is to provide every possible facility to its citizens for the full and all round development of individual's personality. But there has always been a section of people in the society that puts obstacles in the achievement of this goal. It, therefore, becomes one of the important functions of the State to keep this undesirable group of people under strict control so that the rest of the society may be safe from mischief-mongers. This very fact has been supported by Manu also. Manu is of opinion that no people can be expected to be devoid of bad characters at any time. It is rather difficult to find a pious man.¹ Brahma, therefore, was pleased to create Danda in the hope that the Society would be purified through the process of its proper application. The offenders would be punished and thus compelled to follow the path of righteousness (धर्म). "It is the fear of Danda (दण्ड)", says Manu, "that compels all the living and unliving beings to live within their own bounds and follow their respective duties."²

Various methods of applying Danda were contemplated by the great thinkers of the past. One of the important methods to purify the sinners through the process of Dand (दण्ड) was considered to be the separation from their kith and kin and keeping them in a place well-guarded so that they should get no chance of keeping themselves in touch with the rest of the world. They were expected and compelled to lead a regulated and sin-free life under the superviso. and strict control of the state authorities. Thus arose the necessity of such secluded and well-guarded places for sinners. These places came to be known as prisons or jails.

Jail and its chief officer : Jails were known to Manu. According to Manu offenders can be controlled in three ways—by

1. दुर्लभो हि दुर्चरः ॥ श्लोक २२ अ० ७ मानवधर्मशास्त्र ॥

2. तस्य सर्वानि भूतानि स्वावराणि चराणि च ।

भयाद्भोगाय कल्पन्ते स्वधर्माश्च चलन्ति च ॥ श्लोक १५ अ० ७ मानव-धर्मशास्त्र ॥

arresting them, by putting them in jails, and by inflicting upon them various kinds of corporal punishments.¹ He pleads for the construction of jails in the state and inspection of prisoners by the king.² Sukra also advocates to keep the arrested and convicts in in Jails (अभियुक्तनिरुद्धैर्वा)³ Kautilya calls jails as Bandhanagar (बन्धनागार) and its jailor Bandhanagaradhyaksha (बन्धनागाराध्यक्ष).⁴ He is also very keen to keep the offenders within the four walls of the jail.

It is, therefore, evident that the construction of jails and their proper maintenance was considered to be one of the important duties of the king in the age when Manu, Sukra and Kautilya flourished in India.

Two categories of prisoners : Broadly speaking, prisoners in the jail were of two categories. There were persons who were under arrest and kept in the jail as they were suspected to be involved in some offence. They were expected to be present in the court of justice at the time of their trial. If such suspects were not kept in safe custody they might run away and escape the trial. It was, therefore, thought wise to keep such suspects in jail during the period their trials were not over. If the court declared them faultless, they were set free and allowed to lead the life of a free citizen. If the judgment were to be otherwise, they would be compelled to bear the punishment inflicted upon them by the court. This class of suspects under arrest in jails has been called abhiyukta (अभियुक्त) by Sukra, Kautilya and others. Correctly speaking, this class of arrested persons should not be called prisoners.

The prisoners under the second category were the real prisoners in jail. They were the persons who were declared guilty by the court in their trial. They were kept in Jail as a measure of punishment to them. They were the real prisoners and were called nirudhah (निरुद्धा) by the great thinkers of Ancient India.

1. अधार्मिकं त्रिभिर्न्यानिग्रहणीयात्प्रयत्नतः ।

निरोधनेन बन्धने विधिधनं बधने च ॥ श्लोक ३१० अ० ८ मानवधर्मशास्त्र ॥

2. बन्धनानि च सर्वाणि राजा मार्गे निवेशयेत् ॥ श्लोक २८८ अ० ९ मानवधर्मशास्त्र ॥

3. अभियुक्त निरुद्धैर्वा ०००००००० नृपः ॥ श्लोक २६८ अ० १ शुक्नीति ॥

4. बन्धनागारात्सर्वस्वं बधश्च ॥ वार्ता ४८ अ० ९ अधि० ४ अर्थशास्त्र ॥

बन्धनागाराध्यक्षस्य ०००००००० दण्डः ॥ वार्ता ४९ अ० ९ अधि, ४ अर्थशास्त्र ॥

The male and the female prisoners : The literary evidence shows that there were both male and female prisoners. Kautilya has framed separate rules as regards the work to be taken from the two kinds of prisoners. No evidence is available to support the theory that separate jails should be constructed for the female prisoners and maintained under the female officers. Therefore, nothing can be said on this point. Kautilya prescribes capital punishment for a male prisoner who spoils the chastity of a woman prisoner in a jail.¹ This ruling given by Kautilya supports the belief that both the male and the female prisoners were kept in the same jail. But it will be not wrong to conclude that there must have been separate sections in the same jail for the male and the female prisoners. Special care was taken to avoid contact between the two kinds of prisoners. Special measures were adopted to protect the chastity of the female prisoners.

We have no evidence in support of the employment of only female officers and servants to look after the female prisoners in the jail. We have a ruling by Kautilya regarding the treatment of the female prisoners in a jail. He prescribes the Uttam Sahas Dand (उत्तम साहस दण्ड) to a person who corrupts a female prisoner in a jail.² Now who could be the persons in the jail to spoil the chastity of female prisoners? These could be either the prisoners or the jail officers and servants. The punishment prescribed for a prisoner for the same crime was the capital punishment. Hence the punishment proposed here by Kautilya under the above ruling was definitely meant for the male employee of the jail. We, therefore, cannot come to the conclusion that the female prisoners were kept solely under the charge of the female officers and servants in the jail. Ultimately we have to keep mum on this issue also.

Juvenile prisoners : Kautilya, in one of his rulings, prohibits the jail authorities to take work from the boy-prisoners³. This shows that boy offenders were also kept as prisoners in jail. But we have no evidence in support of the existence and maintenance of jails specially meant for the juvenile prisoners like the reformatory

1. संरुद्धस्य वा तत्रैव घातः ॥ वार्ता ५७ अ० ९ अधि० ४ अर्थशास्त्र ॥
2. संरुद्धिकामार्यामुत्तमः ॥ वार्ता ५६ अ० ९ अधि० ४ अर्थशास्त्र ॥
3. बालं०००००० न कर्म कार्येत् ॥ वार्ता १७ अ० ८ अधि० ४ अर्थशास्त्र ॥

schools or the juvenile jails of the modern age. We have therefore, once again to keep silence on this issue, too, on account of the want of some authentic evidence.

Discipline in jails : A very high standard of discipline was expected to be maintained in jails. We have just seen that Kautilya has prescribed capital punishment for a prisoner trying to spoil the chastity of a female prisoner in a jail. There were fixed rules for the guidance to the jail officers and servants. Rules were strictly followed as regards their eating, sleeping, sitting, walking, excreting etc. Infringement of any of them on the part of the officers and servants in the jail were seriously dealt with. Change in the established order was to be approved and made under the orders of the jailor. No exception was to be tolerated. Kautilya proposes a fine of twenty-four Panas (पण) to be imposed on an officer in the jail who tried to give special privilege to a particular prisoner on his own initiative without obtaining the previous permission from the jailor.¹⁾ The prisoner who tried to run away from the jail or the persons who helped him in his escape from the jail were seriously dealt with. Kautilya prescribes punishments for both the prisoner and the person concerned. He proposes the penalty of death and the confiscation of his whole property who lets out or causes to let out prisoners from a jail.²⁾

Life of the prisoners in the jails : Life of the prisoners in the jail, thus, was expected to be well-disciplined under the strict rules of the jail. But it does not mean that the life of the prisoners at the jail was a life of sobs and tears. Every possible care was taken to provide the prisoners with the necessities of life. Manu prescribes for the king to visit the jails in his state and inspect the prisoners there in to have the first hand knowledge of prisoners in the various jails of his state. Kautilya advocates for the running of jails in the state under the charge of jailors (बन्धनागाराध्यक्ष) assisted by the officers and servants of the jail. They looked after the well-being of the prisoners. These officers in the

-
1. बन्धनागाराध्यक्षस्य संकटकमनाख्याय चारयत्तश्चतुर्विंशति पणो दण्डः ॥
वार्ता ४९ अ० ९ अधि० ४ अर्थशास्त्र ॥
2. बन्धनागारात्सर्वस्वं वधश्च ॥ वार्ता ४८ अ० ९ अधि० ४ अर्थशास्त्र ॥

jail were made responsible for the all-round betterment of the prisoners under their charge. They had to make proper and suitable arrangement for their walking, sleeping, sitting, eating, excreting etcetra. Any employee found delaying or arresting any of the facilities provided by the jail to the prisoner was punished for his misconduct. Kautilya proposes to impose a fine of ninety-six panas (पण) on an employee of the jail who causes delay or arrests the supply of food or drink to a prisoner.¹ He prescribes an equal amount of fine on the employee of the jail who causes alterations in the places of residence of the prisoners in the jail.² One who harassed a prisoner or forced him to give bribe was to suffer the penalty of *maddhyam sahas Dand*.³ If some officer or servant in a jail beat (घ्नतः) a prisoner, a fine of one thousand Panas was to be realised from him.⁴

Thus we have ample authentic material in support of the good treatment of prisoners in the jail by the jail administration. On the basis of the above material one may conclude that the aim of keeping the offenders in the jail was to reform them. They were of opinion that the offenders should be given opportunities for their reform. So the offenders should be kept at a place of safety where they were to be compelled to lead a regulated and sin-free life for a specific period of time. Within this period they would become accustomed to a particular way of living which would inculcate in them good habits. A time would come when the importance of good and decent life would be realised by them. In due course of time they would, thus, turn into the good and free citizens of the state.

Work by the prisoners : A large number of persons living idle at jails would be a great loss to the nation. It was, therefore, thought proper to engage them in some profitable work so that they might not become an unnecessary/burden to the revenues of the state. They should be engaged in some work to raise the

1. अन्नपानं वा रुध्यतः षण्णवतिर्दण्डः ॥ वार्ता ५१ अ० ९ अधि० ४ अर्थशास्त्र ॥
2. स्थानान्तर्यत्वं गमयतो ०००००००० षण्णवतिर्दण्डः ॥ वार्ता ५१ अ० ९ अधि० ४ अर्थशास्त्र ॥
3. परिबलेशयत उत्कोटयतो वा मध्यमः साहसदण्डः ॥ वार्ता ५२ अ० ९ अधि० ५ अर्थशास्त्र ॥
4. घ्नतः साहस्रः ॥ वार्ता ५३ अ० ९ अधि० ५ अर्थशास्त्र ॥

national income. The dull and idle life of the prisoners in the jail was, therefore, highly condemned. Sukra suggests to employ the persons under arrest and the convicts in the jail in the construction and repairs of the roads in the State.¹ Kautilya also pleads for the employment of prisoners in some profitable work to the nation. He specifies certain kind of work to be taken from the female prisoners. "The female offenders (वण्ड प्रतिकारिणी)" says Kautilya "be given the work of spinning the bark, the cotton, the jute and the silk threads."²

There were prisoners who were exempted from work on the ground of their ill-health, old age, underage or some other bodily or mental deficiency. Kautilya has shown proper regard for the prisoners unfit to work on account of bodily or mental defect in them. According to him, work should not be taken from the minors, the aged, the diseased, the hungry, the thirsty or those who have over-eaten.³

Prisoners for minor offences were also not engaged in the work. Kautilya lays down that work should not be taken from the offenders who have been sent to jail on account of minor offences only.⁴ It follows that according to the offences, there were two categories of prisoners. The prisoners who had committed minor offences were placed under one category. They were sentenced to simple imprisonment and, thus, were exempted from physical labour. While under the second category were placed those prisoners who had committed serious types of offences. They were sentenced to rigorous imprisonment and thus were to do physical labour as authorised by the law.

Jail deliveries : Kautilya has left for us ample material in his Arthsastra to give a clear account of the occasions on which

1. भार्गन्धुधाशर्करैर्वा घटितान्प्रतिवत्सरम् ।
अभियुक्तनिवृद्धैर्वा कुर्यात् ग्राम्यजनैर्नृपः ॥ श्लोक २६७ अ० १ शुक्लीति ॥
2. ऊर्णावल्ककापसितूलशणक्षीमाणि च ०००००० वण्ड प्रतिकारिणी ०००० कर्तयेत् ॥
वार्ता २ अ० २२ अधि० २ अर्थशास्त्र ॥
3. बालं वृद्धं व्याधितं मत्तमुन्मत्तं क्षुत्पिपासाध्वबलान्तमत्याशितमात्माका शितं दुर्बलं वा न कर्मकारयेत् ॥
वार्ता १७ अ० ८ अधि० ४ अर्थशास्त्र ॥
4. भन्दापराधं ०००००० न कर्म कारयेत् ॥ वार्ता १७ अ० ८ अधि० ४ अर्थशास्त्र ॥

the jail deliveries were made. He has mentioned special occasions for the observance of the general amnesty in the state. These occasions are the conquest of a new country, the birth of the royal prince, and the coronation ceremony of the crowned prince. "The conquest of a new country, the coronation of the crowned prince, and the birth of the royal prince," says Kautilya in his Arthashastra, "have been ordained by law as the occasions for the observance of the general amnesty in the State."¹

Besides the above occasions of general amnesty in the state there were certain other occasions also on which jail deliveries were made by the kings in Ancient India. These occasions have been mentioned as the birth day of the king of the State, some auspicious day, and each full-moon day. On these occasions general amnesty in the State was not observed. Only a particular class of prisoners was set free. "The king shall set free," lays down Kautilya, 'such prisoners from the jail as are the juvenile, the aged the diseased' and the helpless persons on the birth day of the king, on some auspicious day and on each full-moon day."²

The great Mauryan king Asoka has also left us on record that the practice of jail delivery on King's birth day had also been followed by him. In his pillar edict No V, he accepts that twenty-five jail deliveries were effected by him till the twenty sixth year of his consecration.

Prisoners were also released on the ground of their good conduct in jail. Some of the prisoners were released on the promise of their good conduct in future. "Prisoners of good conduct in jail or those who promise to maintain good conduct in future" says Kautilya, "be also set free."³ Asoka in his rock edict V has authorised the Dharma-mahamatras to take steps against imprisonment (Bandhan-badhasa). It suggests that the report of the prisoners' good conduct by the Dharma-mahamatras was the basis for the

1. अपूर्वं देशाधिगमने युवराजोन्मिषेचने ।

पुत्र-जन्मनि वा मोक्षो बन्धस्य विधीयते ॥ वार्ता ६० अ० ३६ अधि० २ अर्थशास्त्र ॥

2. बन्धनागारे च बाल-वृद्ध-व्याधितानां च जातनक्षत्र पीणमासीदु विसर्गः ॥

वार्ता ५७ अ० ३६ अधि० २ अर्थशास्त्र ॥

3. पुण्यशीलाः समयानुबद्धा वा दोषनिष्कयं ददुः ॥ वार्ता ५८ अ० ३६ अधि० २ अर्थशास्त्र ॥

release of the prisoners from the jail during the time of Asoka. Kautilya pleads for the examination of prisoners' conduct each day or it may be done once every fifth day and as such report be submitted. If the report is favourable some of them be set free after taking some work from them, some may be set free after giving them some sort of corporal punishment, some may be allowed to go after realising some fines from them, and some may be set free by the mere mercy of the king as the case may be.¹ This shows that every possible attempt was made to give an opportunity to prisoners for their release.

We, thus, see that jails in Ancient India were organised and maintained on logical basis. There was a system suiting the age, followed in jails. Special attention was paid by the ruler that the fate of the prisoners was bettered in jail.

1. दिवसे पञ्चरात्रे वा गन्धनस्थानं विशोधयेत् ।

कर्मणा कायदण्डेन हिरण्मयानुग्रहेण वा ॥ दशोक्त ५९ अ० ३६ अधि० २ अर्थशास्त्र ॥

TWO TERRACOTTA HEADS FROM SAHET-MAHET

By

Sri Vidya Prakash Srivastava, M.A.

Sahet-Mahet ruins lying on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich districts of Uttar Pradesh have been identified with Śrāvastī—the capital town of the Kosal kingdom of yore.¹ The fact that Lord Buddha passed here a large part of his missionary life in the Jetavana monastery is evident from the references in Buddhist Pali literature.² Śrāvastī was a rich town of 6th century B.C. which continued to be a prosperous city during the time of the Mauryas and Guptas and also in the succeeding centuries, upto about the middle of 12th century A.D., with its most important establishment, namely Jetavana monastery, as a prolific centre of Buddhism.³ A number of terracotta figures along with other valuable antiquities have been discovered from Sahet-Mahet in different excavations. Most of them are displayed in the State Museum, Lucknow. Among the terracotta finds from Sahet, some figures belonging to Gupta period, supplying useful information about the costume of that age are very interesting.⁴

The purpose of this paper is not to describe the ruins of Sahet-Mahet, nor to discuss the importance of its finds, but to introduce to the readers, two terracotta heads, recently discovered from Sahet-Mahet.

Figure 1, 4" in height, is a female head, which is evident from the hair style, ear-ornament and a circular dot on the forehead. The head which is a broken part of some terracotta figurine, has been modelled and bears a greyish texture. It has an oval face,

1. Arch. Sur. Ind. Rep. Vol. I pp. 330 ff; An. Rep. Arch. Sur. Ind., 1908-09, pp. 137-38; Ep. Ind. Vol. XI, pp. 20.

Some scholars, however, still question the identification of Sahet-Mahet with Śrāvastī. See author's article "Is Sahet-Mahet Śrāvastī?" in the Sunday Magazine of National Herald, Lucknow, dated April 19, 1959.

2. B. C. Law: Śrāvastī in ancient Literature, Arch. Sur. Mem. No. 50, pp. 1; Dic. of Pali Pro. Names, Vol. II, pp. 1126.

3. Arch. Sur. Mem. No. 50, pp. 33.

4. An. Rep. Arch. Sur. Ind., 1910, pp. 20.

pinched long nose and broad tentacular eyes. The figure is completely in round but the back has not been finished. The head dress and coiffure of the figure are very stylish and pleasing. On the forehead the hair has been arranged sideways in two plates, representing two oblong leaves leaving space in the centre. A little above, they are combed upwards resulting into receding tiers made of three (?) rows of braids. Locks have been shown flowing upto the cheeks on both the sides. The upper portion of the left and the lower portion of the right ear is broken. The cloven lobe of the left ear wears a round wheel like ear-ring, which is big in size and covers the entire lobe. There is a deep hole in the centre of the ring. The forehead is decorated with a big dot or 'Bindi' which enhances the feminine charm of the figure.

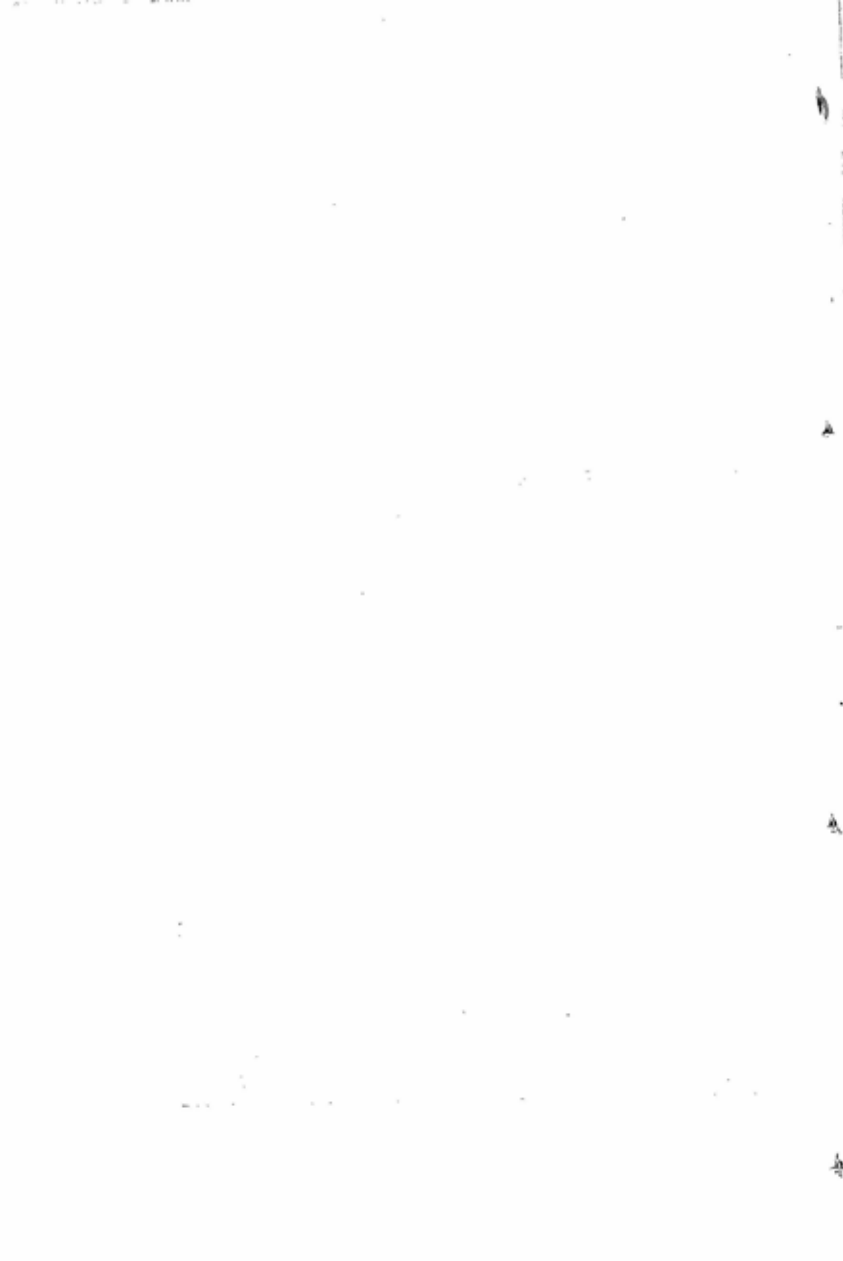
This terracotta specimen is a fine example of the artist's genius. It is to a very great extent akin to the lithic sculptures in theme, and more particularly in physical type. It does not suffer from the archaic characteristics which are generally encountered with in clay figurines. The figure bears a pleasing expression with a subdued smile which has been brought about by leaving a little space between the lower and the upper lips. Slightly swelled lower lip is indicative of the inner contentment and the happiness. The eyebrows have been expressly shown by pinching the clay while the eyes are very sharp and depict both the eye-lids. The long and finely proportioned nose and the slight depressions below the eyes and over the rounded chin, imparting a lively character to the head, leave no doubt of the high class modelling of the artist. The figure originally bore a smooth polish, the traces of which, are to be seen below the right ear and on the back of the ear-ring.

On the basis of the stylistic features this head can be assigned to the transitional phase between the Kuṣāṇa and the Gupta periods. The lower portion of the face, including mouth and lips, is more inclined to the Gupta style, while the other features of the figure are typically Kuṣāṇa in character.

The other terracotta piece, 3" in height is a male head (*Fig. 2*) and stands in distinct contrast in physical type with the one described above. It has long fan-like ears, as long as the face itself. The eyes are round and fearful. The nose is big and protruding,



(1) Two Terracotta Heads from Sahet-Mahet (2)



The lower lip is a little everted. It wears an ornamented cap which is pointed and covers the entire hair. Below the neck the edge of the upper garment is visible. It is also ornamented, probably set with pearls. This head, which belongs to Kuṣāṇa period, possibly depicts some foreigner who came to India during this period in large numbers. This head, which is roughly shaped, is archaic in features and expression.

These two terracotta specimens, although representing almost one and the same period, do not seem to be the creations of the same artist. The latter is certainly an inferior piece, with the shortcomings of the archaic terracotta productions. But the first one, beyond doubt, can be lined with the best terracotta heads discovered so far.

राजशेखर कालीन भारत की भौगोलिक सीमाएं

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कविराज राजशेखर संस्कृत-जगत के न केवल एक सुविख्यात प्रबंधकार एवं नाटक-कार ही हैं वरन् उन्हें भौगोलिक विषयों का भी पर्याप्त ज्ञान था। उनकी प्रत्येक कृति से उनका भूगोल विषयक महानानुराग तथा परिचय प्रदर्शित होता है। “काव्य मीमांसा” के सप्तदश अध्याय ‘देश विभाग’ में मध्य एशिया से लेकर सम्पूर्ण भारतवर्ष तथा दक्षिणी पूर्वी द्वीप समूह जो कि बृहत्तर भारत के ही अंग थे, इत्यादि भूभाग का संक्षिप्त परिचय दिया गया है। यद्यपि अधिक जिज्ञासु पाठकों के लिए उन्होंने अपने “भुवन कोष”¹ की ओर संकेत किया है। “बाल-रामायण” के दशम अंक में लंका से लेकर अयोध्या पर्यंत दक्षिणी राज्यों की नामावली तथा उनका वर्णन दिया गया है। इसी प्रकार राजशेखर द्वारा विरचित अन्य ग्रन्थों जैसे “कर्पूरमंजरी” (सट्टक) “विद्धशालभंजिका” (नाटिका) एवं ‘बालभारत’ या ‘प्रचंड पांडव’ (नाटक) में भी अनेक जनपदों, नगरों, नद, नदियों, पर्वतों के नाम एवं उनकी विशेषताओं पर पर्याप्त प्रकाश डाला गया है। प्रसिद्ध आलोचक लैन्गम के मतानुसार कर्पूरमंजरी (सट्टक) में प्रयुक्त पात्र चाहे ऐतिहासिकता पूर्ण हों अथवा न हों परन्तु इतना निश्चित है कि इसमें दक्षिण भारत के किसी भाग का दृश्य उपस्थित किया गया है। बाल रामायण एवं प्रचंड पांडव या बालभारत नाटकों में सीता और द्रौपदी के स्वयंवरों के अवसर पर भारत के विभिन्न जनपदों और उनके शासकों के नाम व वर्णन प्रस्तुत किये गये हैं। परन्तु खेद का विषय है कि कविराज राजशेखर की कोई भी भूगोल संबंधी स्वतंत्र रचना अभी प्राप्त नहीं हो सकी है। काव्य मीमांसा में उन्होंने अपने ‘भुवनकोष’ का उल्लेख अवश्य किया है परन्तु अभी तक यह ग्रन्थ लुप्त हो है। आशा है कि उपरोक्त ग्रन्थ के मिलने पर प्रस्तुत विषय में अधिक प्रकाश डाला जा सकेगा। काव्यमीमांसा की रचना द्वारा लेखक का मन्तव्य ‘कवि रहस्य’ जैसे गूढ़ विषय को साधारण पाठकों के लिए सरल एवं सुबोध बनाना है। अतः इसके सप्तदश अध्याय में देशविभाग की चर्चा गौड़ रूप से ही की गयी है। परन्तु फिर भी इस महानिबन्ध में जो भारतीय भूगोल का वर्णन मिलता है वह रामायण, महाभारत, बृहत्संहिता, तालमी, पुराणों, हेनसांग तथा अल्वरुनी इत्यादि के वर्णनों से पूर्ण साम्य रखता है। अतः इसकी प्रमाणिकता पर कोई संदेह नहीं किया जा सकता। हां, यह संभव है कि इस काल तक आकर राजनैतिक उथल पुथल के कारण प्राचीन जनपदों तथा उनकी सीमाओं में कुछ हेर फेर हो गया हो। फिर भी कर्पूरमंजरी तथा विद्धशालभंजिका में उद्धृत राज्यों एवं नगरों के वर्णन और उनकी भौगोलिक सीमाएं तत्कालीन ही हैं।

भारतवर्ष के नौ खंड: भारतवर्ष की सीमाओं का प्रमुख वर्गीकरण हमें सर्वप्रथम बराह-मिहिर की ‘बृहत्संहिता’ के ‘कूर्म विभाग’ नामक प्रकरण से प्राप्त होता है जहां पर अखिल भारतवर्ष नौ खंडों में विभाजित किया गया है। भारतवर्ष का यह वर्गीकरण बहुत पूर्व ही प्रयोग में

आ चुका था क्योंकि बराहमिहिर ने स्वयं 'पराशरतंत्र' से यह वर्णन उद्धृत किया है। साथ ही महाभारत तथा अनेक पुराणों में भी इन नौ खंडों की चर्चा की गई है। लेकिन यह बृहत्संहिता के वर्णन से भिन्न है। विभिन्न पुराणों में उपरोक्त नौ खंडों को निम्नांकित संज्ञाएं प्रदान की गई हैं।¹

१: इन्द्र द्वीप :२: कशेरुमत् :३: ताम्रपर्ण :४: गभस्तिमत् :५: नाग द्वीप :६: सौम्य :७: गान्धर्व और :८: वारुण।

पुराणों में केवल आठ नाम ही दिये गये हैं। सम्भवतः नवें खण्ड की सुप्रसिद्धि के कारण उसके नाम देने की आवश्यकता ही नहीं समझी गयी। नौ द्वीपों को गम्भीरार्णवों के कारण एक दूसरे से पृथक् एवं अप्राप्य बतलाया गया है। कविराज राजशेखर² ने अपनी काव्यमीमांसा में दक्षिण समुद्र से हिमालय तक फैले हुए नवम् द्वीप को 'कुमारी द्वीप' कहा है। उपरोक्त वर्णनों से स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि यहाँ पर 'भारतवर्ष' का प्रयोग आधुनिक अर्थ में केवल भारत के लिए ही नहीं किया गया बरन् इसका तात्पर्य बृहत्तर भारत से ही है जिसमें मध्य एशिया से लेकर सम्पूर्ण आधुनिक भारत तथा दक्षिणी पूर्वी एवं पूर्वी द्वीप समूह सम्मिलित थे। तभी तो इन नौ खंडों को एक दूसरों से समुद्रों द्वारा विभक्त एवं अप्राप्य कहा गया है। मुस्लिम इतिहासकार अल्वरुनी भी, जिसने भारतवर्ष के उपरोक्त नौ खण्डों का वर्णन किया है, इसी मत से सहमत है। उसके कथनानुसार आधुनिक भारतवर्ष के भूभाग समुद्रों द्वारा विभक्त नहीं है और न उनकी भारतीयों ने कहीं पर द्वीपों की संज्ञाएं ही प्रदान की हैं।³ तब निश्चित रूप से कहा जा सकता है कि कविराज राजशेखर द्वारा उद्धृत 'कुमारी द्वीप' ही आधुनिक भारतवर्ष के वास्तविक अर्थ का द्योतक है। इसके सर्वज्ञात होने के कारण ही पुराणकारों ने इसके नाम देने की आवश्यकता नहीं समझी थी। पुराणों⁴ में इस नवम् द्वीप (कुमारी-द्वीप) का वर्णन देते हुए इसे दक्षिण व उत्तर में सहस्रों योजन तक विस्तृत बतलाया गया है और इसके पूर्वी सीमान्त भाग में किरातों एवं पश्चिमी सीमान्त भाग में यवनों (ग्रीक) के निवास करने के उदाहरण प्राप्त होते हैं। भारत की पूर्वी सीमा पर किरातों के निवास स्थान का समर्थन हमें तालमी⁵ के वर्णन से भी प्राप्त होता है। इसी प्रकार भारत के उत्तरी, पश्चिमी सीमान्त प्रदेशों में बसे हुए यवनों (ग्रीक) के वर्णन भी हमें महाभारत के भीष्म पर्व तथा अन्य प्राचीन साहित्यिक कृतियों से प्राप्त होते हैं। प्रो० सुरेन्द्रनाथ⁶ मजूमदार ने भी कनिंघम की 'एन्शियस्ट ज्योग्रेफी ऑफ इंडिया' का सम्पादन करते हुए 'कुमारी द्वीप' को ही आधुनिक भारतवर्ष का परिचायक खंड स्वीकार किया है। अतः निर्विवाद रूप से कहा जा सकता है कि भारत के प्राचीन भूगोल वेत्ताओं ने पौराणिक भारतवर्ष से द्वीपान्तर अथवा बृहत्तर भारत का अर्थ ग्रहण किया था और आधुनिक भारत उसका 'कुमारी द्वीप' संज्ञक सर्वज्ञात प्रधान

1. मा० पु० इ० पाजिटर, अ० ५७, पृ० सं० २८४

2. 'कुमारी द्वीपद्वयां नवमः' का० मी०; अ० १७; पृ० सं० २२३

3. अल्वरुनीज इंडिया, सचाऊ, भाग १ अ० २९ पृ० सं० २९५

4. मा० पु० ५७, पृ० ११

5. मेक्रेडल, पृ० सं० २१९

6. कनिंघमज ऐन्शियस्ट ज्योग्रेफी ऑफ इंडिया, सु० नं० मजूमदार, परिशिष्ट १, पृ० सं० ७५०

खंड था। 'कुमारी द्वीप' उत्तर में हिमालय से लेकर दक्षिण में कन्याकुमारी तक फैला हुआ बतलाया गया है। इसके अन्तर्गत बिन्ध्य, पारियात्र, शुक्तिमान, ऋक्ष, महेन्द्र, सहय और मलय सात पर्वत हैं। इस समूचे क्षेत्र पर विजय प्राप्त करने वाला सम्राट चक्रवर्ती कहा गया है।¹ कौटिल्य ने भी इसी मत का अनुमोदन अपने अर्थशास्त्र में किया है। शेष आठ खंडों का परिचय निश्चित रूप से नहीं दिया जा सकता क्योंकि पुराणकारों ने उनके सम्बन्ध में कोई भी निश्चित मत प्रस्तुत नहीं किया है। प्रसिद्ध विद्वान कनिंघम² ने पौराणिक संकेतों के आधार पर मध्य में कुमारिक (कुमारी द्वीप) पूर्व में इन्द्र द्वीप, पश्चिम में वारुण और सम्भवतः उत्तर में कशेरुमत द्वीपों की स्थिति निर्धारित की है। मुस्लिम इतिहासकार अल्बरूनी का मत इससे सर्वथा भिन्न है। अल्बरूनी³ द्वारा प्रस्तुत रेखाचित्र में प्रदर्शित नौ खंडों के मध्य में इन्द्र द्वीप, पूर्व में कशेरुमत, दक्षिण-पूर्व में ताम्रपर्ण, दक्षिण में गभस्तिमत, दक्षिण-पश्चिम में नागद्वीप, पश्चिम में सौम्य, उत्तर पश्चिम में गान्धर्व और उत्तरी-पूर्वी सीमा पर नगर संवृत द्वीप स्थित है। वास्तव में जैसा कि श्री मजूमदार का मत है, अल्बरूनी द्वारा कथित अन्तिम नाम 'नगर संवृत' कोई नवीन द्वीप नहीं है बल्कि भूल से ही यह पौराणिक 'सागर संवृत' शब्द के लिए प्रयुक्त हुआ है। अतः अल्बरूनी के 'नगर संवृत' से कुमारी द्वीप का ही भाव ग्रहण करना उचित होगा क्योंकि पुराणों में भी नवम द्वीप की संज्ञा न देकर वहाँ पर सागर संवृत ही दिया गया है। भारतवर्ष के अन्य खंडों में ताम्रपर्ण का तादात्म्य निश्चित रूपेण लंका से स्थापित किया जा सकता है। श्री सु० ना० मजूमदार ने पुराणों एवं ग्रीक भूगोलकार तालमी के उल्लेखों के उद्धरण प्रस्तुत करते हुए इन्द्र द्वीप को आधुनिक वर्मा का परिचायक द्वीप स्वीकृत किया है। पाणिनि की अष्टाध्यायी में दी गयी परिभाषा के अनुसार द्वीप, स्थल का वह भाग है जो दो ओर से जल द्वारा आवृत हो। अतः श्री मजूमदार के उपरोक्त कथन को स्वीकार करने में कोई आपत्ति नहीं हो सकती। कशेरुमत का शाब्दिक अर्थ है 'कशेरु वाला' अथवा 'वह भूमि जहाँ पर कशेरु अधिक उत्पन्न होता है। प्राचीन काल से ही कशेरु के लिए सिंगपुर मुख्यालय है। अतः कशेरुमत या कशेरुमान की मलय प्रायद्वीप का चोतक भूभाग स्वीकार कर सकते हैं। इसी प्रकार 'गान्धर्व' भी गान्धार का समानार्थक देश है। अल्बरूनी के अनुसार गान्धर्व द्वीप उत्तर-पश्चिम विशा में स्थित था। परन्तु श्री सु० ना० मजूमदार ने रामायण एवं महाभारत के प्रमाणों के आधार पर इसे उत्तरापथ में ही स्थित बतलाया है। पाजिटर महोदय⁴ के शब्दों में गान्धर्व वास्तव में दैवी गायकों की एक जाति है लेकिन गन्धर्व नाम के लोग भी महाभारत के सभा पर्व में मानस हव के उस पार निवास करते हुए बतलाये गये हैं। इसी जनपद की जीत कर धनुर्धर अर्जुन ने सुन्धर अश्वों के उपहार अर्जित किये थे। चीनी यात्री ह्वेनसांग के वर्णन के अनुसार गान्धार जनपद, जिसमें काबुल की घाटी तथा सिन्धु के पूर्ववर्ती भू-भाग निहित थे, सीमान्त में स्थित होने के कारण बाह्य आक्रमणकारियों एवं खंवर जातियों का निवास-स्थान बन गया था। यही

1. का० मी०, अ० १७, पृ० सं० २२३
2. 'ऐन्शियन्ट' ज्योग्रेफी ऑफ इण्डिया कनिंघम, पृ० सं० ८
3. 'अल्बरूनीज इण्डिया' सचाऊ, भाग १, अ० २९ पृ० सं० २९६
4. मा० पु०, पाजिटर, पृ० सं० ३८४

कारण है कि पुराणों में गन्धर्व एक पृथक खंड बतलाया गया है। शेष द्वीप जैसे गभस्तिमान नाग एवं सीम्य पौराणिक संकेतों के अनुसार क्रमशः दक्षिण-पश्चिम, पश्चिम और पश्चिमोत्तर दिशाओं में स्थित थे। श्री सु० ना० भजूमदार ने उपरोक्त संकेतों को लेकर इन द्वीपों की स्थिति संविध्य रूप से वर्तमान भारत के दक्षिण-पश्चिमी एवं पश्चिमी द्वीप समूहों के बीच निर्धारित की है। परन्तु अपने कथन की पुष्टि के लिए श्री भजूमदार ने कोई अधिक विश्वस्त प्रमाण उपस्थित नहीं किये और वह स्वयं भी उपरोक्त गभस्तिमत, नाग एवं सीम्य आदि द्वीपों की स्थिति के विषय में शंकायुक्त हैं। लेखक की अल्पमति के अनुसार इन द्वीपों का भी परिचय वर्तमान भारत के दक्षिणी एवं दक्षिण-पूर्वी द्वीपों से ही देना श्रेयस्कृत होगा। प्रथमतः पुराणों में कहीं पर भी इन द्वीपों की स्थिति को स्पष्ट रूप से नहीं बतलाया गया। इसके अतिरिक्त कनिष्ठम ने जो इन द्वीपों की स्थिति के संबंध में लिखा है वह अत्यन्त ही के वर्णन से सर्वथा भिन्न है। अतः वह अधिक विश्वासपूर्ण नहीं कहा जा सकता है।

दूसरे, भारत एवं पूर्वी द्वीप समूहों का पारस्परिक वाणिज्य सम्बन्ध जैसा कि हमको पेरौप्लस से ज्ञात होता है, ईसा के कई शतियों पूर्व ही स्थापित हो चुका था। अतएव इन द्वीपों के निवासी भारतवर्ष की भूमि तथा संस्कृति से भलीभांति परिचित थे। प्रसिद्ध विद्वान् वेल्लेस के अनुसार तो पूर्वी द्वीपसमूह अति प्राचीनकाल में एशिया खंड के ही भू-प्रदेश थे। इसके अतिरिक्त 'कथा सरित्सागर' और 'रघुवंश' आदि में भारत और दक्षिणी तथा दक्षिणी-पूर्वी द्वीप समूहों को "द्वीपान्तर भारत" की संयुक्त संज्ञा प्रदान की गयी है। प्रसिद्ध विद्वान् श्री रमेशचन्द्र भजूमदार ने बृहत्तर भारत सम्बन्धी अपने नवीनानुसन्धानों द्वारा यह सिद्ध कर दिया है कि ईसा के लगभग पांच सौ वर्ष पूर्व ही भारत के महत्वाकांक्षी अथवा विप्लवी राजकुमारों, बौद्ध परिव्राजकों और स्वर्णलोलुप वणिकों ने सुदूर दक्षिण-पूर्व के द्वीपों में जाकर वहाँ अपनी राज-नैतिक, सांस्कृतिक तथा धार्मिक महत्ता को स्थापित किया था। यह सांस्कृतिक आधिपत्य आगे चल कर सातवाहन शासकों एवं गुप्त सम्राटों के शासनकाल में अपनी पराकाष्ठा पर पहुँच गया। अतः पुराणों तथा अन्य संस्कृत साहित्य में प्रयुक्त भारतवर्ष संज्ञक भू-प्रदेश इसी 'द्वीपान्तर' अथवा 'बृहत्तर भारत' का ही द्योतक है। प्रस्तुत मत की पुष्टि में यहाँ पर यह कह देना भी उचित ही होगा कि भारतवर्ष के अन्तर्गत स्थित नौ खंडों एवं वर्तमान दक्षिणी और दक्षिणी-पूर्वी द्वीपों के कुछ नामों में आज भी पर्याप्त साम्य ध्वनित होता है। उदाहरणार्थ वर्तमान सुमात्रा को पौराणिक सीम्य, बोर्नियो को बर्हिण अथवा बाह्य और नीकोबार को नाग द्वीप के द्योतक नाम कह सकते हैं। शेष गभस्तिमत की स्थिति के विषय में निश्चित रूप से कुछ भी नहीं कहा जा सकता।

बृहत्तर भारत के नौ खंडों के अतिरिक्त भारत के अन्तर्गत स्थित भूभागों की भी संयुक्त संज्ञाएं हमें कविराज राजशेखर की 'काव्य मीमांसा' में प्राप्त होती हैं। उदाहरणार्थ, उत्तरापथ, आपर्वर्त, मध्यदेश, अन्तर्वेदी एवं दक्षिणापथ इत्यादि। उपरोक्त भू-प्रदेशों के वर्गीकरण तथा उनकी भौगोलिक सीमाएं मनुस्मृति, अर्थशास्त्र और पुराणों से ही मिलती जुलती हैं।

उत्तरापथ : कविराज राजशेखर ने पृथ्वी के उत्तर की ओर वाले सम्पूर्ण प्रदेश को उत्तरा-

पथ कहा है।¹ पृथ्वक आधुनिक 'विहोवा' के नाम से विख्यात है जो सरस्वती नदी के तट पर स्थित है। बाणभट्ट ने भी अपने हर्षचरित में उत्तरापथ की इसी सीमा का वर्णन किया है। परन्तु बाद में चल कर इसका प्रयोग आर्यावर्त के लिए किया जाने लगा।

आर्यावर्त: उत्तर में हिमालय एवं दक्षिण में विन्ध्य पर्वतों के मध्य में तथा पूर्व व पश्चिम के समुद्रों से आवृत भू-भाग को आर्यावर्त की संज्ञा दी गई है। मनु² ने भी आर्यावर्त की इसी सीमा की स्वीकार किया है। राजशेखर के शब्दों में आर्यावर्त सदाबार युक्त भूमि थी जहाँ पर चारों आश्रमों एवं वर्णों का विधिवत् पालन होता था।

मध्यदेश: मध्यदेश गंगा के दोआब की भूमि है जो पूर्व में पंजाब से लेकर बिहार तक विस्तृत है। कविराज राजशेखर ने हिमालय और विन्ध्याचल के मध्य तथा जिनशन से पूर्व और प्रयाग से पश्चिम वाले प्रदेश को मध्यदेश कहा है। राजशेखर का यह वर्णन मनुस्मृति के अनुकूल है।

अन्तर्वेदी: राजशेखर ने अपनी काव्यमीमांसा में देश विभाग का उल्लेख करते हुए नवीन संज्ञक, 'अन्तर्वेदी' की चर्चा की है जिसके अन्तर्गत जिनशन से लेकर प्रयाग तक का गंगा-यमुना द्वारा सिंचित प्रदेश निहित है। काव्य-मीमांसाके अनुसार यह प्रदेश भारत का हृदय है और इसके अन्तर्गत स्थित काण्यकुब्ज को केन्द्र मानकर दिग्बिभाग करना चाहिए।

दक्षिणापथ: दक्षिणापथ से साधारणतः विन्ध्यश्रेणी के नीचे समस्त दक्षिणी भारत के भू-भाग का अर्थ लिया जाता है जिसमें अमरकंटक से लेकर उड़ीसा का उत्तर तक की परत सम्मिलित है। राजशेखर ने माहिष्मती के आगे सम्पूर्ण दक्षिणी भारत को दक्षिणापथ की संज्ञा दी है।

अंग: भागलपुर से मुंगेर तक फैले हुए भू-भाग का नाम अंग देश है। इसकी राजधानी चम्पापुरी थी जो भागलपुर से दो मील की दूरी पर पश्चिम में स्थित है। संस्कृत साहित्य में अंग की स्थिति गिरिवृज से पूर्व तथा मथुराके दक्षिण पूर्व में प्रदर्शित की गयी है। इसके पश्चिम में गंगा एवं सरयू का संगम था। रामायण काल में यहाँ का शासक लोमपाद एवं महाभारत काल में कर्ण कहा गया है।

अर्बुद: राजशेखर ने पश्चिम देश में अर्बुद पर्वत एवं जनपद दोनों का ही उल्लेख किया है। अर्बुद पर्वत आधुनिक अरावली पर्वतमाला के प्रसिद्ध आबू पर्वत का परिचायक है जो राजपूताने के सिरोही राज्य के अन्तर्गत विद्यमान है। श्री नन्दूलाल दे का मत है कि यह वशिष्ठ ऋषि का तपो-आश्रम था³। अब यहाँ पर जैन तीर्थीकर रियभदेव का मंदिर है। अर्बुद जनपद इसी पर्वत के आस पास के प्रदेश में विस्तृत रहा होगा।

अवन्ती: पुराणों में इसकी वीतिहोत्र की संज्ञा प्रदान की गई है। महाभारत में नर्वदा नदी

1. 'पृथ्वकात्परतः उत्तरापथः' का० मी०, अ० १७, पृ० स० २२७
2. 'आसमुद्रात्तु च पूर्ववासमुद्रात्तु पश्चिमात्। तपोरेवान्तरं गिर्योरायावर्तं विदुर्बुधाः॥ मनुस्मृति।
3. 'वि ज्योतिषिकल डिक्शनरी आव् एन्शायन्ट एन्ड मेडिबुल इण्डिया : पृ० सं० ५।

के दक्षिणी तटवर्ती प्रदेशों में इस जनपद का अस्तित्व बतलाया गया है। वाणभट्ट के अनुसार वेतवा नदी के तट पर स्थित विदिशा इसकी राजधानी थी। अतः प्राचीनकाल में अवन्ती में वर्तमान मालवा के भूभाग सम्मिलित थे। उज्जयिनी इसकी राजधानी थी। अवन्तिका वास्तविक विक्रमादित्य भारतीय लोक साहित्य में बहुत प्रसिद्ध है। महाजनपद काल में अवन्ति देश, उत्तरावन्ति और दक्षिणावन्ति दो भागों में बंट गया था। पहले की राजधानी उज्जयिनी तथा दूसरे की माहिष्मती थी।

अदमक : वायुपुराण में प्रस्तुत जनपद को अदमक कहा गया है। बृहत्संहिता में दिये गये वर्णन के अनुसार अदमक उत्तरापथ में स्थित एक जनपद था। परन्तु राजशेखर की काव्य-मीमांसा में इसका अस्तित्व दक्षिणापथ में स्वीकार किया गया है। रामायण एवं महाभारत इत्यादि महाकाव्यों में इसे मध्य भारत में स्थित बतलाया गया है। दण्डिन् के 'दशकुमार चरित्' तथा वाणभट्ट के 'हर्षचरित' के अनुसार अदमक महाराष्ट्र के अन्तर्गत सम्मिलित था। इस प्रकार प्राचीन साहित्य में अदमक की स्थिति के विषय में बहुत बड़ा मतभेद है। पाणिनि की 'अष्टाध्यायी' के "अबन्त्यदमकं" सूत्र से ज्ञात होता है कि अवन्ती और अदमक राज्यों की सीमाएं परस्पर संटी हुई थीं। प्रो० हेमचन्द्र राय चौधरी ने गोदावरी नदी के तट पर स्थित राज्य को अदमक कहा है। इसकी राजधानी पोतालि अथवा पोतन थी जो दक्षिण में हंभराबाद के निकटवर्ती वर्तमान बोधन की परिचायिका है। प्राचीन बौद्ध साहित्य में इसका वर्णन मूलक और कालिंग इत्यादि राज्यों के साथ आया है।

आंध्र : राजशेखर द्वारा विरचित 'विद्वशाल भंजिका' नाटिका में 'आंध्र' की चर्चा की गई है। यह जनपद गोदावरी तथा कृष्णा नदियों के मध्यवर्ती भू-प्रदेश में स्थित था। आधुनिक तेलंगाना से इसका तादात्म्य स्थापित किया जा सकता है। प्रसिद्ध विद्वान् वोल के कथनानुसार बेगी नगरी इसकी राजधानी थी। प्रतिष्ठानपुर और धान्यकटक भी इस जनपद की राजधानी रहे।

आनतः पुराणों के अनुसार वैवस्वत मनु के प्रपौत्र आनत ने इस राज्य की स्थापना की थी। बराहमिहिर की बृहत्संहिता के अनुसार सिंधु-सौवीर इसकी पश्चिमी सीमा पर स्थित थे। श्री नन्दूलाल बे के अनुसार आनत के अन्तर्गत समस्त गुजरात और मालवा का कुछ भाग सम्मिलित था। पाजिटर महोदय के मतानुसार इसकी राजधानी द्वारिका, द्वारावती अथवा कुशस्वली थीं जो कि काठियावाड़ प्रायद्वीप में स्थित आधुनिक द्वारिका की परिचायिका समझी जा सकती हैं। प्राचीन साहित्य में प्रभास तीर्थ और वल्लभी भी इसी के अन्तर्गत बतलाये गये हैं जिसके आधार पर कुछ ऐतिहासकारों ने सीराष्ट्र को ही आनत समझा है।

उत्कल : यह एक प्राचीन जनपद है जिसकी स्थापना मनु की कन्या इला सुघमन के पुत्र उत्कल के द्वारा की गयी थी। विद्वानों ने उत्कल को उत्कालिंग का विकृत रूप समझा है जिसका तात्पर्य उत्तर कालिंग से है। महाभारत तथा पुराणों में इसका मेकल और कालिंग के साथ वर्णन मिलता है। पाजिटर महोदय के अनुसार इस राज्य की उत्तरी सीमा पर कविशा नदी प्रवाहित होती थी जिसका परिषय कोशिया से दिया जाता है और सम्भवतः इसकी पश्चिमी सीमा मेकल राज्य से मिली हुई थी। पाजिटर के अनुसार इसमें बालासोर लोहार दागा और सर्गुजा,

के जिले सम्मिलित थे। महाभारत काल में उत्कल कर्लिंग का ही एक भाग था परन्तु आगे चल कर जैसा कालिदास के रघुवंश से ज्ञात होता है उत्कल एक स्वतन्त्र राज्य बन गया। अतः श्री भगवत्सूत्रण उपाध्याय¹ के शब्दों में उत्कल राज्य की सीमाएं उत्तर में बंगाल के मिदनापुर जिले में बहती हुई कोशिया नदी तक और दक्षिण में कर्लिंग तक फैली हुई थी।

कर्लिंग : प्राचीन साहित्य में प्रायः कर्लिंग का नाम अंग, वंग के साथ ही वर्णित किया गया है। कर्लिंग देश बंगाल की खाड़ी के किनारे-किनारे दक्षिण में द्रविड़ और उत्तर में उड़ीसा तक फैला हुआ था। प्रोफेसर कनिंघम के अनुसार इसकी दक्षिणी पश्चिमी सीमा पर गोदावरी नदी प्रवाहित होती थी। महाभारत काल में उड़ीसा का अधिकांश भाग इस राज्य में सम्मिलित था और यही कारण है कि उत्तर में यैतरणी नदी तक इसकी सीमाएं विस्तृत बतलाई गई हैं। प्रसिद्ध विद्वान पाजिटर ने आधुनिक उड़ीसा, जिला गंजाम, और बिजगापट्टम के अधिकांश भूभागों को इस राज्य की सीमा के अंतर्गत निहित माना है। कविराज राजशेखर ने दक्षिण और पूर्व के सम्मिलित प्रदेशों को कर्लिंग कहा है। इसकी राजधानी 'दन्तकूर' थी जिस का महाभारत में दन्तपुर के नाम से उल्लेख किया गया है।

कर्णाट अथवा कर्नाटक : पाजिटर महोदय के मतानुसार यह जनपद हैदराबाद के दक्षिणी पश्चिमी भू-भागों में पश्चिमीघाट तक तथा दक्षिण में नीलगिरि की पहाड़ियों तक फैला हुआ था। महाभारत के भौगोलिक पर्व में कर्णाटकों का उल्लेख किया गया है। यह आंध्र के दक्षिण व पश्चिम का प्रान्त था जिसमें मैसूर और कुर्ग के जिले सम्मिलित थे। कविराज राजशेखर ने कर्णाट देश के कवियों के पाठ्यक्रम का वर्णन करते हुए बतलाया है कि वह बड़े स्पष्ट एवं सर्व-पूर्ण ढंग से कविता पाठ करते थे।

कर्णसुवर्ण : कविराज राजशेखर ने इसका वर्णन अपने सट्टक कर्णरमंजरी में किया है। श्री नन्गूलाल दे के मतानुसार कर्णसुवर्ण का परिचायक कनसोना नगर मुंशिवाबाद जिले में स्थित है जो कि किसी समय बंगाल की राजधानी थी। कनसोना का आधुनिक नाम रांगमाती है जोकि प्राचीनकाल में कनसोनापुरी कहा जाता था। ह्वेनसांग ने कर्णसुवर्ण को ताभ्र-ल्लित के उत्तर-पश्चिम में तथा उड़ीसा के उत्तरी-पूर्वी भाग में स्थित बतलाया है। इस प्रकार इसके अंतर्गत मिदनापुर और सरगुजा के पहाड़ी इलाके सम्मिलित थे।

कथकैशिक : राजशेखर ने इस जनपद को दक्षिणापथ में बतलाया है। यद्यपि कथकैशिक महाभारत काल से ही विदर्भ देश का एक अंग था परन्तु राजशेखर ने उसे विदर्भ से पृथक् वर्णित किया है। महाभारत के सभापर्व में वर्णित कथानक के अनुसार विदर्भ के शासक ने इस राज्य को कथ और कैशिक दो राजकुमारों में विभक्त कर दिया था। अतः इसका नाम कथकैशिक पड़ा। रघुवंश के पंचम सर्ग में कथकैशिक का प्रयोग विदर्भ के लिए ही किया गया है।

कच्छीय : कनिंघम ने इसे कच्छ की खाड़ी का द्योतक राज्य स्वीकार किया है। कच्छ संजक राज्य, जिसकी राजधानी कच्छेश्वर सिंधु नदी के तट पर स्थित थी, कच्छ की खाड़ी का परिचायक नहीं कहा जा सकता। 'कच्छ' जिसका अर्थ सू० ना० मज्जिमदार ने समुद्री किनारे की निचटवर्ती भूमि बतलाया है, सिंधु नदी के निचले प्रदेश में निर्धारित किया जा सकता है।

करकंड : राजशेखर ने करकंड का नाम उत्तरापथ के जनपदों में दिया है। कुछ विद्वानों ने इसको कौरम पर्वत श्रेणी की घाटियों में स्थित बतलाया है।

कामरूप : कामरूप वर्तमान आसाम प्रदेश का संस्कृत नाम है। प्राचीनकाल में इस विस्तृत भूभाग की सीमाएं चीन तक फैली हुयी थीं। यही कारण है कि कौटिल्य, ह्यूवेनसांग तथा अलबरूनी इत्यादि लेखकों ने इसके लिए चीन शब्द का प्रयोग किया है। अतएव इस राज्य के अन्तर्गत संभवतः ब्रह्मपुत्र नदी की सम्पूर्ण घाटी निहित रही होगी। प्रो० कॉनिघम¹ के अनुसार इसमें कुशविहार और भूटान के प्रदेश भी सम्मिलित थे। पुराणों में इसकी राजधानी प्राग्ज्योतिषपुर कही गयी है। कालिदास ने रघुवंश में इस राज्य की चर्चा की है। इसकी पश्चिमी सीमा पर करतोया नदी प्रवाहित होती थी। राजशेखर ने अपनी काव्यमीमांसा में भारत के पूर्वी भाग में कामरूप को जनपद न बतलाकर पर्वत कहा है जो कि सम्भवतः नीलगिरि का ही दूसरा नाम है। इस पर्वत के कारण ही इस प्रदेश का नाम कामरूप पड़ा होगा।

काश्मीर : यह देश आधुनिक काश्मीर का परिचायक है। ह्यूवेनसांग के समय में इस राज्य के अन्तर्गत काश्मीर घाटी और साथ ही सिंधु नदी से लेकर चिनाब तक पहाड़ी प्रदेश सम्मिलित था। परन्तु लगभग नवीं शती के अन्त तक इसकी सीमाएं कुछ कम हो गयीं थीं। मुस्लिम लेखक अबूरिहान के अनुसार इसकी राजधानी अधिस्थान थी जिसका परिचायक आधुनिक श्रीनगर है।

कम्बोज : कम्बोज जनपद पंजाब के मुहूर उत्तर में और सिंधु नदी के उत पार स्थित था। महाभारत में इसका वर्णन शकों और यवनों के साथ मलेच्छों के रूप में किया गया है। हालांकि ये लोग आर्यभाषा का प्रयोग करते थे²। महाराज मनु के अनुसार यह लोग क्षत्रिय थे परन्तु वेद निषिद्ध कार्य करने के कारण हेय समझे जाते थे। प्रसिद्ध विद्वान लैसेन के अनुसार कम्बोज संभवतः काश्गर के दक्षिण में तथा आधुनिक कफरिस्तान के पूर्व में स्थित था। कम्बोज देश की व्याप्ति वहां से प्राप्त विशाल तथा अच्छे प्रकार के अश्वों के कारण थी। रिज डेविड्स ने द्वारिका को कम्बोज की राजधानी बतलाया था। परन्तु आधुनिक विद्वानों ने महाभारत में वर्णित राजपुर (आधुनिक रजौरी) को ही काश्मीर के दक्षिण में है इस देश की राजधानी के रूप में निर्धारित किया है। प्रो० वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल³ ने आधुनिक पामीर और बदख़्शा के सम्मिलित भू-भाग को कम्बोज जनपद कहा है। इसके दक्षिण में फैली हुई हिन्दुकुश की ऊंची पर्वत श्रृंखला इस जनपद को भारतवर्ष से अलग करती थी। प्रो० अग्रवाल के मतानुसार राजपुर (आधुनिक रजौरी) अभिसार जनपद के अन्तर्गत था। अतः उसे कम्बोज की राजधानी नहीं कह सकते। परन्तु डा० हेमचन्द्रराय चौधरी ने उपरोक्त मत का खंडन करते हुए लिखा है कि राजपुर कम्बोज जनपद का ही एक भाग था।

कावेर : कावेरी नदी के तट पर स्थित तथा उसके निकटवर्ती प्रदेश को कावेर देश कहा गया है।

1. एन्शियन्ट ज्योग्राफी ऑफ इंडिया, पृष्ठ सं० ३८।

2. म्योर्स संस्कृत टेक्स्ट २, ३६८-९।

3. पानिनीकालीन भारतवर्ष अ० २, पृ० सं० ६१।

कुन्तल : महाभारत के भीष्म पर्व और कर्ण पर्व में कुन्तल राज्य का वर्णन किया गया है। श्री दे तथा पांडित ने मतानुसार इसमें बिलारी तथा उसके निकटवर्ती जिले सम्मिलित थे। राजशेखर ने कुन्तल को दक्षिणापथ में स्थित बतलाया है। बाल रामायण नाटक में राजशेखर ने कुन्तल को विदर्भ के अन्तर्गत स्वीकार किया है¹। श्री मिराशी² के शब्दों में महाराष्ट्र का दक्षिणी भाग कुन्तल कहा जाता था। सी० आर० लैनमन³ ने कर्पूरमंजरी सट्टक में वर्णित भूगोल की खोज करते हुए कृष्णा के ऊपरी भाग और तुंगभद्रा द्वारा सिंचित प्रदेश को कुन्तल बतलाया है जिसके अनुसार इसके अन्तर्गत बम्बई का महा प्रान्त और हैदराबाद का सुदूरवर्ती दक्षिणी भाग, मद्रास के उत्तरी पश्चिमी प्रदेश और मैसूर के जिले सम्मिलित थे। इसकी राजधानी वत्सगुल्म कही गई है।

कुलूत : राजशेखर के अनुसार कुलूत उत्तरापथ का जनपद था। आधुनिक कांगड़ा जिले की कुछ तहसील से इसका परिचय दिया जाता है जो कि व्यास नदी की ऊपरी घाटी पर स्थित है। चीनी यात्री ह्वेनसांग ने इस जनपद का वर्णन करते हुए इसे जालन्धर से ११७ मील दूर स्थित बतलाया है। नन्दलाल दे के अनुसार इसकी राजधानी नगरकोट थी। कुछ विद्वानों ने स्थानपुर (मुल्तानपुर) को इसकी राजधानी स्वीकार किया है जो आज भी इसका प्रधान नगर है।

कीर : विद्वानों ने इसे पश्चिमोत्तर प्रदेश में कीथर पर्वत श्रेणी के आसपास के भूभाग में स्थित जनपद समझा है। किन्तु राजशेखर के वर्णन के अनुसार यह उत्तरापथ का एक जनपद था। कुछ ऐतिहासिकारों के अनुसार यह कश्मीर का एक भाग था।

केकय : पुराणों में प्रस्तुत जनपद के केकय, कैकय और कंकेय इत्यादि नामों का उल्लेख किया गया है। यह एक प्राचीनतम राज्य है जिसका उल्लेख हमें उपनिषदों, रामायण, महाभारत तथा पुराणों इत्यादि में मिलता है। प्राचीन साहित्य में केकय तथा मद्र दोनों जनपदों का एक साथ उल्लेख किया गया है। प्रसिद्ध विद्वान् लैसेन ने केकय जनपद को रावी और व्यास नदियों के मध्य में स्थित प्रदर्शित किया है। कनिंघम ने कैकय देश की सीमा बाहीक देश के पश्चिम में निर्धारित की है। उपरोक्त विद्वान् के मतानुसार शेलम नदी के तट पर स्थित गिरजाक (आधुनिक जलालपुर) नामक स्थान ही रामायण में वर्णित केकय जनपद की राजधानी राजगृह का द्योतक है। महाभारत में इस देश के निवासी धनुर्विद्या में प्रवीण कहे गये हैं। डा० मोतीचन्द⁴ ने प्रस्तुत जनपद को पंजाब में स्थित शाहपुर एवं शेलम जिलों में विस्तृत बतलाया है।

केरल : यह एक वन प्रदेशीय राज्य था⁵। कालिदास के रघुवंश में इसको

1. कर्पूरमंजरी, एम० एम० घोष, भूमिका, पृ० सं० ६६।
2. एनाल्स आव् भंडारकर रिसर्च इंस्टीट्यूट, पूना ११, पृ० सं० ३६६।
3. कर्पूरमंजरी, सी० आर० लैनमन, पृ० सं० २१३।
4. ज० आव् यू० पी० हि० सो० भाग १, पृ० सं० ५६, जुलाई १९४४।
5. म० भा० सभा प०, अ० ३०, १९७४.५।

पश्चिमी सीमा में वर्णित किया गया है। पाजिटर महोदय¹ ने इन्हें कालीकट से लेकर कन्या-कुमारी तक समस्त पश्चिमी घाट की सीमा पर विस्तृत कहा है। वास्तव में इस राज्य के अन्तर्गत मलाबार, ट्रावणकोर और कोचीन के भाग सम्मिलित थे। अशोक के शिलालेखों में पांड्य देश के उत्तर में केरलपुत्र की चर्चा की गयी है। ह्वेनसांग ने इसका उल्लेख नहीं किया है क्योंकि उसके समय में यह पांड्य राज्य के अन्तर्गत था।

कोशल : राजशेखर ने कोशल की गणना पूर्व देश के राज्यों में की है। प्रस्तुत जनपद दो भागों में विभक्त था। (१) उत्तर कोशल और (२) दक्षिण कोशल या महाकोशल। राजशेखर द्वारा वर्णित कोशल जनपद दक्षिण अथवा महाकोशल का ही द्योतक है। इसके अन्तर्गत विन्ध्यश्रेणी से लगे हुए छातीसगढ़ इत्यादि जिले निहित थे। कथा सरित्सागर के अनुसार इसकी राजधानी चिरायु थी।

कोकण : यह आधुनिक परशुराम क्षेत्र का परिचायक है। पौराणिक कथाओं के अनुसार यह देश परशुराम द्वारा सागर से अर्जित किया गया था। कोकण राज्य के अन्तर्गत पश्चिमी घाट से लेकर समुद्र पर्यन्त के विस्तृत भूभाग निहित थे जिसके अन्तर्गत केरल, मुराष्ट्र, कर्णाटक, बर्बर तथा कोकण के भू भाग आते हैं।

कोल्लगिरि : पाजिटर महोदय का कथन है कि कोल्लगिरि महाभारत के अश्वमेध पर्व में वर्णित 'कोल्यगिरेय' नामक स्थान प्रतीत होता है। अतः वर्तमान कुर्ग जिसका प्राचीन नाम कोडुगु था, ही इसका परिचायक है। एक बृहत्ते मत के अनुसार कोल्लगिरि आधुनिक 'फ्रेनेनूर' नगर का परिचायक स्थान बतलाया गया है जो कोचीन से १८ मील दूर उत्तर में स्थित है।

गांग : राजशेखर के मतानुसार गांग दक्षिणपथ में स्थित राज्य था जो वर्तमान 'कोगु' का परिचायक है। प्री० सु० ना० मजूमदार की राय में इस राज्य में मैसूर के अधिकांश भाग सम्मिलित थे। इसके उत्तर में कृष्णा और तुंगभद्रा नदियाँ प्रवाहित होती थीं। दक्षिण में कोगु, उत्तर पूर्व में नोलम्ब खाड़ी, पश्चिम में वनवासी और दक्षिण पश्चिम में मैसूर जनपद स्थित थे। ह्वेनसांग के समय में यह राज्य चालुक्य सम्राटों के अधीन था। इस जनपद में दीर्घकाल तक गांग वंश के राजाओं ने शासन किया। संभवतः इसीलिये इसे गांग जनपद कहा गया है। इसमें मैसूर, कोयम्बटूर तथा सलेम के जिले निहित थे।

गौड़ : श्री नन्दलाल दे के कथनानुसार समस्त बंगाल गौड़ देश कहा जाता था। इसकी राजधानी भी इसी नाम से विख्यात थी। राजशेखर ने अपनी काव्यमीमांसा के अन्तर्गत गौड़ देश की ललनाओं की प्रशंसा की है² और वहाँ के कवियों की प्राकृत भाषा के विस्वर एवं कर्णकट्ट उच्चारण का भी वर्णन किया है।

गुर्जर : कविराज राजशेखर ने गुर्जर³ राज्य का वर्णन सौराष्ट्र और त्रवण राज्यों के साथ किया है। अतः यह निश्चित ही है कि इस काल तक गुर्जर मुराष्ट्र से भिन्न राज्य था। ह्वेनसांग द्वारा दिए गए वृत्तान्त के अनुसार स्पष्ट रूप से कहा जा सकता है कि सातवीं शती

1. मा० पु०, पाजिटर पृ० सं० ३३१।

2. का० मी० अ० ३ पृ० सं० १८।

3. का० मी० अ० ७, पृ० सं० ८३।

तक सुराष्ट्र को गुर्जर देश की संज्ञा नहीं दी गयी थी। वर्तमान मारवाड़ प्रदेश ही राजशेखर द्वारा वर्णित गुर्जर देश का परिचायक राज्य स्वीकार किया जा सकता है। यद्यपि राजशेखर के आश्रयदाता गुर्जर प्रतिहार नरेशों की साम्राज्य सीमाएं अत्यधिक बड़ी थी।

गांधार : गांधार जनपद रामायण के गान्धर्व देश का अपभ्रंश है। पाणिनि ने इस जनपद का नाम गान्धारि एक सूत्र में दिया है। प्राचीनकाल में गांधार एक बहुत प्रसिद्ध देश था। ग्रीक भूगोल वेत्ता तालमी के वर्णनों से मालूम होता है कि सिन्धु नदी इस राज्य की पूर्वी सीमा बनाती थी। नन्डूलाल बे का मत है कि इस राज्य में पेशावर एवं यूसुफजारी इत्यादि के भूभाग सम्मिलित थे जहाँ की खुदाइयों से इस प्राचीन नगर के ध्वंसावशेष प्राप्त हुए हैं। इसकी राजधानी पुरुषपुर अथवा आधुनिक पेशावर थी। डा० अप्रवाल¹ का मत है कि प्रस्तुत राज्य कुनड़ या काश्कर नदी से तक्षशिला तक फैला हुआ था। पश्चिमी गांधार की राजधानी पुष्कलावती (यूनानी पिडकलावती) थी जहाँ स्वात और काबुल नदियों के संगम पर वर्तमान चारसदा स्थित है।

चोल : चोल दक्षिणापथ का एक अति प्राचीन जनपद है जिसका वर्णन महाभारत के सभापर्व एवं वन पर्वों में, कात्यायन के वार्तिकों और अशोक के शिलालेखों में प्राप्त होता है। इसका दूसरा नाम द्राविड भी कहीं कहीं पर साहित्य में मिलता है। किसी समय इस देश का विस्तार बहुत अधिक था परन्तु राजशेखर के काल में इसमें तंजीर, बिचनपल्ली और दक्षिण अर्काट के जिले सम्मिलित थे। इसकी राजधानी कान्चीपुर या कान्ची थी। राजशेखर ने कांची और कावेर इत्यादि जिलों को चोल जनपद से पृथक बताया है।

तोषल : राजशेखर ने तोषल की गणना पूर्व देश के जनपदों के अन्तर्गत की है। अशोक के शिलालेखों में तोषाली का नाम आया है जो तोषल की राजधानी थी। तोषल कोशल जनपद का दक्षिणी भाग कहा जा सकता है।

तंगण : राजशेखर के वर्णन के अनुसार प्रस्तुत जनपद उत्तरापथ में था। इस जनपद के विभिन्न नाम तंगण (वायु पुराण) टंकण (रामायण) तथा तुंगण (मार्कण्डेय पुराण) इत्यादि साहित्य में मिलते हैं। महाभारत के कई स्थानों पर प्रस्तुत जनपद के वर्णन किरात, कुन्दि, रमठ, श्री राज्य, मुंड, पुलिद इत्यादि पर्वतीय गणराज्यों के साथ आते हैं जोकि हिमालय की तराई में सुबाहु नामक शासक के अन्तर्गत विद्यमान थे। महाभारत में इस जनपद को तंगण एवं परतंगण में विभक्त किया गया है जो कि पाजिटर महोदय के मतानुसार निकटस्थ एवं दूरस्थ तंगण राज्यों का भाव प्रकट करते हैं। ग्रीक भूगोल वेत्ता तालमी ने तंगनोई जनपद का वर्णन किया है जो कि गंगा की पूर्वी सीमा में स्थित थे और उनके राज्य से होकर सरबोस नदी प्रवाहित होती थी। अतः यह प्रदेश रामगंगा नदी से लेकर सरयू के ऊपरी भाग तक विस्तृत था जो कि तालमी की सरबोस नदी की परिचायिका है।

ताम्रलिप्तक : राजशेखर द्वारा पूर्व देश में वर्णित ताम्रलिप्तक जनपद वर्तमान ताम्रलुक का संस्कृत रूप है। प्रस्तुत जनपद के विभिन्न नाम साहित्य में प्राप्त होते हैं। उदाहरणार्थ महाभारत में इसको ताम्रलिप्त और ताम्रलिप्तक दोनों ही नामों से पुकारा गया है।

वायुपुराण एवं राजशेखर ने इसे तामिलिप्तक कहा है। वंदिन के दशकुमार चरित में मुह्य जनपद के तामिलिप्त एवं दामिलिप्त नगरी का वर्णन है। आधुनिक तामलुक बंगाल के बिर्नापुर जिले में रुष नारायण नदी के पश्चिमी तट पर स्थित है। सुविख्यात विद्वान् कनिंघम के शब्दों में तामिलिप्तक जनपद हुगली नदी के पश्चिमी उपजाऊ प्रदेश में उत्तर में बर्बान जिले से लेकर दक्षिण में कोशिया नदी तक फैला हुआ था।

तुषार : राजशेखर ने उत्तरापथ के जनपदों में इसका वर्णन किया है। रामायण एवं महाभारत महाकाव्यों में तुषार जनपद के वर्णन मिलते हैं जो संभवतः वायुपुराण और राजशेखर के तुषार जनपद का ही स्रोतक है। हरिवंश में प्रस्तुत जनपद का वर्णन क्षक, वरद एवं पल्लव इत्यादि स्लेच्छ जातियों के साथ मिलता है। लैसन ने तुषार को हिन्दुकुश की उत्तरी सीमा पर प्रवेशित किया है।

तुरुष्क : काव्यमीमांसा में दिये गये वर्णन के अनुसार प्रस्तुत जनपद उत्तरापथ में स्थित था। विद्वानों ने इसे पूर्वी तुर्किस्तान या चीनी तुर्किस्तान का स्रोतक बतलाया है।

द्रविड़ : कविराज राजशेखर ने द्रविड़ देश को कोई जनपद विशेष न कहकर दक्षिण भारत का भूभाग बतलाया है। द्रविड़ आधुनिक तामिल का संस्कृत रूप है जिसमें दक्षिणापथ का, उत्तर में कृष्णा एवं तुंगभद्रा नदियों से लेकर दक्षिण में कन्याकुमारी तक, भूभाग निहित था। चोल, चेर और पांड्य राज्य इसके अन्तर्गत माने गये हैं। द्रविड़ देश की राजधानी कांची थी।

वंडक : राजशेखर के मतानुसार वण्डक दक्षिणापथ में स्थित जनपद बतलाया गया है। महाभारत में भी वण्डकारण्य वन में स्थित राज्य को वंडक की संज्ञा प्रदान की गयी है। रामायण में वर्णित वण्डकारण्य मध्यभारत के दक्षिणी बुन्देलखण्ड प्रदेश से लेकर गोदावरी तक फैला हुआ था। परन्तु जैसा कि पाजिटर महोदय का मत है आर्यों के दक्षिण में प्रसार के साथ ही साथ यह वन केवल गोदावरी के उद्गम स्थान तथा राप्ती नदी के निचले प्रदेशों में ही सीमित रह गया था। इस प्रदेश में स्थित राज्य को ही वण्डक जनपद कहा गया है।

वशेरक : काव्यमीमांसा में वर्णित देश विभाग के अनुसार यह पश्चिम देश में स्थित एक जनपद था। 'अभिधान चिन्तामणि' में वर्णित "मलस्तु वशेरका" के अनुसार वशेरक सिंधु के महस्थल में स्थित राज्य था। इस प्रदेश में ऊँटों की अधिकता थी और यही कारण है कि ऊँट को भी वशेरक कहा गया है।

देवसभ : देवसभ या देवास्त मध्य देश एवं पश्चिम देश के सीमान्त में स्थित प्रदेश था। उदयपुर के धेवार झील के प्रदेश को देवसभा कहा गया है।

द्रुपद : यह राज्य दक्षिण पांचाल का प्रदेश था। महाभारत काल में द्रुपद यहाँ का शासक था। कांपिल्य इस देश का प्रधान नगर था।

नासिक्य : प्रस्तुत जनपद दक्षिणापथ में स्थित था। व्याकरणार्थ पतंजलि ने भी अपने महाभाष्य में इसका उल्लेख किया है। सातवाहनो, क्षक क्षत्रपों, तथा आभीरी के लेख यहाँ पर्याप्त संख्या में मिलते हैं। यह प्रदेश गोदावरी के तट पर वर्मई के उत्तरी पूर्वी भू-भागों में फैला हुआ था।

नेपाल : राजशेखर ने नेपाल देश तथा नेपाल पर्वत दोनों का ही उल्लेख पूर्व देश के अन्तर्गत किया है। यह प्रसिद्ध है।

पांड्य : पांड्य जनपद का उल्लेख महाकाव्यों, कात्यायन के वार्तिकों एवं अशोक के शिलालेखों में किया गया है। बाह्य लेखकों में मेगस्थनीज, तालमी तथा प्लिनी आदि ने इसकी चर्चा की है। इसमें वर्तमान मडुरा और तिरुचिबेल्ली जिलों के भाग सम्मिलित थे। रघुवंश के छठवें सर्ग में पांड्य देश की राजधानी उरगपुर (आधुनिक उरगूर) का वर्णन मिलता है¹। प्रसिद्ध टीकाकार महिलनाथ ने उरगपुर का अर्थ नागपुर लिखा है जो कि अमान्य है। श्री भगवतशरण उपाध्याय² के मतानुसार आधुनिक मडुरा ही प्राचीन उरगपुर का परिचायक है। तामिल भाषा में यह शब्द उरग का पर्यायवाची है।

पांचाल : प्रस्तुत विशाल जनपद के अन्तर्गत दहेलवंड और मध्य दोआब के भू-भाग सम्मिलित थे। महाभारत एवं दिव्यावदान के अनुसार पांचाल जनपद की सीमाएँ दो भागों में विभक्त थीं। उत्तर पांचाल तथा दक्षिण पांचाल। इन दोनों राज्यों की सीमाओं का विभाजन भागीरथी के द्वारा होता था। उत्तर पांचाल की राजधानी अहिच्छत्रा थी जिसका परिचय बरेली जिले में स्थित आधुनिक रामनगर से दिया जाता है। दक्षिण पांचाल, जिसकी सीमाएँ गंगा से लेकर खम्बल तक फैली हुई थीं, की राजधानी काम्पिल्य थी। दक्षिण पांचाल का दूसरा नाम द्रुपद भी था। राजशेखर के समय में पांचाल जनपद पश्चिम में बानेद्वर से लेकर पूर्व में कोशल की सीमाओं को छूता था और उत्तर में हिमालय की उपत्यिकाओं से लेकर दक्षिण में यमुना और खम्बल के संगम तक स्थित था। राजशेखर के काल में प्रस्तुत राज्य की राजधानी काम्पिल्य थी।

पारियात्र : पारियात्र या पारिपात्र विन्ध्य श्रेणी की पश्चिमी शाखा है। राजशेखर ने पारियात्र नामक देश की भी चर्चा की है जिसके कवि भूतभाषा या पैशाची भाषा में निपुण थे। संभवतः यह देश पारियात्र पर्वत श्रेणी के निकटवर्ती नर्मदा नदी के उद्गम स्थान से लेकर कच्छ की खाड़ी तक फैला हुआ था:-

पुंड्र : पुंड्र जनपद प्रायः अंग, वंग एवं सुहृद इत्यादि जनपदों के साथ वर्णित किया गया है। इसके विभिन्न नाम पुंड्र, पुंड्रक, पौंड्र, पौंड्रक एवं पौंड्रिक इत्यादि महाभारत में मिलते हैं। पाजिटर महोदय के मतानुसार इनकी उत्तरी सीमा पर काशी, उत्तरी पूर्वी तथा पूर्वी सीमा पर अंग वंग और सुहृद एवं दक्षिणी पूर्वी सीमाओं पर ओद्र जनपद स्थित थे। अतः पुंड्र आधुनिक छोटा नागपुर का परिचायक समझा जा सकता है। यद्यपि इसका दक्षिणी भाग उत्कल जनपद में सम्मिलित था। प्रो० विलसन ने पुंड्र के अन्तर्गत राजशाही, बीनाजपुर, रंगपुर, नदिया, वीर-भूम, मिदिनापुर इत्यादि जिले सम्मिलित माने हैं।

प्राग्ज्योतिष : प्राचीनकाल में प्राग्ज्योतिष एक महत्वपूर्ण जनपद था। रामायण में इसकी स्थापना का उल्लेख किया गया है। यद्यपि महाभारत में प्रस्तुत जनपद की गंगा म्लेच्छ देशों में की गयी है परन्तु इसका शासक भागदत्त सर्वत्र प्रशंसा का पात्र कहा गया है। जैसा

1. 'अथीरगाह्यस्य पुरस्सनाथम्' रघु० सर्ग ६, पृ० सं० ५९।
2. जनरल आर्थ यू० पी० हि० सो० भाग २, पृ० सं० ८, १९४४।

कि साहित्यिक उल्लेखों से ज्ञात होता है इसके अन्तर्गत आसाम तथा उत्तरी बंगाल का कुछ प्रवेश निहित था¹। प्रस्तुत जनपद की राजधानी का नाम भी प्राग्ज्योतिषपुर था।

पल्लव : राजशेखर ने पल्लव जनपद की दक्षिणावध के अन्तर्गत बताया है। श्री सुरेन्द्रनाथ मजूमदार के कथनानुसार पल्लवराज के अन्तर्गत बेलारी, अर्काट, चिगलेपत तथा तंजौर इत्यादि जिले सम्मिलित थे। काञ्ची इस जनपद की प्राचीन राजधानी थी यद्यपि राजशेखर ने कांची को एक स्वतन्त्र जनपद माना है।

पाल : कविराज राजशेखर ने इसे दक्षिणावध में स्थित एक जनपद बताया है। डा० भण्डारकर² के मतानुसार यह पाल महाड़ के निकट स्थित था।

वंग : पार्जितर महोदय³ ने वंग जनपद के अन्तर्गत आधुनिक मुर्शिदाबाद, नदिया जसोर, राजशाही के कुछ भाग तथा फरीदपुर इत्यादि जिलों को सम्मिलित बतलाया है। रघुवंश के चतुर्थ सर्ग में वंग देश का वर्णन मिलता है। कालिदास ने गंगा और ब्रह्मपुत्र के बीचा में स्थित भूभाग को वंग देश की संज्ञा दी है। डा० मोतीचन्द का मत है कि वंग देश संपूर्ण बंगाल का परिचायक नहीं हो सकता। इसके अन्तर्गत केवल पूर्वी बंगाल के आधुनिक ढाका तथा चिन्तगांव जिले ही निहित थे। राजशेखर द्वारा वर्णित वंग जनपद भी समस्त बंगाल का परिचायक नहीं कहा जा सकता क्योंकि उन्होंने पुंड्र और सुह्य जनपदों को भी वंग जनपद से पृथक् पूर्व देश में ही स्थित माना है।

ब्रह्मपुंड्र : राजशेखर ने प्रस्तुत जनपद को अंग, वंग एवं सुह्य जनपदों के साथ पूर्व में वर्णित किया है। अतः निश्चय ही यह पूर्व वर्णित पुंड्र का ही परिचायक देश है।

वाह्लिक : यह एक अति प्राचीन जनपद है। साहित्य में वाह्लिक, बाह्लिक, एवं बाह्लिक नामों का उल्लेख मिलता है। पार्जितर महोदय के मतानुसार वाह्लिक नाम के दो जनपदों के वर्णन रामायण तथा महाभारत में मिलते हैं। उनमें से एक जनपद मगध देश के निकट चिनाव और सतलज नदियों के बीच में स्थित था और दूसरा जनपद चिनाव एवं व्यास नदियों के भूभाग में विद्यमान था। डा० मोतीचन्द⁴ का मत है कि कि चूँकि प्रस्तुत जनपद मगध देश की सीमाओं से बाहर था अतः इसका नाम वाह्लिक दिया गया है। उत्तरी अफगानिस्तान में स्थित बलख ही प्राचीन वाह्लिक का परिचायक भूभाग है।

वाल्ह्वेयः— काव्य मीमांसा में दिये गये वर्णन के अनुसार यह एक उत्तरावध में स्थित जनपद था। प्रस्तुत जनपद की स्थिति के विषय में पर्याप्त प्रमाण नहीं मिलते। कनिंघम ने मुल्तान और अरोर या अलीर नामक स्थानों के बीच में वाहिया या बहटिया नामक स्थान का वर्णन किया है। कतिपय विद्वानों के मतानुसार उपरोक्त स्थान ही वाल्ह्वेय जनपद का द्योतक है।

1. मार्कण्डेय पु०, पार्जितर, पृष्ठ संख्या ३२८।

2. हिस्ट्री ऑफ़ डेक्कन, भण्डारकर।

3. ज० ए० सी० ज०; १८९७; पृष्ठ संख्या ८५।

4. ज्योग्रेफिकल एण्ड एकोनोमिक स्टुडीज इन दि महाभारत, उपायन पर्व, ज० आव् यू० पी० हि० सी०; भाग १ पृष्ठ संख्या ४६।

ब्रह्मोत्तरः— प्रस्तुत जनपद की भौगोलिक स्थिति के विषय में कुछ निश्चित रूप से नहीं कहा जा सकता। पाजिटर के मतानुसार मत्स्यपुराण में वर्णित सुहृमोत्तर जो कि संभवतः प्र-सुह्र्म अथवा सुह्र्म के उत्तर के भाग का द्योतक है; अधिक ठीक नाम मालूम पड़ता है। उपरोक्त विद्वान का कथन है कि प्रस्तुत जनपद की शुद्ध संज्ञा सुहृमोत्तरक ही सकती है जिसका तात्पर्य सुह्र्म एवं उत्कल जनपदों के संयुक्त भू-भाग से लिया जा सकता है परन्तु यह मत अधिक सारगर्भित प्रतीत नहीं होता। राजशेखर ने पूर्व में वर्णित जनपदों में सुह्र्म एवं उत्कल के अतिरिक्त ब्रह्मोत्तर को एक स्वतन्त्र जनपद बतलाया है।

वानवाप्तकः— प्रस्तुत जनपद दो विभिन्न नाम वनवासी, वानवाप्तक, एवं वैजयन्ती प्राचीन साहित्य में प्राप्त होते हैं। शिलालेखों के आधार पर सम्राट अशोक ने यहाँ अपने धर्म प्रचारक भेजे थे। यह काफी समय तक कदम्बों की राजधानी था। प्रसिद्ध विद्वान् तालमी ने बना उसी का उल्लेख किया है। यह तुंगभद्रा की सहायक बरवा नदी के बायें तट पर स्थित है। वानवाप्तक जनपद के अन्तर्गत उत्तर कनारा के भू भाग सम्मिलित थे।

वल्लरः— सम्भवतः दक्षिण भारत के वल्लाल वंश के शासकों द्वारा शासित भू भाग को ही राजशेखर ने वल्लर कहा है। इसके अन्तर्गत बैङ्कटगिरि, चिचूर और बेलोरी इत्यादि जिले सम्मिलित थे।

ब्राह्मणवाहः— यह एक अत्यधिक प्राचीन देश था। मुसलमानों के समय से इसका नाम ब्राह्मणवाद पड़ गया। यूनानी लेखकों ने इसे ब्रह्मनोई कहा है। अरब भूगोलकार अर्बूरहा ने इसका हिन्दू नाम वमनहवा दिया है जो काव्य मीमांसा में वर्णित ब्राह्मणवाह का देशी रूप है। सिंधु प्रान्त के मध्य में मीरपुर खास से लगभग २५ मील उत्तर में स्थित वर्तमान ब्राह्मणवाद, जहाँ पर प्राचीनकाल के ध्वंसावशेष विद्यमान हैं, प्रस्तुत जनपद का द्योतक है। यूनानी लेखक प्लूटार्क ने यहाँ के निवासियों को प्रसिद्ध दार्शनिक तथा देशभक्त बतलाया है।

बोवकाणः— राजशेखर के मतानुसार बोवकाण जनपद उत्तरापथ में स्थित था। इसकी भौगोलिक सीमाओं के विषय में अधिक ज्ञात नहीं है। कनिंघम ने इसे अफगानिस्तान माना है।

वाणायुजः— राजशेखर ने वाणायुज को उत्तरापथ में उल्लिखित किया है। कतिपय विद्वानों के अनुसार यह अरब देश है। महाकाव्य 'रघुवंश' में वनायु देश की चर्चा की गयी है। कौटिल्य ने भी यहाँ से प्राप्त घोड़ों की प्रशंसा की है।

बर्बरः— यह एक प्राचीन कृषातिपूर्ण स्थान है। महाभारत में इसका उल्लेख प्रायः शकों और यवनों के साथ किया गया है। प्रसिद्ध भूगोलवेत्ता तालमी के अनुसार इसका नाम बर्बरी था। पेरोग्लस ने इसे बर्बरिक कहा गया है। पाजिटर महोदय के मतानुसार यह भारत के पश्चिमी अथवा पश्चिमोत्तर भाग में स्थित था। प्रसिद्ध विद्वान् कनिंघम ने सिंधु नदी के तट पर स्थित 'भम्बूरा' नामक स्थान से इसका त्रादात्म्य स्थापित किया है। अतः यह सिन्धु-सागर संगम के समीप बर्बरिक नामक समुद्रपट्टन का निकटवर्ती प्रदेश था। परन्तु राजशेखर के काव्यमीमांसा में दिये गये 'देश विभाग' के अनुसार यह उत्तरापथ में स्थित जनपद था।

भृगुकच्छः— बामन पुराण में दिये गये वर्णन के अनुसार यह राजा दलि की यशभूनि थी। और यहीं पर बामन भगवान ने छलयुक्त ढंग से उसके राज्य का अपहरण किया था। भागवतपुराण

के अनुसार भृगु महर्षि के आश्रम होने के कारण ही इसका नाम भृगुकच्छ पड़ा। साहित्य में प्रस्तुत स्थान के विभिन्न नाम, जैसे भाद्रकच्छ (मत्स्यपुराण) भानुकश (वायुपुराण), भृगुकच्छ (कूर्म विभाग एवं भुवनकोश), वारिगज (तालमी) एवं भड़ोच इत्यादि प्राप्त होते हैं। कनिष्क के मतानुसार भृगुकच्छ का अर्थ है समुद्री घाट का ऊर्ध्व स्थान। यह गुजरात का प्रसिद्ध भड़ोच या ब्रीच बन्दरगाह है। प्राचीनकाल में भृगुकच्छ लट देश की राजधानी थी।

महाराष्ट्र:— प्रो० कनिष्क के कथनानुसार आधुनिक महाराष्ट्र, अभिलेखों में उद्धृत महारठी शब्द से निर्मित किया गया है। अशोक के शिलालेखों में रट्टिक, रट्टि एवं रट्ट शब्द प्राप्त होते हैं। बाद में अधिक सर्वांगित करने के लिए इसमें महा शब्द लगा दिया गया। रामायण अथवा महाभारत में इस नाम का उल्लेख प्राप्त नहीं होता। ह्वेनसांग के समय में महाराष्ट्र एक विशाल राज्य के रूप में वर्तमान था। इसकी राजधानी कल्याण थी। यह गोदावरी के ऊपरी भाग से लेकर कृष्णा पर्यंत विस्तृत आधुनिक महाराष्ट्र प्रदेश है। राजशेखर के समय में इसके अन्तर्गत विदर्भ तथा कुन्तल राज्य सम्मिलित थे।

मगध:— राजशेखर ने मगध जनपद का उल्लेख पूर्व में किया है। प्रस्तुत जनपद में दक्षिण बिहार के पटना एवं गया जिले सम्मिलित थे। महाभारत एवं पुराणों में दिये गये वर्णन के अनुसार यहाँ का शासन ब्रह्म था। आज भी पटना एवं गया जिले के सम्मिलित भूभाग को मग के नाम से पुकारा जाता है जो कि मगध का ही अपभ्रंश रूप है।

मालव:— कविराज राजशेखर ने मुराष्ट्र, मालव इत्यादि जनपदों का वर्णन अवन्ति देश के अन्तर्गत किया है। पाण्डित्य का मत है कि महाभारत में प्रयुक्त मालव शब्द गण के लिए प्रयुक्त हुआ है, जनपद के लिए नहीं। महाभारत के उल्लेखों से स्पष्ट होता है कि प्राचीन काल में मालव आधुनिक सम्पूर्ण मालवा का द्योतक नहीं था बल्कि अवन्ति के पश्चिम में विन्ध्य श्रेणी तक के उत्तरी मालवा का भाग इसके अन्तर्गत था। राजा भीम के समय में इसकी राजधानी धारानगरी थी।

मुरल:— दक्षिण पथ के जनपदों में मुरल का उल्लेख आया है। सम्भवतः यह प्राचीन साहित्य में वर्णित मुरला नदी के निकटवर्ती भूभाग में स्थित जनपद रहा होगा। रघुवंश के चतुर्थ सर्ग में सह्य पर्यंत और अपरान्त देश के समीप मुरला नदी का वर्णन किया गया है। सु० ना० मजूमदार ने मुरला को नर्मदा नदी का पर्यायवाची नाम बतलाया है। कतिपय विद्वान् केरल देश में प्रवाहित काली नदी को मुरला मानते हैं। उपरोक्त वर्णन के आधार पर केरल से अपरान्त तक फैले हुए विस्तृत भूभाग में ही कहीं पर मुरल जनपद स्थित रहा होगा।

मेकल:— राजशेखर ने दक्षिण पथ के पर्वतों में मेकल पर्वत की चर्चा की है। काव्य-मीमांसा के तृतीय अध्याय में दक्षिण में स्थित मेकल जनपद का भी वर्णन आया है। प्राचीन साहित्य में मेकल का नाम प्रायः उत्कल के साथ ही मिलता है। पाण्डित्य महोदय ने रामायण में दिये गये वर्णन के आधार पर छत्तीसगढ़ के उत्तरी और पश्चिमी पर्वत श्रेणियों की जहाँ से सोन नदी निकलती है, मेकल कहा है। अतः इसी के निकटवर्ती देश का नाम मेकल जनपद कहा जा सकता है। प्रसिद्ध विद्वान् नन्कूलाल वे के कथनानुसार विन्ध्यश्रेणी का वह भाग जिसे अमरकंटक कहते हैं, प्राचीन मेकल का परिचायक है। यही कारण है कि यहाँ से प्रवाहित होने वाली नर्मदा नदी को मेकलकन्धका की संज्ञा दी गई है। परन्तु चूँकि महाभारत एवं पुराणों में

मेकल को उत्कल की पश्चिमी सीमा में निर्धारित किया गया है अतः प्रथम मत को ही अधिक प्रमाणित कह सकते हैं।

मात्र :— मात्र या मद्र देश का उल्लेख प्रचण्ड पाण्डव नाटक में किया गया है। महाभारत-काल में शल्य मात्र का शासक था। मद्र देश की राजधानी शाकल आधुनिक स्यालकोट है। अतः मद्र देश के अन्तर्गत पंजाब का वह भूभाग जिसमें रावी, चिनाब इत्यादि नदियां प्रवाहित होती हैं, सम्मिलित था। वैदिक काल से ही मद्र देश बिछा का केन्द्र समझा जाता था।

मलय :— काव्य भीमांसा में वर्णित काव्य पुरुष की दक्षिण यात्रा के समय मलय, मेकल इत्यादि जनपदों का वर्णन आया है। प्रस्तुत जनपद मलय पर्वत श्रेणियों का समीपवर्ती भू-प्रदेश रहा होगा। पाजिटर महोदय ने पश्चिमी घाटों के सुदूर दक्षिण में फैली हुई पर्वत श्रेणी को मलय पर्वत माना है। अतः यही कहीं पर मलय जनपद की स्थिति निर्धारित की जा सकती है।

मुद्गर :— राजशेखर ने मुद्गर जनपद की स्थिति पूर्व देश में बतलाई है। यह जनपद सम्भवतः प्राचीन मुद्गलगिरि नामक पर्वत श्रेणी के आस-पास के भूभाग में स्थित रहा होगा। प्रसिद्ध विद्वान् नन्दूलाल दे ने बिहार प्रदेश के गंगा तट पर स्थित आधुनिक मुंगेर को मुद्गल-गिरि का परिचायक स्वीकार किया है। महाभारत के सभापर्व में भी भोदगिरि का उल्लेख मिलता है। कनिंघम के मतानुसार मुद्गलपुरी, मुद्गलाश्रम एवं मुद्गगिरि सभी आधुनिक मुंगेर के प्राचीन नाम हैं।

मलद :— राजशेखर ने मलद जनपद को पूर्व देश में स्थित बतलाया है। प्रस्तुत जनपद सम्भवतः मार्कण्डेय पुराण में उल्लिखित मानद और वायुपुराण के मालद राज्य का ही द्योतक है। श्री नन्दूलाल दे ने प्रस्तुत जनपद की स्थिति शाहाबाद जिले के पश्चिमी भाग में बतलाई है। अतः इस जनपद में बिहार प्रान्त के शाहाबाद या आरा जिले के भूभाग सम्मिलित थे।

मल्लवर्तक :— मल्लवर्तक जनपद काव्यभीमांसा में वर्णित देश विभाग के अनुसार पूर्व देश में स्थित था। महाभारत में उल्लिखित मल्ल जनपद दो भागों में विभक्त था जिनकी क्रमशः कुशीनारा और पावा थी राजधानियां थीं। प्रो० विल्सन ने कुशीनारा या कुशीनगर को गोरखपुर जिले में स्थित आधुनिक कशिया का प्राचीन नाम कहा है। पावा का परिचय आधुनिक ग्राम पदरौना या फाजिलपुर से दिया जाता है। कतिपय विद्वानों ने मल्लवर्तक को मल्लपर्वत के आस-पास का प्रदेश कहा है। श्री नन्दूलाल दे ने मल्ल पर्वत का सादात्म्य छोटा नागपुर में स्थित आधुनिक पार्वत्यनाथ पर्वत से स्थापित किया है। जिसके अनुसार मल्लवर्तक जनपद में बिहार के हजारीबाग और मानभूम इत्यादि जिले निहित थे।

माहिष्क :— राजशेखर के मतानुसार यह दक्षिण पथ का एक जनपद था। महाभारत के अश्वमेध पर्व में वर्णित माहिष्मक भी इसी का पर्यायवाची है। इसकी राजधानी माहिष्मती थी। माहिष्मती का परिचय श्री नन्दूलाल दे ने आधुनिक महेश्वर से, जो इन्धौर से ४० मील दक्षिण में नर्मदा के तट पर स्थित है, दिया है। परन्तु पाजिटर महोदय उपरोक्त मत से सहमत नहीं है। उनके कथनानुसार माहिष्मती का परिचय मान्धाता प्रदेश से दिया जा सकता है जिसमें रामायण के अनुसार महिष्की नदी प्रवाहित होती थी। अतः प्रस्तुत जनपद नर्मदा नदी की घाटी में कहीं पर मान्धाता और महेश्वर के आस पास स्थित रहा होगा।

यवन :— राजशेखर के मतानुसार भारत के पश्चिम देश में यवनों का निवासस्थान था। मुख्यतः प्राचीन साहित्य में यवनों से ग्रीक लोगों का ही अर्थ लिया गया है। परन्तु सिकन्दर के आक्रमण के बहुत पूर्व भी यवन शब्द का प्रयोग साहित्य में मिलता है। महाभारत के भीष्मपर्व में गिरि गह्वर यवनों का निवास स्थल कहा गया है।

राड़ :— कर्पूर मंजरी सट्टक में इस देश का वर्णन किया गया है। कतिपय विद्वानों ने राड़ देश को मुहम्मा का परिचायक भाग कहा है। श्री मन्बूलाल दे के मतानुसार राड़ बंगाल का वह भाग है जो कि गंगा नदी के पश्चिम में वर्तमान है।

रमठ :— प्राचीन साहित्य में प्रस्तुत जनपद के विभिन्न नाम रमठ (वायुपुराण) रामठ (मत्स्यपुराण) और रामस (कूर्म पुराण) इत्यादि मिलते हैं। पाजिटर महोदय ने इन्हें पश्चिम में स्थित देश बतलाया है। परन्तु राजशेखर के काव्यमीमांसा में इनका उल्लेख उत्तरापथ में मिलता है। कनिंथम के अनुसार यह रोमक पर्वत का समीपवर्ती भूभाग है जो सिन्धु नदी के उत्तर में स्थित है। कुछ विद्वानों का कथन है कि रामठ नाम हींग का है। चूंकि इस भूभाग में हींग अधिक उत्पन्न होती है अतः, इसका नाम रामठ पड़ा।

लाट :— राजशेखर ने लाट देश के निवासियों तथा उनके रहन-सहन और भाषा का उल्लेख बाल रामायण (नाटक) विद्वत्शाल भंजिका (नाटिका), कर्पूरमंजरी (सट्टक) और काव्यमीमांसा के अन्तर्गत अनेक अवसरों पर किया है। बाम्बे गेजेटियर में मही नदी से लेकर ताप्ती नदी तक के दक्षिण गुजरात का भाग लाट देश कहा गया है। ईसा की तीसरी शताब्दी तक के साहित्य तथा अभिलेखों में लाट देश का नाम नहीं मिलता। परन्तु निश्चय ही प्राचीन ग्रीक भूगोलवेत्ता तालमी (१५० ई०) ने लरिक देश का उल्लेख किया है जो कि लाट देश का ही परिचायक है। तीसरी शताब्दी के बाद लाट देश का प्रयोग अधिकाधिक किया जाने लगा। कुमार गुप्त के मंसूर वाले अभिलेख में लाट देश का उल्लेख हुआ है। अजन्ता की गुफाओं में अंकित शिला लेखों में बाकाटक हरिषेण के शिलालेख में भी लाट देश का नाम मिलता है। श्री एम० सी० मेहता¹ का अनुमान है कि अजन्ता की गुफाओं की चित्रशाला लाट देश के चित्रकारों द्वारा की गयी थी। अलवरुनी के मतानुसार लाट देश की सीमाएं थाना जिले से प्रारम्भ होती थी। इसकी राजधानी भुगुलच्छ (आधुनिक-भड़ोच या ओच) थी। कतिपय विद्वानों का² मत है कि नवीं तथा दसवीं शताब्दी में लाट देश के अन्तर्गत मध्य गुजरात के ही नहीं बल्कि उत्तर गुजरात के भी भूभाग सम्मिलित थे। श्री सी० आर० लैनमन³ ने कर्पूरमंजरी का सम्पादन करते हुए बतलाया है कि राजशेखर के समय में नर्मदा नदी के मुहाने के उत्तरी भाग तथा कच्छ की खाड़ी के पूर्व के भाग, जिसमें आधुनिक ओच तथा गुजरात के मध्य एवं दक्षिण के भाग सम्मिलित थे, लाट देश कहा जाता था। अतः उपरोक्त प्रमाणों के आधार पर कहा जा सकता है कि भारतीय इतिहास के पूर्व मध्यकाल में लगभग सम्पूर्ण गुजरात लाट देश के नाम से विख्यात था।

1. ज० आव जि० उ० रा० सो० १२, पृ० सं० ४९८।
2. द ग्लोरीज दैट् वाज् गुर्जर देश भा. १ अ० ३ पृ० सं० ३२
3. कर्पूरमंजरी, सी० आर० लैनमन पृ० सं० २१३

लंका :— वर्तमान सिंहल या सीलोन को ही लंका माना जाता है। परन्तु ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि राजशेखर का मत इससे भिन्न था। उन्होंने अपने बाल रामायण नाटक के दशक अंक में लंका को सिंहलद्वीप से पृथक् बतलाया है। लंका से वापस लौटते हुए भगवान श्री रामचन्द्र को विभीषण ने सिंहलद्वीप की ओर संकेत किया है। इसी प्रकार विद्धशाल भञ्जिका के एक श्लोक में लंका और सिंहल दोनों ही नामों का उल्लेख एक साथ किया गया है¹। अतः संभव है कि सिंहलद्वीप लंका से आगे और कुमारी द्वीप के पहले कहीं पर समुद्र में स्थित रहा हो।

लिम्पाक :— राजशेखर ने अपने देश विभाग में लिम्पाक को उत्तरापथ में स्थित जनपद माना है। कनिंघम ने अपने 'एन्शियट' ज्योग्राफी आफ इन्डिया' में हूवेन्सांग द्वारा वर्णित लोपो तथा तालमी के लम्बाटू नगर को ही लिम्पाक का द्योतक बतलाया है। यह वर्तमान 'लमघम' नगर है। कनिंघम का यह वर्णन प्रसिद्ध विद्वान लैसन द्वारा बतलाई गई लिम्पाक की स्थितिसे मिलता है। महाभारत के द्रोण पर्व में लिम्पाक को एक पर्वतीय गणराज्य कहा गया है। अतः यह जनपद हिन्दुकुश के दक्षिणी पहाड़ी प्रदेशों में विस्तृत था।

विदर्भ :— काव्य मीमांसा में विदर्भ दक्षिण पथ का जनपद कहा गया है। यह भारत का अतिप्राचीन और प्रसिद्ध राज्य था। इस राज्य की सीमाओं और राजधानियों में निरन्तर परिवर्तन होता रहा है। हरिवंशपुराण के अनुसार विदर्भ नामक शासक ने विदर्भनगर की स्थापना की थी जिससे विदर्भ राज्य की नींव पड़ी। यह विदर्भनगर ही बाद में कुन्डिन-नगर के नाम से विख्यात हुआ जो इस जनपद की राजधानी था। महाभारतकाल में विदर्भ का शासक भिष्मक था जिसकी पुत्री रुक्मिणी श्री कृष्ण की राजमहिषी थी। इस राज्य के अन्तर्गत बरार और खान देश के भूभाग सम्मिलित थे। राजशेखर के समय में विदर्भ राज्य महाराष्ट्र के अन्तर्गत था। परन्तु फिर भी इसकी सत्ता कम न थी। प्रसिद्ध विद्वान पीटरसन के मतानुसार वानवासक एवं कुन्तल देश के शासक विदर्भ राज को अपना अधीश्वर मानते थे।

वैदिश :— राजशेखर ने अवन्ति देश की ओर वैदिश जनपद का उल्लेख किया है। यह जनपद प्राचीन नगर विदिशा के समीपवर्ती भूभाग में स्थित रहा होगा। विदिशा आधुनिक वेसनगर या भिलसा है जो बेतवाती या बेतवा नदी के तट पर भोपाल से २६ मील दूर दक्षिण पूर्व में स्थित है। कालिदास और बाणभट्ट, ने इस नगर का वर्णन किया है। यह नगरी प्राचीन वज्जण देश की राजधानी थी।

विदेह :— यह पूर्व देश में वर्णित अति प्राचीन जनपद है जिसकी चर्चा शतपथ ब्राह्मण एवं रामायण इत्यादि में की गयी है। यह प्राचीनकाल से ही विद्या का केन्द्र था और यहाँ के शासकों को प्रायः जनक की उपाधि दी गयी है। इसके अन्तर्गत बिहार प्रान्त के भू प्रदेश सम्मिलित थे। यह पश्चिम में सवान्ती नदी, उत्तर में हिमालय पर्वत और दक्षिण में वैशाली तक व्याप्त था। इसकी राजधानी मिथिला थी। श्री कनिंघम ने इस जनपद की राजधानी जनकपुर को बतलाया है जो मुजफ्फरनगर एवं दरभंगा जिलों के बीच स्थित एक छोटा सा कस्बा है।

सूरसेन :— राजशेखर ने इसको पाँचाल देश में हस्तिनापुर इत्यादि जनपदों के साथ वर्णित

किया है। महाभारत के सभापर्व के अनुसार प्रस्तुत जनपद इन्द्रप्रस्थ के ठीक दक्षिण में मथुरा से लेकर उत्तर में चम्बल नदी तक फैला हुआ था। मथुरा इसकी राजधानी थी।

शक :— शक जाति के लोग प्रारम्भतः मध्य एशिया के निवासी थे। इनके निष्क्रमण का उल्लेख चीनी इतिहासकारों ने किया है। प्राचीन भारतीय साहित्य में शक-मूकण्ड की चर्चा की गयी है। भारत में इनके निवास स्थान को 'शक स्थान' की संज्ञा दी गई है जो कि पेरीप्लस में कथित सींधिया जिले का निकटवर्ती भूप्रदेश था जहाँ से सिन्धु नदी प्रवाहित होती है। राधायण, महाभारत, महाभाग्य, चरकसंहिता इत्यादि प्राचीन ग्रंथों में शकों के उल्लेख प्राप्त होते हैं। महाभारत में इन्हें आन्ध्र पुलिंद पल्लव, एवं तुखार इत्यादि जनपदों के साथ बड़ी हेय दृष्टि से वर्णित किया गया है। शकों को म्लेच्छ और इनके शासकों को निषादादों एवं पांडवों कहा गया है। इनके द्वारा प्रचलित मुद्राएं तथा अभिलेख उत्तरापथ से लेकर मथुरा तक आधिक्यता से प्राप्त होते हैं।

सिंह ?— (देखिये प्लेक)

सिंध :— भारतीय साहित्य में सिंधु-सींधीर का वर्णन मिलता है। राजशेखर के प्रचण्ड पाण्डव या बाल भारत नाटक में इसका उल्लेख है। वैसे तो सिंध नदी के तटवर्ती प्रदेश को सिंध कहा जाता था परन्तु बाद में सिंध सागर बहाव को ही सिंध जनपद कहा गया है। महाभारत काल में सिंधु-सींधीर का शासक जयद्रथ था।

सुहम :— बृहत्संहिता के अनुसार प्रस्तुत जनपद वंग एवं कर्लिन जनपदों के बीच स्थित था। रघुवंश के चतुर्थ सर्ग में इसे वंग के पश्चिम में कपिश नदी के निकट स्थित बतलाया गया है। महाभारत की व्याख्या करते हुए श्री नीलकण्ठ ने सुहम को राड़ का ही परिचायक राज्य स्वीकार किया है। यहाँ के निवासी भी सुम्हराड़ कहे जाते थे। दण्डि के दशकुमार चरित में दामलिप्त या ताम्रलिप्त बदरगाह को सुम्ह देश के अन्तर्गत स्थित बतलाया गया है। अतः इसके अन्तर्गत बंगाल के वर्तमान मिदनापुर, हुगली और वर्तमान आदि जिले सम्मिलित थे।

सुराष्ट्र :— सौराष्ट्र या सुराष्ट्र सुरठ शब्द का ही परिवर्धित रूप है। पुलमायि के नाशिक वाले शिलालेख में सुरठ शब्द का प्रयोग किया गया है। ग्रीक विद्वान तालमी के अनुसार काठियावाड़ से लेकर भुगुक्छ तक का भूभाग सौराष्ट्र जनपद के अन्तर्गत निहित था। अब भी काठियावाड़ का दक्षिणी भाग सौरठ के नाम से विख्यात है। अष्टाध्यायी, महाकाव्यों तथा पुराणों में सुराष्ट्र का उल्लेख हुआ है। अतः काठियावाड़ और वर्तमान गुजरात प्रदेश के कुछ भाग इस जनपद में सम्मिलित थे।

सूपारिक :— काव्य मीमांसा के अनुसार यह दक्षिणापथ में स्थित एक जनपद था। श्री कनिष्क ने इसे सूरत का परिचायक स्थान बतलाया है। डा० मिश्रा ने ललित विस्तर नामक बीड ग्रन्थ के आधार पर इसकी स्थिति कृष्णा नदी के मुहाने पर एक बन्दरगाह के रूप में बतलाई है। प्रस्तुत जनपद दक्षिण के थाना जिले में स्थित सोपारा नामक स्थान का द्योतक कहा जा सकता है। प्रस्तुत जनपद प्राचीन काल में एक विस्तृत जनपद रहा होगा।

सह्यद्व :— राजशेखर ने दक्षिणापथ के राज्यों में इसकी गणना की है। कतिपय विद्वानों ने इसका परिचय पश्चिमी अफगानिस्तान के वर्तमान 'सफेदको' और 'सत्य बाजार' से दिया है।

हरहर :— राजशेखर की काव्य मीमांसा में हरहर जनपद की स्थिति उत्तरापथ में बतलाई गई है। बराहमिहिर की बृहत्संहिता में मद्र एवं सिंधु-सीबीर आदि राज्यों के साथ इसकी चर्चा की गई है। हेमचन्द्र की 'अभिधान चिन्तामणि' नामक रचना से ज्ञात होता है कि हरहर ब्राह्म अर्थात् अंगूर का पर्यायवाची शब्द है। कौटिल्य के अर्थशास्त्र में भी अंगूर निमित्त मधु (सुरा) का वर्णन है जिसमें आपिशायन एवं हारहरक इत्यादि भेद मिलते हैं जो कि संभवतः कपिश तथा हारहर से प्राप्त अंगूरों की बनाई जाती थीं। महाभारत के उल्लेखों से हारहर जनपद की चर्चा प्रायः रामठ देश के साथ पश्चिम में की गई है। डा० मोतीचन्द्र¹ के मतानुसार हारहर देश का परिचय वर्तमान हिरात से दिया जा सकता है। कनिष्क ने रामठ देश को सिंधु नद के उत्तर में रोमक पर्वत के पास स्थित बतलाया है। अतः प्रस्तुत जनपद की स्थिति उत्तरापथ के पर्वतीय प्रदेश में सिंधु व झेलम नदियों के बीच मानी जा सकती है।

हंसमार्ग :— उत्तरापथ के इस जनपद को कालिदास के मेघदूत में हंसद्वार या कौच-रन्ध्र लिखा गया है। महाभारत के भीष्म पर्व में उल्लिखित देशों की सूची में इसका वर्णन है। मत्स्य-पुराण के अनुसार तीमर और हंसमार्ग गणराज्यों के बीच पावनी नदी प्रवाहित होती थी। पावनी नदी का परिचय निश्चित रूप से नहीं दिया जा सकता। पार्जितर महोदय के अनुसार यह नदी हिमालय के मध्य से उद्भूत उन तीन नदियों में से एक है जो पूर्व की ओर प्रवाहित होती है। उपरोक्त वर्णन के आधार पर हंसमार्ग जनपद की स्थिति तिब्बत के पूर्वी भाग में निर्धारित की जा सकती है।

हुहक :— राजशेखर के मतानुसार यह उत्तरापथ में स्थित जनपद था। पार्जितर महोदय ने इसे मार्कण्डेय पुराण में वर्णित कुहक; वायु पुराण के चहुक जनपद का स्रोतक बतलाया है। यदि मार्कण्डेय पुराण में उद्धृत कुहक पाठ स्वीकार कर लिया जाय तो यह मत्स्य पुराण में वर्णित कुह जनपद का परिचायक राज्य समझा जा सकता है जो कि कहीं पर तिब नदी की सहायक वर्तमान काधुल नदी के तट पर स्थित थे।

हूण :— कबिराज राजशेखर ने हूण जनपद को उत्तरापथ के अन्तर्गत सम्मिलित किया है। महाभारत के भीष्म पर्व में हूणों का वर्णन विदेशियों के रूप में किया गया है। रघुवंश में हूणों का उल्लेख हुआ है। उनका निवास स्थान सिंधु नदी के सुदूर उत्तर में था जहाँ पर विम्बिजयी रघु के द्वारा यह पराजित किये गये थे।

त्रवण :— पश्चिमी भारत में त्रवण जनपद का उल्लेख सीराष्ट्र और गुर्जर प्रदेशों के साथ किया गया है। यहाँ के कवि अपभ्रंश तथा संस्कृत दोनों ही भाषाओं का सुमधुर पाठ करते थे।

न ग र

जनपदों के अतिरिक्त राजशेखर ने तत्कालीन अनेक नगरों के भी वर्णन दिये हैं।

उज्जयिनी :— यह नगर शिप्रा नदी के तट पर स्थित था। वर्तमान उज्जैन नगर इसका परिचायक नगर है। उज्जयिनी अजन्ति देश या मालवा की राजधानी थी। कालिदास ने इस नगर का सुन्दर वर्णन प्रस्तुत किया है।

कांची :— यह आधुनिक कांचीपुरम् या कांचीवरम् का छोटक़ नगर है जो द्रविड़ देश की राजधानी था।

कान्चकुब्ज :— वर्तमान कन्नौज के परिचायक नगर कान्चकुब्ज के गांधिपुर और महोदय इत्यादि पर्यायवाची शब्द भी दिये गये हैं। राजशेखर के आश्रयदाता गुर्जर प्रतिहार शासकों की यह राजधानी थी। बाल रामायण नाटक के दशम अंक में गंगा के तट पर स्थित इस नगर का उल्लेख किया गया है।

चम्पा :— यह प्राचीन जनपद अंग की राजधानी थी। कनिष्क के मतानुसार यह नगर चम्पा तथा गंगा नदियों के संगम पर स्थित था। वर्तमान भागलपुर के निकटवर्ती चम्पा नगर या चम्पापुर ग्राम इसके परिचायक हैं। प्राचीन साहित्य में इसे मालिनी भी कहा गया है।

दशपुर :— मेघदूत के अनुसार दशपुर राजा रन्तिदेव की राजधानी थी। यह चम्बल नदी के तट पर स्थित नगर था। गुप्तकाल के शिलालेखों में इस नगर का वर्णन मिलता है।

प्रयूढक :— यह सरस्वती नदी के तट पर स्थित पूर्वी पंजाब के कर्नाल जिले का प्रतिष्ठ विहोवा या प्रयूढक तीर्थ है।

प्रयाग :— यह गंगा यमुना व सरस्वती के संगम पर स्थित भारत का प्रतिष्ठ तीर्थ स्थान है। राजशेखर ने इसे मध्य देश की पूर्वी सीमा माना है।

वाराणसी :— आधुनिक काशी या बनारस।

वत्स गुल्म :— कविराज राजशेखर ने वत्सगुल्म नगर को भगवान कामदेव की क्रीडा-भूमि बतलाया है। यहीं पर काव्य पुरुष ने गन्धर्व विधि से साहित्य बधू का पाणिग्रहण किया था। कर्पूर मंजरी के अनुसार यह विदर्भ के अन्तर्गत कुन्तल देश की राजधानी थी। महाभारत में वंशगुल्म नामक पवित्र तीर्थ स्थान का वर्णन है जो अमरकंटक में नर्मदा के उद्गम स्थान पर स्थित था।

विनशन :— यह थानेश्वर से पश्चिम की ओर सिरहिन्द जिले में स्थित था। यहीं की मरु-भूमि में सरस्वती नदी लुप्त हुई है।

हस्तिनापुर :— वर्तमान दिल्ली से ५६ मील दूर दक्षिण पूर्व में स्थित ध्वंसावशेष इस प्राचीन नगर के परिचायक समझे जाते हैं। महाभारत काल में हस्तिनापुर कुश जनपद की राजधानी थी।

प र्ब त

अर्बुद :— यह राजपूताने में अरावली पर्वतमाला का प्रतिष्ठ आवू पर्वत है। श्री नन्दलाल दे के कथनानुसार यहाँ वशिष्ठ ऋषि का आश्रम था।

इन्द्रकील :— राजशेखर के मतानुसार यह उत्तरापथ का पर्वत है। कुछ विद्वानों ने इसे हिमालय के एक शिखर का नाम बतलाया है।

कामरूप :— यह नीलकूट-गिरि या नीलगिरि का दूसरा नाम है जिसके ऊपर कामाक्षा देवी का मन्दिर है।

कलिन्द :— इसका वर्णन उत्तरापथ में किया गया है। नन्दलाल दे के अनुसार यह हिमालय

पर्वत श्रेणी का वह भाग है जहाँ से यमुना नदी का उद्गम होता है। यही कारण है कि यमुना को कालिन्दी भी कहा जाता है।

गोवर्धन :— यह मथुरा जिले में बुन्दावन से ८० मील दूर उत्तरी भारत का प्रसिद्ध पर्वत है।

गिरि नगर :— यह जूनागढ़ से थोड़ी दूर पर स्थित गिरिनार पर्वत है जिसे पुराणों में रैवतक भी कहा गया है। यह जैनों का मुख्य तीर्थस्थान है।

चकोर :— राजशेखर ने इसे पूर्व देश में स्थित पर्वत बतलाया है। कुछ विद्वानों ने इसे मिर्जापुर जिले के चुनार पर्वत का द्योतक कहा है। परन्तु राजशेखर द्वारा पूर्व देश में वर्णित क्रिये जाने के कारण उपरोक्त मत को स्वीकार नहीं किया जा सकता।

चन्द्राचल :— राजशेखर ने इसे उत्तरापथ में स्थित बतलाया है। संभवतः यह हिमालय का वह शिखर है जहाँ से से चन्द्रभागा नदी उद्भासित होती है।

दुर्बुर :— राजशेखर ने पूर्व देश में दुर्बुर पर्वत का उल्लेख किया है। रघुवंश के चतुर्थ सर्ग में मलय और दुर्बुर पर्वतों का वर्णन मिलता है। रामायण एवं महाभारत में उल्लेखों के आधार पर पाँजिटर महोदय ने दक्षिण में नीलगिरि पर्वत को दुर्बुर का परिचायक स्वीकार किया है। अतः स्पष्ट है कि प्राचीन साहित्य में निविष्ट दुर्बुर पर्वत की स्थिति राजशेखर के मत से भिन्न है जिसके लिए कुछ निश्चित रूप से नहीं कहा जा सकता।

देवसभा :— यह पश्चिम में संभवतः देवसभा (देवास) प्रदेश के अन्तर्गत हो स्थित था। काव्य मीमांसा में इस पर्वत एवं इसके सर्वपर्वती भू-भाग को एक ही संज्ञा प्रदान की गई है।

नेपाल :— राजशेखर के वर्णनानुसार नेपाल पर्वत तथा नेपाल जनपद दोनों ही पूर्व देश में स्थित थे। इसके वर्णन की आवश्यकता नहीं है।

पाल :— यह दक्षिणपथ का पर्वत है। डा० भण्डारकर के अनुसार यह महाड़ के निकट था।

बृहद्गुह :— इसके सम्बन्ध में इतना ही ज्ञात है कि यह पूर्व देश में स्थित था।

महेन्द्र :— राजशेखर ने महेन्द्र पर्वत की गणना दक्षिणपथ में की है। कालिदास के रघुवंश में भी महेन्द्र पर्वत की चर्चा की गयी है। पाँजिटर महोदय के कथनानुसार पूर्वी घाट का वह पर्वतीय प्रदेश जो गोदावरी और महानदी के बीच विस्तृत है तथा साथ ही गंजाम जिले में स्थित पर्वतमाला ही प्राचीन महेन्द्र पर्वत की परिचायिका है।

मलय :— पश्चिमी घाट का सीमान्त दक्षिणी प्रदेश जिसमें नीलगिरि से लेकर कन्याकुमारी तक की पर्वत श्रेणियाँ सम्मिलित हैं, मलय कहा गया है।

मात्य शिखर :— रामायण में मात्यवान नामक पर्वत का वर्णन मिलता अवश्य है परन्तु वह दक्षिण भारत में स्थित था। राजशेखर ने उपरोक्त पर्वत का परिचय पश्चिम देश में दिया है जिसके सम्बन्ध में कुछ निश्चित रूप से नहीं कहा जा सकता।

लोहित गिरि :— श्री वामुदेव शरण अग्रवाल¹ ने लोहित गिरि को हिन्दू कुश पर्वत

का ही प्राचीन नाम बतलाया है। परन्तु राजशेखर की काव्यमीमांसा में दिये गये वर्णन के अनुसार उपरोक्त गिरि पूर्व देश में स्थित था। सम्भव है कि यह हिमालय की उस पूर्वी शृंखला का नाम रहा हो जहाँ से लोहित्य नदी का उद्गम होता है।

सह्यः :— यह दक्षिणपथ में स्थित पर्वत है। कहीं-कहीं पर साहित्य में सह्याद्रि का भी उल्लेख मिलता है। रघुवंश के चतुर्थ सर्ग में सह्यपर्वत का वर्णन उपलब्ध है इसके अन्तर्गत कावेरी से उत्तर और गोदावरी से दक्षिण में पश्चिमी घाट के पर्वतीय भाग निहित बतलाये गये हैं।

श्री पर्वत :— श्री शैल या श्रीपर्वत दक्षिण भारत में स्थित एक सुविख्यात तीर्थ स्थान है। द्वादश ज्योतिर्लिंगों में से एक मल्लिकार्जुन शिव का मन्दिर यहीं पर स्थित है। यह पर्वत कृष्णा नदी के तट पर कुर्नुल नामक नगर के समीप है। अग्निपुराण में दिये गये उल्लेख के अनुसार यह कावेरी के तटवर्ती प्रदेशों में स्थित था।

हिमालय :— इसके परिचय की आवश्यकता नहीं है।

न दि यां

इरावती :— पाजिटर महोदय के कथनानुसार यह पंजाब में प्रवाहित होने वाली रावी नदी की परिचायिका है। राजशेखर ने भी इसे उत्तरापथ में ही बतलाया है।

उत्पलावती :— मार्कण्डेय पुराण में सुत्पलावती पाठ मिलता है। यह दक्षिण भारत के तिरुनेल्वेली जिले में प्रवाहित होने वाली ताम्रपर्णी की छोटी सहायक नदी है।

करतीया :— यह उत्तरी बंगाल में रंगपुर, दीनाजपुर और बोगरा जिलों में प्रवाहित होने वाली वर्तमान कुरती नदी है। महाभारत काल में यह बंगाल और कामरूप देशों के मध्यस्थ होकर बहती थी।

कपिश :— राजशेखर ने इसकी स्थिति पूर्व देश में मानी है। यह वर्तमान कोशिया नदी की धोतक है जो उत्कल और कलिंग देशों के मध्य से प्रवाहित होती थी।

कावेरी :— प्राचीन साहित्य में कावेरी का उल्लेख बहुत मिलता है। यह दक्षिण की प्रसिद्ध नदी है जिसका उद्गम कुर्ग जिले के ब्रह्मगिरि पर्वत से होता है।

कृष्णा :— प्राचीन साहित्य में इसका उल्लेख गोदावरी न कावेरी की अपेक्षा कम किया गया है। यह दक्षिण भारत की प्रसिद्ध नदी है जो पश्चिमी घाट से निकल कर मछलीपट्टन के पास समुद्र में मिलती है।

क्रुह :— यह सिंधु की वर्तमान सहायक नदी काबुल है जिसे वेदों में कुभा कहा गया है। ग्रीक लेखकों ने इसे 'कोफेस' के नाम से पुकारा है।

गंगा :— राजशेखर ने इसे भारत के उत्तर और पूर्व दोनों ही देशों में माना है। यह उत्तरी भारत की पुनीत नदी है जो गढ़वाल जिले के गंगोत्री नामक स्थान से २ मील ऊपर बिन्दुसर से निकलती है।

गोदावरी :— रामायण में इसकी चर्चा की गयी है। यह पश्चिमी घाट के ब्रह्मगिरि पर्वत से निकल कर बंगाल की खाड़ी में गिरती है।

चन्द्रभागा :— यह सिंधु नदी की सहायक चिनाब नदी है जो पंजाब की पाँच प्रसिद्ध नदियों में से एक है।

ताप्ती :— यह ऋच्छ पर्वत की सतपुड़ा पर्वत श्रेणी से निकल कर गुजरात प्रदेशों को सींचती हुई समुद्र से मिलती है।

ताम्रपर्णी :— महाभारत के अनुसार यह एक पवित्र नदी थी। पाँड़्य देश में प्रवाहित ताम्रपर्णी नदी मोतियों के लिए अति प्रसिद्ध थी। तिनेवेली जिले की वर्तमान चितर नदी ही प्राचीन ताम्रपर्णी है।

तुंगभद्रा :— यह दक्षिण में कृष्णा की सहायक नदी है जो तुंग और भद्रा नामक दो स्त्रियों को लेकर कृष्णा से मिलती है।

देविका :— यह उत्तरापथ की मद्र देश में बहने वाली प्रसिद्ध नदी थी। पाणिनि की अष्टाध्यायी, विष्णु धर्मोत्तर पुराण और वामन पुराण इत्यादि प्राचीन साहित्य में इसके वर्णन मिलते हैं। आधुनिक देग नदी जो जम्मू की पहाड़ियों से निकल कर स्पालकोट तथा शेखपुरा जिलों में प्रवाहित होती हुई रावी नदी से मिल जाती है, इसकी परिचायिका है।

नर्मदा :— यह दक्षिण भारत की प्रसिद्ध नदी नर्मदा है जो अमरकंटक से निकल कर भृगुकच्छ के निकट अरब सागर में गिरती है।

पयोधनी :— राजशेखर ने दक्षिण पथ में इसका वर्णन किया है। प्राचीन काल में इस नदी का धार्मिक महत्व बहुत अधिक था। यह बिहर्भ देश में प्रवाहित होती थी। यह ताप्ती की सहायक वर्तमान पूर्णा नदी है।

भैरवरी :— इसका वर्णन भी दक्षिण पथ में ही किया गया है। प्राचीन साहित्य में इसे भीमरवी भी कहा गया है। यह कृष्णा नदी की सहायक वर्तमान भीमा नदी है जो पूना के पास से निकलती है।

मही :— राजशेखर ने पश्चिम देश में इसका वर्णन किया है। यह मालवा प्रदेश से निकल कर कच्छ की खाड़ी में गिरती है।

यमुना :— इसका वर्णन उत्तरापथ में किया गया है। यह उत्तर भारत की प्रसिद्ध यमुना नदी है। यह गढ़वाल के पहाड़ों में कलन्ध्र पर्वत से निकलती है।

रावण गंगा :— इसके विषय में कुछ ज्ञात नहीं है। राजशेखर ने इसका नाम दक्षिणपथ में उद्धृत किया है।

वेणा :— इसके अनेक नाम वेणा, वेण्वा, वेण्ड्या और चिता इत्यादि मिलते हैं। पाजिटर सहोदय ने इसे गोदावरी और धर्वा नदियों की सहायक माना है। कतिपय विद्वानों का कथन है कि यह कृष्णा की सहायक नदी है।

बंजुरा :— राजशेखर ने दक्षिणपथ की नदियों में इसका उल्लेख किया है। इसके विभिन्न नाम बंजुला, बंजुका, और मंजुला भी प्राचीन साहित्य में प्राप्त होते हैं। यह गोदावरी की सहायक नदी है जिसका उद्गम सह्यपाद पर्वत से होता है।

घातुं दुनी :— काव्यमीमांसा में इसका वर्णन पश्चिम देश में मिलता है। पुराणों में इसे वृतघ्न या वृतघ्न भी कहा गया है। विद्वानों ने साबरमती की सहायक नदी बायक से इसका परिचय दिया है।

बितस्ता :— यह पंजाब की प्रसिद्ध झेलम नदी है।

बिपाशा :— यह पंजाब की प्रसिद्ध नदी व्यास है। पाणिनि ने भी बिपाशा नदी के किनारों पर निर्मित कुओं की चर्चा की है। यद्यपि इस समय यह सतलज की सहायक नदी है परन्तु विद्वानों का मत है कि प्राचीनकाल में यह एक स्वतन्त्र नदी रही होगी।

सीण :— इसे हिरण्यवाहु तथा हिरण्यवाह भी कहा गया है। नर्मदा के उद्गम स्थल के पास से ही निकल कर यह पटना के पास गंगा नदी से मिलती है। राजशेखर ने इसे पूर्व देश में प्रवाहित नद कहा है।

सरस्वती :— राजशेखर ने उत्तरापथ और पश्चिम देश दोनों ही में सरस्वती नदी का उल्लेख किया है। उत्तर में सरस्वती नदी पूषदक के पास से बहती हुई यिनशन के पास लुप्त हो जाती है। पश्चिम देश में सरस्वती नदी बड़ौदा के पास से कच्छ की खाड़ी की ओर प्रवाहित होती है।

श्वभ्रवती :— यह आधुनिक सरावती या साबरमती का ही दूसरा नाम है जो गुजरात में होती हुई कच्छ की खाड़ी में गिरती है।

सिंधु :— वर्तमान सिंधु नदी कैलाश पर्वत के पश्चिम प्रदेश से निकलती है। महाभारत-काल में सिंधु नाम का जनपद इसके पूर्वी किनारे की तरफ पंजाब में फैला हुआ था।

शतद्रु :— यह पंजाब की प्रसिद्ध नदी सतलज है।

हिडिम्बा :— राजशेखर के अनुसार हिडिम्बा नदी पश्चिम देश में प्रवाहित होती थी। कुछ विद्वानों ने हिडिम्बा नदी का परिचय चर्मण्डवती या चम्बल से दिया है जो महाभारत के अनुसार हिडिम्बा वन के समीप बहती है।

REVIEW

A Social History of Islamic India by Dr. Mohammad Yasin, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., pp. i-xi + 1-234, Lucknow 1958. Published by the Upper India Publishing House, Lucknow. Price Rs. 15/-

There have been innumerable chronicles and histories of Islamic India written from different points of view but there is great dearth of real social and cultural histories based on the contemporary sources and written scientifically. It is gratifying that Dr. Mohammad Yasin has chosen a period of Medieval Indian History for study that is full of controversial problems, some of which have a bearing on the later development of Muslim political thought in India. Although the author says he had no theory or even hypothesis to base his work upon or to draw certain pre-conceived conclusions, yet he has studied the life of the Muslim community till the mid-nineteenth century with an aim "to get at the truth of the two-nations theory". This imparts a living interest to the subject as discloses the presentness of the past.

It has been said that a historian has at least three pertinent problems to face. They concern the nature of the social change, the nature of causation and the historical knowledge of facts. Dr. Mohammad Yasin has been very painstaking in studying and arranging his material from most of the relevant contemporary sources. He has rightly fought the Muslim within himself, as he puts it, to be able to interpret the events as objectively as possible. This is the main achievement of the writer that must attract even the most ardent objectivist; for, religious and chauvinistic tendencies are the most powerful motivating forces that mislead a historian from the right path and Dr. Mohammad Yasin has almost overcome them. Four centuries of Muslim rule in India resulted in the configuration of a cultural process that could become the basis of a liberal national outlook, symbolised in Akbar's national policies. But to justify his outlook Akbar had also to take the help of yet another religious ideal, known as Din-i-Ilahi. It is not the place to discuss the composition of this new religious concept, nor it is possible to evaluate Akbar's religious policy but it is obvious that the time was not fully ripe for playing with the religious susceptibilities of the

Indians of 16th. century. It must be remembered that in a monarchical and feudalistic order of society there cannot be a clear secular outlook as much of the cultural achievement is based on the overt or mysterious working of religious ideals. Religion played an important role in moulding the social life of the people, therefore, as soon as Akbar liberalised his policies, there was a strong reaction in the orthodox quarters. The entire history of Mughal rule after Akbar is interwoven with the activities of these reactionary religious forces which infused the ideal of Muslim domination over India not only politically but culturally and religiously as well. Dr. Mohammad Yasin has very ably and objectively analysed the role of Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani and other religious leaders of his type and has showed how they damaged the process of cultural integration, by converting the King into a religious leader and by glorifying rank militarism and religious imperialism. There is little doubt that the ball of Muslim reactionaryism was set rolling by Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani who, howsoever-much he may be credited for reform in Indian Islam, let loose the ideals of hatred and dissension against all other religions except the one of his own narrow conception. Ideals preached by him have a continuous history and even a casual reader of Muslim political thought in India can observe in them the underlying threat to harmony and peaceful evolution of cultural fusion. This, in my opinion, is the most important finding of the writer.

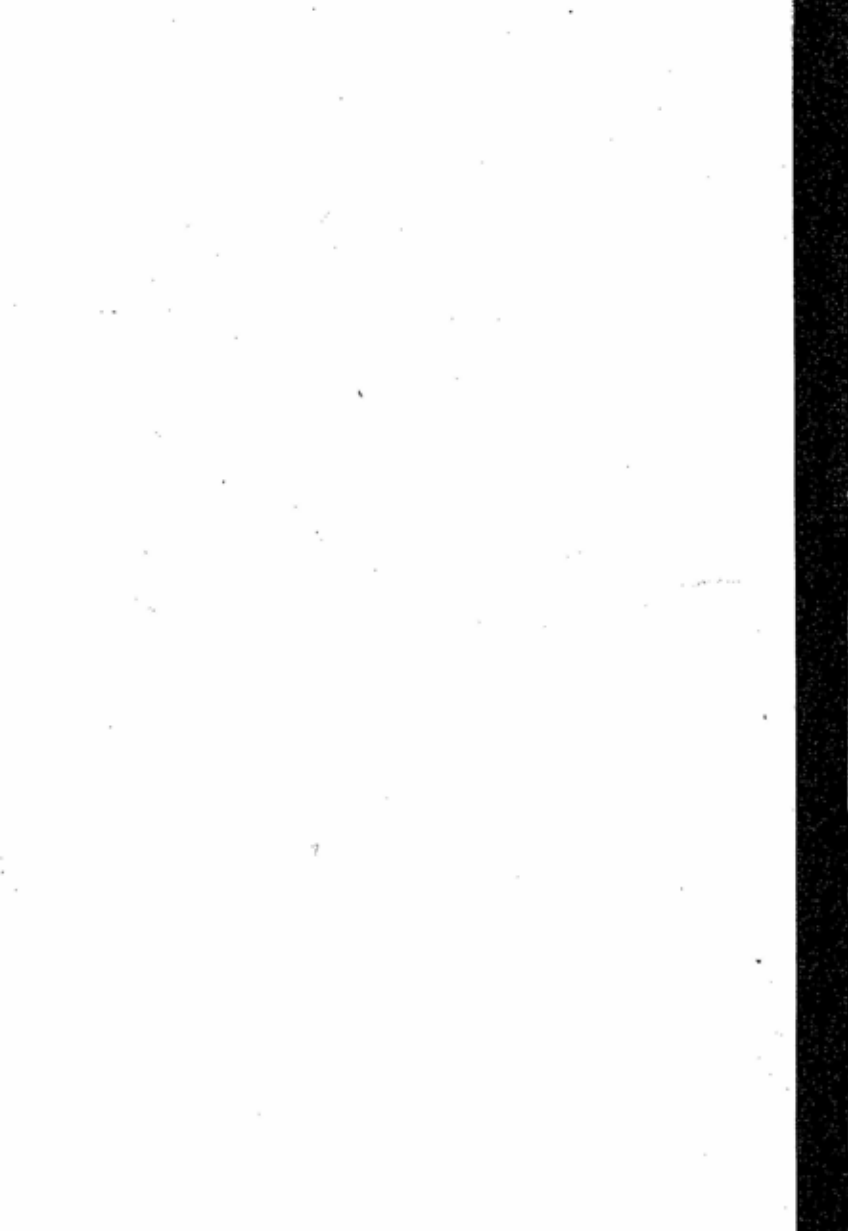
The work under review consists of ten chapters dealing briefly with almost all the aspects of Muslim life during the one and half centuries under discussion. It comprises of the composition of Muslim community in India, the economic life, their relations with other Indian communities, their customs and festivals, the process of the Indianization of the various people coming from different Asian countries, their moral accomplishments and diversions. Last three chapters have been devoted to the analysis of the reformist movements that appear to the writer as a clash between orthodoxy and liberalism.

As it is not an all-pervasive cultural history, therefore, it does not take into account the literary, artistic and architectural achievements of the Muslims but there are nevertheless a few references to some of the cultural aspects. If a short chapter dealing with these

had been added, the value of the book would have been greatly enhanced. However, in spite of being brief, the work carries conviction and gives an objective account of the currents and cross-currents, shaping the destinies of Indian Muslims during the centuries after Akbar's endeavour at secularization and liberalization.

S. Ehtesham Husain





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